

FOREIGNERS, ALIENS, AND STRANGERS: FOREIGN-BORN MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT IN ENGLAND AND WALES, 1851 TO 1911

Administrative County			London			The undermentioned Houses are situated within the boundary of the										Page 1				
Civil Parish			Ecclesiastical Parish			Crown, Borough, Municipal Borough, or Urban District of			Ward of Municipal Borough			Rural District			Parliamentary Borough			Town or Village or Hamlet		
St. Giles in the Fields of St. George, Bloomsbury			St. George, Bloomsbury			of St. George, Bloomsbury			of St. George, Bloomsbury			of St. George, Bloomsbury			of St. George, Bloomsbury			of St. George, Bloomsbury		
Order	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	
W.R.	ROAD, STREET, &c. and No. or NAME of HOUSE	TYPE	HOUSES	UNNUMBERED	NUMBER	NAME	RELATION	to Head	Condition	Age last	Birthday	PROFESSION OR OCCUPATION	Employer,	If	WHERE BORN	Deaf and Dumb	Deaf	Deaf and Dumb	Deaf	
W.R.	ROAD, STREET, &c. and No. or NAME of HOUSE	TYPE	HOUSES	UNNUMBERED	NUMBER	NAME	RELATION	to Head	Condition	Age last	Birthday	PROFESSION OR OCCUPATION	Employer,	If	WHERE BORN	Deaf and Dumb	Deaf	Deaf and Dumb	Deaf	
1	3 Chapel St	1				Lessie Mitchell	Wife		29			Laundry & Wash Keeper	Employer,	Working	London Paddington	(1) Deaf and Dumb				
						Maud	Daughter		16				Wife	at Home	do 4 C					
						Frank Sheppard	Carver		5	27		Surf Place Dealer	Employer,	Working	West B. Bishop Germany	(2) Deaf				
						Elaine Hunt	Sister		5	22		Gold Dealer	Employer,	Working	London Lambeth	(3) Deaf				
						Turner Coster	Servt		5	23		Housemaid of	Employer,	Working	London St. Pancras	(4) Deaf and Dumb, feeble-minded				
						Albert Douglas	Boarder		34			Laundress Coster's Servt	Employer,	Working	Manchester Lancashire					
						Frank Vernon	do		26				do		London Paddington					
						Ethel Edward	do		60				do		do 4 C					
						Mr. Montague	Head		5	26		Professional Stage Worker	Employer,	Working	West B. Bishop Germany					
						Arthur Bell	Attell		38			Attell	Employer,	Working	London Lambeth					
						Elaine Bell	Wife		38			Washing Attell's Laundry	Employer,	Working	London St. Pancras					
						Mary Bennett	Servt		5	35			do		London St. Pancras					
						Elizabeth Abigail	Boarder		61				do		do					
						Frank	do		24				do		London Paddington					
						Aratta	do		8	18			do		London Paddington					
						Madeline Verbley	Wife		33				do		London Paddington					
						Suzanne Kiprian	Wife		16				do		London Paddington					
						Elouise Rose Miguel	Daughter		5	17			do		London Paddington					
						James John	Young		do				do		London St. Pancras					
						Donald Scott	do		5	28			do		London St. Pancras					
						Erica Lewis	do		5	32			do		New York New York					
						Frank Loversoff	do		5	25			do		Harley Hall Cheshire					
						James Scott	do		5	35			do		Hong Kong China					
						Josephine	do		5	25			do		Whipps Cross Essex					
						Erica Draguetto	do		5	24			do		Greenwich S. London					
						Erica Draguetto	do		5	25			do		London (Hampstead)					
						Erica Draguetto	do		5	20			do		Malta					
						Sarah Quintus	Servt		22				do		St. John's Victoria					
						William Blanche	Daughter		30				do		Neuwe Austria					
6	Total of Number of Houses and of Towns with less than 1000 inhabitants	4			1	Total of Males and of Females.	15	15							London England					

NOTE—Draw your pen through such words of the headings as are inapplicable.

This thesis is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the University of Lancaster for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

James Perry BA (Hons), MA

Department of History

University of Lancaster, May 2019

Every immigrant is an emigrant, every alien a citizen, every foreigner a national.

— Roger Waldinger¹

¹ Roger Waldinger, *The Cross-Border Connection: Immigrants, Emigrants, and Their Homelands* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015), p. 37.

DECLARATION

This thesis has not been submitted in support of an application for another degree at this or any other university. The work presented is the result of my own efforts and includes nothing that is the outcome of work done in collaboration except where specifically indicated. Unless otherwise specified, maps were produced by myself using ArcGIS and QGIS and the data is cited accordingly. Many of the ideas in this thesis were the product of discussion with my supervisor Professor Ian Gregory.




X

James Perry

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The support provided by Lancaster University and the Peel Studentship enabled this research to occur, and facilitated the completion of this thesis, to which I am grateful. However, this work remains my own, and I take full responsibility for any errors in content or interpretation.

James Perry

ABSTRACT

Migration into Britain is not a contemporary phenomenon; yet, nineteenth-century British migration history is disproportionately weighted towards those who left. In the nineteenth-century, hundreds of thousands of migrants arrived and settled in England and Wales. Yet, important gaps remain in the literature with respect to how migrants settled, integrated, and interacted with the host society. This thesis utilises a data-driven approach to investigate the composition and behaviours of foreign-born persons in England and Wales during the period 1851-1911 and establish who they were, where they came from, and what they did after arrival. Specifically, this thesis asks ‘to what extent did the foreign-born population integrate or segregate from the native-born population?’ Using the recently released Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM), this thesis is the first to analyse the entire foreign-born population of England and Wales at an individual-level. Key themes considered in this thesis includes the demography and structure of foreign-born households, socio-economic composition, and spatial distribution of migrants. Two case studies, one from Newcastle upon Tyne, and another from East London, are used to contrast the residentially segregating behaviours of the migrant populations. A series of key findings are presented in this work. For example, less than twenty per cent of the migrant population lived exclusively with other migrants, indicating a tendency to interact with the host society. Taken holistically, therefore, this thesis establishes the national landscape of migrant composition, activity, and settlement, and provides a large-scale reconstitution of the foreign-born population and its different components.

‘Foreigners, Aliens, and Strangers’: Foreign-born migration and settlement in
England and Wales, 1851 to 1911

By James Perry

History Department, University of Lancaster

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures	1
List of Tables	4
Abbreviations	5
Introduction.....	6
I. Background.....	6
II. Research Problem.....	9
III. Research Question.....	11
IV. Periodisation	11
V. Methodology	13
VI. Structure.....	15
VII. Limitations.....	17
VIII. Language and Terminology.....	19
Chapter 1 : Literature Review.....	27
I. Introduction.....	27
II. Contemporaneous Historical Material.....	29
III. Research Approaches	39
IV. Methodologies.....	43
A. Cross-sectional Studies	44
B. Longitudinal Studies.....	47
C. Thematic Studies	49
V. Migration Theory	56
VI. Geographic Information Systems (GIS) in historical research	63
VII. Conclusion	72
Chapter 2 : Sources	75
I. Introduction.....	75
II. The Census – Background.....	76
III. The Census – Administration.....	80
IV. The Census – An Appraisal	91
V. I-CeM – What is it?	106
VI. I-CeM – How was it digitised?	108
VII. I-CeM – What are the variables?	110
VIII. I-CeM – What are the errors and what are their implications?	119
IX. Geographies	124
X. Birthplaces.....	127
XI. Conclusion	135
Chapter 3 : The Geographies of the Foreign-Born Population.....	138
I. Introduction.....	138
II. Where did foreign-born migrants come from?	142

III. Where did they live in England and Wales?	157
IV. How do I-CeM findings confirm or contrast with the existing literature?.....	207
V. Conclusion.....	229
Chapter 4 : Demographic Composition and Household Structure.....	232
I. Introduction.....	232
II. Demographic Overview.....	237
III. Age	238
IV. Gender.....	247
V. Marital Status	255
VI. Household Structure.....	264
VII. Household Relationships	274
VIII. Composite versus Complete Households	282
IX. Conclusion	287
Chapter 5 : Occupations	290
I. Introduction.....	290
II. What was the occupational activity of foreign-born and native-born persons, and how did they differ from each other?	294
A. The occupational activity of foreign-born persons.....	299
B. The occupational activity of native-born persons.....	318
C. Differences in foreign and native-born person's occupational activity	328
III. What degree of segregation was there in certain occupations and industries?.....	336
IV. Conclusion	344
Chapter 6 : Residential Segregation – Case Studies.....	349
I. Introduction.....	349
II. Case Studies.....	356
III. Whitechapel.....	358
IV. Newcastle upon Tyne	394
V. Discussion	432
VI. Conclusion	441
Conclusion and Recommendations	444
I. Introduction.....	444
II. Microdata – Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM)	448
III. Assimilation and Segregation.....	450
IV. Contributions to Knowledge	453
V. Limitations of this study.....	455
VI. Future Directions and Prospects	456
VII. Concluding Remarks	458
Appendix 1.....	461
Appendix 2.....	463
Bibliography.....	465
Integrated Census Microdata.....	465

Primary Sources	465
Acts of Parliament.....	465
Articles	466
Monographs	467
Chapters in an Edited Collection.....	471
Edited Collections	472
Others	472
Parliamentary Reports.....	473
Manuscript Collections	473
Newspapers and Periodicals.....	474
Secondary Sources	476
Articles	476
Chapters in an Edited Collection.....	495
Conference Papers.....	505
Datasets	507
Edited Collections	507
Books	512
Unpublished Dissertations and Theses.....	524
Others	525
Websites	526

LIST OF FIGURES

Frontispiece: 1901 England Census, Class: *RG13*; Piece: 236; Folio: 123; Page: 1, available at: www.ancestry.co.uk, *1901 England Census*, online database (2005), [accessed 15 May 2018].

Figure 1.1: George E. Arkell's map of the Jewish population in East London.....	34
Figure 1.2: Proportion of the population of East London and Hackney-born abroad (1881).....	38
Figure 2.1: Whitechapel Enumeration Districts, 1901	81
Figure 2.2: Proposed plan of enumeration districts in Kensington, 1861	83
Figure 2.3: Advert for census enumerators, 1881	85
Figure 2.4: 1851 example household schedule	89
Figure 2.5: Leicester WSPU Shop, 14 Bowling Green Street Shop	96
Figure 2.6: Report by George Cooper, Leicester Registrar concerning suffragist evasion...	97
Figure 2.7: England and Wales registration counties – foreign-born persons, 1911	121
Figure 2.8: Text import wizard screenshot (1901 England and Wales census)	122
Figure 2.9: 1851 England and Wales census extract from Tower Hamlets	129
Figure 2.10: 1911 England and Wales census extract for Leytonstone, Essex	130
Figure 2.11: Foreign-born British subjects 1851-1911	131
Figure 3.1: Foreign-born population of England and Wales, 1851-1911	145
Figure 3.2: Foreign-born persons in England and Wales by continent, 1851-1911	150
Figure 3.3: Migrants per country – 1851 (% of total foreign-born migrants)	155
Figure 3.4: Migrants per country – 1881 (% of total foreign-born migrants)	155
Figure 3.5: Migrants per country – 1911 (% of total foreign-born migrants)	156
Figure 3.6: Russia-born persons in London registration districts, 1851	165
Figure 3.7: Russia-born persons in London registration districts, 1881	165
Figure 3.8: Russia-born persons in London registration districts, 1911	166
Figure 3.9: USA-born persons in London registration districts, 1851	163
Figure 3.10: USA-born persons in London registration districts, 1881	164
Figure 3.11: USA-born persons in London registration districts, 1911	164
Figure 3.12: German-born persons in London registration districts, 1851	165
Figure 3.13: German-born persons in London registration districts, 1881	167
Figure 3.14: German-born persons in London registration districts, 1911	167
Figure 3.15: Ireland-born persons in London registration districts, 1851	168
Figure 3.16: Ireland-born persons in London registration districts, 1881	168
Figure 3.17: Ireland-born persons in London registration districts, 1911	169
Figure 3.18: India-born persons in London registration districts, 1851	169
Figure 3.19: India-born persons in London registration districts, 1881	170
Figure 3.20: India-born persons in London registration districts, 1911	170
Figure 3.21: Distribution of the total foreign-born population in 1851	173
Figure 3.22: Distribution of the total foreign-born population in 1881	174
Figure 3.23: Distribution of the total foreign-born population in 1911	175
Figure 3.24: Distribution of total Russia-born persons in England and Wales, 1851	183
Figure 3.25: Distribution of total Russia-born persons in England and Wales, 1881	184

Figure 3.26: Distribution of total Russia-born persons in England and Wales, 1911	185
Figure 3.27: Distribution of all USA-born persons in England and Wales, 1851.....	186
Figure 3.28: Distribution of all USA-born persons in England and Wales, 1881.....	187
Figure 3.29: Distribution of all USA-born persons in England and Wales, 1911.....	188
Figure 3.30: Distribution of total German-born persons in England and Wales, 1851	189
Figure 3.31: Distribution of total German-born persons in England and Wales, 1881	190
Figure 3.32: Distribution of total German-born persons in England and Wales, 1911	191
Figure 3.33: Distribution of total Ireland-born persons in England and Wales, 1851	192
Figure 3.34: Distribution of total Ireland-born persons in England and Wales, 1881	193
Figure 3.35: Distribution of total Ireland-born persons in England and Wales, 1911	194
Figure 3.36: Distribution of total India-born persons in England and Wales, 1851	195
Figure 3.37: Distribution of total India-born persons in England and Wales, 1881	196
Figure 3.38: Distribution of total India-born persons in England and Wales, 1911	197
Figure 3.39: Distribution of China-born persons in England and Wales, 1851	198
Figure 3.40: Distribution of China-born persons in England and Wales, 1881	199
Figure 3.41: Distribution of China-born persons in England and Wales, 1911	200
Figure 3.42: Distribution of France-born persons in England and Wales, 1851	201
Figure 3.43: Distribution of France-born persons in England and Wales, 1881	202
Figure 3.44: Distribution of France-born persons in England and Wales, 1911	203
Figure 3.45: Distribution of Italy-born persons in England and Wales, 1851	204
Figure 3.46: Distribution of Italy-born persons in England and Wales, 1881	205
Figure 3.47: Distribution of Italy-born persons in England and Wales, 1911	206
Figure 3.48: Romesh Chunder Dutt	223
Figure 4.1: Age categorisation of the foreign-born population, 1851-1911.....	241
Figure 4.2: Russia-born population age change (1851-1911).....	246
Figure 4.3: USA-born population age change (1851-1911).....	246
Figure 4.4: German-born population age change (1851-1911).....	246
Figure 4.5: Ireland-born population age change (1851-1911)	246
Figure 4.6: India-born population age change (1851-1911).....	246
Figure 4.7: Russia-born population gender balance (1851-1911)	254
Figure 4.8: USA-born population gender balance (1851-1911).....	254
Figure 4.9: German-born population gender balance (1851-1911).....	254
Figure 4.10: Ireland-born population gender balance (1851-1911)	254
Figure 4.11: India-born population gender balance (1851-1911)	254
Figure 4.12: Russia-born migrant marital status (1851-1911)	261
Figure 4.13: USA-born migrant marital status (1851-1911).....	261
Figure 4.14: German-born migrant marital status (1851-1911)	261
Figure 4.15: Ireland-born migrant marital status (1851-1911).....	261
Figure 4.16: India-born migrant marital status (1851-1911).....	261
Figure 4.17: Household circumstances of foreign-born persons, 1851-1911	268
Figure 4.18: Number of households with a foreign-born migrant present, 1851-1911.....	270
Figure 4.19: Average size of household, 1851-1911	273
Figure 4.20: Foreign-born migrants' relationship to head of household, 1851-1911	279
Figure 4.21: Composition of households with foreign-born persons present, 1851-1911 ..	286
Figure 5.1: HISCO classification of foreign-born persons, 1851-1901	302

Figure 5.2: Changes to proportional representation of foreign-born Chemists, Teachers of higher education, and Members of religious orders, 1851-1901.....	309
Figure 5.3: HISCO classification of native-born persons, 1851-1901	327
Figure 5.4: Percentage of foreign-born persons in select occupations, 1851-1901.....	340
Figure 6.1: Data overlay layers	353
Figure 6.2: Gustave Doré, 'Whitechapel – A Shady Place', 1872.....	360
Figure 6.3: Parishes of Whitechapel registration district, 1881	363
Figure 6.4: Overview of Whitechapel registration district subsects	374
Figure 6.5: Extract from Booth's poverty map (top), and Arkell's 1899 map (bottom).....	375
Figure 6.6: Extract from Booth's poverty map (left), and Arkell's 1899 map (right)	375
Figure 6.7: Albert Street Metropolitan Dwellings, c.1946.....	377
Figure 6.8: Underwood Street, c.1946	377
Figure 6.9: North Place, c.1946	378
Figure 6.10: Buxton Street, c.1947	378
Figure 6.11: Overview of subsect 1	379
Figure 6.12: Subsect 1 – 1881: Birthplace composition of properties	381
Figure 6.13: Subsect 1 – 1891: Birthplace composition of properties	382
Figure 6.14: Subsect 1 – 1901: Birthplace composition of properties	383
Figure 6.15: Subsect 1 – 1911: Birthplace composition of properties	384
Figure 6.16: Dorset Street, 1902	385
Figure 6.17: Overview of subsect 2	386
Figure 6.18: Subsect 2, 1881: Birthplace composition of properties	390
Figure 6.19: Subsect 2, 1891: Birthplace composition of properties	391
Figure 6.20: Subsect 2, 1901: Birthplace composition of properties	392
Figure 6.21: Subsect 2, 1911: Birthplace composition of properties	393
Figure 6.22: Sandgate, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1890, unknown	396
Figure 6.23: Parishes of Newcastle upon Tyne registration district, 1881.....	397
Figure 6.24: Foreign-born household residential segregation in Newcastle, 1851-1911....	409
Figure 6.25: Relative proportion of the foreign-born population living in residentially segregated housing, 1851-1911.....	410
Figure 6.26: Silver Street, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1884, Edwin Dodds.....	412
Figure 6.27: Sandgate and Milk Market, Newcastle upon Tyne, c.1879, unknown	412
Figure 6.28: Pandon, Newcastle upon Tyne, c.1910.....	413
Figure 6.29: Dog Bank, Newcastle upon Tyne, c.1890	414
Figure 6.30: Charles E. Goad Fire Insurance Map, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1887	416
Figure 6.31: Silver Street, Newcastle upon Tyne, c.1884.....	417
Figure 6.32: Property types of Newcastle upon Tyne case study area.....	424
Figure 6.33: Foreign-born percentage per street, 1851	425
Figure 6.34: Foreign-born percentage per street, 1861	426
Figure 6.35: Foreign-born percentage per street, 1881	427
Figure 6.36: Foreign-born percentage per street, 1891	428
Figure 6.37: Foreign-born percentage per street, 1901	429
Figure 6.38: Foreign-born percentage per street, 1911	430
Figure 6.39: Migrant Settlement Models	434

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1: Classification of I-CeM Variables	111
Table 2.2: Comparison of data between published census returns & the I-CeM	123
Table 3.1: Largest foreign-born migrant groups in England and Wales, 1851-1911	151
Table 3.2: Proportion of foreign-born migrants in the county of London compared to the total foreign-born migrants in England and Wales, 1851-1911	159
Table 3.3: Largest foreign-born groups in the county of London, 1851-1911	160
Table 3.4: Percentages of foreign-born persons living in the county of London compared to the total foreign-born population of England & Wales, 1851-1911.....	161
Table 4.1: Age structure of the total foreign-born population, 1851-1911	239
Table 4.2: Gender breakdown for all foreign-born migrants, 1851-1911	248
Table 4.3: Marital status of the foreign-born population aged 16+, 1851-1911	257
Table 4.4: Household circumstances of foreign-born persons, 1851-1911.....	267
Table 4.5: Foreign-born migrants' relationship to head of household, 1851-1911.....	276
Table 4.6: Migrant household composition, 1851-1911	284
Table 5.1: HISCO Classification System.....	298
Table 5.2: Number of persons involved in domestic service - Servants, maids, hkeep serv workers nec - Maid, dom, hse nfs (54020).....	321
Table 5.3: Enumeration of 'Miners and quarrymen – Miner' (71120), 1851-1901	324
Table 5.4: HISCO classification of native-born persons, 1851-1901	328
Table 5.5: HISCO classification of total population and foreign-born persons (1851)	330
Table 5.6: HISCO classification of total population and foreign-born persons (1861)	331
Table 5.7: HISCO classification of total population and foreign-born persons (1881)	332
Table 5.8: HISCO classification of total population and foreign-born persons (1891)	333
Table 5.9: HISCO classification of total population foreign-born persons (1901)	334
Table 5.10: Foreign-born and native-born workers in occupations, 1851-1901	338
Table 5.11: Dominant occupations amongst total foreign-born persons in 1851 - % of total population with that occupation	342
Table 5.12: Dominant occupations amongst total foreign-born persons in 1901 - % of total population with that occupation	343
Table 6.1: Population of Newcastle upon Tyne and Whitechapel, 1851-1911	357
Table 6.2: Total population of Whitechapel registration district parishes, 1851-1911	362
Table 6.3: Largest foreign-born groups in Whitechapel registration district, 1851-1911	368
Table 6.4: European arrivals port of origin (Tyne Ports, 1892-1905).....	400
Table 6.5: Percentage of each parish composed of native-born migrants, 1851-1911.....	402
Table 6.6: Native and foreign-born migrants per Newcastle parish, 1851-1911	403
Table 6.7: Composition of migrant present households, 1851-1911	407

ABBREVIATIONS

CEB – Census Enumerator Book
CSB – Census Summary Book
GRO – General Register Office
I-CeM – Integrated Census Microdata
HISCO – Historical International Standard Classification of Occupation
OS – Ordnance Survey
UK – United Kingdom
USA – United States of America
WSPU – Women’s Social and Political Union

INTRODUCTION

‘There are centres in which the different nationalities are fairly well partitioned off, one from another, not only in London, but in Manchester, Leeds, and other great cities.’¹

I. Background

The settlement of foreign-born persons in the United Kingdom (UK) has received attention from historians of varying specialisations. Some historians have taken a significantly quantitative and demographic approach; others examine the subject through cultural, social, political, and other lenses. This thesis takes a blended approach to the study of foreign-born migration settlement and segregation by adopting aspects of both schools of practice into its methodology. Despite advances in the field, the study of historical foreign-born migrant settlement in the UK remains understated and significant questions remain unanswered.² It has been noted by historians, such as Laura Tabili, that we are awaiting a substantial reconstruction of where migrants came from, how many there were, and where in Britain they settled.³ As such, this study provides the first large-scale reconstruction and overview analysis of the entire foreign-born population in England and Wales between 1851 and 1911.

¹ *Times*, 20 December 1910, ‘The Alien Immigrant’.

² Colin Holmes, ‘Immigrants and minorities in Britain’, *Patterns of Prejudice*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (1976), p. 1, and Donald M. MacRaild and David Mayall, ‘Historical Studies in Ethnicity, Migration and Diaspora: Some New Directions’, *Immigrants and Minorities*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (2014), pp. 1-8.

³ Laura Tabili, ‘A homogeneous society? Britain’s internal ‘others’, 1800-present’, in Catherine Hall, and Sonya Rose, eds., *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 56.

Where there have been studies of foreign-born migration, attention has focused on distinct communities, settlements, and themes.⁴ Historiography on the subject of migration in British contexts has tended to focus on those who left the country or those who moved internally, such as the Scottish and the Welsh.⁵ However, the foreign-born population came to outnumber these groups, and eventually the Irish.⁶ The diffuse composition of the foreign-born community and data access challenges has meant scholars have avoided analysing the entire population. Instead, most historians have adopted a focused approach with attention fixated on set communities and geographies. In this study, key communities will be considered alongside others that are less recognised and understood, to redress this tendency.

The absence of a national level analysis means the focus of this thesis is easy to justify. First, as mentioned, previous studies of migrant settlement and segregation have focused on discrete geographical areas. Favourite locations include London, Leeds, and Manchester, or on social processes, including social mobility and community formation.⁷ Second, the recent release of newly enriched demographic data provides new opportunities for the analysis of foreign-born persons.⁸ Third, many studies exploring the migrant experience concern a specific community, comparative studies

⁴ Caroline Shaw, ‘Recall to Life: Imperial Britain, Foreign Refugees and the Development of Modern Refuge, 1789-1905’, unpublished PhD thesis, University of California, Berkeley, (2010), pp. 2-6.

⁵ As an example, see Colin G. Pooley, ‘Welsh migration to England in the mid-nineteenth century’, *Journal of Historical Geography*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (1983), pp. 287-306.

⁶ Laura Tabili, *Global Migrants, Local Culture: Natives and Newcomers in Provincial England, 1841-1939* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p. 6.

⁷ See Laura Vaughan, ‘Clustering, Segregation and the ‘Ghetto’: the spatialisation of Jewish settlement in Manchester and Leeds in the 19th century’, unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, (1999), and Lloyd P. Gartner, ‘Emancipation, Social Change and Communal Reconstruction in Anglo-Jewry 1789-1881’, *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, Vol. 54 (1987), pp. 73-116.

⁸ See James Perry, ‘Geo-locating census micro-data: segregation, clustering, and residential behaviours of migrant communities in London, 1881-1911’, *Current Research in Digital History*, Vol. 1 (2018), pp. 1-12, available at: <https://doi.org/10.31835/crdh.2018.05>.

are less common, and mostly absent at a national level.⁹ Fourth, studies of migrant segregation have overwhelmingly addressed spatial dimensions and somewhat avoided non-spatial measures. Fifth, there is an overwhelming tendency in the literature to focus on those who left from Britain rather than those who arrived. Indeed, an opportunity to provide a national reconstruction of the foreign-born migrant landscape, as noted by Tabili, would be of immense value for migration historians.¹⁰

Migration studies have tended to address the lived experiences of migrants and their interaction with host communities. There is a growing body of literature exploring the experiences of specific migrant groups. However, how foreign-born migrants segregated from native-born populations, as alluded to in the epigraph, has received somewhat limited scholarly attention.¹¹ One emerging area of discussion in British migration studies is the process of integration and cultural transfer.¹² The emphasis of much of the relevant current literature addresses the social and cultural dimensions. Nonetheless, in the British context, the subject of historical occurrences of foreign-born settlement and segregation has received unequal attention in the way of quantitative analysis. The broad questions of how many migrants there were, where they settled, how they interacted, and what they did for work remain as avenues to explore.

⁹ Most comparative studies are international in nature and scope. An excellent example of this is found in Nancy L. Green, 'Immigrant Jews in Paris, London, and New York: A Comparative Approach', *Judaism*, Vol. 49, No. 3 (2000), pp. 280-291. Green has further discussed the role of comparative studies, Nancy L. Green, 'The Comparative Method and Poststructural Structuralism: – New Perspectives for Migration Studies', *Journal of American Ethnic History*, Vol. 13, No. 4 (1994), pp. 3-22.

¹⁰ Tabili, *Global Migrants*, p. 5.

¹¹ Colin Holmes, 'Immigrants and Minorities in Britain', in Colin Holmes, ed., *Immigrants and Minorities in British Society* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1978), p. 18.

¹² Stefan Manz, and Panikos Panayi, 'Refugees and Cultural Transfer to Britain: An Introduction', *Immigrants and Minorities*, Vol. 30, No. 2/3 (2012), pp. 122-151. See also Gregor Pelger, 'Wissenschaft des Judentums and Jewish Cultural Transfer in Nineteenth-Century Anglo-German Networks', in Heather Ellis and Ulrike Kirchberger, eds., *Anglo-German Scholarly Networks in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 149-175.

Although certain communities have received significant scholarly attention, the comprehensive exploration of the foreign-born population as a single entity has not yet occurred.

II. Research Problem

The theme of interaction between migrants and host communities is of central importance to scholars of migration. Despite a growing body of literature, there is uncertainty regarding the extent to which migrant communities employed deliberate integration or segregation strategies. Ambiguities also remain concerning the general patterns of migrant settlement and activity. Certain areas traditionally omitted from analyses include household composition, occupational activity, and regional variations in residential distribution. By breaking into these areas of interest and by utilising recently released datasets, this thesis will provide a foundation for future studies concerning the historical foreign-born migrant population of England and Wales.

Traditionally, there is a tendency amongst historians to figuratively plough well-worn furrows.¹³ Historical research on the subjects of segregation and integration amongst foreign-born persons has primarily fixated on major migrant communities, namely the Ireland-born and Eastern Europeans.¹⁴ A key finding from the existing literature is not only that discrepancies between migrant communities existed, but that the largest groups also shared commonalities. Barry Kosmin argues that the high rate

¹³ Holmes, ‘Immigrants and Minorities’, p. 15.

¹⁴ Holmes, *John Bull’s Island*, pp. 10-15.

of natural increase amongst Jewish migrants ensured the group continued to expand beyond the first generation.¹⁵ When twinned with its resistance to assimilation, the Jewish migrant population remained a distinctive element in the local community. As M. A. G. Ó. Tuathaigh noted, Ireland-born migrants remained resented figures due to religious, cultural, and socio-economic differences, which was akin to the Jewish experience.¹⁶ Given the similarities between the two most significant communities, the exploration of smaller and lesser-studied entities fills an important gap in the literature.

Concerning the foreign-born population of England and Wales, various viable research avenues exist. Nonetheless, there are three primary objectives for this study. First, to establish the origins, composition, and distribution of foreign-born migrants. Second, to identify patterns of behaviour and activity amongst foreign-born migrants in three key areas: demographic and household composition, occupational activity, and residential distribution. Third, to evaluate the Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM) and ascertain its value as a source for British migration studies. Ultimately, therefore, this thesis will generate important insights for the field and provide a foundation for future studies utilising the I-CeM.

¹⁵ Barry A. Kosmin, 'Nuptiality and Fertility Among British Jews', in D. A. Coleman, ed., *Demography of Immigrants and Minority Groups in the United Kingdom* (London: Academic Press, 1982), pp. 245-262.

¹⁶ M. A. G. Ó Tuathaigh, 'The Irish in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Problems of Integration', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. 31 (1981), pp. 161-170.

III. Research Question

The themes of migrant settlement, segregation, and integration run throughout this thesis. As noted in the epigraph, segregationist behaviours were allegedly manifested by foreign-born persons in various cities, not just London. This thesis aims to provide a general analysis of who migrated into England and Wales, and establish where they came from, where they settled, what they did for employment and how far they integrated with other nationalities. Although the approach in this thesis is often broad and at times will lack detail, it complements more traditional narrow detailed studies. As such, this thesis could be the first stage of additional research into the topic using the data and methodology modelled in this study. Each of the analytical chapters relates to these themes by asking a series of questions. Subsequently, while the migration and settlement of foreign-born persons are tested from a national perspective, examples and case studies from areas around England and Wales are utilised.

IV. Periodisation

For reasons of feasibility, there is a clearly defined temporal dimension to this thesis. The age of mass migration has been defined as including the period stretching from the mid-nineteenth century until the First World War.¹⁷ During this period, millions of people migrated internationally, with many thousands arriving and passing through

¹⁷ Timothy J. Hatton, and Jeffrey G. Williamson, *The Age of Mass Migration: Causes and Economic Impact* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 3-9.

England and Wales.¹⁸ Furthermore, the first piece of anti-migration legislation was passed in the UK in 1905.¹⁹ Although lackadaisical, the act was indicative of the rising tensions concerning migration. In a further example of appropriate correlation, the chronological boundaries of the I-CeM align to the aforementioned period of migration. Currently, the hundred-year rule means Census Enumerator Books (CEB) and household returns are only accessible for the period 1851 to 1911.²⁰

Although periodisation is problematic, it is a means of managing and organising time and making sense of events, issues, and societies.²¹ The heavy reliance on the I-CeM as a source precludes earlier and later temporal limits. Utilising a chronology that encompasses a distinct moment in history is a valid justification.²² However, the fact it links to the time-based extents of the data is another rationalisation for settling on the period 1851 to 1911.²³

¹⁸ Stephen Castles, Hein de Haas, and Mark J. Miller, *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014, first published 1993), p. 5.

¹⁹ David Glover, *Literature, Immigration, and Diaspora in Fin-de-Siècle England: A Cultural History of the 1905 Aliens Act* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 122-151.

²⁰ Cabinet Office, *Helping to Shape Tomorrow: The 2011 Census of Population and Housing in England and Wales* (Great Britain: HMSO, 2008), pp. 101-102.

²¹ Peter N. Stearns, ‘Long 19th Century? Long 20th? Retooling That Last Chunk of World History Periodization’, *The History Teacher*, Vol. 42, No. 2 (2009), pp. 223-225.

²² Jan and Leo Lucassen note that the period 1850-1900 was ‘spectacular’ in terms of the increase to migration rates. See Jan Lucassen, and Leo Lucassen, ‘The mobility transition revisited, 1500-1900: what the case of Europe can offer to global history’, *Journal of Global History*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (2009), p. 381.

²³ David Phillips, ‘Comparative Historical Studies in Education: Problems of Periodisation Reconsidered’, *British Journal of Educational Studies*, Vol. 50, No. 3 (2002), pp. 364-367.

V. Methodology

For migration studies, scholars have traditionally relied on the published census returns as one means of investigating the foreign-born population. Examples exist where historians have manually reconstituted areas by trawling through CEBs, a time-consuming and cumbersome task.²⁴ Others, meanwhile, have utilised samples to approximate the size and activity of a population.²⁵ Improved access to original records in a digitised and coded format allows greater flexibility for research into foreign-born migration. The flexibility of the I-CeM enables meaningful and unique contributions to the existing understanding of the foreign-born population of England and Wales during the period 1851 to 1911.

In September 2013, the I-CeM project delivered the final batch of data to the UK Data Archive.²⁶ The delivery marked the culmination of thousands of hours and hundreds of thousands of pounds to create a ‘standardised, integrated dataset’ of British censuses.²⁷ The I-CeM encompasses most of the censuses of England and Wales for the period 1851 to 1911, except for 1871.²⁸ The data submitted contained gigabytes of digitised raw and coded values for the entire population. This study is amongst the first in the world to utilise this dataset for the purposes of exploring the

²⁴ Colin Pooley, ‘Migration, Mobility and Residential Areas in Nineteenth-Century Liverpool’, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Liverpool, (1978), pp. 7-8.

²⁵ See Michael Anderson, *National Sample from the 1851 Census of Great Britain: Introductory User Guide* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, 1987).

²⁶ I-CeM Resources, ‘I-CeM Blog’, available at: <http://i-cem.info/news-blog/>, [accessed: 5 May 2018].

²⁷ University of Essex, ‘I-CeM: Integrated Census Microdata Project’ <http://www.essex.ac.uk/history/research/ICeM/default.htm>, [accessed: 7 April 2018]. The grant awarded was for a total of £837,120.42 for more information see Research Catalogue, ‘The Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM) Project’, available at: <http://www.researchcatalogue.esrc.ac.uk/grants/RES-062-23-1629/read>, [accessed: 5 May 2018].

²⁸ Ibid

total foreign-born population. In doing so, it signifies a significant development in the utilisation of census data for historical research in England and Wales.

Unlike traditional studies, this thesis can conduct national level analyses without an onerous data collection process. Similarly, it is possible to reproduce efforts with minimal complications. The I-CeM is importable, malleable, and investigable in a range of software packages.²⁹ Being in a digital format means smaller sub-sections of the data can be separated and analysed. The availability of the data rapidly reduces the time needed for collecting and storing data, which is a significant advantage for researchers. By utilising one of the most extensive historical quantitative socio-economic datasets for Britain, this thesis will significantly progress the study of migration in the UK. This progress is achieved by establishing the core attributes and components of the foreign-born population and revealing the extent to which migrants segregated from or integrated with the host society. Current research has demonstrated unique behaviours manifested themselves at a localised level, which will be further exemplified in this study.³⁰

The defining feature of this thesis is its utilisation of digital methods to explore the foreign-born population of England and Wales and their socio-economic behaviours. The research methodologies utilised in this work include various digital techniques and tools. These approaches include spatial mapping using Geographical In-

²⁹ Edward Higgs, Christine Jones, Kevin Schürer and Amanda Wilkinson, *Integrated Census Micro-data (I-CeM) Guide* (University of Essex, 2015, version two), p. 243, hereafter referred to as ‘I-CeM guide’.

³⁰ See Perry, ‘Geo-locating census micro-data’.

formation Systems (GIS), exploration of newspaper corpora and contemporary manuscripts, and exploring the statistical evidence of a large digital dataset. The application of technologies in new ways can augment and enhance the existing understanding and offer fresh insights into historical migrations. Analysis of the I-CeM data will reveal more information about the migrant population of England and Wales. As it does, it will also provide an additional assessment of the I-CeM itself. For scholars, the usage and review of the I-CeM will be of use in future studies.

A difficulty in using a large aggregated population database is that it dehumanises individuals to a point where voices are lost. Instead, they revert to being a collection of numbers. Contemporaneous accounts and records are included to offset this challenge. Extracts from debates, reports, interviews, and newspapers are used to provide more meaningful insights into the lived experiences of migrants. When viewed holistically, this thesis converges several approaches, tools, and sources to establish foundational notions of the foreign-born population. The methodology and sources used in this thesis are explored in more depth in chapter two.

VI. Structure

This thesis comprises six chapters. The first deals with extant migration literature and is structured according to scholars' previous approaches to the subject. The second chapter evaluates the primary dataset used in the analysis – the I-CeM, and the censuses of England and Wales. The third provides a national level analysis of the foreign-born population and answers two questions, which are where did they originate

from? And, where did they live in England and Wales? Chapter four offers a detailed analysis of the demographic profile of the foreign-born population and the structure and composition of households that recorded migrants as being present. The fifth chapter compares and contrasts the economic activity of the native-born and foreign-born populations, and identifies particular occupational areas in which migrants segregated. The sixth and final analytical chapter utilises the I-CeM and GIS to explore the residential segregation of migrant communities. This analysis at an individual-level occurs through two case studies: Newcastle upon Tyne, and Whitechapel in London. A justification for these two case studies is made in chapter six. The thesis structure provides a narrowing effect stemming from a broad analysis of the entire community down to specific regions, areas, and groups.

Across the analytical chapters, five distinct foreign-born groups are analysed and compared in detail. These groups represent different migration streams. The communities also received contrasting levels of ostracism in the UK. First, persons originating from the Russian Empire, who in this thesis are broadly defined as Russia-born. Second, USA-born from the United States of America (USA). Third, German-born treating the individual principalities and kingdoms as one, prior to the official unification in 1871. Fourth, Ireland-born persons. Fifth, persons born on the Indian sub-continent who fall in the modern current boundaries of India. Using these five groups it is possible to contribute to the existing literature, provide new insights into underrepresented groups, and highlight distinct patterns between migrant communities.

VII. Limitations

This thesis does not intend to explore every aspect of the migrant experience, only those as set out on pages 9-11. An extensive breakdown and discussion of every migrant group's settlement, socio-economic activity, and demographic composition lie beyond the scope of this study. Where possible, broader considerations are incorporated. Another potential problem is that the scope of this thesis is limited to England and Wales. However, omitting Scotland is justified on the grounds of feasibility and data availability, which is discussed further in chapter two. Ireland is a similar case, as are other entities, such as the Isle of Man. England and Wales are already large enough geographical areas to address.

The reader should bear in mind that findings are primarily dependant on a dataset that has several existing limitations, which have already been identified in the literature.³¹ The I-CeM is an enhanced version of the census data that retains many of the original issues of the census. This problematic component of the data is amplified as almost none of the original household returns no longer exist. These issues and others are discussed further in chapter two.

Unfortunately, the scale of this project means migrant communities are viewed as a homogeneous entity. Treating migrant groups as homogeneous is problematic as it conceals the plurality and diversity of the migrant body. This point is particularly evident when relying on birthplaces. For example, Marc Di Tommasi argues that the second-generation migrant community of Edinburgh was much larger than previously

³¹ John Saville, *Rural Depopulation in England and Wales, 1851-1911* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2002, fourth edition), pp. 98-100.

expected. As such, the true extent of migrant communities is misrepresented when relying solely on birthplaces.³² Migrants from different regions within the same country could hold vastly different perspectives, intentions, and characteristics. For the sake of feasibility, however, and despite being subject to an array of factors, migrant groups are treated as having a form of common origin. In this thesis, collective values and shared cultural behaviours, such as language, cuisine, and tradition, amongst others, are treated as further examples for the justification of a homogeneous perspective and approach.

The process of migrants becoming part of the host society is a challenging system to unpack. As Colin Holmes has noted: ‘There was no unitary society that they [migrants] encountered on arrival but a society divided into important class and associated cultural divisions.’³³ It is unclear what migrants were expected to become. This thesis views the process of assimilation as migrants forming a desire to permanently settle in the host society. Chapter six addresses the topic of integration, segregation, and settlement in greater depth with respect to the geographical distribution. Despite the limitations outlined here, the I-CeM offers significant opportunities for scholars of British migration history.

³² Marc Di Tommasi, ‘Unquantifiable? A New Estimate of the Impact of International Migration to Edinburgh in 1911’, *Social Science History*, Vol. 42, No. 3 (2018), pp. 538-539.

³³ Holmes, *John Bull’s Island*, p. 293.

VIII. Language and Terminology

Historically, the scale and extent of migration were frequently subject to exaggeration.³⁴ Haldane Porter discussed the issue of polemics in 1905:

In dealing with the alien problem from the East End point of view I desire to avoid, if I can, all exaggeration. I am not going to talk of “hordes” of aliens nor to employ the inflated figures which have been so injudiciously used by certain ill-advised advocates of restriction...³⁵

Avoiding sensationalist language and terminology prevents distortion of scale and imposing values on the nature or motivations of the migration concerned.

In England and Wales, ‘Aliens’, ‘Strangers’, or ‘Foreigners’ are terms that historical contemporaries used to describe a person born outside of the country.³⁶ These terms, often used interchangeably, refer to those who were not British subjects, and who had been born in another country. Scholars have noted that the nineteenth century was a pivotal moment in the development of public opinion in relation to migrants and the emergence of new categories of migrants, such as refugees.³⁷ For this period, Caroline Shaw has noted that support for refugees began to be less of a political or strategic one, and became increasingly linked to public support.³⁸ As such,

³⁴ David Feldman, ‘Migration’, in Martin Daunton, ed., *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 198.

³⁵ *Morning Post*, 20 February 1905, ‘Alien Immigration: Social and Economic Aspects’.

³⁶ Scott Oldenburg, ‘Toward a Multicultural Mid-Tudor England: The Queen’s Royal Entry Circa 1553, “The Interlude of Wealth and Health”, and the Question of Strangers in the Reign of Mary I’, *ELH*, Vol. 76, No. 1 (2009), p. 100.

³⁷ Debates regarding terminology and status can be found further in Lynne Ann Hartnett, ‘Alien or Refugee? The Politics of Russian Émigré Claims to British Asylum at the Turn of the Twentieth Century’, *Journal of Migration History*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (2017), pp. 229-253.

³⁸ Caroline Emily Shaw, ‘The British, Persecuted Foreigners and the Emergence of the Refugee Category in Nineteenth-Century Britain’, *Immigrants and Minorities*, Vol. 30, No. 2-3 (2012), pp. 239-241. For a wider discussion of the subject, see Caroline Shaw, *Britannia’s Embrace: Modern Humanitarianism and the Imperial Origins of Refugee Relief* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

particular groups began to be seen and treated as refugees by contemporaries.³⁹ Nonetheless, the identification of these groups is incredibly problematic, as is identifying why a person migrated.

Human migration is the process whereby an individual physically moves from one location to another, with either temporary or permanent intentions.⁴⁰ A definition of migration includes 'Movement of people to a new area or country in order to find work or better living conditions.'⁴¹ Migration may consist of moving from a village to a town or from one country to another. A person who migrates is, therefore, a migrant.

In this study, the term migrant is utilised instead of historical terms. However, the United Nation's recommendations for the classification and definition of individuals and groups involved in migration are not adopted.⁴² The reason for employing an ambiguous term stems from the complexity of terms such as 'Alien'. Similarly, the decision for not using the United Nation's classifications is due to the inability to identify which category migrants would fit in. For example, those foreign-born persons who obtained citizenship were no longer subject to a foreign sovereign. However, the terms mentioned above, such as alien or stranger, would no longer be appropriate.

³⁹ *Nottingham Evening Post*, 6 November 1903, 'Refugee Nuns from France'.

⁴⁰ The Migration Observatory, 'Who Counts as a Migrant? Definitions and their Consequences', 11 January 2017, available at: <https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/briefings/who-counts-as-a-migrant-definitions-and-their-consequences/>, [accessed: 21 September 2018].

⁴¹ Oxford Dictionary, Definition of 'Migration', available at: <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/migration>, [accessed: 27 June 2016].

⁴² UN: Department of Economic and Social Affairs – Statistics Division, 'Recommendations on Statistics of International Migration', *Statistical Paper Series M*, No. 58, Rev. 1 (New York, NY: United Nations, 1998), pp. 93-94.

Without knowing an individual's citizenship status and the full context, it would be improper to refer to them explicitly as being a 'Foreigner', 'Alien', or 'Stranger'.⁴³ Monica Shelley outlines the complexity of understanding migrant behaviours in the analysis of her grandfather's migration.⁴⁴

What were the conditions in the area of Germany where he lived? What changes were taking place in Germany as a whole which might have made emigration a good idea for him? What might he have thought were the advantages of living in England rather than Germany? And why England rather than somewhere else? Why did he never go back to Germany for any length of time?...why did he leave?⁴⁵

Consequently, the term 'migrant' is appropriate given the absence of any wider context.

Rather than attempting to deduce the intentions or objectives of migrants, this thesis will also not utilise additional labels or terms, such as 'Refugee', and 'Displaced Person'. Similarly, using the terms 'Emigrant' and 'Immigrant' is problematic without understanding their intentions. For instance, an 'Emigrant' is someone who: 'leaves their own country in order to settle permanently in another'.⁴⁶ Meanwhile, an 'Immigrant' is someone who comes to live permanently in a foreign country.⁴⁷ The absence of extra contextual details creates difficulties in labelling individuals as either an immigrant or emigrant, especially when dealing with large numbers of people.

⁴³ In many early modern texts, migrants, or more specifically immigrants, are referred to as 'strangers'.

⁴⁴ Monica Shelley, 'Why did Hermann Schulze Emigrate from Finsterwalde to London?', in W. T. R. Pryce, ed., *From Family History to Community History* (Cambridge: The Open University, 1994), pp. 70-78.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 70-71, 74.

⁴⁶ Oxford Dictionary, 'Emigrant', available at: <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/emigrant>, [accessed: 28 June 2016].

⁴⁷ Oxford Dictionary, 'Immigrant', available at: <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/immigrant>, [accessed: 28 June 2016].

While avoiding labelling or categorising migrants, it is important, however, to remember the words of Roger Waldinger: ‘Every immigrant is an emigrant, every alien a citizen, every foreigner a national.’⁴⁸ With this perspective in consideration, an open mind is kept regarding the identities, affiliations, motivations, and experiences of foreign-born persons.

The term ‘migrant’ also has some problematic components. A migrant could refer to an individual undertaking an international, domestic or internal migration. Both the Labour Force Survey and the Annual Population Survey utilise the definition of foreign-born to refer to international migrants.⁴⁹ While many contemporary descriptions and classification systems have sub-categories, typically hinged on variables, such as length of intended stay, a retrospective historical analysis would struggle with this level of detail. The difficulty is primarily that it was not always available or recorded. Despite limitations, the term migrant remains the best means of referring to those who were not native to an area.

While there are conflicting ideas concerning terminology, this thesis will utilise the term ‘foreign-born migrant’, which is regularly abbreviated to ‘migrant’ for readability purposes. This definition is used to refer to anyone living in England and Wales who was born outside of England, Wales, Scotland, and the British Islands,

⁴⁸ Roger Waldinger, *The Cross-Border Connection: Immigrants, Emigrants, and Their Homelands* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015), p. 37.

⁴⁹ The Migration Observatory, ‘Who Counts as a Migrant? Definitions and their Consequences’, 25 August 2015, available at: <http://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/briefings/who-counts-migrant-definitions-and-their-consequences>, [accessed: 5 February 2016].

such as the Channel Islands. Many thousands would more aptly be described as ‘trans-migrants’, using Britain as a staging point before then moving on to the USA.⁵⁰ Others were temporary workers, sailors being a common example. Therefore, to refer to these transient persons as immigrants would be to misrepresent them and their activities. Distinctions appear where discussions concern internal migrants.

A fundamental problem regarding the classification of migrants is determining their nationality and citizenship. Thousands of those born overseas during and before this period were British Subjects, having been born to British parents. Often, examples of this might be those involved in the Empire or those who had returned from a colony with their children. As such, the process of treating all those who were born outside of the UK (foreign-born) as ‘foreigners’ or ‘immigrants’, can be problematic. Consequently, this thesis does not attempt to distinguish between those who were British subjects or not. Rather, it seeks to understand the behaviours illustrated by those who had not been born in England, Wales, Scotland, and the various British Islands. Censuses often put both groups together. For instance, in the 1841 England and Wales Census Enumeration Abstract, it has ‘Foreigners and British Subjects Born in Foreign Parts’ as a single category.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Nicholas J. Evans, ‘Work in progress: indirect passage from Europe Transmigration via the UK, 1836-1914’, *Journal for Maritime Research*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (2001), pp. 70-71.

⁵¹ England and Wales Census Report, 1841, *Abstract of the Answers and Returns* (London: HMSO, 1843), pp. 13-15. Despite the reporting of the foreign-born population, the 1841 census question regarding birthplace was very general, and was split into two; ‘Whether Born in same County’, and ‘Whether Born in Scotland, Ireland, or Foreign parts.’

Another critical term requiring explanation is segregation.⁵² A definition of segregation is the ‘physical and/or social separation of different groups within a society’.⁵³ Legislation or social contracts can mandate or influence spatial and aspatial segregation. However, segregation can occur organically through a range of factors, including social norms, economic factors, group identities, and others. In a different vein to segregation is the concept of clustering or congregation, which refers to the behaviour of gathering. Such practices differ from segregation, although they too can be spatially or aspatially manifested.

Integration is a concept defined as the adding of single elements to an existing structure.⁵⁴ For this thesis, integration is treated as the process whereby foreign-born persons are absorbed or accommodated by the host society. Integration, therefore, is the opposite of segregation and is the process of becoming one. Collectively, these definitions provide context to the terminology used in this thesis.

At Princess Victoria’s coronation in 1837, out of almost sixteen million subjects living in England and Wales, approximately 350,000 were foreign-born persons. The majority of migrants lived in London and the county of Lancashire.⁵⁵ It was during Victoria’s reign that hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children came to

⁵² Sako Musterd, ‘The impact of immigrants’ segregation and concentration on social integration in selected European contexts’, *Documents d’Anàlisi Geogràfica*, Vol. 57, No. 3 (2011), p. 362.

⁵³ Craig Calhoun, ed., ‘Segregation’, *Dictionary of the Social Sciences* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 150.

⁵⁴ Wolfgang Bosswick, and Friedrich Heckmann, ‘Integration of migrants: Contribution of local and regional authorities’, *European Forum for Migration Studies* (2006), p. 2.

⁵⁵ Figure arrived at using data for the 1841 England and Wales Census with a +10% margin for issues regarding missing records and inconsistency, there were 289,404 individuals recorded as having been born in Ireland, and 39,243 recorded as being born in ‘Foreign Parts’.

Britain. Migrants featured in British society in the centuries leading up to the Victorian Era. As Stanley Chapman has indicated, two-thirds of London's prominent merchants had foreign-born origins.⁵⁶ It was also under Victoria's rule that some of the largest changes to the composition of the foreign-born population of England and Wales took place. In relation to this thesis, some of the most significant population migrations in the history of the UK took place during the nineteenth century.⁵⁷ In fact, Britain's tolerance of migrants caused some diplomatic incidents and tested international relations as foreign enemies of the state and other radicals received refuge.⁵⁸ As such, England and Wales has a considerable history of migration and mobility with people arriving and moving for complex and diverse reasons.

The experiences of these migrations have been partially addressed, but many questions remain regarding how migrants interacted with the host society and how they experienced change over time. The complexities of the migrant experience in relation to their demographic composition, occupational activity, and residential distribution are addressed in a patchwork-like approach. Some communities receive detailed and extensive coverage; others are entirely neglected. This thesis, therefore, seeks to provide a baseline from which future studies can build from and identify the

⁵⁶ Stanley D. Chapman, 'Enterprise and Innovation in the British Hosiery Industry', *Textile History*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (1974), p. 30.

⁵⁷ John A. Garrard, *The English and Immigration: A Comparative Study of the Jewish Influx, 1880-1910* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 3. Garrard notes that England served as 'a major land of settlement' for the thousands of Jews fleeing from persecutions in Eastern Europe. See also John O'Rourke, *The History of the Great Irish Famine of 1847, with notices of earlier Irish Famines* (Dublin: James Duffy and Co., 1902, third edition), p. 284. Although there was a considerable Ireland-born presence before the Irish Potato Famine, it would continue significantly into the 1850s. These two events are part of the largest population movements into England and Wales during the nineteenth century.

⁵⁸ Phillip Thurmond Smith, *Policing Victorian London: Political Policing, Public Order, and the London Metropolitan Police* (London: Greenwood Press, 1985), pp. 97-112. See also Rosemary Ashton, *Little Germany: Exile and Asylum in Victorian England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986).

wider behaviours, as found in the I-CeM. Methodologically, this thesis provides scope for new ways of exploring migration into Britain while addressing an underappreciated aspect of the history of the British Isles.

Chapter 1: LITERATURE REVIEW

‘This is a subject of which many people now recognize the growing importance. Mr. Wilkins argues strongly in favour of the one check on pauper immigration found adequate in other countries-restriction at the port of arrival. He gives a good *resume* of the evidence available, and some useful information about the legislation of other countries on foreign immigration.’¹

I. Introduction

Few general histories of migration and migrants in England and Wales exist for the Victorian and Edwardian periods.² Much of the existing literature concerns specific communities and geographies.³ That said – there are some notable exceptions. Drawing on the existing historiography, this chapter will review academic publications relevant to this thesis. During the past thirty years, an increased amount of information has become available on the subject of migrant communities in England and Wales. This literature review will explore the existing migration literature through the lens of the various research approaches and methodologies utilised by academics. Specifically, this chapter will argue that academic studies have overwhelmingly concentrated on specific groups and communities.

The strongest elicitations of academic expression and research occur in response to large waves of migration, as evidenced by the preponderance of literature concerning certain communities. Similarly, Colin Holmes has argued that migrations

¹ Unknown, ‘The Alien Invasion’, *The Economic Review*, Vol. 2, No. 4 (1892), pp. 581-582.

² A notable exception being Holmes’ *John Bull’s Island*.

³ For example, see Visram, *Asians in Britain*.

that are more recent attract considerable attention.⁴ Holmes describes the condition of migration studies in the late 1980s in the following analogy:

Anyone who, at this point in time, attempts to write a general history of immigration soon becomes aware of these variations. At times it is like staying at an oasis but as one moves elsewhere the territory can become an unexpected barren wasteland. A pioneer can effect some improvement, but the ground that needs to be covered is enormous and the best hope is that later travellers, cultivating their own special terrain, will add, by degrees, to the richness of the landscape.⁵

A few years later, Holmes noted that there had been few attempts to deal with popular representations of migrants in the period 1851 to 1911 by historians and that instead, sociologists dominated the field.⁶ Yet, many scholars remain fixated upon those who left, rather than those who arrived. As Holmes also notes:

In considering migration and British society, we should guard against concentrating exclusively upon emigration. In other words, apart from asking 'Who left Britain and where did they go?', we need to ask 'Who came to Britain and what were the experiences of such groups after their arrival?'

While there have been developments since the time of writing, Holmes's assessment remains valid. Significant gaps in the subject of foreign-born groups persist, and a fascination with certain groups and urban spaces prevails. This literature review will elaborate on these gaps and will provide an overview of the primary ways that scholars have approached the subject of migration in British history.

⁴ Colin Holmes, *John Bull's Island: Immigration and British Society, 1871-1971* (Hounds mills: Macmillan Education, 1988), pp. 12-13.

⁵ Ibid, p. 13.

⁶ Holmes, 'Historians and immigration', p. 192.

⁷ Ibid, p. 191.

II. Contemporaneous Historical Material

In addition to the I-CeM, this thesis uses an array of qualitative sources. Manuscripts, newspapers, parliamentary records, photographs, and personal histories flesh out and support the findings of the data. These qualitative sources enhance the findings and provide valuable perspectives, otherwise lost within the numbers. Crucially, contemporaries of the period actively researched and discussed migration into England and Wales. The publication of monographs and articles aimed to engage broader audiences with the topic of migration from across the political spectrum, which can subsequently be utilised by historians. However, the overwhelming bulk of the contemporary literature concerns Jewish persons, primarily from Eastern Europe, and the Ireland-born.⁸ Specialist pieces of literature do exist for some smaller communities, but this is often obfuscated or neglected by scholarly research.

Myer Landa was a Jew from Leeds whose father had been born in Wistiten, Suwalski, then in the Russian Empire. Landa was an active author on the subject of foreign-born migration during the early twentieth century.⁹ Through his assessment of migration into the UK and the surrounding discourses, Landa identified the composition of the anti-migrant movement as ‘attract[ing] all who harboured racial and religious ill-will, including the riff-raff whose “patriotism” permits of the atrocity of stigmatising the Scotch, the Irish and the Welsh as undesirable foreigners!’¹⁰ Issues of assimilation, integration, and segregation permeate the work of Landa, through

⁸ See Lloyd P. Gartner, ‘A Quarter Century of Anglo-Jewish Historiography’, *Jewish Social Studies*, Vol. 48, No. 2 (1986), pp. 105-126.

⁹ British Jewry, ‘Myer Jack Landa’, available at: <http://www.british-jewry.org.uk/leedsjewry/showmedia.php?mediaID=9&medialinkID=35>, [accessed: 4 September 2018].

¹⁰ Myer Jack Landa, *The Alien Problem and Its Remedy* (London: P. S. King and Son, 1911), p. 29.

which he expresses his disdain for advocates of anti-migrant sentiments. Concerning Arnold White, a prominent author on the subject, Myer stated, 'In that last sentence Mr. White shows how hopeless he is as a serious thinker, how inevitable it is that he should lapse into thoughts jejune.'¹¹ Concerning his position on the observation of migrant groups, Myer appears to place himself in the third group of persons concerned with migration that he identifies within his work, namely those who were:

...anxious that a sharp distinction shall be drawn between the criminal (and others admittedly undesirable) and the far greater section of honest and worthy mankind which for varied reasons, is driven from its native lands.¹²

Landa's publications came in response to increased amounts of anti-migrant literature and offered insights into the counter-literature and Anglicised migrant community.

One of the first Victorian authors to produce a systematic analysis of the laws concerning migration and the introduction of restrictive measures was Henry Henriques.¹³ Henriques, himself a descendant of Portuguese Sephardic Jews, was a native of Manchester.¹⁴ With particular interests in naturalisation processes, Henriques demonstrated an acute awareness of the debates concerning the international discrepancies in how various European countries transmitted and controlled citizenship.¹⁵ In a similar fashion to Landa, Henriques argued for tolerant and relaxed naturalisation processes. By identifying foreign-born Jewish persons as notably driven to acquire the same rights and privileges as the native populace, Henriques suggests that the

¹¹ Landa, *The Alien Problem*, p. 295.

¹² *Ibid.* p. viii.

¹³ Henry Straus Quixano Henriques, *The Law of Aliens and Naturalization* (London: Butterworth and Co., 1906), pp. 1-29.

¹⁴ Hugh H. L. Bellot, 'Henry Straus Quixano Henriques', *Transactions of the Grotius Society*, Vol. 11 (1925), pp. lxii-lxvii.

¹⁵ Henry Straus Quixano Henriques, and Ernest J. Schuster, "Jus Soli" or "Jus Sanguinis"?", *Problems of the War*, Papers read before the Society in the year 1917, Vol. 3 (1917), pp. 119-131.

naturalisation processes were ‘of the greatest importance’ to Jewish persons.¹⁶ The enactment of the Jews Relief Act 1858 resulted in the emancipation of Jews in the UK.¹⁷ The removal of all disabilities provided the opportunity for practising Jews to embark on a political career, some of whom became influential leaders, within both civil society and the Anglo-Jewry. Henrique’s attention to naturalisation and the removal of political disabilities reveals the various legislative acts that served the established Anglo-Jewry and the emergent migrant community.¹⁸ With the Jewish community as the primary audience, the work of Henriques sought to contribute towards the ‘working out of legal problems concerning the Jews in this country’.¹⁹

William Cunningham was a contemporary figure who contributed an important text in connection to ‘The Alien Question’, and sought to provide a history of migration to Britain.²⁰ The bulk of Cunningham’s work dealt with the development and interpretation of the 1905 Aliens Act and reacted to the influx of Jewish and Eastern European migrants from the 1880s. In his conclusions, however, Cunningham made a series of questionable assertions and points, such as ‘At all events we have not much to gain from imitating the institutions of Polish Jews’, and ‘...we may fairly ask of any new-comers in the present day, what it is they are able to do better than we can ourselves?’²¹ The functionalist approach to migration fails to identify the conditions

¹⁶ Henry Straus Quixano Henriques, *The Jews and the English Law* (Oxford: Oxford University, 1908), p. 234.

¹⁷ *Jews Relief Act, 1858*, 21 and 22 Victoria, c.49 (1858), available at: http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1858/49/pdfs/ukpga_18580049_en.pdf, [accessed: 1 November 2017].

¹⁸ Henry Straus Quixano Henriques, *Jewish Marriages and the English Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1909), pp. 56-58.

¹⁹ Henry Straus Quixano Henriques, *The Return of the Jews to England: Being a Chapter in the History of English Law* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1905), p. v.

²⁰ See William Cunningham, *Alien Immigrants to England* (London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co., 1897).

²¹ *Ibid*, pp. 266-267.

that drove many migrants to England and Wales, namely the search for refuge. Nonetheless, although Cunningham found merit in prior migrations, such as the Huguenots, he was reluctant to extend it to contemporary migrations.

The issue of migration frequently returned to the issue of race.²² Charles Russell and Harry Lewis studied the racial character and conditions of Jew's in London in an attempt to describe the composition of the Jewish population.²³ Accompanied by George Arkell's map of Jewish East London (see figure 1.1), the two-part study resulted in mostly positive conclusions for the migration of Jewish persons into the country. As was noted, '...there is no doubt that an infusion of Jewish blood would introduce an admirable strain into the breed of Englishmen.'²⁴ With a detailed breakdown of assimilative processes at play in the East End of London, Charles Russell, although not Jewish, represented the view that as long as the Jewish population, particularly the foreign component, assimilated into British society, then it was considered a net gain. In his assessment, Russell argued that 'In workshops there appears to be little mixture of foreign Jews with Englishmen; but even here, with the decrease of Sabbath observance, which is a main cause of this industrial separateness, the obstacles to fusion are losing their power.'²⁵ Russell plotted the foreign Jewish population as being on course to assimilate with the host society, 'The process of assimilation, in fact, has set in, and there is no reason why it should stop at any particular point.'²⁶ Contemporary commentators held a broad range of views on the subject, many of

²² Richard Solway, 'Counting the Degenerates: The Statistics of Race Deterioration in Edwardian England', *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (1982), p. 137.

²³ Charles Russell, and Harry Lewis, *The Jew in London: A Study of Racial Character and Present-Day Conditions* (New York, NY: Thomas Y. Crowell and Co., 1901).

²⁴ *Ibid*, p. 138.

²⁵ *Ibid*, p. 142.

²⁶ *Ibid*, p. 143.

whom turned their attention to the relationship between race and economic activity. The fascination with ‘the other’ twinned with the fear of socio-economic competition spurred greater interest, research, and debate.

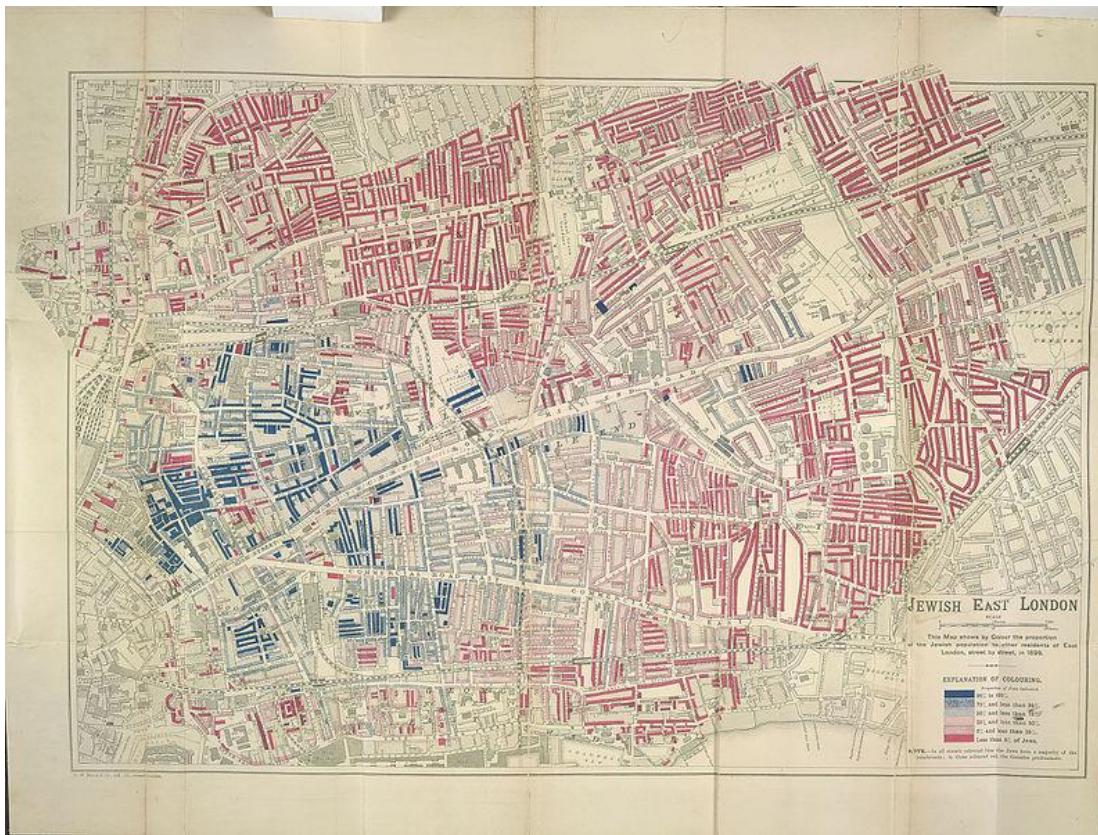
For those engaged in scholarly debates on the subject of migration, there was a vigorous debate on the relevant scholarly literature. Harry Lewis made some corrections to Russell’s remarks.²⁷ As a Jew himself, Lewis attempted to demonstrate gratitude to England and its hospitality on the one hand, but on the other, make a case for Zionism and the gradual establishment of a Jewish nation.²⁸ As Lewis noted, ‘We will not conceal the fact that our ultimate aspirations are fixed on the home of our fathers and that we believe that the genius of the Jewish race will be best developed on Jewish soil.’²⁹ Most of the contemporary publications provided insights into the public attitudes and responses to migrants in England and Wales from a late nineteenth and early twentieth-century perspective. Harvesting these perspectives then generates a more holistic understanding of British society and contemporary attitudes, including the primary arguments used by both sides.

²⁷ Russell and Lewis, *Jew in London*, pp. 155-156.

²⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 155-236.

²⁹ *Ibid*, p. 234.

Figure 1.1: George E. Arkell's map of the Jewish population in East London³⁰



Despite being British citizens, the Ireland-born were often viewed and treated by the English as comparable to the Eastern European migrants. Henry Mayhew and his colleagues addressed the Ireland-born in London, but portrayed them as a social underclass, almost entirely focusing on the street-sellers and their lifestyles:

I may here observe-in reference to the statement that Irish parents will not expose their daughters to the risk of what they consider corrupt influences-that when a young Irishwoman does break through the pale of chastity, she often becomes, as I was assured, one of the most violent and depraved of, perhaps, the most depraved class.³¹

³⁰ George E. Arkell, 'Jewish East London', [map], available at: <http://www.bl.uk/online-gallery/onlineex/maps/uk/zoomify135082.html>, [accessed: 10 May 2018].

³¹ Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor: The London Street-Folk*, Vol. 1 (London: Griffin, Bohn and Co., 1861), p. 109.

Mayhew often addresses the Ireland-born and Jewish migrants in a similar context, both being viewed as a negative influence and living a hard life in poor conditions.³² Sheridan Gilley argues, however, that social contemporaries stopped viewing the Ireland-born as a significant social problem after the 1870s.³³ Furthermore, Gilley suggests that except for their politics and religion, the Ireland-born quickly faded from popular view and were ‘out of sight and out of mind’.³⁴ Although a common assumption might be that the Ireland-born were seen as a social menace, in locations outside of Lancashire and London, they were often tolerated and not viewed as a serious burden.³⁵ Mayhew’s study was distinct in the extent to which it incorporated direct quotes from people that were met on the street and interviewed. The voices of different contemporaries portray mixed emotions towards the Ireland-born. A rhubarb and spice seller from Morocco expressed his frustration with the Ireland-born: ‘I been to all parts – to Scotland, to Wales, but not to Ireland. I see enough of dem Irish in dis countree, I do no want no more of dem dere.’³⁶ The curated selection of migrant voices, amongst those of native-born persons, provides an altogether broader perspective on contemporary developments and events.

Another key social investigator at the time was Charles Booth. In his extensive series, *Life and Labour of the Poor in London*, Booth refers to the growing second and subsequent generations of Ireland-born:

³² Ole Münch, ‘Henry Mayhew and the Street Traders of Victorian London — A Cultural Exchange with Material Consequences’, *The London Journal*, Vol. 43, No. 1 (2018), pp. 53-71.

³³ Sheridan Gilley, ‘English Attitudes to the Irish in England, 1780-1900’, in Colin Holmes, ed., *Immigrants in Minorities in British Society* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1978), p. 102.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

³⁵ Lynn Hollen Lees, *The Solidarities of Strangers: The English Poor Laws and the People, 1700-1948* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 225.

³⁶ Mayhew, *London Labour*, p. 454.

When we speak of the Irish in London we include those of Irish blood born out of Ireland: be it in London or elsewhere. The pressure of poverty and want has made these poor people movable, but they are very gregarious, and wherever the unskilled labour, which is what they have to offer, is in demand, they readily form new communities.³⁷

Booth and fellow social investigators produced extensive records detailing the experiences and behaviours of some aspects of society.³⁸ Therefore, the extensive body of contemporaneous historical material can be used to establish the significant issues and circumstances of migrants. However, the subjective nature of many of these observations is troubling. Nonetheless, records from social investigators are of value when establishing the distribution and settlement of foreign-born migrants and their way of life.

Social investigators also utilised census data to map the distribution of the foreign-born population, and in so doing provided evidence of divergent settlement patterns, as illustrated in figure 1.2.³⁹ H. Llewellyn Smith suggests that Germans evenly distributed themselves across East London, Poles heavily congregated in Whitechapel and that the Dutch were tightly concentrated in a small district of Spitalfields.⁴⁰ Llewellyn also notes how the expansion of the Jewish community occurred from the centre of the community, gradually incorporating additional streets and areas:

³⁷ Charles Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London Third Series*, Vol. 7 (London: Macmillan and Co., 1902), p. 243.

³⁸ B. I. Diamond, J. O. Baylen, and J. P. Baylen, 'James Greenwood's London: A Precursor of Charles Booth', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, Vol. 17, No. 1/2 (1984), pp. 34-38.

³⁹ See Thomas R. C. Gibson-Brydon, *The Moral Mapping of Victorian and Edwardian London: Charles Booth, Christian Charity, and the Poor-but-Respectable* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2016), pp. 3-17.

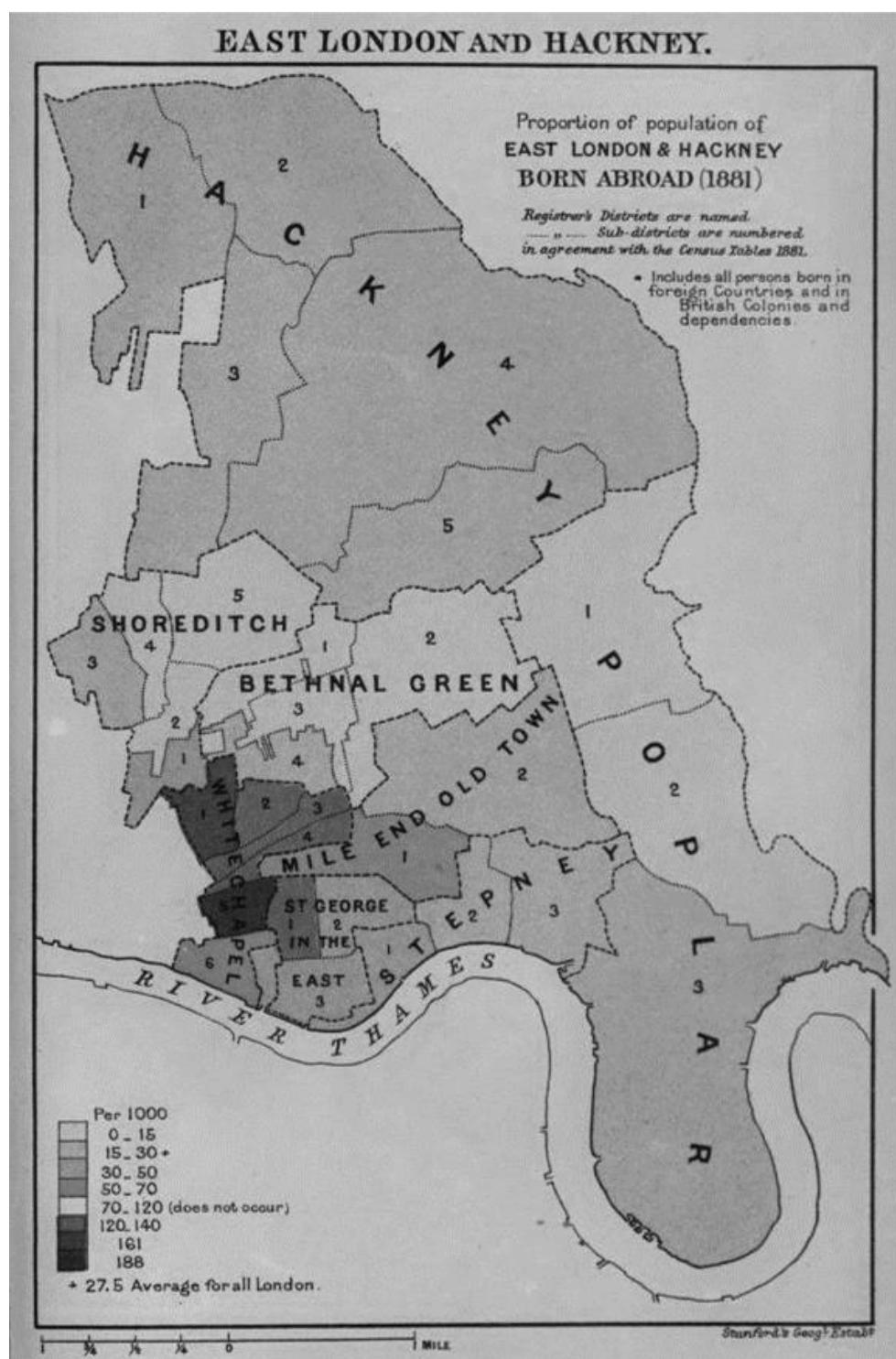
⁴⁰ H. Llewellyn Smith, 'Influx of Population: Foreign Immigration', in Charles Booth, ed., *Labour and Life of the People*, Vol. 1 (Unknown, n.p., c. 1897), pp. 543-545.

The newcomers have gradually replaced the English population in whole districts which were formerly outside the Jewish quarter. Formerly in White-chapel, Commercial Street roughly divided the Jewish haunts of Petticoat Lane and Goulston Street from the rougher English quarter lying to the east. Now the Jews have flowed across this line; Hanbury Street, Fashion Street, Pelham Street, Booth Street, Old Montague Street, and many other streets and lanes and alleys have fallen before them; they fill whole blocks of model dwellings...⁴¹

Meanwhile, other groups were far more willing to live alongside those not from their native society, as was the case of the German-borns who were more evenly scattered.

⁴¹ Smith, 'Influx of Population', pp. 546-547.

Figure 1.2: Proportion of the population of East London and Hackney-born abroad (1881)⁴²



⁴² Llewellyn Smith, 'Influx of Population', p. 544.

Prominent contemporary social investigators tended to be interested in the experiences and impacts of certain migrant communities.⁴³ The emphasis on London in contemporaneous literature is evident in the works consulted here. Results of this brief review of contemporaneous literature demonstrate the prominence of the Ireland-born and Eastern Europeans in public discourses. This section has also indicated there was considerable contemporary interest in the subject of foreign-born migration. The most apparent finding from this review is that a variety of individuals, some being the children of migrants, contributed to the debates. A limitation of this assessment is that it has given greater preference to sources produced in the later years of this study. However, these works are representative of the increased public concern at that time. Ultimately, the perspectives of contemporaries can be used to augment quantitative sources and provide a humanistic dimension to an otherwise data driven study.

III. Research Approaches

As has been noted, there is a tendency amongst historians to focus research on a single migrant group or a particular geographical area.⁴⁴ Significant attention on specific cases has resulted in a narrow picture of the topic. Portions of the foreign-born community remain unexplored or underrepresented.⁴⁵ The spatial and geographical sites of fascination are repeatedly analysed to the detriment of other locations. The habit of

⁴³ See George R. Sims' *Living London* series.

⁴⁴ Holmes, 'Immigrants and Minorities', p. 15.

⁴⁵ As Colin Holmes notes in the foreword to *The Peopling of London*, p. ix, 'But if the Jews in the capital have been relatively well served by historians, the same cannot be said of other groups. Where is the history of the Spanish in London?'

concentrating on set locations and groups has subsumed the experiences and voices of other communities and places. The following sections will outline the ways that scholars have approached the subject of migration in a British context. It will be demonstrated that the Ireland-born, Jewish Eastern Europeans, and London are well represented in the literature in contrast to many other foreign-born groups.⁴⁶

Large urban centres tend to emerge as spaces of fascination for scholars. London has repeatedly had its migrant communities studied and explored, a consequence of its early emergence as a cosmopolitan centre.⁴⁷ The rationale behind such studies is clear – that these urban centres tend to attract significant numbers of foreign-born persons.⁴⁸ The presence of such high numbers of migrants can often lead to the greater availability of sources for historians. However, focuses on concentrated communities can also have relevance within contemporary society especially given the current debates around multiculturalism and social heterogeneity. Susan Tananbaum's study of Jewish migrants in London offers a multifaceted exploration of the processes of acculturation and integration of migrants within the wider social networks present within the Jewish community of London.⁴⁹ Leaders of Jewish clubs and institutions aimed to assist migrants to adjust to life in their new homes.⁵⁰ Yet, in her research into

⁴⁶ Peter Braham, 'Swirls and currents' of migration: Jewish emigrants from Eastern Europe, 1881-1914', in W. T. R. Pryce, ed., *From Family History to Community History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 78.

⁴⁷ See Anne J. Kershen, ed., *London: the promised land?* (Aldershot: Avebury, 1997), Constance Bantman, *The French Anarchists in London, 1880-1914: Exile and transnationalism in the first globalisation* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013), and Jerry White, *London in the Nineteenth Century: A Human Awful Wonder of God* (London: The Bodley Head, 2007), pp. 131-160.

⁴⁸ Lynn Hollen Lees, *Exiles of Erin: Irish Migrants in Victorian London* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1979), pp. 42-44.

⁴⁹ See Susan L. Tananbaum, *Jewish Immigrants in London, 1880-1939* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2014).

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, p. 57.

the experiences of migrant communities, Tananbaum pushes forward with her denunciation of the term assimilation. Instead, Tananbaum focuses on the processes of Jewish migrants becoming British; a concept referred to as ‘Anglicisation’.⁵¹

Other examples of studies built around key urban centres include Bill Williams’s study of Jewish migrants in Manchester and the responses of the Anglo-Jewish population to newcomers.⁵² Williams argues that Manchester, as with other urban centres, experienced similar problems to those in London. Although the Jewish community of Manchester did not originate with the migrant population, the arrival had a noticeable effect. In many ways, Manchester’s Eastern European migrant community had a different experience to those who settled in London. As Williams notes: ‘...Manchester’s experience was never a pale reflection of that of London. Manchester had a distinctive life of its own...’.⁵³ A key finding of Williams’ work was the way it explored minority power dynamics and the internal and external responses to migration. Too often, however, a focus on a single urban centre can lead to generalisations that are not applicable nationally or in other settlements.

A popular approach to the study of foreign-born persons is that of a local or reconstituted approach.⁵⁴ In this manner, John Herson’s work stands out as a recent development in the field that utilises a blend of research methodologies, with a healthy

⁵¹ Tananbaum, *Jewish Immigrants*, p. 174.

⁵² Bill Williams, *The making of Manchester Jewry, 1740-1875* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), p. 268.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 339.

⁵⁴ Richard Lawton, ‘Mobility in Nineteenth Century British Cities’, *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 145, No. 2 (1979), p. 210.

mélange of quantitative and qualitative source material.⁵⁵ Herson's research examines select Ireland-born families over the course of a century in the town of Stafford.⁵⁶ By analysing the social trajectory and mobility of the migrant families, Herson identifies the varying behaviours exhibited concerning integration and segregation. Utilising Stafford as a microcosm of the wider Ireland-born experience, Herson makes the argument that the religious identity of different families had a profound impact on the integration of subsequent generations.⁵⁷ Catholics and Protestants, Herson argues, exhibited divergent integrationist behaviours.⁵⁸ The utilisation of family histories offers a staggering depth of detail and highlights the diversity of the migrant experience. The coverage of various social and economic aspects provides a comprehensive picture of the Ireland-born community and their interactions with the community of Stafford.

Academic investigations also utilise larger spatial elements for their analysis, with international, national, and regional units. Lloyd Gartner authored one of the most prominent national studies on the subject of Jewish persons in England, with considerable attention afforded to migrants. Writing in 1960, Gartner offered the first study into the Jewish community of England since 1902, and in so doing attempted to address the challenges of identifying Jews from amongst the foreign-born population.⁵⁹ Gartner repeatedly made assumptions about who was a Jew and who was not with statements such as 'Russians and Roumanians (probably nearly all are Jews and

⁵⁵ See John Herson, *Divergent Paths* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015). See also John Herson, 'Migration, "community" or integration? Irish families in Victorian Stafford', in Roger Swift, and Sheridan Gilley, eds., *The Irish in Britain, 1815-1939* (London: Pinter Press, 1989), pp. 84-103.

⁵⁶ Herson, *Divergent Paths*, pp. 2-4.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 105-106.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 308-309.

⁵⁹ Lloyd P. Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant in England, 1870-1914* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1960), pp. 10, 183.

Jewesses)'.⁶⁰ Despite large generalisations, Gartner succeeded in exploring the key topics that affected the fundamental developments to the Jewish population of England and concluded by arguing that English Jews became a crucial element in the Zionist movement.⁶¹ Gartner's study offered unique insights into the national landscape of Jews, and it has served as a foundational element for most studies exploring migration and migrants from Eastern Europe during the period. Ultimately, a significant portion of the literature addresses Jewish or Ireland-born migrants and urban areas, at the expense of other communities.

IV. Methodologies

Within historical scholarship, a range of methodologies is available. Determining the methodological approach is governed by factors such as the sources available, the research question, thematic considerations, and other determinant elements. The following examination of three types of approaches to migration studies is a means of analysing the existing historiography, namely: cross-sectional, longitudinal, and thematic studies.

⁶⁰ Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant*, p. 185.

⁶¹ *Ibid*, p. 281.

A. Cross-sectional Studies

Cross-sectional studies contain a series of snapshots that can illustrate continuity and change throughout a period. These types of studies tend to deal with data captured at discrete intervals. The advantage of the cross-sectional approach is the ability to compare and contrast variables over time and is often relatively easy to handle and analyse. However, the cross-sectional approach is unable to account for the periods between points. A working assumption has to be that the data for these studies is at least representative of the unreported period. A challenge with using cross-sectional datasets, such as census data, is the absence of individuals that might have moved into and then out of an area during the period. The static nature of cross-sectional data means it is unable to account for the wider experiences of a person's life. Thus, if a person moved into England in 1882 and left in 1890, that person would be missed entirely from either the 1881 or the 1891 census. Despite their limitations, cross-sectional studies are a common approach in migration studies because of the data that most scholars have available.

The utilisation of census data as a means of conducting historical research is not new. Censuses have been utilised for a range of topics and questions. Richard Lawton used census data to reassess the urban population of England and Wales in the period 1801-1911. In the 1970s, Lawton appealed for additional studies to use census data to develop other socio-economic models and case studies.⁶² Since then,

⁶² Richard Lawton, 'Census Data for Urban Areas', in Richard Lawton, ed., *The Census and Social Structure* (London: Frank Cass, 1978), p. 134.

numerous studies concerned with both internal and international migration have utilised census data. The census is a common resource for assessing the extent and distribution of migrants across the country.⁶³ The popularity of the census has particularly grown since the public release of CEBs, and the large-scale digitisation and transcription projects that have followed.⁶⁴

Cross-sectional approaches to migration studies have been used since the earliest iterations. Ernst Ravenstein's work was one of the first such migration studies to use it within England and Wales.⁶⁵ Ravenstein utilised the cross-sectional approach in his proposed 'laws of migration', which aimed to explain the underlying behaviours of migration.⁶⁶ The 'laws of migration', however, are only patterns or descriptive generalisations of migration. Ravenstein himself recognised the problematic nature of the term 'laws' in reference to migration patterns.⁶⁷ His assumptions were based on the

⁶³ W. T. R. Pryce, and Michael Drake, 'Studying Migration' in W. T. R. Pryce, ed., *From Family History to Community History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 8-10.

⁶⁴ Susan Lumas, *Making Use of the Census* (London: PRO, 1993), pp. 3-4.

⁶⁵ Ravenstein authored three relevant works on the subject; E. G. Ravenstein, *Census of the British Isles, 1871: The Birthplaces of the People and the Laws of Migration* (London: Trübner and Co., 1876), E. G. Ravenstein, 'The Laws of Migration', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, Vol. 48, No. 2 (1885), pp. 167-235, and E. G. Ravenstein, 'The Laws of Migration', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, Vol. 52, No. 2 (1889), pp. 241-305.

⁶⁶ Ravenstein's proposed laws between his two articles on the subject (1885 and 1889) were the following: 1. The majority of migrants go only a short distance, 2. Migration proceeds step by step, 3. Migrants going long distances generally go by preference to one of the great centres of commerce or industry, 4. Each current of migration produces a compensating counter current, 5. The natives of towns are less migratory than those of rural areas, 6. Females are more migratory than males within the Kingdom of their birth, but males more frequently venture beyond, 7. Most migrants are adults: families rarely migrate out of their county of birth, 8. Large towns grow more by migration than by natural increase, 9. Migration increases in volume as industries and commerce develop and transport improves, 10. The major direction of migration is from the agricultural areas to the centres of industry and commerce, 11. The major causes of migration are economic. As reproduced from D. B. Grigg, 'E. G. Ravenstein and the "laws of migration"', *Journal of Historical Geography*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (1977), pp. 42-43.

⁶⁷ John J. Macisco, Jr., and Edward T. Pryor, Jr., 'A Reappraisal of Ravenstein's "Laws" of Migration: A Review of Selected Studies of Internal Migration in the United States', *The American Catholic Sociological Review*, Vol. 24, No. 3 (1963), p. 213.

censuses of 1871 and 1881 and built on the existing issues inherent to the data.⁶⁸ The simplistic nature of Ravenstein's theory, alongside its overwhelming emphasis on economic motivations for migration, is problematic and unduly generalises the different drivers of migration.

While the 'laws of migration' have been criticised, many of those initial observations are corroborated by more recent findings. J. Trent Alexander and Annemarie Steidl have argued that although technically correct, Ravenstein's identification of an overrepresentation of women among internal adult migrants was a consequence of an overrepresentation of women among the adult population, rather than any greater proclivity of women to migrate shorter distances.⁶⁹ In 1966, Everett Lee revised Ravenstein's laws to place greater emphasis on push factors within a migrant's place of departure. Populations of developed countries were inclined to migrate individually, whereas persons from lesser-developed countries were more likely to migrate *en masse* while under duress.⁷⁰ Interestingly, Ravenstein was German and moved to England in 1852, before then marrying an Englishwoman and settling there for the rest of his life, his contributions proved fundamental to the development of migration theory.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Grigg, 'E. G. Ravenstein and the "laws of migration"', p. 43.

⁶⁹ J. Trent Alexander, and Annemarie Steidl, 'Gender and the "Laws of Migration": A Reconsideration of Nineteenth-Century Patterns', *Social Science History*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (2012), p. 224.

⁷⁰ See Everett S. Lee, 'A theory of migration', *Demography*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (1966), pp. 47-57.

⁷¹ See D. B. Grigg, 'E. G. Ravenstein and the "Laws of Migration"', in Michael Drake, ed., *Time, Family and Community: Perspectives on Family and Community History* (Oxford: The Open University, 1994), pp. 147-148.

Cross-sectional studies, therefore, provide a practical means of managing a large amount of demographic, social, and economic data. Despite the issue of intercensal moves, cross-sectional approaches accommodate the vast amount of data that is available to historians. The assessment offered here suggests that despite its significant limitations, the advantages of cross-sectional studies outweigh the disadvantages.

B. Longitudinal Studies

Longitudinal studies contrast with the cross-sectional approach. By exploring groups over a prolonged period, a longitudinal approach offers a far more protracted view of a topic or group. British migration studies generally suffers from a lack of longitudinal data.⁷² Nonetheless, a consistent flow of data offers a more representative picture of what was occurring over time. An ambitious example of a longitudinal study exploring the topic of migration is the work of Colin Pooley and Jean Turnbull.⁷³ The dataset was composed of 16,091 life histories from 1750-1930, and in so doing captured 73,864 moves, the majority of which took place in the mid-late Victorian period.⁷⁴ Family historians supplied data from their ancestor's life histories, which recorded the movements of individuals and families over time.

⁷² Colin G. Pooley, 'Local Histories of Migration and Mobility', *Local Population Studies*, Vol. 100, No. 1 (2018), pp. 52-59.

⁷³ See Colin G. Pooley and Jean Turnbull, *Migration and mobility in Britain since the eighteenth century* (London: UCL Press, 1998).

⁷⁴ *Ibid*, p. 39.

Pooley and Turnbull's approach captures individuals' movements over time, including native and foreign-born persons. Despite this, there are limitations. Family historians tend to originate from a particular socio-economic demographic. Requests for information through groups, such as family history societies, means the data supplied was likely to be subject to self-selecting participant bias. According to one study, many family historians are older, female, white, and of European descent.⁷⁵ Despite its limitations, the dataset offers the opportunity to explore mobility longitudinally through a series of intercensal moves, which are lost entirely in cross-sectional studies.⁷⁶ Furthermore, Pooley and Turnbull conclude that around twenty per cent of migrants from Britain to North America returned sometime later.⁷⁷ Ultimately, the ability to capture intercensal moves and life courses is of profound value in exploring the long-term behaviours of migrants.

Longitudinal datasets and studies partly arose in opposition to the reliance upon cross-sectional data. Focusing on life journeys results in turning away from what Panikos Panayi has described as the 'block' approach of census-orientated approaches.⁷⁸ A longitudinal study requires a relatively unbroken stream of data over a period, to enable a sustained analysis. The construction of longitudinal datasets typi-

⁷⁵ Elizabeth Yakel, 'Seeking information, seeking connections, seeking meaning: genealogists and family historians', *Information Research*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (2004), unpaginated.

⁷⁶ Marjorie Harper and Stephen Constantine, *Migration and Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 246-247.

⁷⁷ Pooley and Turnbull, *Migration and mobility*, pp. 259-272.

⁷⁸ Panikos Panayi, *An Immigration History of Britain: Multicultural Racism Since 1800* (New York, NY: Pearson Longman, 2010), p. 137.

cally relies on significant grant funding. The necessity of large grants and the challenges posed in the creation of datasets has meant there are few significant longitudinal datasets concerning historical migration in Britain.

Both longitudinal and cross-sectional studies of migration tend to be largely quantitative. Pooley argues that the reliance on the aggregate analysis of data, results in a ‘dehumanized approach’, whereby ‘flows replace individuals’.⁷⁹ Recent scholarship has attempted to redress the overwhelming concentration on quantitative approaches. In his work, Pooley demonstrates the possibilities of life writings for historical research into mobility and migration.⁸⁰ However, Pooley also sets out a number of limitations, including a tendency to focus on the unusual rather than the ordinary.⁸¹ The enhancement offered by qualitative accounts can augment findings uncovered in quantitative analyses, thereby offering recorded experiences alongside the quantified behaviours.

C. Thematic Studies

The broad swathe of literature addressing diverse topics has oscillated with time. For example, in the 1980s there was renewed interest in the political experiences and influences of Russian migrants.⁸² Focusing on set themes and interests is well suited for

⁷⁹ Colin G. Pooley, and Ian D. Whyte, ‘Approaches to the study of migration and social change’, in Colin G. Pooley, and Ian D. Whyte, eds., *Migrants, Emigrants and Immigrants* (London: Routledge, 1991), p. 4.

⁸⁰ Colin G. Pooley, ‘Travelling through the city: using life writing to explore individual experiences of urban travel c.1840–1940’, *Mobilities*, Vol. 12, No. 4 (2017), p. 600.

⁸¹ *Ibid*

⁸² See John Slatter, ‘Jaakoff Prelooker and *The Anglo-Russian*’, *Immigrants and Minorities*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (1983), pp. 48–66, Donald Senese, ‘Felix Volkovsky in London, 1890–1914’, *Immigrants and*

dealing with extended chronological periods. Bernard Harris's study of foreign-born migrants and the medical profession in *fin de siècle* Britain illustrates how anti-alien campaigners utilised medical and scientific research to justify their exclusionary attitudes towards migrants.⁸³ Harris identifies the arguments used against Jewish migration, and the diseases and illnesses others accused them of transmitting.⁸⁴ By exploring the medical and scientific dimension to migration, Harris offers a series of insightful observations about the migration experience and the processes they undertook.

Themes can relate to any aspect of the human experience. Another example is David Englander's study of crime and policing within Jewish East London.⁸⁵ Anglo-Jewish leaders prior to the war, Englander argues, encouraged and supported the policing of migrant Jewish communities to protect the national and local image of Jews as a positive and beneficial entity within the country.⁸⁶ Englander identifies a sense of territoriality amongst the East Enders, 'The prospect of having their heads kicked in also kept Jews from settling in certain riverside districts'.⁸⁷ In places, resentment towards migrant communities caused tensions to run high:

In streets colonised by Jewish and Irish immigrants, tensions ran high. Thus Duke Street and Black Lion Yard, with their mixed populations, were both considered dangerous while Spring Gardens, with its mixture of poor Jews and Irish, was said to be 'a rough place for the police'. The trend, though, was

⁸³ *Minorities*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (1983), pp. 67-78, and David Burke, 'Theodore Rothstein, Russian Émigré and British Socialist', *Immigrants and Minorities*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (1983), pp. 80-99.

⁸⁴ Bernard Harris, 'Pro-Alienism, Anti-Alienism and the Medical Profession in Late-Victorian and Edwardian Britain', in Waltraud Ernst, and Bernard Harris, eds., *Race Science and Medicine 1700-1960* (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 189-217. See also Bernard Harris, 'Anti-Alienism, health and social reform in late Victorian and Edwardian Britain', *Patterns of Prejudice*, Vol. 31, No. 4 (1997), pp. 3-34.

⁸⁵ Harris, 'Pro-Alienism, Anti-Alienism and the Medical Profession', pp. 195-196.

⁸⁶ David Englander, 'Policing the Ghetto: Jewish East London, 1880-1920', *Crime, Histoire and Societies/Crime, History and Societies*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (2010), pp. 29-50.

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, p. 46.

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, p. 38.

towards complete segregation; streets tended ‘to become all Jew or remain all English.⁸⁸

Englander offers a persuasive argument that describes a productive relationship between Jews and the police and that violence against police officers in Jewish areas was ‘exceptional’.⁸⁹ The thematic approach of exploring policing enables a close assessment of the relationship between foreign-born groups and the native population. Also revealed is the perceptions of foreign-born groups in the local area and the experiences of policing those areas. The work of J. J. Tobias supports Englander’s view of crime within migrant communities, and argues that ‘adult immigrants are thought as a rule to stick to the types of crime familiar to them in their place of origin’.⁹⁰ Englander, however, fails to determine the underlying causes for the absence of Jewish or Yiddish speaking police officers. Yet, when considering the policing of the area, this would have been an angle of considerable interest.

Migration facilitating tools and resources have also been the subject of studies. One of the most important communication networks for the Jewish community was the *Jewish Chronicle*. Other newspapers also emerged for other migrant groups, such as *Hermann*, later renamed as *Londoner Zeitung*, which served the German speaking community in London.⁹¹ David Cesarani offers a detailed examination of the experiences of Anglo and foreign-born Jewry through investigating the *Jewish Chronicle*. To analyse the Jewish community in Britain from 1841 to 1991 would be a consider-

⁸⁸ Englander, ‘Policing the Ghetto’, p. 37.

⁸⁹ Ibid, p. 36.

⁹⁰ J. J. Tobias, *Crime and Industrial Society in the 19th century* (Oxford: Alden Press, 1967), p. 170.

⁹¹ Brill, ‘*Hermann* and the *Londoner Zeitung* (1859-1914)’, November 2001, available at: https://brill.com/fileasset/downloads_products/31857_Brochure.pdf, [accessed: 21 September 2018].

able challenge. Utilising a thematic approach kept Cesarani's study feasible and focused. A crucial period for Jewish migration was between 1881 and 1906, during which time 150,000 Russian, Polish, Galician and Romanian Jews settled in Britain.⁹² The popular organ of the Jewish community enabled socially elite and privileged opinions to be communicated to the wider and growing Jewish population. Cesarani argues that the newspaper reinforced the idea that Jews had become an integral part of British society, and that 'The ritualised references to public service by Jews in high office were both a demonstration of patriotism and a signal of gratitude.'⁹³ The middle-class expressions of the newspaper were manifested in the response to the arrival of Eastern European refugees, '...the prospect of large numbers of poor Jews was not welcomed. The *Jewish Chronicle* considered that selection, at the very least, was essential.'⁹⁴ Through the *Chronicle*, Cesarani reveals the complexities of exploring the relationship between the established Anglo-Jewry and new arrivals. Ultimately, Cesarani provides a rich account of the Anglo-Jewry and how the community responded to external pressures.

While themes can range wildly in subject, they can include the selection and analysis of a particular foreign-born group. For the period of this study, the largest migrant groups have received considerable attention and study, notable examples being the Ireland-born, Italy-born, Russia-born, and German-born. The works of Donald MacRaile, Lucio Sponza, Panikos Panayi, and Lloyd Gartner have proven influential

⁹² David Cesarani, *The Jewish Chronicle and Anglo-Jewry, 1841-1991* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 70. For more on the Romanian migration at the end of the nineteenth century, see Z. Szajkowski, 'Jewish Emigration Policy in the Period of the Rumanian "Exodus" 1899-1903', *Jewish Social Studies*, Vol. 13 (1951), pp. 47-70, and 'Alien Immigration', House of Commons Debate, 9 June 1902, Vol. 109, cc. 96-97.

⁹³ Cesarani, *The Jewish Chronicle*, p. 69.

⁹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 70.

in framing the experiences of particular migrant communities. However, the exclusive focus on major foreign-born group leaves smaller less represented communities at a disadvantage.

The first discussions and analyses of several migrant communities emerged during the 1980s and 1990s. Sponza provides a comprehensive study on the Italian-born population of England and Wales and makes the argument that London, specifically Holborn, served as the central area of settlement.⁹⁵ The activities and origins of the Italians are examined in depth, as is the trajectory of the community throughout history. We learn that many Italians were itinerant, working as organ grinders, musicians, vendors, and specialist artisans. Sponza's dissertation and book were crucial first steps in providing historical context to the Italian migration.⁹⁶ However, both texts offer a limited analysis of the Italian integration and assimilation processes. As Sponza notes, 'too much attention has been paid to the concept of assimilation, thus underestimating or losing sight of the open-ended process which is always a feature of emigration'.⁹⁷ Furthermore, it remains unclear whether Italians undertook steps towards naturalisation and how second-generation migrants adapted and formed their identities.

Panikos Panayi produced the first systematic study of German-born migrants present in nineteenth-century Britain. Panayi is an important figure in the development and expansion of research on the subject of the German-born population present

⁹⁵ Lucio Sponza, *Italian Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Realities and Images* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1988), pp. 14-29.

⁹⁶ See Lucio Sponza, 'The Italian Poor in Nineteenth-century Britain', unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, (1984).

⁹⁷ *Ibid*, p. 9.

in England and Wales. Writing in 1996, Panayi then placed German-born community as somewhere in the middle with respect to scholarly attention, receiving more than Americans but less than Ireland-born migrants.⁹⁸ In consequence of his efforts, Panayi has significantly enhanced the literature on the subject of Germans in Britain. German-born migrants are one of the better-covered groups. In his work, Panayi chiefly utilises qualitative sources, although he makes use of the aggregate census figures and other published sources to frame the size and distribution of German-born persons.

After the first study of a community is undertaken, additional research tends to come forth. Other researchers, such as Horst Rossler, Sue Gibbons, and Margrit Schulte Beerbühl have contributed towards the subject with their analysis of the sugar industry and German-born pork butchers in Britain.⁹⁹ Both studies have revealed distinct behaviours and tendencies of the German-born population in Britain. After a pioneering study on a community, additional studies tend to come forth, which supports the essence of Colin Holmes' metaphor that broken ground is easier to work with.¹⁰⁰

Gender has a crucial role in migration studies and is a theme that has previously been consistently overlooked. However, in recent years, sociologists and social sci-

⁹⁸ Panikos Panayi, ed., *Germans in Britain Since 1500* (London: Hambledon Press, 1996), p. ix.

⁹⁹ Horst Rössler, 'Germans from Hanover in the British Sugar Industry, 1750-1900', in Stefan Manz, Margrit Schulte Beerbühl, and John R. Davis, eds., *Migration and Transfer from Germany to Britain, 1660-1914* (München: K. G. Saur Verlag, 2007), pp. 49-64, Sue Gibbons, *German Pork Butchers in Britain* (Maidenhead: Anglo-German Family History Society, 2001), Margrit Schulte Beerbühl, 'Migration, Transfer and Appropriation: German Pork Butchers in Britain', *Transfers*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (2012), pp. 97-119. See also Keir Waddington, "We Don't Want Any German Sausages Here!" Food, Fear, and the German Nation in Victorian and Edwardian Britain', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 52, No. 4 (2013), pp. 1017-1042.

¹⁰⁰ Holmes, 'Immigrants and Minorities', p. 15.

tists have begun exploring and delving into the diverse experiences of migrants according to gender.¹⁰¹ Experiences of migration may differ vastly between men and women.¹⁰² From reviewing the literature, there is a consistent tendency for the scholarship to be preoccupied with the experiences of males. However, there is scholarship seeking to redress this imbalance. Eileen Yeo argues that concepts such as that of 'homeland' is built upon several levels, in which men and women have different and unequal roles.¹⁰³ Consequently, although particular communities and geographies receive attention, there is a similarly disproportionate degree of attention afforded the male migrant population.

Thematic approaches to migration enable researchers to understand and identify patterns within their data. Such approaches can contribute significantly to the wider topic by exploring previously underdeveloped or explored aspects. Nonetheless, there are disadvantages by choosing to focus upon particular strands. For example, conclusions can exclude certain features or the wider context resulting in the failure to identify or appreciate a range of factors playing a role upon the subject. As such, thematic studies should be seen as playing a role in telling one part of a wider story concerning migration.

¹⁰¹ Katharine M. Donato, Donna Gabaccia, Jennifer Holdaway, Martin Manalansan, and Patricia R. Pessar, 'A Glass Half Full? Gender in Migration Studies', *The International Migration Review*, Vol. 40, No. 1 (2006), pp. 3-26.

¹⁰² Donato, *et al.*, 'A Glass Half Full?', pp. 3-26.

¹⁰³ Eileen Janes Yeo, 'Gender and Homeland in the Irish and Jewish Diasporas, 1850-1930', in Marlou Schrover, and Eileen Janes Yeo, eds., *Gender, migration and the Public Sphere* (London: Routledge, 2010), p. 16.

V. Migration Theory

Scholars offer various explanations for how and why people migrate.¹⁰⁴ Within the existing body of migration literature, there are a vast array of proposed theories and processes of migration.¹⁰⁵ For the purposes of this thesis and the benefit of the reader, these theoretical considerations are briefly introduced. However, this thesis will primarily explore the empirical considerations of migration and observable patterns in the I-CeM.

Numerous theoretical frameworks have been proposed to explain how and why migration occurs. Castles, de Haas, and Miller explore various theories in their seminal text, *The Age of Migration*. Migration affects a wide range of variables, including social networks, information, capital, and the labour market, amongst others.¹⁰⁶ Many theories of migration have roots in a particular broader theoretical framework, such as functionalism, Marxism, or structuralism. These theories attempt to explain why and how migration occurs within and between societies, as well as the driving forces behind it. However, it is important to note, as others have, that many existing theories of migration were developed during the industrial age, which should be remembered when using them anachronistically.¹⁰⁷

Hein de Haas previously proposed two opposing views of migration. First, the migration ‘optimists’, which includes functionalist, neo-classical, modernisation, and

¹⁰⁴ Pryce and Drake, ‘Studying Migration’, pp. 10-18.

¹⁰⁵ Joaquín Arango, ‘Explaining migration: a critical view’, *International Social Science Journal*, Vol. 52, No. 165 (2000), p. 283.

¹⁰⁶ Castles, Hein de Haas, and Miller, *The Age of Migration*, p. 43.

¹⁰⁷ Douglas S. Massey, Joaquin Arango, Graeme Hugo, Ali Kouaouci, Adela Pellegrino, and J. Edward Taylor, *Worlds in Motion: Understanding International Migration at the End of the Millennium* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 3.

remittance investment theories, amongst others.¹⁰⁸ The second was migration ‘pessimists’, namely structuralist, neo-Marxist, disintegration, and consumption theories of migration.¹⁰⁹ The competing positive and negative schools of thought provide diverse ways of viewing and treating migrants and the underlying systems.

Ravenstein posited some of the earliest migration theory in a lecture to the Statistical Society in 1885. Within his work, which has come to be referred to as the classical theory of migration, also known as ‘Push/Pull’ migration, Ravenstein proposed a series of principles, which he referred to as the ‘Laws of Migration’.¹¹⁰ The classical school of thought prevailed for much of the twentieth century, with an emphasis placed on the economic dimensions of migration.¹¹¹ Within his proposed laws, Ravenstein makes observations concerning the foundation of how we understand and interpret migration.¹¹² According to Ravenstein, a combination of factors caused individuals to move (push factors); while there were factors that attracted people (pull factors).

The liberal neo-Classical theory of migration built on Ravenstein’s earlier observations. Using Ravenstein’s premises, but viewing the occurrence of migration as a far more individualistic experience, the neo-classical theory views the push/pull factors as operating to reach a state of equilibrium. However, this theory focuses on a

¹⁰⁸ Hein de Haas, ‘Migration and Development: A Theoretical Perspective’, *International Migration Review*, Vol. 44, No. 1 (2010), p. 229.

¹⁰⁹ de Haas, ‘Migration and Development’, p. 107.

¹¹⁰ Ravenstein, ‘On the Laws of Migration’, (1885), pp. 198-199.

¹¹¹ Barbara Schmitter Heisler, ‘The Future of Immigrant Incorporation: Which Models? Which Concepts?’, *The International Migration Review*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (1992), pp. 625-627.

¹¹² Guido Dorigo, and Waldo Tobler, ‘Push-Pull Migration Laws’, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 73, No. 1 (1983), p. 1.

person's life and individual experience, rather than on the wider issues of a population. The theory posits that migration is a process of maximising personal economic and financial opportunities.¹¹³ The neo-classical theory also treats migration as being a primarily economic orientated action, which is largely based on the principle that individuals make rational and balanced decisions whereby they assess their long-term financial decisions. However, as Castles, Haas, and Miller argue, the neo-classical theory fails to account for human agency. Instead, they argue that the theory relies upon the assumption that humans are 'socially isolated individuals who passively and uniformly react to external factors'.¹¹⁴ Another key issue is in how Castles, Haas, and Miller maintain that these theories are ahistorical, and 'take no account of networks established by colonisation or the movement and settlement of earlier migrants'.¹¹⁵ These preceding groups and networks were crucial factors in the determination to migrate and settle.

Proponents of the Historical Structuralist theory of migration hold Marxist thought at its core. Historical structuralism is overwhelmingly concerned with the movement of labour because of capitalist demands and opportunities.¹¹⁶ By highlighting the relationship between labour and labour demands, it emphasises the central role of migrants in the capitalist system, and how they fill essential gaps. Criticisms of this theory include how it neglects extenuating factors, and exclusively views migration and migrants through a lens of exploitation and capitalist development. The emphasis

¹¹³ Allan M. Williams, and Vladimir Balaz, *Migration, Risk and Uncertainty* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2015), pp. 28-29.

¹¹⁴ Castles, et al, *Age of Migration*, pp. 30-31.

¹¹⁵ Anne J. Kershen, *Strangers, Aliens and Asians: Huguenots, Jews and Bangladeshis in Spitalfields, 1660-2000* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005), p. 19.

¹¹⁶ Charles H. Wood, 'Equilibrium and Historical-Structural Perspectives on Migration', *International Migration Review*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (1982), pp. 301-302.

of the theory is on class conflict, which results in the viewing of migration as a macrosocial process, rather than an individualised one.¹¹⁷

The transnational theory of migration holds the economy as a central component in influencing migration. However, the theory also recognises how social networks that exist across borders play a defining role in the decisions a person makes, and the sense of identity they adopt.¹¹⁸ Transnationalism involves the awareness, mobilisation, and engagement of peoples, cultures, and organisations across borders, both politically and culturally, a key example being remittances.¹¹⁹ Various Diasporas scattered around Europe and the Mediterranean during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and their close relationship to their native cultures and societies, further enhances the concept of transnationalism.¹²⁰ Such social processes indicate that cultural and religious groups, such as the Jews, could operate and live across borders.¹²¹ Nonetheless, this theory also negates more individualistic factors and events in deciding to migrate. Further, there is the inability for the theory to bear out amongst second-

¹¹⁷ Wood, 'Equilibrium and Historical-Structural Perspectives', p. 302.

¹¹⁸ Debora Upegui-Hernandez, 'Transnational Migration Theory', in Thomas Teo, ed., *Encyclopedia of Critical Psychology* (New York, NY: Springer Science and Business, 2014), p. 2.

¹¹⁹ Linda Jakubowicz, 'Transnationalism – Migration – Integration. Migration and nation state in the modern world order through the prism of the concept of transnationalism', *SIAK Journal – Journal for Police Science and Practice*, Vol. 2 (2012), pp. 5-6.

¹²⁰ See Mischa Honeck, Martin Klimke, and Anne Kuhlmann, eds., *Germany and the Black Diaspora* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2013).

¹²¹ Sarah Mamattah, 'Migration and Transnationalism: the Complete Picture? A Case Study of Russians Living in Scotland', *eSharp*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (2006), pp. 3-4.

generation migrants, with transnationalism mostly being a first generation phenomenon.¹²² The work of Nicole Davis is indicative of increasing interest in transnationalism in the context of European and global migrations.¹²³

Migration researchers have proposed a series of social processes to explain how migration occurs, and how migration systems form.¹²⁴ One of the most frequently observed social processes of migration is that of chain migration. Chain migration occurs when an individual, or family, move to a new location and through communications and relationships, encourage and support the migration of other family members and friends.¹²⁵ As noted by Massy, each new arrival ‘...reduces the cost of subsequent migration for a set of friends and relatives...’.¹²⁶ The second wave of migrants then repeats the process, eventually leading to a number of migrants residing within a specific settlement. The primary social relationships and information networks between individuals and communities are the crucial feature in the development of chain migration. Chain migration, therefore, can significantly affect the origins and composition of migrant communities.

¹²² Peggy Levitt, and B. Nadya Jaworsky, ‘Transnational Migration Studies: Past Developments and Future Trends’, *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 33 (2007), p. 133.

¹²³ Nicole Davis, ‘Transnationalism, the Urban and Migration in the Victorian Era: The Lives of Henry and Sophia Morwitz’, in Marie Ruiz, ed., *International Migrations in the Victorian Era* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 156-186.

¹²⁴ James T. Fawcett, ‘Networks, Linkages, and Migration Systems’, *International Migration Review*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (1989), pp. 671-673.

¹²⁵ Simone A. Wegge, ‘Chain Migration and Information Networks: Evidence from Nineteenth Century Hesse-Cassel’, *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 58, No. 4 (1998), pp. 957-958.

¹²⁶ Douglas S. Massey, Joaquin Arango, Graeme Hugo, Ali Kouaouci, Adela Pellegrino, and J. Edward Taylor, ‘Theories of International Migration: a Review and Appraisal’, *Population and Development Review*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (1993), pp. 431-466.

Step migration is a term used to describe the process whereby individuals move from one location to another in a series of steps. These movements might include moving from one city or country to another. Over time, migrants draw closer to a location but do so in stages. Building upon the idea of migrations occurring in steps is that of stepwise migration. Stepwise migration refers explicitly to the process of individuals moving in smaller moves towards their final destination in a swirling clockwise movement, making it similar yet distinct to step migration. The stepwise process is often utilised to explain the movements from rural to urban centres, with stops along the way. Dennis Conway argues that a crucial factor in assessing stepwise migration is the life path of the migrant concerned and their personal life history.¹²⁷ Nonetheless, without a detailed and longitudinal body of data, being able to identify stepwise migration processes is challenging and not altogether helpful. These processes suggest that migration was not a simple A – B experience. Migrants often made many smaller movements before settling in a specific area.¹²⁸

Another important migration process that has particular relevance for this thesis is that of return migration.¹²⁹ Return migration is the term used to refer to those individuals and families that have moved from one location to another and then eventually decide to return to their original location or area.¹³⁰ This process of migration can often influence the foreign-born population of a country as children may have

¹²⁷ Dennis Conway, 'Step-Wise Migration: Toward a Clarification of the Mechanism', *International Migration Review*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (1980), p. 8.

¹²⁸ Pryce and Drake, 'Studying Migration', p. 12.

¹²⁹ See John Killick, 'Transatlantic steerage fares, British and Irish migration, and return migration, 1815-60', *Economic History Review*, Vol. 67, No. 1 (2014), pp. 170-191, and Mark Wyman, 'Return migration – old story, new story', *Immigrants and Minorities*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (2001), pp. 1-18.

¹³⁰ For an analysis of statistics relating to Britain, see Dudley Baines, *Emigration from Europe, 1815-1930* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1991).

been born in a foreign location, before then moving to their parents' home location. It is important to remember that these persons may have an unusual and hybrid cultural identity. After spending large portions of their lives in a foreign country, the migration to the UK of these persons may lead to a form of migrant experience. It may be assumed that a migrant is a foreign-born foreign subject, but they may have been socialised as a British person and kept separate from their host society. Subsequently, return migration can be problematic when trying to determine a person's identity by relying on birthplaces.

Historians have contributed to migration theory historiography, but sociologists have largely dominated it.¹³¹ In her study of migrants in Spitalfields, Anne Kershen provided a detailed and comprehensive analysis of various migration models concerning migration into England and Wales.¹³² However, no single theory can account for all types of migration and the reasons why people migrate. The various drivers of migration and the intricate patterns of migrant behaviours mean there must be a careful consideration of all factors before categorising migrants and migrations.

Collectively, these theories and processes can be used to understand and explore the occurrence of foreign-born migration. Each of the foreign-born persons concerned in this study migrated for one or more reasons. Entire communities faced conditions that made England and Wales a suitable location to move to and settle in. Similarly, others travelled to the British Isles for other motives, including temporary or seasonal work. In some settings, there was little other choice, and it was a necessary

¹³¹ Holmes, *Immigrants and Minorities*, pp. 19-20.

¹³² Kershen, *Strangers, Aliens and Asians*, pp. 17-24.

act. The literature presented in this section denotes the complexities of unpicking and identifying motivations and drivers of migration. Ultimately, such theories can be used to inform and make sense of migration patterns, but they are rarely exhaustive, definitive, or absolute.

VI. Geographic Information Systems (GIS) in historical research

The use of GIS in historical research emerged, in part, because of increased interdisciplinary projects and engagements.¹³³ Within this thesis, GIS is utilised to explore the socio-economic, demographic, and geographic components of the migrant population recorded in I-CeM, through linkage to spatial units. This section will argue three things. First, GIS is well suited to working with quantitative data, such as census records. Second, that GIS has been applied in migration studies, but typically concerning segregation in North America. Finally, by reviewing the relevant literature, it is demonstrated that there is a notable paucity of research on the subject of migration and segregation using GIS in a British context.

A series of developments in the last twenty-years highlight how historical research has been furthered through geospatial technologies.¹³⁴ During the 1990s, Historical GIS (HGIS) began to emerge as a distinct field from earth sciences and geography, where it had originated.¹³⁵ Starting in 1994, the Great Britain Historical GIS

¹³³ Donald A. DeBats, and Ian N. Gregory, 'Introduction to Historical GIS and the Study of Urban History', *Social Science History*, Vol. 35, No. 4 (2011), pp. 455-463.

¹³⁴ See for example Ian N. Gregory, and Alistair Geddes, eds., *Toward Spatial Humanities: Historical GIS and Spatial History* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2014).

¹³⁵ Ian Gregory, and Paul Ell, *Historical GIS: Technologies, Methodologies and Scholarship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 1-2, and David J. Bodenhamer, John Corrigan, and

produced a GIS that held the changing boundaries of administrative units.¹³⁶ Through linkage to commonly standardised geographies, census reports, gazetteers, maps, and other forms of data are explored from radically new perspectives. Similarly, the development of the USA National History Geographical Information System, along with others, is indicative of an emerging partnership for historical census data and geospatial units of measurement.¹³⁷ When historical boundary shapefiles are included, GIS emerges as a powerful tool for historians.

A number of historical studies have utilised GIS software as a methodological approach.¹³⁸ Andrew Beveridge has made extensive use of GIS to explore migration in the USA, and the degree of segregation within urban centres, alongside the issues of ethnicity and racism, albeit at an aggregate level.¹³⁹ Anne Kelly Knowles uses GIS to offer extensive insights into the relationship between migrants and the American iron industry.¹⁴⁰ In addition to her research, Knowles has been an influential figure in the development and adoption of GIS amongst historians.¹⁴¹

Trevor M. Harris, *The Spatial Humanities: GIS and the Future of the Humanities Scholarship* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2010), pp. vii-ix.

¹³⁶ Ian Gregory, 'The Great Britain Historical GIS', *Historical Geography*, Vol. 33, (2005), pp. 136-138.

¹³⁷ See IPUMS, 'The National Historical Geographic Information System', (2019), available at: <https://www.nhgis.org/>, [accessed: 16 February 2019].

¹³⁸ Jordi Martí-Henneberg, 'Geographical Information Systems and the Study of History', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 42, No. 1 (2011), p. 5.

¹³⁹ Andrew A. Beveridge, 'Immigration, Ethnicity, and Race in Metropolitan New York, 1900-2000', in Anne Kelly Knowles, ed., *Past Time, Past Place: GIS for History* (Redlands, CA: ESRI Press, 2002), pp. 65-77.

¹⁴⁰ See Anne Kelly Knowles, *Calvinists Incorporated: Welsh Immigrants on Ohio's Industrial Frontier* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1997).

¹⁴¹ See Anne Kelly Knowles, and Amy Hillier, eds., *Placing History: How Maps, Spatial Data, and GIS are Changing Historical Scholarship* (Redlands, CA: ESRI Press, 2008). Geoff Cunfer thanked Knowles for 'leading the historical Geographic Information Systems (GIS) uprising within the Social Science'. Geoff Cunfer, *On the Great Plains: Agriculture and Environment* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2005), pp. xi-xii.

Aggregated statistics can often highlight general patterns and activities; however, they can distort the realities of it on the ground.¹⁴² John Lutz *et al.* utilised fire insurance plans to recreate the residential composition of the township of Victoria, British Columbia. Lutz spatially analysed race and ethnicity in the period 1861 to 1911.¹⁴³ Through individual markers, residences classified by race can be identified, which illustrated a clear pattern of residential segregation among Chinese households. A similar method is utilised in this chapter. As Laurence Brown noted in his study of ethnic segregation in Manchester, ‘GIS is increasingly transforming the visualization of ethnic segregation, as maps that would have taken hours or days to construct can now be produced in seconds.’¹⁴⁴ Marlou Schrover and Jelle Van Lottum have argued that with origins in the Chicago School, spatial assimilation remains a predominant form of measuring segregation.¹⁴⁵ Strong concentrations continue to be linked to ‘the construction of ethnicity’ and a segregated community.¹⁴⁶ However, through their

¹⁴² Levels or geographical units by which segregation is measured can affect outcomes, but generalisations without fully encompassing the entire urban ecology can render conclusions problematic. See H. Carter, and S. Wheatley, ‘Residential Segregation in Nineteenth-Century Cities’, *Area*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (1980), pp. 57-62.

¹⁴³ John S. Lutz, Patrick A. Dunae, Jason Gilliland, Don Lafreniere, and Megan Harvey, ‘Turning Space Inside Out: Spatial History and Race in Victorian Victoria’, in Jennifer Bonnell, and Marcel Fortin, eds., *Historical GIS Research in Canada* (Calgary: University of Calgary, 2014), pp. 1-26.

¹⁴⁴ Laurence Brown, ‘Mapping Ethnic Segregation and Diversity in a Digital Age’, *Ethnicity and Race in a Changing World: A Review Journal*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (2013), p. 56. The possibilities and utilisation of GIS within contemporary migration and segregation studies is also well demonstrated in Laurence Brown, and Niall Cunningham, ‘The Inner Geographies of a Migrant Gateway: Mapping the Built Environment and the Dynamics of Caribbean Mobility in Manchester, 1951-2011’, *Social Science History*, Vol. 40, No. 1 (2016), pp. 93-120.

¹⁴⁵ Marlou Schrover, and Jelle Van Lottum, ‘Spatial concentrations and communities of immigrants in the Netherlands, 1800-1900’, *Continuity and Change*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (2007), pp. 216.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid*

study of the Netherlands, Schrover and Van Lottum argue that there was a high turnover of migrants in a distinct locality, which means community formation cannot be measured by concentrations alone.¹⁴⁷

The utilisation of GIS can provide visual depictions of migrant locations and can offer innovative advancements on existing ideas of segregation within neighbourhoods. The dangers of relying upon administrative boundaries to measure segregation and distribution are problematic, not least because communities may straddle a border and be larger and more concentrated than would be suggested. Residential proximity at a household level has not had the same attention as neighbourhood level analyses. However, the processes of residential mixing or clustering are obfuscated when viewed from even a neighbourhood or parochial level. Victorian and Edwardian cities were a blend of the new and old, subject to constant redevelopment and renewal, with residential housing intermingled with commercial and industrial properties. Radically different groups and communities can occupy the number of small alleys and lanes running alongside broad residential thoroughfares.¹⁴⁸

There are novel ways of exploring segregation in dynamic measures. One example being Laura Vaughan and Alan Penn's application of space syntax and GIS to study migrant neighbourhoods.¹⁴⁹ In their research into Victorian Manchester and Leeds, Vaughan and Penn found that despite living in central urban locations, Jewish migrants could be described as spatially segregated.¹⁵⁰ Migrants were found to be

¹⁴⁷ Schrover, and Van Lottum, 'Spatial concentrations and communities', p. 216.

¹⁴⁸ See Perry, 'Geo-locating census microdata', pp. 8-12.

¹⁴⁹ Laura Vaughan, and Alan Penn, 'Jewish Immigrant Settlement Patterns in Manchester and Leeds 1881', *Urban Studies*, Vol. 43, No. 3 (2006), pp. 668-669.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid*

densely concentrated and relatively cut off from the city centre by physical elements, such as terraces, railways, and streams.¹⁵¹ In assessing how spatially and socially segregated the Jewish community was in two urban centres, Vaughan and Penn demonstrate the possibilities of GIS in measuring segregation.¹⁵²

The work of the Urban Transition Historical GIS Project in the United States has also further illustrated the necessity for micro-level identification of households to measure segregation.¹⁵³ The German-born community of Newark in 1880 was concentrated in two enumeration districts, where they composed more than fifty per cent of the population, one in the east and one in the west.¹⁵⁴ However, at a street level the German-born, alongside the Ireland-born, were spatially opposed, with significant clustering behaviours manifested by both groups.¹⁵⁵ Ultimately, the advantages of utilising GIS technology in measuring and analysing segregation stems from the ability to measure spatial distribution within a digital environment that can be utilised to explore a range of socio-economic variables.

Tyler Anbinder draws on an extensive range of sources to explore the history of foreign-born migrants into New York.¹⁵⁶ In his work, Anbinder explores the for-

¹⁵¹ Vaughan, and Penn, 'Jewish Immigrant Settlement Patterns', pp. 662-668.

¹⁵² An introduction to space syntax is provided in Bill Hillier, and Laura Vaughan, 'Chapter 1: The spatial syntax of urban segregation', *Progress in Planning*, Vol. 67 (2007), pp. 205-230.

¹⁵³ See John R. Logan, Jason Jindrlich, Hyoungjin Shin, and Weiwei Zhang, 'Mapping America in 1880: The Urban Transition Historical GIS Project', *Historical Methods*, Vol. 44, No. 1 (2011), pp. 49-66.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid*

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 57-58.

¹⁵⁶ See Tyler Anbinder, *City of Dreams: The 400-Year Epic History of Immigrant New York* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2016). I am particularly grateful to Professor Anbinder for his comments on my work as a chair during the Digital History symposium at George Mason University, Washington DC, in March 2017.

mation of a series of migrant communities and their residential expansion and contraction in areas of the city by mapping groups. In most cases, GIS has been used for two purposes. First, to analyse the migration and settlement of foreign-born communities. Secondly, to visualise patterns highlighted in the analysis. Collectively, these studies demonstrate the suitability for GIS to handle quantitative data.

Several challenges emerge when using GIS. As a methodology, GIS tends to raise more questions than it answers, and cannot be used in isolation. Knowles has argued that the internal architecture of GIS revolves around mathematics, which can alienate or daunt historians.¹⁵⁷ The level of technological confidence and ability required to utilise the software can also dissuade historians.¹⁵⁸ There is a danger that in being able to manipulate and handle data within a contained digital environment there may be a tendency to present a contrived perspective. In addition, the analysis of data can become distorted when the areal unit is changed; this can include taking data and choosing to use it at different levels of spatial resolution (scale effect), or by regrouping zones to a new scale (zoning effect).¹⁵⁹ Ultimately, the choice in geographical reference systems, breaks within symbology, and even the choice of colours for illustration can heavily influence a GIS output, for better or for worse.¹⁶⁰ As such, GIS must be used with sensitivity and critical awareness.

¹⁵⁷ Anne Kelly Knowles, ‘GIS and History’, in Anne Kelly Knowles, and Amy Hillier, eds., *Placing History: How Maps, Spatial Data, and GIS are Changing Historical Scholarship* (Redlands, CA: ESRI Press, 2008), pp. 3-4.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid*

¹⁵⁹ A. Stewart Fotheringham, Chris Brunsdon, and Martin Charlton, *Quantitative Geography: Perspectives on Spatial Data Analysis* (London: Sage, 2000), p. 237.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid*, p. 243.

As has been outlined, scholars have used geospatial technologies to explore migrant settlement in the nineteenth-century, but this is typically in non-British settings.¹⁶¹ Through the incorporation of GIS, Kurt Schlichting, Peter Tuckel, and Richard Maisel utilise census data to understand residential segregation in the African migration to Hartford, Connecticut.¹⁶² Similarly, Jonathan Chipman, Richard Wright, Mark Ellis, and Steven Holloway utilise GIS technologies to map racially mixed and segregated neighbourhoods in Chicago.¹⁶³ Meanwhile, Jason Gilliland, Sherry Olson, and Danielle Gauvreau analyse the impact of urban expansion on the segregation of communities in Montreal, Canada.¹⁶⁴ Generally, there is no shortage of global investigations using GIS to explore migrant experiences and behaviours. There remains no comparable studies on the historical migration and settlement in a British context.

In British migration studies addressing segregation, the ability to use individual-level data has not been previously fully realised. Vaughan Robinson has moaned the challenges of having to rely on aggregate levels of geographical analysis.

¹⁶¹ See Robert C. H. Sweeney, 'Gender, Discrimination, and Housing in Turn of the Century Montreal: What Mapping the Census Returns of Immigrants Can Tell Us', *Frontiers in Digital Humanities*, Vol. 3, No. 8 (2016), pp. 1-18, and Kurt Schlichting, 'Historical GIS: New Ways of Doing History', *Historical Methods*, Vol. 41, No. 4 (2008), pp. 191-196.

¹⁶² Kurt Schlichting, Peter Tuckel, and Richard Maisel, 'Residential Segregation and the Beginning of the Great Migration of African Americans to Hartford, Connecticut: A GIS-Based Analysis', *Historical Methods*, Vol. 39, No. 3 (2006), pp. 132-143.

¹⁶³ Jonathan Chipman, Richard Wright, Mark Ellis, and Steven R. Holloway, 'Mapping the evolution of racially mixed and segregated neighborhoods in Chicago', *Journal of Maps*, Vol. 8, No. 4 (2012), pp. 340-343.

¹⁶⁴ Jason A. Gilliland, Sherry H. Olson, and Danielle Gauvreau, 'Did Segregation Increase as the City Expanded?: The Case of Montreal, 1881-1901', *Social Science History*, Vol. 35, No. 4 (2011), pp. 465-503.

Robinson argues that since the 1970s researchers have had access to street-level information.¹⁶⁵ Nonetheless, few studies use such data to repopulate local areas to identify and explore migrant communities. Don Debats outlines the possibilities of combining GIS and individual-level data for entire communities, during which he states that GIS can ‘find itself central to the narrative of historical inquiry’.¹⁶⁶ Yet, such scholarship related to GIS is largely the result of years of use in a North American context.

Although British migration studies rarely adopt geospatial technologies to measure and analyse foreign-born communities, there are some exceptions. One of the pioneering studies in the use of geospatial approaches to British migration contexts was Colin Pooley’s study of the Ireland-born in Liverpool. In his PhD thesis, Pooley utilises geospatial approaches to demonstrate that various factors shaped mobility in Liverpool and that migrants, both native-born and foreign-born, differed in how they assimilated into the host society.¹⁶⁷ Pooley was an early adopter of GIS technologies in historical geography. Although such approaches and technologies were initially limited, with time they became increasingly sophisticated and dynamic. Another consideration was the limited access to data, which has become increasingly available in recent years. More recent adopters of geospatial visualisations and analysis include John Herson. In his study of Stafford, Herson indicates locations that Ireland-born

¹⁶⁵ Vaughan Robinson, *Transients, Settlers, and Refugees: Asians in Britain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), p. 1.

¹⁶⁶ Donald A. DeBats, ‘Using GIS and Individual-Level Data for Whole Communities: A Path Toward the Reconciliation of Political and Social History’, *Social Science Computer Review*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (2009), p. 329.

¹⁶⁷ Pooley, ‘Migration, Mobility and Residential Areas’, p. 464.

migrants lived in Stafford, but there is little spatial or quantitative analysis of the distribution that follows.¹⁶⁸

In relation to this study, the work of Laura Vaughan is perhaps the most relevant application of GIS to migration studies.¹⁶⁹ Vaughan uses ‘space syntax’ techniques within GIS to demonstrate that Eastern European migrants tended to concentrate distinctly together before then dispersing.¹⁷⁰ Laurence Brown and Niall Cunningham have conducted similar geospatial analyses of migrant communities, but this is confined to the post-war period.¹⁷¹

Meanwhile, Ben Sreter uses county-level units of measurement to explore the distribution of non-European born persons in England and Wales.¹⁷² Despite the advantages of highlighting regional patterns, county-level analyses are too aggregate to highlight the nuances of migrant settlement. This thesis is the first study to use registration districts to map the entire foreign-born population of England and Wales for the period 1851-1911. This study is also the first to use the I-CeM to map individual household level distributions in select areas of the country.

The studies that utilise GIS technologies and relate to the geographical distribution of foreign-born migrants in England and Wales tend to focus on key migrant groups. It is abundantly clear from the literature and research projects that GIS is appropriate for use with historical data, such as the census. Similarly, the weight of the

¹⁶⁸ Herson, *Divergent Paths*, p. 70.

¹⁶⁹ Vaughan and Penn, ‘Jewish Immigrant Settlement’, pp. 653-671.

¹⁷⁰ Laura Vaughan, ‘The Unplanned ‘Ghetto’: immigrant work patterns in 19th century Manchester’. Paper given at the 10th Conference of the International Planning History Society, University of Westminster, (2002), London.

¹⁷¹ Brown and Cunningham, ‘The Inner Geographies of a Migrant Gateway’, pp. 93–120.

¹⁷² Ben Sreter, ‘Before Windrush: Global Immigration to England and Wales, 1851-1911. Evidence from the Census’, unpublished MSc, Oxford University, (2016).

literature on the subject of migrant distribution and segregation is noticeably weighted towards North American studies. Of the studies utilising GIS and relating to Britain, there is a tendency to focus on the largest migrant communities. With these points made, it emerges that this study, which adopts GIS and addresses a wider variety of migrant communities, is of value for contributing to the current understanding.

VII. Conclusion

As outlined in this chapter, the existing literature on the subject of historical migration to England and Wales has tended to rely on traditional research methods. The advent and development of digital methodologies offer the chance to reinvigorate the field of migration studies.¹⁷³ By utilising an array of historical accounts, and 3D modelling software, Andrew Linn recreated nineteenth-century locations involved in the transmigration of Norwegians to depict the journey undertaken by migrants.¹⁷⁴ The project sought to depict the lived experience and to experiment with new technologies for historical research. Ambitious and dynamic approaches to historical research can revitalise interest in historical migrant communities and the processes of acculturation.¹⁷⁵ Studies of historical migration will benefit from the application of digital research methods to a historical line of enquiries.

¹⁷³ Ian Gregory, ‘Challenges and Opportunities for Digital History’, *Frontiers in Digital Humanities*, Vol. 1 (2014), available at: <https://doi.org/10.3389/fdigh.2014.00001>, [accessed: 1 November 2018].

¹⁷⁴ A. R. Linn, ‘From Voss to New York: Norwegian Transmigration to America and the Use of Virtual Worlds in Historical Research’, *Historisk Tidsskrift*, Vol. 94, No. 2 (2015), pp. 229-255.

¹⁷⁵ Rosalyn Livshin, ‘The Acculturation of the Children of Immigrant Jews in Manchester, 1890-1930’, in David Cesarani, ed., *The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), pp. 79-96.

A large number of assertions concerning historical migration to Britain already exist. Writing in 1983, David Feldman argued that ‘historians have reproduced in new technology the ruling assumptions and conclusions of Victorian observers.¹⁷⁶ It is unlikely that historians will radically upend the existing understanding of migration and migrant communities in England and Wales. However, digital research methods, enhanced datasets, and new technologies offer the ability to reassess the existing historiography, as well as develop new visualisations and modes of further interrogating sources relating to migrant communities.

As noted in the introduction to this chapter, ‘academic studies have overwhelmingly concentrated upon specific groups and communities’ (p. 27). This assertion is borne up in the plethora of specialist publications that deal with the specifics of a space of population. The absence of publications dedicated to general histories might be a consequence of Holmes’ seminal work, *John Bull’s Island*. However, it is more likely to be the result of scholars building on niche specialisms, joined with a reluctance to research communities that they do not belong to or have some connection with.¹⁷⁷ Similarly, except for a few key collections, many edited volumes refresh interest in the same major migrant communities.

Rapid advances amongst quantitative historians in the 1970s produced significant historiography related to migrant communities. Richard Dennis and Stephen Daniels provide evidence of the migrant experience in their review of several studies, choosing to focus on several key variables, including kinship, marriage, occupation,

¹⁷⁶ David Feldman, ‘There Was an Englishman, An Irishman and a Jew...: Immigrants and Minorities in Britain’, *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (1983), p. 186.

¹⁷⁷ See Holmes, *John Bull’s Island*.

and residence.¹⁷⁸ Building on the existing literature, this thesis analyses census data with new technologies to offer original insights. Collectively, the studies outlined here have indicated the array of approaches taken to migration historiography. Together these studies provide important insights into the lives and experiences of migrant communities and how migrations occurred. Overall, the literature suggests there is an abundance of material available to study, reconstitute, and humanise the foreign-born migrant experience in England and Wales.

This review has demonstrated that certain communities and geographies attract a disproportionate amount of attention. Methodologically, there is a tendency to focus on specific themes. Few studies concerning migration into Britain have utilised individual-level census microdata to explore the distribution and composition of migrant communities through manipulation in a GIS environment. The inclination towards qualitative sources in previous historical research is predicated on the survival of sources and availability of materials.

¹⁷⁸ Richard Dennis and Stephen Daniels, ‘Community’ and the Social Geography of Victorian Cities’, in Michael Drake, ed., *Time, Family and Community: Perspectives on Family and Community History* (Oxford: The Open University, 1994), pp. 201-224.

Chapter 2: SOURCES

‘The historian’s task is the telling of a story. He comes to his facts with preconceived notions, which he has gathered by observing the present-day world, and which he may have strengthened or modified in the course of previous historical work.’¹

I. Introduction

The task of a historian is one of telling a story, so said Gustaaf Renier. The accumulation and assemblage of historical material for the forming of arguments and narratives is a complex process. Source accumulation requires careful consideration of the source material available and the critical reflection on their worth. Historians spend a considerable amount of time inferring and arguing from the material in front of them.²

Some might argue that the primary task of a historian is to create a neatly crafted story, as Renier posits. Historians, however, also have a responsibility to propose substantive arguments following a careful analysis of fragmentary or comprehensive sources.³ Instead, a historian weaves various threads together to form a detailed analysis of a historical event, person, or place. By taking disparate sources and logically linking them, the historian proceeds to form a compelling argument that informs and prompts reflection. Through re-working the long-term social memory of

¹ G. J. Renier, *History: Its Purpose and Method* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1961), pp. 175-176.

² M. C. Lemon, *The Discipline of History and the History of Thought* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 14.

³ Jeremy Black and Donald M. MacRaild, *Studying History* (Hounds Mills: Palgrave, 2000, second edition), p. 225.

societies, historians contribute towards our understanding of who we are, and where we came from.⁴

This chapter will do three things. Firstly, it will discuss the utilisation of the British censuses as a source in historical research. Secondly, it will examine the merits and limitations of the I-CeM. Finally, this chapter will define the extent of this study and the persons who are included in it. Overall, this chapter will examine the quality and reliability of sources used in this thesis and offer an assessment of their value and limitations.

II. The Census – Background

A census is a systematic endeavour to gather and assemble information concerning a particular populace.⁵ The word ‘census’ has Latin roots, and was originally the past participle of *censere*, meaning ‘to assess’ or ‘to value’.⁶ Every ten years since 1801, except for 1941, the UK government has conducted a national census.⁷ The questions posed in a census can include personal information such as names, age, occupation, birthplace, marital information, and place of residence, among others.⁸ Interspersed

⁴ Richard C. Carrier, ‘The Function of the Historian in Society’, *The History Teacher*, Vol. 35, No. 4 (2002), p. 520.

⁵ Richard Lawton, ‘Introduction’, in Richard Lawton, ed., *The Census and Social Structure: An interpretive guide to 19th century censuses for England and Wales* (Abingdon: Frank Cass, 1978), pp. 1-4.

⁶ Oxford English Dictionary, ‘Census’, 2018, available at: <http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.lancs.ac.uk/view/Entry/29623?rskey=NMFLzr&result=1&isAdvanced=false>, [accessed: 27 December 2018].

⁷ Edward Higgs, ‘What is a census?’, *Histpop*, available at: [http://histpop.org/ohpr/servlet/View?path=Browse/Essays%20\(by%20kind\)&active=yes&mono=2005](http://histpop.org/ohpr/servlet/View?path=Browse/Essays%20(by%20kind)&active=yes&mono=2005), [accessed: 9 March 2017].

⁸ Muriel Nissel, *People Count: A history of the General Register Office* (London: HMSO, 1987), pp. 57-67.

censuses provide a cross-sectional snapshot of the population. However, while providing a rich seam of data for that moment in time, valuable intercensal changes are lost.

On 30 March 1753, a proposed bill for a national census was introduced in the House of Commons.⁹ The bill drew issue with the quality of the parish registers and proposed to identify the number of persons in the country, amongst other measures.¹⁰ The House of Commons passed the bill on 8 May 1753, however, after being referred to a committee, the parliamentary session ended, and the bill lapsed.¹¹ William Thornton described the attempt as follows; 'I hold this project to be totally subversive of the last remains of English liberty, and therefore, tho it should pass into a law, I should think myself under the highest of all obligations to oppose its execution.'¹² A second attempt, with a greater emphasis upon improving parish records to assess the population size also failed to pass in 1759. An important issue that emerged during the eighteenth century was the recognition of an absence of reliable population statistics. Yet, attempts to improve the quality of record collection and to gather national figures failed.¹³

At the end of the eighteenth century, Thomas Robert Malthus's influential essay raised concerns of population growth exceeding agricultural production.¹⁴ The so-

⁹ Peter Christian, and David Annal, *Census: The Family Historian's Guide* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014, second edition), pp. 5-6.

¹⁰ *A bill with the Amendments, for Taking and Registering an annual Account of the total Number of People, and the total Number of Marriages, Births, and Deaths; and also the total Number of Poor receiving Alms from every Parish, and extraparochial Place, in Great Britain*, available at: <http://parlipapers.proquest.com/parlipapers/docview/t70.d75.harper-001434?accountid=11979>, [accessed: 3 March 2017].

¹¹ Christian and Annal, *Census*, pp. 5-6.

¹² W-m, Th-t-n, *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, Vol. 23 (London: Sylvanus Urban, 1753), p. 500.

¹³ D. V. Glass, 'The Population Controversy in Eighteenth-Century England. Part 1: The Background', *Population Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (1952), p. 71.

¹⁴ Christian and Annal, *Census*, pp. 6-8.

called ‘Malthusian Crisis’, as it came to be known, contributed to the discussions of holding a census.¹⁵ Within his work, Malthus proposed that ‘The increase of population is necessarily limited by the means of subsistence: Population invariably increases when the means of subsistence increase’.¹⁶ Malthus argued that when population growth exceeds agricultural output, the population will equilibrate to be consistent with food production levels, resulting in starvation and famine for the populace.¹⁷ The introduction of Malthus’s work caused controversy, and he was not without his detractors. William Cobbett, a fiery politician and farmer, stated, ‘I have, during my life, detested many men; but never any one so much as you. Your book on population contains matter more offensive to my feelings even than that of the Dungeon Bill.’¹⁸ The architect of the first three censuses, John Rickman, also disagreed with Malthus.¹⁹ Despite detractors and opponents to Malthus’s notions, on 20 November 1800, Charles Abbott, Member of Parliament for Helston, proposed the Population Bill, which would illustrate broader socio-economic patterns for use in national decisions.²⁰

Under Rickman’s administration, the 1801 Census of Great Britain took place in the following March, just a few short months later.²¹ Prior to the 1920 Census Act,

¹⁵ Nissel, *People Count*, pp. 49-51.

¹⁶ Thomas R. Malthus, *An Essay on the Principle of Population; or, a view of its past and present effects on human happiness; with an inquiry into our prospects respecting the future removal or mitigation of the evils which it occasions*, Vol. 2 (London: John Murray, 1817, fifth edition), p. 216.

¹⁷ David V. Glass, *Numbering the People: the eighteenth century population controversy and the development of census and vital statistics in Britain* (London: D. C. Heath, 1978), pp. 96-98.

¹⁸ Cobbett’s *Weekly Political Register*, 8 May 1819, ‘To Parson Malthus’.

¹⁹ For a rounded assessment of Rickman’s ideas towards Malthus, see Roger Hutchinson, *The Butcher, the Baker, the Candlestick Maker: The story of Britain through its census, since 1801* (London: Little, Brown Book Group, 2017).

²⁰ Census Committee, ‘Census of England and Wales and of the United Kingdom, 1881’, *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, Vol. 44, No. 2 (1881), p. 400.

²¹ The 1801 Census of Great Britain: *An Act for taking an Account of the Population of Great Britain, and the Increase or Diminution thereof*.

censuses were individually legislated by Parliament.²² Additional questions for the household schedules appeared over time. In 1840, the General Register Office (GRO) took responsibility for conducting the census.²³ As such, Edward Higgs has identified the 1841 census as the transitional moment in the movement away from the basic headcounts of the first four censuses, and the detailed enumerations of the ‘mature Victorian censuses’ of the period of this study.²⁴ The 1851 census, however, marked a noticeable departure and implemented a far broader scope of enquiry.²⁵ For householders, in-depth and detailed instructions accompanied the census forms. Changes made to the questions included asking for exact ages, rather than the nearest quinquennial age group, marital status, and relationship to head of the household.²⁶ In addition, censuses of religion and education also occurred in 1851.²⁷

The early censuses are rarely utilised by historians, as they are strikingly problematic.²⁸ Multiple failures to ensure checks were in place, such as establishing complete lists of all persons, and the prolonged nature of the census erode its credibility. Michael Anderson has noted that the duration of the first British census of 1801 stretched over seven weeks.²⁹ Since the 1841 census, the census has become a staple of British socio-economic research and has been widely utilised by genealogists and

²² *Census Act*, 1920. [10 and 11 Geo. 5, Chapter 41], available at: http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1920/41/pdfs/ukpga_19200041_en.pdf, [accessed: 3 March 2017]. See also Matthew Woppard, ‘The 1901 Census: An Introduction’, *Local Population Studies*, No. 67 (2001), p. 28.

²³ Nissel, *People Count*, pp. 57-85.

²⁴ Edward Higgs, *A Clearer Sense of the Census* (London: HMSO, 1996), pp. 7-8.

²⁵ Christian and Annal, *Census*, pp. 20-23.

²⁶ Census Office, *The Census of Great Britain in 1851* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1854), pp. 1-2.

²⁷ Nissel, *People Count*, p. 63.

²⁸ Michael Anderson, ‘Population change in north-western Europe, 1750-1850’, in Michael Anderson, ed., *British Population History: From the Black Death to the Present Day* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 200.

²⁹ *Ibid*

family historians.³⁰ The ability to capture distinct moments in time for a near-total count of all persons is invaluable when factoring geographic, social, economic, and household information. In respect to scale, the census, therefore, is an unparalleled resource for quantitatively minded historians of nineteenth-century Britain.

III. The Census – Administration

By the end of the nineteenth century, the census emerged as an established and central feature of British governmental administration. The evolution of the census as a government tool, as Kathrin Levitan argues, stemmed from the ‘development of the authority of statistics’.³¹ Each of the censuses during the period of this study utilised a distinct ‘census geography’. Registration districts were organised in 1837 and correlated to the existing Poor Law Unions across the country.³² Each district was further divided into sub-districts and was managed by a registrar.³³ Finally, the sub-districts had a number of smaller divisions, which became the enumeration districts.³⁴ Census officials utilised the smaller administrative units known as enumeration districts to manage their areas.³⁵ Importantly, these geographical units were unique to each census.³⁶ An enumeration district during this period could typically include anywhere from a street to a neighbourhood, dependent on the population density and geography

³⁰ Nissel, *People Count*, p. 61.

³¹ Kathrin Levitan, *A Cultural History of the British Census: Envisioning the Multitude in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p. 3.

³² Nissel, *People Count*, pp. 12-16.

³³ *Ibid*, p. 15.

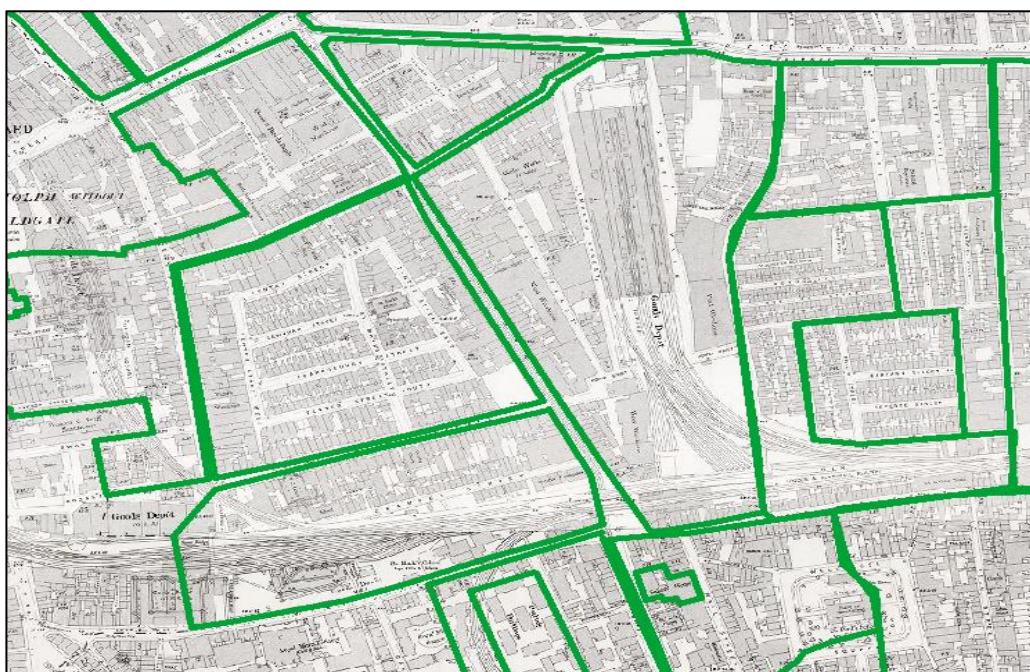
³⁴ Edward Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census Revisited. Census Records for England and Wales, 1801-1901 – a Handbook for Historical Researchers* (London: The National Archives and Institute of Historical Research, 2005), pp. 32-35.

³⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 32-36.

³⁶ *Ibid*

of the area. Institutions and densely populated buildings could also be a district of their own. Figure 2.1 depicts enumeration districts in Whitechapel, London, in 1901. During that year, the ‘Sailor’s Home’ (smallest district in the bottom) was a small enumeration district of its own. Enumerators had distinct boundaries to work to.³⁷ In some more sparsely populated areas, enumerators had larger areas, all of which had to be walkable on the day of the census.³⁸

Figure 2.1: Whitechapel Enumeration Districts, 1901



Source: Manually reconstituted by the author

³⁷ Mary Turner, ‘A census enumerator’s experience (by one of them) From: “The Eccles Journal,” Friday, April 10th, 1891.’ *Local Population Studies*, Vol. 27 (1981), pp. 79-82.

³⁸ A. J. Taylor, ‘The Taking of the Census, 1801-1951’, *British Medical Journal*, Vol. 1 (1951), pp. 716-717.

For each census, a registrar had to propose how they would divide their sub-registration district into enumeration districts.³⁹ Figure 2.2 exemplifies the division of proposed districts and the considerations that featured into it. Some of the primary considerations include the geographic extent, the number of inhabited houses, and the number of households in the proposed district. After examination by the superintendent registrar, the proposals were sent to the Census Commissioners.⁴⁰ For the 1871 census, it was determined that districts would not contain more than 200 houses, yet establishing equally sized districts was challenging in many areas due to the density, geography, or travel times.⁴¹ In 1909, production began on a series of maps for the proposed plans of division. The maps assisted with the assessment of the enumeration district boundaries for the 1911 census.⁴²

³⁹ Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census*, p. 32.

⁴⁰ Christian and Annal, *Census*, pp. 113-114.

⁴¹ Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census*, p. 32.

⁴² Office of Population Censuses and Surveys/General Register Office, *Guide to Census Reports: Great Britain 1801-1966* (London: HMSO, 1977), section 2.4.

Figure 2.2: Proposed plan of enumeration districts in Kensington, 1861⁴³

26

Superintendent Registrar's District Kensington } No. 1
Registrar's Sub-District Brompton

REGISTRAR'S PROPOSED PLAN OF DIVISION of his Sub-District into ENUMERATION DISTRICTS.

N.B.—This Return is to be forwarded by the Registrar to the Superintendent Registrar before February 10th, 1861, and by the Superintendent Registrar to the Census Office before February 20th, for the approval of the Registrar General.

No. of Enume- ration District	PARISH OR TOWNSHIP.	DESCRIPTION AND BOUNDARY OF PROPOSED ENUMERATION DISTRICT, AND NAMES OF PLACES, &c., COMPRISED THEREIN.	Completed Number of INHABITED HOUSES in the proposed Enumeration District	Completed Number of SEPARATE FAMILIES* in the proposed Enumeration District
		(1) If a District is entirely composed of one or more Parishes or Townships, describe it thus— "The whole of the Parish [or Parishes] of _____." (2) If the District is part only of a Parish, say, "Part of the Parish of _____" [describing the line of Boundary]. (3) Under each Parish or Township, or part thereof, write the Name of every Village, Place, or Distinct Group of Houses, of every Road, Street, Court, &c., comprised within the Enumeration District.		
1	St Mary Abbotts Kensington (part of)	Part of the Parish of St. Mary Abbots Kensington, commencing at No 5 Bouverie Place, letting that portion situated in the aforesaid Parish. From Nos 14 to 1 at corner. Old House Public House Vineyard. Queen's Buildings Nos 2 to 14. Hooper's Court Nos 11 to 16. — Garden Row Nos 1 to 8 Queen's Buildings from No 2 (for Brewers) to 28 corner of New Street. — New Street (West side) Nos 1 to 14 including Wickwood Gardens Nos 1 to 6 — New Court Nos 1 to 12. — cross to East side, letting the 18 to top of Street. — Duke's Place Place, leading out of North Street Nos 1 to 10. — Loxley Chapel. Middle Queen's Buildings Nos 1 to 10. — Queen's Gardens Nos 1 to 31. — Return to Middle Queen's Buildings Nos 11 to 1. —	196	300
2	St Mary Abbots Kensington (part of)	Part of the Parish of St. Mary Abbots Kensington commencing with Queen Street both sides Nos 1 to 17 on West side — No 18 ^o on East side continuing to No 36 including Duke's Place top new corner of Queen's Buildings Upper Queen's Buildings Nos 1 to 10 to Lloyd's Place, letting Lloyd's Place Nos 1 to 12. — Red Lion Tavern & Red Lion Livery Stables. — Grove Terrace Nos 1 to 3. Grove Place (both sides) Nos 1 to 30 on East side, crossing to west side Nos 31 to 62. Return to Grove Terrace Nos 41 to 5. — Lower Grove Nos 7 to 10. — Brompton Terrace Nos 1 to 14. Brompton Square (Nos 1 to 34).	181	250
3	St Mary Abbots Kensington (part of)	Part of the Parish of St. Mary Abbots Kensington commencing with No 11 to 16 Lower Grove letting Duke's Place Yard, to Royal Chapel Grocery Yard (now — east side) Nos 1 to 14 Grove Buildings Nos 15 to 18. — Infant School. West side Nos 1 to 10. — Michael's Terrace Nos 1 to 12 Michael's Place Nos 1 to 11. — Michael's Grove East side Nos 1 to 10 — Grove Villas Nos 11 to 18. — 240 Grove Terrace Nos 1 to 9. Michael's Grove top. Brompton Crescent (South side) Nos 39 to 26 ^o West side Nos 25 to 8. — Woburnell House. Michael's Grove Nos 11 to 12. — Crescent Mans. Michael's Place Nos 13 to 14. — Crescent Mans. Crescent Place Nos 1 to 14. — New School. — Gray's Place Nos 14 ^o to 1.	320	430
4	St. Mary Abbots Kensington (part of)	Part of the Parish of St. Mary Abbots Kensington corner of Brompton Road Nos 1 to 11. Brompton National Schools. — Additional Numbers 8 to 10. Brompton Livery Yard to Fulham Road top letting Fulham Road, Tavern. — Sweet Place Nos 1 to 2. — Brompton Place Nos 1 to 5. —		

* Reckoning a Lodger, with or without a Family, as a separate Family.

Ward 1. St. Mary Abbots, Brompton

⁴³ Census of England and Wales, 1861 — Registrar Plan, available at: <http://www.histpop.org/ohpr/servlet/PageBrowser?path=Browse/TNA%20Census%20->

In the week before each census, enumerators hand-delivered a census schedule to each house in the district, with different schedules for private houses, hotels, public institutions, and so on.⁴⁴ The enumerator also made a note of empty-houses, shops, and buildings.⁴⁵ The census sought to capture the entire populace at the place where they spent the night on the day of the census.⁴⁶ Each enumerator received instructions and details concerning the boundaries and contents of their enumeration district.⁴⁷

Adverts were placed in newspapers to find enumerators for the census. These adverts would provide some information about the area of responsibility, such as the sub-registration district, as illustrated in figure 2.3.⁴⁸ Local officials, farmers, school-teachers often undertook the role of enumerators, which was an advantage for the GRO as it meant some enumerators had local insights.⁴⁹ However, registrars selected and proposed enumerators as they wished.⁵⁰ The ideal enumerator was someone who was:

...intelligent, trustworthy, active, and likely to conduct themselves with propriety and tact in the discharge of their duties, and were recommended to give

[http://histpop.org/ohpr/servlet/PageBrowser?path=Browse/TNA%20Census%20-%20Other%20\(by%20date\)&active=yes&mmo=3126&tocstate=expand-new&display=sections&display=tables&display=pagetitles&pageseq=first-nonblank](http://histpop.org/ohpr/servlet/PageBrowser?path=Browse/TNA%20Census%20-%20Other%20(by%20date)&active=yes&mmo=3126&tocstate=expand-new&tocseq=100&display=sections&display=tables&display=pagetitles&pageseq=first-nonblank), [accessed: 14 November 2017].

⁴⁴ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 25 March 1901, ‘Taking the Census’.

⁴⁵ Dennis R. Mills, and Kevin Schürer, ‘The enumeration process’, in Dennis R. Mills, and Kevin Schürer, eds., *Local Communities in the Victorian Census Enumerators’ Books* (Oxford: Leopard’s Head Press, 1996), pp. 16–26.

⁴⁶ Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census*, p. 13.

⁴⁷ Census of England and Wales, 1901, ‘Instructions to the Enumerator Relating to his Duties in Connection with the Census’, *Instructions issued to local officers for the taking of the census of 1901*, available at: [http://histpop.org/ohpr/servlet/PageBrowser?path=Browse/TNA%20Census%20-%20Other%20\(by%20date\)&active=yes&mmo=3166&tocstate=expandnew&display=sections&display=tables&display=pagetitles&pageseq=40](http://histpop.org/ohpr/servlet/PageBrowser?path=Browse/TNA%20Census%20-%20Other%20(by%20date)&active=yes&mmo=3166&tocstate=expandnew&display=sections&display=tables&display=pagetitles&pageseq=40), [accessed: 9 March 2017].

⁴⁸ *South London Press*, 29 January 1881, ‘Census’.

⁴⁹ Edward Higgs, ‘The struggle for the occupational census, 1841–1911’, in Roy M. MacLeod, ed., *Government and expertise: specialists, administrators and professionals, 1860–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, second edition), pp. 83–84.

⁵⁰ Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census*, p. 12.

preference to classes of persons who from official experience and training might be expected to make suitable enumerators.⁵¹

In the February or March of the census year, the appointment of tens of thousands of census enumerators in preparation for the impending enumeration took place.⁵² Registrars proposed individuals to be enumerators, and the Superintendent Registrar, if satisfied, confirmed the proposal and appointed them.⁵³

Figure 2.3: Advert for census enumerators, 1881⁵⁴

CENSUS.—FORTY ENUMERATORS REQUIRED for Lambeth Church 2nd Sub-District.
Apply personally, at once, to G. Hearson, Registrar, 53,
Upper Kennington-lane, S.E. 6850

Some census enumerators were individuals who had been out of regular work, which raises some questions about the quality of the census. With a desire to get the unemployed into work, it is questionable whether some enumerators fulfilled the intended requirements. In addition, there were complaints about the employment of women as census enumerators, which began in 1891.⁵⁵ Those employed in seasonal occupations thought it was unfair that women engaged in the work, as they felt they should be the ones employed for the census.⁵⁶ Others, however, argued that ‘There is no reason why many women should not take advantage of the census to earn a couple of guineas.’⁵⁷ The total number of female enumerators is unknown, and there is a paucity of literature addressing who the enumerators were.

⁵¹ *Western Daily Press*, 14 April 1911, ‘Census Enumerators’.

⁵² In 1901, the number of enumerators approached ‘nearly 40,000’, *Bournemouth Daily Echo*, 30 March 1901, ‘Notes and News’.

⁵³ *Christian and Annal, Census*, pp. 12-14.

⁵⁴ *South London Press*, 29 January 1881, ‘Census’.

⁵⁵ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 18 July 1890, ‘The Axiom of Sex’.

⁵⁶ *Hull Daily Mail*, 13 April 1911, ‘Women as Census Enumerators’.

⁵⁷ *Lincolnshire Echo*, 7 January 1901, ‘Women as Census Enumerators’.

Complaints existed amongst census enumerators themselves. Many enumerators felt unfairly paid for the work they had done. In some cases, there were extreme effects. Charles Tanner, a stationer and census enumerator from Winchester, was apparently driven to insanity by the work. After delivering his schedules to the individual households, he went to a river and committed suicide.⁵⁸ In 1851, a meeting of the census enumerators for Hackney parish discussed the remuneration of their recent enumeration activities. Concerning the work conducted, many stated they would not have undertaken the role if they had been aware of the extent of the work required.⁵⁹ In 1871, a similar meeting took place, where in addition to the discussions of remuneration, an enumerator alleged that he caught smallpox while conducting the census.⁶⁰ Typically, enumerators were paid a fixed sum, with an extra payment for every 100 persons above a set number enumerated, although this changed between censuses.⁶¹ In 1851, a Whitechapel census enumerator applied for a summons against the Home Secretary. The enumerator, Mr Cohen, was to be paid eighteen shillings for the first 300 names, with a further one shilling for each additional sixty names. However, at the end of the census, it emerged that he was ten names short of the sixty. Despite enumerating the extra fifty, he did not receive fractional payment.⁶² As such, some enumerators had issues with the demands of the job and their remuneration.

After having distributed the census forms (see figure 2.4), the enumerator then visited every house in the district again to collect the forms from the Monday morning

⁵⁸ *West Somerset Free Press*, 6 April 1901, ‘Census Enumerator’s Suicide’.

⁵⁹ *London Daily News*, 22 May 1851, ‘The Census Enumerators’.

⁶⁰ *Clerkenwell News*, 9 May 1871, ‘The Census Enumerators’.

⁶¹ Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census*, p. 12.

⁶² *Norfolk News*, 31 May 1851, ‘Census Enumerators and the Home Secretary’.

after the census.⁶³ If people had arrived at an empty house since he had delivered the form, they then had to complete one there and then.⁶⁴ After collecting the household schedules, for the years 1841 to 1901, the enumerator then had to enter the details into their CEB, which was typically given a time limit of one week.⁶⁵ Over time, a circular in Welsh, German, and Yiddish accompanied household schedules for those who did not have English as a first language.⁶⁶ With heads of households expected to complete household schedules, there is likely to have been additional errors caused by illiterate householders, which would only be compounded by non-English speaking individuals completing returns. In 1911, for the first time, the household schedules were preserved.⁶⁷ Instead, enumerators had to complete a Census Summary Book (CSB). Following completion of the CEB, registrars sent the records to the Census Office.⁶⁸ As materials progressed through the administrative channels, quality checks sought to ensure the accuracy of the returns. However, P. M. Tillott argues that many errors were missed in the tabulation and clerical errors failed to address apparent errors.⁶⁹

Over time, there were developments in the administration of the census.⁷⁰ Martin Campbell-Kelly argues that despite the resistance to mechanisation, the census

⁶³ Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census*, p. 13.

⁶⁴ *Ibid*

⁶⁵ Christian and Annal, *Census*, p. 14.

⁶⁶ Woppard, 'The 1901 census', p. 29.

⁶⁷ I-CeM guide, p. 18.

⁶⁸ Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census*, pp. 13-15.

⁶⁹ P. M. Tillott, 'Sources of inaccuracy in the 1851 and 1861 censuses', in E. A. Wrigley, ed., *Nineteenth-century society: Essays in the use of quantitative methods for the study of social data* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), p. 89.

⁷⁰ Martin Campbell-Kelly, 'Information Technology and Organisational Change in the British Census, 1801-1911', *Information Systems Research*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (1996), pp. 29-32.

was a clear manifestation of information technology in action.⁷¹ However, the pressure of professional organisations eventually resulted in the adoption of mechanised tabulation in the 1911 census. The evolution of techniques did not remove the likelihood of error but merely transformed it from occurring within the tally system to that of a punch card system. The introduction of a mechanised approach within the tabulation of the UK censuses came almost twenty years after it first appeared in the US, partly, as Edward Higgs argues, because of the leadership within the GRO.⁷²

The introduction of Herman Hollerith's tabulating machines offered new possibilities for checking and tabulating census returns and led to an increase in the number of published reports.⁷³ Jon Agar has argued that the permanent record offered by tabulation cards offered the ability to re-check the data.⁷⁴ Agar argues that this reassessment was useful for the census office as it had less trust in women and boys who had replaced many of the men involved in the tabulation.⁷⁵ Great emphasis came from above with respect to ensuring the completion of the census tabulation promptly.⁷⁶ The attempt to increase accuracy and improve efficiency took advantage of the developing technologies. Ultimately, the census administration and processing became increasingly time-consuming as additional factors, variables, and reports were produced.

⁷¹ Campbell-Kelly, 'Information Technology and Organisational Change', pp. 29-32.

⁷² Edward Higgs, 'The Statistical Big Bang of 1911: Ideology, Technological Innovation and the Production of Medical Statistics', *Social History of Medicine*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (1996), pp. 418-419.

⁷³ Herman Hollerith, 'The Electrical Tabulating Machine', *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, Vol. 57, No. 4 (1894), pp. 678-689.

⁷⁴ Jon Agar, *The Government Machine: A Revolutionary History of the Computer* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003), p. 151.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*

⁷⁶ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 18 May 1901, 'Payment of the Census Enumerators'.

Figure 2.4: 1851 example household schedule⁷⁷

[No. 2.]

LIST of the MEMBERS of this FAMILY, of VISITORS, and of SERVANTS who SLEPT or ABODED in this House on the NIGHT of SUNDAY, MARCH 30th.

NAME and SURNAME.	RELATION to Head of Family.	CONDITION.	SEX.	AGE [Last Birthday.]	BANK, PROFESSION, or OCCUPATION.	WHERE BORN.	If Deaf-and-Dumb, or Blind.
<i>No Person absent on the Night of March 30th to be entered.</i>							
1							
2							
3							
4							
5							
6							
7							
8							
9							
10							
11							
12							
13							
14							
15							

The foregoing is a true Return concerning all the Members of this Family. **Witness my Hand,**

⁷⁷ Census of England and Wales, 1851, 'Forms and Instructions', available at: [http://histpop.org/ohpr/servlet/PageBrowser?path=Browse/Census%20\(by%20date\)&active=yes&mno=25&tocstate=expandnew&tocseq=400&display=sections&display=tables&display=pagetitles&pageseq=first-nonblank](http://histpop.org/ohpr/servlet/PageBrowser?path=Browse/Census%20(by%20date)&active=yes&mno=25&tocstate=expandnew&tocseq=400&display=sections&display=tables&display=pagetitles&pageseq=first-nonblank), [accessed: 10 March 2017].

Improvements to the mechanism for conducting the census accompanied changes to the questions asked.⁷⁸ For example, changes were made to the census returns concerning nationality. As Norman Carrier and James Jeffery note:

...it was the practice prior to 1891 to count as British Subjects all persons born abroad in European countries who had surnames which appeared to be English. In the 1891 census calculations, this practice was not followed, figures for that year contain no correction for the alien overstatement.⁷⁹

These changes problematize comparisons. The practice of counting suspected British subjects is another factor that influences the reliability of the census. Changes to the questions and how they were dealt with poses a challenge to scholarly uses of the data.⁸⁰

Non-completion and suspicion affected the census. Concerns existed regarding the post-collection stage.⁸¹ There are arguments that even the forms handed out to the public played an important role in how persons responded to the census. Paul Dobraszczyk traces the evolution of the census forms and argues that people viewed and treated them with varying degrees of accommodation. Some viewed the forms with a degree of reverence or necessity, while others viewed them as 'tools of a new 'inquisition' intent on exposing the weaknesses of its more unfortunate citizens, a source of humour, or of outright incomprehension.'⁸² If a person refused to provide information

⁷⁸ Kevin Schürer, 'The 1891 census and local population studies', *Local Population Studies*, Vol. 47 (1991), pp. 19-27.

⁷⁹ Norman. H. Carrier, and James R. Jeffery, *External Migration: A Study of the Available Statistics, 1815-1950* (London: HMSO, 1953), p. 66.

⁸⁰ Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census*, pp. 71-74.

⁸¹ *Ibid*, pp. 13-14.

⁸² Paul Dobraszczyk, 'Give in your account': Using and Abusing Victorian Census Forms', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (2009), p. 21.

to the enumerator, or if there were suspicions that something was intentionally incorrect, enumerators would read the Census Act to them highlighting the penalties.⁸³ If individuals persisted, the registrar would conduct further investigation and issue a fine.⁸⁴

Census organisation and management was an enormous undertaking. As Higgs notes, each Victorian and Edwardian census was legislated individually, and in each decade, new machinery was established, albeit built on a ‘common administrative pattern’.⁸⁵ However, the regularity of the census, with its formulaic layout embedded itself into the consciousness of both the state and the public. Despite recreating census machinery, organisers sought to develop and learn from previous enumerations.⁸⁶ Subsequent censuses retained the modes of census specific geography that emerged from earlier iterations.

IV. The Census – An Appraisal

Scholars have identified a number of limitations with the census as a source.⁸⁷ Many contemporaries also had issues with the enumeration.⁸⁸ Common questions about the reliability of the census include the degree of literacy amongst heads of households

⁸³ *Standard*, 21 July 1890, ‘The Census’.

⁸⁴ Ibid. For other examples, see *Cheltenham Chronicle*, 4 May 1901, ‘Objected to the Census’, *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 28 February 1901, ‘The Approaching Census’, and *Sheffield Evening Telegraph*, 20 April 1891, ‘The Census “Inquisition”’.

⁸⁵ Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census*, pp. 11-13.

⁸⁶ Ibid, pp. 15-17.

⁸⁷ See Matthew Woppard, “‘Shooting the Nets’: A Note on the Reliability of the 1881 Census Enumerators’ Books”, *Local Population Studies*, Vol. 59 (1997), pp. 54-57.

⁸⁸ William Lucas Sargant, ‘Inconsistencies of the English Census of 1861, with the Registrar-General’s Reports: and Deficiencies in the Local Registry of Births’, *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (1865), pp. 73-74.

who were filling out the census and the interpretation of handwriting by enumerators.⁸⁹ Claims exist that some older persons purposefully submitted an older age to receive parish support in the form of poor relief.⁹⁰ The measurement of the quality of the census is often in absolutes.⁹¹ The purpose of the census was to enumerate one-hundred per cent of the population. When moving beyond absolutes, and in embracing its limitations, the census can provide insightful aggregate and localised patterns of behaviour, and is well suited for socio-economic studies.⁹²

While all censuses share issues, the 1911 census stands out as experiencing some distinct challenges. The suffragist movement deliberately attempted to disrupt the 1911 census.⁹³ In 1903, Emmeline Pankhurst established the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU).⁹⁴ The WSPU pursued a radical and militant strategy in the pursuit of enfranchisement for women.⁹⁵ In preparation for the 1911 census, branches and members of the WSPU advocated evading enumerators by holding all-night parties, spoiling the census return, and generally boycotting enumeration.⁹⁶ On the evening of 2 April 1911, three drivers drove 'a number of Suffragettes' on to Putney and

⁸⁹ I-CeM guide, p. 19.

⁹⁰ K. S. Taylor, 'The Strengths and Weaknesses of the Official Census', (2012), available at: <http://www.qlhs.org.uk/oracle/2012-census/index.html>, [accessed: 9 March 2017]. See also David Thomson, 'Age reporting by the elderly and the nineteenth century census', *Local Population Studies*, Vol. 25 (1980), pp. 13-25.

⁹¹ Sophie McGeevor, 'How well did the nineteenth century census record women's 'regular' employment in England and Wales? A case study of Hertfordshire in 1851', *The History of the Family*, Vol. 19, No. 4 (2014), pp. 489-490.

⁹² Mark Rothery, 'Constructing the scaffolding: the National Census and the English landed gentry family in the Victorian period', *Family & Community History*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (2006), pp. 93-95.

⁹³ Ian White, 'No vote - no census: An account of some of the events of 1910-1911', *Population Trends*, No. 142 (2010), pp. 46-50.

⁹⁴ Jane Purvis, *Emmeline Pankhurst: A Biography* (London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 65-78.

⁹⁵ Keith Lance, 'Strategy Choices of the British Women's Social and Political Union, 1903-18', *Social Science Quarterly*, Vol. 60, No. 1 (1979), pp. 53-57.

⁹⁶ White, 'No vote – no census', pp. 46-48.

Wimbledon Commons to assist the women in evading the census.⁹⁷ The purposeful evasion of the census was a form of civil disobedience in a wider campaign for enfranchisement.

Another example of census evasion was the all-night party held at the Leicester WSPU shop at 14 Bowling Green Street, Leicester (see figure 2.5).⁹⁸ George Cooper, the local registrar, decided to conduct some investigatory work after the local enumerator was unable to furnish the details of those women who attended the Leicester WSPU all-night party. As illustrated in figure 2.6, Cooper utilised published figures from the local WSPU to ascertain that of the 256 members of the WSPU, ninety-three resided in the sub-registration district of South Leicester, of which seventy-two could be identified from the returns, leaving twenty-one unaccounted for. On the night of the census, the return for the office came back with an approximate figure of twenty persons, with the description 'Most of these were people of no occupation - a doctor's wife and daughter were amongst them.'⁹⁹ While an act of political protest, these organised acts of evasion are indicative of the many factors that influenced the census returns, reinforcing concerns of accuracy and reliability. Official reports of the census omitted mentions of the suffragist boycott. Within this context, it is clear that contemporary census reports glossed over many of the limitations and circumstances, including the active efforts to denigrate it or to limit its effectiveness.

⁹⁷ *Dundee Courier*, 7 April 1911, 'Sequel to Suffragettes Evasion of Census'.

⁹⁸ Elizabeth Crawford, 'Suffrage Stories: The 1911 Census: The Leicester Suffragettes' Mass Evasion', 29 November 2013, available at: <https://womanandhersphere.com/2013/11/29/suffrage-stories-the-1911-census-the-leicester-suffragettes-mass-evasion/>, [accessed: 6 March 2017]. See also John Mercer, 'Shopping for Suffrage: the campaign shops of the Women's Social and Political Union', *Women's History Review*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (2009), pp. 293-309.

⁹⁹ Census of England and Wales, 1911. RG 14/19288

Each of the censuses shared problematic components. On the nights of the censuses, the police were active in patrolling ‘to assist and protect the enumerators in every way, and all people walking about on Sunday night, apparently homeless, will be conducted to the police station.’¹⁰⁰ Despite efforts to enumerate the homeless, it was accepted that ‘In spite of the utmost care, a few homeless wandering creatures will escape being counted’.¹⁰¹ With respect to London, in 1910 and 1911 censuses specifically sought to ascertain the number of homeless persons. For 1911, there were 4,549 men, 829 women, and thirty-eight young persons described as homeless.¹⁰² Annual censuses of paupers across the country highlighted irregular fluctuations in the number of people requiring aid, being homeless, or taking residency in a workhouse.¹⁰³ The inconsistency and uncertainty over homeless persons and the true scale of the issue was a challenge to ascertain throughout the period.¹⁰⁴

The census was perceived differently across the country. For some persons, the process of completing the census was onerous and taxing, even for the ‘leading citizens’. The *Gloucestershire Echo* described the census as follows: ‘Next to the income-tax return, the census paper is the greatest intellectual strain to which the average Britisher has, in the course of an average lifetime, to submit.’¹⁰⁵ Other observers viewed the census with a more jovial tone, ‘There would also be a distinctly comic element in the returns if all the mistakes, oddities, eccentricities, and mirth-moving

¹⁰⁰ Jackson’s *Oxford Journal*, 1 April 1871, ‘The Census’.

¹⁰¹ *Blackburn Standard*, 4 April 1891, ‘The Impending National Census’.

¹⁰² *Times*, 20 March 1911, ‘Census Of London’s Homeless Poor’.

¹⁰³ *Glasgow Herald*, 9 February 1863, ‘The Pauper Census of Christmas, 1862’.

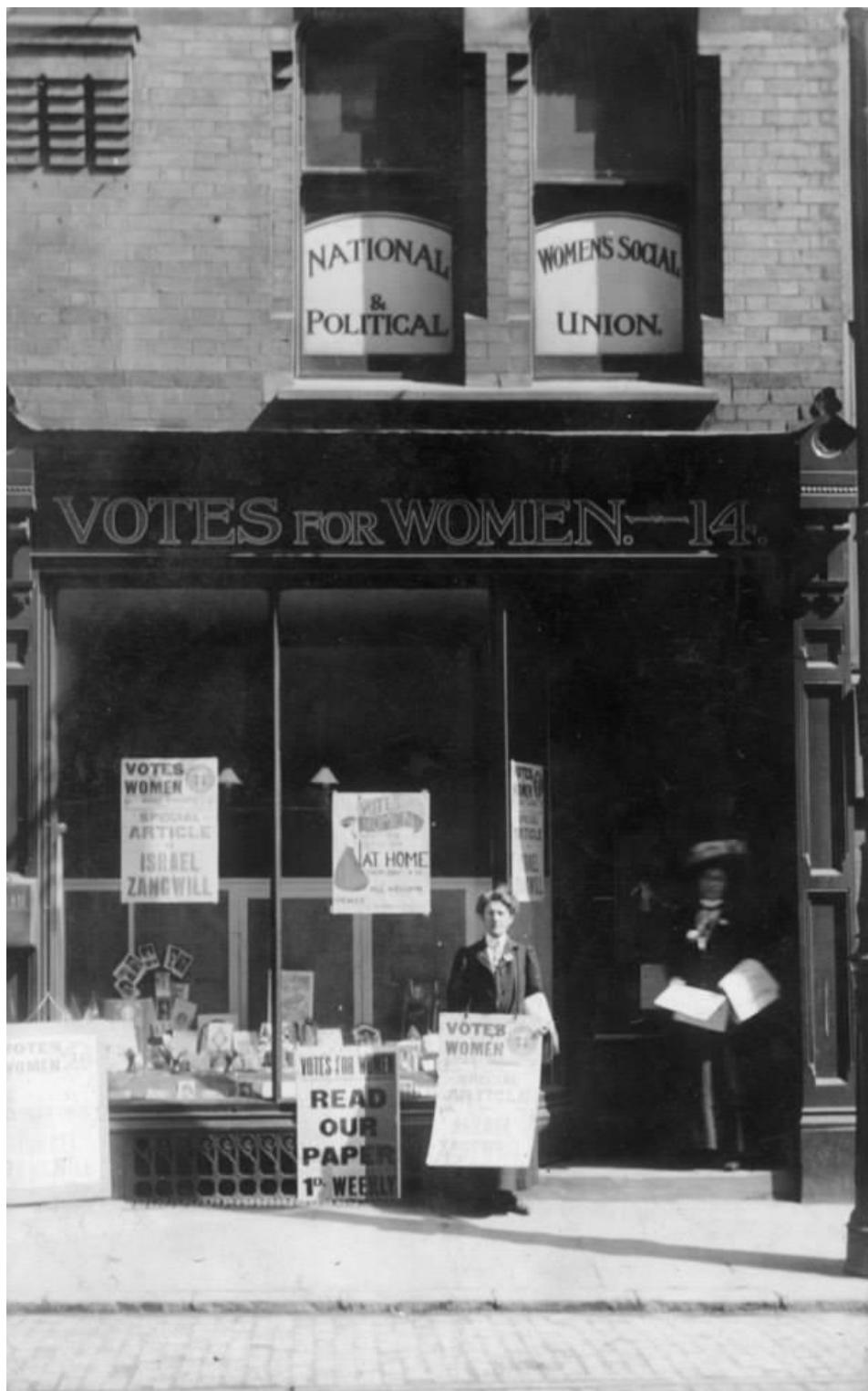
¹⁰⁴ Nigel Walford, ‘Bringing historical British Census records into the 21st century: A method of geocoding households and individuals at their early-20th century addresses’, *Population, Space and Place*, (2019), p. 11.

¹⁰⁵ *Gloucestershire Echo*, 3 April 1911, ‘The Census’.

entries were published.¹⁰⁶ As such, the attitude with which persons approached the censuses differed wildly. Despite concerns about the census documents, the vast majority were completed without disruption.

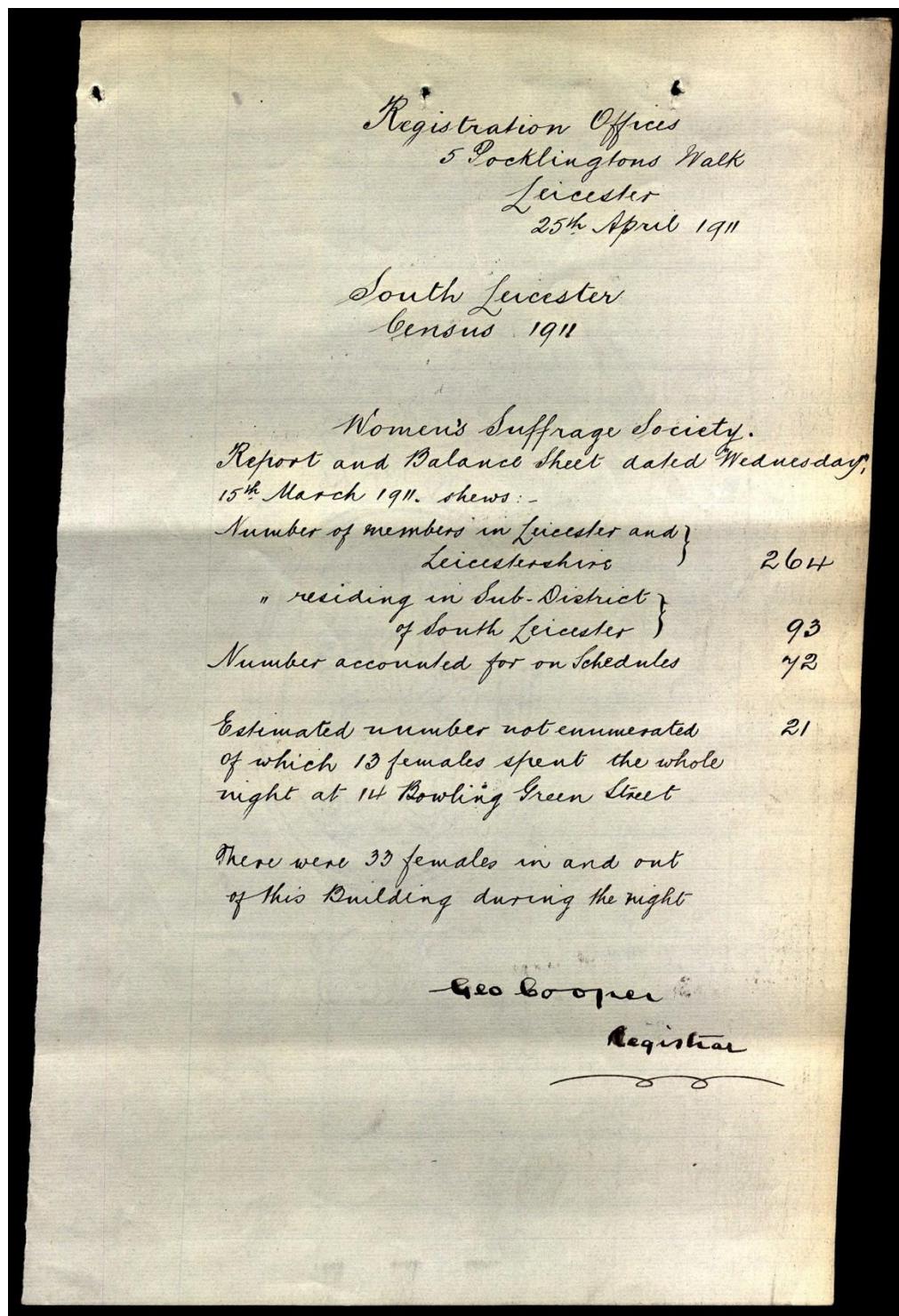
¹⁰⁶ *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 3 January 1891, ‘Christmas comes but once a year; the census but once in ten’.

Figure 2.5: Leicester WSPU Shop, 14 Bowling Green Street Shop¹⁰⁷



¹⁰⁷ Alice Hawkins, 'Leicester WSPU Shop in Bowling Green Street', available at: <http://www.alicesuffragette.co.uk/aliceslife.php>, [accessed: 6 March 2017].

Figure 2.6: Report by George Cooper, Leicester Registrar concerning suffragist evasion¹⁰⁸



¹⁰⁸ Census of England and Wales, 1911. RG 14/19288, 111, available at: <https://goo.gl/9na5QJ>, [accessed: 6 March 2017].

Many aspects of the census were criticised and viewed with suspicion.¹⁰⁹

While concerns about the completion of the census documents persisted throughout the decades; others focused on the census enumerators themselves. Accusations of over-zealous enumerators did nothing to alleviate fears that the census was an unnecessary extension of state surveillance. One woman's experience with a census enumerator near Alnmouth, on the coast of Northumberland, was as follows:

...the census enumerator sadly discomposed the equanimity of an elderly female by insisting upon knowing, as in duty bound, the age of herself and other members of her family. She could not conceive why he should be so inquisitive about such matters; she knew her own age and nobody had anything else to do with it.¹¹⁰

For other householders, the census resurfaced memories of the poll tax.¹¹¹ Contemporaries reported how these memories caused lingering doubts about the true motivation for the census, with some concerned about the census being utilised for future taxation purposes.¹¹²

As with most things on a national scale, there are human follies. However, a central assumption concerning the census is that it relies upon householders understanding the questions posed. Reluctance and uncertainty over the answers to questions on the census schedule may have led to uncertain answers, information about disabilities and age being particularly prone to error. Some of these errors were an intentional strike at the core of the census in its aim of being an accurate representation

¹⁰⁹ *Nottinghamshire Guardian*, 4 April 1861, 'The Census'.

¹¹⁰ *Morpeth Herald*, 4 May 1861, 'A Census Story'.

¹¹¹ *Morning Post*, 31 March 1851, 'J. Bartholomew: The Census'.

¹¹² *Leamington Spa Courier*, 29 March 1901, 'Taking the Census'.

of the populace.¹¹³ One enumerator related his experience of enumerating those who were not economically active:

After taking down the record of an old woman's family, which consisted of nine persons, he asked if there were any more. "Well, there is one, a sort of pensioner on me, as it were. The fact is, he is my son." The name, age, which was 27, birthplace, were given and recorded.

"What is his occupation or trade?"

"Bless your dear soul, he hasn't any. He's the most good-for-nothingest fellow you ever saw. If I am his mother I am not ashamed to say so. Why, my boy would rather starve than work. He is so all-fired lazy that he wouldn't grow if it required any exertion."

"Is he suffering from any acute or chronic disease?" read the enumerator from the printed questions.

"Yes, sir; he is suffering from acute inactivity and chronic laziness. I hope your inquisitiveness about my poor boy is satisfied, so good-day sir."¹¹⁴

The exchange illustrates the capricious decisions an enumerator often had to make when acquiring further information from a household.

Census responses were subject to the respondents appropriately completing household forms. Occupations proved a notably problematic factor; the following are three examples recorded occupations are from the 1881 census. Emma Dawe, who was living in Monmouth, was an 'Invisible net maker'.¹¹⁵ Henry Brown of London

¹¹³ Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census*, p. 91.

¹¹⁴ *Hampshire Telegraph*, 12 July 1890, 'Census Notes'.

¹¹⁵ 1881 England Census, Class: RG11; Piece: 236; Folio: 123; Page: 1; available at: www.ancestry.co.uk, 1881 England Census, online database (1999), [accessed: 14 July 2017].

was a ‘Gymnast to house painter’.¹¹⁶ Meanwhile, Frank Dobson was a Yorkshire ‘Turnip shepherd’.¹¹⁷ These examples are just a sample of the unusual and fictitious occupations enumerated in the census. Anomalies such as these erode trust in the census as a source.

Enumerators related threatening experiences by householders, but also of individuals choosing to select the title of their occupation to put themselves in the best possible light. For some enumerators, the most challenging group to work with were those who sat between the two:

There was a pragmatical little man, too, who lodged over the butcher’s shop, and who insisted on describing himself as “gentleman” in spite of that vague phrase having been expressly forbidden in the printed descriptions. He was a retired haberdasher, and he did not like to say so; while the shopmen who would call themselves “assistants;” the people who boggled over trifles, and could not be made to understand either the responsibility of a written statement or the value of my time-all these belonged to the half-educated classes.¹¹⁸

The interaction between the two contrasting elements highlights both the aspirations and tensions of different groups within British society. The experience of householders being confronted by educated middle and upper class census enumerators might explain any grandiose self-representation.

There were institutional attempts to raise support for completing the census with attention to detail. From 1901, teachers and public schools were encouraged to

¹¹⁶ 1881 England Census, Class: *RG11*; Piece: 75; Folio: 95; Page: 22; available at: www.ancestry.co.uk, 1881 England Census, online database (1999), [accessed: 14 July 2017].

¹¹⁷ 1881 England Census, Class: *RG11*; Piece: 4795; Folio: 65; Page: 14; available at: www.ancestry.co.uk, 1881 England Census, online database (1999), [accessed: 14 July 2017].

¹¹⁸ *Berkshire Chronicle*, 15 April 1871, ‘Experiences of a Census Enumerator’.

teach students about the census. Educators sought to instil in students the understanding of how ‘such accurate knowledge as the schedule demands is of very great service to those who have to watch the health of the people’.¹¹⁹ Similarly, memorandums sent to those involved in agriculture provided further information on how to fill out their form correctly.¹²⁰ Throughout the period, emphasis focused upon attaining a high degree of accuracy in the returns.¹²¹ Newspapers were utilised to convey the duty for each individual to complete the household schedule they were to receive reliably. Explicit appeals often accompanied such notices ‘...we beg to direct particular attention, - for unless particular care, a love of truth, and an honest determination to be *strictly* exact in making the returns prevail, the expense and labour undergone will have been of little or no avail...’.¹²² Penalties of £5 in 1851 sought to prevent false returns, or for avoiding completing the returns.¹²³ While it is impossible to verify or estimate to what extent returns were incorrect, as there was a penalty, it was apparently a concern for census authorities.

The accuracy of the census is a contested subject. When reflecting upon the various issues connected to the census, we cannot speculate how accurate they are with any certainty.¹²⁴ The process of copying returns from the household schedules to the CEB and CSB stands out as a particularly vulnerable moment for the introduction of errors. Household schedules for 1851-1901 were not preserved. In most cases, enumerator records and household schedules cannot be reconciled, as the records did not

¹¹⁹ *Times*, 17 March 1911, ‘The Census’.

¹²⁰ *Times*, 16 March 1911, ‘The Census’.

¹²¹ Taylor, ‘The Taking of the Census’, p. 718.

¹²² *Blackburn Standard*, 26 March 1851, ‘The Census’.

¹²³ *Ibid*

¹²⁴ Taylor, ‘The Taking of the Census’, pp. 717-718.

survive. Furthermore, the storage of census records has not always been in ideal circumstances. Less than ideal storage circumstances have contributed towards the deterioration of the census and the subsequently poorer quality of some records.¹²⁵

The census was taken consistently at the same time of year, typically on or around the first Sunday of April. However, this timing proved problematic.¹²⁶ For a start, some migrants were itinerant. Sponza argued that the census inevitably missed those who came to the country to work during the summer months.¹²⁷ On occasion, the census clashed with Easter, a prominent Christian festival and holiday. During this time, many people travelled and visited family, staying away from their home. In 1891, a letter to the editor highlighted this as a concern, as it described ‘A very large number of persons do not return from the Easter holidays until after next Sunday.’¹²⁸ The corresponding issue was inaccurate census returns and the artificial representation of persons in locations such as seaside resorts.¹²⁹ Despite these fears, only two of the seven censuses covered in this period occurred on the Sunday after Easter. Both of these censuses, those held in 1861 and 1891, had a higher proportion of the total population recorded as ‘Visitors’ than other censuses, with the exception of 1851. The increase in visitors in 1851 could, however, relate to a surge in the number of Ireland-

¹²⁵ Ancestry, ‘How we restored more than 16,500 water-damaged records from the 1851 Census’, 25 November 2010, available at: <http://blogs.ancestry.com/uk/2010/11/25/how-we-restored-more-than-16500-water-damaged-records-from-the-1851-census/>, [accessed: 10 November 2017].

¹²⁶ The censuses were held on the following dates; Sunday 30 March 1851, Sunday 7 April 1861, Sunday 2 April 1871, Sunday 3 April 1881, Sunday 5 April 1891, Sunday 31 March 1901, and Sunday 2 April 1911.

¹²⁷ Sponza, ‘The Italian Poor in Nineteenth-century Britain’, p. 14.

¹²⁸ *Times*, 3 April 1891, ‘To the Editor of the Times’.

¹²⁹ *Ibid*

born famine refugees staying in temporary accommodation, or with friends and family.¹³⁰ Contemporaries of the 1901 census related that it was due to be collected on ‘All Fool’s Day’, otherwise known as April Fool’s, and noted that persons will ‘persist in regarding the census as a huge joke and act accordingly...it is feared that the selection of “All Fool’s Day” for the work of numbering may lead to some queer eccentricities.’¹³¹ Similarly, many temporary workers, such as farm workers, would not have been in the area at the time of the censuses in March and April.¹³² However, one of the defining challenges of working with census data is the scale. The identification of small, negligible quirks is unlikely amongst the dizzying array of variables.

The inconsistency of data publication and classification after the census proved to be challenging. Classification of employment for each group changed between censuses, which also affects the classification of the I-CeM.¹³³ In 1841, married women were not considered as carrying on the occupations of their husbands. The reversal of this decision came in 1851. Rather than being classified as inactive, home-makers were assigned to the ‘Fifth Class’.¹³⁴ This new classification acknowledged that married women and mothers were engaged in an important work:

The Fifth Class comprises large numbers of the population that have hitherto been held to have no occupation; but it requires no argument to prove that the

¹³⁰ The total number of visitors in each census; 1851 – 372,673 (2.1 per cent), 1861 – 251,896 (1.3 per cent), 1881 – 264,454 (1 per cent), 1891 – 315,466 (1.1 per cent), 1901 – 383,147 (1.2 per cent), 1911 – 384,147 (1.1 per cent).

¹³¹ *Bournemouth Daily Echo*, 30 March 1901, ‘Notes and News’.

¹³² Alan Armstrong, *Farmworkers in England and Wales: A social and economic history, 1770-1980* (London: Batsford, 1988), pp. 51-53.

¹³³ See Simon R. Szreter, ‘The Genesis of the Registrar-General’s Social Classification of Occupations’, *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 35, No. 4 (1984), pp. 522-546, and Dennis Mills, and Joan Mills, ‘Occupation and social stratification revisited: the census enumerators’ books of Victorian Britain’, *Urban History*, Vol. 16 (1989), pp. 63-77.

¹³⁴ *Manchester Times*, 19 August 1854, ‘The Census’, and Census Office, *The Census of Great Britain in 1851* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1854), pp. 64-65.

wife, the mother, the mistress of an English Family—fills offices and discharges duties of no ordinary importance.¹³⁵

By 1861, this category changed again to become the ‘Domestic Class’.¹³⁶ Subsequent changes result in challenges when comparing published census reports, and caused issues in the original enumeration of the census. Some enumerators would record ‘wife’; others would specify if they were assisting a spouse, ‘a homemaker’, or just left blank.¹³⁷ Discrepancies within and between censuses pose issues for comparative analysis. In a similar fashion, foreign-born migrants were reluctant and sceptical of how they might be treated after the census. In Manchester, it was reported that:

The enumerators...have in some instances had their task rendered much more burdensome owing to the credulousness of the poorer classes, especially the denizens of the foreign quarters, who are still more than half convinced that the visit of the enumerators bodes them no good.¹³⁸

Concerns that they might be expelled if identified appears to have hampered the efforts of enumerators in discharging their duties, thereby casting serious doubts over the enumeration of foreign-born persons.

There is no shortage of criticisms of the census.¹³⁹ Despite this, the ability to explore the socio-economic composition of the entire population from a micro to a macro level is a significant benefit that should not be undervalued.¹⁴⁰ At an aggregate

¹³⁵ Catherine Hakim, ‘Census Report as Documentary Evidence: The Census Commentaries, 1801-1951’, *Sociological Review*, Vol. 28, No. 3 (1980), p. 555.

¹³⁶ *Ibid*, p. 556.

¹³⁷ John McKay, ‘Married women and work in nineteenth century Lancashire: the evidence of the 1851 and 1861 census reports’, *Local Population Studies*, Vol. 61 (1998), pp. 25-27. See also Edward Higgs, and Amanda Wilkinson, ‘Women, Occupations and Work in the Victorian Censuses Revisited’, *History Workshop Journal*, Vol. 81, No. 1 (2016), pp. 17-38, and Michael Anderson, ‘What can the mid-Victorian censuses tell us about variations in married women’s employment?’, *Local Population Studies*, Vol. 62 (1999), pp. 11-12.

¹³⁸ *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 1 April 1901, ‘Taking the Census’.

¹³⁹ Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census*, pp. 103-104.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p. 48.

level, minor discrepancies and issues fade into the broader patterns highlighted within the data. The scale of the data, which includes millions of persons, can reveal distinct socio-economic profiles for houses, streets, towns, cities, regions, and the whole country. Accidents by householders and enumerators when filling out the census form should not foster a complete disregard for the census, rather, it should instil a sense of caution when utilising it.¹⁴¹ The census, as David Coleman noted, ‘is the only major source of data on foreign immigration before 1920’.¹⁴²

Can the census be trusted? With the identified limitations, what is its value for historians? There can be large variations in the quality of the census from one enumeration district to the next. Without a more detailed analysis of the enumerators themselves, further comments cannot be made regarding the accuracy of the records. However, the census provides a snapshot of the country at a single moment in time. In highlighting key behaviours in relation to occupation, and demography, findings from the census are often supported by other contemporary sources. Outside of a comprehensive framework, and when treated as representative, the census proves invaluable to historical studies of British society.

¹⁴¹ *Bristol Mercury*, 6 April 1891, ‘The Census’, and Barbara Woollings, ‘An Orsett Census Enumerator’, *Local Population Studies*, Vol. 56 (1996), pp. 54-59.

¹⁴² David A. Coleman, ‘U.K. Statistics on Immigration: Development and Limitations’, *The International Migration Review*, Vol. 21, No. 4 (1987), p. 1158.

V. I-CeM – What is it?

A defining aspect of this thesis is that it is the first to make use of the I-CeM to study the topic of migration in England and Wales. The dataset was the result of a collaborative project led by the University of Essex and funded by the Economic and Social Research Council, with data provided by FindMyPast (part of the BrightSolid group).¹⁴³ The I-CeM is a standardised and integrated dataset that covers most of the censuses of England, Scotland and Wales for the period 1851 to 1911.¹⁴⁴ Individuals enumerated in the census, and the accompanying information about them is available for analysis within digital environments.¹⁴⁵ The project builds upon earlier work conducted by the Principal Investigator, Kevin Schürer.¹⁴⁶ A digitised version of the 1881 Census for England and Wales, the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man, was published for use by researchers in 2000.¹⁴⁷ A series of computer-assisted projects have previously utilised the decennial censuses of England and Wales.¹⁴⁸ During the 1970s,

¹⁴³ University of Essex, Integrated Census Microdata, available at: <https://www.essex.ac.uk/history/research/icem/>, [accessed: 14 November 2017].

¹⁴⁴ Kevin Schürer, and Joe Day, ‘Migration to London and the development of the north–south divide, 1851–1911’, *Social History*, Vol. 44, No. 1 (2019), p. 28.

¹⁴⁵ For England and Wales, this means total record numbers of; 17,571,715 in 1851, 19,685,838 in 1861, 25,984,971 in 1881, 29,358,694 in 1891, 32,342,857 in 1901, and 36,205,318 in 1911.

¹⁴⁶ See for example Kevin Schürer, ‘Historical demography, social structure and the computer’, in Peter Denley, and Deian Hopkin, eds., *History and Computing*, Vol. 1 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), pp. 33-45.

¹⁴⁷ Kevin Schürer, and Matthew Woppard, (2000), *1881 Census for England and Wales, the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man (Enhanced Version)*, [data collection], UK Data Service, Genealogical Society of Utah, Federation of Family History Societies, [original data producer(s)]. Accessed 4 January 2017. SN: 4177, DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-4177-1>

¹⁴⁸ Tom Arkell, ‘Analysing Victorian Census Data on Computer’, *Teaching History*, No. 54 (1989), pp. 18-25, David Gately, *A User Guide to the 1861 Census and Vital Registration Data Base* (Stoke-on-Trent: Staffordshire University, 1996), J. V. Beckett and T. Foulds, ‘Beyond the micro: Laxton, the computer and social change over time’, *The Local Historian*, Vol. 16, No. 8 (1985), pp. 451-456, Kevin Schürer, ‘Census enumerators’ returns and the computer’, *The Local Historian*, Vol. 16, No. 6 (1985), pp. 335-342, Stephen Jackson, ‘Using micro-databases in local history: Bromborough Pool, 1861’, *The Local Historian*, Vol. 16, No. 5 (1985), pp. 266-277, and Pat Hudson, ‘A New History from Below: Computers and the maturing of Local and Regional History’, *The Local Historian*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (1995), pp. 209-222.

Michael Anderson produced a two per cent national sample from the 1851 census.¹⁴⁹ Anderson's work offered a valuable resource for scholars and established a trail for future projects. Work on national and local samples of more recent censuses and the processes of dealing with them have prepared the way for the publication of similar datasets, such as I-CeM.¹⁵⁰

I-CeM comes in two separate datasets. Firstly, an anonymised version that contains dozens of demographic and socio-economic variables.¹⁵¹ Secondly, a special licence version that is composed of detailed personal information, such as names and addresses.¹⁵² The special licence version, which requires a comprehensive end user data confidentiality agreement, provides scope for future nominal data linkage projects.¹⁵³ The two datasets link individuals through a common identifier.

The I-CeM project formally began in April 2009.¹⁵⁴ Throughout 2010, project members presented initial findings and led discussions on various topics connected to the dataset.¹⁵⁵ After running into some problems with the supply of data from the provider, for a period in October 2011, the project was formally frozen. In June 2012,

¹⁴⁹ Anderson, *National Sample from the 1851 Census of Great Britain*, pp. 4-5.

¹⁵⁰ Part of this movement is the coalescence of numerous disciplines to work together on the development and usage of census data for academic research. This movement has brought historians, sociologists, computer scientists, and human geographers, amongst others – together.

¹⁵¹ The interface for downloading the anonymous data is available at: <https://icem.data-archive.ac.uk/> [accessed: 5 January 2019]. A further aggregated data interface can be found through the I-CeM Nesstar Catalogue, available at: <http://icem-nesstar.data-archive.ac.uk/webview/>, [accessed: 5 January 2019].

¹⁵² UKDA, 'Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM) Names and Addresses, 1851-1911: Special Licence Access', deposited 21 December 2015, available at: [10.5255/UKDA-SN-7856-1](https://doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-7856-1), [accessed: 1 February 2017].

¹⁵³ For a brief introduction, see Zhichun Fu, H. M. Boot, Peter Christen, and Jun Zhou, 'Automatic Record Linkage of Individuals and Households in Historical Census Data', *International Journal of Humanities & Arts Computing: A Journal of Digital Humanities*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (2014), pp. 204–225.

¹⁵⁴ I-CeM Resources, available at: <http://i-cem.info/news-blog/>, [accessed: 14 November 2017].

¹⁵⁵ Ibid

the project was recommenced and the final data delivered to the UK Data Archive in September 2013.

The project had a number of objectives, all of which worked to get the data into a workable format for academic researchers. The five objectives were: (1) to reconcile the data with the Census Reports; (2) to reformat the input data; (3) to perform a number of consistency checks on the data, and to alter the results accordingly; (4) to reformat and standardise the data; and (5) to add a number of enriched variables, mainly relating to households. With almost 210 million individual records and 45 million households, the project relied on automatic coding and checking processes to ensure the accuracy of the data.

VI. I-CeM – How was it digitised?

Strictly speaking, I-CeM was an enrichment and standardisation project. The I-CeM project received the original digitised data from FindMyPast and was not involved in the digitisation process itself.¹⁵⁶ The data for the period 1851-1901 is from CEBs, as they are the only documents that survived with microdata. The 1911 census data, however, comes from the individual household returns, which means the 1911 census has one less source of potential error.¹⁵⁷

Due to problems with supply, the 1871 census for England and Wales and the 1911 census for Scotland could not be included in the final I-CeM. Nonetheless, the

¹⁵⁶ I-CeM guide, p. 110.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid, p. 21.

project produced an unparalleled longitudinal socio-economic historical dataset for the UK in a malleable digital format.¹⁵⁸ The omission of certain censuses poses a challenge to the longitudinal nature of the study. However, the benefits of the data for the other censuses far outweigh the challenges that arise from the absence of one census. In this thesis, where possible, values for 1871 are estimated by averaging the 1861 and 1881 censuses.

The 1991 dataset produced by the Genealogical Society of Utah provided free and open access to a fully transcribed version of the 1881 census.¹⁵⁹ The dataset produced by the society relied upon volunteer indexers to transcribe the census, which comes with its own limitations and issues. The twice-keyed indexing and arbitration system of the Genealogical Society of Utah transcription means the 1881 data is generally reliable.¹⁶⁰ Nonetheless, even though extensive transcription guidelines were provided, errors persisted.¹⁶¹ Similarly, the guidance for the transcribers, who were volunteers, enabled them a greater degree of freedom than those working for Find-MyPast. In his evaluation of the 1881 data, Nigel Goose identified a number of issues, even after employing such a comprehensive transcription process.¹⁶² For instance, confusion over instructions on how to deal with rounded brackets, and slashes to delimit families and households persisted. Despite issues, Goose praises the 1881 census

¹⁵⁸ I-CeM guide, p. 1.

¹⁵⁹ Peter Christian, *The Genealogist's Internet* (London: Bloomsbury, 2012, fifth edition), pp. 86-87.

¹⁶⁰ Matthew Woppard, 'Great Britain: Microdata from the 1851 and 1881 Censuses', in Patricia Kelly Hall, Robert McCaa, and Gunnar Thorvaldsen, eds., *Handbook of International Historical Microdata for Population Research*, (Minnesota, MN: The Minnesota Population Center, 2000), p. 113.

¹⁶¹ Genealogical Society of Utah, 'British 1881 Census Project: Transcription Guidelines', (1993), available at: http://doc.ukdataservice.ac.uk/doc/4177/mrdoc/pdf/4177_method.pdf, [accessed: 6 January 2017].

¹⁶² Nigel Goose, 'Evaluating the 1881 Census Transcription: a Pilot Survey of Hertfordshire', *History and Computing*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (2002), pp. 181-198.

transcription and describes it as being of an ‘extremely high standard’.¹⁶³ The I-CeM utilised the 1881 data in its own iteration, and consequently, it differs from the other census years due to the different transcription process.

VII. I-CeM – What are the variables?

The variables contained within the I-CeM cover a broad spectrum of areas, including geography, individual identification, source provenance, socio-economic values, demographics, birthplace, language, and more. The accompanying I-CeM Guide provides a full breakdown of each variable, including its coverage, type of field, and a description.¹⁶⁴ Table 2.1 offers a simple classification of the I-CeM variables into thirteen groups: Record Identification, Census Geography, Parish, Source, Household Identifier, Person Identifier, Demographic, Occupation, Birthplace, Language, Fertility, Derived, and Inference. As such, this section expands on these variables and provides examples of them.

¹⁶³ Goose, ‘Evaluating the 1881 Census Transcription’, p. 196.

¹⁶⁴ See I-CeM guide, pp. 125-245.

Table 2.1: Classification of I-CeM Variables

Group	Variables	Order	Classification
1	Year, and RecID.	1-2	Record Identification
2	ParID, and ConParID, Country, Division, RegCnty, RegDist, SubDist, RC, RD, RSD, and Parish.	3-13	Census Geography
3	Area, Part, Population, MalePop, FemalePop, NoOfInstit, Institpop, and ParType.	14-21	Parish details
4	Censusref, Imageref, PageType, DocType, and EnuDist,	22-26	Source
5	BuildType, BTCode, NoOfRoomsCode, Schedule, H, Absent, AbsentCode, HHS, Size, Address, InstName, InstDesc, VessName, and VessPos.	27-40	Household Identifier
6	PID, Title, Pname, Oname, Sname	41-45	Personal Identifier
7	Sex, Age, Cage, Cond, Mar, Relat, and Rela.	46-52	Demographic
8	Occ, HollerOcc, Occode, HISCO, Industry, HollerInd, Employ, EmployCode, AtHome, Inactive, Disab, DisCode1, and DisCode2.	53-65	Occupation
9	BString, BpCmty, Std_Par, BpCnty, Cnti, Alt_Cnti, BpCtry, Ctry, Alt_Ctry, HollerB, and Nationality.	66-76	Birthplace
10	Lang, and Langcode.	77-78	Language
11	YearsMar, MarYear, ChildTot, ChildAlive, ChildDead, and ChildrenCode.	79-84	Fertility
12	HHD, H_Sex, H_Age, H_Rel, H_Mar, H_Occ, H_CFU, SameName, CFU, n_CFU, tn_CFU, CFUsize, Spouse, Father, Mother, f_Off, m_Off, m_Offm, f_Offm, Offsp, Kids, Relats, Inmates, Servts, Non_Rels, Visitors, and Military.	85-111	Derived
13	AgeInf, HeadInf, MarInf, OccInf, RelInf, and SexInf.	112-117	Inference

Record Identifiers

In addition to identifying the year of the census and record, the record identification variables enable individual's records to be distinguished within a census. Sadly, there is no provision for linkage between records from one census to the next. However, the RecID is of use as a unique key when joining to other data, such as the secure version of I-CeM.

Census Geography

The second group of variables addresses the census geography of an individual record, with geographical units from a national level down to individual parishes. Aggregation of values in the various geographies can offer different avenues of conducting a socio-economic analysis. Registration Counties, Registration Districts, and Parishes can be utilised with existing shapefiles for use within GIS software. 'ConParID', provides consistent geography for two periods, 1851-1891, and 1901-1911, which facilitates comparisons over time.¹⁶⁵

Parish Details

Parishes are the smallest geographical unit within the I-CeM. Group three contains information concerning parishes. Variables include the total parish area, whether it was part of a civil parish, the parish population with a further breakdown for the male

¹⁶⁵ I-CeM Guide, p. 126.

and female population, the number of institutions and their population count, and the parish typology, which refers to how densely populated it is.

Source

The fourth group details the source of the data, which relates to the exact census and image reference. The image reference relates to the scanned image copy of the census page hosted on the FindMyPast website.¹⁶⁶ ‘CensusRef’ details the full reference to the National Archive census page, which includes the series code, piece number, and folio and page reference.¹⁶⁷ Provision of the source details enables checking of the original data in the census returns.

Household

The identification of individual households is a crucial feature in reconstructing the socio-economic landscape of the country from census data. In the I-CeM, each household received an individual identifier; however, this identifier was unique to each registration district. As a result, household identifiers are repeated numerous times within the I-CeM. To compensate for this issue, a new variable was generated. ‘H_Reg’, was concatenated from the household identifier and the ‘RD’ code, which was unique for

¹⁶⁶ I-CeM Guide, p. 134.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid, p. 134.

each registration district. As a result, a new unique household identifier was generated. Additionally, group five details concerning the household size, address, and whether it included an institution or vessel were included.

Personal Identifier

In households, individuals received a sequential number that reflected their ordering within a household schedule, ‘PID’. For example, a head of household might receive a code of one, their spouse two, eldest child three, and so on. The sixth group also includes the names and titles of individuals, if utilising the secure version of I-CeM, which can lend itself to data linkage projects.

Demographic

Key demographic variables captured in the census include sex, age, marital status, and relationship to head of household. The I-CeM provides the raw and enhanced iterations. However, some issues persist even with enhanced reformatting. For example, manual reformatting can introduce new errors. Similarly, enhancements are generally built on the existing data. If the original data is incorrect, it can be difficult to determine the correct version. The demographic variables contain vital information regarding the nature and circumstances of a person and can be used in conjunction with other variables to establish change and continuity within and between migrant communities.

Occupational

The I-CeM project enhanced the occupational information within the data by standardising and coding them with additional classification systems. The first system used occupational groupings taken from the published census reports. The second was the Historical International Standard Classification of Occupation (HISCO) classification system.¹⁶⁸ HISCO is a classification system that is built on the International Standard Classification of Occupations, specifically the 1968 iteration. The project draws on the coding of the ‘1,000 most frequent male and female occupational titles in datasets from eight different countries: Belgium, Britain, Canada, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden’.¹⁶⁹ The coverage of the HISCO is limited to the Northern European economies. HISCO was developed from a need for comparative research purposes, and to explore changes to occupations across time.¹⁷⁰ The comparability and standardisation of HISCO make it possible to adapt the I-CeM for future comparative studies.

The I-CeM team estimated that ninety-five per cent of individuals were given the correct occupation code.¹⁷¹ However, the ambiguity and inconsistency in the original enumeration of occupations are problematic when addressing the topic of economic activity. The following example highlights the discrepancies between raw variables (Occ), occupation code (Occode), and the HISCO classification scheme (HISCO). In 1901, the Ireland-born James Dunn was aged nineteen and lived with his

¹⁶⁸ Marco H. D. van Leeuwen, Ineke Maas, and Andrew Miles, *HISCO – Historical International Standard Classification of Occupations* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002), pp. 33-34.

¹⁶⁹ International Institute of Social History, ‘HISCO – History of Work’, available at: <https://socialhistory.org/en/projects/hisco-history-work>, [accessed: 7 December 2018].

¹⁷⁰ See van Leeuwen, Maas, and Miles, *HISCO*.

¹⁷¹ I-CeM Guide, p. 163.

family in South Everton, Lancashire. At the time of the 1901 census, James was a ‘Music Hall Attendant’.¹⁷² I-CeM gave James an Occ code of eighty, meaning ‘Performers Showmen Exhibition Service’, and a HISCO code of 17300, ‘Actors and related workers’. This example highlights the distortion from the original census enumeration to the I-CeM coding. James Dunn assisted in a music hall, but he was neither an actor nor a showman. If a researcher examined the number of actors around the country from I-CeM, such classification schemas would distort the size of the group. The discrepancies between codes and raw values highlight some of the limitations of the I-CeM.

Language

In 1891, the census introduced a question regarding the languages a person spoke for those living in Wales, with a similar question asked in Scotland in 1881.¹⁷³ The question on language sought to ascertain the condition of minority languages. However, the question about languages was criticised, as was the subsequent report.¹⁷⁴ Specific areas of Wales received the English version, which did not contain questions about language.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷² 1901 England Census, Class: RG13; Piece: 3482; Folio: 181; Page: 13, available at: www.ancestry.co.uk, *1901 England Census*, online database (2005), [accessed 7 March 2019].

¹⁷³ Robert Dunbar, ‘Successful Cohabitation: What contribution can the law really make?’, in Gerhard Stickel, ed., *National, Regional and Minority Languages in Europe* (Frankfurt Am Main: Peter Lang, 2011), p. 36.

¹⁷⁴ Southall, *The Welsh Language Census of 1891*, p. 7.

¹⁷⁵ Higgs, *Making sense of the Census*, pp. 76-77.

Fertility

In a significant departure from previous enumerations, the 1911 census introduced questions on fertility. Length of marriages, the number of children born and those who were still living sought to answer questions about infant mortality, and the birth rate. Debates concerning migrants and public health abounded in the early twentieth century.¹⁷⁶ Members of the eugenics movement expressed concerns about the falling fertility of the working class.¹⁷⁷ It is unsurprising that the census was utilised to contribute statistics to discussions on the subjects of fertility and mortality.¹⁷⁸

Derived

In addition to the original and enhanced variables, there are a series of derived variables created from the data. In total, there are twenty-seven variables that largely deal with family and household structure. Based on the raw and enhanced variables, expressions querying the existing data provided derived variables that offer additional research possibilities. For example, ‘SameName’ indicates whether an individual has the same surname as the head of household. Similarly, ‘Kids’ specifies the number of co-resident offspring living with an individual, composed of never-married and ever-married offspring.

¹⁷⁶ See Krista Maglen, *The English System: Quarantine, immigration and the making of a Port Sanitary zone* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014).

¹⁷⁷ Patricia A. Watterson, ‘Infant Mortality by Father’s Occupation From the 1911 Census of England and Wales’, *Demography*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (1988), p. 292.

¹⁷⁸ Simon Szreter, *Fertility, Class and Gender in Britain, 1860-1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 2.

In the 1970s, Peter Hammel and Peter Laslett devised a system to categorise household structures, a system that can be utilised to analyse social change amongst domestic group structures over time.¹⁷⁹ The I-CeM team utilised the Hammel-Laslett household classification scheme to code households within the data. The classification scheme provides an opportunity to view the familial composition of households in relation to one another.¹⁸⁰ While not without its critics, this classification scheme provides a means of describing the structure of complex family units.¹⁸¹

Inferred

The I-CeM enrichment program created six ‘inference’ variables, which highlight where changes were made that differ from the original transcription and coding.¹⁸² Serving as indicators of changes made, the inference variables highlight values that might require review. Some of the alterations refer to transformations from non-numeric to numeric values. For example, MarInf denotes whether the enrichment process altered a value.¹⁸³ The inclusion of the inference variables enables researchers to return to variables where discrepancies occur.

The inclusion of both raw and enhanced variables offers researchers the ability to reprocess the data should they want or need to. Similarly, the enhanced and

¹⁷⁹ E. A. Hammel, and Peter Laslett, ‘Comparing Household Structure Over Time and Between Cultures’, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (1974), pp. 73-109.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 73-109.

¹⁸¹ G. William Skinner, ‘Family Systems and Demographic Processes’, in David I. Kertzer, and Tom Fricke, ed., *Anthropological Demography: Toward a New Synthesis* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1997), p. 56.

¹⁸² I-CeM Guide, pp. 119-120.

¹⁸³ *Ibid*, p. 146.

standardised variables enable analysis of the data concisely. The structural decisions from the I-CeM team are logical and result in a well-composed dataset. However, the inclusion of multiple raw, standardised, and coded variables can prove daunting and confusing for those unfamiliar or new to large quantitative census-based datasets. The issues connected to I-CeM are less to do with the structure, rather the quality of the transcription and enhancement.

VIII. I-CeM – What are the errors and what are their implications?

The I-CeM is a complex and comprehensive dataset that contains a number of errors that implicate the quality of the data. The digitisation and data enrichment processes resulted in the creation of many new variables, including; the typology of the parish, gender inference, and relationship to household head code, amongst others. However, the data suffers from a series of fundamental issues, which can have some serious implications for researchers. The I-CeM team is transparent in their acknowledgement of these issues:

...it is important to realise that whilst every effort has been made to ensure consistency across all the standardisation undertaken in this project, the coding is not and cannot be 100 per cent accurate. Mistakes will undoubtedly have been made.¹⁸⁴

Ambiguity, human error, and the complex nature of dealing with vast amounts of data mean such issues are unavoidable. These issues are currently being worked through

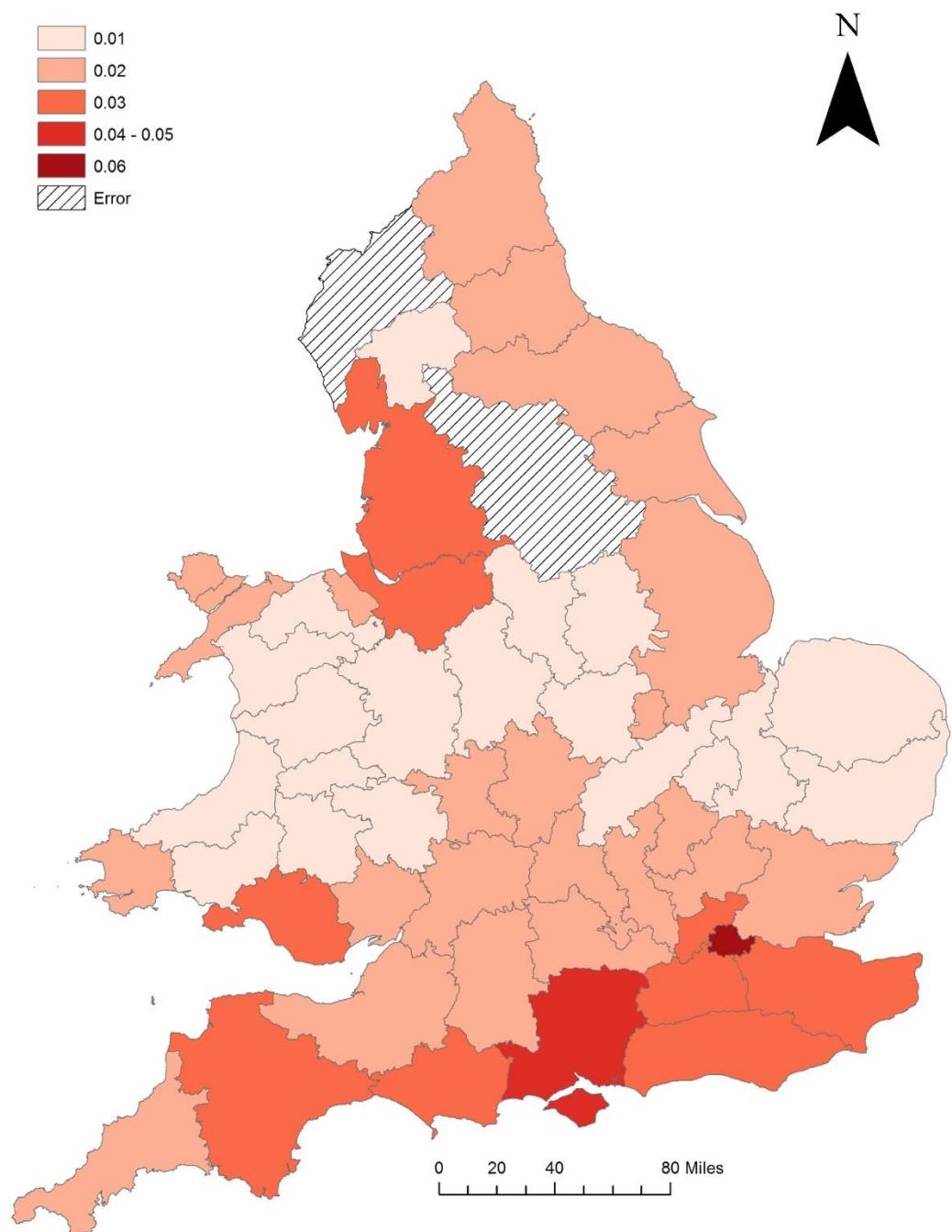
¹⁸⁴ I-CeM Guide, p. 117.

by scholars at Cambridge University, which have identified some of the errors and inconsistencies of the I-CeM, such as occupational classifications.¹⁸⁵

Some of these errors can have profound impacts on the research findings. Take, for instance, the 1911 census. It was not until mapping the data at the county level that it was realised that West Yorkshire and Cumberland had not been included. On closer inspection, it emerged that the Yorkshire towns of Bradford, Rotherham, and Leeds were now part of Lancashire. Both Cumberland and West Yorkshire had its populations swallowed up by Lancashire, thereby distorting the data – and proving to be a significant flaw, as demonstrated in figure 2.7. Similarly, the misallocation of data to matching place names results in some distortions. For example, in certain censuses the population of ‘St. Helens’ in Lancashire is mistakenly enumerated in the Isle of Wight. With time these misallocations will be rectified and adjusted as the data is subsequently reworked, however, they pose a challenge to the analysis presented in this thesis.

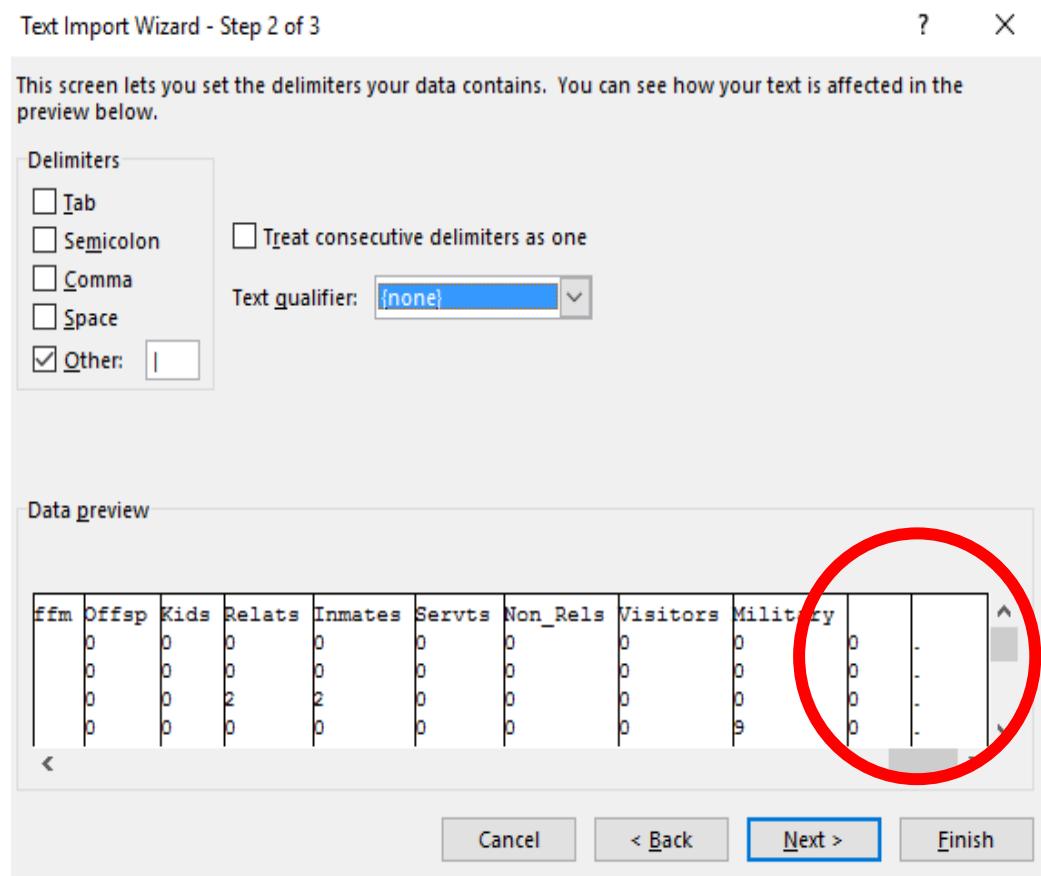
¹⁸⁵ Schürer and Day, ‘Migration to London’, p. 28. See also Harry Smith, Robert J. Bennett, and Carry van Lieshout, (2017), Extracting entrepreneurs from the Censuses, 1891-1911, Working Paper 4: ESRC project ES/M0010953: ‘Drivers of Entrepreneurship and Small Businesses’, University of Cambridge, Department of Geography and Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure.

Figure 2.7: England and Wales registration counties – foreign-born persons, 1911



When importing the I-CeM (delivered in pipe-delimited format), there are errors where the columns in the latter portion of the spreadsheet are incorrectly organised. This issue requires manual editing to correct the error, as highlighted in figure 2.8. The importing and subsequent rearrangement of the columns requires close attention to ensure that data is not lost or incorrectly redistributed. Similarly, these issues cause problems when trying to view the data in pivot tables. As the final two columns are without a field name, rectification is required before being able to proceed.

Figure 2.8: Text import wizard screenshot (1901 England and Wales census)



Manual and automatic checks of the I-CeM data sought to redress any discrepancies that emerged.¹⁸⁶ For example, differences in population counts from the published returns and the I-CeM before reconciliation highlighted areas with noticeable anomalies. However, despite quality control checks and processes, errors persist. Nonetheless, the accuracy of the I-CeM is of a high-standard. Table 2.2 demonstrates that the published returns and I-CeM are closely matched, with the figures differing by only a small percentage in each census.

Table 2.2: Comparison of data between published census returns & the I-CeM

Year	Published census population	Number of households in the published census	I-CeM total population	Number of I-CeM households	% difference between published and I-CeM population
1851	17,927,609	3,712,290	17,565,129	3,660,808	2.02
1861	20,066,224	4,491,524	19,320,569	4,128,759	3.72
1871	22,712,266	5,049,016	22,630,304	4,633,697	0.36
1881	25,974,439	5,633,192	25,954,690	5,342,224	0.08
1891	29,002,525	6,131,001	28,902,862	5,992,988	0.34
1901	32,527,843	7,036,868	32,315,517	6,944,393	0.65
1911	36,070,492	8,018,857	36,031,749	7,959,881	0.11

The derived variables are reliant on the accuracy of the original data, and the processes that led to their derivation. The census did not originally pose questions to ascertain the derived variables. Processes of elimination and the inference of census data enabled the variables to be calculated. The availability of data governed the decision by the I-CeM team to select the derived variables.

¹⁸⁶ I-CeM Guide, pp. 113-119.

Despite the limitations of the I-CeM, the versatile nature of the data allows most errors to be resolved. For example, the relabeling of West Yorkshire and Cumberland in the 1901 data is an easy fix. Reprocessing can rectify issues, and enable scholars to derive additional variables. A defining value of I-CeM is in its application to a range of historical questions. Greater accuracy will emerge over time as further data cleaning is completed.

The possibilities afforded by the I-CeM data are legion. Opportunities exist to examine sub-groups, focus on specific geographic areas, explore socio-economic variables, and to observe change and continuity over time. With national coverage of England and Wales for sixty years, multiple generations, and family units, the I-CeM is unparalleled in its scale and depth of British nineteenth-century socio-economic data.

IX. Geographies

As England and Wales are the subjects of investigation, their native-born populations, and those born on the Isle of Man, or the Channel Islands, are not included. ‘Foreign-born’ is the term used to describe someone born outside the British Isles, as set out in the introduction. Scotland has a different administrative and cultural history to that of England and Wales, with different structures in place for the organisation of the census, and is subsequently not included in the analysis.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁷ I-CeM guide, p. 24.

For this study, the category foreign-born migrant includes Ireland-born persons. Although they were, according to legislation, British subjects, the reality of their experience was far from one of an equal accord.¹⁸⁸ Historians have tended to view and treat the Ireland-born as foreign-born migrants rather than internal migrants, a practice that more accurately represents their experiences, realities, and perceptions.¹⁸⁹ As Christine Kinealy noted, despite a formal position within the UK, Ireland remained a colony to many.¹⁹⁰ It was Lord Lyndhurst's blistering description of the Ireland-born as 'aliens in blood, in language, and in religion', which ignited a significant debate concerning the status of Ireland-born persons within the kingdom.¹⁹¹ While claiming to repeat the words of one of his constituents, he inadvertently, or perhaps advertently, caused a political dispute that enhanced the sense of distance between the Ireland-born and the rest of Britain.

The animosity exhibited towards the Ireland-born was at least partially further amplified by the continuous waves of Ireland-born migrants coming into England and Wales.¹⁹² For many of the Ireland-born, poverty and the pursuit of economic opportunity were the principal migration drivers.¹⁹³ The famine of the 1840s was a critical

¹⁸⁸ Keith Robbins, *Great Britain: Identities, Institutions and the Idea of Britishness since 1500* (London: Routledge, 2013, first published 1998), p. 281.

¹⁸⁹ Colin Holmes, *A Tolerant Country?*, pp. 16-18.

¹⁹⁰ Christine Kinealy, 'At home with Empire: the example of Ireland', in Catherine Hall, and Sonya Rose, eds., *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 77.

¹⁹¹ William Anderson O'Conor, *History of the Irish People, Vol. 2* (Manchester and London: J. Heywood, 1887), p. 19.

¹⁹² Gilley, 'English Attitudes to the Irish', pp. 99-103.

¹⁹³ Roger Swift, 'The Outcast Irish in the British Victorian City: Problems and Perspectives', *Irish Historical Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 99 (1987), p. 265.

moment in the broader issue of economic conditions.¹⁹⁴ Concerning this point, Malcolm Smith and Donald MacRaild have argued that Ireland-born migration was built on ‘long established pathways’ from Ireland to England.¹⁹⁵ This assertion is corroborated in the literature with many Ireland-born coming to work as seasonal labourers.¹⁹⁶ Accompanying Ireland-born migration were fears concerning the introduction of Irish lawlessness and savagery into England and Wales.¹⁹⁷ Meanwhile, Peter Pulzer has argued that the Ireland-born could be described as ‘immigrants’, but that ‘they are not foreigners’.¹⁹⁸ Despite the ambiguity over what status can be ascribed to the Ireland-born, in this thesis they will be treated like the German-born, Russia-born, and others, as foreign-born migrants.

Unless otherwise noted, the data presented in the following tables and maps is taken from the I-CeM. All boundary data for registration districts comes from the Great Britain Historical GIS Project. The maps of properties and roads in Newcastle displayed in chapter six are digitised from town plans that were originally produced circa 1894. Similarly, the detailed maps of London were digitised from a composite map held by David Rumsey, which were originally produced in the 1890s by the Ordnance Survey Office.

¹⁹⁴ Alan O’Day, ed., *A Survey of the Irish in England (1872)* (London: Hambledon Press, 1990), p. xv.

¹⁹⁵ Malcolm Smith, and Donald MacRaild, ‘The Origins of the Irish in Northern England: An Isonymic Analysis of Data from the 1881 Census’, *Immigrants and Minorities*, Vol. 27, No. 2-3 (2009), p. 153.

¹⁹⁶ David Fitzpatrick, ‘Irish Emigration in the Later Nineteenth Century’, *Irish Historical Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 86 (1980), pp. 129-131.

¹⁹⁷ Cormac Ó Gráda, *Black 47’ and Beyond* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999), p. 7.

¹⁹⁸ Peter Pulzer, ‘Foreigners: The Immigrant in Britain’, in Werner E. Mosse, Julius Ccarlebach, Gerhard Hirschfeld, Aubrey Newman, Arnold Paucker, and Peter Pulzer, eds., *Second Chance: Two Centuries of German-speaking Jews in the United Kingdom* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1991), p. 6.

X. Birthplaces

With patchy material, data, and procedures concerning nationality, birthplaces frequently serve as a marker for evaluating migration and the mobility of groups and individuals. Ernest Ravenstein, himself a migrant from Germany to England, made use of birthplaces to analyse migration within the UK, and then later throughout Europe.¹⁹⁹ Ravenstein settled on using the birthplaces of a population as an assumption regarding their nationality.²⁰⁰ Yet, while it offers an attractive option, using birthplaces in such a way is far more complex and questionable than may first appear.

Relying on birthplaces as a means of analysing migration raises the issue of nationality. While a person may have been born in a country, it does not mean that they had citizenship. There were, of course, exceptions to this rule. Persons born in the USA received automatic citizenship on the condition of *Jus Soli*. *Jus Soli* is a principle of nationality law whereby all persons born within its borders receive citizenship. Many countries during the period, however, operated on the concept of *Jus Sanguinis*, whereby an individual's parents conditioned the citizenship their children had.²⁰¹ Concerning the UK, it operated within the same parameters of the USA – any person born in the UK to foreign-born parents automatically became a British subject.²⁰² Similarly, a person born in a foreign country to British parents would also be a British subject.²⁰³

¹⁹⁹ Grigg, ‘E. G. Ravenstein and the “laws of migration”’, p. 41.

²⁰⁰ Ravenstein, ‘The Laws of Migration’, (1889), pp. 242-243.

²⁰¹ John Cutler, *The Law of Naturalization* (London: Butterworths, 1871), pp. 2-3.

²⁰² Henriques and Schuster, “‘Jus Soli’ or ‘Jus Sanguinis’”, pp. 119-122.

²⁰³ Edward Louis de Hart, ‘The English Law of Nationality and Naturalisation’, *Society of Comparative Legislation*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (1900), pp. 11-14.

For centuries in Britain, allegiance was the core principle that governed the relationship between the people and the Monarchy. After swearing allegiance to the Crown, a person received the status of a subject. Eventually, it became common law that those who were born within the Crown's territory acquired the status of a subject.²⁰⁴ However, as legislation changed to accommodate the greater degree of population movements, both into and out of Britain, the government enacted legislative changes that left individuals in difficult situations. For instance, a woman lost her citizenship when she married a foreign national, and was in a quandary when he died, as the government argued she, therefore, reverted to her British nationality upon his death.²⁰⁵ Later, with the growth and expansion of the British Empire, there were further issues that arose from the incorporation of new territories, the status of children born overseas, and the ability to enable aliens to acquire subject status.²⁰⁶

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, legislation introduced a means for foreign subjects to become naturalised British subjects.²⁰⁷ Despite the absence of nationality information for most of the census, many enumerators did record whether a person was a British Subject or not by recording 'British Subject', 'B S', or an equivalent next to the birthplace. On the seventh row of figure 2.9, which is a portion of the 1851 Census Record for Tower Hamlets, it has the information for Louisa

²⁰⁴ Cutler, *The Law of Naturalization*, p. 2.

²⁰⁵ *Times*, 19 September 1889, 'The Registrations'.

²⁰⁶ Robert Colls, *Identity of England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 159.

²⁰⁷ Home Office, 'Historical background information on nationality', available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/650994/Background-information-on-nationality-v1.0EXT.pdf, [accessed: 6 October 2018], p. 8.

Oakeshott, who was born in France but was a ‘British Sub’. Careful consideration of birthplaces and nationality is therefore vital.

Figure 2.9: 1851 England and Wales census extract from Tower Hamlets²⁰⁸

Parish or Township of	Ecclesiastical District of	1851 England and Wales Census Extract from Tower Hamlets						Whether Foreign Part or Native
		Name of Street, Place, or Road, and Name or No. of House	Name and Surname of each Person who abode in the house, on the Night of the 30th March, 1851	Relation to Head of Family	Condition	Age of Male	Bank, Profession, or Occupation	
247 French Road	West Ham	Robert Horne	Head	Married	20	Bricklayer Bakers boy	Hanover Street	
247 French Road	West Ham	Isaac Horne	Son	Married	26		Alleyway Street	Native
247 French Road	West Ham	Frederick W. do	Son	Married	3		St. Edmund Street	
247 French Road	West Ham	Tom Brans	Son	Married	4	Cleaner	Hanover Street	
247 French Road	West Ham	John T. do	Head	Married	35	C. Astoria	England	✓
247 French Road	West Ham	John Astoria	Head	Married	35	Eugene Turner	West Ham	
247 French Road	West Ham	John Astoria	Brother	Married	34	Appaloosa	France British	✓
247 French Road	West Ham	Eliza Chapman	Sister	Married	31	Stockmire	Hanover Street	
247 French Road	West Ham	John Chapman	Son	Married	18	John Fox	Hanover Street	
247 French Road	West Ham	James Mincorth	Head	Married	60	Printer	Cambridge Street	
							Brickfield Lane	

From the 1841 census, enumerators received instructions to record whether a person was born in ‘foreign parts’.²⁰⁹ Later, changes were made to distinguish between British and foreign subjects, and eventually whether a person was a naturalised British subject.²¹⁰ In 1911, the schedule had space to record the nationality of each person. Figure 2.10 is an image of a record within the 1911 England and Wales Census for Leytonstone, Essex. The schedule extract illustrates how nationality was blank for those whose birthplace was somewhere in England, thereby inferring they were a British subject by default. Meanwhile, the second row of figure 2.10 details Eliza Chapman, who was born in the ‘U.S.A ‘America’ had her nationality stated as being ‘British Sub. By Parentage’. The classification meant Eliza was a USA-born person who held British citizenship by virtue of her parents being British subjects.

²⁰⁸ 1851 England and Wales Census, Class: HO107; Piece: 1504; Folio: 537; Page: 68; GSU roll: 87838.

²⁰⁹ Higgs, *A Clearer Sense of the Census*, p. 10.

²¹⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 83-84.

Figure 2.10: 1911 England and Wales census extract for Leytonstone, Essex²¹¹

NAME AND SURNAME	RELATIONSHIP to Head of Family	AGE (last Birthday) and SEX	PARTICULARS as to MARRIAGE.						PROFESSION or OCCUPATION of Persons aged on years and upwards.						BIRTHPLACE of every person	NATIONALITY of every Person Foreign Country	INFIRMITY	
			For Infants under one year old, state in months as "one month", "one month", etc.	State, for such Married Woman entered on this Schedule, the number of all—	Personal Occupation.			Industry or Service with which worker is connected.										
of every Person, whether Member of Family, Visitor, Boarder, or Servant, who (1) passed the night of Sunday, April 2nd, 1911, in this dwelling and was alive at midnight, or (2) arrived in this dwelling on the same day, April 2nd, not having been enumerated elsewhere. No one else must be included. (For order of entering names see Examples on back of Schedule.)	State whether— "a Head," or "a Friend," "Son," "Daughter," or other Relative, "Bachelors," or "Servants."	With "Wife," "Husband," "Married," "Single," "Divorced," "Widow," or "Widower." Opposite the appropriate mark, put the personal sign and surname and upwards.	State, for such Married Woman entered on this Schedule, the number of all—	Children alive to Marriage (If no children born alive since marriage, put "0" in Column 7).	The reply should show the precise branch of Profession, Trade, Manufacture, or Employment of the Person. Come plainly to the point and give the exact name of the branch of the Profession, Trade, Manufacture, or Employment of the Person. If engaged in any Trade, Manufacture, or Employment of a Domestic servant, put "Domestic servant." If less than one year old, put "one year old."	Industry or Service with which worker is connected.									Whether Employed, or Working at Home		(1) If born in the United Kingdom, write the name of the County, or District, or Borough, and the name of the Dependency, Province, or State.	
1. <i>Joseph Edge</i>	<i>Head</i>	<i>74</i>	<i>Single</i>		<i>Private Masseur</i>	<i>379</i>									<i>Knaster, Gidea Park</i>	<i>250</i>		
2. <i>Eliza Petrie Chapman</i>	<i>Boarder</i>	<i>57</i>	<i>Widow</i>	3 1 2											<i>U.S.A. America</i>	<i>882</i>		
3. <i>Role Wm Shatto</i>		<i>29</i>	<i>Single</i>												<i>London, Bow, L.</i>	<i>000</i>		
4. <i>Henry Bromash</i>	<i>Visitor</i>	<i>36</i>	<i>Single</i>		<i>Widow, Station Master</i>	<i>260</i>									<i>St. Pancras, N.C.</i>	<i>1</i>		

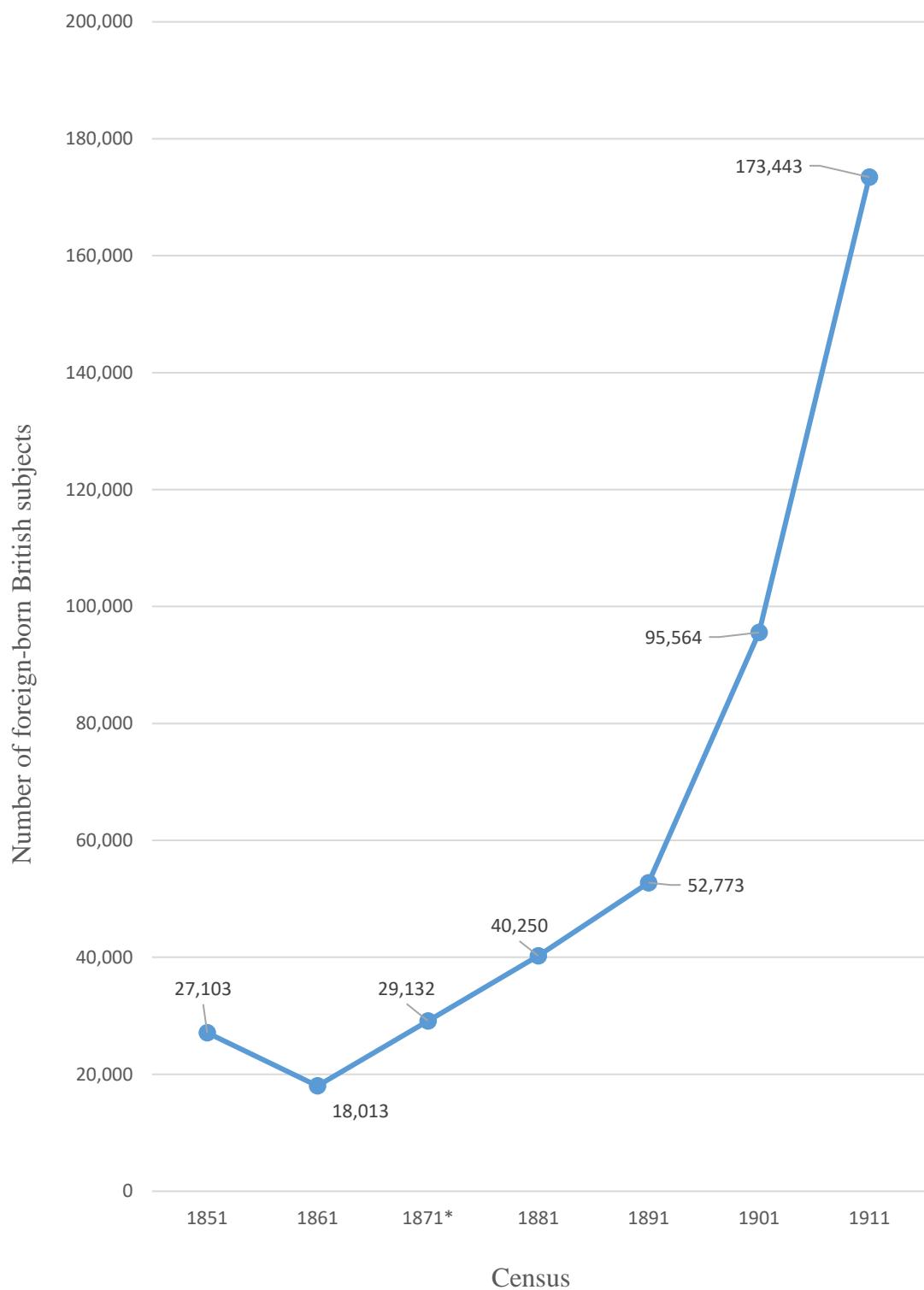
Due to the inconsistency in the recording of nationality in censuses, this thesis will analyse foreign-born migrants as a whole. While it is possible to separate the foreign-born British subjects from the non-British, it has only been possible to do so where the enumerator has recorded them as such. For example, scholars, such as Caroline Bressey, have indicated the challenges of identifying people of colour and migrants from the census records alone.²¹² When differentiating between foreign-born British and non-British subjects, the quality and reliability of the data falls into question. Figure 2.11 reveals the change to the number of foreign-born British subjects over the period 1851-1911. The rise in the number of foreign-born British subjects ran parallel to the increase of foreign-born persons throughout the period, save for a dip recorded in 1861. With nationality not formally requested until 1911, and with the absence of additional data standardisation, this thesis will not separate foreign and British subjects from the foreign-born population.²¹³

²¹¹ 1911 England and Wales Census, Class: RG14; Piece: 9671; Schedule Number: 29.

²¹² See Caroline Bressey, 'Looking for Work: The Black Presence in Britain, 1860-1920', *Immigrants and Minorities*, Vol. 28, No. 2-3 (2010), pp. 164-182.

²¹³ I-CeM guide, p. 231.

Figure 2.11: Foreign-born British subjects 1851-1911



Source: I-CeM

*Extrapolated

Unfortunately, for most of the period, record keeping regarding those who came into England and Wales was inadequate, and coverage was limited. Prior to 1851, records of the number of ‘Aliens’ in England was kept by the Aliens Office. The Office was established on 7 January 1793 to control and monitor the influx of French persons, a consequence of the tumultuous state of the country following the revolution in 1789.²¹⁴ During its existence, the office monitored Aliens in the country, specifically those perceived as posing a threat.²¹⁵ Between 1793 and 1836, there was an average foreign-born population of 19,955, who were identified as owing allegiance to a foreign state.²¹⁶

By all accounts, the office was a small enterprise with a broad remit.²¹⁷ On 9 February 1836, Lord John Russell, the Home Secretary for the Conservative government led by Henry Goulburn, rose in the House of Commons to propose the abolition of the Alien office altogether.²¹⁸ Following calls to abolish all restrictions to foreign-born migrants coming into the country, it was proposed that a committee explore the issue further. It was the committee’s recommendation that later resulted in the discontinuing of the office at the end of June 1836.²¹⁹

²¹⁴ Elizabeth Sparrow, ‘The Alien Office, 1792-1806’, *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 33, No. 2 (1990), pp. 361-369.

²¹⁵ Ibid, pp. 367-370.

²¹⁶ Average of figures provided from 1798-1816. ProQuest, *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers*, ‘Account of Number of Aliens arrested and sent out of United Kingdom, 1793-1816; Return of Number of Resident Aliens, 1793-1816’, available at: <http://parlipapers.proquest.com/parlipapers/docview/t70.d75.1816-004612?accountid=11979>, [accessed: 1 February 2017]. ProQuest, *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers*, ‘Return of Number of Persons sent out of United Kingdom under Alien Act, and Numbers employed in Alien Office, 1816-19’, available at: <http://parlipapers.proquest.com/parlipapers/docview/t70.d75.1819-006250?accountid=11979>, [accessed: 1 February 2017].

²¹⁷ Between 1816 and 1819, there were only nine persons ‘sent out of the kingdom’, at which time there were eight persons employed in the Alien Office, three clerks, two messengers, and three inspectors.

²¹⁸ Geoffrey Butler, and Simon Maccoby, *The Development of International Law* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1928), p. 345.

²¹⁹ *Essex Standard*, 10 June 1836, ‘The Alien Office’.

From 1836, there was no further legislation controlling the migration of foreign-born persons into England and Wales, until the passing of the Aliens Act in 1905.²²⁰ The Aliens Act sought to restrict poor migrants from arriving and settling in the UK by introducing regulations for migrants.²²¹ Based on American and colonial legislation, the act disproportionately affected Jewish migrants from Eastern Europe.²²² There were additional changes to the laws concerning naturalisation and denaturalisation, the most notable being the 1870 Naturalisation Act.²²³ Arguably the most controversial feature of the 1870 Act was its derivative effect on women. Following their marriage, women automatically gained or lost citizenship depending on the citizenship of their husband.²²⁴

The Aliens Act provided the means whereby migrants could obtain British citizenship, while others lost theirs, subject to gender.²²⁵ In her study of naturalisation records for the port of South Shields, Tabili reveals how there was a complex array of motivations for acquiring naturalisation, a prominent motivation being the ability to

²²⁰ E. S. Roscoe, 'Aliens in Great Britain', *Transactions of the Grotius Society*, Vol. 16 (1930), p. 68. A good introduction to the Aliens Act can be found in Lara Trubowitz, 'Acting like an Alien: 'Civil' Antisemitism, the Rhetoriced Jew, and Early Twentieth-Century British Immigration Law', in Eitan Bar-Yosef, and Nadia Valman, eds., *'The Jew' in Late-Victorian and Edwardian Culture: Between the East End and East Africa* (Hounds Mills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 65-79.

²²¹ See Anne Kershaw, 'The 1905 Aliens Act', *History Today*, Vol. 55, No. 3 (2005), pp. 13-19, and Laura Tabili, *We Ask for British Justice: Workers and Racial Difference in Late Imperial Britain* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994), p. 4.

²²² See Alison Bashford, and Catie Gilchrist, 'The Colonial History of the 1905 Aliens Act', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, Vol. 40, No. 3 (2012), pp. 409-437, Hartnett, 'Alien or Refugee?', and Eitan Bar-Yosef, and Nadia Valman, 'Between the East End and East Africa: Rethinking Images of 'the Jew' in Late-Victorian and Edwardian Culture', in Eitan Bar-Yosef, and Nadia Valman, eds., *'The Jew' in Late-Victorian and Edwardian Culture: Between the East End and East Africa* (Hounds Mills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 1-28.

²²³ Matthew J. Gibney, 'A Very Transcendental Power': Denaturalisation and the Liberalisation of Citizenship in the United Kingdom', *Political Studies*, Vol. 61, No. 3 (2012), p. 642.

²²⁴ Helen Irving, 'When Women Were Aliens: The Neglected History of Derivative Marital Citizenship', Legal Studies Research Paper, No. 12/47, Sydney Law School, (2012), p. 3.

²²⁵ Laura Tabili, 'Outsiders in the Land of Their Birth: Exogamy, Citizenship, and Identity in War and Peace', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 44, No. 4 (2005), pp. 801-802.

hold property.²²⁶ Nonetheless, the changes have provided a new dataset of naturalisation records and certificates, which are increasingly being used in migration studies.²²⁷

One further clarification is that this thesis will operate on the premise that those born in Ireland were the children of Ireland-born parents. Kathrin Levitan highlights the challenge of utilising birthplaces, as children of Ireland-born parents in England were not enumerated as being of Irish descent. Ancestry was not a question that was incorporated into the census.²²⁸ Attempting to identify foreign-born non-British subjects from those who were foreign-born British Subjects is a task that is highly time-consuming, uncertain, and difficult. While it would be ideal to distinguish between the two groups, the scale of such a task and the questionable accuracy negate the possible advantages of such an endeavour. However, viewing the entire foreign-born population as one is justified. It might be expected that India-born persons present in England and Wales were mostly of British extraction. However, the experiences of a foreign-born British subject would remain distinct from that of a person born and raised in the UK. With these considerations in mind, exploring the entire foreign-born population can provide valuable and unique findings into the socio-economic activity of international migrants.

²²⁶ Laura Tabili, “‘Having Lived Close Beside Them All the Time’: Negotiating National Identities Through Personal Networks”, *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (2005), p. 372.

²²⁷ See David Morris, ‘Between East and West: Jewish Secondary Migration through Ireland and Wales, 1900–1930’, *Immigrants and Minorities*, Vol. 36, No. 1 (2018), pp. 45–71.

²²⁸ Levitan, *A Cultural History of the British Census*, pp. 165–166.

XI. Conclusion

The limitations of the census have been covered in this chapter but have also been well-documented by other scholars. The examples presented of reticent householders, faux occupations, and census evasion serve to highlight further the distinct challenges faced when using the census. Yet, as a source, the census remains an invaluable and go-to resource for migration studies.²²⁹

Utilising the census as the foundational source for this study is well suited given the attempt to assess key variables of the entire foreign-born population in the first instance. Ultimately, this chapter concludes that despite the limitations of the census, it is the most suitable source for the task and for the methods used to explore migrant settlement and segregation in the period 1851 to 1911. Little more needs to be said about the census other than a sense of caution ought to be exercised when making claims or assumptions based on such data.

When interpreted carefully, the I-CeM offers exciting possibilities for exploring the subject of migration within a historical context. The limitations and issues connected to I-CeM are not remarkably different from most sources that historians or social scientists deal with. The value of the census, and by extension the I-CeM, supersedes their limitations. The raw, enhanced, and derived variables provide numerous combinations to perform analysis of the data. This ability to manipulate, reprocess, and analyse the data within a digital environment means it can be repeatedly investigated with a series of possible queries.

²²⁹ Lloyd P. Gartner, 'Notes on the Statistics of Jewish Immigration to England, 1870-1914', *Jewish Social Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (1960), p. 102.

The scale of the I-CeM poses new challenges to scholars, which include; data querying and acquisition, data storage, and development of new workflows. Data collection is largely removed, but researchers still need a detailed understanding of how it was compiled and generated. While the I-CeM project has provided detailed documentation of systematic processes, the original digitiser of much of the data, FindMy-Past, has not been so transparent. There is no information on who transcribed the documents, the project instructions that were given, any arbitration processes, or other factors that may have influenced the transcription process.

Treating the Ireland-born population of England and Wales as a quasi foreign-born population is well established in migration studies. In a direct but straightforward manner, this chapter has provided evidence to support such treatment. Furthermore, for reasons of feasibility, it is beyond the scope of this study to explore the behaviours and activities of foreign-born persons in British territories outside of England and Wales. Neatly delineating the area of focus to these two countries provides more than enough material with which to assess how and in what ways foreign-born migrants settled and interacted with the host community.

The decision to analyse all foreign-born persons, regardless of whether they are a British subject is one of the most problematic aspects of this thesis. However, the complexities of migrant identities, poor record keeping, and inconsistent enumeration behaviours suggest that the accuracy of the category is questionable. The point that a foreign-born British subject may not have an affinity with British culture and society is somewhat offset by focusing on the entire group without prejudice of citizenship. Ultimately, the decision to incorporate all foreign-born persons in this study

is linked to the lack of data available in many censuses. As nationality was not requested until the 1911 census, it would be improper to attempt to separate the foreign-born British subjects from others.

This chapter has offered an appraisal of the census as a source, identified the genesis of the I-CeM, explored its structure, and presented an initial critique. Additionally, this chapter addresses issues regarding the geographies concerned in this study and the challenges of working with birthplaces when examining migration. When viewed holistically, the I-CeM is a rich dataset that can be utilised for a variety of forms of macro and micro-scale analyses. This first iteration by the I-CeM team is a step change for historical research into the foreign-born communities of the UK. Subsequent generations of the I-CeM will further develop the quality of the data. The utilisation of a consistent coding structure enables multiple reformatting and removal of errors from the data. For studies of British socio-economic history, I-CeM is a game changer. Moving forward, one of the prevalent challenge with the I-CeM is knowing how to use it to conduct historical research that combines macro and micro-scales.

Chapter 3: THE GEOGRAPHIES OF THE FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION

‘The Englishman of to-day is like unto a man born to a goodly estate, but whose rich preserves are rifled by trespassing strangers and whose fruitful fields are ravaged by wild vermin. His country is the envy of the world, and all men flock to it.’¹

I. Introduction

One of the most significant current discussions in migration studies is the identification and analysis of migration patterns, including the identification of origins and final destinations of international migrants.² More generally, the greater interest in the spatial dimensions of migration and settlement in recent literature indicates the continuing importance of understanding the geographies concerned in migration studies.³ In the context of nineteenth and early twentieth-century Britain, the transmigration and settlement of global migrants continues to receive increasing scholarly attention.⁴ The locations where migrants originated from and settled remain popular areas of interest in migration studies.⁵

¹ Maltman Barry, ‘The Invasion of the Alien’, *The New Century Review*, Vol. 2, No. 10 (1897), p. 265.

² See Morris, ‘Between East and West: Jewish Secondary Migration’.

³ Tommasi, ‘Unquantifiable?’, pp. 517-542.

⁴ Nicholas J. Evans, ‘The Development of Transmigrant Historiography in Britain’, in Jennifer Craig-Norton, Christhard Hoffmann, and Tony Kushner, eds., *Migrant Britain: Histories and Historiographies* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), pp. 224-234, and Tabili, *Global Migrants*. See also ‘Alien Immigration’, House of Common Debates, 14 December 1900, Vol. 88, cc. 845-846.

⁵ Yoshifumi Shimizu, *Studies of Post-1841 Irish Family Structures* (Osaka, Japan: Momoyama Gakuin University, 2016), pp. 200-205.

Factors identified as influencing the settlement of foreign-born persons in England and Wales have been explored in several studies. Surveys, such as that conducted by Colin Holmes, showed that a complex range of determinants affected where and in what conditions foreign-born migrants settled.⁶ Donald MacRaild's study of the Irish demonstrated the harsh realities awaiting many of the Ireland-born arriving in mid-century England and the troubles of interacting with native-born communities.⁷ As noted in the epigraph, some viewed Britain as a place to envy, resulting in people migrating to it from around the world. However, current knowledge of migrant communities is heavily weighted towards the largest groups, specifically the Ireland-born and Russia-born.⁸ This chapter draws on the I-CeM to present findings and then relates them to the existing historiography.

Although extensive research has been carried on the subject of foreign-born migration, no single study exists that utilises census microdata to reassess and explore the entire foreign-born population. Until recently, there was no comprehensive and exhaustive digital dataset available to researchers that allows the reprocessing and analysis of the origins and settlements of foreign-born persons at an individualised level. Following the development of data, this chapter will offer some of the first analyses of the entire foreign-born population of England and Wales for the period 1851 to 1911.

⁶ Holmes, *John Bull*, pp. 28-35.

⁷ Donald Macrauld, *Irish Migrants in Modern Britain, 1750-1922* (London: Macmillan, 1999), pp. 58-71.

⁸ Panikos Panayi, 'The historiography of immigrants and ethnic minorities: Britain compared with the USA', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 4 (1996), p. 827.

This chapter aims to remedy the absence of a national reconstruction by using I-CeM to identify the distribution of foreign-born persons across England and Wales. This chapter offers the first comprehensive survey of where all foreign-born migrants came from, where they lived according to the I-CeM, and how these findings compare to the literature, at a detailed level. In contrast to previous studies, this chapter also provides visualisations of where migrants were distributed, both in London and nationally. Following the presentation of findings drawn from the I-CeM, they are compared to the existing literature to highlight how it contributes to the current understanding of migration.

This chapter has two objectives. First, to describe foreign-born migrant origins and distribution. Second, to illustrate how these findings contradict or complement the existing literature, as outlined in chapter one. This chapter utilises GIS technology to map micro-census data and achieve these objectives. This process of visualisations supports efforts to understand the distribution of foreign-born persons across England and Wales.

Investigating foreign-born migrant composition and behaviours is an area of continuing interest within the field of migration studies, specifically concerning global systems.⁹ Specifically, this chapter will answer three questions: where did migrants come from? Where did they live in England and Wales? And, how do I-CeM findings compare with the existing literature? By answering these questions, British migration scholars will have a national foundation established by drawing on the I-

⁹ Lynn Hollen Lees, 'Studying Migration on a Global Scale', *International Review of Social History*, Vol. 62, No. 3 (2017), pp. 501-503.

CeM. Consequently, scholars will have a better understanding of any differences between the I-CeM and the current understanding of this population, as presented in the existing literature.

By employing quantitative modes of enquiry, this chapter uses the I-CeM to establish the origins of migrants and the locations that they settled in. As part of the analysis, GIS software is used to process the I-CeM and to address the two research objectives for this chapter. By providing a comparison between the findings and the existing literature, it is possible to indicate several original contributions to knowledge.

The findings presented in this chapter make an important contribution to the field of British migration studies. Being amongst the first studies to use the I-CeM to explore the origins of foreign-born migrants, this chapter is setting the scene for future projects that seek to understand migration patterns better. For migration scholars, this chapter also signifies and indicates the significant effect digitised census microdata can have when revisiting migrant historiography.

Due to practical constraints, this chapter cannot address every foreign-born migrant community. After reviewing the entire foreign-born population, select groups are examined in greater depth. Part of this reasoning is to highlight the variations and similarities between groups. A further limitation is the ambiguity of birthplaces, although covered in chapter two, it is important to acknowledge the limitations of using modern boundaries with historical data.

This chapter is divided into three sections. Each section addresses one of the three research questions. First, the origins of foreign-born migrants are identified and explored. Second, attention is afforded to where migrants chose to settle. Although the emphasis is on registration districts across the country, London also receives special attention to show the complexities of the urban centre. The findings from both chapters are compared to the existing literature and several original findings are emphasised. Finally, the conclusion provides a summary of the main observations and solidifies the point that London has received a disproportionate amount of scholarly attention and that most migrant groups demonstrated heterogeneous behaviours.

II. Where did foreign-born migrants come from?

This section demonstrates that the foreign-born population of England and Wales generally expanded over the period. Understanding where migrants originated from is an essential activity for this study. Identifying the exact origins of each foreign-born migrant is problematic.¹⁰ The process of arriving into Britain was relatively open, and passenger lists are incomplete.¹¹ As previously stated, for most of the period of this study there were no controls or restrictions on migrating to England and Wales.¹² Eventually, outbreaks of diseases and popular anxieties linked to migrants increased

¹⁰ ‘Immigration of Aliens’, House of Lords Debate, 3 July 1890, Vol. 346, cc. 632-642.

¹¹ Ancestry, ‘UK, Incoming Passenger Lists, 1878-1960’ (n.d.), available at: <https://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=1518>, [accessed: 8 March 2019].

¹² Rabben, *Give Refuge to the Stranger*, p. 75.

the demands for greater control.¹³ In the interests of feasibility, the origins and expansion of certain communities are explored in this section in greater depth than others are. As noted earlier, these groups include Russia-born, USA-born, German-born, Ireland-born, and India-born persons.

The growth in the foreign-born population in England and Wales from 1851 to 1911 is illustrated in figure 3.1. The figure is broken down into four categories: total foreign-born, Ireland-born, British Subjects, and foreign-born foreign subjects. Five key points emerge from this visualisation. Firstly, except for the 1880s, the foreign-born population increased in every decade. One explanation for this fluctuation is in the origins of the 1881 data and its processing, which might distort the figures, as discussed in chapter two. Another explanation for this peak is that the 1880s were a peak period for trans-Atlantic emigration between Europe and the USA.¹⁴ A third explanation is the death and return migration of earlier migrants, specifically Ireland-born famine refugees. The justification for treating the Ireland-born as migrants was addressed in this thesis earlier (p. 125).¹⁵ The second major point is that in 1851 the foreign-born population was overwhelmingly composed of Ireland-born persons. Such persons accounted for over eighty-six per cent of the migrant population. Third, the number of Ireland-born persons stabilised in the 1860s. This stability is then followed by a dramatic decline, predominately caused by the aforementioned decrease

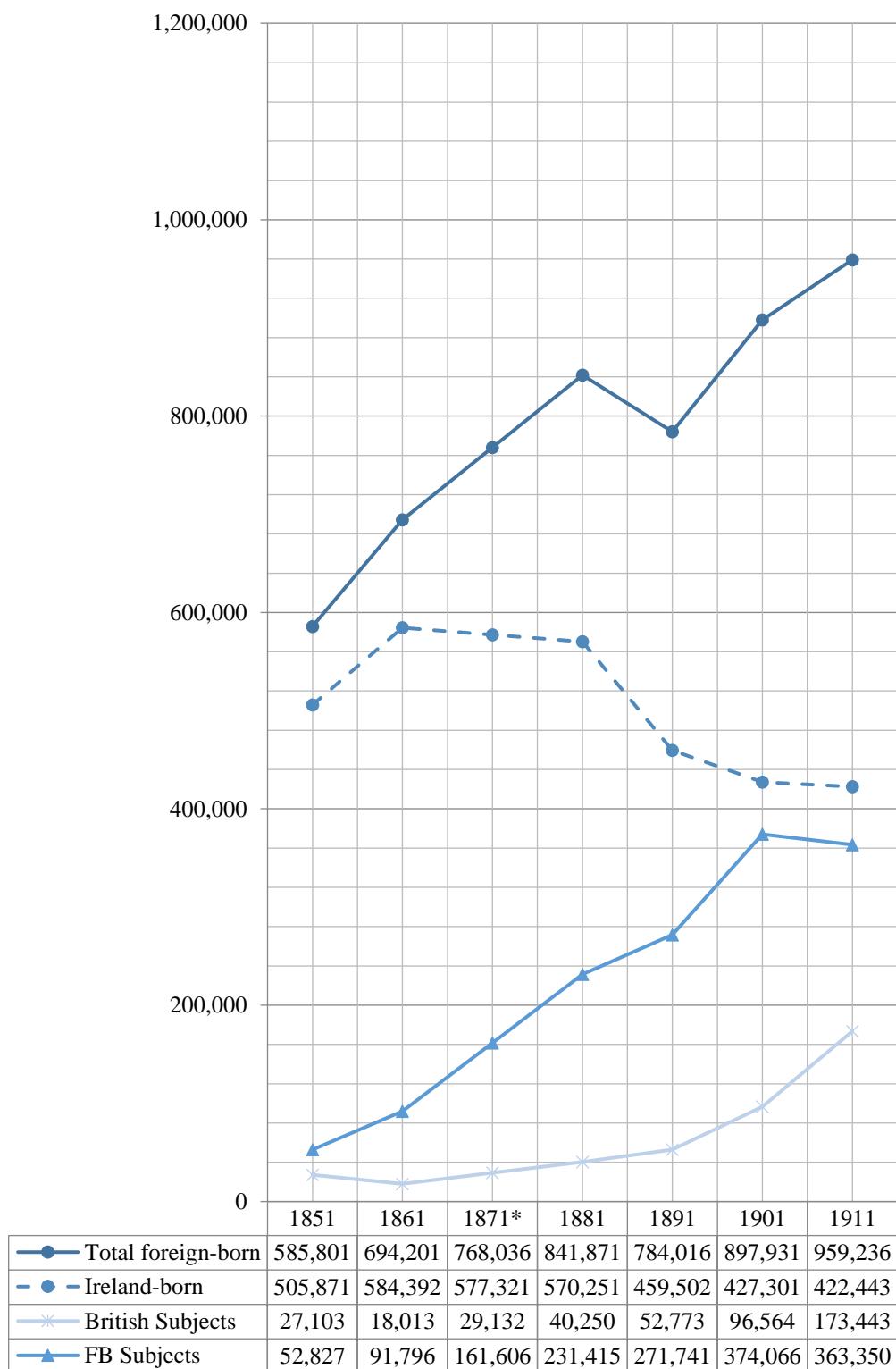
¹³ Krista Maglen, 'Importing Trachoma: The Introduction into Britain of American Ideas of an 'Immigrant Disease', 1892-1906', *Immigrants and Minorities*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (2005), pp. 82-84.

¹⁴ Baines, *Emigration from Europe*, p. 34.

¹⁵ For further reading see Donald M. MacRaild, 'Introduction: The great famine and beyond: Irish migrants in Britain in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries', *Immigrants and Minorities*, Vol. 18, No. 2-3 (1999), pp. 1-13.

in Ireland-born persons. Fourth, by the 1890s the Ireland-born had declined in proportional and absolute terms to account for only 47.5 per cent of migrants in 1901. Finally, there are three distinguishable waves of migrants in figure 3.1. They include the Ireland-born from 1851; an increasing number of foreign-born foreign-subjects from the 1860s; and a significant acceleration in foreign-born British subjects arriving during the late 1890s/early 1900s. Collectively, these observations indicate distinct patterns in the arrival and settlement of foreign-born persons. Ultimately, the various groups were behaving differently; they were far from a homogeneous entity.

Figure 3.1: Foreign-born population of England and Wales, 1851-1911



Source: I-CeM

*Extrapolated

The rapid increase in British subjects from 1891 is attributable to a large movement of individuals from around the Empire arriving in the UK. As Henry Thompson noted: ‘...from the utmost frontiers of the Empire, the representatives of the “Britains beyond the seas” are ceaselessly flowing.’¹⁶ As an example, thousands of Australians visited London in 1886 for the Colonial and Indian Exhibition.¹⁷ Similarly, the arrival of civil servants’ children born in India, colonial migrants from South Africa and Australia, and others, are symptomatic of the wider mobility in the period.¹⁸ Decreased costs and improved transportation links increased mobility, thereby making short and long-term migrations more viable.¹⁹

Improving transportation links resulted in return migration amongst British migrants.²⁰ Dudley Baines estimates that almost forty per cent of all British migrants returned to the UK.²¹ If British subjects returned with children born overseas, it would be a contributory factor towards the growing number of foreign-born British subjects. It was not the case that people only left the UK. Instead, large numbers of British subjects that had emigrated were choosing to return home with their families.²² The

¹⁶ Henry Thompson, ‘Indian and Colonial London’, in George R. Sims, ed., *Living London, Vol. 3*, Section 2 (London: Cassell and Co., 1902), p. 306.

¹⁷ Eric Richards, ‘Running home from Australia: intercontinental mobility and migrant expectations in the nineteenth century’, in Marjory Harper, ed., *Emigrant Homecomings: The return movement of emigrants, 1600-2000* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), pp. 77-104.

¹⁸ See K. S. Inglis, ‘Going Home: Australians in England, 1870-1900’, in David Fitzpatrick, ed., *Home or Away? Immigrants in Colonial Australia*, Visible Immigrants III (Canberra: Australian National University, 1992), pp. 105-130.

¹⁹ ‘Aliens Bill’, House of Commons Debate, 2 May 1905, Vol. 145, cc. 687-786.

²⁰ James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 127.

²¹ Baines, *Emigration from Europe*, p. 39.

²² Drew Keeling, ‘Repeat Migration between Europe and the United States, 1870-1914’, in Laura Cruz, and Joel Mokyr, eds., *The Birth of Modern Europe: Culture and Economy, 1400-1800: Essays in Honor of Jan De Vries* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), p. 157.

sharp acceleration of the British subject category in the later portions of the period supports the claim that two-way migration streams were gaining strength.

Reductions in the proportion of migrants betray broader factors, particularly in the case of the Ireland-born. Although the number of Ireland-born persons declined in both absolute and proportional terms, it remained the most significant group in England and Wales. Over the course of the period, the Ireland-born share dropped from accounting for 86.3 per cent of all foreign-born persons in 1851 to 67.7 per cent in 1881. By 1911, the Ireland-born accounted for only forty-four per cent. The halving of the Ireland-born share of the migrant population is significant. Possible explanations for the decrease was fewer Ireland-born persons arriving, an increase of persons from other countries, and the death of earlier migrants. Lynn Lees describes the decreasing number of Ireland-born reported in the census as 'deceptive'.²³ While the number of Ireland-born persons may have decreased, their progeny rapidly multiplied into the hundreds of thousands and ultimately millions.²⁴ The extent of the second-generation Ireland-born community requires further research, but it is reasonable to expect it to be significant.

As the number of foreign-born migrants increased throughout the period, so too did the places of origin. Over the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, larger numbers of migrants began arriving into England and Wales from locations outside of Europe. Figure 3.2, which has had the Ireland-born removed to

²³ Lynn Hollen Lees, *Exiles of Erin: Irish Migrants in Victorian London* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1979), p. 48.

²⁴ S. Harding and R. Balarajan, 'Patterns of Mortality in Second Generation Irish Living in England and Wales: Longitudinal Study', *British Medical Journal*, Vol. 312, No. 7043 (1996), p. 1392.

permit a comparison of the continents, illustrates the changes over time to the continental origins of migrants living in England and Wales.²⁵ While Europe dominated the migrant landscape, Asia and North America also provided sizeable groups. During the 1890s, there was almost a doubling in the number of persons recorded as being from both Africa and Oceania. These continental movements indicate two key events. Firstly, that there was a clear and sizeable migration to England and Wales from Europe during the 1880s. Secondly, that the 1890s were an important period for the globalisation of the migrant community, with colonial migrants from Africa and Oceania forming a distinctive element.²⁶ The diversification of the migrant populace likely influenced British society as diverse ethnicities settled and integrated.

Growth amongst migrant populations was not constant or certain. For some migrant communities, there were dips and reversals in trends. As illustrated in figure 3.2, the number of persons from Africa, Asia, Oceania, and South America decreased between 1901 and 1911. Similarly, the number of North Americans dropped from 43,624 in 1881 to 30,484 in 1891. The variations and fluctuations of the foreign-born communities indicate the significant degree of mobility within the migrant population. It is evident, however, that the migration process remained a predominantly European experience across the period. Specific patterns are observable. While the Ireland-born initially dominated the foreign-born population, larger numbers of continental Europeans began to arrive, including German-born, from the 1860s. Then, from the 1880s a significant influx of Russia-born, many of whom were Jewish, began to arrive, pass

²⁵ The following numbers of Ireland-born were omitted from each relevant census year: 1851; 496,297, 1861; 578,384, 1881; 566,729, 1891; 456,390, 1901; 425,039, 1911; 372,974.

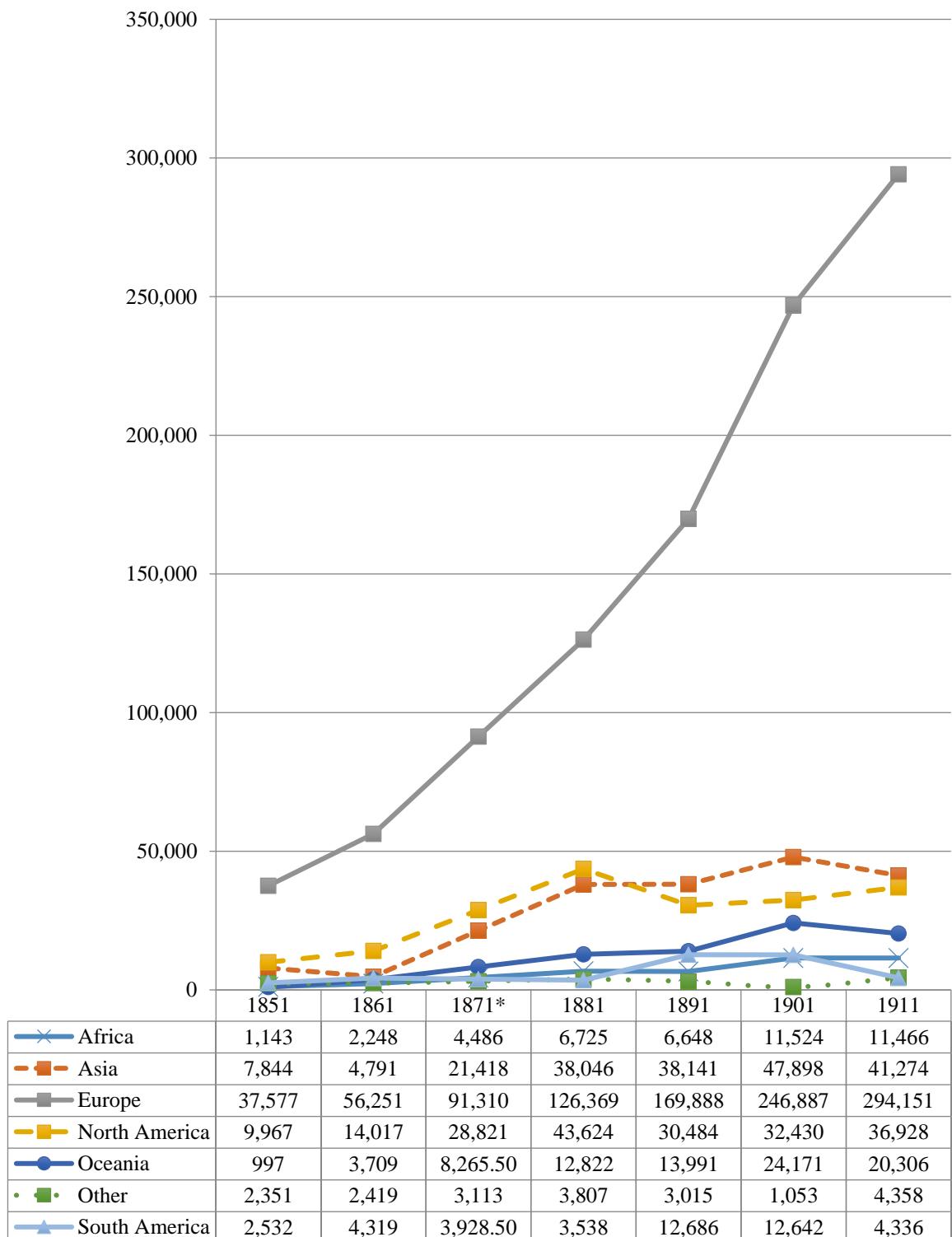
²⁶ A good overview of global migrations and population re-distribution is in Adam McKeown, 'Global Migration, 1846-1940', *Journal of World History*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (2004), pp. 155-189.

through, and settle in England and Wales.²⁷ Finally, in the latter years of the period, an increasingly diverse and global body of migrants began to arrive, many of whom were foreign-born British subjects. The different phases of composition within the foreign-born population suggest a complex array of migration drivers.

²⁷ Evidence exists demonstrating a component of Eastern European migrants as being non-Jewish. See Roger Murdoch, 'Immigration into Britain: The Lithuanians', *History Today*, Vol. 35, No. 7 (1985), pp. 15-20, and Leonard Schapiro, 'The Russian background of the Anglo-American Jewish Immigration', in Colin Holmes, ed., *Migration in European History, Vol. 1* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 1996), pp. 276-292.

Figure 3.2: Foreign-born persons in England and Wales by continent, 1851-1911

(Ireland-born removed)



Source: I-CeM

*Extrapolated

Certain nationalities dominated the migrant population of England and Wales.

Table 3.1 presents the countries with the largest number of migrants in each census.

As mentioned, although numbers fluctuated, Ireland remained the dominant source of migrants throughout the period.²⁸ Germany retained its position as the major continental source of migrants until a sizeable wave of migrants from territories in the Russian Empire, which began to migrate *en masse* from the 1880s.²⁹

Table 3.1: Largest foreign-born migrant groups in England and Wales, 1851-1911

Country	1851	1861	1871*	1881	1891	1901	1911
Ireland	505,871	584,392	577,322	570,251	459,502	427,301	422,443
Russian Empire ³⁰	3,504	5,881	12,898	19,914	46,725	93,000	106,801
Germany	14,322	22,360	35,915	49,470	55,826	65,926	64,349
India	5,596	9,552	19,041	28,530	35,643	51,331	58,049
France	16,983	19,028	25,032	31,036	33,306	39,566	45,530
USA	2,980	4,825	15,534	26,242	15,051	16,155	40,981
Canada	3,877	4,384	9,340	14,296	12,757	17,967	19,607
Italy	3,307	3,834	6,165	8,496	10,565	22,681	21,806
Australia	1,164	3,766	7,562	11,357	12,372	21,003	24,770
Austria	325	729	1,885	3,040	4,946	11,108	14,511
South Africa	985	1,608	3,353	5,097	6,295	11,450	18,254
China ³¹	161	342	932	1,179	1,420	1,993	3,440

Source: I-CeM

*Extrapolated

²⁸ Donald M. MacRaild, 'Crossing migrant frontiers: Comparative reflections on Irish migrants in Britain and the United States during the nineteenth century', *Immigrants and Minorities*, Vol. 18, No. 2-3 (1999), pp. 40-41.

²⁹ Anthony Julius, *Trials of the Diaspora: A History of Anti-Semitism in England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 276-283.

³⁰ As modern boundaries are used in the I-CeM, figures for the Russian Empire include persons recorded as having been born in Russia, Belarus, Finland, Poland, Georgia, Estonia, Moldova, Lithuania, Latvia, and Ukraine.

³¹ As the China-born have been included in later analyses, they have been included in this table, despite not being one of the largest communities.

Continental Europe continuously supplied large numbers of migrants. For example, by 1901, over 20,000 migrants from Italy could be found in England and Wales. Similarly, the number of persons from France increased by more than 168 per cent over the course of the period. A significant portion of the approximately 14,500 Austrians living in England and Wales in 1911 had only arrived in the previous ten to twenty years. Many of these communities, nonetheless, were not static entities. In the 1900s, the increase in migrants from many countries was stymied. Of the countries in table 3.1, Ireland, Germany, and Italy each suffered a minor decrease in the migrant numbers between 1901 and 1911, -1.1 per cent, -2.3 per cent, and -3.9 per cent respectively. Other European groups experienced increases, but to a lesser extent than in the 1890s. Consequently, when including the Ireland-born, migration into England and Wales was dominated by white Europeans.

India emerged as the major Asian country of origin during the period. The increase in India-born persons was chiefly a result of its position within the Empire. The arrival of Lascars and Ayahs into Britain resulted in the settlement of India-born persons in different areas of the country.³² However, the ambiguity regarding the recording of birthplaces in Asia and other areas is problematic. As mentioned in chapter two, the exact locations and regions migrants were born in can be ambiguous, not accurately recorded, or unidentified. Presumably, a majority of these migrants were white British who had been born there while their parents served in the British Empire.

³² Visram, *Asians in Britain*, pp. 50-59.

A possible measure for approximately identifying the number of Asian migrants not of European heritage amongst the India-born community is from an analysis of surnames. In 1911, 1,642 persons were living in the registration district of Kensington recorded as being born in India. From a preliminary analysis of the forenames and surnames, only 126 persons had a distinctively 'Indian' name. However, some India-born persons had Germanic names, for example, De Stael, Van Koettli, and Laing.³³ Names distinct to other cultures and communities also occurred within the sample. Despite having names that originated from Asia and continental Europe, the bulk of the names occurring were British in nature, with Smith, Robertson, and Forbes being the most popular. While this analysis is limited, it is likely that it is representative of the India-born population as a whole. The extent to which the India migrant community was composed of individuals from non-western backgrounds is uncertain and challenging to quantify from census records alone. In her study of the Asian community in Britain, Rozina Visram puts the number of India-born persons living in the country during the period of this study at several hundred.³⁴ However, the community was not a single homogeneous group.³⁵ With multiple indigenous Indian cultures, White British, and other European-born persons, there was a complex array of identities within the label of India-born.³⁶ Consequently, the India-born community is incredibly complicated to unpick. The analysis presented here suggests further research

³³ For a robust explanation for the phenomenon of India-born persons with Germanic names, see Panikos Panayi, *The Germans in India: Elite European Migrants in the British Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017).

³⁴ Visram, *Asians in Britain*, p. 44.

³⁵ Visram, *Ayahs, Lascars and Princes*, pp. 52-54.

³⁶ A particularly useful overview of different communities is found in Visram, *Ayahs, Lascars and Princes*, pp. 55-75.

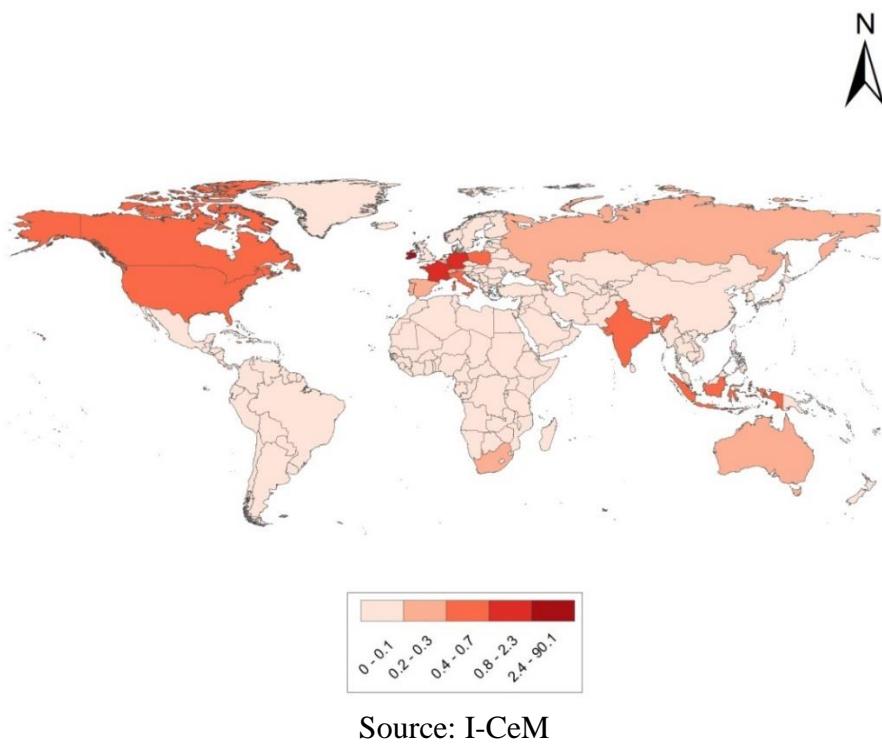
needs to take place to understand the origins and backgrounds of many India-born migrants enumerate in the census.

The former and current colonial territories of Canada, Australia, South Africa, and the USA were the birthplaces of many foreign-born persons residing in the UK at the time of the censuses. The migration of North Americans and colonials is ascribable, in part, to the connections and legacy of millions of British emigrants. The rapid rise of the USA-born in England and Wales from 16,155 in 1901 to 40,981 in 1911 is a significant increase of 153.7 per cent. Notable increases in persons from former and colonial territories in the later portions of the nineteenth century supports the point that the migrant population became increasingly diverse and global in its composition.

There is a clear geographical dimension to the origins of migrants. Figures 3. 3-3.5 depict the origins of foreign-born migrants from around the world. Modern boundaries are utilised in this study as the I-CeM contains a coded variable for current national borders. The primary finding is that most countries supplied few migrants. It is evident that throughout the period the bulk of the largest migrant groups originated in colonial territories and countries in continental Europe. A surprisingly large component hailed from North America. The specific communities and settlements that migrants originated from have long been a subject of interest to scholars. However, the census is not detailed or consistent enough to reliably conclude from.³⁷

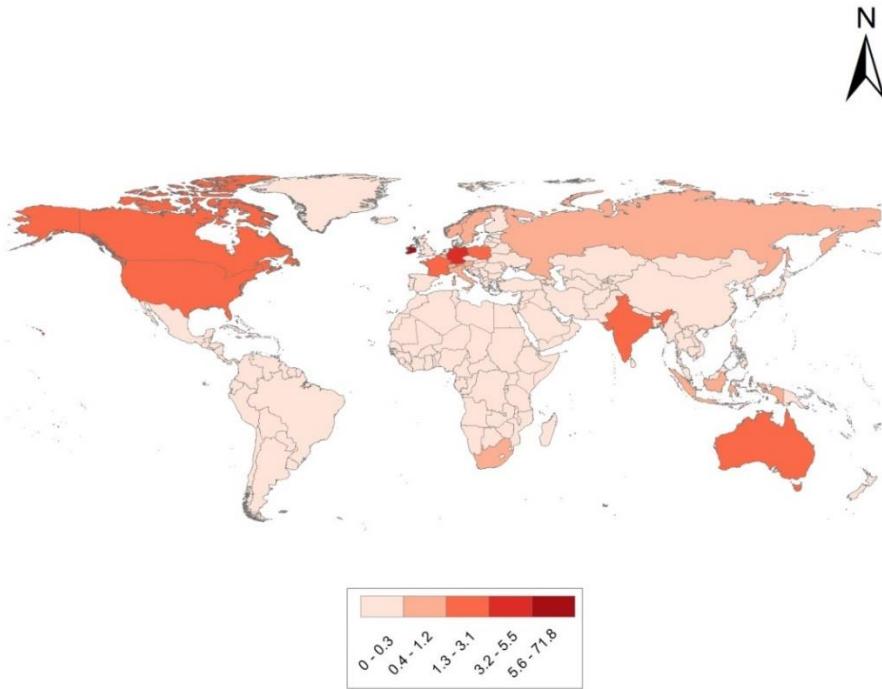
³⁷ Nicola De Blasio, 'Italian immigration to Britain: An ignored discussion', *European Demographic Information Bulletin*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (1979), pp. 151-158.

Figure 3.3: Migrants per country – 1851 (% of total foreign-born migrants)



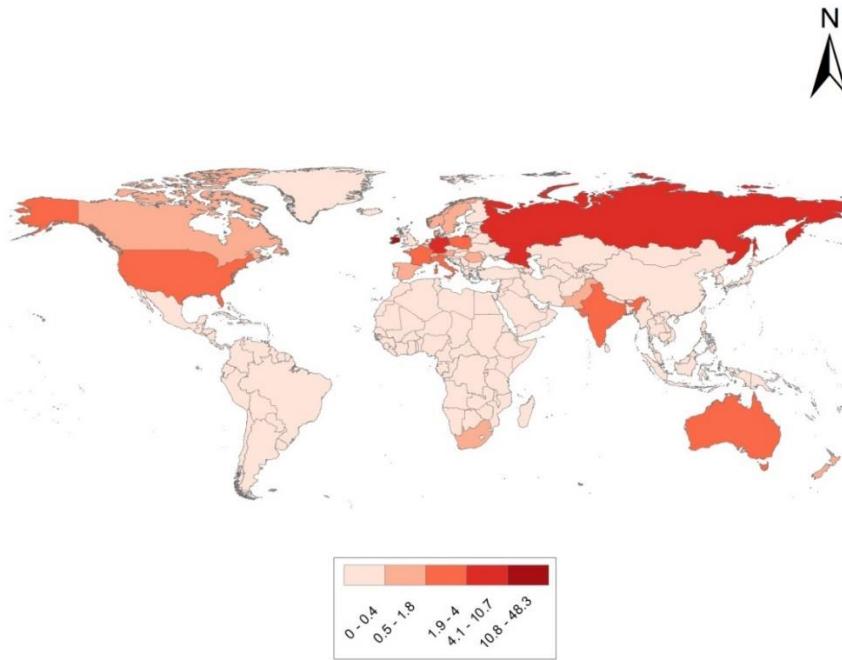
Source: I-CeM

Figure 3.4: Migrants per country – 1881 (% of total foreign-born migrants)



Source: I-CeM

Figure 3.5: Migrants per country – 1911 (% of total foreign-born migrants)



Source: I-CeM

When using modern boundaries, persons from over one hundred contemporary countries and territories were present in England and Wales in each of the censuses. The range of birthplaces illustrates how the UK served as a space of transition for peoples from around the world.³⁸ However, as previously noted, the most pertinent observation from figures 3.3-3.5 is that the majority of migrants came from only a handful of countries. Geographical proximity was not the only factor that affected migration to England and Wales.³⁹ Political, economic, religious, social, familial, military, and incidental factors must have featured in the migration decision process.⁴⁰ Colonies of the British Empire played an important role in diversifying the foreign-

³⁸ Katharin Levitan, ‘‘Sprung from ourselves’: British interpretations of mid-nineteenth-century racial demographics’, in Kent Fedorowich, and Andrew S. Thompson, eds., *Empire, Migration and Identity in the British World* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), p. 61.

³⁹ Ibid, pp. 64-66.

⁴⁰ Harper and Constantine, *Migration and Empire*, pp. 1-13.

born migrant population, as did global transport networks.⁴¹ Ultimately, a range of complex issues influenced an individual's decision to migrate. Historical relationships and contemporaneous contingencies further ensured the British Isles attracted an increasingly diverse array of foreign-born migrants.⁴²

Based on the findings described here, the remainder of this chapter and subsequent chapters will primarily focus on the five migrant groups given greater attention in this thesis. This section has demonstrated that there were four identifiable phases of migration. First, the presence of a sizeable Ireland-born diaspora at the 1851 census. Second, the emergence of a sizeable European born population in England and Wales. Third, a large in-swell of migrants from the Russian Empire from the 1880s. Fourth, the arrival of an increasingly global and diverse migrant population. This section has established the largest migrant groups and identified periods of specific migrations. The following section will explore the distribution and settlement of the foreign-born population.

III. Where did they live in England and Wales?

The process of arriving in a new country is immediately followed by the need to find a place to live, even in the short-term. Settling in an area is predicated by a number of factors, including available housing, information networks, and proximity to work.⁴³

⁴¹ Two prominent examples include Visram, *Ayahs, Lascars and Princes*, and Visram, *Asians in Britain*.

⁴² Levitan, 'Sprung from ourselves', p. 70.

⁴³ The role of information and social networks in migration decisions is ably addressed in Gur Alroey, 'Information, Decision, and Migration: Jewish Emigration from Eastern Europe in the Early Twentieth Century', *Immigrants and Minorities*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (2011), pp. 33-63.

This section will begin with an analysis of London before addressing the national geography of migrant distribution. London receives considerable attention in this section due to its prominence in the literature, population density, and the number of foreign-born migrants.⁴⁴ Later in this thesis, attention is afforded to a provincial community, namely Newcastle upon Tyne. This section is the first systematic analysis of the distribution of all foreign-born migrants in England and Wales during the nineteenth and early twentieth century using the I-CeM.

London was the largest city in England and Wales during the period 1851-1911 and migrants formed a smaller than expected proportion of its total population.⁴⁵ Table 3.2 reveals the proportions of the migrant population that resided inside the county of London. Contrary to what might be expected from the literature, the bulk of the foreign-born population resided outside of London.⁴⁶ Similarly, until 1901, the foreign-born population diminished in proportion to the total population of London. Between 1891 and 1901 there is a noticeable increase in the number and proportion of migrants living in London. However, in the period 1901 and 1911 the community stabilises and consolidates to account for only 5.7 per cent of London's population.

⁴⁴ See Panikos Panayi, 'The Uniqueness of London', in Jennifer Craig-Norton, Christhard Hoffmann, and Tony Kushner, eds., *Migrant Britain: Histories and Historiographies* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), pp. 80-90.

⁴⁵ Colin G. Pooley, 'England and Wales', in Colin G. Pooley, ed., *Housing Strategies in Europe, 1880-1930* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), pp. 75-77.

⁴⁶ The 1902 Royal Aliens was instituted in direct response to allegations of overcrowding of impoverished migrants in London. Major Evans-Gordon proposed an amendment to an address delivered in 1898, 'To represent the urgent necessity of introducing legislation to restrict the immigration of destitute aliens into London and other cities of the United Kingdom.' *Report of the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration with minutes of evidence and appendix, Vol. 1* (London: HMSO, 1903), p. 5.

Table 3.2: Proportion of foreign-born migrants in the county of London compared to the total foreign-born migrants in England and Wales, 1851-1911

Census	Total number of foreign-born migrants in England and Wales	Total number of foreign-born migrants in London	% of all foreign-born migrants in England and Wales	Total population of London	% of foreign-born migrants in the London population
1851	585,801	143,748	24.5	2,336,727	6.2
1861	694,201	139,603	20.1	2,549,418	5.5
1871*	768,036	164,825	21.5	3,178,238	5.2
1881	841,871	190,047	22.6	3,807,059	5.0
1891	784,016	197,202	25.2	4,238,229	4.6
1901	897,931	252,455	28.1	4,532,296	5.6
1911	959,236	258,100	26.9	4,512,965	5.7

Source: I-CeM

*Extrapolated

The foreign-born population of London underwent significant changes during the period. Table 3.3 illustrates the largest migrant groups in 1851 living in London and what subsequently happened to them. While some groups increased in size, others did not. The Ireland-born population of London halved over the sixty years of this study. The 1881 census was the first time that the Ireland-born population of London began to record a decline. As previously stated, claims of a retraction in the size of the Ireland-born community is somewhat problematic as the progeny of Ireland-born persons remained an extensive entity. Meanwhile, other foreign-born communities, including the German-born, France-born, and Russia-born began to expand significantly.

Table 3.3: Largest foreign-born groups in the county of London, 1851-1911

Birthplace	1851	1861	1871*	1881	1891	1901	1911
Ireland	107,119	92,589	86,901	81,213	66,213	60,155	53,652
Germany	8,114	12,502	19,588	26,674	29,032	33,794	30,614
France	6,937	7,445	9,807	12,169	12,320	14,684	15,691
India	1,907	2,864	5,322	7,781	9,159	12,220	10,675
Holland	1,824	3,038	4,060	5,082	4,445	4,968	4,650
Italy	1,507	1,825	2,963	4,101	5,336	11,667	11,795
Russian Empire	1,506	2,956	6,563	10,170	27,307	57,801	67,776
Canada	1,081	950	2,216	3,482	3,121	3,967	3,861
USA	920	1,095	3,412	5,730	3,737	4,162	8,235

Source: I-CeM

*Extrapolated

The size and distribution patterns of the migrant communities varied wildly, as illustrated in table 3.4. For whatever reason, London attracted certain migrant groups better than others. On average, only fifteen per cent of the total Ireland-born population residing in England and Wales chose to settle in London. In contrast, approximately half of all German-born persons settled in London throughout the period. Of all persons born in Canada in England and Wales at the time of the 1901 census, only 22.1 per cent lived in London. Similarly, only 18.4 per cent of India-born persons in 1911 were living in London. Ultimately, migrant settlement patterns demonstrate significant diversity between the communities when compared at a national level.

Table 3.4: Percentages of foreign-born persons living in the county of London compared to the total foreign-born population of England & Wales, 1851-1911

Birthplace	1851	1861	1871*	1881	1891	1901	1911
Ireland	21.2	15.8	15.1	14.2	14.4	14.1	12.7
Germany	56.7	55.9	54.5	53.9	52.0	51.3	47.6
France	40.8	39.1	39.2	39.2	37.0	37.1	34.5
India	34.1	30.0	28.0	27.3	25.7	23.8	18.4
Holland	69.4	72.1	71.8	71.6	66.0	58.6	51.5
Italy	45.6	47.6	48.1	48.3	50.5	51.4	54.1
Russian Empire	43.0	50.3	50.9	51.1	58.4	62.2	63.5
Canada	27.9	21.7	23.7	24.4	24.5	22.1	19.7
USA	30.9	22.7	22.0	21.8	24.8	25.8	20.1

Source: I-CeM

*Extrapolated

Distinct residential settlement behaviours were manifested between groups. A closer analysis of the registration districts in London reveals clustering behaviours within migrant communities. No foreign-born community had a balanced distribution across the city. Figures 3.6-3.20 indicate different areas of concentration for the migrant communities, with variation within groups over time. The maps are generated using Jenks natural breaks, which is a classification method based on natural groupings within the data. The Jenks classification system was chosen in this instance as it is suitable for datasets with large differences in data values, such as the migrant communities of interest here.⁴⁷ While London was the primary location for migrants to reside, it is important to note that migrant groups demonstrated vastly different patterns of residential behaviour.⁴⁸ These patterns changed with time. There was, however, a tendency for older migrant groups, such as the German-born and Ireland-born, to disperse from their centres of strength.

⁴⁷ Michael J. de Smith, Michael F. Goodchild, and Paul A. Longley, *Geospatial Analysis: A Comprehensive Guide to principles, Techniques and Software Tools* (Edinburgh: Winchelsea Press, 2018, sixth edition).

⁴⁸ Perry, 'Geo-locating census microdata', pp. 8-12.

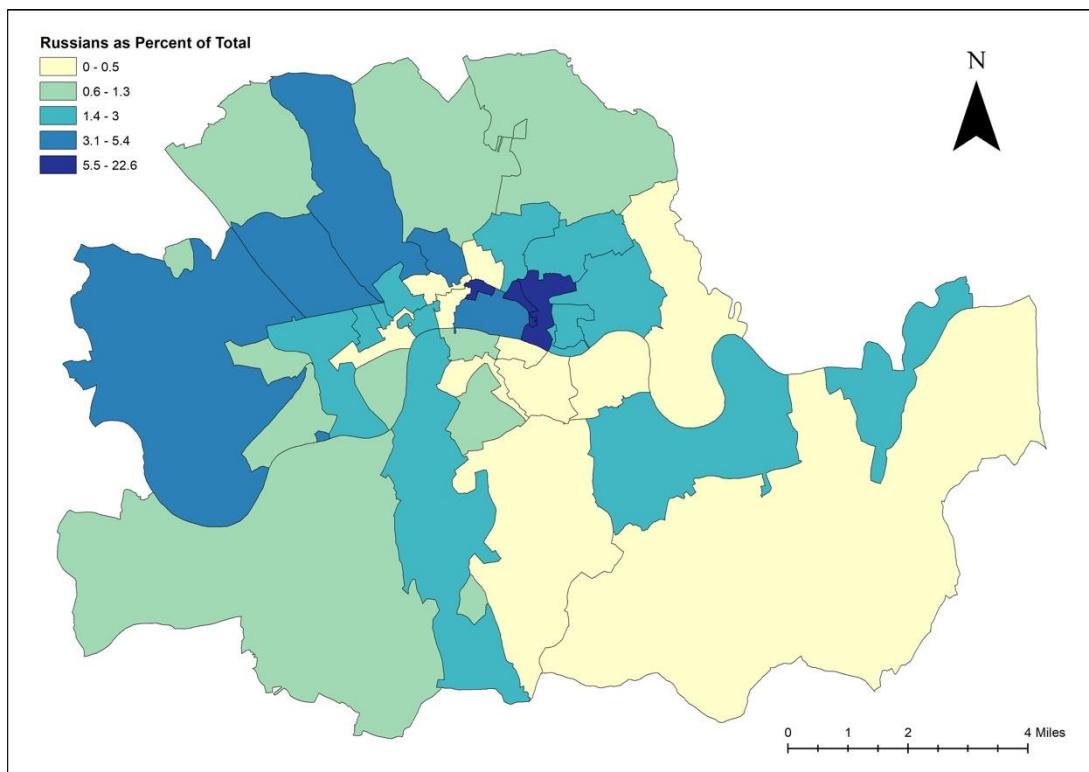
Between 1881 and 1911, the Russia-born population was tightly concentrated into just a handful of districts, specifically Whitechapel and Mile End Old Town. From the data, the arrival of large numbers Russia-born persons appears to have displaced and forced other groups out of the area.⁴⁹ The relative distribution of migrants in the 1851 census indicates the emergent clustering behaviours were amplified in the succeeding years. A discernible pattern amongst the Russia-born population was the sudden and intense congregation in the East End districts of the city.⁵⁰ USA-born, meanwhile, typically preponderated in the West End of London, although there was a greater diversity in distribution at the time of the 1851 census. Specifically, the Kensington district continually served as a popular centre for the USA-born, although the reasons for this are somewhat uncertain. German-born persons, however, differed vastly in their behaviours in comparison to the Russia-born population and others. Although initially clustered in the East End, the German-born community expanded and dispersed to other districts, primarily those surrounding the city centre. As such, German-born persons dispersed around the city and were less likely to congregate. In contrast to most other groups are the Ireland-born. Figures 3.12-3.14 indicate that the Ireland-born were a mobile population who congregated together in tight clusters. One explanation for the Ireland-born dispersion, particularly from the East End is their displacement by Russia-born migrants who replaced them in select areas. The role of chain migration in the arrival, settlement, and dispersion of Ireland-born migrants correlates with the identification of mobile migrant clusters. The India-born population

⁴⁹ 'Immigration of Destitute Aliens', House of Commons Debate, 29 January 1902, Vol. 101, cc. 1269-291.

⁵⁰ Perry, 'Geo-locating census microdata', pp. 1-12.

largely mirrored the USA-born community with a proclivity towards certain districts, such as Kensington. The diverse settlement patterns indicate a heterogeneous migrant population with competing socio-economic attractions. In many cases, early settlers may have influenced those who followed them and where they settled.⁵¹

Figure 3.6: Russia-born persons in London registration districts, 1851⁵²



⁵¹ Herson, *Divergent Paths*, p. 15.

⁵² Figures 3.6-3.20 are produced using the I-CeM.

Figure 3.7: Russia-born persons in London registration districts, 1881

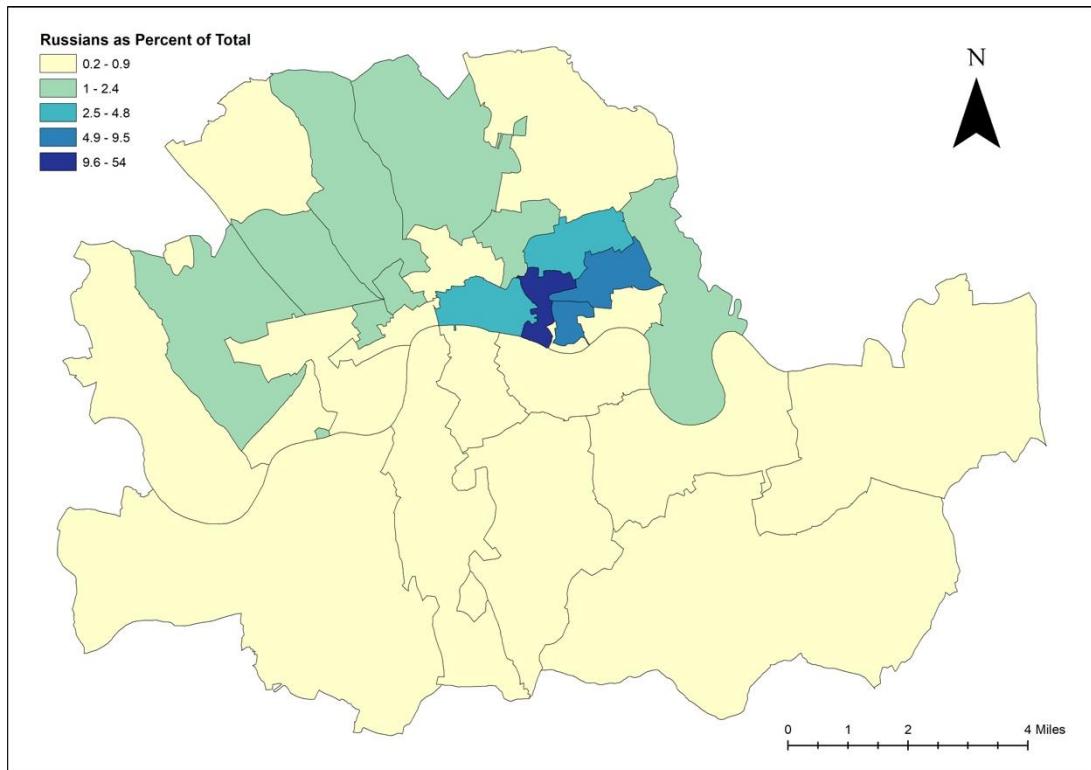


Figure 3.8: Russia-born persons in London registration districts, 1911

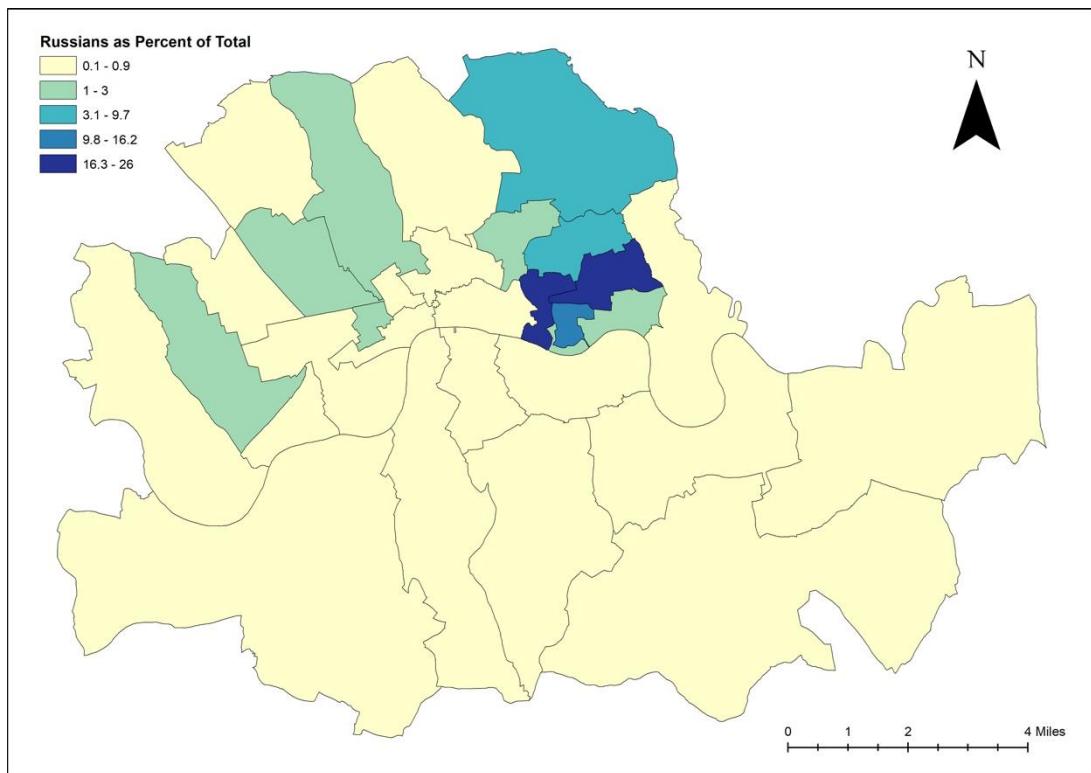


Figure 3.9: USA-born persons in London registration districts, 1851

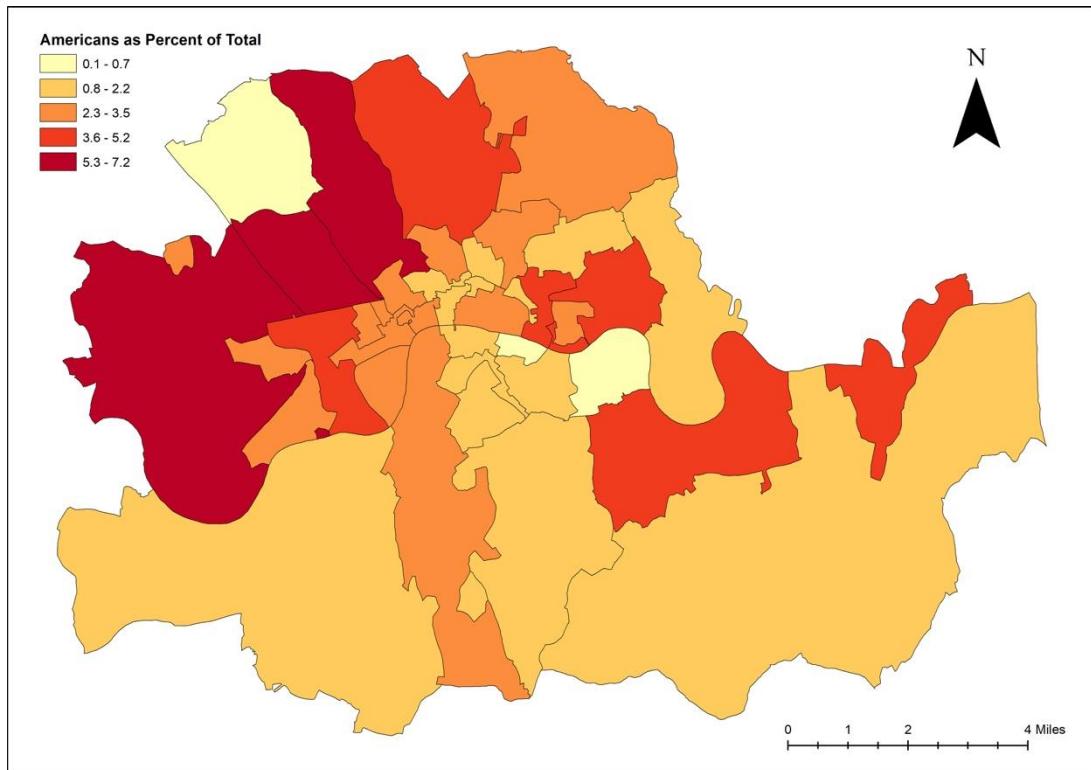


Figure 3.10: USA-born persons in London registration districts, 1881

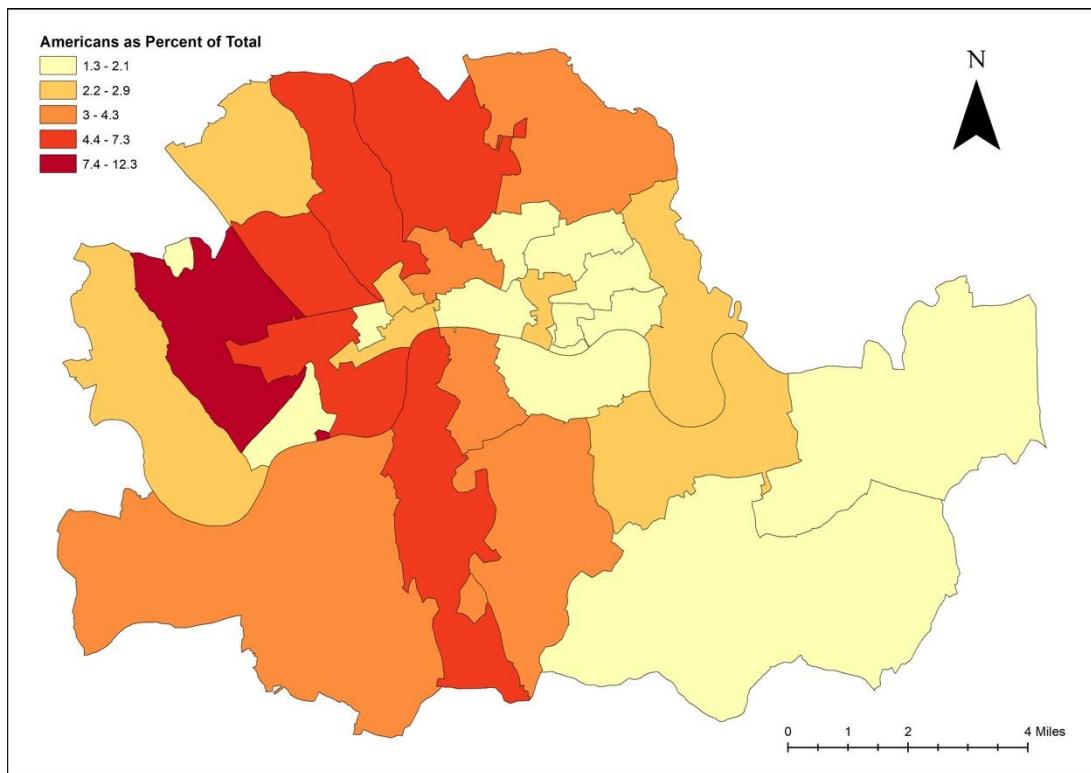


Figure 3.11: USA-born persons in London registration districts, 1911

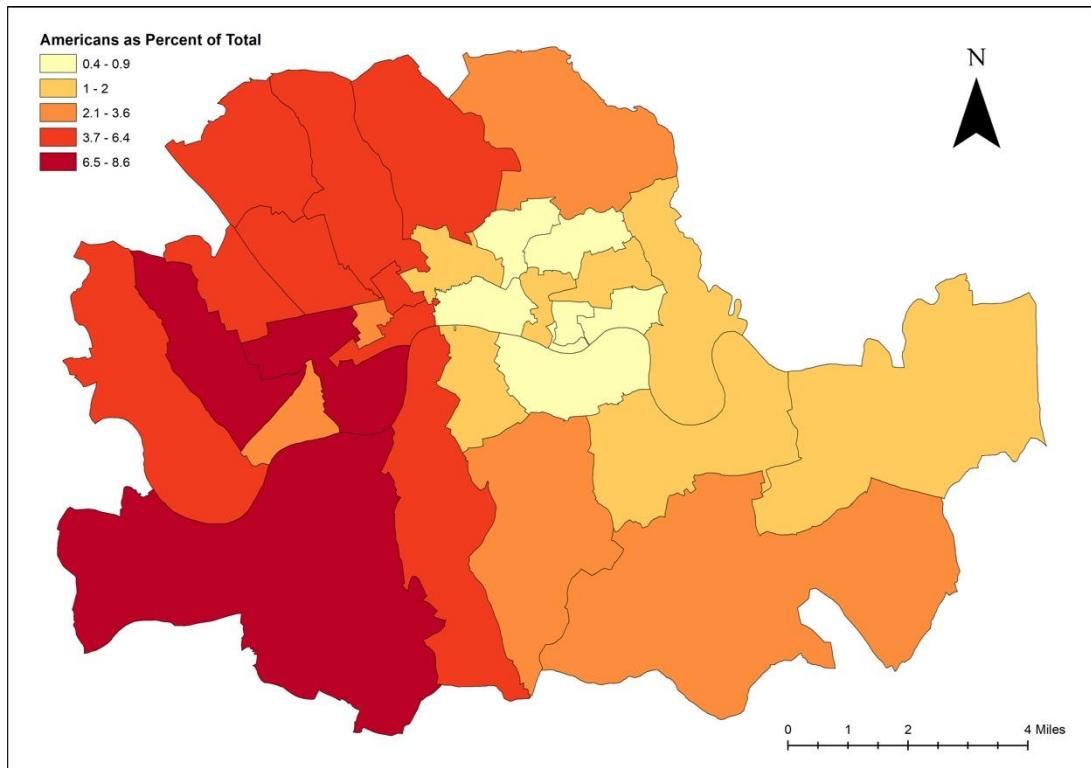


Figure 3.12: German-born persons in London registration districts, 1851

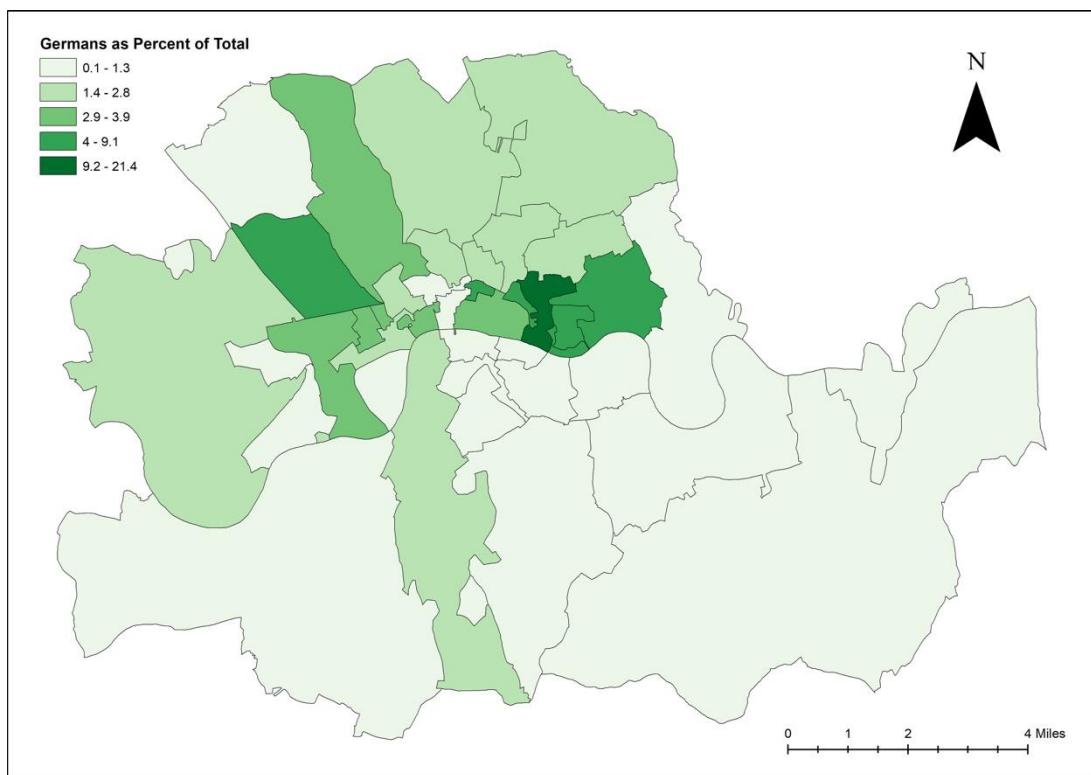


Figure 3.13: German-born persons in London registration districts, 1881

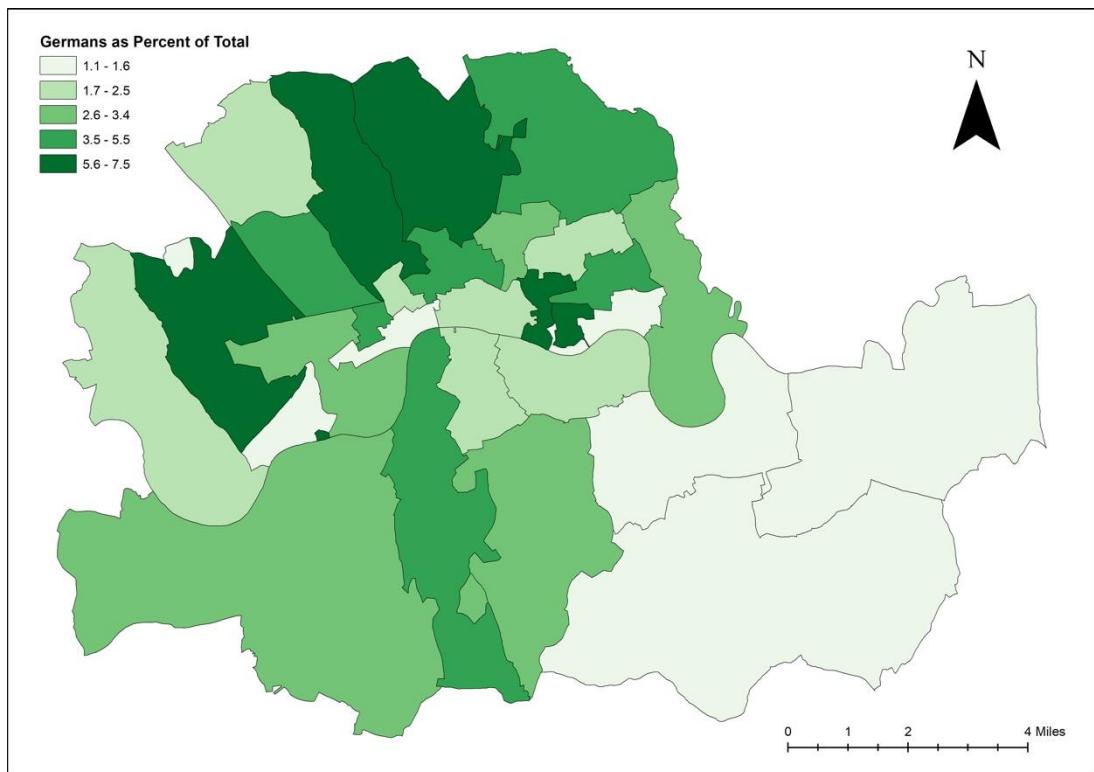


Figure 3.14: German-born persons in London registration districts, 1911

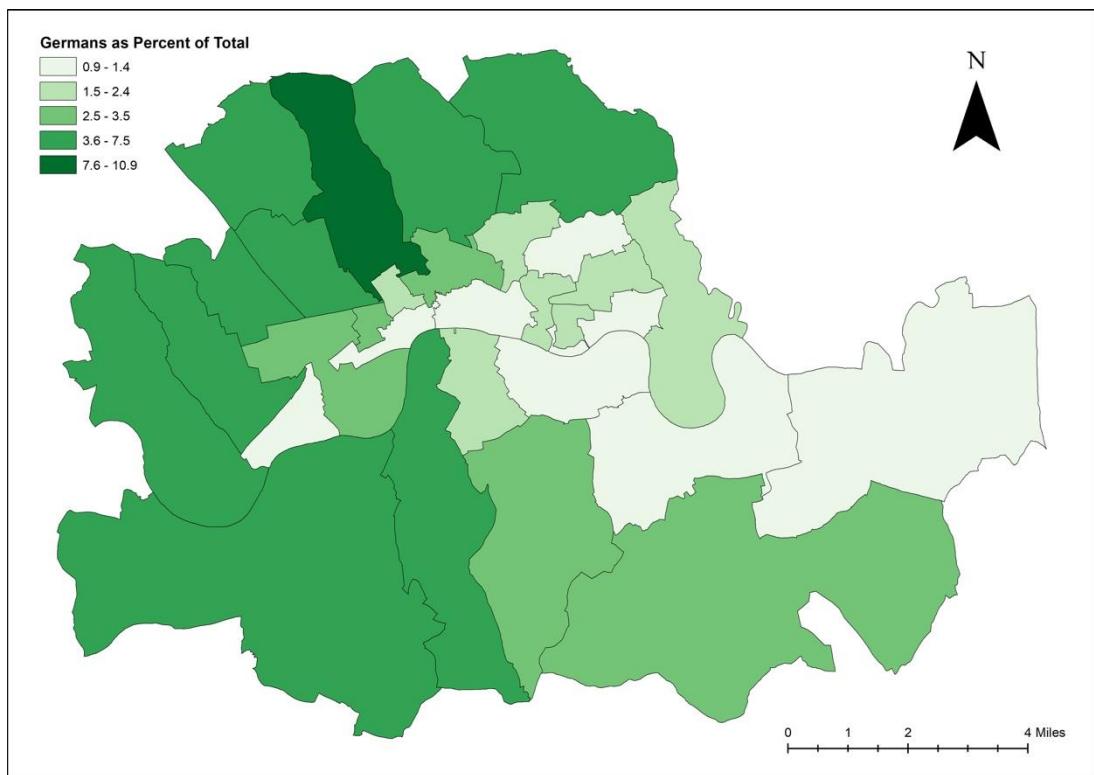


Figure 3.15: Ireland-born persons in London registration districts, 1851

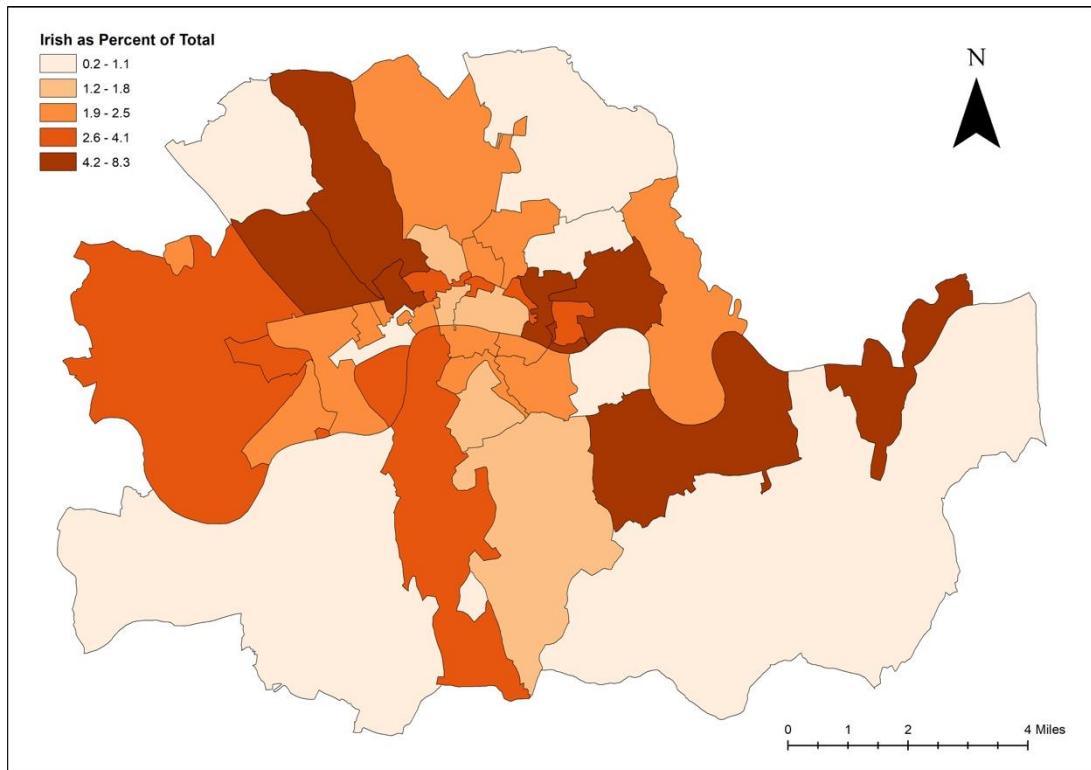


Figure 3.16: Ireland-born persons in London registration districts, 1881

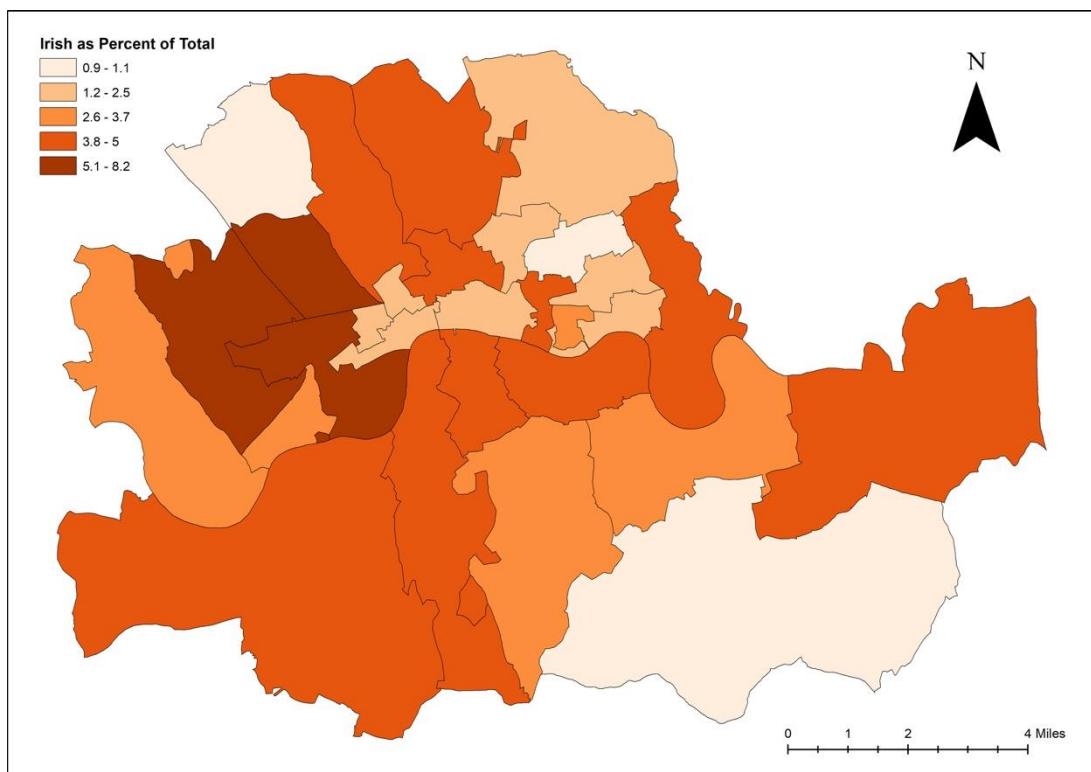


Figure 3.17: Ireland-born persons in London registration districts, 1911

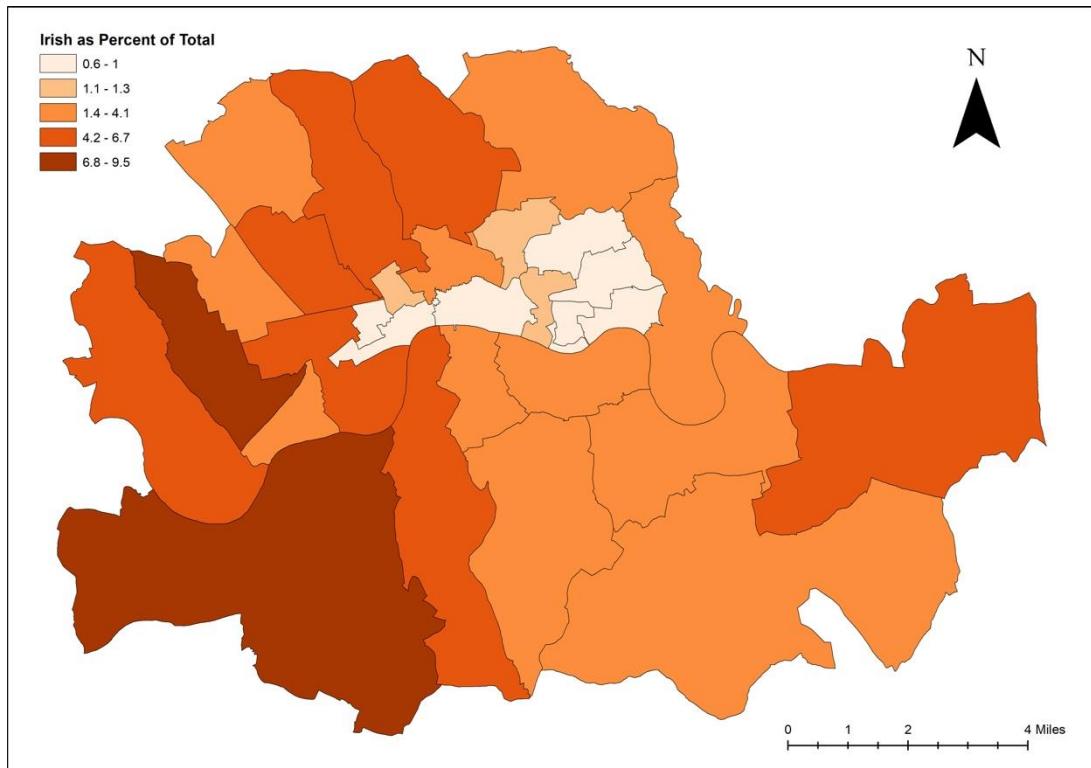


Figure 3.18: India-born persons in London registration districts, 1851

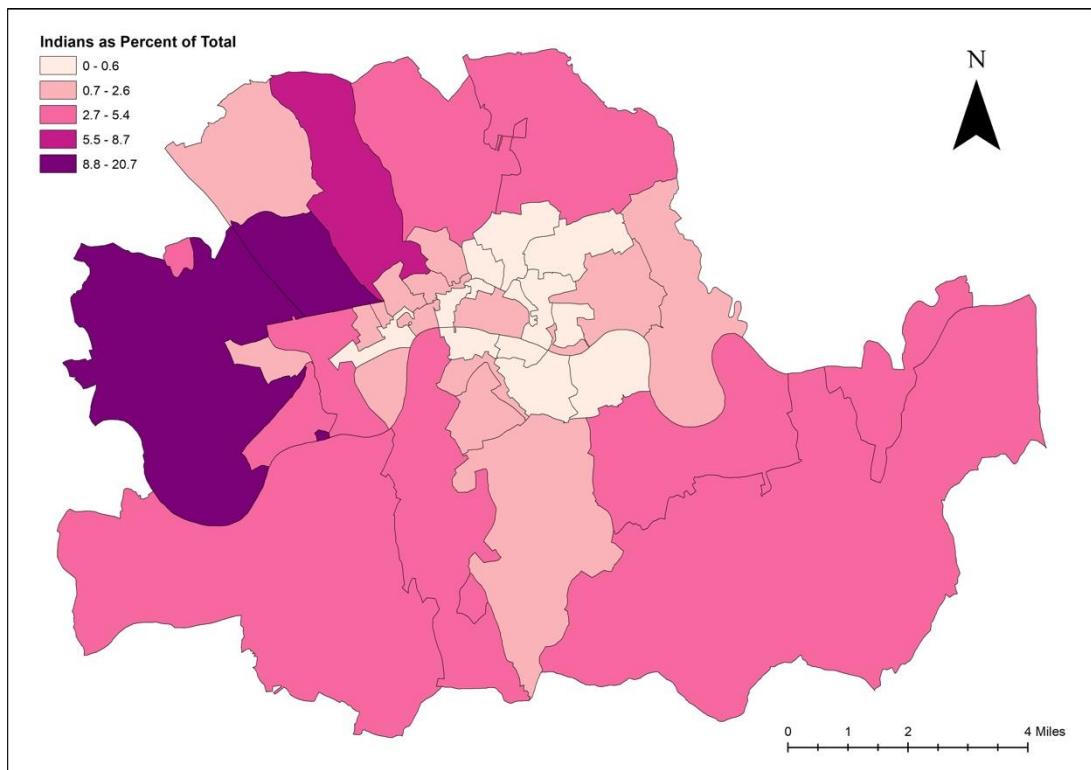


Figure 3.19: India-born persons in London registration districts, 1881

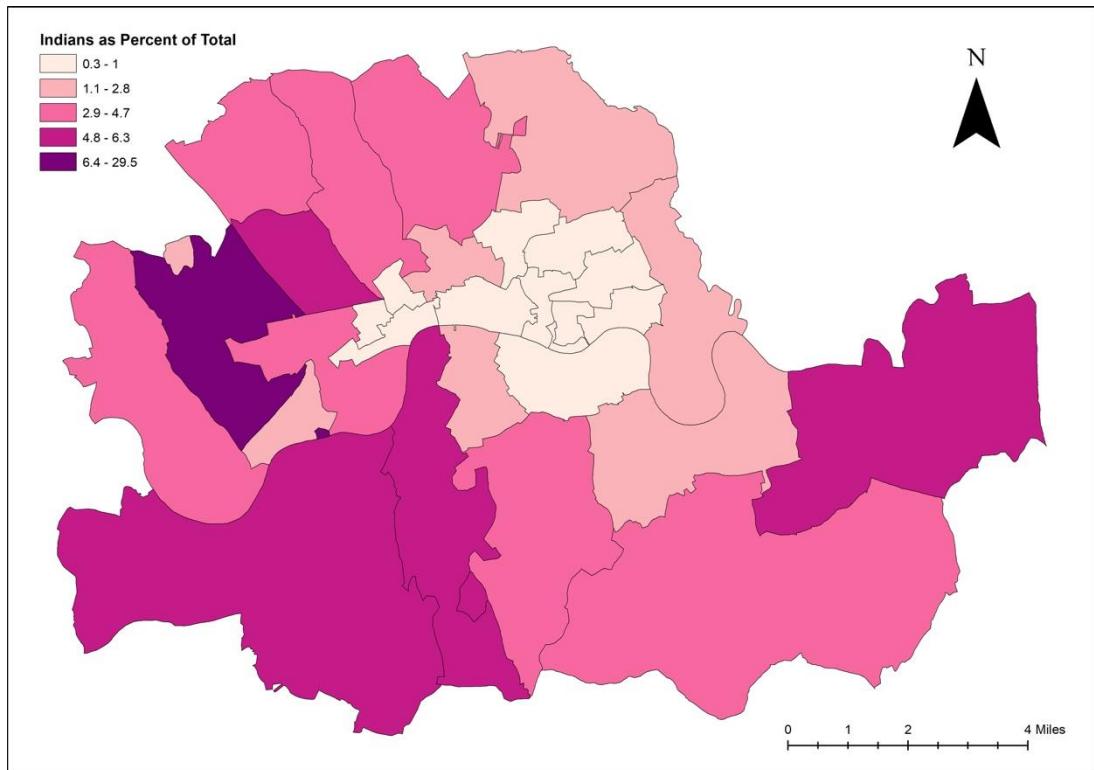
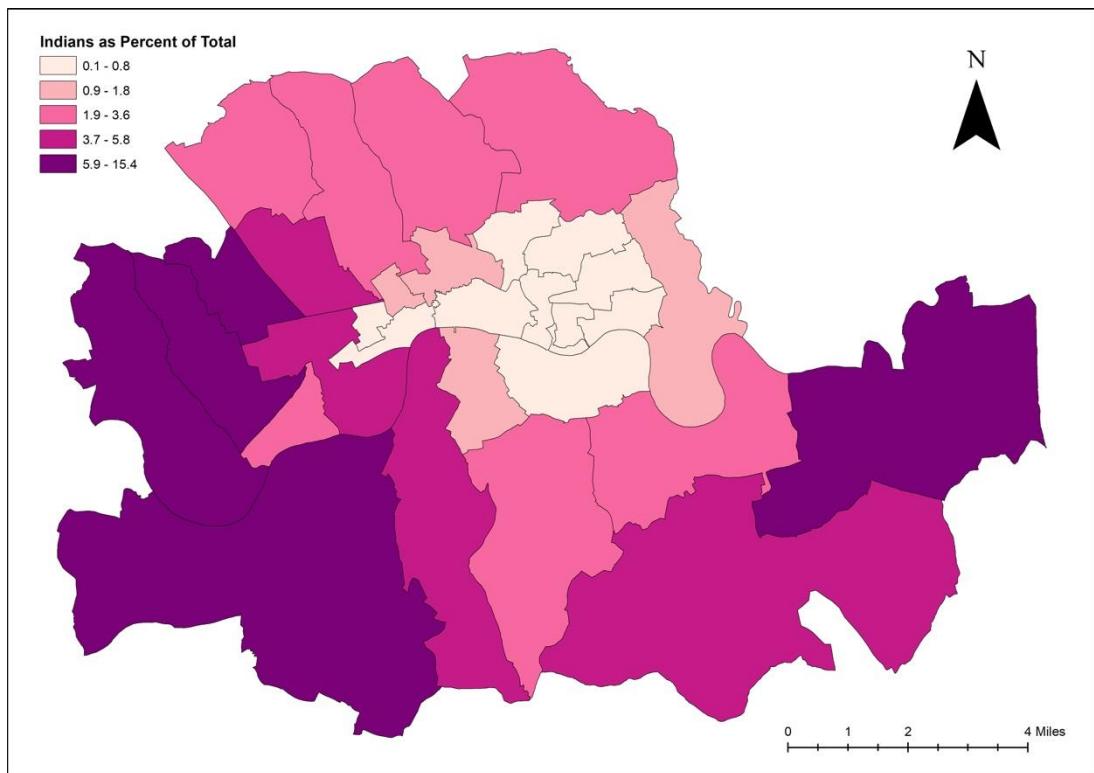


Figure 3.20: India-born persons in London registration districts, 1911

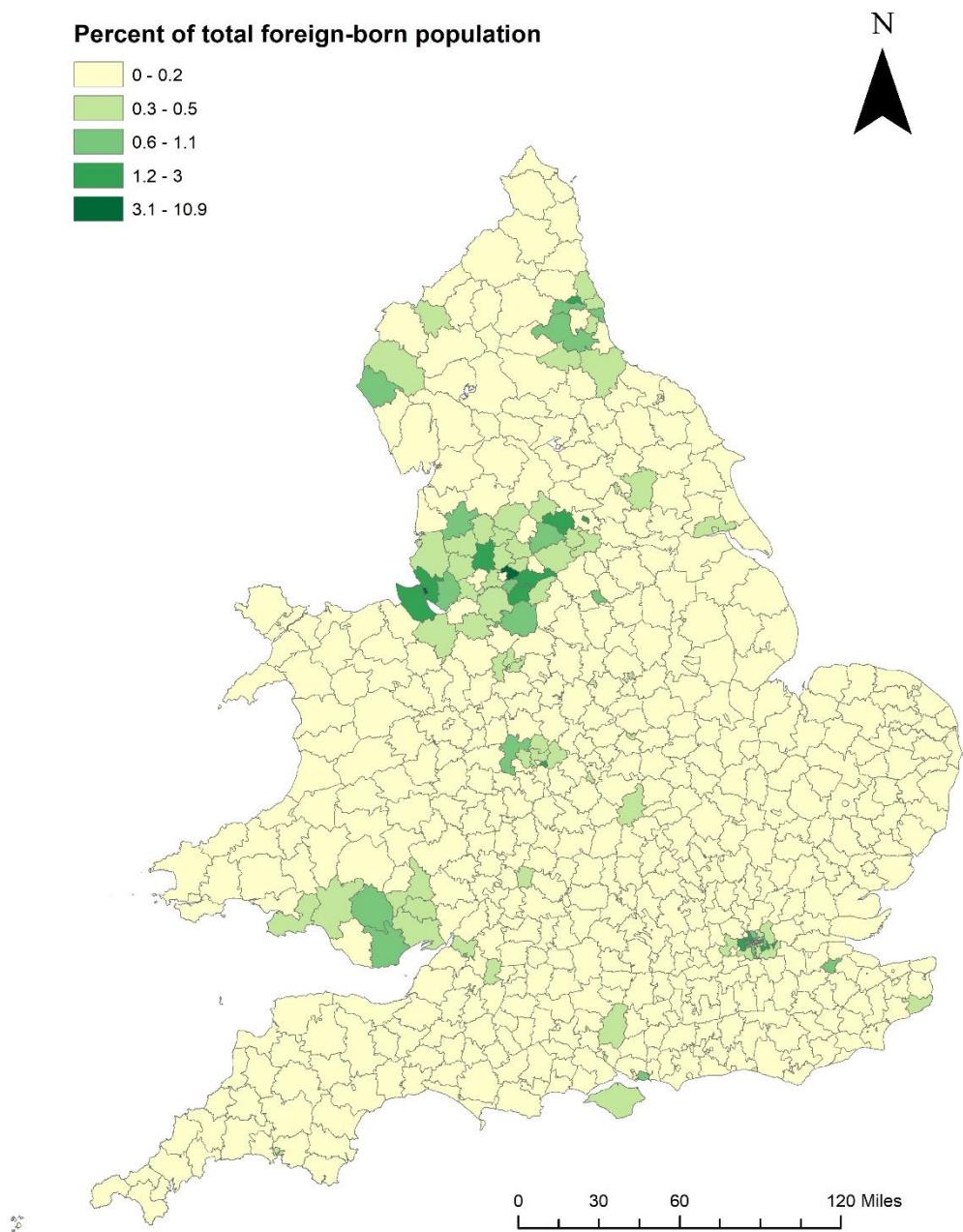


Higher levels of settlement suggest a greater likelihood that residential congregation, and by extension segregation, might be occurring. Figures 3.21-3.23 illustrate the distribution of foreign-born migrants in each registration district in England and Wales from 1851-1911. The maps show, perhaps unsurprisingly given the existing literature, that urban centres attracted large numbers of migrants. Registration districts in and around London, Liverpool, Manchester, Cardiff, Grimsby, and Newcastle upon Tyne, amongst others, became key migrant hubs. Despite this tendency towards settling in urban centres, some migrants dispersed around the country, including to rural areas. Migrants could be found in registration districts that would not immediately be expected. Whitehaven, Cockermouth, Weymouth, and Newton Abbott are examples of districts where the presence of foreign-born migrants might be surprising. Given the districts' locations and population size, a foreign-born presence is somewhat unexpected. From 1851, according to the I-CeM, most migrants drawn to these four areas were working as farm labourers (62110), miners (71120), and common labouring (99130). In later censuses, mining and related workers (71120 and 72100) remained dominant, but others emerged, including ships officers (4250) and domestic service (54020). Of these, most were Ireland-born. A significant number of registration districts had low numbers of migrants, many with less than one-hundred, even in 1911.⁵³ These areas could be described as being mostly rural. Despite this, areas of southern England saw steady growth over the period, whereas many

⁵³ In 1851, 250 or 40.1% of the 624 registration districts had under 100 foreign-born persons enumerated, in 1861 it was 244, or 38.3%, in 1881 it was 184, or 29.2%, in 1891 there were 186, or 29.4% such districts, in 1901 there were 156 or 24.5%, and in 1911 there were 108 or 17% of such districts.

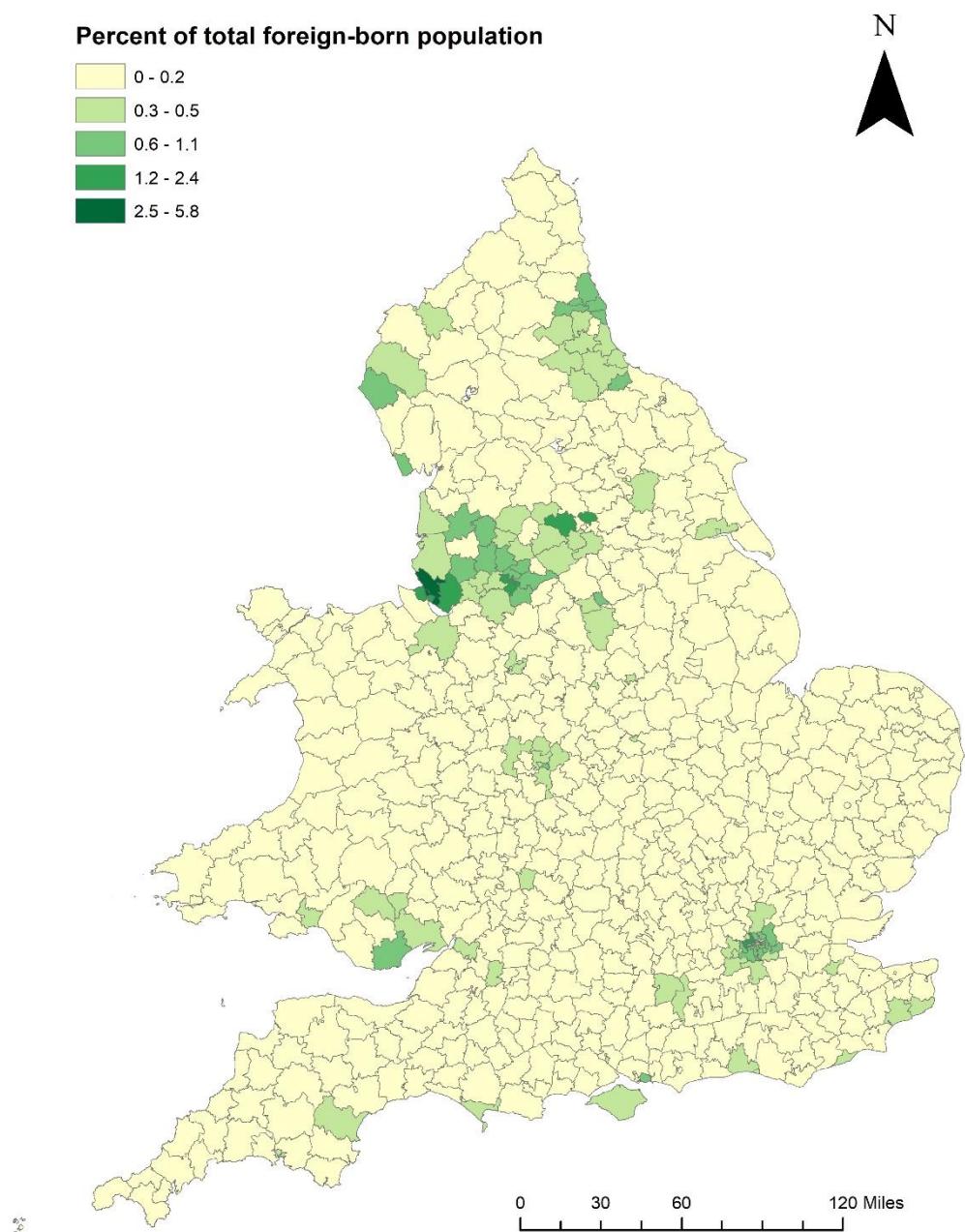
northern and Welsh districts failed to see any proportional increase in foreign-born persons.

Figure 3.21: Distribution of the total foreign-born population in 1851



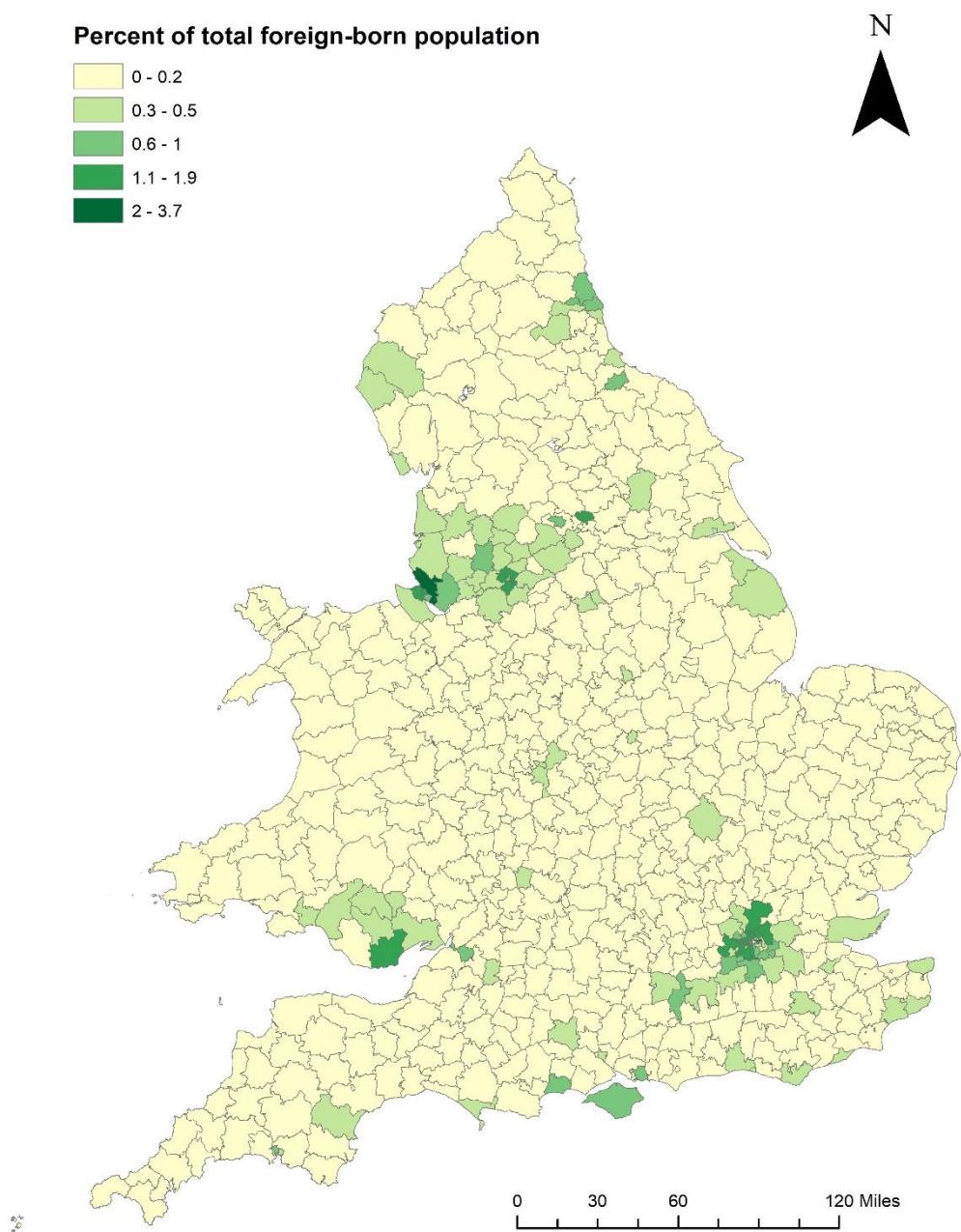
Source: I-CeM

Figure 3.22: Distribution of the total foreign-born population in 1881



Source: I-CeM

Figure 3.23: Distribution of the total foreign-born population in 1911



Source: I-CeM

Throughout the period, numerous changes were effected upon migrant communities. Many of the slums that were populated by the Ireland-born in the mid-nineteenth century began to disappear as redevelopment occurred.⁵⁴ In some cases, displacement by other migrant groups caused groups to become geographically dispersed.⁵⁵ Numbers of foreign-born migrants increased in most urban centres. However, there was a consistent geographical pattern of migrants being present along the southern coastlines of England and Wales. East Anglia remained a region with little penetration by foreign-born migrants throughout the period. The counties of Lancashire and Cheshire were the areas, in addition to London, that foreign-born migrants largely settled in. Collectively, these issues, amongst others, influenced the concentration and distribution of migrants.

Although there were clusters of migrants in urban centres, this behaviour conceals the diversity in the foreign-born population. The following figures (3.24-3.47) reveal the distribution patterns for persons born in eight foreign countries: Russia, USA, Germany, Ireland, India, France, China, and Italy. For this section, French, Chinese and Italian-born persons have also been included. Collectively, these groups represent different migration streams, have a growing body of literature, and have a national distribution that further highlights heterogeneity within the foreign-born population.⁵⁶ The 1851, 1881, and 1911 maps demonstrate diverse behaviours within and between the migrant communities. Specifically, it is clear that certain

⁵⁴ Tuathaigh, ‘The Irish in Nineteenth-Century Britain’, p. 157.

⁵⁵ David Englander, ‘Booth’s Jews: The Presentation of Jews and Judaism in “Life and Labour of London”’, *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 4 (1989), p. 552.

⁵⁶ Roger Swift, and Sheridan Gilley, ‘Irish Identities in Victorian Britain’, *Immigrants and Minorities*, Vol. 27, No. 2-3 (2009), p. 130.

groups exhibited stronger tendencies to cluster together at a regional level.

Nonetheless, other groups could be found scattered across England and Wales.

Russia-born

The Russia-born population overwhelmingly tended to concentrate in London (63.5 per cent in 1911). Outside of the capital, Russia-born communities could be found in Leeds, Manchester, and Liverpool. In 1851, small communities existed across the country, including the Midlands and South Wales. However, these communities dissipated or shrank in proportion following the vast number of arrivals into East London. By 1911, however, the overwhelming bulk of migrants from the Russian Empire were gathered together and living in and around London. The lack of a national distribution indicates a tendency for the Russia-born to cluster and congregate.

USA-born

USA-born persons often gravitated to urban centres, particularly those in proximity to a port. London and Liverpool initially attracted larger numbers of Americans, but the group eventually spread across the country. Lancashire and West Yorkshire, London, South Wales, the Midlands, and the districts surrounding Newcastle upon Tyne began to attract North American migrants. One unexpected finding is the increase in USA-born persons living on the south coast of England, with a peculiar predisposition to the West Country, particularly in Cornwall and Devon. Commercial, industrial, and maritime centres attracted the USA-born, although there are remote

areas, such as North Wales, that captured a proportion of the group's numbers. In 1901, the data indicates that of the 578 USA-born living in Cornwall and Devon, 404 were not in a form of employment, and the remaining 174 persons were scattered across various HISCO codes with only a handful working as domestic servants (54020) or commercial traders (41010). The I-CeM reveals that a large number of these individuals were involved in mining, commercial, and naval occupations.

German-born

The concentration of German-born persons in select registration districts across England and Wales suggests industrial and commercial centres were popular areas of settlement. Figures 3.30-3.32 indicate that London was the primary space of settlement and residence for the German-born population. Urban centres, such as Liverpool, London, Newcastle upon Tyne, and Bradford maintained a German-born presence across the period. With time, a small presence of German-born persons began to be recorded in some neighbouring and disparate districts. However, the primary thrust remained concentrated in the larger urban centres.

Ireland-born

As the largest migrant community in England and Wales, the Ireland-born were nationally distributed. North West England captured a large share of the Ireland-born population, primarily due to its proximity to Ireland and the role of Liverpool as a major port. London had a significant portion of the Ireland-born community, but as previously mentioned, they moved out of the East End to other districts. The North

East of England also attracted significant numbers of Ireland-born migrants, which is explored further in chapter six. Of note is the reduction in the proportion of Ireland-born persons residing in the Midlands. Although a sizeable community was recorded in 1851, it continued to diminish with time. There is a similar retraction in the number of Ireland-born persons recorded in the districts surrounding centres of strength. A contraction occurred in the districts adjoining Manchester, Cheshire, in Cumberland, and in West Yorkshire. Meanwhile, a higher proportion began to be enumerated in southern England.

The Isle of Wight is one surprising district that had a noticeable community of Ireland-born migrants. However, on closer examination of the I-CeM it appears that the district had a strong Ireland-born military presence, which proved to be the primary form of employment for Ireland-born migrants. In 1851, of the 558 Ireland-born men aged sixteen or older, 455 were members of the military forces (58410, 58420, and 58430), with the remaining migrants being spread across a range of occupations in small numbers. Similarly, in 1901, of the 341 Ireland-born men aged sixteen or older, 133 were members of the military forces (58410, 58420, and 58430). Through the I-CeM, details such as this can be identified and explored to a depth not previously realised without a manual reworking of the data. Districts in South Wales also received an increased share of the migrant population. Unlike many other migrant communities, North West England was a region of considerable settlement by the

Ireland-born population. No doubt this concentration was influenced by geographical proximity, transportation networks, and the number of urban centres in the region.⁵⁷

India-born

India-born persons were scattered across the country. Unlike other migrant groups, some rural registration districts attracted significant proportions of the India-born community. In the context of London, the censuses recorded the Eastern districts as almost entirely uninhabited by India-born persons. Instead, residential neighbourhoods and areas on the outskirts, with a tendency towards the West End were more densely populated by India-born persons. Port communities in areas such as Merseyside, South Wales, Gloucestershire, and along the South Coast of England proved significant as sites of India-born settlement. With time, inland districts, particularly in South East England began to attract increased numbers of India-born persons. Growing numbers of India-born in England and Wales and the greater diffusion of such migrants across the country resulted in a spread of migrants, primarily across South England. However, by 1911, a greater number of India-born persons could be found in North England, particularly in the North West.

China-born

In a similar fashion to the USA-born community, the China-born population was primarily attracted to urban centres with industrial and commercial opportunities. The total numbers of persons born in China were limited to only a few hundred.

⁵⁷ See John Belchem, 'Priests, Publicans and the Irish Poor: Ethnic Enterprise and Migrant Networks in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Liverpool', *Immigrants and Minorities*, Vol. 23, No. 2-3 (2005), pp. 207-231.

Nonetheless, ports were a similarly important component in the migration and settlement of China-born persons. However, in contrast to the USA-born, the distribution of China-born persons was highly focused. There was a restricted distribution into discrete districts, which indicates higher proportions of residential segregation. Across all the censuses, China-born migrants were limited in the urban districts that they congregated in. The lack of a ‘bleed’ or spread into nearby districts suggests higher levels of concentration. Only a small presence in districts was recorded in North East England and the Midlands. With time China-born migrants could be found in an array of districts in South East England, but again, the total numbers are minor. There is also uncertainty regarding the extent to which these persons were non-British Subjects. The key point, however, is that the China-born community was isolated in select areas, with a proclivity towards port communities.

France-born

London and the South Coast of England were the predominant locations for the settlement of France-born persons. This tendency might be expected given the geographical proximity to France. There is a noticeable absence of such migrants in Northern England, a scattering in the Midlands, with some representation in South Wales. Unlike some other groups, the France-born community increasingly concentrated in and around London and the South Coast.⁵⁸ South Wales also began to develop a small concentration of migrants. The scattering of France-born persons

⁵⁸ See James Perry, ‘Migration into England and Wales (1851-1911)’, Presented at the European Social Science History Association Conference, Valencia, Spain (2015).

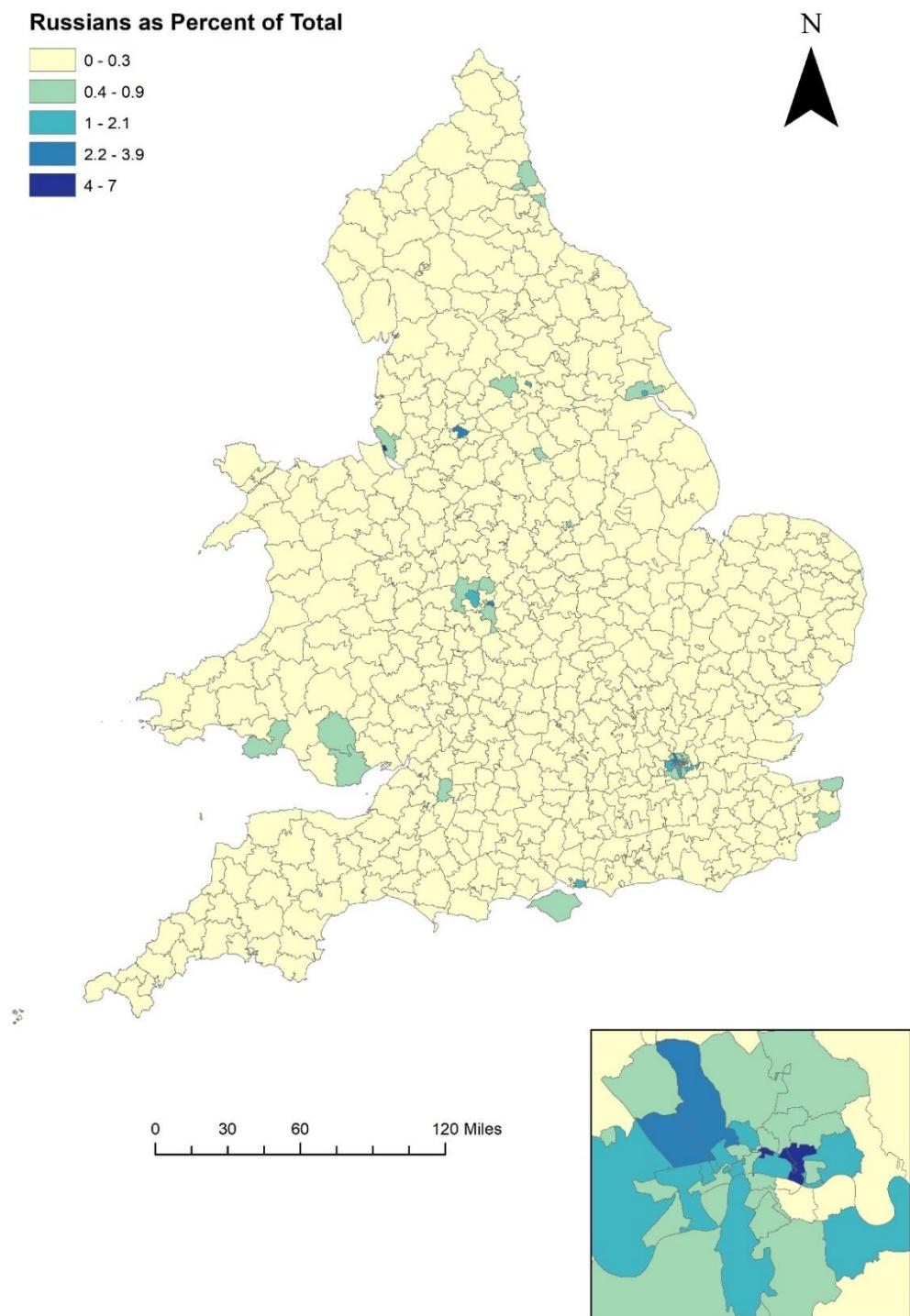
across the country indicates a small degree of internal mobility, but there was an overall tendency to remain in the South.

Italy-born

Although London and other urban areas attracted a large portion of the Italy-born population, there was a national scattering of such migrants. In far-flung and rural districts few Italy-born migrants were enumerated. Nonetheless, as previously mentioned, London attracted the majority of Italy-born migrants, many of whom strongly congregated into the Clerkenwell area of West London.⁵⁹ Over time, areas of South Wales also began to establish a noticeable presence, which was unusual given the lack of a significant Italy-born presence in most other urban centres. Ultimately, the majority of the Italy-born population remained concentrated in London. Many regional districts reporting a presence in one census did not have one thirty years later. The mobility of many Italy-born migrants is highlighted in the intercensal variation in many districts, as is the tendency to congregate in Clerkenwell in West London.

⁵⁹ Sponza, *Italian immigrants in nineteenth-century Britain*, p. 252.

Figure 3.24: Distribution of total Russia-born persons in England and Wales, 1851⁶⁰



⁶⁰ Figures 3.24-3.47 are produced using the I-CeM.

Figure 3.25: Distribution of total Russia-born persons in England and Wales, 1881

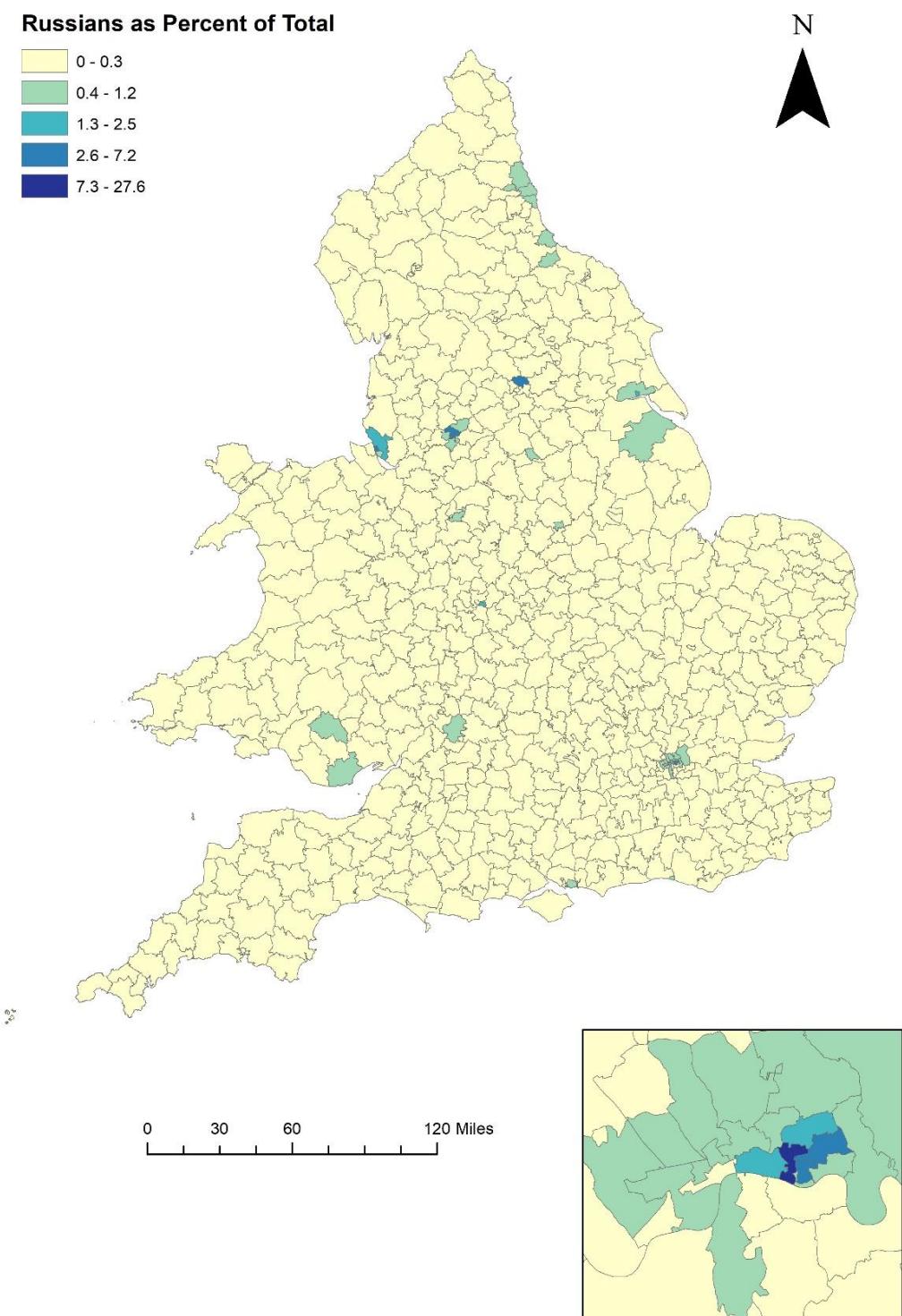


Figure 3.26: Distribution of total Russia-born persons in England and Wales, 1911

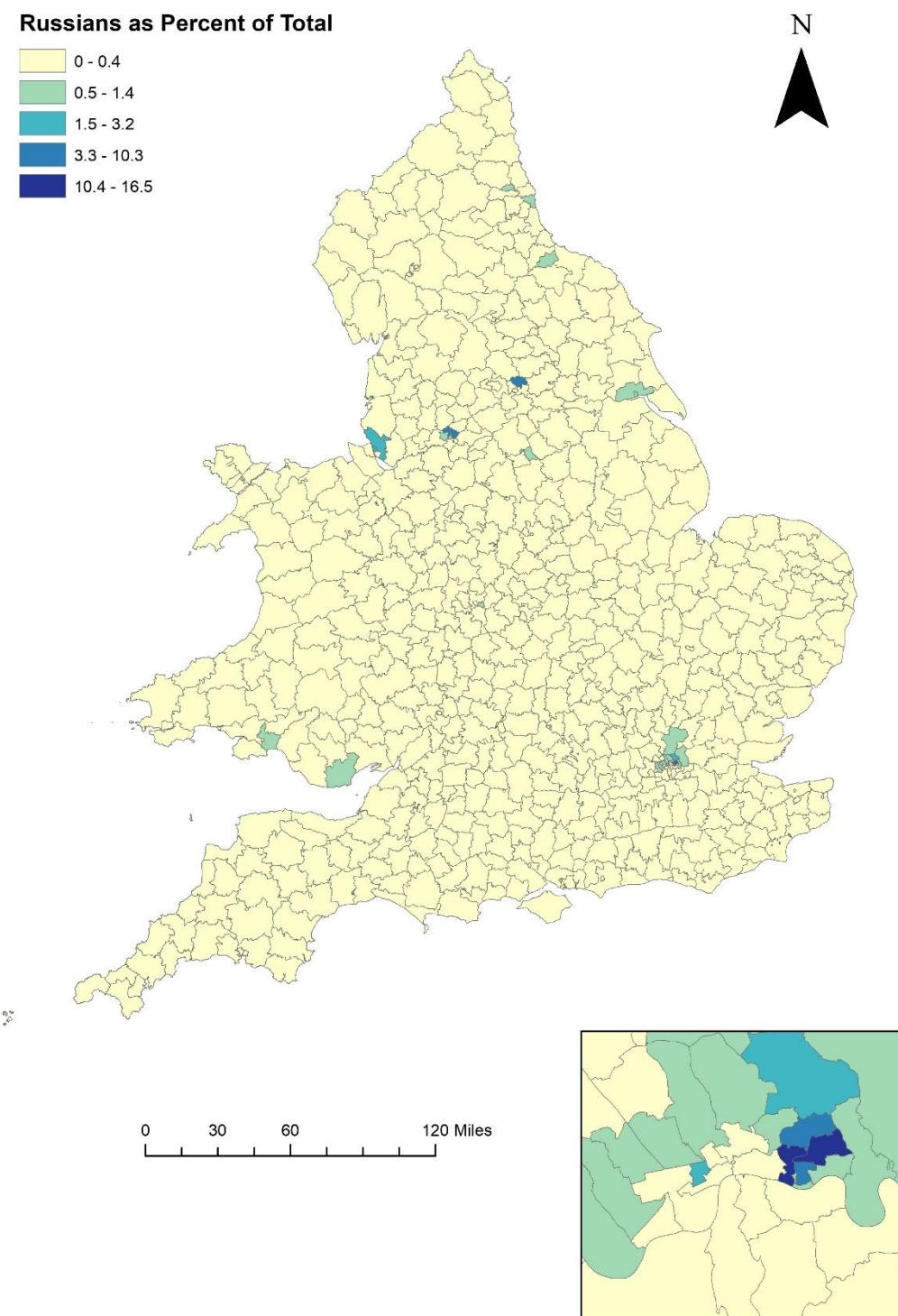


Figure 3.27: Distribution of all USA-born persons in England and Wales, 1851

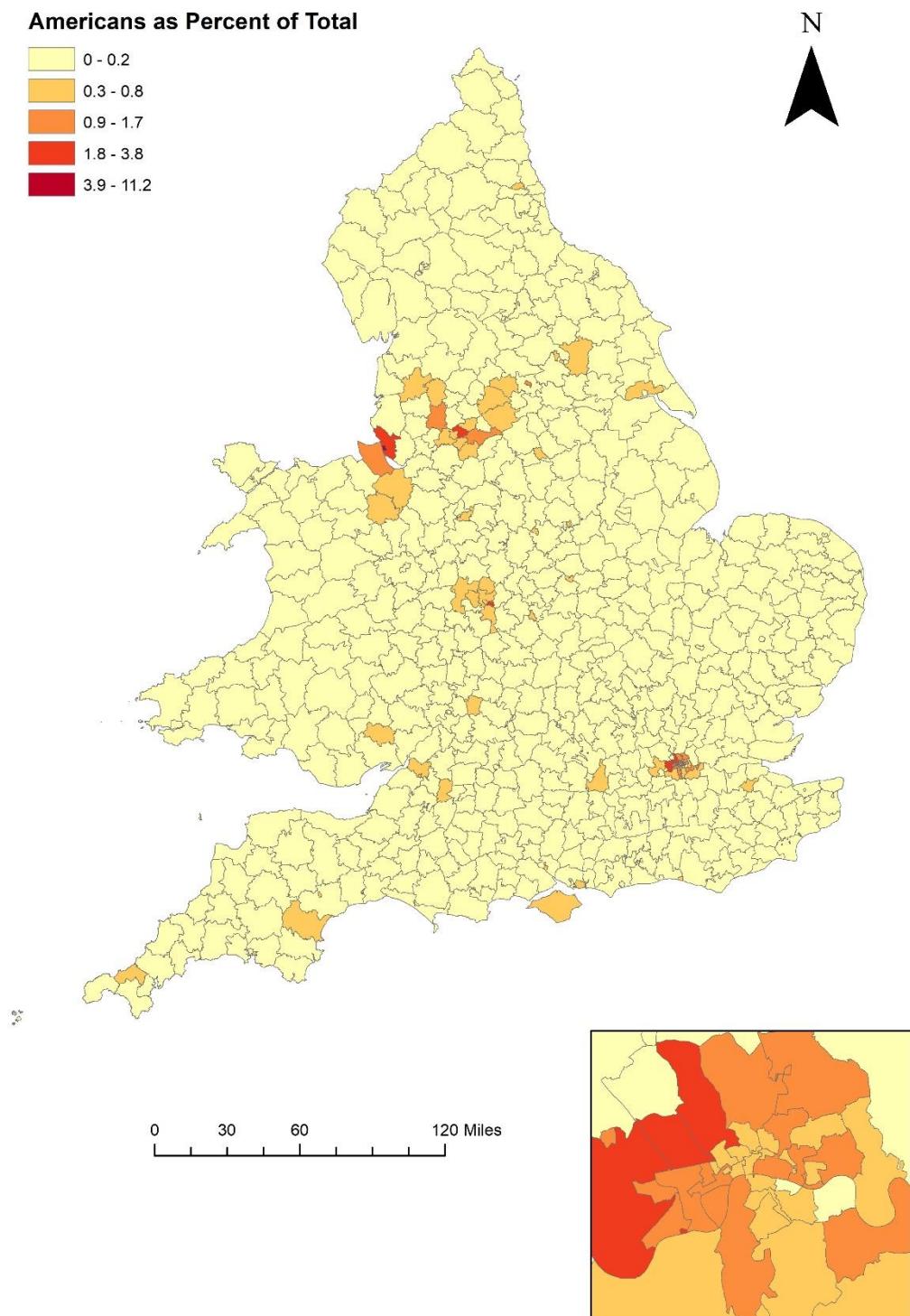


Figure 3.28: Distribution of all USA-born persons in England and Wales, 1881

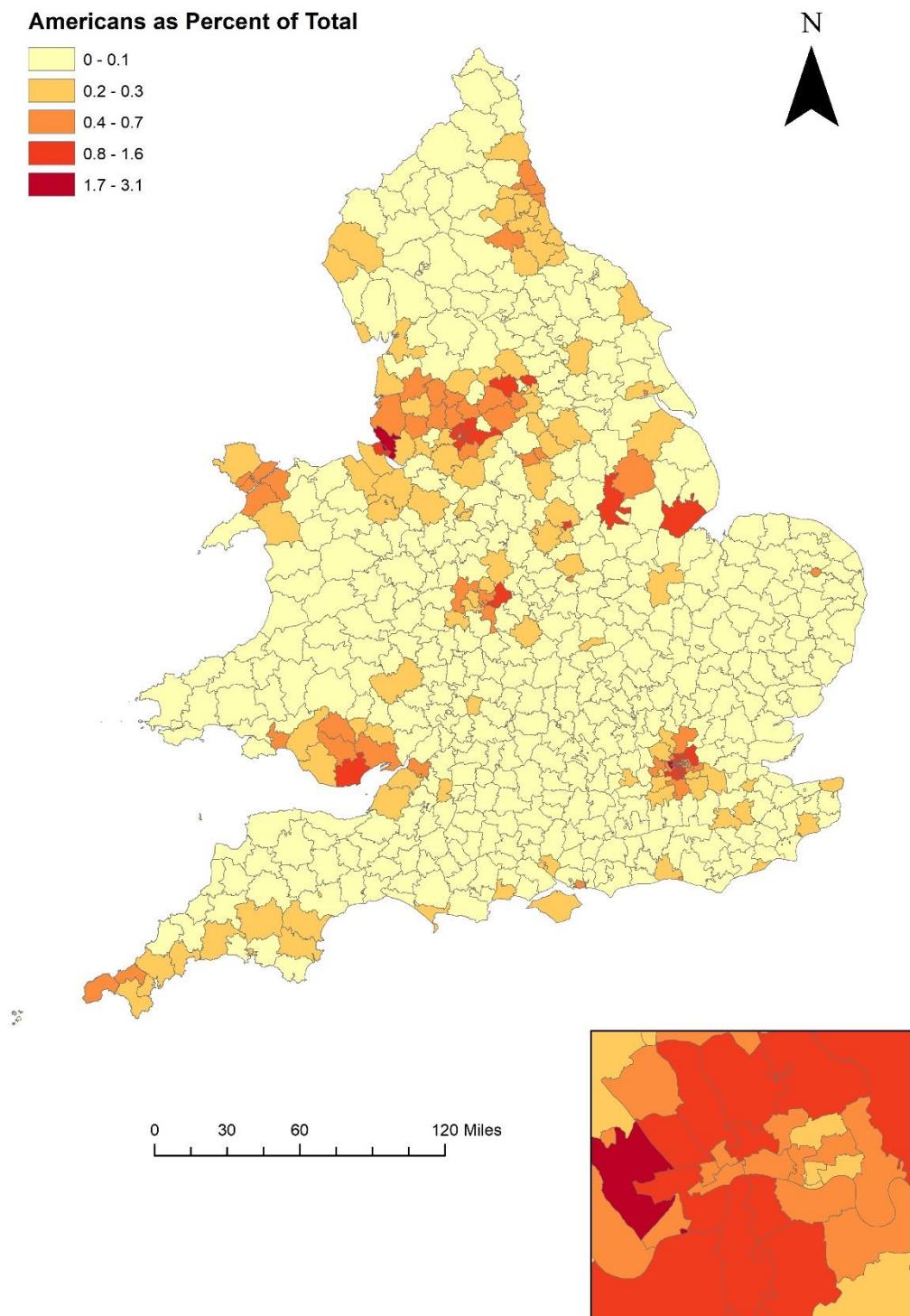


Figure 3.29: Distribution of all USA-born persons in England and Wales, 1911

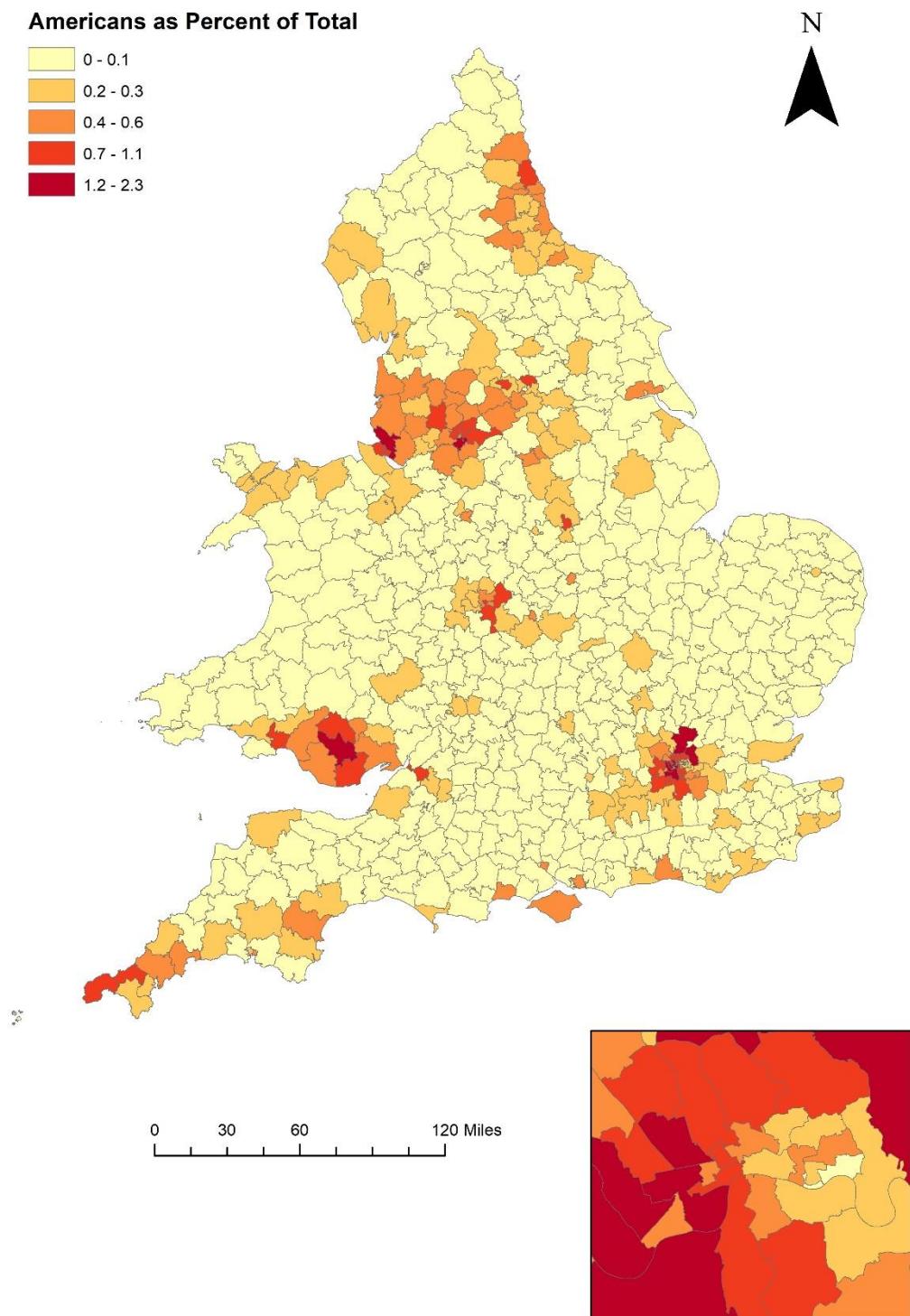


Figure 3.30: Distribution of total German-born persons in England and Wales, 1851

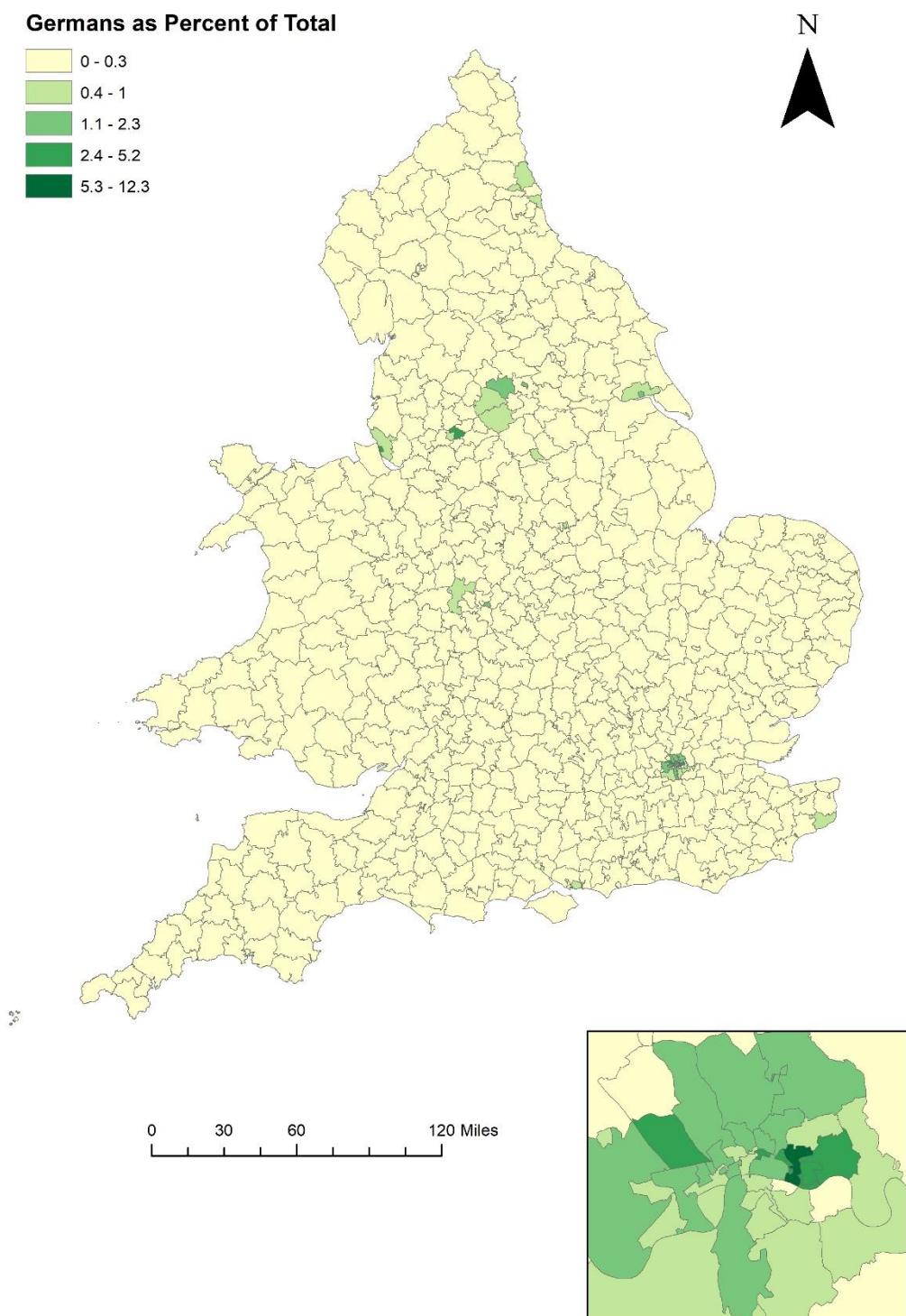


Figure 3.31: Distribution of total German-born persons in England and Wales, 1881

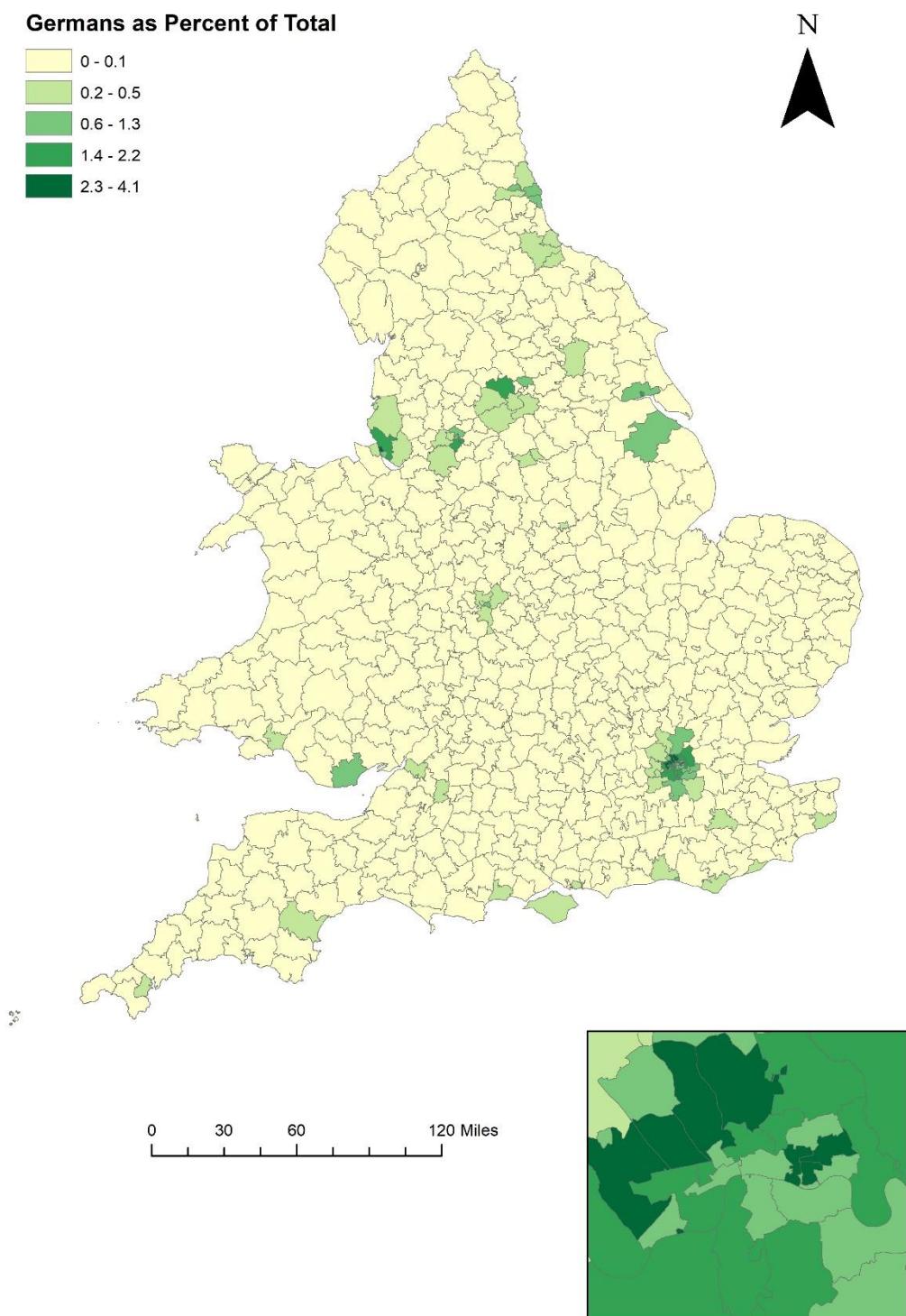


Figure 3.32: Distribution of total German-born persons in England and Wales, 1911

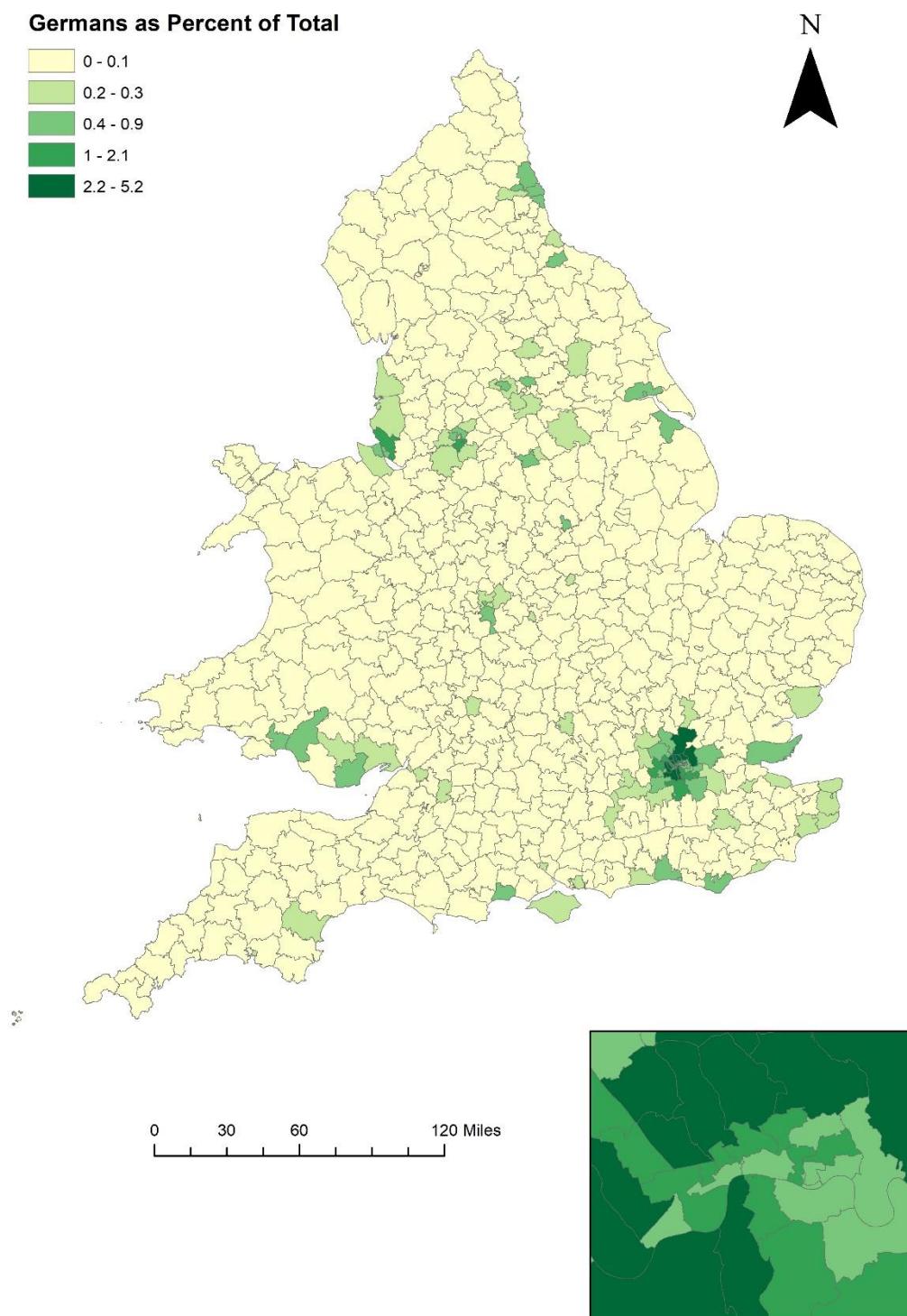


Figure 3.33: Distribution of total Ireland-born persons in England and Wales, 1851

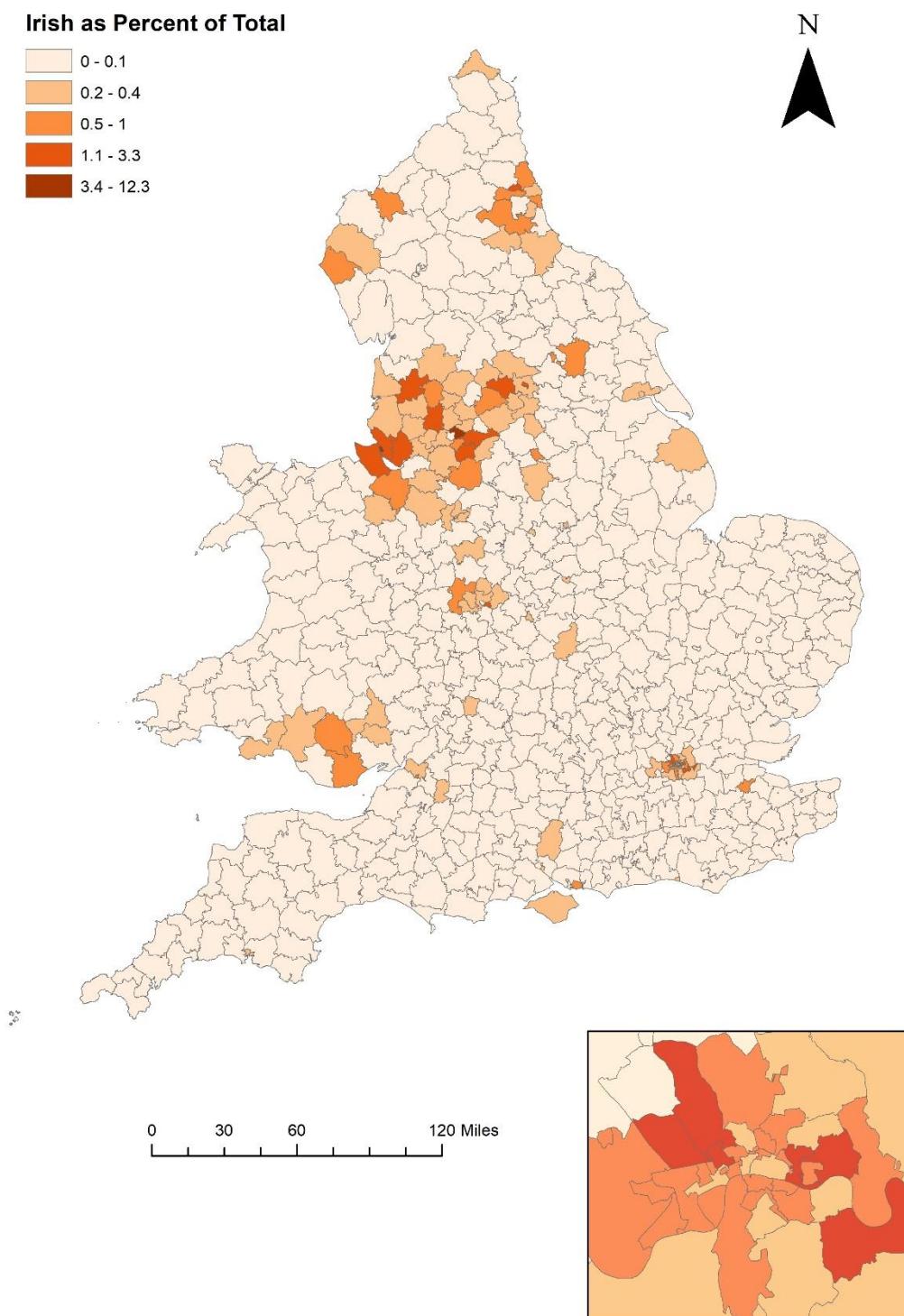


Figure 3.34: Distribution of total Ireland-born persons in England and Wales, 1881

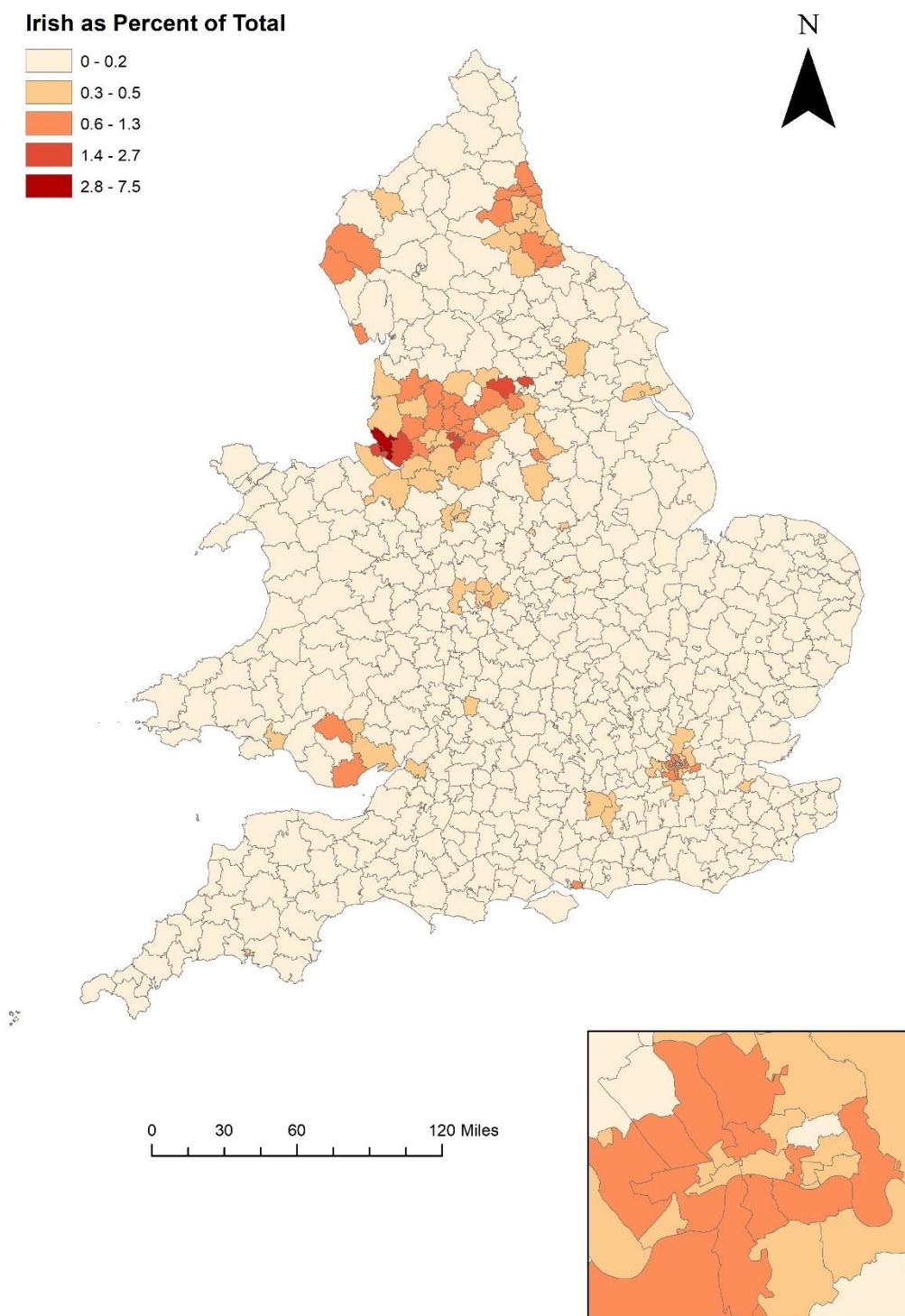


Figure 3.35: Distribution of total Ireland-born persons in England and Wales, 1911

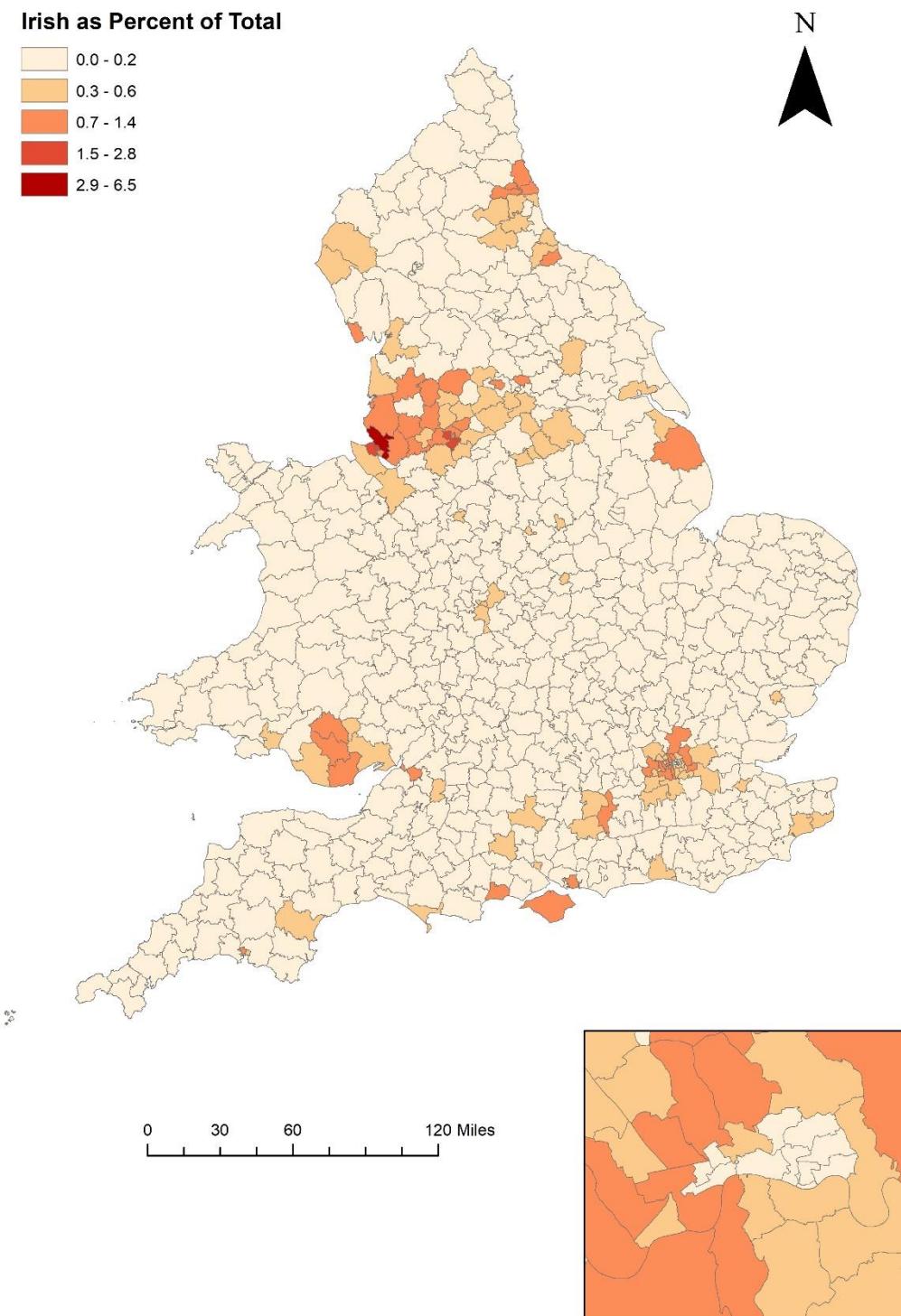


Figure 3.36: Distribution of total India-born persons in England and Wales, 1851

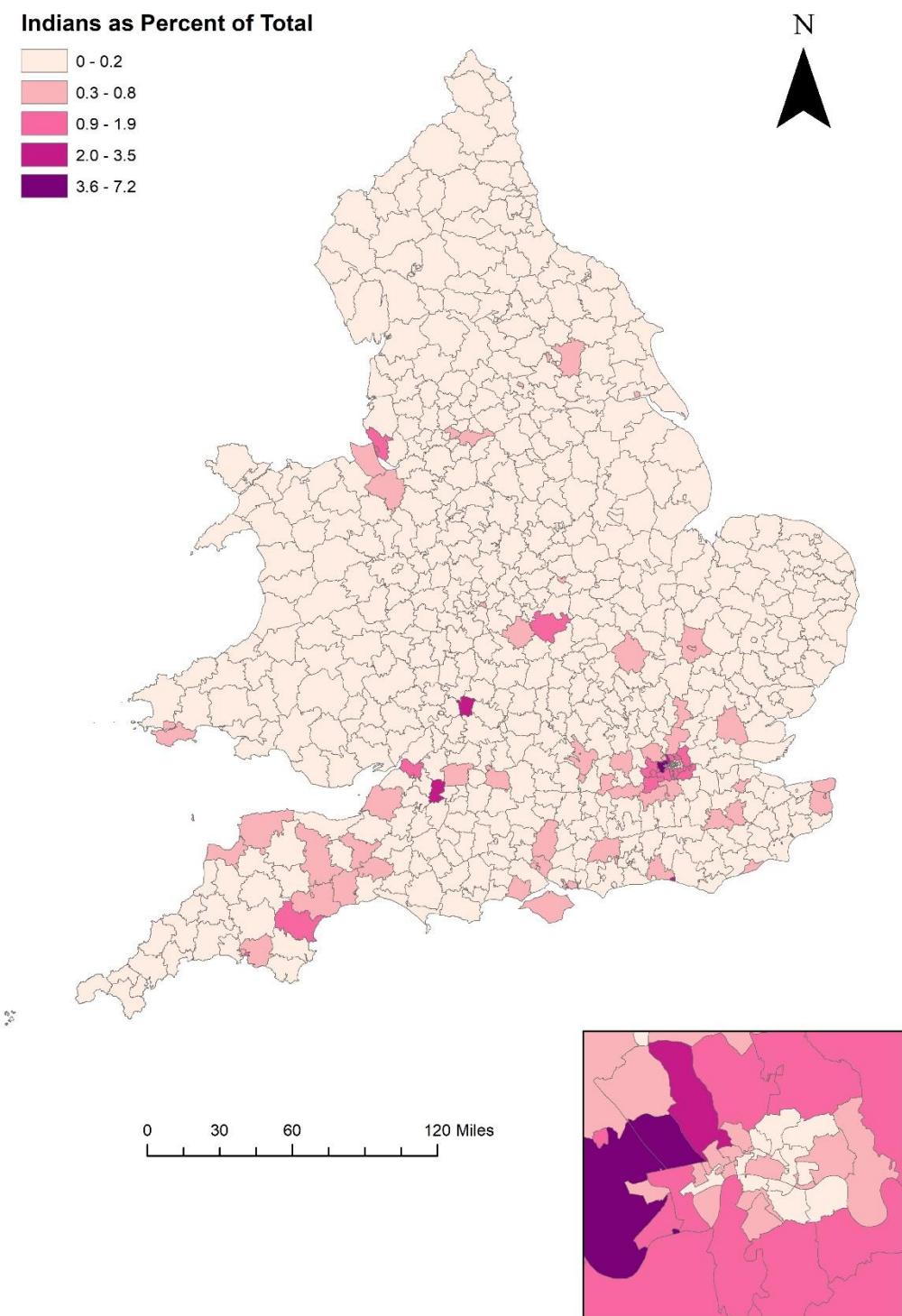


Figure 3.37: Distribution of total India-born persons in England and Wales, 1881

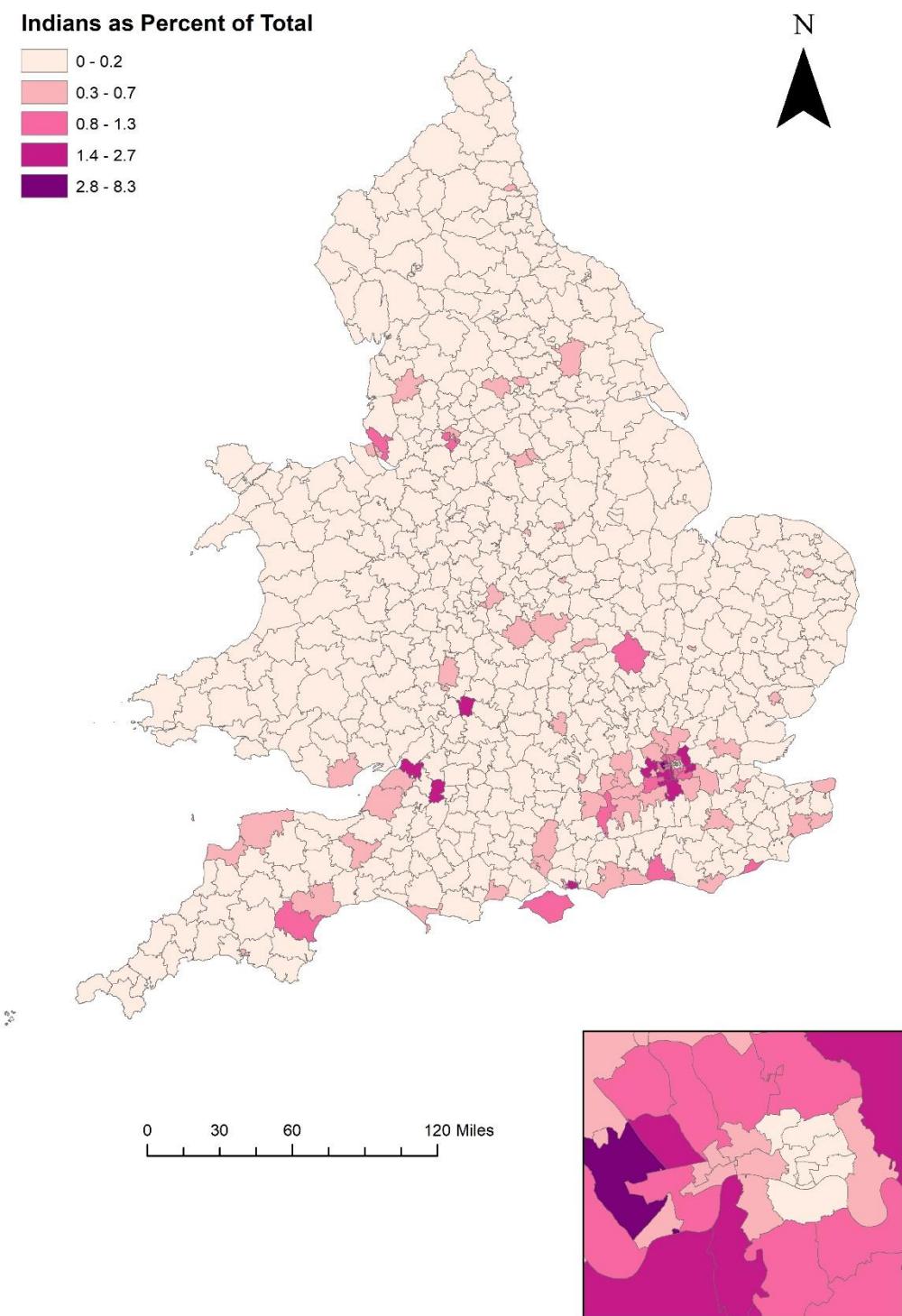


Figure 3.38: Distribution of total India-born persons in England and Wales, 1911

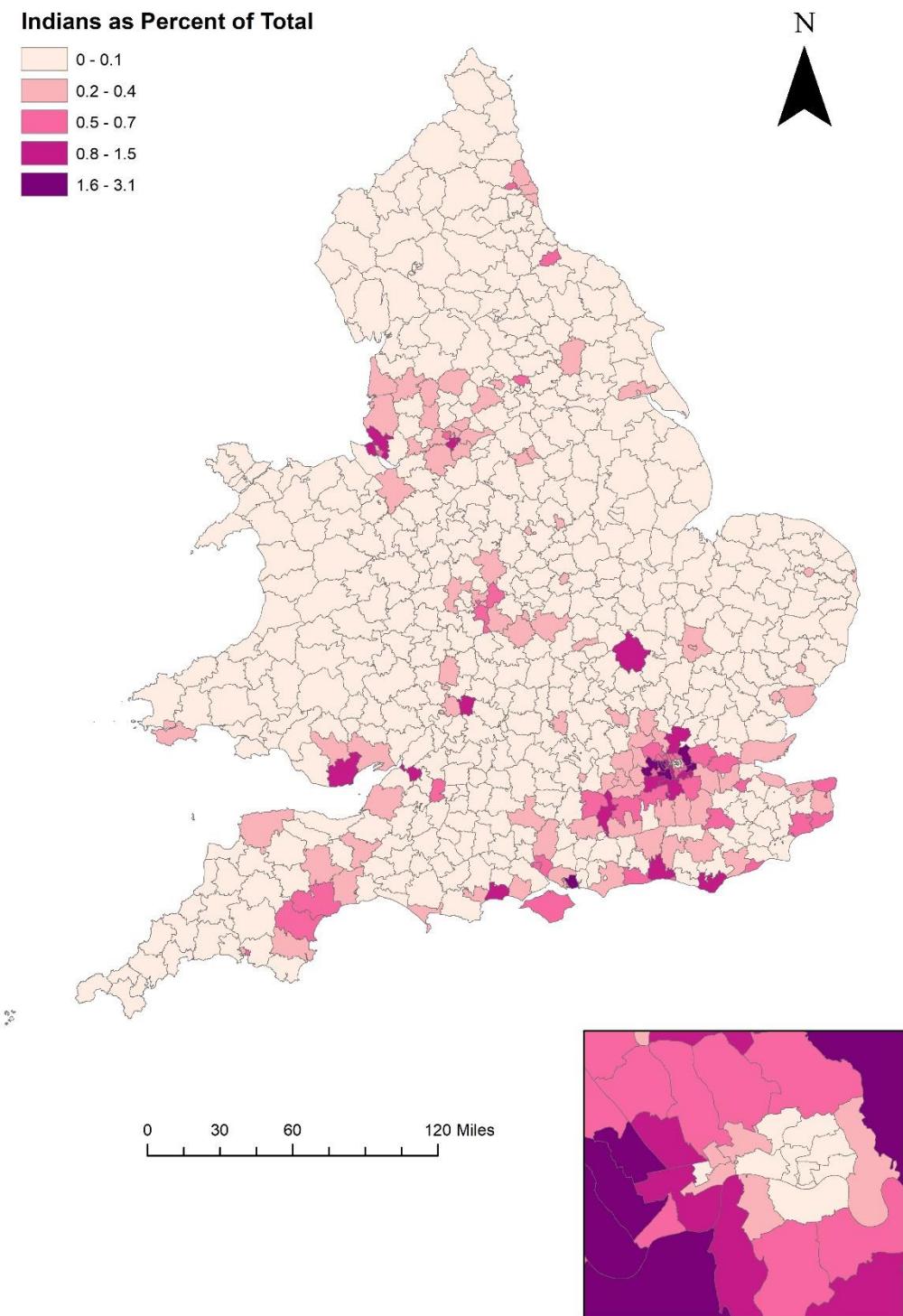


Figure 3.39: Distribution of China-born persons in England and Wales, 1851

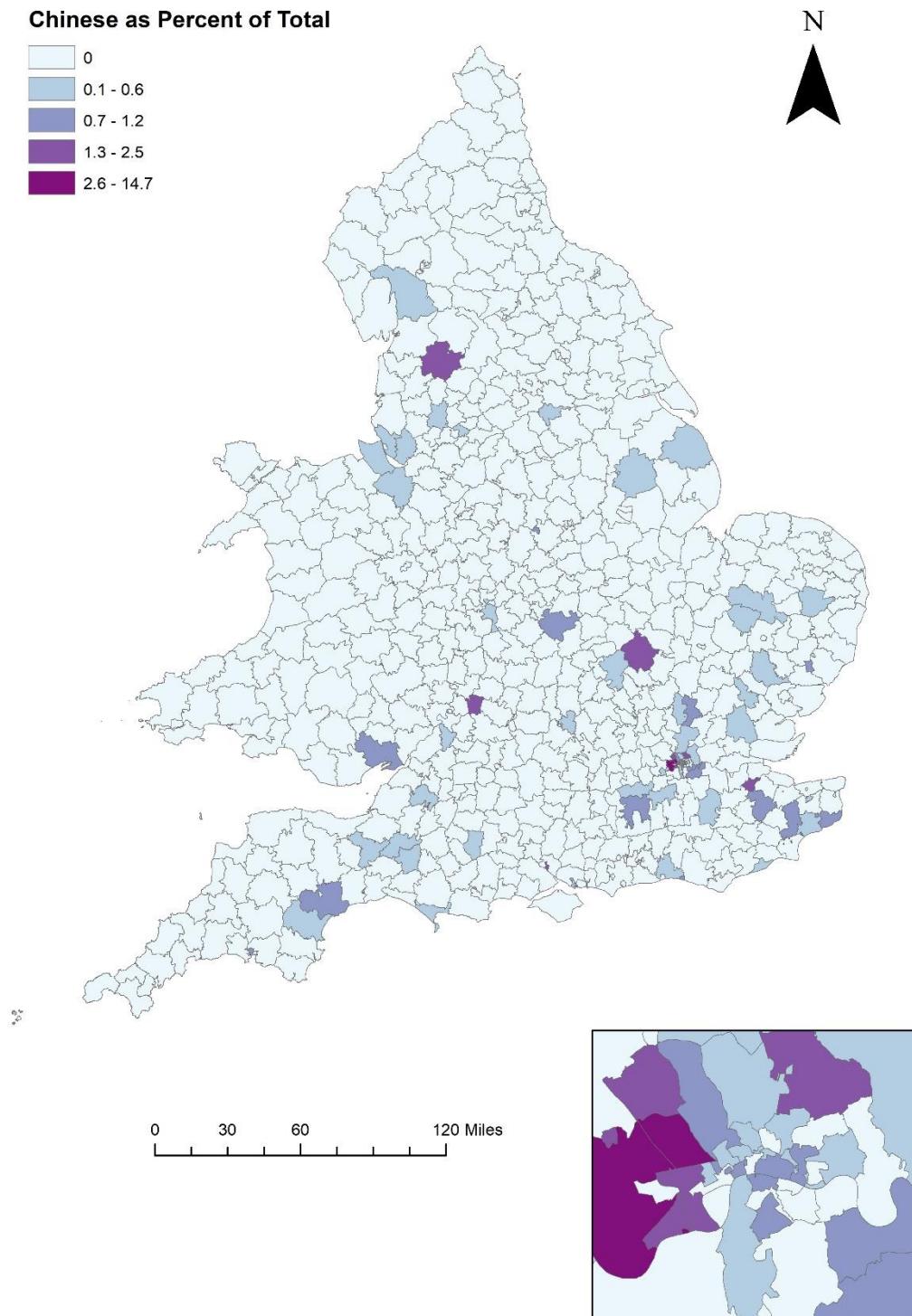


Figure 3.40: Distribution of China-born persons in England and Wales, 1881

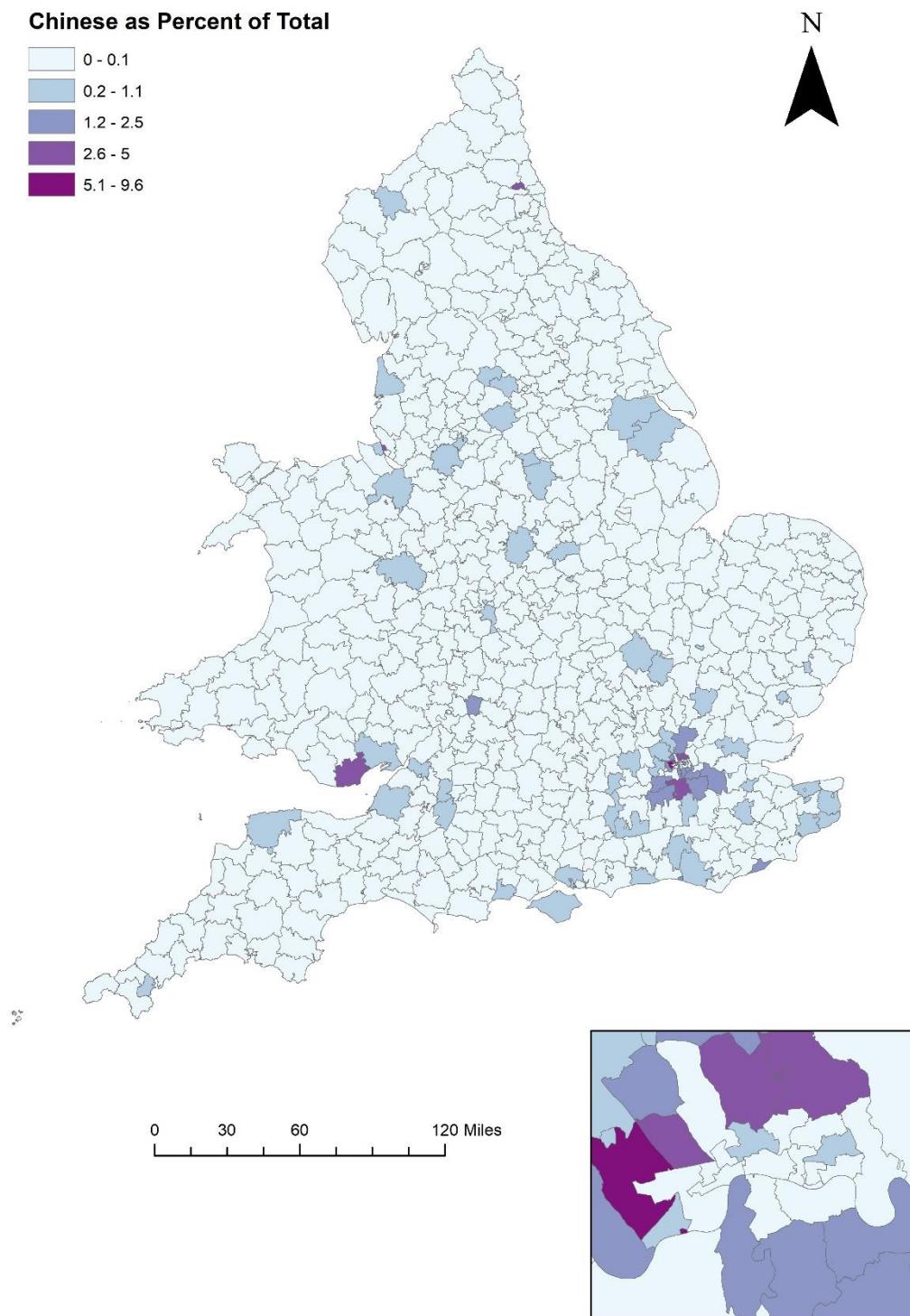


Figure 3.41: Distribution of China-born persons in England and Wales, 1911

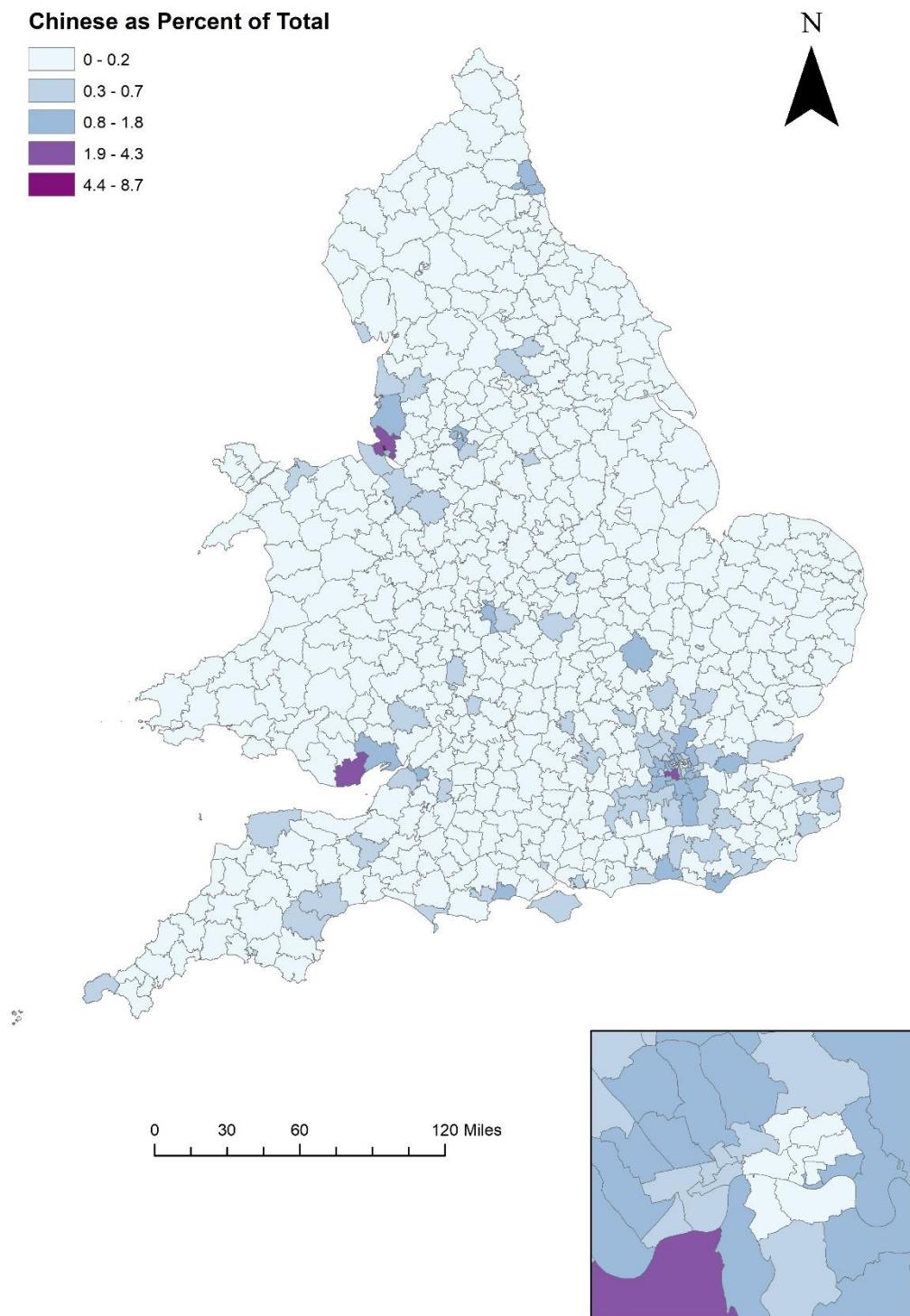


Figure 3.42: Distribution of France-born persons in England and Wales, 1851

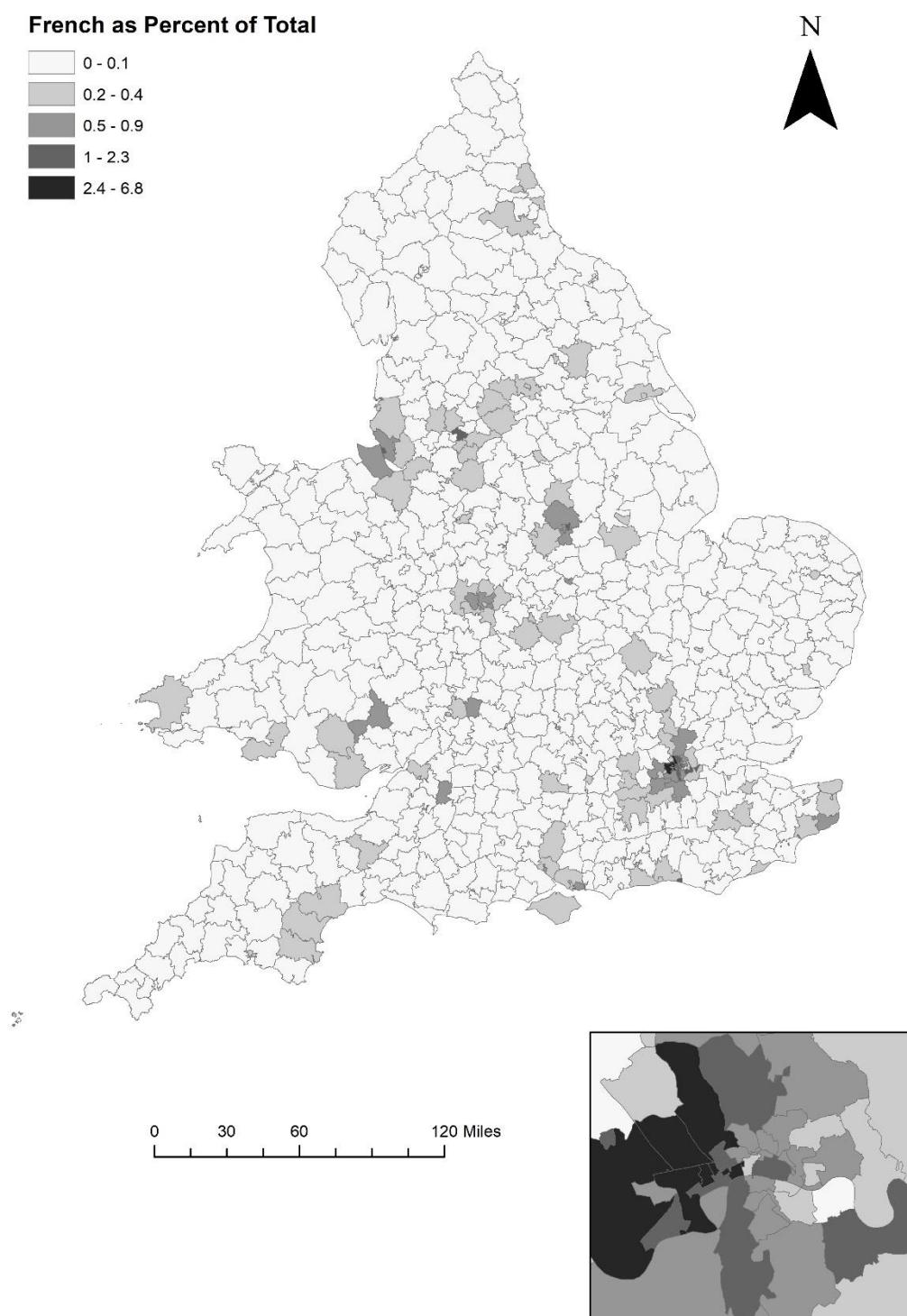


Figure 3.43: Distribution of France-born persons in England and Wales, 1881

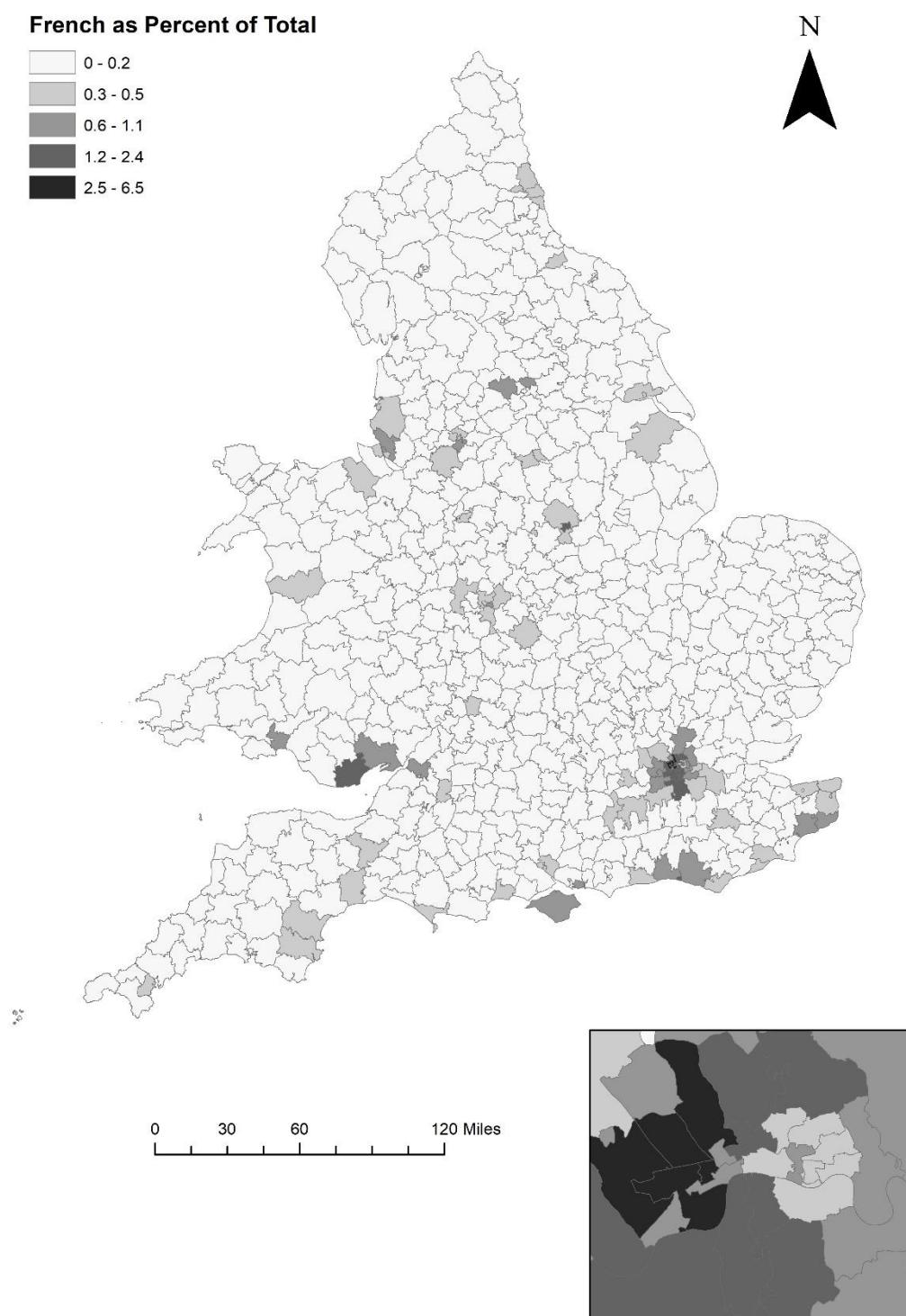


Figure 3.44: Distribution of France-born persons in England and Wales, 1911

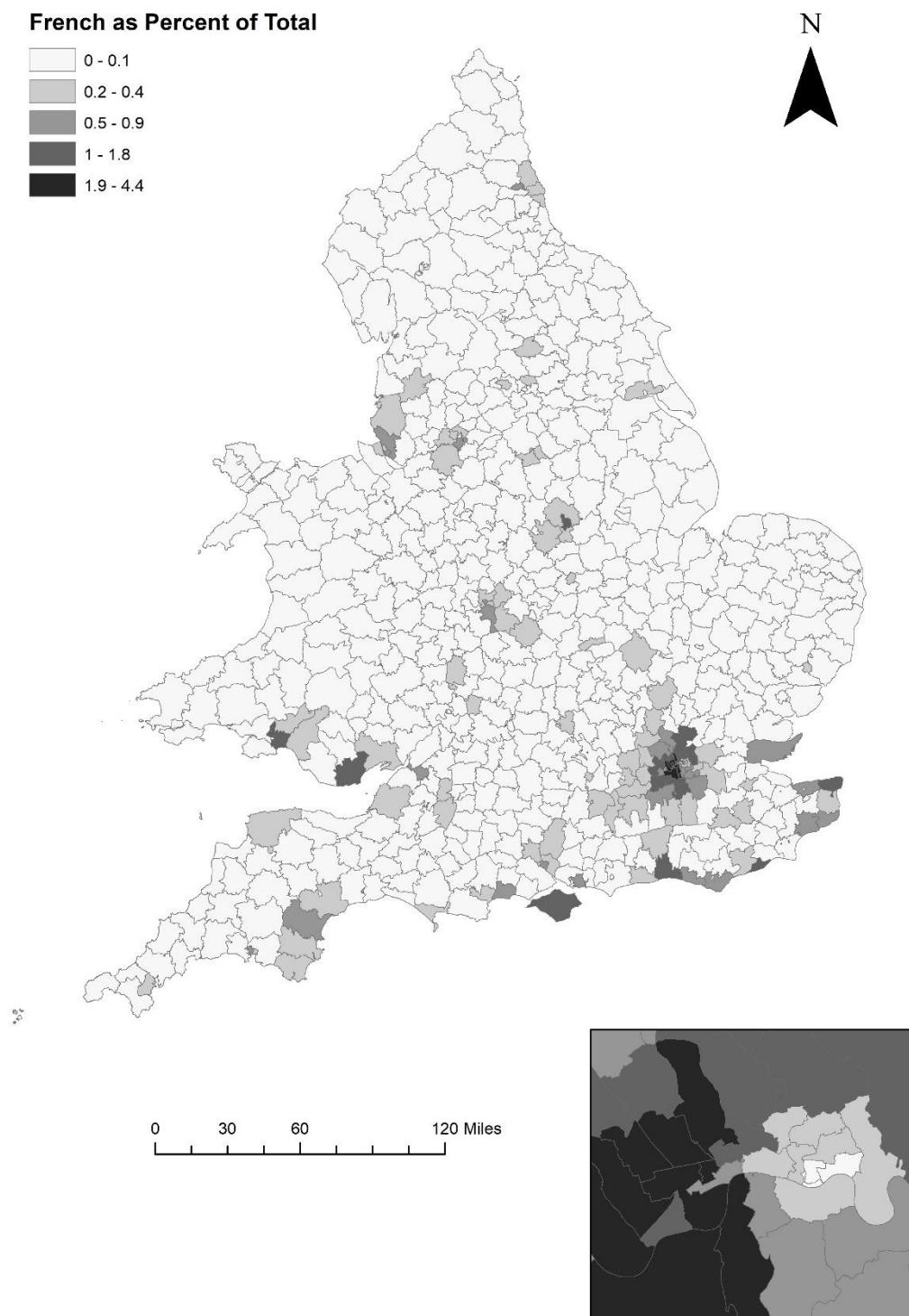


Figure 3.45: Distribution of Italy-born persons in England and Wales, 1851

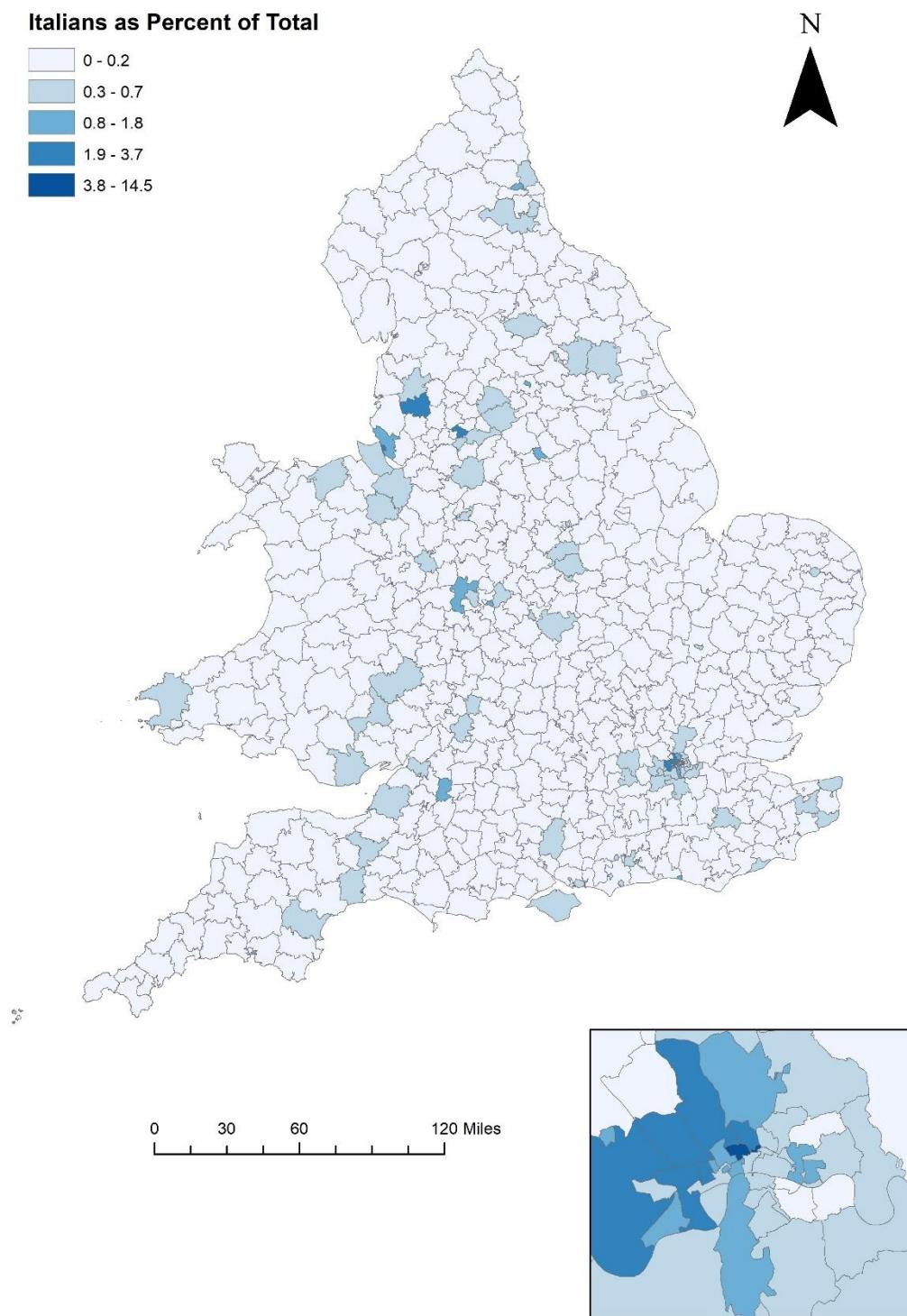


Figure 3.46: Distribution of Italy-born persons in England and Wales, 1881

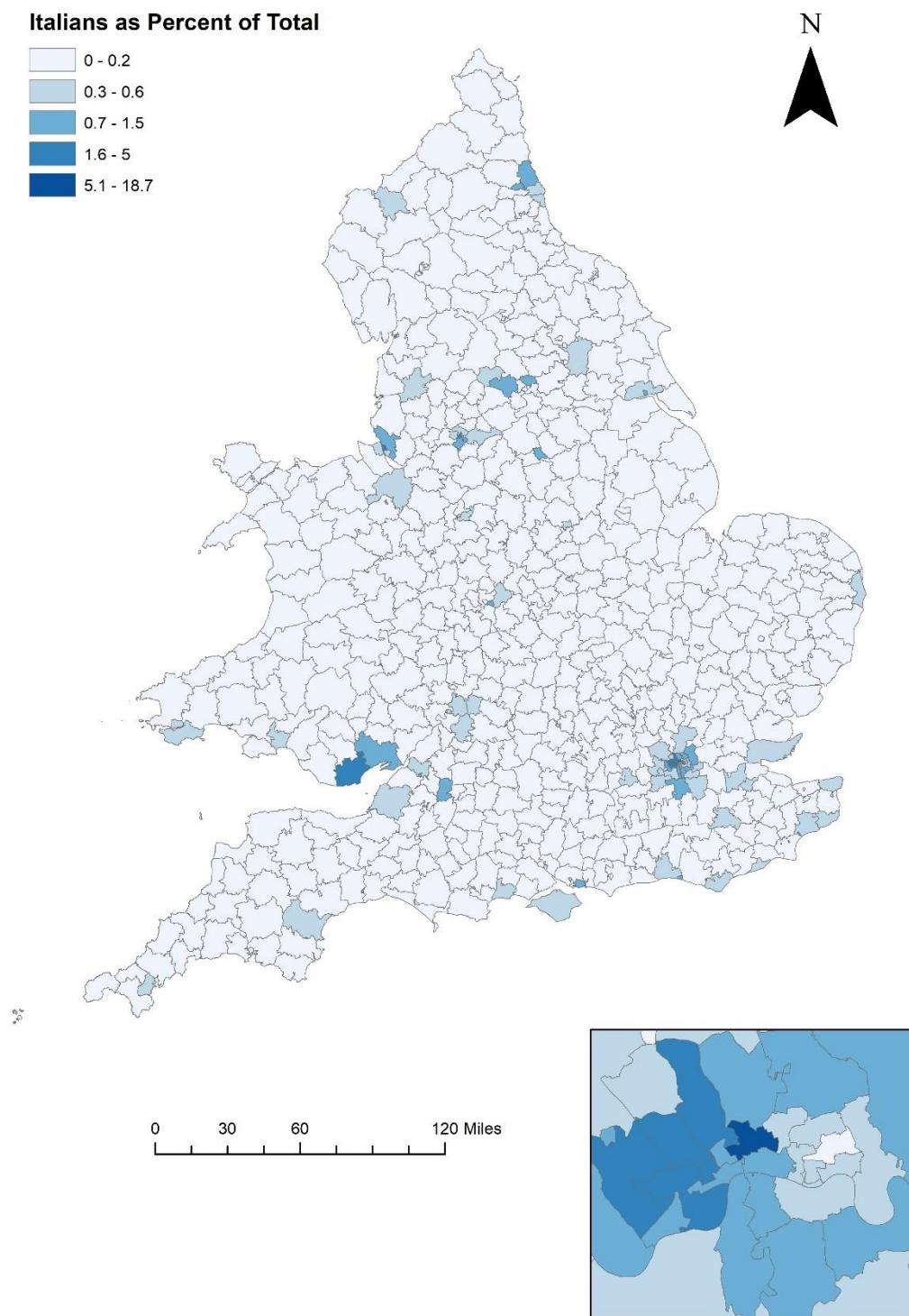
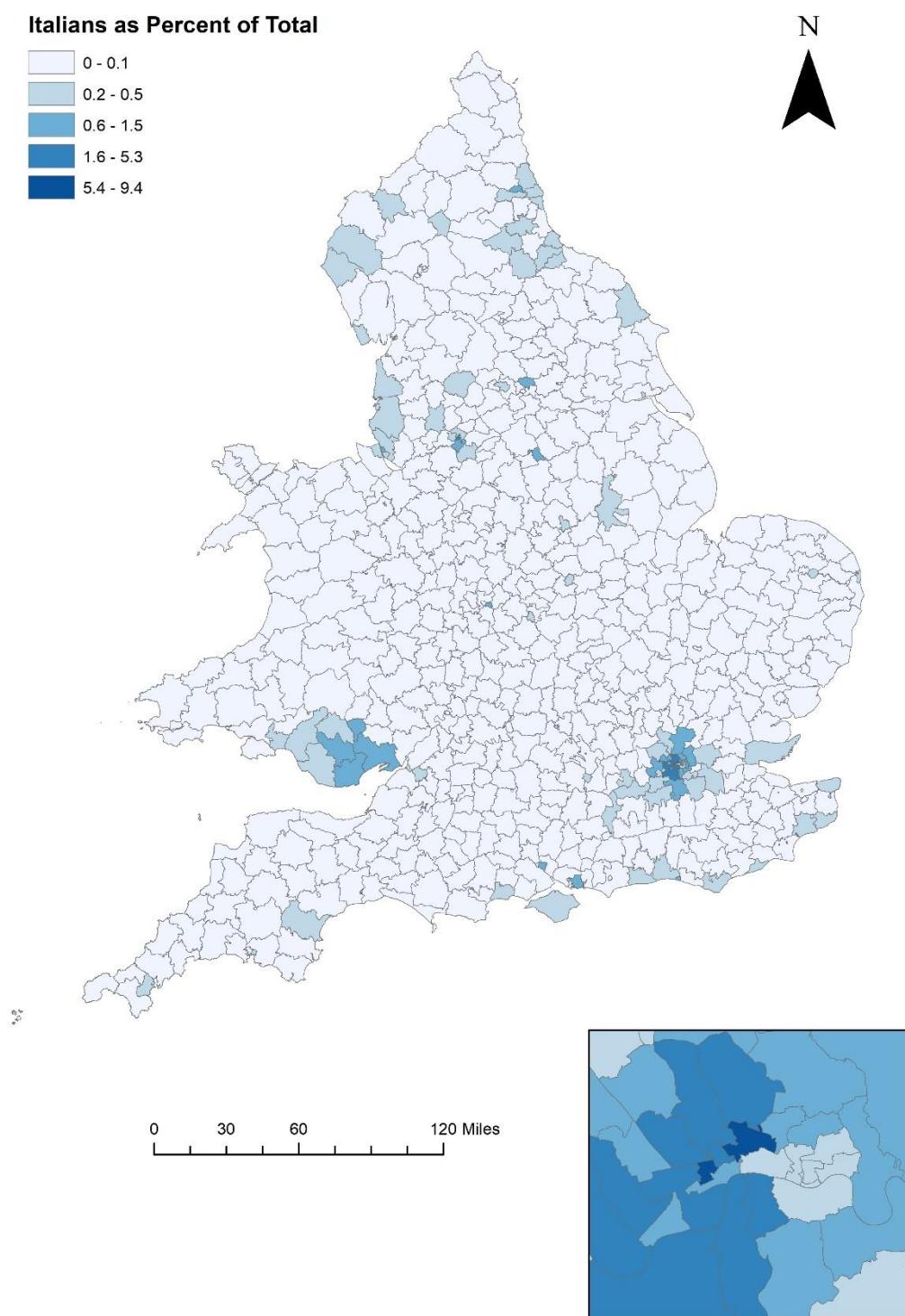


Figure 3.47: Distribution of Italy-born persons in England and Wales, 1911



Collectively, figures 3.24-3.47 indicate a diverse array of settlement patterns between the migrant communities. The contrasting behaviours reveal certain migrant communities exhibited stronger signs of segregation and clustering. For example, the Russia-born population remained distinctly congregated while the Ireland-born had much wider regions of settlement. Also evident from this section is that there was a considerable degree of mobility within particular communities. Italy-born persons, for instance, demonstrated considerable settlement variations between censuses and with a scattered presence across the country. Although urban centres proved popular residences for many migrants, it was not exclusive. Over time, migrants could increasingly be found in rural registration districts. There is a clear geographical predisposition for certain parts of the country amongst migrants. Some groups had significant portions of their community who resided and settled in Northern England. The Ireland-born, USA-born and to some extent India-born fit this pattern. Others, however, had a propensity towards settling in South England. The behaviours of France-born and India-born migrants support the assertion regarding geographical tendencies. Ultimately, the concept of a heterogeneous migrant population is supported by the diversity of the residential distribution and settlement of foreign-born communities.

IV. How do I-CeM findings confirm or contrast with the existing literature?

There is an extensive body of literature concerning migration and settlement in England and Wales. Chapter one reviewed the literature through the lens of previous

methodologies and approaches to the study of migration. Here, the existing literature is compared to the above findings to highlight the original contributions identified in this study. In the context of migrant distribution and settlement, the I-CeM challenges some current understandings and confirms others.

The origins and numbers of migrants mostly align with the existing literature. The major urban centres are identified in the literature as being areas of high concentration for foreign-born persons.⁶¹ Colin Holmes supports this assertion:

It has to be admitted that Britain has never developed ghettos on the same scale as Harlem or San Francisco's Chinatown, but certain areas have continually attracted immigrants and become centres of immigration...Liverpool for example, has accommodated Africans, Chinese and Jews as well as a traditionally large Irish element.⁶²

However, with respect to the demographic composition and distribution patterns of migrants, notable variations and omissions in the literature exist.

The findings presented in this study indicate that migrants originated from increasingly diverse locations. A key observation of this study is the heterogeneity of the migrant population. Many of the communities differed significantly in their settlement patterns. The contrasting behaviours of the different communities indicate a wide array of migration drivers at play.

⁶¹ Frank Neal, 'The Irish in Nineteenth Century Britain: Integrated or Assimilated?', in Denis Menjot, and Jean Lac Pinol, eds., *Les Immigrants et La Ville: Insertion, Integration*, (XXIe-XXe, Harmatton, 1996), pp. 120-121.

⁶² Holmes, 'Immigrants and Minorities', p. 18.

The scholarly tendency to focus on the largest migrant communities is a result of scale, source survival, and an established presence in British society.⁶³ Larger communities are more likely to leave traces of their existence before and following integration. The I-CeM suggests that although there were dominant migrant communities, a series of smaller communities existed. Diversity in the migrant population has been commented on in the existing scholarship, but it is largely limited to an acknowledgement that there was more than just Eastern European Jews or poor Ireland-born famine refugees arriving in England.⁶⁴ In this study, it is indicated that migrants came from increasingly diverse locations, many of which are not acknowledged or remain under-developed by scholars. The increase in South American-born persons and those from Oceania is of particular interest for future scholarship.

Russia-born

The migration of Russia-born persons to Britain is well documented and has been explored from various scholarly angles.⁶⁵ The literature indicates that most Russia-born migrants intended to progress onwards to America and that Britain was a temporary stage.⁶⁶ Similarly, it is often assumed that many migrants were Jewish; however, many Christians also migrated.⁶⁷ Thousands fled from Russian military service,

⁶³ Geoffrey Drage, ‘Alien Immigration’, *Royal Statistical Society*, Vol. 58, No. 1 (1895), p. 13.

⁶⁴ G. R. Searle, *A New England? Peace and War 1886-1918* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004), pp. 19-20.

⁶⁵ See David Englander, ed., *A Documentary History of Jewish Immigrants in Britain 1840-1920* (Leicester, London, New York, NY: Leicester University Press, 1994).

⁶⁶ Nicholas J. Evans, ‘The Port Jews of Libau, 1880-1914’, *Jewish Culture and History*, Vol. 7, No. 1-2 (2004), pp. 202-207, and Nicholas J. Evans, ‘A Strike for Racial Justice’? Transatlantic Shipping and the Jewish Diaspora, 1882-1939’, *Jewish Culture and History*, Vol. 11, No. 1-2 (2009), pp. 22-25.

⁶⁷ This point is discussed significantly in Jerzy Zubrzycki, *Polish Immigrants in Britain: A Study of Adjustment* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1956).

sought improved economic conditions, and Jewish persons sought relief from anti-Semitic oppression.⁶⁸ Scholars have argued that the Russian Empire sought to push Jews out of the realm.⁶⁹ However, as Hans Rogger notes, the Russian state ‘never proposed expulsion or emigration’.⁷⁰ Nonetheless, the increased pressure and discrimination on minority groups affected and resulted in the migration of millions. These push factors affected the migrant community’s ability to integrate in Britain as many saw themselves as temporary guests.⁷¹

Although it was not viewed as favourably as America, England attracted a significant number of Eastern European migrants.⁷² However, Lloyd Gartner states that less than ten per cent of Eastern European Jews transiting to America chose to remain in England upon arrival.⁷³ The transitory nature of the migration inevitably meant some migrants would not continue their journey onwards. The journey involved arriving in London, travelling to Liverpool, and then embarking on a transatlantic voyage.⁷⁴ The length and cost of this journey may have dissuaded some from continuing onwards after arriving in England.

⁶⁸ Lloyd P. Gartner, ‘The Great Jewish Migration 1881-1914: Myths and Realities’, *Shofar*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (1986), pp. 12-21.

⁶⁹ Simon M. Dubnow, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland* (Bergenfield, NJ: Avotaynu, 2000, first published 1918), p. 406.

⁷⁰ Hans Rogger, ‘Tsarist Policy on Jewish Emigration’, *Soviet Jewish Affairs*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (1973), p. 26.

⁷¹ Paul Ward, *Britishness Since 1870* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 114.

⁷² Lloyd P. Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant in England, 1870-1914* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1960), pp. 16-17.

⁷³ Lloyd P. Gartner, *History of the Jews in Modern Times* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 260.

⁷⁴ Drew Keeling, ‘Transatlantic Shipping Cartels and Migration Between Europe and America, 1880-1914’, *Essays in Economic and Business History*, Vol. 17 (1999), p. 199.

Approximately 100,000-150,000 Jewish Eastern Europeans settled in Britain during the period 1881 and 1914.⁷⁵ By 1901, the Russia-born community became the largest non-British subject community in England and Wales. The arrival of large numbers of migrants swiftly transformed the areas of settlement.⁷⁶ Literature concerning Russia-born migration and settlement has tended to focus extensively on London, although some notable works on Manchester, Leeds, and other centres exist.⁷⁷ Existing scholarship has demonstrated that Russia-born migrants primarily resided in the East End of London, Manchester, and Leeds.⁷⁸ Smaller communities could be found across England and Wales.⁷⁹ Roderick Floud argues that three-quarters of Russian migrants settled in London.⁸⁰ However, the data presented here (p. 161), demonstrates that there was at most 63.5 per cent of such persons living in London. It is recognised, however, that the majority of Russia-born persons in London segregated and were living in the East End, as illustrated in figures 3.9-3.11. Therefore, there is some concern that the national and regional picture of Russia-born migration has been understated because of the sizeable community that formed in London.⁸¹

Both the existing literature and the above findings indicate that the arrival of Russia-born migrants primarily affected urban centres. Irina Kudenko and Deborah

⁷⁵ Lara Marks, and Lisa Hilder, 'Infant survival among Jewish and Bengali immigrants in East London, 1870-1990', in Lara Marks, and Michael Worboys, eds., *Migrants, minorities and Health: Historical and Contemporary Studies* (London: Routledge, 1997), p. 181.

⁷⁶ Colin Holmes, *John Bull's Island: Immigration and British Society, 1871-1971* (Hounds Mills: Macmillan Education, 1988), pp. 46-47.

⁷⁷ See Williams, *The making of Manchester Jewry*, and Vaughan and Penn, 'Jewish Immigrant Settlement'.

⁷⁸ Vaughan and Penn, 'Jewish Immigrant Settlement'.

⁷⁹ Bernard Harris, 'Anti-Alienism, Health and Social Reform in Late Victorian and Edwardian Britain', *Patterns of Prejudice*, Vol. 31, No. 4 (1997), p. 3.

⁸⁰ Roderick Floud, *The People and the British Economy, 1830-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 54.

⁸¹ James Walvin, *Passage to Britain* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1984), p. 63.

Phillips argue that the arrival of Jewish Eastern European migrants radically transformed the settlements and communities populated by the Anglo-Jewry.⁸² The intense spatial clustering of Russia-born migrants further isolated the community from the host population, socially and spatially.⁸³ These congregating behaviours may have caused tensions with the host communities.⁸⁴ The absence of any Russia-born persons in many registration districts around the country indicates a tendency to congregate.

The literature and findings from the I-CeM correlate neatly. From the literature, it was expected that Russia-born persons would be concentrated in London. The existing scholarship indicates that tens of thousands of Russia-born migrants arrived during and following the 1870s, which is further supported by the findings of this study.⁸⁵ Evidence of migrant congregation at a registration district level confirms the point that Russia-born migrants tended to gather.⁸⁶ Similarly, the prominence of Leeds and London is reinforced by the findings of this chapter.⁸⁷ The ability to distinguish Eastern European communities was intrinsically tied to the characteristics of the Jewish element of the population. Many such migrants came from rural non-industrialised areas and were not thrust into major urban centres.⁸⁸ Ultimately, the I-CeM indicates

⁸² Geoffrey Alderman, *Controversy and Crisis: Studies in the History of the Jews in Modern Britain* (Boston, MA: Academic Studies Press, 2008), p. 230.

⁸³ Irina Kudenko, and Deborah Phillips, 'The Model of Integration? Social and Spatial Transformations in the Leeds Jewish Community', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 9 (2009), p. 1538.

⁸⁴ Royal Commission on Alien Immigration, *Report of the Royal Commission*, Vol. 1 (London: HMSO, 1903), pp. 16-26.

⁸⁵ Bermant, *London's East End*, pp. 138-141.

⁸⁶ Holmes, *John Bull's Island*, pp. 26-27.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 280.

⁸⁸ David Newman, 'Integration and Ethnic Spatial Concentration: The Changing Distribution of the Anglo-Jewish Community', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (1985), p. 366.

that Russia-born migrants tended to settle in urban centres, primarily London, with a consistent tendency to congregate and cluster.

USA-born

The absence of studies concerning USA-born persons in England and Wales is one of the most glaring omissions in British migration studies. The lack of literature on the group indicates that scholars have overlooked it. As Panikos Panayi has noted ‘...some important minorities have been virtually ignored, notably Americans...’.⁸⁹

The few studies that do address the USA-born community overwhelmingly focus on London. Certain establishments and notable USA-born persons residing in Britain played host to many migrants who settled or visited from America.⁹⁰ For mid-nineteenth century USA-born persons, Morley’s Hotel in Trafalgar Square has been described as ‘a mecca’.⁹¹ According to the literature, USA-born migrants tended to be social elites and could count intellectuals and artists amongst them.⁹² From the limited existing scholarship, it would be expected that the USA-born composed a small but elite migration stream that was predisposed to settle in London and Liverpool.

Although there is a scarcity of literature concerning the distribution of USA-born persons in England and Wales, the I-CeM provides a series of original insights.

⁸⁹ Panayi, ‘The historiography of immigrants and ethnic minorities’, p. 829.

⁹⁰ Douglas Hart, ‘Social Class and American Travel to Europe in the Late Nineteenth Century, with Special Attention to Great Britain’, *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 51, No. 2 (2017), pp. 330-331.

⁹¹ Richard Kenin, *Return to Albion: Americans in England, 1760-1940* (New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1979), p. 87.

⁹² Holmes, *John Bull’s Island*, p. 36.

Although portrayed as a small migration stream, the I-CeM indicates a much larger USA-born population than previously expected, particularly in the latter years of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. This chapter identified that the majority of USA-born persons resided outside of London.⁹³ Maritime centres were popular hubs for the USA-born, including Liverpool, Cardiff, and Newcastle upon Tyne. However, it was revealed that the majority of USA-born persons lived outside of London, which is in direct contrast to some of the existing literature.⁹⁴ In 1851, of those USA-born migrants living outside of London, 10.3 per cent were visitors in the households they were enumerated in. By 1911, this figure had shifted to 3.9 per cent. As such, a significant portion of those living outside London were residents to some extent. Ultimately, a key finding from this study is that USA-born persons were a significant migrant community beyond what was already known.

To some extent, the findings of this chapter correlate with the literature. However, there was a much larger USA-born community than anticipated. The presence of the USA-born in many rural districts was unexpected and is not addressed in the literature. Subsequently, there is a contrast between the image of rich, white, and educated USA-born persons living in London presented in the literature and the reality that such persons could be found across England and Wales in rural and urban centres. In this context, the work presented here challenges the limited understanding of the

⁹³ James Perry, 'Migration into England and Wales, 1851-1911'. Paper presented at the Social Science History Association Conference, Baltimore, Maryland, USA (2015).

⁹⁴ Elizabeth L. Banks, 'American London', in George R. Sims, ed., *Living London*, Vol. 2 (London: Cassell and Co., 1902), pp. 107-113.

USA-born community. Ultimately, the I-CeM can provide some of the first foundational observations of the USA-born population of England and Wales.

German-born

Literature concerning the migration and settlement of German-born persons into England and Wales has continued to increase over the last twenty to thirty years. Studies have utilised a range of sources to investigate the behaviours and composition of the German-born population. From the literature, London would be expected to be the stronghold of the German-born community. Panikos Panayi notes that approximately fifty per cent of all German-born persons resided in London.⁹⁵ The heterogeneous nature of German-born migrants is highlighted in the diversity of their settlement patterns. Within the migrant community, there was considerable division and segregation. Panayi comments: ‘...merchants, governesses, orchestral players and clerks would rarely come into contact with sugar-bakers, tailors, skin-dyers or shoemakers.’⁹⁶ The German-born community was somewhat divided, with settlements in both the eastern and western ends of the city.⁹⁷ Further, Robert Lee has suggested that there was a high degree of mobility within the German-born merchant community in Liverpool. Over forty per cent of German-born merchants in Liverpool traded and resided for less than two years.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Panayi, ‘German Immigrants in Britain’, p. 78.

⁹⁶ Panikos Panayi, ‘The German Poor and Working Classes in Victorian and Edwardian London’, in Geoffrey Alderman, and Colin Holmes, eds., *Outsiders and Outcasts: Essays in Honour of William J. Fishman* (London: Duckworth, 1993), p. 70.

⁹⁷ Panayi, ‘The German Poor and Working Classes’, p. 56.

⁹⁸ Robert Lee, ‘Divided loyalties? In-migration, ethnicity and identity: The integration of German merchants in nineteenth-century Liverpool’, *Business History*, Vol. 54, No. 2 (2012), p. 124.

There is little evidence of high German-born mobility from the I-CeM as it is cross-sectional in nature. Additional analysis and data linkage would indicate whether there is a significant variation in settlement and mobility according to socio-economic variables, such as occupation. The increase in German-born persons recorded in the I-CeM, particularly between 1861 and 1881 is notable. Although the bulk of the German-born population was centred on London, others did reside in some northern districts. Through this study, it is clear that German-born persons became displaced from London's East End. By 1911, the German-born community was mostly scattered across districts on the western and northern peripheries of the city.

Collectively, the literature concerning the distribution of German-born persons in England and Wales is supported by the findings of this study. For example, it is demonstrated that some industrial and commercial centres, particularly port towns, had sizeable communities of German-born persons, including Liverpool, Hull, Manchester, Bradford, and others.⁹⁹ However, further light is shown on the German-born community of London, which reveals a significant displacement, which is something that is not covered in the literature.

Ireland-born

There is no mistaking that the Ireland-born migration was the most significant in nineteenth-century Britain.¹⁰⁰ The literature concerning Ireland-born migrants is immense

⁹⁹ Panayi, 'German Immigrants in Britain', pp. 78-81.

¹⁰⁰ Walvin, *Passage to Britain*, p. 51.

and wide-ranging.¹⁰¹ The existing scholarship indicates that as many as one million Ireland-born persons may have arrived in England during the period 1800-1900.¹⁰² As the number of Ireland-born migrants declined, the communities gradually acculturated to local cultures and eventually achieved a status that allowed them to ignore ‘latent hostility’ from the host societies.¹⁰³ Persons fleeing Ireland during the late 1840s and 1850s dominated the Ireland-born population of England and Wales.¹⁰⁴ However, there were a complex array of identities within the Ireland-born population, which are often lumped together and viewed as a homogeneous entity.¹⁰⁵

In recent decades, the diversity of the Ireland-born community in England and Wales has received a higher degree of scholarly attention.¹⁰⁶ Colin Pooley has argued that Ireland-born migrants predominately resided in urban areas with active port connections to Ireland that had housing and occupational options.¹⁰⁷ John Herson, amongst others, has demonstrated the tendencies to self-segregate and congregate in towns and cities across the country.¹⁰⁸ Scholarship has often treated the Ireland-born

¹⁰¹ Graham Davis, ‘Irish Migration to Nineteenth-Century Britain’, *North Irish Roots*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (2006), pp. 26-27.

¹⁰² Panikos Panayi, *Immigration, ethnicity and racism in Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), p. 23.

¹⁰³ John Archer Jackson, *The Irish in Britain* (London: Routledge and Paul, 1963), p. 156.

¹⁰⁴ Kevin O’Connor, *The Irish in Britain* (Dublin: Tore Books, 1974), p. 20.

¹⁰⁵ Swift and Gilley, ‘Irish Identities in Victorian Britain’, p. 130.

¹⁰⁶ Roger Swift, ‘Identifying the Irish in Victorian Britain: Recent Trends in Historiography’, in Roger Swift, and Sheridan Gilley, eds., *Irish Identities in Victorian Britain* (London: Routledge, 2010), pp. 6-23.

¹⁰⁷ Colin G. Pooley, ‘Segregation or integration? The residential experience of the Irish in mid-Victorian Britain’, in Roger Swift and Sheridan Gilley, eds., *The Irish in Britain, 1815-1939* (London: Pinter Publishers, 1989), p. 67.

¹⁰⁸ John Herson, *Divergent Paths: Family Histories of Irish Emigrants in Britain, 1820-1920* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), pp. 69-71.

as an entity that culturally and residentially self-segregated.¹⁰⁹ Concerning the national distribution of Ireland-born persons, Donald MacRaild observes that there were ‘virtually no Irish in the market towns of Buckinghamshire or Dorset’.¹¹⁰ David Fitzpatrick notes that approximately only ten per cent of the Ireland-born population settled in London.¹¹¹ The arrival and settlement of Ireland-born persons have been linked by historians, such as Donald MacRaild, to the ‘frontier of industrial expansion’.¹¹² As a whole, the literature presents the Ireland-born as a sizeable force that could be found across the country in a range of population centres.¹¹³

Analysis of the I-CeM presents several key findings. Few districts without access to a port or a major urban centre reported significant numbers of Ireland-born migrants. However, the fact there was a presence in most registration districts illustrates the national reach of the Ireland-born community. Despite this, the utilisation of registration districts as a spatial unit does not reveal the true extent of residential segregation at a micro-level, as will be discussed further in chapter six.¹¹⁴ The distribution of migrants as illustrated in this chapter indicates an increasingly dispersed population. The small number of Ireland-born in some southern regions of the country highlights the importance and privilege of northern migration networks. Figures 3.36-3.38 emphasise the role of urban centres in the settlement process of Ireland-born

¹⁰⁹ Paul O’Leary, *Immigration and Integration: The Irish in Wales, 1798-1922* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2002), p. 9.

¹¹⁰ Donald M. MacRaild, *The Irish Diaspora in Britain, 1750-1939* (Hounds-mill: Palgrave Macmillan, second edition, 2011), p. 34.

¹¹¹ David Fitzpatrick, ‘A curious middle place: the Irish in Britain, 1871-1921’, in Roger Swift, and Sheridan Gilley, eds., *The Irish in Britain, 1815-1939* (London: Pinter Press, 1989), p. 13.

¹¹² MacRaild, *The Irish Diaspora*, p. 33.

¹¹³ Graham Davis, ‘The Irish in Nineteenth Century Britain’, *Saothar*, Vol. 16 (1991), pp. 130-135, and Roger Swift, ‘The Outcast Irish in the British Victorian City: Problems and Perspectives’, *Irish Historical Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 99 (1987), p. 264.

¹¹⁴ Pooley, ‘Segregation or integration?’, pp. 73-74.

migrants. However, the figures also indicate a retraction of Ireland-born communities in places such as North East England, and the expansion into nearby districts, as was the case in South Wales. Cities were popular destinations for the Ireland-born, but they could be found in regional towns and villages across the country. However, as with the Russian population, there was a tendency to congregate together when settling.¹¹⁵

Although there is some variation in comparison to the I-CeM data, the size of the population in London presented in the data correlates with Fitzpatrick's observation. The I-CeM suggests that the Ireland-born were a notably transient force, with significant intercensal distribution patterns. Rather than having a consolidated centre, the Ireland-born population in London was composed of a series of smaller mobile communities that appear to move in sequence to each other, as illustrated in figures 3.12-3.14. The initial waves of migrants settled in Lancashire and industrial locations. However, with time, other smaller communities emerged, and a process of diffusion took place. Eventually, settlements in smaller towns and villages emerged, which is supported by this research. Ultimately, although indicative, a macro-national level analysis betrays the complexities and heterogeneity of the Ireland-born communities.

The findings presented in the literature and this chapter correlates. The Ireland-born were a significant entity, and they were distributed nationally. As per the literature, the size of the Ireland-born population in London matches that present in

¹¹⁵ Floud, *The People*, pp. 53-54.

the I-CeM. This chapter presented the Ireland-born as being a somewhat socially residentially dispersed entity. In the case of London, it was demonstrated that the Ireland-born lacked a consistent centre of strength, with a considerable degree of intercensal mobility.

India-born

India-born persons visiting and residing in Britain have received a degree of scholarly attention. An emerging body of scholarship aims to demonstrate the presence of a notable non-white India-born population residing in the UK. There is a risk that many India-born persons were merely seen as either being a Lascar or Ayah. The complex array of traders, educators, and professionals are typically overlooked.¹¹⁶ The composition of this group is slightly more complicated than others, due to questions of ethnicity, citizenship, and interracial relationships.

Existing work on the subject of the India-born in Britain suggests the migration was overwhelmingly connected to the British Empire. In his study of non-European migration to Britain, Ben Sreter found a significant counter-flow of migrants from across the British Empire, many being from India. Although some were ‘the children of previous Empire-builders’, there were non-European migrants also migrating and settling in Britain.¹¹⁷ Evidence of such a presence is found in the growth

¹¹⁶ A recent notable exception is found in A. Martin Wainwright, ‘*The Better Class’ of Indians: Social Rank, Imperial identity and South Asians in Britain, 1858-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008).

¹¹⁷ Ben Sreter, ‘Before Windrush’, pp. 63-64.

of curry houses and the arrival of other socio-cultural commodities.¹¹⁸ The diversification of the migrant population was linked to the Empire and its global reach, which Humayun Ansari confirms in his study of Muslims in Britain. Ansari highlights the role of the Empire in the subjugation of African and Asian countries and the subsequent installation of British authority.¹¹⁹ Furthermore, the role of class has been identified as playing a significant role in how the India-born population interacted with the host society.¹²⁰ India-born persons in England and Wales were a particularly visible entity. Romesh Dutt (see figure 3.48), a Bengali civil servant and scholar observed 'But it is an old story now...many of my countrymen have travelled in Europe, and all know about Europe.'¹²¹ The literature portrays India-born persons as highly mobile, often arriving and visiting the country as a traveller, with a preference for London and the south generally.¹²²

The I-CeM reveals there was a growing presence of India-born visitors and settlers across England and Wales, as illustrated in figures 3.40-3.42. The increase of India-born persons in registration districts in Northern England, over time, is of particular interest, as the community had tended to settle in South East England. London

¹¹⁸ Nupur Chaudhuri, 'Shawls, Jewelry, Curry, and Rice in Victorian Britain', in Nupur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel, eds., *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press, 1992), pp. 241-242. See also Panikos Panayi, *Spicing Up Britain: The Multi Cultural History of British Food* (London: Reaktion Books, 2008).

¹¹⁹ Humayun Ansari, 'The Infidel Within': *Muslims in Britain since 1800* (London: C. Hurst and Co., 2004), p. 28.

¹²⁰ Antoinette Burton, *At the Heart of the Empire: Indians and the Colonial Encounter in Late Victorian Britain* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998), p. 177.

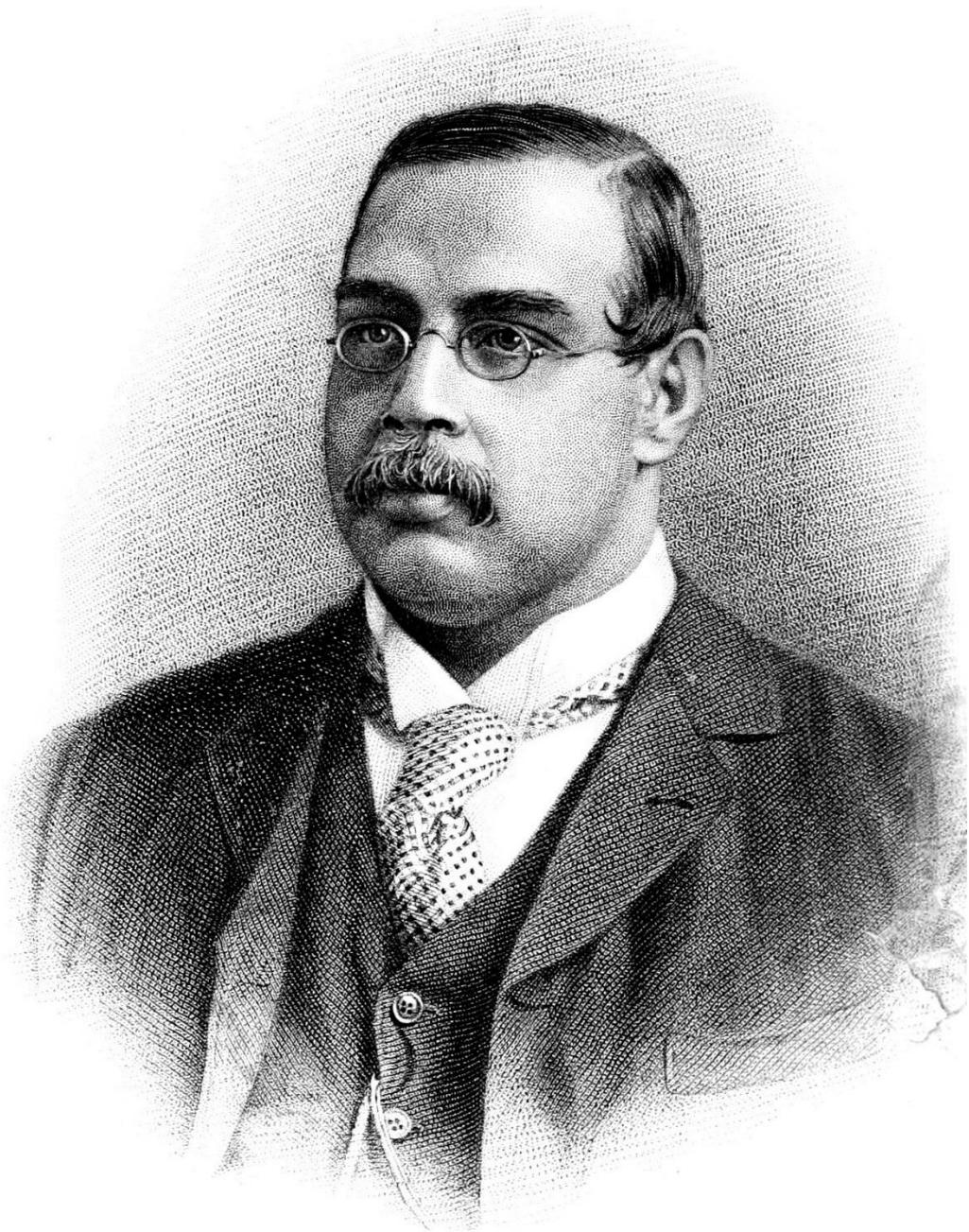
¹²¹ Romesh Chunder Dutt, *Three Years in Europe, 1868 to 1871* (Calcutta: S. K. Lahiri and Co., 1896, fourth edition), p. iv.

¹²² Elleke Boehmer, *Indian Arrivals, 1870-1915: Networks of British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 81-82; 200-221.

was a popular centre for the India-born community. This study has highlighted a tendency for the India-born to congregate in the city's West End. The static and consistent presence in certain districts indicates a sense of community. Areas such as Kensington proved themselves a popular space of residence across the period. However, it is unclear the extent to which this community was composed of children born to British migrants in India.

While there is literature on the Asian community in England and Wales during the period, it is not the same as the India-born. The I-CeM highlights the behaviours of a group that has been treated as multiple entities, rather than one whole. Consequently, there are some variations between the literature and the findings presented here.

Figure 3.48: Romesh Chunder Dutt



ଶ୍ରୀରମକୃତ୍ୟାନ୍ତ

London

The existing literature suggests that London was the principal location where the foreign-born population resided.¹²³ Although the literature places great emphasis on London, this chapter has demonstrated that the city was not as important as might be expected. James Walvin addresses the issue of migration to London, which emerges as the major focus of his study. Speaking of Eastern European migrants, Walvin states: ‘...London, especially the East End, with its existing Jewish connections and its apparent abundance of cheap accommodation and plentiful though ill paid casual and unskilled labour, lured the overwhelming majority.’¹²⁴ Contemporaries consistently concentrated on London in their reporting on migration during the period, as evidenced in the efforts of George R. Sims.¹²⁵ Other large cities, such as Manchester, Liverpool, Newcastle, and Cardiff, emerged as popular locations where migrants settled. Port towns and cities facilitated the migration process and subsequently developed their own migrant communities. The lack of formal legislation regulating where migrants could reside has meant that communities have emerged and formed organically without state interference.¹²⁶

Although London attracted many migrants, there is a tendency in the literature to overstate the extent of the migrant population. Unlike Sponza’s claim, the I-CeM did not indicate that London in 1901 attracted a substantially higher proportion of

¹²³ Casey Monahan, ‘England For the English! Anti-Alienism and German Internment in England, 1870-1918’, unpublished MA thesis, Brandeis University, (2013), p. 14.

¹²⁴ James Walvin, *Passage to Britain* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984), p. 63.

¹²⁵ See George R. Sims’ *Living London* series.

¹²⁶ Nick Merriman, and Rozina Visram, ‘The World in a City’, in Nick Merriman, ed., *The Peopling of London: Fifteen thousand years of settlement from overseas* (London: Museum of London, 1993), p. 8.

foreign-born migrants than in 1871.¹²⁷ While absolute figures increased, the proportions remained reasonably balanced. However, Colin Holmes's point that certain areas of a city and urban centre became spaces for particular groups is supported by the findings in this section.¹²⁸ Italy-born persons in Clerkenwell, Russia-born persons in Whitechapel, and USA-born migrants in Kensington are three examples of the broader tendency for physical spaces to develop an association with a migrant community.

There are notable discrepancies between the existing literature and the findings presented in this chapter. James Walvin argues that Stepney was home to forty per cent of 'all the aliens in London'.¹²⁹ Walvin's argument is predicated on what he means when he refers to Stepney and what he defines as 'alien'. When excluding the Ireland-born, in 1911 the wider Stepney area had 65,407 foreign-born persons in its boundary.¹³⁰ However, the total number of foreign-born in the I-CeM in London, again when excluding the Ireland-born, is 204,448, meaning a rate of thirty two per cent. The district of Stepney was certainly not populated enough to reach the figure of forty per cent suggested by Walvin. The 1911 census report suggests there were 153,128 'foreigners of all nationalities in London', of which 'no fewer than 53,060 were enumerated in the Metropolitan Borough of Stepney.' Walvin appears to rely on the claim in the 1901 census general report, which claims 'Foreigners were scattered throughout the metropolis, a very large proportion, equal to forty per cent of the

¹²⁷ Sponza, *Italian Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, p. 3.

¹²⁸ Holmes, *John Bull's Island*, p. 26.

¹²⁹ Walvin, *Passage to Britain*, pp. 62-63.

¹³⁰ For this analysis, the foreign-born population of the wider Stepney borough includes the registration districts of Bethnal Green (8,370), Mile End Old Town (19,917), Poplar (2,704), St. George in the East (13,021), and Whitechapel (21,395).

whole, were enumerated in the Borough of Stepney.¹³¹ However, when recalculated with the I-CeM, the figure, albeit inclusive of foreign-born British Subjects, returns a rate of 30.2 per cent.

Despite most migrants settling in urban centres, foreign-born communities emerged across the country. Although London was not the exclusive location for migrants, the existing literature tends to place it as the primary destination for migrants. Yet, Panikos Panayi revealed that fifty per cent of German-born persons lived in London between 1861 and 1911, with the rest distributed across the country.¹³² Israel Finestein noted that Russians tended to gravitate towards London and Leeds, while Colin Holmes states that Italians were drawn particularly to London, Manchester, and Leeds.¹³³ E. H. Hunt explores the impact of migration on the labour market in London in depth, with only some minor comments on other urban centres.¹³⁴ The reason for the constant links back to London appears to be rooted in the prevalence of contemporary accounts and the concentration of such high numbers of migrants.

Some migrant communities, including those in London, were highly-mobile social networks. The Greek community that formed around Finsbury Circus in the

¹³¹ England and Wales General Report, 1901, available at: [http://histpop.org/ohpr/servlet/Page-Browser?path=Browse/Census%20\(by%20geography\)/England/1901&active=yes&mno=134&toc-state=expandnew&display=sections&display=tables&display=pagetitles&pageseq=148](http://histpop.org/ohpr/servlet/Page-Browser?path=Browse/Census%20(by%20geography)/England/1901&active=yes&mno=134&toc-state=expandnew&display=sections&display=tables&display=pagetitles&pageseq=148), [accessed: 22 May 2018].

¹³² Panikos Panayi, ‘Germans in Britain’s History’, in Panikos Panayi, ed., *Germans in Britain Since 1500* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1996), p. 7.

¹³³ Israel Finestein, ‘The New Community, 1880-1918’, in V. D. Lipman, ed., *Three Centuries of Anglo-Jewish History: A Volume of Essays* (London: The Jewish Historical Society of England, 1961), pp. 112-113. Colin Holmes, ‘The 1885 and 1888 Jewish Tailors’ Strikes in Leeds’, *Journal of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society*, Vol. 45 (1973), p. 158.

¹³⁴ E. H. Hunt, *British Labour History, 1815-1914* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1981), pp. 176-185.

nineteenth century is one such example.¹³⁵ Although initially meeting in a house, the community constructed a purpose-built Greek Orthodox Church, which was completed on London Wall in 1849. ‘Our Saviours’ served the emergent community until 1882, when a new church was consecrated in Bayswater. The Greek community was generally wealthy and well-educated.¹³⁶ Eventually, the community moved out of the centre to the more comfortable residential suburbs in West London. Scholars often overlook these intra-community movements, typically, as they are utilising larger units of geography.

Scholars note that ghettos never formed in the UK on the scale of those in North America, even in major cities including London. Instead, Holmes argues that ‘centres of immigration’ formed, such as Liverpool.¹³⁷ This assertion is borne up by the findings of this chapter. Clustering and congregating behaviours are observable from the data, but there are no truly segregated communities during the period. That said, areas of London became heavily associated with a specific migrant community. Douglas Jones has contended that a Chinese community began to emerge from the mid-1880s, which in London was concentrated in Limehouse.¹³⁸ A similar example was found in Liverpool, with Chinese clustered around Pitt Street.¹³⁹ According to G.

¹³⁵ James Perry, ‘The Hellenic Diaspora in England: Greek Settlement and Marriage, 1837-1884’, unpublished manuscript (2018), pp. 1-29.

¹³⁶ See Perry, ‘The Hellenic Diaspora in England’.

¹³⁷ Holmes, ‘Immigrants and Minorities in Britain’, in Colin Holmes, ed., *Immigrants and Minorities in British Society* (London: Routledge, 1978), p. 13.

¹³⁸ J. P. May, ‘The Chinese in Britain, 1860-1914’, in Colin Holmes, ed., *Immigrants and Minorities in British Society* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1978), p. 122. See also John Seed, ‘Limehouse Blues Looking for Chinatown in the London Docks, 1900-40’, *History Workshop Journal*, Vol. 62, No. 1 (2006), pp. 58-85.

¹³⁹ Douglas Jones, ‘The Chinese in Britain: origins and development of a community’, *New Community*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (1979), p. 397.

Benton and E. Gomez, the Chinese community emerged accidentally rather than deliberately.¹⁴⁰ As previously noted, the formation of these distinct districts gave rise to territorialism between migrant communities (p. 50). Although areas may have become somewhat restricted to competing migrant groups, occurrences of complete segregation rarely occurred. In many cases, there was overlap among the migrant communities and the networks they formed. As such, most migrant groups tended to concentrate together.¹⁴¹

Infrastructure is a key component in the development of a migrant subculture.¹⁴² Cai Parry-Jones attributes the growth of the Eastern European Jewish community in areas of Wales as a result of an established infrastructure, thereby enabling migrants to 'lead a traditional Jewish lifestyle'.¹⁴³ Purpose built places of worship, societies, active communities, and favourable socio-economic prospects encouraged migrants to the area. Similar behaviours seem to be tied to London. East London became increasingly populated by Russians, particularly as religious, social, and economic institutions began to serve the community.

Nonetheless, migrants were not always attracted to areas where there were religious, social, or economic connections. In reference to Manchester, Bill Williams has argued that: '...Eastern European settlers of the mid-nineteenth century had kept away, either by choice or necessity, from the residential districts, occupations, and

¹⁴⁰ Gregor Benton, and Edmund Gomez, *The Chinese in Britain, 1800-Present: Economy, Transnationalism, Identity* (Hounds Mills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 25-26.

¹⁴¹ Colin Holmes, 'The impact of immigration on British society, 1870-1980', in Theo Barker and Michael Drake, eds., *Population and Society in Britain, 1850-1980* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 1982), p. 176.

¹⁴² Axel Heitmueller, 'Coordination Failures in Network Migration', *The Manchester School*, Vol. 74, No. 6 (2006), pp. 701-702.

¹⁴³ Cai Morgan Parry-Jones, 'The History of the Jewish Diaspora in Wales', unpublished PhD thesis, Bangor University, (2014), p. 60.

synagogues of established Anglo-Jewry...’¹⁴⁴ The deliberate avoidance of the existing Jewish community demonstrates the divide between co-religionists along the lines of cultural, social, and economic factors.

London, as Panikos Panayi recently noted, has received considerable scholarly attention, but it is nearly wholly viewed in parts, and never as a whole.¹⁴⁵ Scholars identify the importance of the city, but they explore the topic from the perspective of a single migrant community. In the context of a well-documented selection of minorities in London, this study has meaningfully contributed to the subject by providing broader overviews of foreign-born migrant settlement in the city. Furthermore, this chapter has demonstrated how the city and its communities experienced change. Ultimately, London acquired much of the migrant population, but it has received a disproportionate amount of the literature.

V. Conclusion

In reviewing the existing literature, it is clear that certain migrant groups and geographical areas predominate academic studies on the subject. Analysing the I-CeM has identified key behaviours relating to the origins and distribution of foreign-born migrants. For example, French migrants were notably absent from Northern England; instead, there was a tendency to settle either in London’s West End or along the South Coast of England (p. 181). Meanwhile, patterns emerge indicating that USA-born persons overwhelmingly chose the West End of London while the Russia-born settled in

¹⁴⁴ Bill Williams, ‘East and West’: Class and Community in Manchester Jewry, 1850-1914’, in David Cesarani, ed., *The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), p. 18.

¹⁴⁵ Panayi, ‘Uniqueness of London’, pp. 80-90.

East London. Overall, the presentation of findings from the I-CeM corroborates parts of the existing literature and contrasts it in others, as outlined in section four of this chapter.

Foreign-born migrants to England and Wales came from increasingly diverse global locations. The literature referred to in this chapter indicates that the cause for a large portion of this diversification was the British Empire. Reviewing the visualisations offered in section two would support this argument. Non-European areas of high migration were mostly former or current British colonies. To return to Maltman Barry's point, it is clear that migrants came from across the world. However, the majority of migrants tended to originate from a select number of countries or colonies.

As previously mentioned, the literature overwhelmingly focuses on London. Yet, the emphasis on London is justified, to a point. However, the preoccupation with the largest urban settings, including other cities such as Liverpool, Manchester, and Leeds has resulted in smaller areas being neglected. The extant literature portrays London as the migrant hub. The I-CeM, meanwhile, has demonstrated that London had between a quarter and a third of the foreign-born population throughout the period. Although the number of foreign-born migrants in London is significant, the vast majority lived outside the city. Nonetheless, over the period migrants became better represented along the coastline of the country and in rural districts. A fundamental behaviour also observed is that migrants tended to congregate together. In some urban centres, contemporaries described particular streets becoming heavily composed and influenced by diaspora communities. However, this degree of segregation was the exception and not the rule.

Exploring the distribution of several migrant communities reveals a wide range of perspectives and behaviours. A comparative approach to studying the migrant experience offer a dynamic means of examining the circumstances and behaviours of migrant communities. There are, however, dozens of other small groups that have been largely overlooked. Examples of other neglected communities include the Swedish, Romanian, Dutch, and Spanish. Similarly, looking at the experiences of these groups beyond London and considering the relationships they had to the host society remains a notable gap in the literature. Consequently, future studies utilising this approach with other smaller communities would be of significant benefit for the field.

Ultimately, the migrant groups examined here exhibited diverse behaviours and tendencies. The I-CeM allows the analysis of migrant communities in a range of spatial units. Through these units, it is possible to identify patterns, as has been the case with many of the communities addressed here. Most migrant groups clustered to some extent. However, there was a broad spectrum of behaviours amongst the migrant population of England and Wales. Having provided a detailed description of the foreign-born population in the I-CeM, the remainder of this thesis will look at the household, demographic, occupational, and residential behaviours of migrant communities in detail.

Chapter 4: DEMOGRAPHIC COMPOSITION AND HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE

‘We have dwelling amongst us, happily, many men of notable lands, who here alone can find refuge, and notably the band of Russian exiles.’¹

I. Introduction

Foreign-born migrants arrived in England and Wales from diverse backgrounds and joined or formed households, sometimes alongside those native to the host society.

During the period of this study, the number of households with a migrant recorded as present grew from 184,713 in 1851 to 450,302 in 1911, an increase of 143.8 per cent.

Understanding migrant household configuration and demographic composition are vital for establishing the diversity of the migrant population and ascertaining the degree to which they segregated or assimilated.

Most migration studies address the circumstances and conditions that migrants lived in. However, there is no wholesale or longitudinal analysis of changes to the domestic settings of migrants beyond a localised level. Chaim Bermant highlights how the Eastern European migrants had English children and could be found living in both the poorest and wealthiest settings of London.² Rozina Visram uses select

¹ *Leeds Mercury*, 1 September 1894, ‘The Case of the Alien’.

² Chaim Bermant, *London’s East End: Point of Arrival* (New York, NY: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1975), pp. 122-137.

examples to highlight interethnic relationships between India-born persons and natives, while also highlighting the complex assortment of living circumstances.³ Residential behaviours of migrants in communities such as Stafford suggest a degree of segregation. John Herson reveals that the impoverished Ireland-born continued to reside in proximity to each other, whereas the wealthier, skilled and aspirant individuals began moving elsewhere. With time, these Ireland-born individuals found themselves living more isolated from their peers and near similarly positioned native-born persons.⁴ What the literature is good at doing is giving a sense of foreign-born migrant living conditions.⁵ Less clear is how the household relationships and demographic profiles compared between migrant communities and how they experienced change over time.

Although extensive research has been carried out into specific communities and groups, detailed reconstitutions or analyses of household structures across the entire country have typically required considerable time and resources.⁶ Scholars such as Kevin Schürer and Tatiana Penkova have commented that previous studies of historical households have had to rely on aggregated census data, thereby resulting in a ‘lack of spatial granular-ity’.⁷ Additionally, there is no national demographic profile available for migrant groups using census microdata.⁸ In addressing these gaps, this chapter provides the first comprehensive analysis of the household circumstances of

³ Visram, *Asians in Britain*, pp. 64-69.

⁴ Herson, *Divergent Paths*, pp. 69-73.

⁵ Englander, ed., *A Documentary History of Jewish Immigrants in Britain 1840-1920*, pp. 1-5.

⁶ Panayi, ‘The Uniqueness of London’, pp. 80-90, and Claire Jarvis, ‘The reconstitution of nineteenth century rural communities’, *Local Population Studies*, Vol. 51 (1993), pp. 46-53.

⁷ Kevin Schürer, and Tatiana Penkova, ‘Creating a typology of parishes in England and Wales’, *Historical Life Course Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (2015), p. 38.

⁸ Tabili, ‘A homogeneous society?’, p. 56.

migrants and the accompanying demographical profile. The most likely explanation for these prior absences is the previous inability to gather, process, and analyse census data beyond small samples or limited geographical boundaries.⁹ The availability of the I-CeM provides the opportunity to redress this omission.

By providing insights into the household composition of the migrant community and the demographical profiles of migrant groups, this chapter is contributing to the existing understanding. Using individual-level census data for the entire foreign-born population is currently the most authoritative means of researching entire migrant communities. Establishing foundational aspects of the foreign-born population is desirable for the field of migration studies and offers a real alternative to a reliance on limited tabulated data.¹⁰ In providing an overview of foreign-born person's circumstances, this chapter meaningfully contributes to Laura Tabili's appeal for a reconstruction of the migrant population.¹¹

The term 'migrant present household' is used throughout this chapter to refer to those households where a foreign-born person was recorded as being present, regardless of the position they occupied. This distinction seeks to highlight those households that were in some way affected by foreign-born persons. It is challenging to assess how a migrant affected a household, but the term 'migrant present household' indicates that the migrant lived alongside and interacted with others in the household.

⁹ Pryce and Drake, 'Studying Migration', p. 20.

¹⁰ Tabili, 'A homogeneous society?', p. 56.

¹¹ *Ibid*

This chapter aims to establish whether migrants segregated themselves when making decisions regarding whom they lived with. Specifically, three questions are asked. First, what differences existed between the demographical profiles of the migrant groups? Second, what types of positions did foreign-born migrants occupy in households? Third, what was the proportion of migrants to native-born persons in households? By answering these questions, this chapter reveals whether or not segregation occurred in households and highlights whether there are critical differences between the demographical composition of migrant groups. Furthermore, these findings will provide a useful overview of the foreign-born population of England and Wales, particularly of the key migrant communities.

As this is the first full-count analysis of migrant households in England and Wales for the period of 1851-1911, it is an important study for the field of migration studies. Identifying trends or patterns within and between communities offers scope for further research, especially when drawing on the full range of variables provided by the I-CeM. The study meaningfully contributes to the existing literature by establishing the basic structure and demographic composition of the foreign-born population.

Family relationships are multifaceted, and individuals can occupy diverse roles in a household. This thesis uses the definition of a household as being a unit of individuals living within a house or dwelling place, as occupants (temporary) and residents (permanent). It is possible, however, for some households to reside in the same property. For reasons of feasibility, this chapter does not attempt to differentiate multi and single household properties.

This chapter starts by establishing the demographic profile of the foreign-born population. It then explores the age, gender, and marital status of the total migrant population and key foreign-born communities. Exploring the demographic profile of the entire foreign-born population is critical to understanding the wider demographic influence of foreign-born persons on the native-born population. Furthermore, the analysis of these crucial demographical areas is pivotal for understanding the impact they might have had nationally and at local levels. Following, the broader overview, select foreign-born communities are then explored in greater depth. The second half of this chapter addresses migrant present households. First, an overview of the changes to the number of migrant households, household size, and the circumstances of migrants are provided. Second, an analysis of the relationships between foreign-born persons and the head of household is offered. Finally, the composition of migrant present households is explored in depth to assess the extent to which foreign-born persons segregated or integrated with the native-born population. By following this structure, this chapter offers key insights into how the migrant population was composed and how they interacted with the host population. Collectively, these sections demonstrate that migrant communities had diverse compositions and should be viewed as a heterogeneous entity.

II. Demographic Overview

Migrants came to England and Wales at all stages of life, which included the young and elderly.¹² In many cases, there remain gaps in the literature regarding who these persons were, what stage of life they were in, and the key demographical behaviours related to them.¹³ The strength of the I-CeM is the provision of detailed demographic data, which can then be broken down into sub-groups. This section will explore several demographic attributes of the foreign-born population of England and Wales.

Age, sex, and marital status are key markers of a person's identity. Using these variables, this section provides insights into the demographic profiles of the total foreign-born population and select migrant communities. Aggregation of migrants misrepresents the complexities of inter-group compositions and behaviours. Establishing the demographic characteristics of the foreign-born population is of considerable value for the field of historical migration studies in the UK.

Assumptions emerged regarding many migrant groups, including why they were making their way to Britain. These postulations frequently relied on descriptions provided by the media.¹⁴ From analysing the migrant groups in this thesis, however, it is apparent that the motivations for migration significantly shaped their demographic composition. The drivers of migration, both those pushing them from their home

¹² Most migration scholars agree that migration is most likely to occur at a younger age, typically in their early-mid twenties, 'an age that corresponds with the mean age of marriage and the formation of new households', Bernard Deacon, 'Communities, families and migration: some evidence from Cornwall', *Family & Community History*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (2007), p. 53.

¹³ The work of David Coleman is the closest we have to clear demographic profiles of the entire foreign-born population but this is limited in scope and depth due to data access. See David Coleman, 'The Demography of Ethnic Minorities', *Journal of Biosocial Science*, Vol. 15, No. 8 (1983), pp. 43-87.

¹⁴ See Colin G. Pooley, 'Migrants and the Media in Nineteenth-Century Liverpool', *Local Population Studies*, Vol. 92, No. 1 (2014), pp. 24-37.

country and those factors attracting them to England and Wales, could have noticeable effects on different demographic groups. The complexities of migration and individual stories are often lost when trying to present broader explanations for why large groups of people were migrating.

III. Age

Between 1851 and 1911, the composition of the larger migrant communities changed notably, and stark contrasts existed between them. In areas of high concentration, the arrival of migrants was repeatedly identified as affecting the demographics of communities and driving out local populations.¹⁵ The I-CeM reveals that it became less likely for migrants to be recorded in younger age categories, and instead, the older age categories increased the most. Table 4.1, which uses four categories to depict the I-CeM, illustrates the age distribution of the foreign-born population throughout the period. By 1911, each category enumerated more people than in 1851, but only just with regards to 0-15-year-olds. However, the most substantial absolute and relative increases occurred in the 51+ category. This category almost doubled from 11.3 per cent of the total population in 1851, to twenty-two per cent in 1911, an increase of 218 per cent. The largest proportional decrease over the period happened in the 16-30 category, which indicates fewer younger migrants were arriving. As expected, ageing inevitably influenced the age profiles over time. Natural processes and

¹⁵ *Huddersfield Chronicle*, 9 April 1894, ‘An American on Alien Immigration’.

migratory decisions constantly shaped the migrant demographic profiles. Furthermore, the increasing numbers of migrants also influenced the proportions of each category.

Table 4.1: Age structure of the total foreign-born population, 1851-1911

Year	0-15		16-30		31-50		51+		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
1851	106,216	18.1	229,941	39.3	181,569	31.0	66,324	11.3	99.7
1861	84,863	12.2	281,384	40.5	238,199	34.3	87,921	12.7	99.7
1871*	96,148	12.4	271,534	35.7	283,260	36.5	119,948	15.3	99.8
1881	107,433	12.6	261,685	30.8	328,322	38.6	151,976	17.9	99.9
1891	89,582	10.5	232,604	27.4	288,069	33.9	172,643	20.3	92.1
1901	106,713	11.9	296,418	33.0	301,805	33.6	192,528	21.4	99.9
1911	111,138	11.6	295,292	30.8	339,097	35.4	210,930	22.0	99.8

Source: I-CeM

*Extrapolated

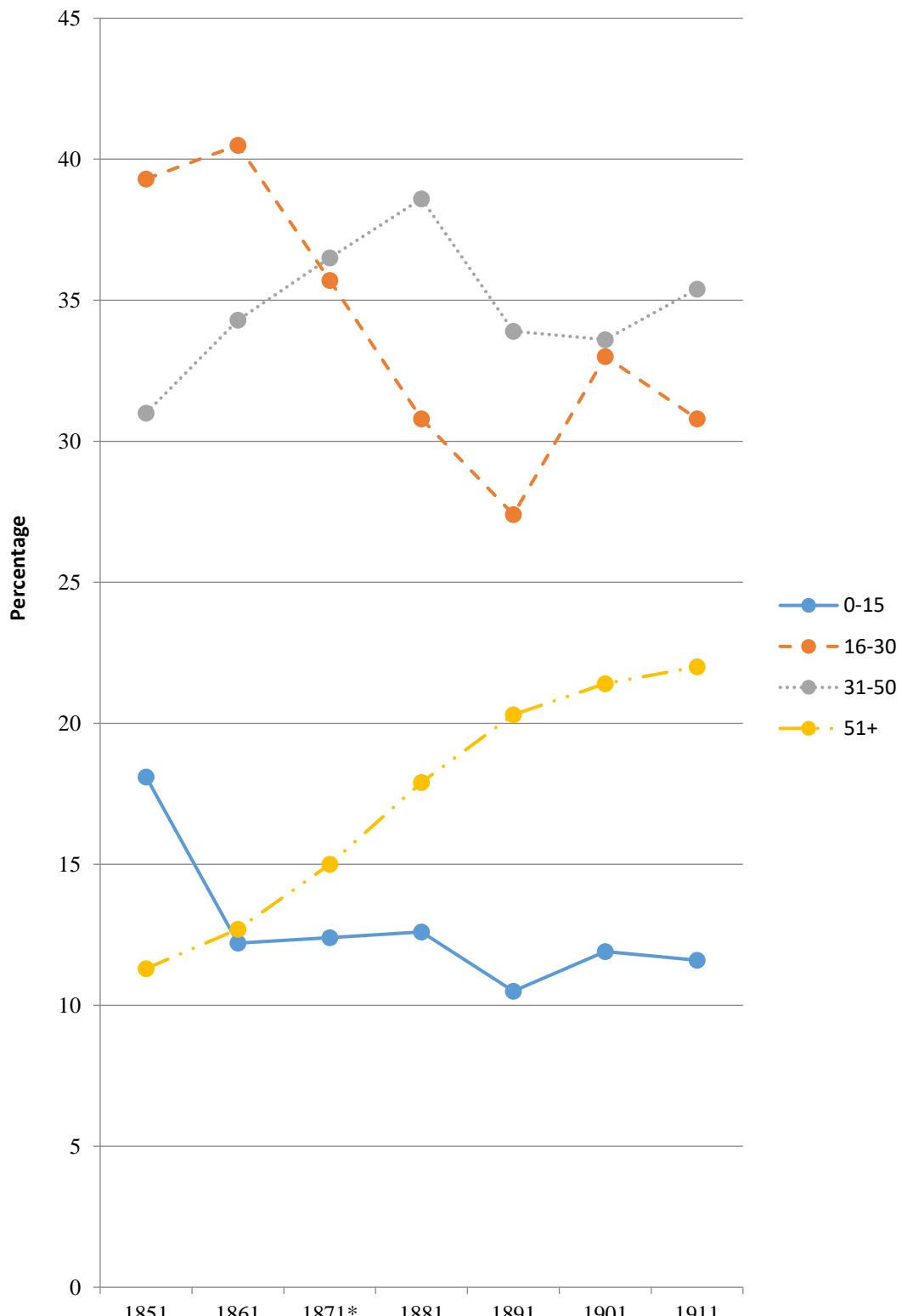
Decennial enumerations provide opportunities to explore continuities and changes in the population structure. By contrasting an age category in two censuses, some observations regarding migrant patterns can be made. Between 1901 and 1911, there was an increase of 37,292 in the age category of 31-50. Synchronously, the category 51+ increased by 18,402. If those aged 31-50 had remained in England and Wales it would mean that at least the 328,322 recorded in 1881 would have been in the category 51+ by 1901; however, there was only 192,528. Either a high number had moved away, or they had died. This claim also assumes that few people in the 51+ category moved to England and Wales.

Steady increases in the number of older migrants correlate neatly with decreases to the number of younger migrants. Figure 4.1 illustrates changes to the migrant population's age profile and shows gradated increments from one category to the next. Figure 4.1 also clearly indicates identifiable moments of inwards-migration;

for example, from 1891-1901, there was an increase of 16-30-year-olds of around 64,000. Such an increase notably outpaced the increase in other categories for the period, therefore highlighting a period of considerable migration. Generally, the age category 31-50 experienced the fastest, most sustained growth in numbers, and from 1881 remained the largest age group.

Across the country, therefore, there was a tendency for migrants to remain in England and Wales, and age naturally. The increases in the older age categories also indicate that older migrants were coming into the country more so than younger ones. Collectively, the migrant population became older, and fewer younger migrants were arriving in large enough numbers to affect the demographic changes.

Figure 4.1: Age categorisation of the foreign-born population, 1851-1911



Source: I-CeM

*Extrapolated

In turning attention to the demographical profiles of key migrant communities, a series of patterns emerge. For much of the period, Russia-born migrants tended to be young adults between the ages of 16-30. However, the community experienced a sharp increase in the number of migrants classified as being 31-50 from 1891 onwards, as illustrated in figure 4.2. Simultaneously, the 0-15 and 16-30 groups declined in absolute and proportional terms. When compared to some other migrant groups, the proportion of children to adults was generally much higher amongst Russia-born persons, indicating a tendency to migrate as full or part families. Historical accounts of Russia-born migrants portray a complex array of persons with various migration motivations. A court case concerning the settlement of a mother, who had separated from her husband and two children in London, is indicative of the complex set of living arrangements in operation. Following a new marriage, the court ruled that her children were entitled to remain in England.¹⁶ On-board one refugee ship that arrived into Liverpool were 250 adults and ninety-five children. These numbers encompassed an assortment of persons, including former soldiers, rape victims, infants, and members of both the agricultural and artisan classes.¹⁷ Ultimately, the age profile of the Russia-born population indicates a degree of permanency and an increasingly ageing first-generation element.

USA-born migrants tended to dominate the younger age categories, the vast majority being aged below thirty until 1901, as illustrated in figure 4.3. Improved

¹⁶ *Whitstable Times and Herne Bay Herald*, 21 May 1892, ‘A Russian Merchant and His Children’.

¹⁷ *Daily News*, 11 February 1882, ‘Arrival of Russian Jewish Refugees at Liverpool’.

transatlantic transportation facilitated return migration with greater ease, thereby increasing the number of USA-born children living in England and Wales.¹⁸ The significant growth of USA-born adults enumerated in the censuses suggests three possible processes occurred. Firstly, USA-born adults migrated in more significant numbers. Secondly, children born in the USA chose to remain in England and Wales as they progressed into adulthood. Thirdly, there was a significant reduction in the proportion of children born in the USA moving to England and Wales. These explanations indicate the emergence of a settled USA-born community. Further evidence of a stable community is found in USA-born persons being increasingly represented in the oldest age category in the later censuses.

German-born migrants established a stable community, which remained in England and Wales. From 1861, German-born migrants increasingly began to be enumerated in the older age categories. Unlike the Russia-born and USA-born, the German-born migration remained a predominantly adult enterprise, as highlighted in figure 4.4. In 1851, over eighty per cent of the German-born population was aged 16-50. The preponderance of young single adult migrants and the scarcity of children indicates that many migrants came unaccompanied. The I-CeM data and the literature suggests the many German migrants formed relationships and had families with native-born persons. The German Society of Benevolence sought to assist Germans living in England and Wales, of whom it was said ‘most of these had English wives and children.’¹⁹ The German-born population retained a significant portion of its migrants,

¹⁸ See Killick, ‘Transatlantic steerage fares’, pp. 170-191, and Wyman, ‘Return migration’, pp. 1-18.

¹⁹ *Times*, 29 March 1909, ‘Anglo-German Relations’.

which is evidenced in the sharp rise of those aged 51+ in the period 1861-1911. The decrease in young adults is indicative of a reduced migration flow of younger migrants and could suggest older German-born persons began arriving and settling in England and Wales.

The Ireland-born formed a distinctive and lasting presence in England and Wales, with migrants tending to settle and establish themselves in cities and towns across the country.²⁰ The large proportion of children and young adults became older with time, as illustrated in figure 4.5. Fewer younger migrants arrived to replace the ageing population, and with time, the original settlers began to age and die. Ireland-born migrants tended to remain in England and Wales, as evidenced in the increasingly aged population. When factoring second-generation migrants, it was speculated in 1854 that the Ireland-born community at least continued to replace its losses and could be estimated in the region of 820,000.²¹ While the Ireland-born population reproduced at a high rate in England and Wales, a decrease in the number of young migrants arriving into the country is evident.²²

India-born persons are challenging to analyse for multiple reasons. For example, the dominance of the British Empire and its global scope, the importation of foreign domestic labour, and the children of civil servants born in diverse locations. The India-born population transformed extensively, shifting from a heavily dominated 0-15 age group in 1851 to being largely represented by 16-30 and 31-50-year-olds by 1911, as demonstrated in figure 4.6. There are multiple possible causes, including

²⁰ Herson, *Divergent Paths*, pp. 7-9.

²¹ *Morning Post*, 18 August 1854, ‘Census of Great Britain, 1854’.

²² *Pall Mall Gazette*, 11 October 1867, ‘Irishmen in England’.

reduced numbers of children arriving in Britain with their British born parents. In 1908, it was acknowledged that the student body from India was growing at a pace, but this remained a small absolute number.²³ However, combined with the increased numbers of Lascars and Ayahs remaining in England and Wales, the community began to establish itself and aged with time, thereby being less frequently categorised in the younger age groups.

Comparing the five migrant groups reveals diverse and fluctuating age patterns. On closer inspection, unique patterns in the composition of the foreign-born migrants with regards to their age can be observed. Not only were certain groups more likely to have an older or a younger population, but there are also clear patterns that emerge. Critically, it appears that foreign-born migrants remained in England and Wales for many years. The lack of literature on the subject of the total foreign-born population reduces the ability to place these findings into a wider context. Similarly, the absence of broader demographical considerations of migrants confirms the importance of these observations.

²³ *Times*, 1 September 1908, ‘Indian Students in England’.

Figure 4.2: Russia-born population age change (1851-1911)

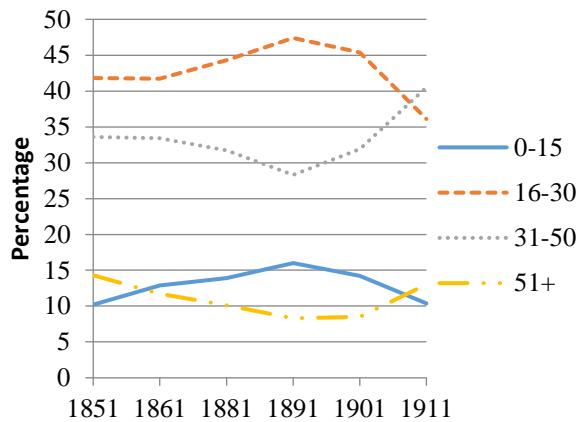


Figure 4.3: USA-born population age change (1851-1911)

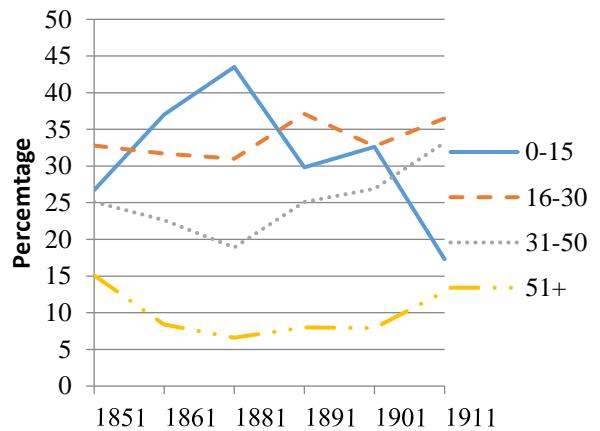


Figure 4.4: German-born population age change (1851-1911)

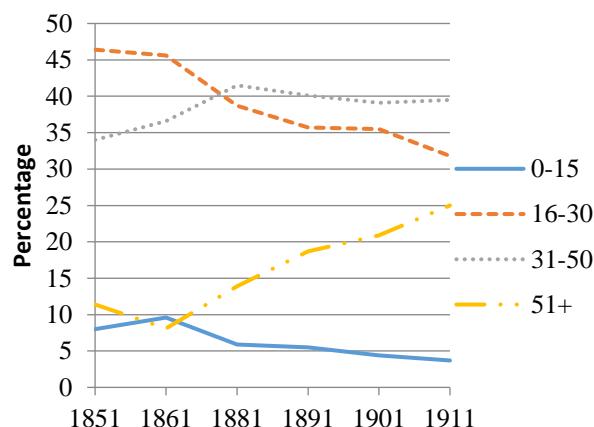


Figure 4.5: Ireland-born population age change (1851-1911)

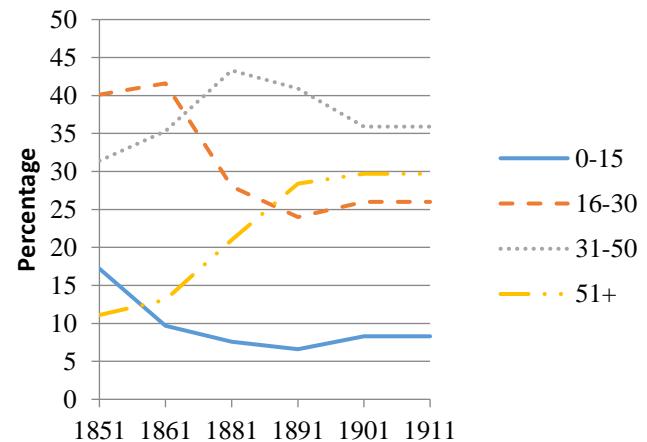
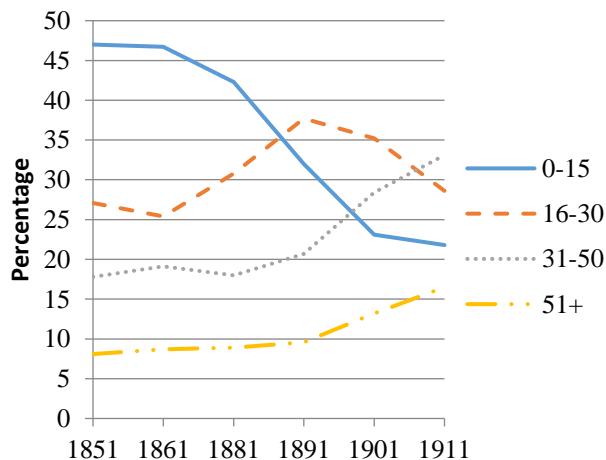


Figure 4.6: India-born population age change (1851-1911)



Source: I-CeM

IV. Gender

Gender is an essential component of migration studies as it has significant ramifications on the lived experiences of migrants. The division of labour, social interactions, and economic activity, and other factors can affect how a migrant lives.²⁴ As part of a resurgence in gender studies, there has been considerable interest in the untold stories and experiences of female migrants in England and Wales.²⁵ The redressing of the gender imbalance remains an important dimension to migration studies and scholarly activities more widely. The existing literature demonstrates that women are an essential component in migration patterns.²⁶ There have been criticisms of the emphasis on males in migration studies. Caroline Bressey argues that 'For far too long, ignorance and presumption have forced the geography of black women's history to the periphery of the British national consciousness.'²⁷ With these points in mind, this section contributes to the current understanding by establishing an important foundation for the gender composition of the migrant population.

In the context of this thesis, foreign-born migrants as a single entity were only marginally more likely to be male, often only separated by a few percent. Table 4.2 illustrates a fairly balanced gender composition of the population, with only minor errors. In contrast, the native-born population frequently reported a higher number of

²⁴ Donato *et al.*, 'A Glass Half Full?', pp. 8-20.

²⁵ Russell King, and Henrietta O'Connor, 'Migration and Gender: Irish Women in Leicester', *Geography*, Vol. 81, No. 4 (1996), p. 311.

²⁶ A significant re-assessment of the role of gender in migration patterns is found in J. Trent Alexander, and Annemarie Steidl, 'Gender and the "Laws of Migration": A reconsideration of Nineteenth-Century Patterns', *Social Science History*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (2012), pp. 223-241.

²⁷ Caroline Bressey, 'Forgotten Histories: three stories of black girls from Barnardo's Victorian archive', *Women's History Review*, Vol. 11, No. 3 (2002), p. 351.

women, which in 1891 was in excess of 900,000 persons.²⁸ The absence of a noticeable gender disposition indicates migrants to England and Wales was undertaken evenly between males and females. Despite the migrant population being mostly balanced between males and females at a national level, intergroup gender composition differed significantly.

Table 4.2: Gender breakdown for all foreign-born migrants, 1851-1911

Year	Male		Female		Unknown	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
1851	279,985	47.8	283,684	48.4	22,132	3.8
1861	353,614	50.9	340,429	49.1	108	0.01
1871*	400,719	51.8	371,338	48.2	57	0.01
1881	447,825	52.7	402,248	47.3	6	0.01
1891	376,736	48.1	369,532	47.1	37,749	4.8
1901	437,666	48.9	404,680	45.3	51,887	5.8
1911	503,274	52.5	453,346	47.3	2,616	0.3

Source: I-CeM

*Extrapolated

The Russian-born population of England and Wales was a predominantly male-dominated group in the period 1851 to 1891, after which the divide narrowed. In 1852, the Foreign Deserters Act was enacted to restrict desertions in the UK. However, just a year later, accounts continued to emerge of Russian sailors deserting in England.²⁹ Deserters from the navy and army made their way to England, which could partly explain why a slightly higher number of males was recorded. In 1874, the Birmingham Hebrew Board of Guardians related how many of those seeking welfare

²⁸ *Morning Post*, 8 September 1893, ‘The Census Returns’.

²⁹ *Standard*, 27 October 1852, ‘The Foreign Deserters Act, 1852’, *Bristol Mercury*, 10 December 1853, ‘Desertion of Russian Seamen in England’, and *Western Mail*, 15 May 1871, ‘Desertion and Crimping’.

support were single males.³⁰ At the same time, concerted efforts by the Board to combat wife desertion began to have a positive result and contributed to a decrease in familial desertion by male migrants.³¹ Figure 4.7 illustrates a tapering of the genders over the course of the period. The change indicates a shift in the migration process, with larger numbers of Russian-born women arriving in England and Wales from the 1880s. This flow correlates with a period of intense persecution in Eastern Europe.³²

In 1861, there was a sharp increase in male persons amongst the USA-born population of England and Wales. However, with time, this changed and women became the marginal majority. Figure 4.8 indicates that there tended to be an even balance of genders. Female USA-born migrants, particularly those drawn from the social elite were attracted to England and London specifically, as noted earlier. Evidence exists to indicate a sizeable concentration of USA-born women. For example, in the early 1900s, the Society of American Women in London was established.³³ Dana Cooper, Maureen Montgomery, and Ruth Brandon have identified the arrival of female USA-born social elites in Victorian and Edwardian society and their infiltration into native social networks.³⁴ Another explanation includes the role of the American Civil War. The data suggest that during the 1870s, there was a considerable movement

³⁰ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 5 May 1874, 'Birmingham Hebrew Board of Guardians'. See also David Feldman, 'Migrants, Immigrants and Welfare from the Old Poor Law to the Welfare State', *Transactions of the RHS*, Vol. 13 (2003), pp. 79-104.

³¹ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 5 May 1874, 'Birmingham Hebrew Board of Guardians'.

³² Keith Sword, *Identity in Flux: The Polish Community in Britain* (London: University of London, 1996), p. 19. See also Michael Clark, *Albion and Jerusalem: The Anglo-Jewish Community in the Post-Emancipation Era, 1858-1887* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 224-225.

³³ *Times*, 6 May 1910, 'American Women in London'.

³⁴ See Maureen E. Montgomery, '*Gilded Prostitution': Status, Money and Transatlantic Marriages, 1870-1914* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), Ruth Brandon, *Dollar Princesses: The American Invasion of the European Aristocracy, 1870-1914* (London: Littlehampton Book Services, 1980), and Dana Cooper, *Informal Ambassadors: American Women, Transatlantic Marriages, and Anglo-American Relations, 1865-1945* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2014).

of individuals from the USA into England and Wales. One plausible explanation for the movement includes the adverse effects felt throughout the Reconstruction Era (1865-1877).³⁵ The financial depression of 1873, heightened racial tensions, and political dissatisfaction could be factors that positively influenced an individual's decision to migrate. Following the war, a branch of the Civil War Veterans was established in London.³⁶ The association met four times a year and on Abraham Lincoln's birthday.³⁷ Exact details about the association's membership are far from certain, with thousands of British travelling to America to fight. Nonetheless, the evidence indicates a significant fluctuation in the proportion of male and female USA-born migrants in England and Wales.

The German-born population in England and Wales exhibited some of the most unusual characteristics of migrant communities. German-born migrants remained a predominantly male-dominated group, as noted in figure 4.9. At its extreme, males accounted for sixty-five per cent of the German-born population in 1861, with females at thirty-four per cent. The prominence of males within the German-born population is marked and is a distinguishing feature of the group during the period. A key determinant in the group's composition is linked to the system of primogeniture practised in much of Germany. *Ältestenrecht* is a system of inheritance whereby the oldest son received the family's property and business. In most cases, there was no

³⁵ See Bettye Stroud, and Virginia Schomp, *The Reconstruction Era* (New York, NY: Marshall Cavendish, 2007).

³⁶ Evan Fleischer, 'The Civil War Veterans of London', New York Times Blog, 2015, available at: https://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2015/05/06/the-civil-war-veterans-of-london/?_r=1, [accessed: 8 August 2017].

³⁷ Michael Hammerson, 'North and South, East and West: Highgate Cemetery and the American Civil War (1861-1865), BBC Radio 4, 2010, available at: <http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/rmhttp/radio4/making-history/uscw-highgate-cemetery.pdf>, [accessed: 8 August 2017].

way for parents to divide the inheritance, resulting in an imitable situation.³⁸ As a result, many younger siblings were faced with a dilemma; they could either remain with their family in a subservient role to the older brother or move and try their luck elsewhere. Many chose to move to the UK, with a sizeable number of German-born-males arriving and working in the pork butchery trade.³⁹ Various social and economic factors culminated to result in a heavily male-dominated German-born community.

Unlike other migrant groups, Ireland-born persons retained a close gender parity. Figure 4.10 shows that men and women migrated in equal numbers without noticeable fluctuations.⁴⁰ Oppressive social and economic experiences in Ireland affected men and women.⁴¹ The proximity to England and Wales meant Ireland-born migrants did not have the arduous cross-continental journey that other migrant groups undertook. For most of the period, Ireland-born women had similar reasons and inclinations to migrate as the men, although a slightly higher number of Ireland-born men began migrating towards the end of the period. However, this stands in contrast to Donald Akenson's claim that women formed the majority of Ireland-born migrants in the nineteenth century.⁴² Similarly, Bronwen Walter has argued that women were not as tied to the land, and were far more mobile than men were, as a result.⁴³ However, the I-CeM indicates otherwise. Ultimately, the push and pull factors affecting Ireland-

³⁸ Leslie Page Moch, *Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe Since 1650* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2003, second edition), pp. 127-130.

³⁹ James Perry, 'The German Pork Butchers and the Mormon Community of Dublin, 1900-1947'. Paper presented at the BEAMS Conference, Lancaster University, Lancaster (2017).

⁴⁰ Thomas Brinley, *Migration and Economic Growth: A Study of Great Britain and the Atlantic Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973, second edition), p. 74.

⁴¹ Polly Radosh, 'Colonial Oppression, Gender, and Women in the Irish Diaspora', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (2009), p. 273.

⁴² Donald Akenson, *The Irish Diaspora: A Primer* (Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies, 1993), p. 180.

⁴³ Bronwen Walter, *Outsiders Inside: Whiteness, Place and Irish Women* (London: Routledge, 2001), p. 199.

born migrants failed to make a significant impact on the gender composition, which remained generally balanced throughout the period.

There are clear patterns of fluctuation in the gender structure of the India-born population of England and Wales, as highlighted in figure 4.11. Females remained the largest gender group throughout the period, and in some censuses, there was a significant divide between the female and male populations. In the 1881 and 1911 censuses, there was a rapprochement in the gender divide. This accord, meanwhile, appears to have been caused by the increased demands for Ayahs and the challenging nature of enumerating Lascar seamen, which might have affected the enumeration results. Accounts exist of India-born persons being abandoned upon arrival in the UK, but gender was irrelevant, as both male and female migrants experienced it.⁴⁴ The data and existing literature, meanwhile, indicate that the disparity is due to the increased number of female nannies and domestic servants arriving to work in England and Wales.

Migrant groups differed wildly in their gender composition. Some communities, such as the Ireland-born retained a gender parity, whereas others, such as the Russian-born and USA-born oscillated. Finally, others including the German-born, and at times the India-born, were noticeably distinct with one group far exceeding the other in the gender weighting of its population. Possible explanations for the range in gender composition wildly, but the key factors include the migration driver, in other words, the factors causing a person to leave their home, socio-economic status, and geographical proximity. Each group had its unique factors that affected both the lived

⁴⁴ *Times*, 5 September 1855, ‘To the Editor of the Times’.

experience and the wider group behaviours. There was not, however, a uniform migrant pattern, and when viewed holistically, the national level statistics do not necessarily accurately portray individual group behaviours.

Figure 4.7: Russia-born population gender balance (1851-1911)

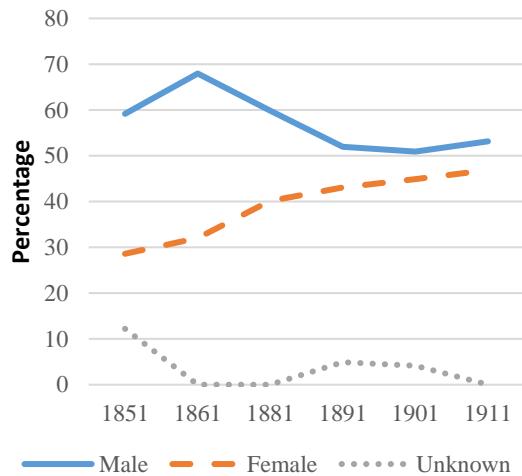


Figure 4.8: USA-born population gender balance (1851-1911)

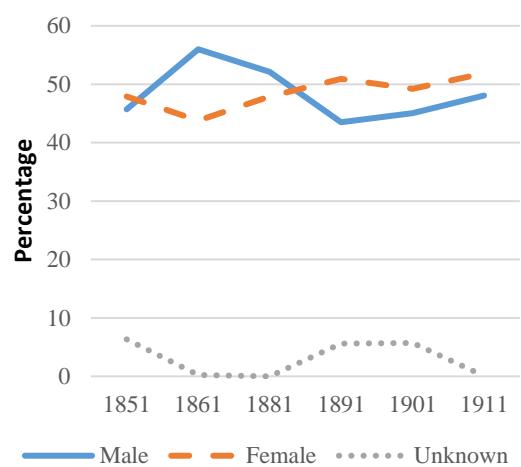


Figure 4.9: German-born population gender balance (1851-1911)

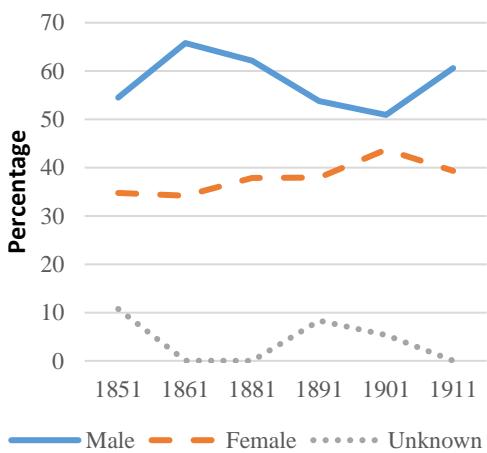


Figure 4.10: Ireland-born population gender balance (1851-1911)

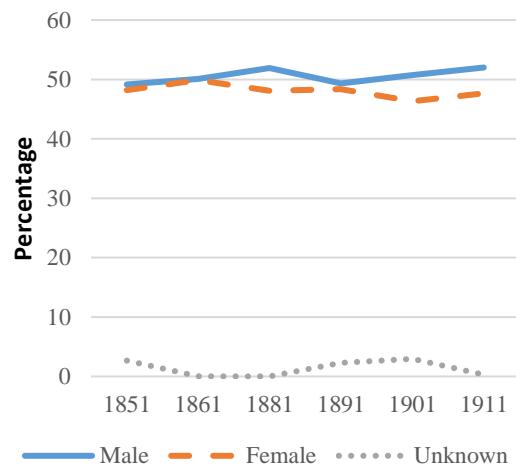
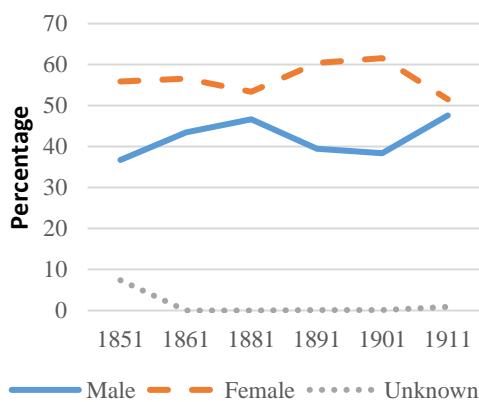


Figure 4.9: India-born population gender balance (1851-1911)



Source: I-CeM

V. Marital Status

Marital status is an important determinant of whether migrants had the opportunity to exercise endogamous behaviours to integrate with the host communities. Intermarriage has been previously linked to integration.⁴⁵ If migrants arrived single, they had an opportunity to marry a native-born person, and thus had a stronger chance of being assimilated. A migrant arriving with a spouse was not in a position to intermarry, and as a result, lacked an important means of integrating with the native population. Yet, as Nancy Green has noted, time is a crucial element in the integration and assimilation of migrants.⁴⁶ Although the first generation migrants might not have intermarried, many second and subsequent generations did.

Legislative issues emerged as marriages between foreign-born persons were conducted in unregistered locations. The enactment of the Greek Marriage Act, 1884, was an attempt to legitimise marriages that had taken place in a Greek Orthodox Church, which had not been formally registered with the government.⁴⁷ Despite presenting the relationship status of the enumerated, the I-CeM makes no assumption about marital status but merely reports the self-perceived relationship of individuals.

Statistics for this section exclude all of those who were aged fifteen and under in an attempt to assess the population of a realistic and eligible age. In this section, three categories are referred to, ‘Single’, ‘Married’, and ‘Widow’. The ‘Single’ group refers to those who were un-married (never-married) or divorced. ‘Married’ refers to

⁴⁵ Leslie Page Moch, *The Pariahs of Yesterday: Breton Migrants in Paris* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012), p. 142.

⁴⁶ See Nancy L. Green, ‘Time and the Study of Assimilation’, *Rethinking History*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (2006), pp. 239-58.

⁴⁷ *Sheffield Independent*, 19 September 1899, ‘Marriage Law Problems’.

those who were reported as married at the time, including those who were not living with their spouse at the time of the census. Finally, ‘Widow’ refers to those persons whose spouse had died, which includes both males and females.

Marital statuses maintained their proportions throughout the period. As indicated in table 4.3, there was very little flux in the marital status of the foreign-born population. There is a slight movement in the later censuses towards an increased ‘Single’ group, and a decreasing ‘Married’ group. This trend may have links to the start of the larger movement in the twentieth century towards delaying marriage. There is an extensive literature exploring this issue of delaying marriage, most notably by Michael Anderson.⁴⁸ Robert Woods has also contributed to the debate and has argued that from 1891 until 1931, women in wider society tended to marry at an older age.⁴⁹ However, the numbers indicated here are relatively minor in their fluctuations. One inference is that an established but ageing migrant population existed, with the number of persons recorded as widowed hovering around ten per cent. Remarriage rates are unclear, and much remains to be said about such behaviours amongst migrant groups.⁵⁰ Observations of the marital status of the national migrant community indicate that much of the adult population lived or had lived as part of a family network.

⁴⁸ See Michael Anderson, ‘The Social Position of Spinsters in Mid-Victorian Britain’, *Journal of Family History*, Vol. 9, No. 4 (1984), pp. 377-393.

⁴⁹ Robert Woods, *The Demography of Victorian England and Wales* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 81-82.

⁵⁰ For an introduction to the discussion on re-marriage generally see Steven King, and Mark Shephard, ‘Courtship and the remarrying Man in Late-Victorian England’, *Journal of Family History*, Vol. 37, No. 3 (2012), pp. 319-340.

Table 4.3: Marital status of the foreign-born population aged 16+, 1851-1911

Year	Single	Married	Widowed	Unknown
1851	36.8	51.4	9.7	2.1
1861	34.5	54.4	9.7	1.5
1871*	34.1	54.1	10.9	1.1
1881	33.6	53.7	12.1	0.6
1891	33.9	52.6	12.9	0.5
1901	38.1	50.0	11.5	0.4
1911	38.4	50.4	10.3	0.9

Source: I-CeM *Extrapolated

Overwhelmingly, the Russian population tended to be recorded as married. As illustrated in figure 4.12, those recorded as single rapidly became a minority and by 1911, sixty-seven per cent of the Russian population was enumerated as married. According to some contemporaries, it was perceived that Jewish migrants held on to their faith, and that they ‘regard marriage with the English as contamination, and assimilation as involving tribal disgrace and religious delinquency.’⁵¹ Within the Russian Jewish community, there was debate concerning intermarriage.⁵² While certain elements encouraged Jewish persons to segregate and practice endogamy, others viewed intermarriage as inevitable:

The important pronouncement by the Chief Rabbi on the subject of intermarriage, which we were enabled to print our last issue, will receive, as it deserves, the most serious attention. To a certain extent this practice is almost inevitable so long as Jews continue in full and uninterrupted relationship with the rest of the population. It is the penalty which the small minority pays to the greater mass among whom its lot is cast. There is even statistical ground for supposing that the fuller the relationship and the more we assimilate, the more numerous the marriages contracted with those of other faiths.⁵³

⁵¹ *Times*, 29 April 1902, ‘The Alien Immigration Commission’.

⁵² *Jewish Chronicle*, 30 July 1886, ‘The Jewish Law of Marriage and Divorce’.

⁵³ *Jewish Chronicle*, 4 October 1907, ‘Mixed Marriages’.

Such numbers of migrants recorded as being married suggests large numbers arrived in pre-existing family units. However, the proportion of migrants who arrived single and married after arrival is unclear. Nonetheless, a diminishing element of the population remained single in any form. Irrespective of attitudes towards intermarriage, the Russian community overwhelmingly tended to marry.

USA-born persons oscillated slightly in their marital status composition. Generally, there was a greater tendency for the USA-born living in England and Wales to be married, with an ever decreasing proportion being widows. According to some, marriage was a means for young rich USA-born women to enter elite British social networks through marriage to British peers and aristocracy.⁵⁴ Richard Davis discusses the arguments around transnational marriages, most of which focus on the marriages occurring as a means of wealth exchange.⁵⁵

The German-born population exhibited notable changes over the period with a significant divergence from 1861 onwards. The number of those recorded as being married stabilised at around fifty-four per cent for most of the period, as did those recorded as single, which hovered around thirty-seven per cent. Although there is limited literature on the subject of nineteenth-century exogamy, there is published and anecdotal evidence of intermarriage. In a case study of Liverpool between 1851-1911,

⁵⁴ Gail MacColl, and Carol McD. Wallace, *To Marry an English Lord* (New York, NY: Workman Publishing, 2012, second edition), pp. 36-47.

⁵⁵ Richard W. Davis, “‘We Are All Americans Now!’ Anglo-American Marriages in the Late Nineteenth Century’, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 135, No. 2 (1991), pp. 144-146.

Lee found that 63.6 per cent of male German-born merchants married British women, predominantly those from the local area.⁵⁶

Ireland-born marital figures reveal that for most of the period the majority of individuals were recorded as being married. By the end of the period, those recorded as being married and those as single were moving to balance out. Amongst the Ireland-born, there was a noticeable portion of the population that were recorded as being widows or widowers, with a high of 16.5 per cent in 1891. The increase in the number of widows from 1861-1901 is expected given those migrants that came across in their twenties and thirties to escape the Irish famine were beginning to die off.

India-born persons differed significantly from other migrant groups and were dominated by those recorded as being single. In 1861, the married and single groups narrowed to within five per cent of each other, before then diverging to a seventeen per cent difference. The marital status of the India-born population reveals a strong likelihood for migrants to be single, with over fifty per cent of the group being recorded as single for most of the period. A number of important gaps remain in the literature concerning the subject of long-term India-born migrant settlement and integration. However, portions of the community appear to have settled in England and Wales, whereas the remainder returned home. The extent to which the India-born intermarried is far less understood than other communities are. Although there are some limitations in the study, Michael Anderson has noted that the occupational activity of

⁵⁶ Robert Lee, 'Divided loyalties? In-migration, ethnicity and identity: The integration of German merchants in nineteenth-century Liverpool', *Business History*, Vol. 54, No. 2 (2012), pp. 126-127.

women can influence when they marry, and reduce the marriage rate.⁵⁷ With respect to the India-born women working as domestic servants (54020), the 1881 data reveals that of those aged sixteen or older, 349 or 90.2 per cent were recorded as being single. However, the overwhelming majority of India-born persons was not recorded as having an occupation. Consequently, although many India-born were not female servants, the census recorded many of those who were female servants as single.

No two migrant populations were the same. From a brief analysis of the marital status of the overall foreign-born population and five of the largest migrant groups, it becomes clear that stark differences in the marital conditions of the population existed. Each migrant group should be viewed as a distinct entity, and while the overall aggregate population can be appreciated, greater insights become apparent when peering beneath the surface.

⁵⁷ See Michael Anderson, 'Marriage Patterns in Victorian Britain: An Analysis Based on Registration District Data for England and Wales 1861', *Journal of Family History*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1976), pp. 55-78.

Figure 4.12: Russia-born migrant marital status (1851-1911)

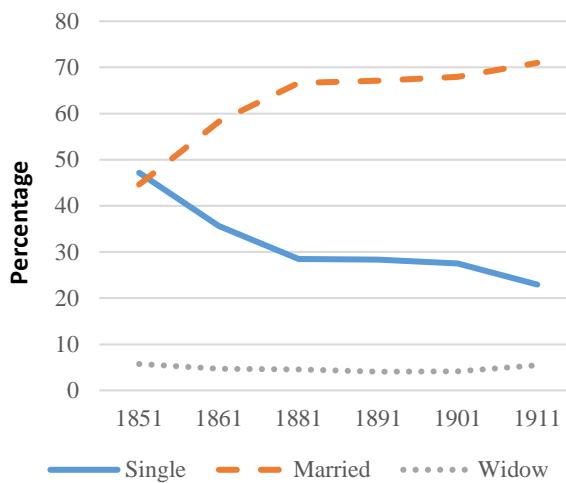


Figure 4.13: USA-born migrant marital status (1851-1911)

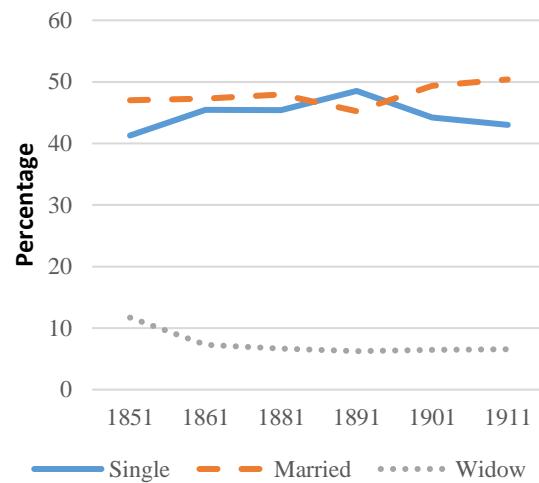


Figure 4.14: German-born migrant marital status (1851-1911)

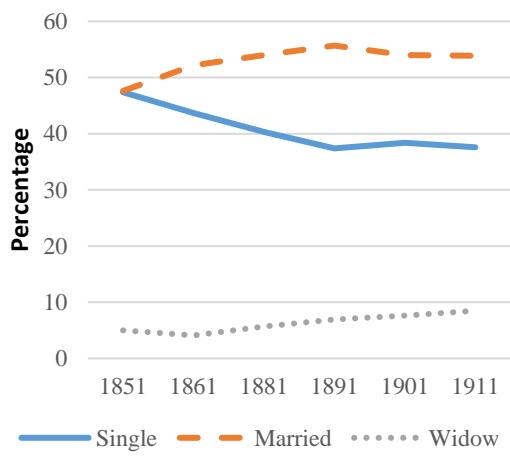


Figure 4.15: Ireland-born migrant marital status (1851-1911)

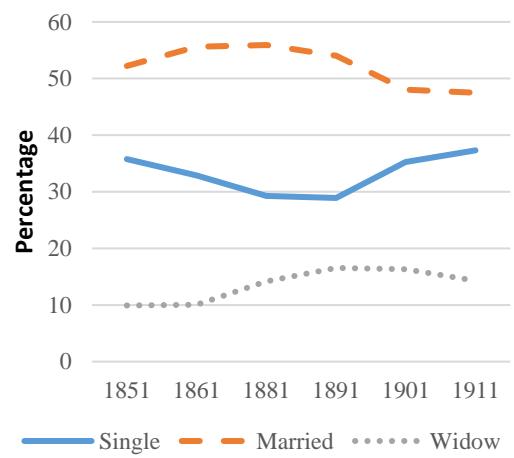
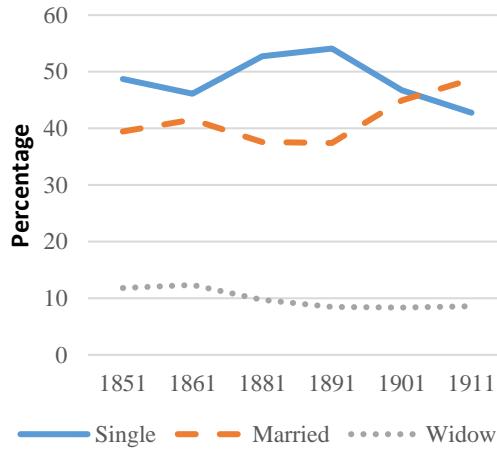


Figure 4.16: India-born migrant marital status (1851-1911)



Source: I-CeM

Profiles of the select migrant communities reveal distinct patterns of behaviour. Categorising the different communities into some broad behaviours is possible. The breakdown of ages, marital status, and gender indicate that a growing element of Russian-born persons were choosing to remain in England and Wales. Despite a large number of transmigrants, the increase in settlers is observable from the demographic variables outlined in this section. Scholars such as Nicholas Evans have previously addressed the role of transmigration.⁵⁸

The notable deviation in the demographic profile of the USA-born population emerges in the period between 1861 and 1881. The changes correlate with the American Civil War. An explanation for the sharp increase in younger migrants is the outbreak of the war. The decision for USA-born persons to migrate and settle in the British Isles in the face of conflict and economic instability would justify the sudden arrival of USA-born migrants.

In contrast to all of the other migrant communities was the German-born population, which was developing into an older, more established migrant community. The ageing of German-born persons and the increase in widowed persons suggests a static community that settled in England and Wales. There was a notably higher proportion of German-born persons recorded as being male, which alongside the marital status would suggest a degree of exogamy.

⁵⁸ Evans, ‘Work in progress: Indirect passage from Europe Transmigration via the UK, 1836–1914’, pp. 70-84.

Much of the evidence presented in this section indicates that many of the India-born population were white British persons returning to England and Wales with India-born children. With a small majority of India-born persons being female, it would appear that there were several possible influences. First, that British persons were choosing to bring daughters back to England and Wales in preference to their sons. Second, that India-born persons included a female domestic component, which correlates with the existing literature as previously noted. The patterns identified here demonstrate a greater need to explore the composition of the India-born population. Ultimately, the evidence and analysis presented here suggest a complex and diverse entity.

Several key conclusions can be drawn from this section on the demographic profile of the foreign-born population. First, the demographic profile of the foreign-born population indicates an ageing population. Migrant communities had large numbers of persons who established themselves in the British Isles. The decrease in younger migrants presents an image of fewer migrants arriving and settling in the country. The age profile changes illustrate that the large in-swell of migrants in earlier decades were ageing. Second, the literature suggests that migrants were most likely to be ‘young males, the landless, and the educated’.⁵⁹ However, evidence from the I-CeM reveals that there was a sizeable female migrant population. The fact there was almost a parity in the proportion of males and females amongst the foreign-born pop-

⁵⁹ James H. Jackson, Jr., and Leslie Page Moch, ‘Migration and the Social History of Modern Europe’, *Historical Methods*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (1989), p. 31. Differences in migration between men and women is highlighted in a Portuguese case study: Caroline B. Brettell, *Men Who Migrate and Women Who Wait* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986).

ulation dispels the notion of a male-dominated migration process. Finally, approximately half of all foreign-born migrants were married. To establish evidence of exogamy requires further research. However, there was apparently a much larger proportion of persons who were married than identified by the literature. The point at which they married, however, remains undetermined. Further research is required to establish the behaviours of relationship forming within migrant communities. Ultimately, this process of establishing the demographical composition of the entire foreign-born population and key communities has revealed that many questions yet remain. The patterns observed suggest that the I-CeM offers an almost unparalleled means of exploring these communities in significant depth.

VI. Household Structure

Individual and familial circumstances affect the composition and structure of households.⁶⁰ The complex array of factors that influence the migration and settlement of foreign-born persons are almost impossible to separate. This section outlines the different household structures and the living arrangements of the total foreign-born population, which demonstrate the complexity of migrant residential circumstances. However, changes to the census instructions meant there are changes to the recording and depiction of households.⁶¹

⁶⁰ See Elizabeth Curie Smith, 'Family Structure and Complexity', *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (1978), pp. 299-310.

⁶¹ Kevin Schürer, Eilidh M. Garrett, Hannaliis Jaadla, and Alice Reid, 'Household and family structure in England and Wales (1851–1911): continuities and change', *Continuities and Change*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (2018), p. 368.

Household units require accommodation, income, foodstuffs, and a number of domestic tasks completed, such as cleaning, cooking and washing.⁶² In many nineteenth-century households, survival strategies were employed to enable households to function.⁶³ Children might be sent out to work or wives would take on jobs to earn a supplementary income.⁶⁴ If available, kin could be called on for assistance, and, as was the case across the country, lodgers were taken in.⁶⁵ In this context, it is expected that foreign-born migrants might be found living in a range of household structures.

Understanding and measuring household unit structures are challenging in many cases. Michael Anderson has indicated the complexities of data tabulation and the issues related to the instructions given to census enumerators and the subsequent classification of the data.⁶⁶ As such, the grouping and categorisation of households can sometimes be disrupted by the presence of multiple households per property. Similarly, residential units in the census are determined by the relationship to the head of household and the following of instructions by census enumerators and householders. As such, the formation and identification of household units can be problematic.⁶⁷

Households form for multiple reasons. Possible factors include convenience (for example, for work or temporary accommodation), for familial purposes, as a

⁶² Sara Horrell, David Meredith, and Deborah Oxley, 'Measuring misery: Body mass, ageing and gender inequality in Victorian London', *Explorations in Economic History*, Vol. 46 (2007), pp. 94-97.

⁶³ Jenny Field, 'Survival Strategies in Mid-Nineteenth Century Bolton', *Manchester Region History Review*, Vol. 12 (1998), pp. 44-53.

⁶⁴ *Ibid*

⁶⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 48-53. See also Sandra Hayton, 'The Archetypal Irish Cellar Dweller', *Manchester Region History Review*, Vol. 12 (1998), pp. 66-77.

⁶⁶ Michael Anderson, 'Standard tabulation procedures for the census enumerators' books 1851-1891', in E. A. Wrigley, ed., *Nineteenth-century society: Essays in the use of quantitative methods for the study of social data* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), pp. 134-145.

⁶⁷ Peter Rushton, 'Anomalies as evidence in nineteenth-century censuses', *The Local Historian*, Vol. 13, No. 8 (1979), pp. 481-485.

house share, or other motivations. Table 4.4 indicates that the most common household structure amongst foreign-born persons during the period of 1851-1911, was ‘Married couple with children’. A third of the foreign-born population lived in a conjugal family unit, with children present. The data also reveals that a significant portion of the foreign-born population resided in a household unit with family members of one type or another. An explanation for these findings includes the importance of familial networks in the decision and process of migrating.⁶⁸

Many men and women who migrated to England and Wales lived with people they were related to. Nonetheless, the data visualisation provided in figure 4.17 illustrates a small increase in the number of persons living solitarily and there is a noticeable expansion in the proportion of persons recorded as being ‘Unrelated’. However, there was also a decrease in the number of multiple families living together. From 1891, institutional residents are no longer recorded and are instead categorised as ‘Unrelated’. The decision to change the categorisation of institutional residents merges two previously separate categories, which inflates the ‘Unrelated’ category. Due to the increasing trend, it would have been ideal to discern the number of institutional residents.⁶⁹ Nevertheless, it is clear that a sizeable portion of migrants lived amongst the native-born population and would have interacted with them daily.

⁶⁸ Enda Delaney, and Donald M. MacRaild, ‘Irish Migration, Networks and Ethnic Identities Since 1750: An Introduction’, *Immigrants and Minorities*, Vol. 23, No. 2-3 (2005), p. 129.

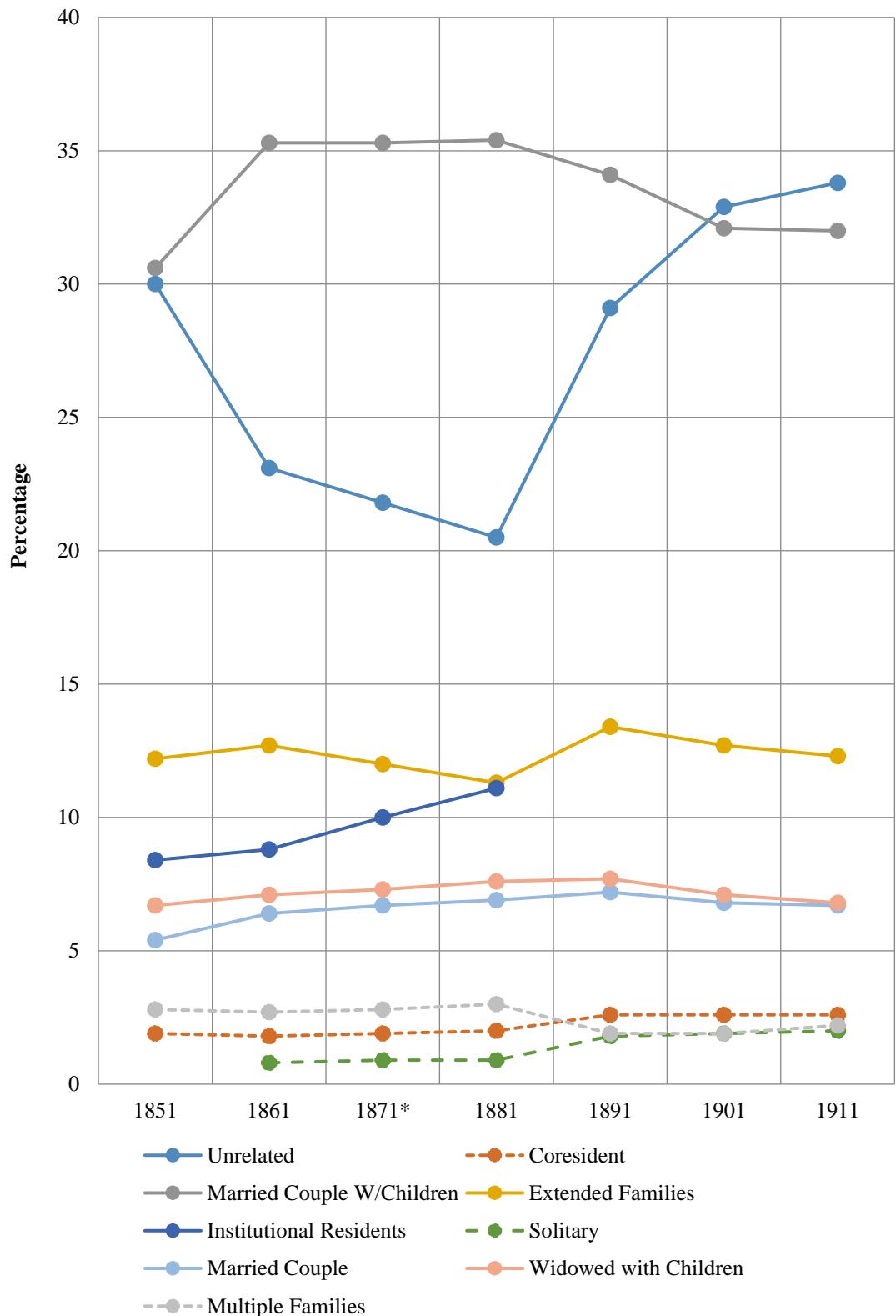
⁶⁹ It would have been possible to sort through the relationship to the ‘Head of House’ to identify who was in an institution from a micro-level, but it is subject to volatile discrepancies. These discrepancies meant this approach was deemed as not being not of enough use to justify using in this instance.

Table 4.4: Household circumstances of foreign-born persons, 1851-1911

Code	Description	1851	1861	1881	1891	1901	1911
		% 					
0	Unrelated	30.0	23.10	20.50	29.1	32.90	33.80
110	Solitary – Widowed	1.30	1.10	1.50	2.00	1.90	1.90
120	Solitary – Single	-	0.80	0.90	1.80	1.90	2.00
210	Co-resident - siblings	0.70	0.70	0.80	1.00	1.10	1.00
220	Co-resident - relative	1.20	1.10	1.20	1.60	1.50	1.60
310	Married couple alone	5.40	6.40	6.90	7.20	6.80	6.70
320	Married couple with children	30.60	35.30	35.40	34.10	32.10	32.00
330	Widowers with children	1.30	1.30	1.50	1.50	1.30	1.40
340	Widows with children	5.40	5.80	6.10	6.20	5.80	5.40
350	Single parent with children	0.50	0.20	0.10	0.40	0.40	0.20
410	Extended – upwards from head	1.70	2.40	2.90	3.10	3.00	2.70
420	Extended – down from head	4.60	4.40	4.40	5.60	4.80	4.60
430	Extended – laterally from head	4.20	4.50	3.10	3.60	3.70	3.80
440	Extended – combination	1.70	1.40	0.90	1.10	1.20	1.20
510	Multiple – secondary disposed upwards	1.70	0.50	0.60	0.50	0.50	0.40
520	Multiple – secondary disposed downwards	0.80	1.50	1.60	0.90	0.90	1.00
530	Multiple – units on one level	0.04	0.20	0.05	0.03	0.03	0.03
540	Multiple – frereche	0.30	0.50	0.30	0.20	0.20	0.20
550	Multiple – combination	0.02	0.06	0.05	0.02	0.02	0.30
599	Unclassifiable	0.03	0.04	0.09	0.01	0.01	0.07
999	Institutional Resident	8.40	8.80	11.10	-	-	-
Total		585,801	694,152	850,077	784,016	894,230	959,237

Source: I-CeM

Figure 4.10: Household circumstances of foreign-born persons, 1851-1911



Source: I-CeM

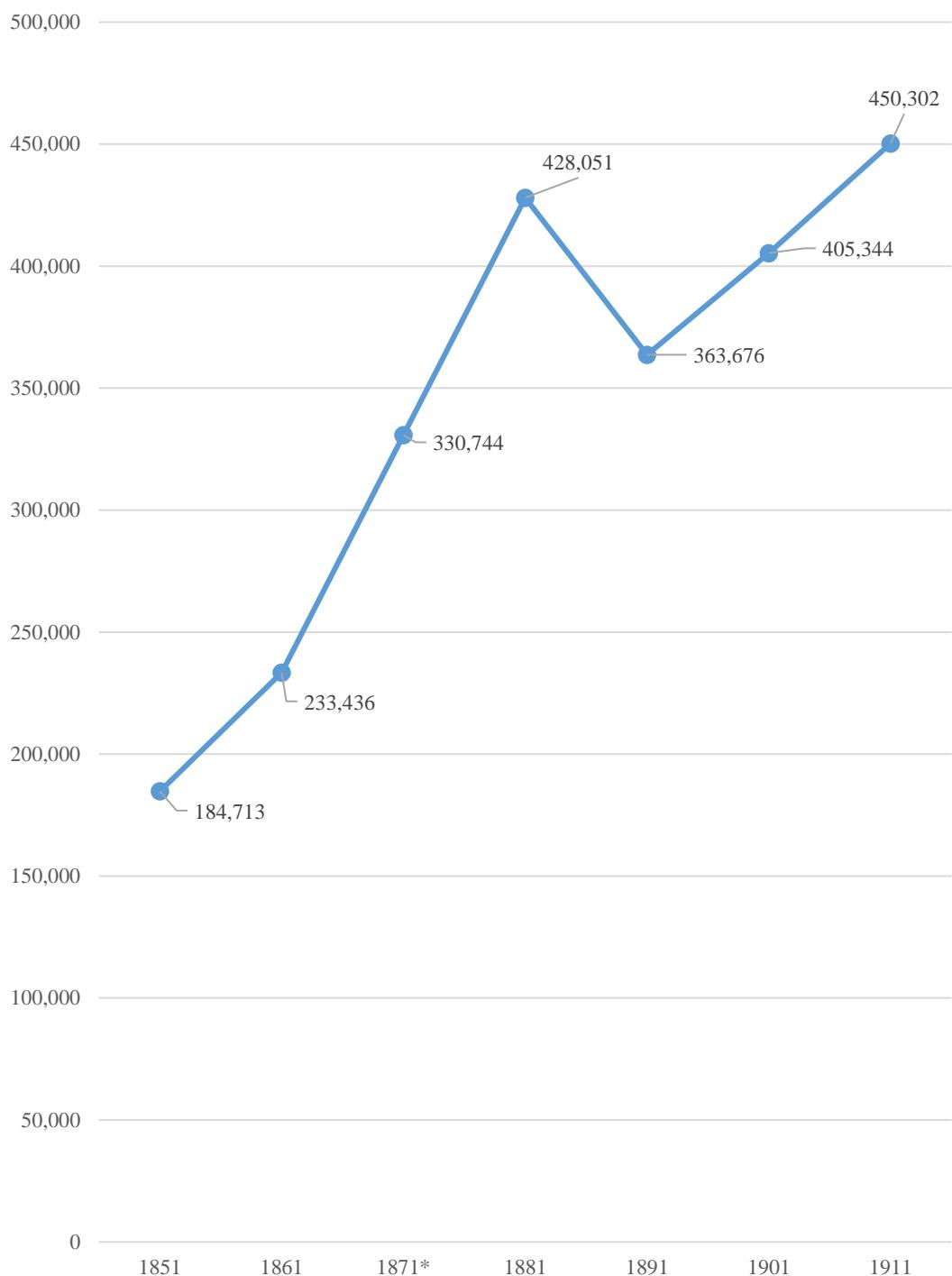
*Extrapolated

Although migrants tended to live with family members, it was not the rule. Significant portions of people were unrelated to those they lived with. Household classification categories for the foreign-born population of England and Wales remained static. Previous research of the entire population of England and Wales indicates national variations, with a noticeable north-south divide in household composition.⁷⁰ The limited oscillations within categories suggest that sudden migrant intakes, as experienced throughout the period, had a relatively limited impact on the types of households. By counting all familial categories, on average sixty per cent of migrants were living with a relative. It is, therefore, clear that migrants continued to reside in family units. Yet, in the latter portion of the period, migrants increasingly resided with unrelated persons.

Figure 4.18 illustrates a near-steady increase in the total number of households that recorded a foreign-born migrant as being present on the night of the census. There are two explanations for the peak in 1881 and the accompanying drop of 64,375 relevant households in 1891. Firstly, the provenance of the 1881 data leaves it susceptible to variation, as outlined in chapter two, which could explain such a large discrepancy. Secondly, following the large surge of migrants in the late 1840s and early 1850s, between 1881 and 1891 many adult migrants would be thirty or forty years older and may have died. The logical explanation for the increase in households is the maturing and establishment of new households by migrants who may have arrived as a child.

⁷⁰ Schürer and Penkova, 'Creating a typology of parishes', pp. 55-56

**Figure 4.11: Number of households with a foreign-born migrant present,
1851-1911**



Source: I-CeM

*Extrapolated

Historical contemporaries well documented migrant living conditions. A prevalent theme was the issue of overcrowding. The literature on the subject of overcrowding tends to focus on major urban centres, such as London, Liverpool, and Leeds. Overcrowding is not necessarily linked to the size of households; instead, the number of households per property can have a significant impact. I-CeM data suggests that there was a noticeable decrease in the average size of households with a foreign-born migrant present. Figure 4.19 traces the fluctuations of the average household size over the course of the period. There are a number of possible explanations for the decrease in the average household size. The straightforward answer is a decrease in the birth rate, as identified by Siân Pooley.⁷¹ However, Lara Marks and Lisa Hilder have used the 1911 fertility census to demonstrate that the ‘first generation of Jewish East European immigrants generally had a higher rate of fertility...in Leeds the average number of children born to Russian (Jewish) couples was 3.95, while for English couples it was 2.82.’⁷² Marks and Hilder’s explanation demonstrates a significantly higher rate of fertility. From this example, there appears to be more occurring than just a higher fertility rate amongst migrants.

Individuals who would have been children in earlier censuses were now establishing households and having British-born children. However, as the mean household size includes both those who were foreign-born and native, it makes little sense unless these new households did not have so many children. A decrease in the number of

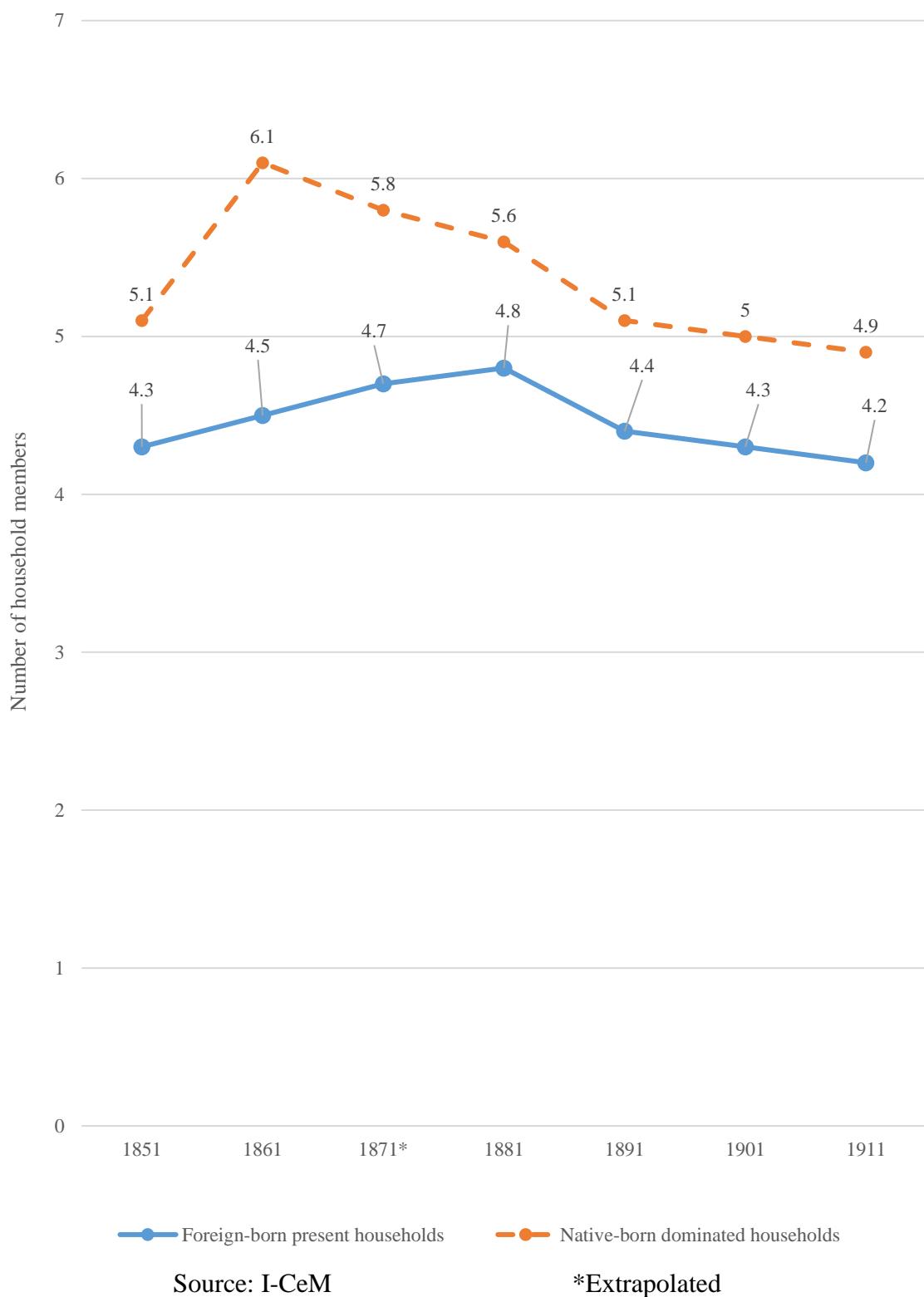
⁷¹ Siân Pooley, ‘Parenthood, child-rearing and fertility in England, 1850-1914’, *The History of the Family*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (2013), p. 83.

⁷² Lara Marks, and Lisa Hilder, ‘Ethnic Advantage: Infant survival among Jewish and Bengali immigrants in East London, 1870-1990’, in Lara Marks, and Michael Worboys, eds., *Migrants, Minorities and Health: Historical and contemporary studies* (London: Routledge, 1997), p. 197.

lodgers and extended family members enumerated in households might have contributed to the drop in average household size. As the average size of households decreased, the number of migrants and households increased, which followed patterns manifested in wider society.⁷³

⁷³ Jose Harris, *Private Lives, Public Spirit: A Social History of Britain, 1870-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 62.

Figure 4.12: Average size of household, 1851-1911



There was no single household type that the national migrant population favoured. Richard Wall demonstrates an impact in the household structures of widows and widowers but concludes that there was no noticeable effect across socio-economic environments.⁷⁴ The fact that one-third of all foreign-born persons lived in a household with children shows that families formed a significant component of the migrant population. The correlation between decreasing household size and the increasing number of households suggests migrants were moving away from larger households and forming their own. Despite this, the point remains that foreign-born persons tended to live with family members throughout the period. Choosing to live with family members is to be somewhat expected. Consequently, by establishing the pre-disposition of migrants to reside with family members and form new households.

VII. Household Relationships

As pointed out in the introduction to this chapter, a key area of interest is whether migrants purposefully segregated themselves when making decisions regarding whom they lived with. This section contributes to the current understanding by exploring the composition of migrant households nationally and using a case study to highlight local tendencies. The relationship to the head of a household is the variable whereby an individual's position within a household is identified. It is important to establish whether migrants chose to live with persons native to the host society. If an individual opted to live with native-born persons, it would suggest they wanted to

⁷⁴ Richard Wall, 'Elderly widows and widowers and their coresidents in late 19th- and early 20th-century England and Wales', *History of the Family*, Vol. 7 (2002), pp. 151-154.

integrate. In contrast, choosing to live only with other foreign-born migrants is indicative of segregationist tendencies.

Using the variable ‘relationship to head of household’, it is possible to establish the positions that migrants tended to occupy in the household. Table 4.5 reveals the proportions of migrants with a particular relationship to the head of household. There was a significant increase in the number of migrants reported as being ‘Head and Spouse’ in a household. The category grew from 225,493 (38.5 per cent) in 1851, to 441,210 (forty-six per cent) in 1911. The number of persons recorded as being ‘Offspring’ did not significantly grow over the period. A reason for the fairly static number of offspring is that the children of migrants born in the UK are not included in the I-CeM data used in this analysis. Using birthplace data can result in slightly distorted picture of the migrant population. Meanwhile, those recorded as being ‘Relatives’, and ‘Others’ experienced considerable growth in absolute terms, nearly doubling in both categories. It should be noted, however, that between 1891 and 1911, the total number of individuals recorded as being ‘Others’ increased by 67,525, or eighty-nine per cent. Collectively, the data indicate that migrants tended to occupy positions of leadership in a household.

Table 4.5: Foreign-born migrants' relationship to head of household, 1851-1911

Relationship to head of household	1851 %	1861 %	1871* %	1881 %	1891 %	1901 %	1911 %
Head and Spouse	38.5	46.5	47.2	47.9	50.1	46.3	46.0
Offspring	19.1	18.0	17.2	16.3	15.9	15.7	16.1
Relatives	4.9	4.7	5.0	5.3	6.1	6.3	5.9
Servants	5.8	4.6	4.7	4.8	4.7	5.9	5.0
Lodgers	18.5	16.3	15.9	15.5	13.5	14.5	12.1
Others ¹	13.1	9.8	10.0	10.2	9.7	11.7	15.0
Total	585,801	694,152	772,114	850,077	784,016	894,230	959,237

Source: I-CeM

*Extrapolated

¹Including Visitors, Institutional Inmates, Unknown, and Other Workers (such as apprentices).

Between one third and a half of all foreign-born migrants throughout this period were recorded as being the 'Head and Spouse' of a household. This category remained the single largest throughout the period, ranging from 38.5 per cent to 50.1 per cent. The proportion of individuals recorded as being 'Offspring' dropped a few percents after the first couple of censuses. Eilidh Garrett, Alice Reid, Kevin Schürer, and Simon Szreter utilise the census to explore the change in family size and argue that there was a fall in fertility during the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the first part of the twentieth century.⁷⁵ This study does not account for or explicitly explore the foreign-born population, an area in which the existing literature is sparse.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Eilidh Garrett, Alice Reid, Kevin Schürer, and Simon Szreter, *Changing Family Size in England and Wales: Place, Class and Demography, 1891-1911* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 400.

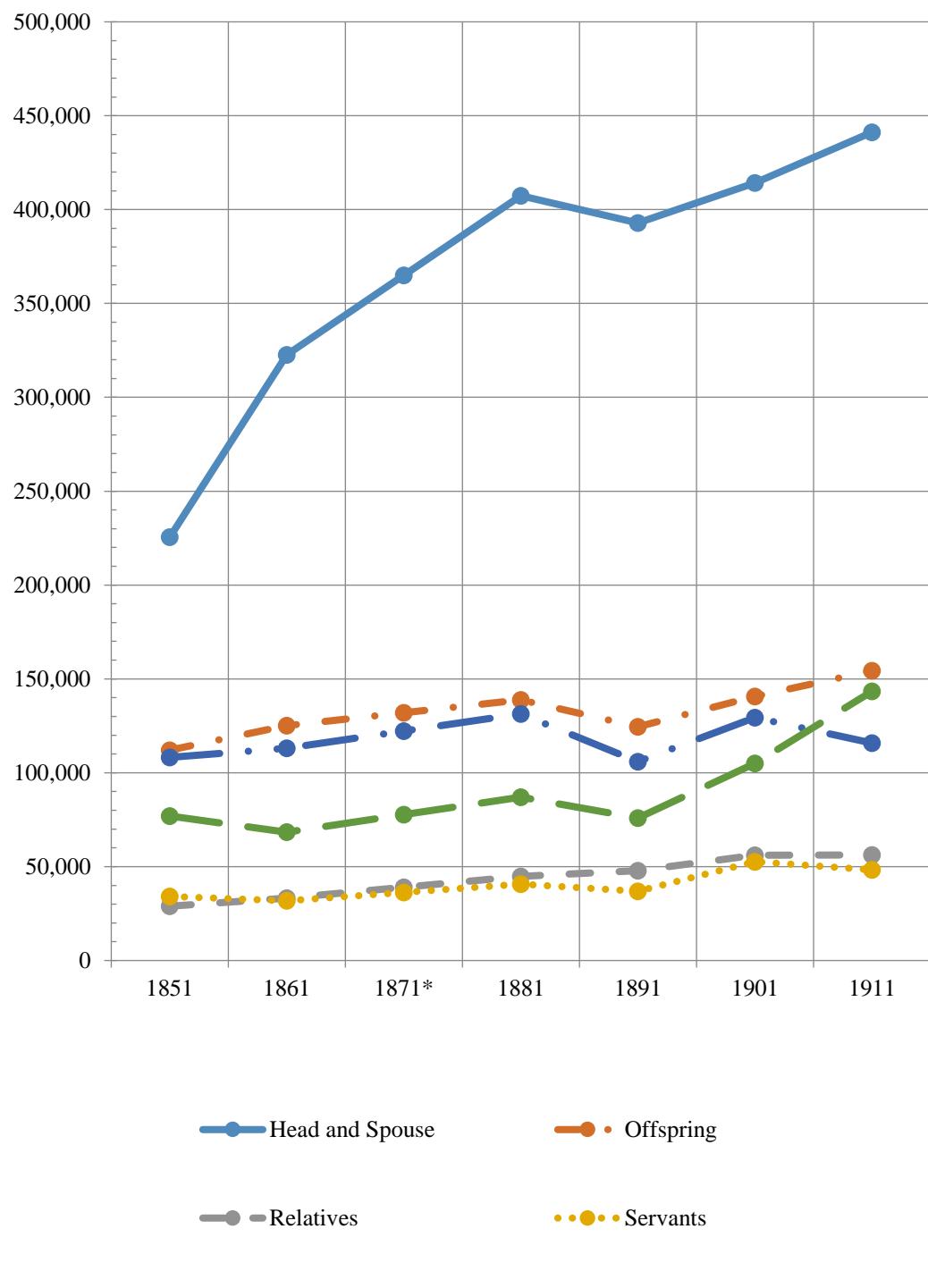
⁷⁶ Ibid

However, the decreased proportion of ‘Offspring’ would fit into Garrett *et al.*’s argument of decreased fertility rates and family sizes. Those recorded as being ‘Relatives’ experienced minor growth, with a range in extremes of 1.4 per cent, a low of 4.9 per cent and a high of 6.3 per cent. The number of migrants recorded as being ‘Servants’ was fairly static, with a minimal range, and an average of around five per cent throughout the period. ‘Lodgers’, overall, experienced a decrease during the period, going from a high of 18.5 per cent in 1851, to a low of 12.1 per cent in 1911. The miscellany category of ‘Others’ fluctuated notably, mostly as a result of changes to recording procedures, with the average for the period coming to 11.6 per cent.

A considerable increase in the number of individuals recorded as ‘Head and Spouse’ over the period is illustrated in figure 4.20. The category went from 225,493 in 1851, rising to 407,402 in 1881, before finishing the period with 441,210 in 1911. The structure of foreign-born migrant households would suggest that migrants tended to inter-marry or establish their households after arriving in the country. The increase may be explained by foreign-born children maturing and subsequently marrying and forming new households. However, this explanation does not account for the absolute and relative increase in the numbers recorded as ‘Head and Spouse’ without a noticeable decrease in the number of ‘Offspring’. Another explanation could be that not only were foreign-born children ageing and now marrying and forming households, but those who had been previously recorded as ‘Servants’, ‘Lodgers’, and ‘Residential Inmates’ were establishing their own households. The prospects of migrants marrying into the local population contributes to the argument that new households were being formed, thereby influencing the relationship to the head of household variable. These

arguments sit within the context of a greater number of foreign-born migrants coming into the country, many of whom may have been younger, unencumbered migrants. In addition, this point is further validated when viewing the noticeable downward trends amongst the 'Servants' and 'Lodgers' categories.

Figure 4.13: Foreign-born migrants' relationship to head of household, 1851-1911



Source: I-CeM

*Extrapolated

Using original census records published on Ancestry.co.uk it has been possible to reconstitute a selection of households.⁷⁷ Ten properties with a migrant present were selected at random from across the country in both the 1851 (appendix one) and 1911 (appendix two) censuses. The selection process involved creating a query of all persons born in a foreign-born location and selecting a household from ten different and randomly selected results pages. From the samples, there was a greater tendency for migrants in 1911 to hold a subservient role to the household head. Incidentally, the data from the 1851 census had a number of properties with two households present. Reviewing the two samples reveals the complexities of households and the diverse living arrangements that migrants found themselves living in. Furthermore, this small exercise confirmed the accuracy of the I-CeM as there were no noticeable differences between the originally enumerated returns and the I-CeM.

From analysing the relationships between migrants and the head of households, several key themes emerge. Of those persons migrating to England and Wales, many were forming their own households. In the remaining categories, there was a degree of stability. In the later years of the period, there was a sizeable uptick in the number of persons reported as being an ‘Other’. The two samples indicate that one-third of all foreign-born persons lived in a household with a number of children. This observation supports the point that families formed a significant component of the

⁷⁷ As previously mentioned, this approach has been utilised by previous scholars. See Peter Tilley, and Christopher French, ‘From local history towards total history’: Recreating local communities in the 19th century’, *Family & Community History*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (2001), pp. 139-149, and Christopher French, ‘Who Lived in Suburbia? Surbiton in the Second Half of the 19th Century’, *Family & Community History*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (2007), pp. 93-109.

migrant population. Crucially, therefore, many foreign-born persons tended to occupy prominent positions in households.

Contemporary social observers explored complex living arrangements, with migrants being found in diverse settings including, ‘gaudy gin-palaces’, shelters, and cellars.⁷⁸ In these environs, men and women could be found in unusual living arrangements. Mrs O’Flannigan was one such person that George R. Sims encountered. After being charged seventy-five times for drunkenness, O’Flannigan was well known to police and was regularly recovering from her drunken escapades. Her daughter, Molly, was found hiding under the bed and was kept from attending school to care for her mother. Mr O’Flannigan, meanwhile, had also turned to excessive drinking. According to Sims the family were wrecked and ruined by their living circumstances and the undue influences of those the family lived amongst.⁷⁹ In this instance, although the family may be recorded as having two foreign-born persons and a native-born person, the roles and responsibilities were somewhat flipped. With the daughter assuming caring responsibilities, an enumerator’s recording was likely to be unreliable at times when recording household living arrangements.⁸⁰

In one investigation of London, George R. Sims met refugees arriving at the Poor Jews’ Shelter in Whitechapel.⁸¹ The complexities and reticence of individuals

⁷⁸ George R. Sims, *How the Poor Live and Horrible London* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1889), p. 31.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 23-24.

⁸⁰ *Ibid*

⁸¹ George R. Sims, *The Mysteries of Modern London* (London: C. Arthur Pearson, 1906), pp. 48-55.

fleeing their former lives further complicate our understanding of household structures and the intentions of individuals to integrate. As Sims noted:

This Sunday evening there are more than six hundred refugees waiting to enter the doors of the Shelter and go before the committee. During the week over a thousand have arrived. They are mostly the reservists who have been called up and have fled to avoid further service.⁸²

This observation illustrates one of the many drivers of migration that have been established earlier. Just because men were arriving into the country alone does not mean they were abandoning their families. These complex factors need to be considered when exploring the circumstances of different migrant communities. Additionally, the number of households and migrants' relationships are somewhat obfuscated in the census by particular instances, such as the one just outlined.

VIII. Composite versus Complete Households

Identifying the proportion of migrants in each household can further contribute to the understanding of whether foreign-born persons were integrated with or segregated from the host society. The process of ascertaining the composition of migrant households is notably problematic. Children born to migrants in England and Wales are treated as native-born persons. Consequently, there is the issue that measuring household composition is inherently skewed. This issue will be confronted in two ways. First, the data is treated as indicative, not definitive. Second, a case study is provided whereby a random sample of ten households from the 1851 and 1911 census are analysed to identify behaviours and the veracity of the data. Each household analysed has

⁸² Sims, *The Mysteries of Modern London*, p. 50.

at least one foreign-born migrant present. The number of foreign-born persons with the same household identifier is calculated and then subtracted from the total household size to identify the composition of households with migrants present.

The I-CeM suggests foreign-born migrants tended to live with native-born persons. Approximately fifteen per cent of households were composed entirely of foreign-born migrants across the period. The majority of migrants lived in a household where they lived either in a state of parity or as a minority. Table 4.6 depicts the composition of households where at least one foreign-born person was enumerated. There are errors in the data. The household size variable contains errors, as indicated in the error code (more than one hundred per cent), which in some censuses amounts to twenty per cent of households. In some cases, the household size was incorrectly recorded or there were more persons per household than the household size variable stated. The majority of households, therefore, tended to live alongside and with the host society, which is indicative of integrationist behaviours.

Foreign-born migrants predominately resided in mixed households. Figure 4.21 reveals that migrants lived in households that had either parity or more native-born persons rather than foreign-born. High levels of foreign-born persons enumerated in predominately-native households might suggest a significant degree of integration between the native-born and foreign-born population. A viable explanation is that many of the native-born persons they lived with were their children. Alternatively, there is the prospect of sub-tenancy failing to be adequately recorded by census enumerators. Although there is evidence of foreign-born persons living in native-born

headed households, it is far from clear what that experience might entail or how varied it could be.

Table 4.6: Migrant household composition, 1851-1911

Year	= %	< 49 %	50 %	51 > %	100 > %	Total number of households
1851	16.9	37.4	13.0	10.6	22.1	184,173
1861	16.1	37.2	13.6	12.7	20.4	233,435
1871*	14.0	46.9	14.3	11.4	13.4	330,742
1881	11.9	56.7	15.0	10.1	6.3	428,050
1891	14.9	47.2	15.7	9.6	12.5	363,676
1901	14.3	49.0	15.7	9.7	11.3	405,344
1911	14.4	49.5	16.6	9.6	9.9	450,302

Source: I-CeM

*Extrapolated

= - 100% of residents are migrants
 < 49% or less of residents are migrants
 50% of household residents are migrants
 > 51% or more of residents are migrants
 > 100 – More than 100% of residents are migrants (error code)

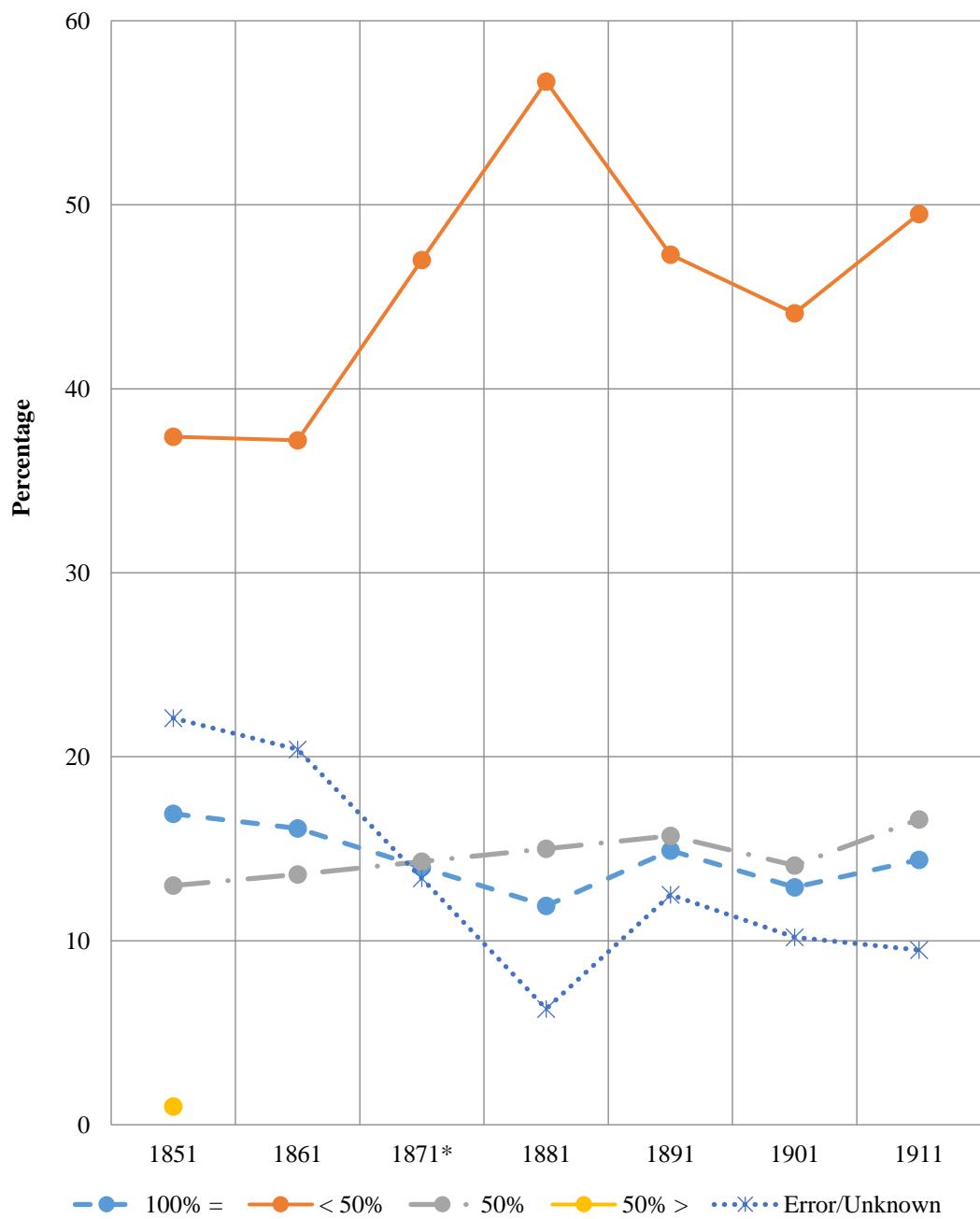
A number of explanations can be speculated regarding the residential situation of foreign-born migrants based on the household composition as outlined in table 4.6. Firstly, it might be that a significant number of migrants relied on the native population to provide immediate housing. When analysing lodgers, however, there was only ever a maximum of 18.5 per cent of the foreign-born population recorded as such, which was in 1851. Despite this, the number of persons enumerated as being a lodger floated between 100,000 and 130,000 in each census during the entire period.⁸³ Sec-

⁸³ This finding is unsurprising given the role that lodging houses play in the migration process. Alison Kay, 'A Little Enterprise of her Own: Lodging-house Keeping and the Accommodation Business in Nineteenth-century London', *The London Journal*, Vol. 28, No. 2 (2003), pp. 41-43.

ondly, there is the possibility that a sizeable portion of these individuals were the children of British Subjects born abroad. However, the number of British subjects born aboard only reached a point of significance in 1911, when 18.1 per cent of the foreign-born population was identified as being British Subjects, as highlighted in chapter two. Finally, the increased presence of foreign-born migrants in native-born dominated households could be linked to migrants practising exogamy.

Ultimately, only a mild increase in the number of households entirely composed of foreign-born migrants occurred, in proportion to the number of total households. Yet, the total number of complete foreign-born migrant households increased by 108.9 per cent between 1851 and 1911. What emerges is the idea of just how prevalent it was for members of the foreign-born community to reside within households where they were a minority. This finding highlights the limitation of exploring households using birthplace data.

Figure 4.14: Composition of households with foreign-born persons present, 1851-1911



Source: I-CeM

*Extrapolated

IX. Conclusion

Demographical variables indicate significant variations in the composition of migrant communities in nineteenth-century England and Wales. David Coleman argues that these differences are important as they can determine the power dynamics between cultures.⁸⁴ The ability to explore such large volumes of aggregate data, over such a significant longitudinal period has provided unique insights into the structure and composition of households that foreign-born migrants were present in. The quantitative approach has revealed the shifting demographics and residential conditions of the foreign-born population. An overview of the foreign-born population's demographic configuration indicates a complex array of circumstances, behaviours, and living conditions. Comparing the communities betrays divergent characteristics between each other across the major demographical variables.

Analysing the age, gender, marital condition, and household relationships of migrants contained in the I-CeM offers original perspectives on the national migrant landscape. Moreover, this chapter has also examined the subsequent breakdown of these factors amongst five of the largest migrant groups. Analysing the aggregate values for these communities suggests there were considerable fluctuations over time and distinct variations between them.

Exploring the demographical composition of the overall foreign-born population revealed distinct behaviours. Depending on the foreign-born group to which they belonged, migrants were marginally more likely to be male, and just under a half of

⁸⁴ Coleman, 'The Demography of Ethnic Minorities', pp. 43.

all adult migrants were married. Specifically, India-born migrants tended to be female, whereas German-born persons were more likely to be male. Regarding marital status, Russia-born migrants overwhelmingly married, USA-born persons were mixed in their marital status, and the census recorded the majority of India-born migrants as being single. Across each demographic variable, key differences existed between the groups. A homogenised approach to migration neglects and distorts the composition of individual groups.

Migrants tended to integrate with native-born households. Specifically, this chapter set out to answer two key questions, namely; how were the households in which the foreign-born population present composed and structured? And, how did this change over time? From a macro perspective, the foreign-born population integrated within native-born households. Table 4.6 reveals that at the beginning of the period, at least half of the foreign-born population lived in households where they were a minority. In contrast, households entirely composed of foreign-born migrants only accounted for an average of around fifteen per cent over the entire period. As a rule, therefore, the period saw increasing numbers of households being composed of family members, rather than being composed of unrelated individuals. Quantitative and anecdotal evidence further reveals a trend of large numbers of children being born to foreign-born migrants while living in England and Wales, as opposed to being brought over by their parents.

Further research directions emerge from the analysis of migrant demographic variables. For example, geographical variations likely affected the demographic com-

position of migrant communities. Woods and Hinde contribute to the subject of marital status by arguing that there were some distinct regional variations in nuptiality rates for the total population during the nineteenth century.⁸⁵ The visualisation of micro-data would further highlight regional and local behaviours amongst the migrant population. Although demographic variables in the I-CeM have not been explored geographically or spatially, it is an important direction for future research.

Despite the improved abilities to identify patterns within large volumes of data, quantitative analysis is unable to provide the reasons for why they exist. While the Ireland-born were more likely to be recorded as ‘Head and Spouse’ throughout the period, we are only able to draw inferred results. For instance, we could posit that as children born in Ireland were brought to England and Wales, they must have been remaining there for a certain period and were consequently establishing their own households as they grew up. Without having a fully integrated longitudinal assessment of each individual, or without knowing who left the country, we are unable to classify such behaviours definitively.

⁸⁵ R. I. Woods, and P. R. A. Hinde, ‘Nuptiality and Age at Marriage in Nineteenth-Century England’, *Journal of Family History*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (1985), p. 141.

Chapter 5: OCCUPATIONS

‘They descend upon a street or a district, drive out the original inhabitants, open their own shops, set up their own businesses, and, by absolutely ignoring these, starve out all those who previously gained their livelihood in the invaded locality.’¹

I. Introduction

Anxieties concerning migrants driving out locals, and taking over entire districts were an emergent concern during the latter portion of the nineteenth century.² However, the evidence available suggests that migrant takeovers were infrequent and primarily confined to urban centres.³ Most popular concerns referred to the East End of London, which had a large migrant community and was an incomparable space of migration.⁴ Despite this, few registration districts experienced anywhere near the level of displacement of native-born persons. Migrant socio-economic activity and the corresponding impact on local communities are partially established.⁵ Yet, much remains to be done to establish the broader economic activity of foreign-born persons, which is what this chapter intends to ameliorate.

¹ *Western Gazette*, 26 September 1902, ‘Alien Immigration’.

² David Feldman, ‘The importance of being English: Jewish immigration and the decay of liberal England’, in David Feldman, and Gareth Stedman Jones, eds., *Metropolis: London Histories and Representations since 1800* (London: Routledge, 1989), pp. 57-58.

³ See Alan Mayne, *The Imagined Slum: Newspaper representation in three cities, 1870-1914* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1993).

⁴ Laura Vaughan, David Chatford Clark, and Ozlem Sahbaz, *Space and Exclusion: The Relationship between physical segregation, economic marginalisation and poverty in the city*. Paper presented to Fifth International Space Syntax Symposium, Delft, Holland (2005), p. 1.

⁵ For example, see Vaughan and Penn, ‘Jewish Immigrant Settlement Patterns in Manchester and Leeds 1881’, pp. 654-655, 660-662, and Vaughan, ‘Clustering, Segregation and the Ghetto’, chapter seven.

This chapter explores the socio-economic activity of foreign-born migrants by utilising the I-CeM to examine both broad and specific patterns of activity. The overarching aim is to identify the occupations that foreign-born persons had, and the extent to which they segregated from native-born persons in their occupational activity. Three questions form the core of this chapter. First, what was the occupational activity of foreign-born and native-born persons and how did they differ from each other? Second, how did the occupations of foreign-born groups experience change over the course of the period? Third, what degree of segregation was there within certain occupations and industries? The comparison of occupational activities of foreign-born migrants and that of the native-born community enables the identification of segregating patterns. As in the previous chapter, the contrasting behaviours between the five key foreign-born groups (persons born in Ireland, the Russian Empire, Germany, the USA, and India) are analysed with respect to occupational and economic activity.

The economic impact and influence of foreign-born persons have previously been the topic of studies.⁶ Historians have made a series of assertions over time, which tend to rely on qualitative sources and tabulated census reports. However, these assertions tend to be at either a regional or a localised level.⁷ In the mid-1850s, individuals began to recognise and identify the existence of compact migrant communities and the impacts migrants were having on the economic and residential composition

⁶ See Stanley D. Chapman, *Merchant Enterprise in Britain: From the Industrial Revolution to World War I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), particularly 161-165.

⁷ Sponza, *Italian Immigrant*, pp. 53-115, and Colin G. Pooley, 'Segregation or integration? The residential experience of the Irish in mid-Victorian Britain', in Roger Swift, and Sheridan Gilley, *The Irish in Britain, 1815-1939* (London: Pinter Press, 1989), pp. 68-71.

of neighbourhoods.⁸ More recently, historians have addressed the experiences of specific migrant communities, for example, Lees' seminal study of the Ireland-born in London, which analysed the economic roles and behaviours of Ireland-born persons in the capital.⁹ Using the I-CeM, this chapter can explore many existing assertions and can provide a detailed analysis from the census data itself.

In this analysis, persons aged seventeen and younger have been omitted from the majority of analyses. The decision to omit under-eighteens is for two key reasons. Firstly, the number of persons in this age category engaged in any meaningful occupation is low to negligible (0.5 per cent in 1851 and 4.3 per cent in 1911).¹⁰ Secondly, the separation of those who were and were not economically active then makes it possible to explore active and non-active occupations without skewing the data. E. H. Hunt argues that employment rates amongst children are likely underestimates as:

...it is likely that considerable employment of children who worked on a casual or part-time basis, particularly those who helped with their parents' work, was not declared to the census enumerators.¹¹

In light of these issues, the emphasis is upon those who almost certainly had a form of employment or the opportunity to work, unlike the ambiguity of child workers.

Due to issues around data management and feasibility, the 1911 England Census data, which is in excess of over thirty-six million individual records, is excluded. The rationale for the exclusion is that it was too taxing for the hardware and software

⁸ C. C. Aronsfeld, 'German Jews in Victorian England', *The Leo Baeck Year Book*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (1962), p. 317.

⁹ Lees, *Exiles of Erin*, pp. 88-122.

¹⁰ For a well-constructed and considered discussion on the subject of youthful female employment see Ellen Jordan, 'Female Unemployment in England and Wales 1851-1911: An Examination of the Census Figures for 15-19 Year Olds', *Social History*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (1988), pp. 175-190.

¹¹ Hunt, *British Labour History*, p. 9.

used in the analysis process, particularly when drawing comparisons with the native-born population. As a result, the period covered in this chapter is somewhat reduced and covers the years 1851-1901. The challenges of using the census to examine occupational activity have previously been identified. However, the standardisation of the I-CeM resulted in a large database for which the majority of decisions made can be taken as ‘correct’.¹²

When examining occupational behaviours, possible avenues of investigation include age, gender, class, and geography. All of these factors can play an important role in the availability of work. Edward Higgs and Amanda Wilkinson have demonstrated that the I-CeM can reveal specialised labour patterns.¹³ Although this chapter will not attempt to explore occupational activity from a gender or class perspective, it will examine differences between different foreign-born groups. Finally, distinctions between migrants and the host community are highlighted and the degree of segregation established.

What a foreign-born person did for work while they lived in England and Wales has been a subject of interest, with varying degrees, for many hundreds of years. As mentioned in the introduction, within the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, particular groups of highly skilled workers were encouraged to migrate to England and Wales.¹⁴ There is no comparable example of governmental economic planning or strategy with reference to migration in the period of this research; rather the

¹² Kevin Schürer, Tatiana Penkova, and Yanshan Shi, ‘Standardising and Coding Birthplace Strings and Occupational Titles in the British Censuses of 1851 to 1911’, *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 48, No. 4 (2015), p. 212.

¹³ Higgs and Wilkinson, ‘Women, Occupations and Work in the Victorian Censuses Revisited’, p. 32.

¹⁴ King William III, and Queen Mary II, *By the King and Queen*.

state introduced restrictions for migrant workers. A closer analysis of the I-CeM offers the ability to gauge segregating behaviours by exploring the breakdown of occupational activity both nationally, and between foreign-born groups. Furthermore, by exploring foreign-born groups longitudinally, it is possible to identify distinct patterns of behaviour over time. The analysis in this chapter, therefore, provides a foundational understanding of the economic composition and activity of the foreign-born population during the period of this study.

II. What was the occupational activity of foreign-born and native-born persons, and how did they differ from each other?

The question of occupational activity amongst foreign-born persons was a primary question in the 1903 Royal Commission on Alien Immigration.¹⁵ The commission specifically investigated the industries and occupations perceived to have large numbers of foreign-born migrants.¹⁶ There was a particular geographical focus and fascination with the East End of London.¹⁷ The commission's agenda included exploring the conditions of such workers, and the impact they had on native-born person's employment, specifically native shopkeepers and female labour.¹⁸

Persons interviewed by the commission suggested that the occupations a migrant pursued in their native country were not always the same as what they would

¹⁵ See Royal Commission on Alien Immigration, *Minutes of Evidence taken before the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration, Vol. 2* (London: HMSO, 1903).

¹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 5.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* p. 395.

¹⁸ *Spectator*, 15 August 1903, 'The Report of the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration appointed'.

end up doing in England and Wales.¹⁹ The interviews produced by the Royal Commission provided unusually detailed insights. One interviewee, ‘Mr. B.’, had arrived in England when he was fifteen, and having had no prior occupation, entered the shoe trade as a boot finisher, after living with a man who was already employed as a finisher.²⁰ At the time of the interview, ‘Mr. B.’ had been living in England for twenty-three years, and now had a large family. He related his experiences of occupational mobility, moving in and out of the shoe trade, frequently working as a casual labourer on the docks. The fluidity of employment amongst the population reveals the employment market was shaped by both commercial demands and labour market conditions. Leonard Smith argues that although many Eastern Europeans were refugees fleeing state persecution, a significant portion were classifiable as ‘economic migrants’.²¹ Concerning the skills and training of these persons, Smith further claims that in relation to the three main trades of tailoring, boot-and-shoe making and cabinet making, ‘probably as many as forty per cent had worked at those trades before they migrated, and many were skilled or semi-skilled men.’²²

Stereotypes about the types of occupations associated with foreign-born migrant groups emerged over time. Ernest Kraustz highlighted the tendency for preconceptions concerning the occupations of minority groups to predominate within popular fears of migrants.²³ The stereotypes stem from the concentration of foreign-born

¹⁹ Royal Commission, *Minutes of evidence*, p. 5.

²⁰ Ibid, p. 125.

²¹ Leonard D. Smith, ‘Greeners and sweaters: Jewish immigration and the cabinet-making trade in East London, 1880-1914’, *Jewish Historical Studies*, Vol. 39 (2004), p. 103. This point is further supported by Colin Holmes, ‘The Reubens Brothers: Jews, Crime and the East London Connection, 1887-1911’, in Colin Holmes, and Anne J. Kershaw, eds., *An East End Legacy: Essays in Memory of William J. Fishman* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), pp. 93-116.

²² Smith, ‘Greeners and sweaters’, p. 106.

²³ Ernest Kraustz, *Ethnic Minorities in Britain* (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1971), pp. 94-95.

persons within particular spaces and industries.²⁴ The idea that certain industries or occupations were primarily composed of a particular foreign-born group is not new. Tailoring had become viewed as a ‘Jewish occupation’, the Ireland-born were seen as being chiefly involved in the construction and street selling trades, the German-born migrants, meanwhile, have been strongly connected to the sugar baking and butchering trades.²⁵ Of course, these generalisations are hugely problematic, not least because there are significant regional variations within migrant groups and their occupational activities.

The official census returns began to explore foreign-born occupational activity in detail from 1881, with major migrant groups and their activities the subject of examination.²⁶ In 1861 and 1871, comments regarding the occupations of foreign-born persons identified them as having connections to the diplomatic corps; as well as being highly represented amongst seamen, language teachers, and skilled artisans.²⁷ With the publishing of the general census report for 1891, there was increased attention upon the impacts of migrants coming to Britain:

It is, however, to the European foreigners that most interest attaches at the present time, as it is often stated that they are immigrating into this country in

²⁴ Ibid

²⁵ Ibid, pp. 98-101, and Panikos Panayi, *German Immigrants in Britain during the Nineteenth Century, 1815-1914* (Oxford: Berg, 1995), pp. 106-107.

²⁶ *General Report – England and Wales Census, 1881, Vol. 4*, available at: [http://histpop.org/ohpr/servlet/PageBrowser?path=Browse/Census%20\(by%20date\)/1881&active=yes&mno=58&tocstate=expandnew&display=sections&display=tables&display=pagetitles&pageseq=62&zoom=3](http://histpop.org/ohpr/servlet/PageBrowser?path=Browse/Census%20(by%20date)/1881&active=yes&mno=58&tocstate=expandnew&display=sections&display=tables&display=pagetitles&pageseq=62&zoom=3), [accessed: 19 July 2016], pp. 56-58.

²⁷ *General Report – England and Wales Census, 1861*, available at: [http://histpop.org/ohpr/servlet/PageBrowser?path=Browse/Census%20\(by%20date\)/1861&active=yes&mno=39&tocstate=expandnew&tocseq=3800&display=sections&display=tables&display=pagetitles&pageseq=first-nonblank](http://histpop.org/ohpr/servlet/PageBrowser?path=Browse/Census%20(by%20date)/1861&active=yes&mno=39&tocstate=expandnew&tocseq=3800&display=sections&display=tables&display=pagetitles&pageseq=first-nonblank), [accessed: 19 July 2016], p. 39.

such numbers as to come into serious competition with our native population.²⁸

However, there were also fears that many foreigners had purposefully deceived the enumerators by giving false places of birth or by assuming English names.²⁹ With each successive census, greater efforts were made to record the birthplace and nationality of the foreign-born population accurately. In 1901, there were changes to the phrasing of the question with respect to birthplace:

State the Birth-place of each person,- if born in a Foreign Country, the name of the Country and whether the person be a British Subject, a Naturalised British Subject, or a Foreign Subject, specifying Nationality such as French, German &c.³⁰

The judgments of census enumerators likely influenced how a person was recorded when ambiguities arose. The few pages in the census that dealt with the foreign-born population did not grapple with the subject in depth. Nonetheless, over time reports required an increased level of detail. The census reports similarly made changes to its material in light of the growing number of migrants. Within the general report for 1911, there was a significant descriptive breakdown in the geographical distribution of foreign-born British subjects, naturalised British subjects, and foreign-born persons.³¹

²⁸ General Report - England and Wales Census, 1891, Vol. 4, available at: [http://histpop.org/ohpr/servlet/PageBrowser?path=Browse/Census%20\(by%20date\)&active=yes&mno=68&tocstate=expandnew&display=sections&display=tables&display=pagetitles&pageseq=71](http://histpop.org/ohpr/servlet/PageBrowser?path=Browse/Census%20(by%20date)&active=yes&mno=68&tocstate=expandnew&display=sections&display=tables&display=pagetitles&pageseq=71), [accessed: 22 September 2016], p. 65.

²⁹ Higgs, *A Clearer Sense of the Census*, pp. 65-66.

³⁰ General Report - England and Wales Census, 1901, available at: [http://histpop.org/ohpr/servlet/PageBrowser?path=Browse/Census%20\(by%20date\)&active=yes&mno=134&tocstate=expandnew&tocseq=3600&display=sections&display=tables&display=pagetitles&pageseq=first-nonblank](http://histpop.org/ohpr/servlet/PageBrowser?path=Browse/Census%20(by%20date)&active=yes&mno=134&tocstate=expandnew&tocseq=3600&display=sections&display=tables&display=pagetitles&pageseq=first-nonblank), [accessed: 27 September 2016], p. 138.

³¹ General Report - England and Wales Census, 1911, available at: [http://histpop.org/ohpr/servlet/PageBrowser?path=Browse/Census%20\(by%20date\)&active=yes&mno=163&tocstate=expandnew&tocseq=37100&display=sections&display=tables&display=pagetitles&pageseq=first-nonblank](http://histpop.org/ohpr/servlet/PageBrowser?path=Browse/Census%20(by%20date)&active=yes&mno=163&tocstate=expandnew&tocseq=37100&display=sections&display=tables&display=pagetitles&pageseq=first-nonblank), [accessed: 27 September 2016], p. 216.

Table 5.1: HISCO Classification System³²

Class	Title	Description	Examples
0	Professional, technical and related workers	Workers in this major group conduct research and apply scientific knowledge to the solution of a variety of technological, economic, social and industrial problems and perform other professional, technical, artistic and related functions in such fields as the physical and natural sciences, engineering, law, medicine, religion, education, literature, art, entertainment and sport.	Architects, Engineers, Economists, Ships' Officers.
I	Professional, technical and related workers	Workers in this major group conduct research and apply scientific knowledge to the solution of a variety of technological, economic, social and industrial problems and perform other professional, technical, artistic and related functions in such fields as the physical and natural sciences, engineering, law, medicine, religion, education, literature, art, entertainment and sport.	Accountants, Teachers, Artists, Religious Workers.
II	Administrative and managerial workers	Workers in this major group conduct research and apply scientific knowledge to the solution of a variety of technological, economic, social and industrial problems and perform other professional, technical, artistic and related functions in such fields as the physical and natural sciences, engineering, law, medicine, religion, education, literature, art, entertainment and sport.	Managers, Supervisors, Foremen, Inspectors, Government Administrators.
III	Clerical and related workers	Workers in this major group put into effect laws, rules and regulations made by central, state, provincial or local governments; supervise clerical and related work, transport and communications service operations; compile and maintain records of financial and other business transactions; handle cash on behalf of an organisation and its customers; record oral or written matter by shorthand writing, typing and other means; operate office machines and telephone and telegraph equipment; conduct passenger transport vehicles; take part in postal work and mail distribution and perform other duties related to the foregoing.	Bookkeepers, Cashiers, Transport Conductors, Mail Distribution Clerks, Government Executive Officials.
IV	Sales workers	Workers in this major group are engaged in, or directly associated with, buying and selling goods and services of all kinds and in conducting wholesale and retail businesses on their own behalf.	Shopkeepers, Salesmen, Working Proprietors.
V	Service workers	Workers in this major group organise or perform catering, housekeeping, personal, protective and related services.	Cooks, Waiters, Bartenders, Launderers, Barbers.
VI	Agricultural, animal husbandry & forestry workers, fishermen	Workers in this major group conduct farms on their own behalf or in partnership, perform agricultural, animal husbandry and forestry tasks, catch fish, hunt and trap animals, and perform related tasks.	Farmers, Agricultural Workers, Forestry Workers, Fishermen.
VII	Production and related workers, transport equipment operators and labourers	Workers in this major group are engaged in or directly associated with the extraction of minerals, petroleum and natural gas from the earth and their treatment; manufacturing processes; the construction, maintenance and repair of various types of roads, structures, machines and other products. Also included are those who handle materials, operate transport and other equipment and perform labouring tasks requiring primarily physical effort.	Miners, Chemical Processors, Tanners, Tailors.
VIII	Production and related workers, etc.	Workers in this major group are engaged in or directly associated with the extraction of minerals, petroleum and natural gas from the earth and their treatment; manufacturing processes; the construction, maintenance and repair of various types of roads, structures, machines and other products. Also included are those who handle materials, operate transport and other equipment and perform labouring tasks requiring primarily physical effort.	Shoemakers, Cabinetmakers, Blacksmiths, Jewellers.
IX	Production and related workers, etc.	Workers in this major group are engaged in or directly associated with the extraction of minerals, petroleum and natural gas from the earth and their treatment; manufacturing processes; the construction, maintenance and repair of various types of roads, structures, machines and other products. Also included are those who handle materials, operate transport and other equipment and perform labouring tasks requiring primarily physical effort.	Bricklayers, Carpenters, Dockers, Transport Operators.
99999	Non-Occupational Activity	Individuals not in paid employment, stay at home wives, students and children.	Students, children, stay at home wives, unemployed.

³² Composed from the History of Work website for HISCO, available at: <http://historyofwork.iisg.nl/major.php>, [accessed: 20 July 2018].

A. The occupational activity of foreign-born persons

Contemporaries described foreign-born migrants as being attracted to England and Wales because of a perceived opportunity to ‘immediately find well-paid work’.³³ Particularly, it was claimed that the large influx of foreign-born Jewish persons was highly flexible in their employment, and would readily switch to another form of employment, such as hawking, and was prepared to accept lower wages.³⁴ Without an international approach and data linkage between various national datasets, it will prove challenging to explore continuity or change of long-term employment pre and post-migration. However, by understanding the occupational activity of foreign-born persons in England and Wales, insights are available regarding how they sustained themselves, their families, and the ways in which migrant communities engaged with the local economy. Despite the lack of linked international data, it is possible to describe and analyse the occupational activity of foreign-born persons as enumerated in the censuses of England and Wales.

The occupations of foreign-born migrants in England and Wales underwent significant change over the course of the period. When exploring occupations grouped together within the larger HISCO classes, the data, illustrated in figure 5.1 reveals that HISCO classes 7-9 experienced a large proportional decrease amongst foreign-born persons. These classes chiefly include production and industrial occupations. Gradually increasing, however, were the skilled and professional classes (HISCO classes 0-2). By far, the largest and most frequently recorded value was ‘none’ (99999), which

³³ *Leeds Mercury*, 12 May 1900, ‘Why Aliens Come to England’.

³⁴ *Standard*, 13 July 1894, ‘The Immigration of Aliens’.

included children and all of those without an economically active occupation. The largest absolute HISCO groups are largely comprised of occupations that are associated with the lower working classes. From 1851 until 1891, 'Common laborers or general laborers' (99130) was the largest absolute economically active group, with 'Maid, domestic or house servants nfs' (54020) the second largest from 1851 until 1891, after which it became the largest group until the end of the period. The predominance of these occupations and the shift towards a service and commercial economy is not wholly surprising.

Migrants adapted to industrial and commercial changes and could be found in a wide range of occupations. The adaptability of migrants posed a concern for some native-born commentators, particularly in regards to domestic service.³⁵ As one contemporary noted, 'What I wish to convey is the great difficulty English, Irish, or Scotch servants have to contend against in competing with the foreigners who incessantly flow into London'.³⁶ Female Ireland-born domestic servants working in London have been identified as forming a distinctive component in middle-class English households.³⁷ Similarly, India-born Ayahs occupied a position in households.³⁸ The prospect of increased competition from migrants appears to have unsettled some of

³⁵ For one example, see Chapman, *Merchant Enterprise in Britain*.

³⁶ *Morning Post*, 7 June 1893, 'The Foreigner in Domestic Service'. See also 'Alien Immigration', House of Common Debates, 11 January 1894, Vol. 20, c. 1318.

³⁷ Bronwen Walter, 'Strangers on the Inside: Irish Women Servants in England, 1881', *Immigrants and Minorities*, Vol. 27, No. 2-3 (2009), pp. 291-292.

³⁸ Visram, *Ayahs, Lascars and Princes*, pp. 9-14.

the host society. However, there is little evidence suggesting the job market was saturated with foreign-born persons, thereby indicating it may have been an unjustified concern.

The arrival of larger numbers of migrants did affect some local economies, but was often accompanied with accusations of increased poverty, criminality, and social deprivation.³⁹ One such location was the East End of London, which was a space of exploitation for migrants, many of whom received low wages for long shifts and often worked in dire conditions.⁴⁰ The competition from migrant workers was seen as unfair by the host society. As Robert Sherrard, the anti-migrant campaigner argued during a visit to Leeds: ‘The English workers have been almost entirely crowded out of the trade by the foreigners, and the few that remain are literally on the verge of starvation.’⁴¹ Accusations of over-competition stoked anti-migrant attitudes. Yet, others noted the issue was more to do with the distribution of migrants and the conditions that they lived in.⁴² However, other claims emerged. Accusations of Swedish-born persons dominating the production and sale of cabinets in the West End of London emerged in the early twentieth century.⁴³ In many cases, foreign-born migrants became a scapegoat, being used to explain social crises.⁴⁴ Nonetheless, the foreign-born

³⁹ Stephen N. Fox, ‘The Invasion of Pauper Foreigners’, *The Contemporary Review* (1888), pp. 855-867, and ‘Immigration of Destitute Aliens’, House of Commons Debate, 26 February 1903, Vol. 118, cc. 942-943.

⁴⁰ James H. Treble, *Urban Poverty in Britain, 1830-1914* (London: Meuthen, 1983, first published 1979), pp. 28-36.

⁴¹ Robert H. Sherrard, *The White Slaves of England* (London: James Bowden, 1897), p. 114.

⁴² *Hull Daily Mail*, 26 September 1902, ‘Alien Immigration’.

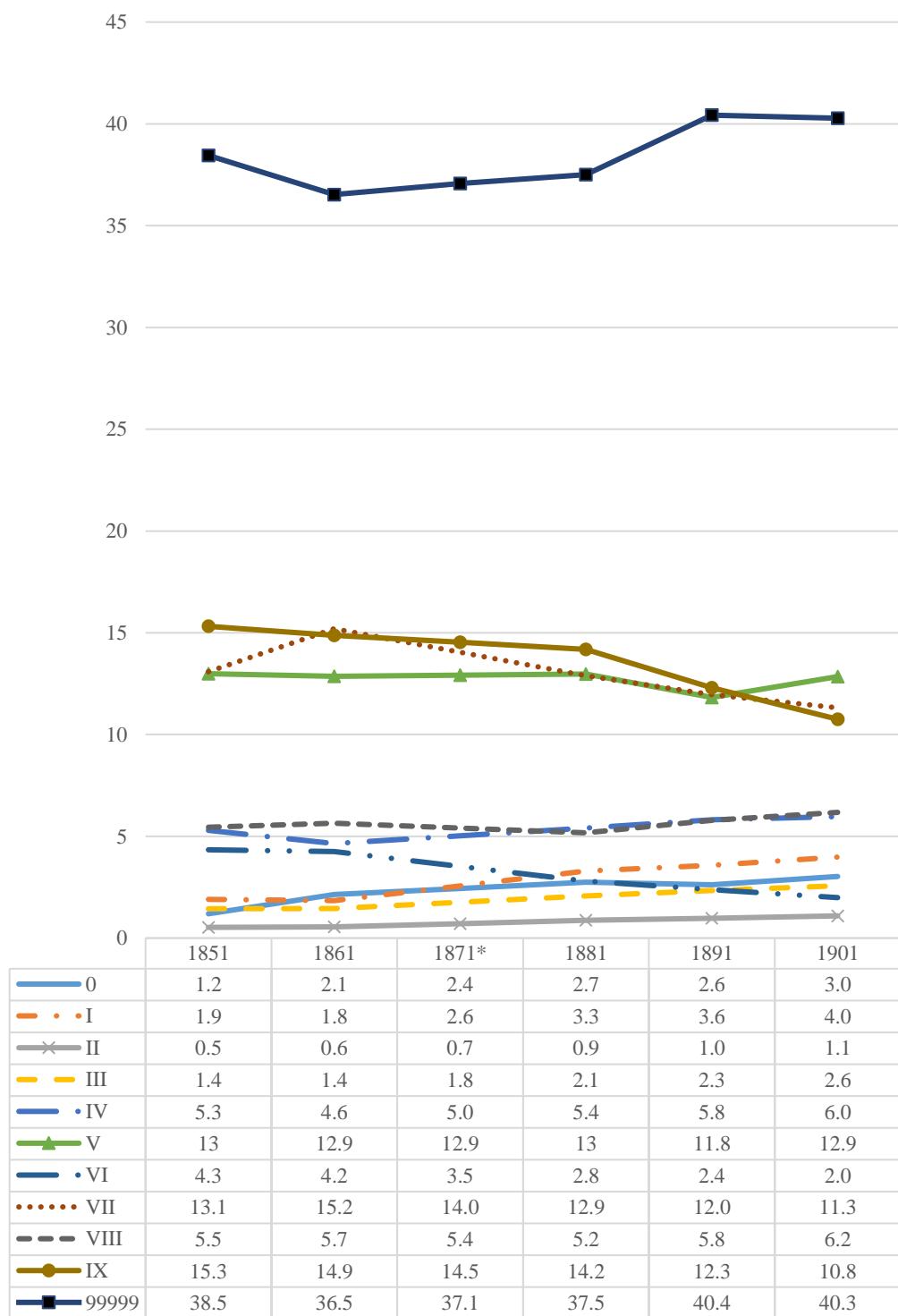
⁴³ *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 20 February 1903, ‘Alien Immigration’.

⁴⁴ Cecil Bloom, ‘Arnold White and Sir William Evans-Gordon: their involvement in immigration in late-Victorian and Edwardian Britain’, *Jewish Historical Studies*, Vol. 39 (2004), pp. 160. See also Seth Koven, ‘The Social Question and the Jewish Question in Late Victorian London’, in Ilja van der Broek, Christianne Smith, and Dirk Jan Wolffram, eds., *Imagination and Commitment: Representations of the Social Question* (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), pp. 53-55.

population often lived in less than ideal conditions, with some being regularly exploited by those around them.⁴⁵

Figure 5.1: HISCO classification of foreign-born persons, 1851-1901

⁴⁵ A prime example of this exploitation is that of 'sweating'. See Smith, 'Greeners and sweaters', pp. 103-120.



Source: I-CeM

*Extrapolated

Despite broader shifts in the economy during the period, foreign-born persons dominated certain specialist occupations. One example of migrant specialism is that

of sugar refiners. Sugar refining is an industry that scholars identify as having been pre-dominantly composed of German-born persons.⁴⁶ When referring to the I-CeM, upwards of sixty per cent of all sugar refiners in 1851 were foreign-born persons, which decreased to sixteen per cent by 1901. The decrease in the representation of foreign-born persons has a number of plausible causes. Firstly, German-born persons played an important role in the development of the industry in England, suggesting a deep-rooted relationship between migrants and the development of specific industries.⁴⁷ Secondly, when the industry became well-established, native-born persons with exposure and connections to the industry could take over roles vacated by foreign-born persons.⁴⁸ An additional argument might be that the growth of the sugar trade in other areas of the world might have competed for German-born sugar workers.⁴⁹ Competition, therefore, is likely to have diminished the sugar industry in England and Wales. Another example is taken from previous research of the author, which has confirmed the relationship between German-born persons from the Hohenlohe region of Southern Germany, and the pork butchering trade in the UK.⁵⁰ In a similar fashion, either the German-born butchers gradually took on native-born persons or their English-born children began to be employed, further investigation may reveal a

⁴⁶ Panikos Panayi, 'German Immigrants in Britain, 1815-1914', in Panikos Panayi, ed., *Germans in Britain Since 1500* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1996), pp. 80-81.

⁴⁷ See Jerome Farrell, 'The German Community in 19th Century East London', *East London Record*, No. 13 (1990), pp. 2-8. See also Harold Pollins, 'German Jews in British Industry', in Werner E. Mosse, Julius Carlebach, Gerhard Hirschfeld, Aubrey Newman, Arnold Paucker, and Peter Pulzer, eds., *Second Chance: Two Centuries of German-speaking Jews in the United Kingdom* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1991), pp. 361-377.

⁴⁸ *Times*, 27 August 1875, 'British Association for The Advancement of Science'.

⁴⁹ Rössler, 'Germans from Hanover in the British Sugar industry, 1750-1900', pp. 53-60.

⁵⁰ Perry, 'The German Pork Butchers'.

combination of the two factors. Consequently, due to reduced demands for workers, there would be fewer migrants choosing to work within the industry in England.

Concerning the theme of segregation within employment, a series of new occupations were introduced to Britain during the nineteenth century, a prominent example being ice-cream vendors. Paul Di Felice notes in his study of Italians in Manchester that ‘...by the 1890s there was a decisive shift towards catering-most notably into ice-cream manufacturing and selling.’⁵¹ The culturally distinct community formed a compact neighbourhood in Manchester, with strong familial networks present in occupational activities.⁵² Families worked together in their small business, which was an effective survival strategy, and would often work with other families in a co-operative manner.⁵³ The introduction of these industries resulted in new technologies, cultural behaviours, and unique social interrelations.

One of the more surprising sizeable groups was those recorded as being in the armed forces. As a group, ‘Other members of the armed forces’ (58430), generally decreased over the course of the period, hitting a high of 18,398 in 1861, and a low of 12,105 in 1901. The evidence supports the argument Keith Jeffery proposes, which is that the Ireland-born formed a disproportionately large portion of the British army.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Paul Di Felice, ‘Italians in Manchester 1891-1939: settlement and occupations’, *The Local Historian*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (2000), pp. 96-97.

⁵² *Ibid*

⁵³ Paul Di Felice, ‘Reconstructing Manchester’s Little Italy’, *Manchester Region History Review*, Vol. 12 (1998), p. 63.

⁵⁴ Keith Jeffery, ‘The Irish military tradition and the British Empire’, in Keith Jeffery, ed., ‘*An Irish Empire? Aspects of Ireland and the British Empire*’ (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), pp. 94-148. In 1851 there were 138 persons born in the East Indies, and eighty-seven born in Poland. By 1861, persons born in Canada, and Germany, were present in numbers around 160 each, by 1911, the number of Ireland-born had significantly curtailed, although they remained the largest group by a sizeable margin. In the 1911 census, persons born in India, Australia, Canada, Pakistan, USA, and Germany were all birthplaces with over 130 persons recorded with code 58430.

A closer inspection of naturalisation and birthplace data would suggest that most were British subjects or their parents were. The armed forces, and more broadly the British Empire, played a crucial part in the development of a more mobile populace, with increased numbers of international networks being formed.⁵⁵ The military enabled familial networks to become increasingly diverse, with births and marriages occurring in foreign places and between different nationalities.

The availability of the I-CeM data makes it is possible to move beyond the trends identified in the existing literature. In using some examples to illustrate this point, three occupations are mostly absent from migration studies literature; this includes foreign-born chemists and associated workers (1100), teachers of higher education (13100), and Members of religious orders (14140). Observable from figure 5.2 is the steady decline in the number of foreign-born chemists, which in 1861, accounted for more than a third of all the chemists and related workers in England and Wales. On the other hand, foreign-born teachers of higher education remained at a relatively static level throughout the period, accounting for around a quarter of all teachers engaged in higher education. However, the category did spike in 1881 to account for a third of all teachers in higher education. Finally, foreign-born Members of religious orders experienced a considerable increase in both absolute and relative numbers over the period. Figures of foreign-born persons rose from around 6.6 per

⁵⁵ Thomas E. Jordan, 'Queen Victoria's Irish Soldiers: Quality of Life and Social Origins of the Thin Green Line', *Social Indicators Research*, Vol. 57, No. 1 (2002), pp. 74-75.

cent of all Members of religious orders in 1851 to a peak in 1891 of almost thirty per cent.⁵⁶

A closer analysis of the individual categories reveals that throughout the period most foreign-born chemists were Ireland-born, and were largely involved in the manufacture and production of chemicals and substances. Amongst foreign-born chemists, there was also a significantly uneven geographic distribution. By a large margin, Lancashire was the central hub for foreign-born persons involved in chemistry-related occupations. In 1901, over sixty per cent of such persons were in Lancashire alone. With the data available, it is difficult to separate correlation and causation. There is no evidence to suggest the intentional employment of Ireland-born persons for the manufacture of chemical compounds, or that they had migrated to the area for the express purpose of working in the industry. Rather, a more logical argument would be that the considerable concentration of Ireland-born persons in the North West of England, as well as the presence of significant industrial and chemical operations, would suggest a greater likelihood for Ireland-born persons to be involved in the manufacture and production of chemical products. A critical issue in this example is that the classification conflates chemists with associated workers, thereby skewing the perceived number of foreign-born chemists.

Although it may be assumed that a large number of unproductive persons (99999) were female, other evidence would suggest otherwise. In her study of the

⁵⁶ With respect to religious workers, it is important to distinguish between ministers of religion and members of religious orders. The international and transnational aspect of religion serves as a network through which persons can become highly mobile, receiving new assignments and postings to foreign places.

Manchester Jewry, Rickie Burman found a sizeable portion of the Manchester Jewry had a form of employment, typically as a secondary or supplementary income.⁵⁷ Burman identifies that approximately fifty per cent of interviewees working independently of their husbands were involved in retail.⁵⁸ Sporadic supplementary jobs, which involved tailoring tasks, are unlikely to have been enumerated in the census. Social investigators, such as Beatrix Potter, noted that financially desperate women and girls accepted any form of employment.⁵⁹ Of those interviewed, over eighty per cent were either a migrant or second-generation migrant.⁶⁰ As such, the reporting of unproductive persons is problematic.

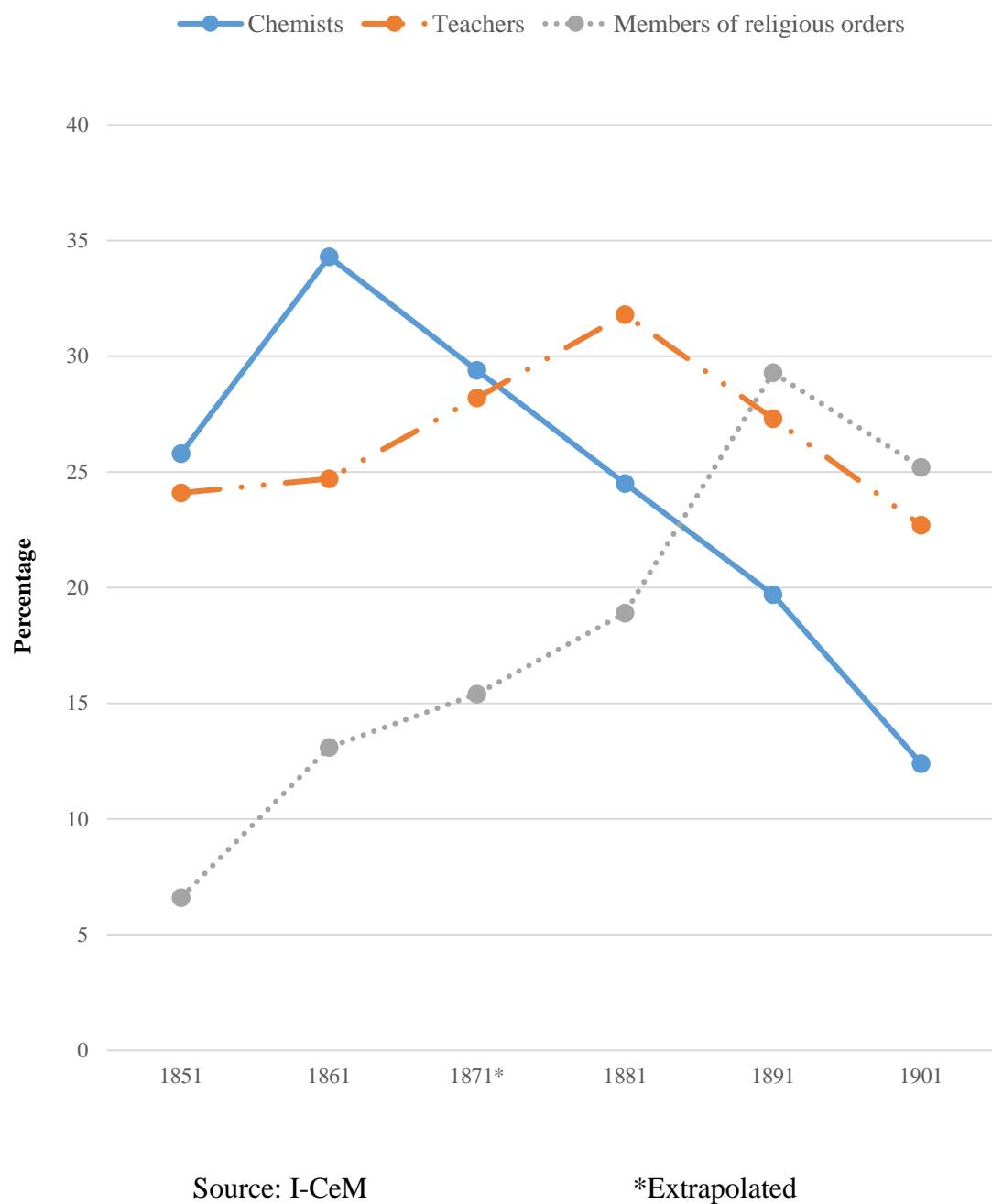
⁵⁷ Rickie Burman, 'Jewish Women in Manchester, c.1890-1920', in David Cesarani, ed., *The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), pp. 58-59. See also Rickie Burman, 'The Jewish Woman as Breadwinner: The Changing Value of Women's Work in a Manchester Immigrant Community', *Oral History*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (1982), pp. 27-39.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 58-59.

⁵⁹ Treble, *Urban Poverty in Britain*, p. 35.

⁶⁰ See Burman, 'Jewish Women in Manchester'.

Figure 5.2: Changes to proportional representation of foreign-born Chemists, Teachers of higher education, and Members of religious orders, 1851-1901



Russia-born

Russia-born persons were disproportionately represented in specific industries and tended to be engaged in trades, such as tailoring, boot making, and cabinet making. The I-CeM confirms much of what the literature reveals regarding the occupational activity of Russia-born migrants in England and Wales.⁶¹ Rather than changing in composition or makeup, Russia-born occupational activities suggest an enlargement in the number of persons engaged in such activities. For instance, many Russia-born persons were engaged in the tailoring trade, and others worked as proprietors of shops and commercial entities. In contrast, in all but the 1851 census, the HISCO code 79120 (Garment manufacturing workers – Tailor or tailoress) was the single largest occupation code for male Russia-born persons throughout the period. Tailoring persisted as a prominent form of employment for the Russia-born community throughout the period. Meanwhile, analysing the I-CeM reveals that typically one-third of all Russia-born females aged sixteen or older were unemployed or engaged in domestic duties throughout the period.⁶² Within communities, therefore there are discreet patterns and behaviours that can be explored further.

Despite the influx of tens of thousands of persons entering England and Wales over the course of the period, certain occupations remained popular amongst Russia-born migrants.⁶³ A significant change in the absolute numbers of workers failed to

⁶¹ Holmes, *John Bull's Island*, p. 26.

⁶² Data: 1851, 73 per cent; 1861, 72 per cent; 1881, 76.7 per cent; 1891, 74 per cent; 1901, 78.2 per cent; 1911, 72.7 per cent.

⁶³ A prominent example being baking. See William Velvel Moskoff and Carol Gayle, 'Jewish Bakers in Late Nineteenth-Century Great Britain and Sunday Baking Restrictions', *Shofar*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (2016), pp. 51-67.

influence the proportional values. In other words, the Russia-born community continued to be employed in similar occupations throughout the period of this study, which might be explained by their close interactions with fellow migrants.

In areas of considerable migrant concentration, such as Leeds or London, networks existed that enabled prospective or incoming unskilled migrants the opportunity to take up work.⁶⁴ Morrise Latuts was described as a Russian-Pole who had previously worked as a tailor. Despite being refused entry into England on several occasions, Latuts continued to push for entry and provided a letter from his brother-in-law in London. The letter stated that 'he could guarantee to get him employment with the firm for whom he was working'.⁶⁵ The letter was refused as sufficient evidence of secured employment. Following the enactment of the Aliens Act, others in similar positions were denied permission to enter the country. Despite attempts to dissuade Russia-born persons from coming to the British Isles on account of few employment opportunities, thousands continued to make the journey.⁶⁶

USA-born

The USA-born population comprised only a few thousand in 1851, of which most were either children or not economically active. However, the group continued to grow in size, almost doubling in 1871, and ballooning in size by 1881, during which

⁶⁴ *Nottingham Evening Post*, 28 May 1910, 'An Alien Rejected'.

⁶⁵ *Chelmsford Chronicle*, 4 August 1911, 'A Persistent Alien'.

⁶⁶ *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 6 June 1891, 'The Immigration of Russian Jews'.

time the socio-economic composition of the group underwent significant change.⁶⁷ Initially, Ships officers (4250) was a popular form of employment, which peaked in 1881, and then notably decreased in both absolute and proportional terms. Writing in 1901, Nathaniel Hawthorne describes the American consulate in London as being ‘thronged, of a morning, with a set of beggarly and piratical-looking scoundrels... purporting to belong to our mercantile marine, and chiefly composed of Liverpool Black-ballers and the scum of every maritime nation on earth...’.⁶⁸ Further to this point, Hawthorne claimed that ‘not one in twenty was a genuine American’.⁶⁹ This critical observation of the veracity of those purporting to be USA-born highlights motivations for persons to misrepresent themselves in official records. While there was a decline amongst those connected to the maritime industry, there was a steady increase in the number of persons recorded as being Miners (71120). The example of USA-born persons offers a slightly counter-intuitive development. It might be expected that there would be an increase in skilled and professional occupations, and less so within primary resource extraction occupations such as mining.

German-born

Su Coates argues that there was cultural overlap between the German-born migrant community of Manchester and the native society.⁷⁰ This overlap had a subsequent

⁶⁷ Population Abstracts, England and Wales, 1871, Table XXIII, Ii, available at: [http://histpop.org/ohpr/servlet/PageBrowser?path=Browse/Census%20\(by%20date\)&active=yes&mno=50&tocstate=expandnew&display=sections&display=tables&display=pagetitles&pageseq=51&zoom=4](http://histpop.org/ohpr/servlet/PageBrowser?path=Browse/Census%20(by%20date)&active=yes&mno=50&tocstate=expandnew&display=sections&display=tables&display=pagetitles&pageseq=51&zoom=4), [accessed: 24 November 2016].

⁶⁸ Nathanael Hawthorne, *Our Old Home* (Boston, MA: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1901), p. 2.

⁶⁹ *Ibid*

⁷⁰ Su Coates, ‘Manchester’s German Gentlemen: Immigrant Institutions in a Provincial City 1840-1920’, *Manchester Region History Review*, Vol. 5 (1991-92), pp. 21-22.

impact on the occupational activity of migrants in the city. The wide array of German-born institutions and businesses enabled migrants to retain elements of their native culture, while situated within an English city.⁷¹ The formation of societies, restaurants, newspapers, businesses, churches, and even a library indicates a sizeable community of German-born persons existed in the city.

The literature indicates that the German-born population incorporated a number of skilled and semi-skilled occupations that arrived in Britain in significant numbers. Colin Holmes and others have stated that there was a significant number of merchants, clerks, and other related professions that the German-born persons were involved in.⁷² German-born clerks were regularly accused of outcompeting native-born clerks.⁷³ Dealers and merchants (41010) remained the most significant single form of employment across all of the censuses. However, in the years leading up to the 1881 census, Maids or domestic servants (54020) emerged as the second largest form of employment for German-born persons. As previously mentioned, pork butchers (77310) and sugar refiners (77200) were also forms of employment for many German-born migrants. From only forty-nine German-born waiters and waitresses (53220) in 1851 to 2,367 in 1901, the occupation was clearly emergent within the community. Panayi states that German-born waiters would go on to make up ten per cent of all

⁷¹ Coates, 'Manchester's German Gentlemen', pp. 21-22.

⁷² Holmes, *John Bull's Island*, p. 23.

⁷³ *Western Times*, 4 February 1904, 'For Nothing'.

waiters and waitresses in the 1911 census.⁷⁴ Ultimately, German-born persons undertook a wide assortment of occupations, which were not contained to a single field or category.⁷⁵

There are several notable discrepancies between the I-CeM and contemporary accounts. In 1887, it was declared that 'Of 4,000 masters bakers in London 2,000 are Germans'.⁷⁶ However, the HISCO classification in the I-CeM records bakers as being Working proprietors (wholesale and retail trade) -- Dealer, merchant (41010), which conflates the occupation with several others. As such, using the HISCO variable it is impossible to better separate the categories. However, it is clear from reviewing the original text string variable (Occ) that bakers and cabinet makers were also popular occupations amongst German-born persons. Many thousands of those with their occupation recorded as baker were being recorded as merchants or dealers, but it was clearly a significant form of employment across all censuses.

The ambiguity of the classifications and coding makes some assessments more challenging to make. Nonetheless, several points can be made regarding the German-born population. First, the German-born migration included a significant portion of skilled and well-educated persons who occupied prominent roles in certain industries. Second, that German-born migrants adapted to changing labour demands and pursued new opportunities, such as table waiting. Finally, a low proportion of German-born

⁷⁴ Panayi, 'German Immigrants in Britain', p. 81.

⁷⁵ Assael, Brenda, 'Gastro-Cosmopolitanism and the Restaurant in Late Victorian and Edwardian London', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 56, No. 3 (2013), pp. 689-690.

⁷⁶ *Derby Daily Telegraph*, 20 May 1887, 'Alien Labourers in England'.

persons were unemployed or engaged in domestic duties, as such, German-born persons were strongly invested in securing and developing economic opportunities.

Ireland-born

One of the most significant changes to the occupational profile of the Ireland-born migrant community was that of Farm labourers (62110). In 1851, over 18,000 Ireland-born persons could be found enumerated as a Farm labourer (62110), which increased again to over 22,000 in 1861. However, the numbers quickly dropped, and by 1901 only 6,198 Ireland-born persons were recorded as being a Farm labourer (62110). Changing labour demands reduced the need for such large numbers of Ireland-born agricultural labourers. This shift marked a noticeable departure in the occupational activities of many Ireland-born migrants.

Ireland-born migrants could be found in most occupations across the period. Some female migrants were widowed or deserted. Those persons could turn to charitable aid but were often directed to a form of employment, typically street selling.⁷⁷ Using a five per cent sample of the 1881 census, Bronwen Walter has noted how the majority of Ireland-born women were employed as domestic servants.⁷⁸ The I-CeM confirms that Domestic servants (54020) were vital components of the Ireland-born community; however, the importance decreased over time. In 1851, there were 35,760

⁷⁷ Martha Kanya-Forstner, 'Defining womanhood: Irish women and the catholic church in Victorian Liverpool', *Immigrants and Minorities*, Vol. 18, No. 2-3 (1999), pp. 181-183.

⁷⁸ Bronwen Walter, 'Strangers on the Inside: Irish Women Servants in England, 1881', in Roger Swift and Sheridan Gilley, eds., *Irish Identities in Victorian Britain* (London: Routledge, 2011), p. 151.

domestic servants, which decreased to 20,301 in 1901. Nonetheless, the form of employment remained significant for the community.

Across all censuses, Domestic servants (54020) proved a vital component of the Ireland-born community to varying degrees. The role of domestic servant required little in the way of formal education but an awareness of etiquette and social decorum. One letter sent to a prospective employer in Birmingham indicates the level of literacy and the prevalent attributes that a domestic servant considered to be important:

Dear Marm,--I see by to-night's 'Male' that you are wanting a good general servant. i must first of all tell yer that i are irish bread and borne, but i tells yer i nowes how to work. i can wash, hand i can sow, and i can do plane cokeing, and, lor bless yer, i can wate at table. my last place was in ireland, and hall my people lives there so i shan't be running home everyday. i am very tall, so i can reach things orf the top shelf in the pantry without standing on ther cheers. i do hopes as how you will give me a trile, and i will werk like a niger. i hopes you will rite soon.⁷⁹

Although the number of servants decreased with time, other occupations began to develop in popularity. For example, the number of railway workers (97490) grew from 786 in 1851 to 5,542 in 1901. Similarly, pipe fitters (87130) increased from 519 in 1851 to 2,814 in 1901. As with most of the other migrant communities, approximately one-third of the Ireland-born population was not employed or was involved in unpaid household duties. Ultimately, the bulk of the Ireland-born had long engaged in low skilled forms of employment, which correlates with what we know from contemporary reports and scholarly publications.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ *Hull Daily Mail*, 19 April 1898, 'Irish "Bread and Born"'.

⁸⁰ See *Leeds Mercury*, 5 March 1889, 'Irish Industries', and Arthur Redford, *Labour migration in England, 1800-1850* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1976, third edition), pp. 150-151.

India-born

The Russians serve as an example of how certain occupations persisted in popularity over the course of the period. Another example of this longitudinal consistency concerned those persons born in India. The occupational activity for the India-born reveals a significant and pervasive relationship with the Empire. Military Officers (58420), and Stock, weight, and shipping clerks (39100) were popular occupations during the period. An emergent point from analysing India-born occupations was how the children of white Anglo-British families who were returning to England and Wales overwhelmingly shaped the group.⁸¹ When incorporating the entire India-born population, over sixty per cent in each census either had no occupation recorded or were classified as economically inactive (99999). Regarding the adult population, there was consistently over fifty per cent of India-born persons in either of the two categories.

In the later portions of the period, certain occupations began to become more important to the India-born population. Hundreds of India-born persons undertook occupations such as Technicians (3200), Legislative officials (20100), Dealers & merchants (41010), Other clerks (39900), and Stock & shipping clerks (39100). Across the period Maids and domestic servants (54020) was a frequent form of employment for India-born persons, which is well documented in the literature.⁸² Although there were only sixty-six such persons in 1851, by 1901, there were 1,329 Maids and domestic servants (54020) and such occupations remained significant in each census. The issues with the India-born population of England and Wales have been previously

⁸¹ Visram, *Ayahs, Lascars and Princes*, p. 9.

⁸² *Ibid*, pp. 15-21.

identified in this thesis (p. 152). However, it is clear that there was a tendency for the limited portion of the India-born population in employment to be engaged in civil or skilled occupations; save for the well-documented and distinctive maids and servants.

Each of the migrant communities had distinctive occupational characteristics. The contrasts demonstrate the heterogeneity of the foreign-born population of England and Wales. The findings in this section indicate that the different migration streams cut across different elements, including class, gender, education, and circumstances. The different examples presented here suggests that occupational activities need to be further considered in relation to geographical contexts. An aggregate analysis suggests inter-community patterns, but it also indicates a distinct homogeneity of the individual groups. This observation requires further investigation to ascertain the extent of these inferences and to establish the relationship between occupational activity and other key variables.

B. The occupational activity of native-born persons

For the native-born population, the period 1851 to 1901 was one of change and transition, with a significant shift in the occupational composition of the populace. A prominent economic factor of the British economy was the cotton industry.⁸³ The proportion of the native and foreign-born population connected to the cotton industry decreased over time, most notably from the 1881 census onwards. The effects of the industrial revolution influenced both the foreign and native-born populations. This

⁸³ Asa Briggs, *A Social History of England* (London: Book Club Associates, 1984), p. 259.

section will continue with the analysis of occupations in the period concerning the native-born population of England and Wales.⁸⁴

One of the lasting changes from the period was the steady decrease in the proportion of workers involved in agricultural occupations (62110) particularly from 1851-1861, marking the decline of British agriculture and the emergence of a new industrial based economy. Forms of agricultural employment remained a proportionally significant element of the economy. Meanwhile, the domestic service industry, which had played a prominent role in both society and the economy, began to contract towards the end of the period of this study.⁸⁵ While domestic workers and maids (54020) remained the largest absolute grouping until the end of the period at a national level, it did so in the face of considerable proportional decline.

Prior to the twentieth-century, domestic service was an important feature in the history of many families.⁸⁶ Thousands of domestic workers lived at the top of society, yet, they worked at the bottom, seeing but not enjoying the favourable circumstances within which they worked.⁸⁷ Even amongst domestic servants, a distinct aristocracy existed, with servants in stately homes comprising the top echelon of domestic service.⁸⁸ Over time, domestic service opportunities became less sought after,

⁸⁴ Census data has repeatedly been used to explore the activity of the population, see John Richard Edwards, and Stephen P. Walker, 'Accountants in late 19th century Britain: a spatial, demographic and occupational profile', *Accounting and Business Research*, Vol. 37, No. 1 (2007), pp. 63-89.

⁸⁵ Edward Higgs, 'Domestic Servants and Households in Victorian England', *Social History*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (1983), pp. 202-204.

⁸⁶ See Michelle Higgs, *Servants' Stories: Life Below Stairs in Their Own Words 1800-1950* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword, 2015).

⁸⁷ See Trevor May, *The Victorian Domestic Servant* (London: Shire Publications, 1998).

⁸⁸ Frank Dawes, *Not in Front of the Servants: Domestic service in England, 1850-1939* (London: Wayland Publishers, 1973), p. 11.

largely because of better opportunities and conditions in other forms of employment.⁸⁹

‘A good servant girl’, it was declared in 1888, ‘is worth her weight in gold’ due to the scarcity of persons seeking domestic service opportunities.⁹⁰ Increased workers’ rights, plentiful employment opportunities in better-paid occupations, the suffragist movement, and the growth of unionism amongst servants brought about the wane of domestic servitude.⁹¹

Domestic service gradually retracted in size during the period. Frank Dawes argues that increased education and greater job opportunities for women led to the demise of the ‘Great Age of Servants’.⁹² This process led young women to take up other forms of employment.⁹³ Subsequently, Dawes argues that it was in the first decade of the twentieth century that the ‘Great Age of the Servants’ had passed its peak.⁹⁴ Similarly, it has been noted that a number of servants were related to the head of household, which is a subject that has received greater attention elsewhere. Other scholars indicate that the recording of domestic servants may be problematic with wives and other female relatives being recorded as engaged in domestic service.⁹⁵ However, this tipping point towards decline had begun earlier in the 1880s.⁹⁶ Table 5.2 reveals that there was a reversal in the trajectory of persons engaged in the sector

⁸⁹ See Pamela Cox, and Annabel Hobley, *Shopgirls: The True Story of Life Behind the Counter* (London: Hutchinson, 2015). *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 19 August 1901, ‘The Servant Problem’.

⁹⁰ *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, 4 March 1888, ‘Servant Girls’.

⁹¹ Pamela Horn, *The Rise and Fall of the Victorian Servant* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1975), pp. 151-165.

⁹² Dawes, *Not in front of the servants*, pp. 21-22.

⁹³ *Ibid*

⁹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 10.

⁹⁵ Michael Drake, ‘Aspects of Domestic Service in Great Britain and Ireland, 1841-1911’, *Family & Community History*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (1999), pp. 124-126.

⁹⁶ Dawes, *Not in front of the servants*, p. 21.

following the 1881 census. From the 1891 census onwards, there was both a proportional and absolute decrease in the number of persons engaged in domestic service. Donald N. McCloskey argues that domestic service was an important factor in the economy, which is evident in how the sector employed more men and women than mining and textile work combined.⁹⁷

Table 5.2: Number of persons involved in domestic service - Servants, maids, hkeep serv workers nec - Maid, dom, hse nfs (54020)

Value	1851	1861	1871*	1881	1891	1901
N	940,906	969,310	1,123,612	1,277,913	1,266,596	1,248,953
% Change	N/A	3.0%	15.9%	13.7%	-0.9%	-1.4%

Source: I-CeM

*Extrapolated

Meanwhile, in the face of a faltering domestic service sector, there was a sharp rise in the number of persons involved in retail, trade, and commercial endeavours. There was consistent growth in the number of merchants and dealers (41010) in each subsequent census, which is particularly manifested from the 1881 census onwards. The timing of the growth of the retail industry and the decline of the domestic service should not be ignored, as a growth and decline relationship can be observed. Catherine Hall argues that many of the small shopkeepers and traders were not part of the middle class, and the arrival of rural migrants led to increased populations with family-run small shops serving an important role in growing communities.⁹⁸ Perhaps the primary factor in the growth of the retail and commercial sector was stimulated by the chang-

⁹⁷ Donald N. McCloskey, *Enterprise and Trade in Victorian Britain* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1981), pp. 173-174.

⁹⁸ Catherine Hall, 'The Butcher, the Baker, the Candlestick Maker: The Shop and Family in the Industrial Revolution', in R. J. Morris, and Richard Roger, eds., *The Victorian City: A Reader in British Urban History, 1820-1914* (London: Longman, 1993), pp. 308-309.

ing society. An increasingly urbanised population had lasting effects on the demographics of Victorian and Edwardian Britain. Historical contemporary accounts refer to the nature of the labour market at the time as being ‘full of young people who have acquired a knowledge of serving customers, and who are ready to work for salaries ranging from 12l. to 20l.’⁹⁹ Ultimately, significant changes were wrought across the British economy.

Within this well-supplied labour market, arguments were proposed concerning increased regulation for hours worked, particularly as apprenticeships were typically begun between ages fourteen and sixteen. Earlier in the period, reports were made concerning the growth and expansion of trades, such as the ‘Book’ trade, which it was argued, would diminish if legislation was reduced. The argument against legislation was that it would enable unlimited competition – leading to a decrease in the number of retail establishments. A significant number of demands revolved around the issue of working conditions.¹⁰⁰ Other pieces of legislation referred to the closing times of shops, which was often sought after by shopkeepers who employed assistants.¹⁰¹ There was opposition to the attempts to force shops to close earlier, with associations being mobilised to support family run businesses.¹⁰² Through the interviews conducted by Thea Vigne and Alun Howkins, a pattern is revealed whereby the wife

⁹⁹ *Daily News*, 22 March 1886, ‘The Shop Hours’ Regulation Bill’.

¹⁰⁰ *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, 12 October 1890, ‘London Labour Movements’.

¹⁰¹ Michael J. Winstanley, *The shopkeeper’s world, 1830-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), p. 94. See also *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, 4 April 1886, ‘The Shop Hours Regulation Bill’.

¹⁰² Winstanley, *The shopkeeper’s world*, p. 95.

might work in the shop, while the husband would work another job, occasionally helping, or working behind the scenes.¹⁰³

A third occupation that played an essential role in the occupational make-up of the native-born population was ‘Miners and quarrymen – Miner’ (71120). Table 5.3 reveals the profound increase in the number of persons involved in the industry over the course of the period, almost tripling in size within fifty years. Mining was crucial for the supplying of fuel for the British Empire and its industries, in addition to heating the homes of millions of people.¹⁰⁴ While serving an essential function within the economy of the Empire, mining was an industry that offered plenty of work, but in often dangerous conditions, and for relatively low pay for the risk faced. However, there were at least some within society who were aware of the dangers faced by miners:

How many of the millions who sit round comfortable hearths in the wild wintry weather, give a thought to the dangers and perils which have to be encountered ere they can enjoy the light and warmth of the fireside? Even where the miner escapes from all accidents, his life is no bed of roses.¹⁰⁵

Similar to shop workers, there were attempts to push for increased rights for miners, including reduced working hours per day, something that some miners themselves balloted against.¹⁰⁶ Dramatic strikes and rioting by miners and their unions occurred for a mixture of reasons, poor conditions, sympathy with other mines, and more.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ Thea Vigne, and Alun Howkins, ‘The Small Shopkeeper in industrial and Market Towns’, in Geoffrey Crossick, ed., *The Lower Middle Class in Britain, 1870-1914* (London: Croom Helm, 1977), p. 186.

¹⁰⁴ M. J. Daunton, *Coal Metropolis Cardiff, 1870-1914* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1977), pp. 4-11.

¹⁰⁵ *Lloyd's Illustrated Newspaper*, 16 March 1884, ‘Death Amongst the Miners’.

¹⁰⁶ *Daily News*, 26 October 1892, ‘A Miner Buccarat Scandal’.

¹⁰⁷ See *Blackburn Standard*, 23 November 1889, ‘Miners’ Strike’, *Financial Times*, 16 December 1910, ‘Welsh Miners’ Strike’, and *Sheffield Independent*, 16 January 1875, ‘Riotous Miners’.

The industry became heavily unionised, and association schisms and formations were a regular occurrence.¹⁰⁸ Incidentally, in some cases, migrants showed solidarity for striking native workers.¹⁰⁹

Table 5.3: Enumeration of ‘Miners and quarrymen – Miner’ (71120), 1851–1901

Miners	1851	1861	1871*	1881	1891	1901
	244,811	310,399	371,897	433,395	552,036	649,171
% Change from previous year	N/A	26.8	19.8	16.5	27.4	17.6

Source: I-CeM

*Extrapolated

This section has so far addressed several of the key industries present in the UK during the nineteenth-century. However, the development of innovative technologies stimulated new industries and created commercial opportunities, one example being photography. In 1851, there were just seventy-six ‘Photographers’ (16300) enumerated in England and Wales, whereas there were 13,715 in 1901.¹¹⁰ Throughout the nineteenth century, the photography industry was developing it was also unstable; as such, some individuals struggled.¹¹¹ Others, such as the Taylor brothers, saw tremendous success, ‘Established in comparative obscurity a few years ago, when its total staff could be enumerated on the fingers of one hand, this firm at the present time claim, and claim justly, to be the largest photographers in the world.’¹¹² Although

¹⁰⁸ *Northern Echo*, 31 January 1893, ‘Teesdale Miners’.

¹⁰⁹ See Horst Rössler, ‘Immigrants, blacklegs and ‘unpatriotic employers’: The London stonemasons’ strike of 1877–78’, *Immigrants and Minorities*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (1996), pp. 159–183.

¹¹⁰ The proportion of those persons who were foreign-born fluctuated with a high of 6.5 per cent in 1851, and a low of 3.8 per cent in 1891.

¹¹¹ *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 10 January 1905, ‘Photographers Failure’.

¹¹² *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 20 February 1879, ‘Enterprising Photographers’.

successes varied, photography was an emergent profession that required specialist training and skill.

While photography was popular, it did not entirely replace traditional technologies. For example, miniature painting only began to decline in popularity during the early twentieth century.¹¹³ Over the same period, the number of ‘Musician, music teach, oth in music-performer, musician-nfs’ (17120), increased from 10,883 in 1851 to 42,632 in 1901. The popularity of new inventions and mediums of entertainment ensured there were ample commercial opportunities for entrepreneurial endeavours.

Similarly, there was significant growth in other fields of labour, such as religion. Each of the classifications for religious workers (14120, 14130, and 14140) experienced numerical increases. Noticeable is the increase in the number of persons recorded as being missionaries – 1,119 in 1851, rising up to 8,115 in 1901. The growth of nonconformity provided an enlarged platform from which itinerant preachers and missionaries could work. The increased evangelism during the period was not confined to nonconformity. Evangelicals of the Established church, more inclusively described as the ‘Broad church’, sought to engage and interact with the population.¹¹⁴ A special emphasis was placed on the un-churched and ‘un-godly’, most often attempted through the introduction of domestic visiting societies.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ Elizabeth Eastlake, ‘Photography’, in Christopher Harvie, Graham Martin, and Aaron Scharf, eds., *Industrialisation and Culture, 1830-1914* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1970), p. 284.

¹¹⁴ Elisabeth Jay, *Faith and Doubt in Victorian Britain* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Education, 1986), p. 1.

¹¹⁵ *Western Daily Press*, 9 December 1868, ‘Diocesan Visiting Society’.

The emergence of the mass market resulted in working conditions being challenged on a range of issues, including child labour, conditions, pay, and others across a range of industries.¹¹⁶ The concentration of manual workers in urban centres increased noticeably over the period. By 1911, there were thirty-six cities of over 100,000 people contained forty-four per cent of Britain's inhabitants.¹¹⁷ W. Hamish Fraser describes the changes to retailing in the fifty years before 1914 as being akin to a revolution.¹¹⁸ The role of credit and the emergence of new, larger retail stores resulted in a new experience for customers. The augmentation of retail in society led to increased numbers of workers, which led to significant changes in the British economy.

Ultimately, the native-born population were primarily engaged in industrial occupations. There was a considerable decrease in those recorded as 'Farm labs & helpers, general farming & nfs – Others' (62110), halving from 700,067 in 1891, to 357,001 in 1901, a seismic decrease in just ten years. The shift in the economy led to a tangible change in society, one primary factor being rural-urban migration.¹¹⁹ Higher wages found in cities eventually led to an increased enumeration of skilled occupation categories, as highlighted in figure 5.3 and table 5.4. The native-born community adapted to social and economic changes, which is represented in the data presented in this section.

¹¹⁶ Eric Hopkins, *A Social History of the English Working Classes, 1815-1945* (London: Edward Arnold, 1979), pp. 102-114.

¹¹⁷ Kirk, *Change, continuity and class*, p. 143.

¹¹⁸ W. Hamish Fraser, *The Coming of the Mass Market, 1850-1914* (London: The Macmillan Press, 1981), pp. 85-87.

¹¹⁹ Theresa M. McBride, *The Domestic Revolution* (London: Croom Helm, 1976), p. 49.

Figure 5.3: HISCO classification of native-born persons, 1851-1901

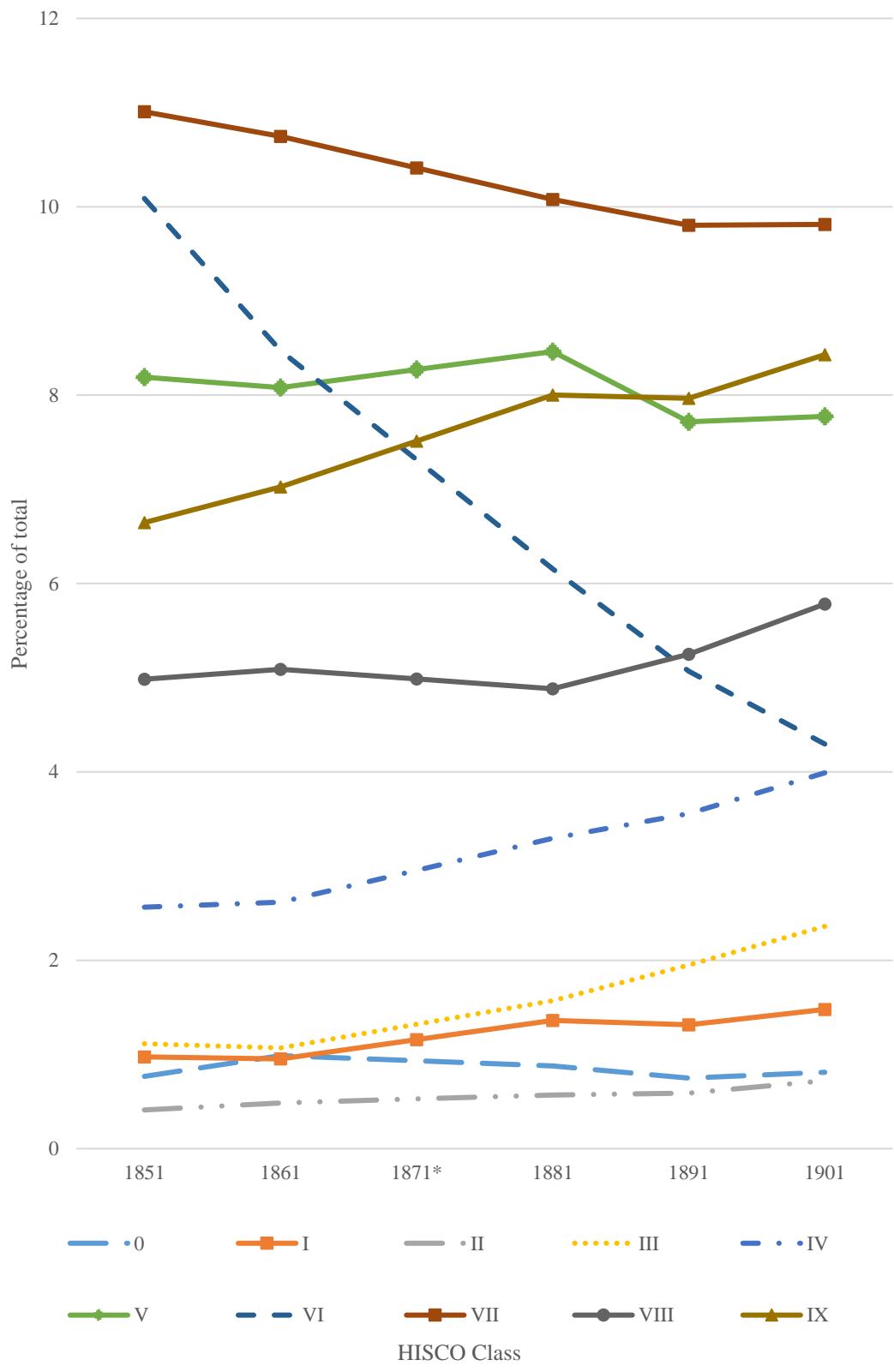


Table 5.4: HISCO classification of native-born persons, 1851-1901

Class	1851	1861	1871*	1881	1891	1901
0	0.8	1.0	0.9	0.9	0.7	0.8
I	1.0	1.0	1.2	1.4	1.3	1.5
II	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.7
III	1.1	1.1	1.3	1.6	2.0	2.4
IV	2.6	2.6	3.0	3.3	3.6	4.0
V	8.2	8.1	8.3	8.5	7.7	7.8
VI	10.1	8.5	7.6	6.2	5.1	4.3
VII	11.0	10.7	10.4	10.1	9.8	9.8
VIII	5.0	5.1	5.0	4.9	5.2	5.8
IX	6.6	7.0	7.5	8.0	8.0	8.4
Unknown	32.6	33.0	31.3	29.5	37.9	50.9
Non-occupational response	20.6	21.5	23.4	25.3	18.1	3.7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: I-CeM

*Extrapolated

C. Differences in foreign and native-born person's occupational activity

The earlier portions of this section have established the occupational activity and composition of foreign and native-born persons during the period. This section will explore the differences between the foreign-born and native-born persons. Points of change are of greater interest in this context because they highlight distinct behaviours; otherwise, it is assumed that they mirrored the behaviours of the host community.

Foreign-born persons differed noticeably in their socio-economic and occupational activity to that of the native-born population.¹²⁰ The first observable point is that a significant portion of both the foreign-born and native-born population was recorded as having no occupation, or was in a non-occupational role, such as a housewife or student. Despite this, there was a considerable difference in scale, with over

¹²⁰ Vaughan, *The Unplanned 'Ghetto'*, pp. 9-11.

fifty per cent of the native-born population recorded as having a non-occupational role. For the foreign-born population, non-productive economic activity was closer to thirty per cent.

The key differences between the foreign and native-born populations can only be assessed on proportional terms. Tables 5.5-5.9 reveal that foreign-born persons were disproportionately represented in certain occupational classes. A noticeably lower percentage of persons born in places outside of England and Wales were involved in farm labouring. Similarly, foreign-born persons were many times more likely to be 'Common laborers or general laborers' (99130) than the native-born population. Therefore, from the available data, foreign-born migrants appear to be a largely urban phenomenon, which failed to make inroads into the agricultural sector of the economy. Where the foreign-born population most notably differed from the native-born was the types of industries they were involved in. By quite a considerable margin, foreign-born persons could be found in teaching and skilled professions. For instance, 'Governess' (13920) continued to grow in proportional terms far higher amongst foreign-born persons than the native population.

Ultimately, a combination of factors influenced the activity of the foreign and native-born populations. Many of these factors lay outside the control of an individual. However, as has been demonstrated in this chapter, there were different behaviours and trajectories that emerged between the groups. This disparity between the groups can be linked to the socio-economic background of the migrants, their reasons for migrating, and their geographical distribution.

Table 5.5: HISCO classification of total population and foreign-born persons (1851)

HISCO Class	Total	%	Foreign-born	%
0 - Professional, technical and related workers, e.g. Architects, Engineers, and Scientists.	135,857	0.8	7,005	1.2
I - Professional, technical and related workers, e.g. Accountants, Teachers, and Authors.	172,648	1.0	11,148	1.9
II - Administrative and managerial workers, e.g. Managers, Supervisors, Legislative Officials	72,759	0.4	3,094	0.5
III - Clerical and related workers, e.g. Bookkeepers, Mail Clerks, and Stenographers	197,317	1.1	8,452	1.4
IV - Sales workers, e.g. Proprietors, Shop Assistants, and Buyers.	454,047	2.6	31,031	5.3
V - Service workers, e.g. Maids, Cooks, and Hairdressers.	1,450,661	8.2	76,093	13
VI - Agricultural, animal husbandry, and forestry workers, fishermen and hunters, e.g. Farmers, Fishermen, Agricultural labourers.	1,786,616	10.1	25,419	4.3
VII - Production and related workers, transport equipment operators and labourers, e.g. Miners, Spinners, and Upholsterers.	1,949,747	11.0	76,626	13.1
VIII - Production and related workers, transport equipment operators and labourers, e.g. Shoemakers, Blacksmiths, and Jewellers.	883,023	5.0	31,943	5.5
IX - Production and related workers, transport equipment operators and labourers, e.g. Dockers, Transport Operators, and Painters.	1,177,241	6.6	89,723	15.3
Non-occupational response	9,431,128	53.2	225,267	38.4
Total	17,711,044	100	585,801	100

Source: I-CeM

Table 5.6: HISCO classification of total population and foreign-born persons (1861)

HISCO Class	Total	%	Foreign-born	%
0 - Professional, technical and related workers, e.g. Architects, Engineers, and Scientists.	195,778	1.0	14,832	2.1
I - Professional, technical and related workers, e.g. Accountants, Teachers, and Authors.	188,881	1.0	12,788	1.8
II - Administrative and managerial workers, e.g. Managers, Supervisors, Legislative Officials	96,293	0.5	3,873	0.6
III - Clerical and related workers, e.g. Bookkeepers, Mail Clerks, and Stenographers	212,030	1.1	10,053	1.4
IV - Sales workers, e.g. Proprietors, Shop Assistants, and Buyers.	518,620	2.6	32,251	4.6
V - Service workers, e.g. Maids, Cooks, and Hairdressers.	1,601,989	8.1	89,302	12.9
VI - Agricultural, animal husbandry, and forestry workers, fishermen and hunters, e.g. Farmers, Fishermen, Agricultural labourers.	1,679,997	8.5	29,492	4.2
VII - Production and related workers, transport equipment operators and labourers, e.g. Miners, Spinners, and Upholsterers.	2,131,366	10.7	105,506	15.2
VIII - Production and related workers, transport equipment operators and labourers, e.g. Shoemakers, Blacksmiths, and Jewellers.	1,009,312	5.1	39,228	5.7
IX - Production and related workers, transport equipment operators and labourers, e.g. Dockers, Transport Operators, and Painters.	1,393,143	7.0	103,284	14.9
Non-occupational response	10,801,152	44.5	253,542	36.5
Total	19,828,561	100	694,151	100

Source: I-CeM

Table 5.7: HISCO classification of total population and foreign-born persons (1881)

HISCO Class	Total	%	Foreign-born	%
0 - Professional, technical and related workers, e.g. Architects, Engineers, and Scientists.	229,216	0.9	23,308	2.7
I - Professional, technical and related workers, e.g. Accountants, Teachers, and Authors.	355,813	1.4	27,976	3.3
II - Administrative and managerial workers, e.g. Managers, Supervisors, Legislative Officials	148,597	0.6	7,394	0.9
III - Clerical and related workers, e.g. Bookkeepers, Mail Clerks, and Stenographers	410,320	1.6	17,589	2.1
IV - Sales workers, e.g. Proprietors, Shop Assistants, and Buyers.	860,799	3.3	45,979	5.4
V - Service workers, e.g. Maids, Cooks, and Hairdressers.	2,210,759	8.5	110,265	13.0
VI - Agricultural, animal husbandry, and forestry workers, fishermen and hunters, e.g. Farmers, Fishermen, Agricultural labourers.	1,608,081	6.2	23,850	2.8
VII - Production and related workers, transport equipment operators and labourers, e.g. Miners, Spinners, and Upholsterers.	2,633,135	10.1	109,514	12.9
VIII - Production and related workers, transport equipment operators and labourers, e.g. Shoemakers, Blacksmiths, and Jewellers.	1,275,462	4.9	43,970	5.2
IX - Production and related workers, transport equipment operators and labourers, e.g. Dockers, Transport Operators, and Painters.	2,090,164	8.0	120,574	14.2
Non-occupational response	14,302,003	54.8	319,658	27.6
Total	26,124,585	100	850,077	100

Source: I-CeM

Table 5.8: HISCO classification of total population and foreign-born persons (1891)

HISCO Class	Total	%	Foreign-born	%
0 - Professional, technical and related workers, e.g. Architects, Engineers, and Scientists.	220,952	0.7	20,514	2.6
I - Professional, technical and related workers, e.g. Accountants, Teachers, and Authors.	387,648	1.3	27,998	3.6
II - Administrative and managerial workers, e.g. Managers, Supervisors, Legislative Officials	173,905	0.6	7,696	1.0
III - Clerical and related workers, e.g. Bookkeepers, Mail Clerks, and Stenographers	575,575	2.0	18,327	2.3
IV - Sales workers, e.g. Proprietors, Shop Assistants, and Buyers.	1,049,379	3.6	45,583	5.8
V - Service workers, e.g. Maids, Cooks, and Hairdressers.	2,277,322	7.7	92,703	11.8
VI - Agricultural, animal husbandry, and forestry workers, fishermen and hunters, e.g. Farmers, Fishermen, Agricultural labourers.	1,495,568	5.1	18,642	2.4
VII - Production and related workers, transport equipment operators and labourers, e.g. Miners, Spinners, and Upholsterers.	2,892,945	9.8	93,820	12.0
VIII - Production and related workers, transport equipment operators and labourers, e.g. Shoemakers, Blacksmiths, and Jewellers.	1,548,936	5.2	45,343	5.8
IX - Production and related workers, transport equipment operators and labourers, e.g. Dockers, Transport Operators, and Painters.	2,350,856	8.0	96,445	12.3
Non-occupational response	16,536,169	56	316,945	40.4
Total	29,509,255	100	784,016	100

Source: I-CeM

Table 5.9: HISCO classification of total population foreign-born persons (1901)

HISCO Class	Total	%	Foreign-born	%
0 - Professional, technical and related workers, e.g. Architects, Engineers, and Scientists.	263,473	0.8	27,083	3.0
I - Professional, technical and related workers, e.g. Accountants, Teachers, and Authors.	480,310	1.5	35,605	4.0
II - Administrative and managerial workers, e.g. Managers, Supervisors, Legislative Officials	234,307	0.7	9,783	1.1
III - Clerical and related workers, e.g. Bookkeepers, Mail Clerks, and Stenographers	766,941	2.4	22,990	2.6
IV - Sales workers, e.g. Proprietors, Shop Assistants, and Buyers.	1,296,583	4.0	53,385	6.0
V - Service workers, e.g. Maids, Cooks, and Hairdressers.	2,526,565	7.8	114,942	12.9
VI - Agricultural, animal husbandry, and forestry workers, fishermen and hunters, e.g. Farmers, Fishermen, Agricultural labourers.	1,395,857	4.3	17,793	2.0
VII - Production and related workers, transport equipment operators and labourers, e.g. Miners, Spinners, and Upholsterers.	3,188,326	9.8	101,180	11.3
VIII - Production and related workers, transport equipment operators and labourers, e.g. Shoemakers, Blacksmiths, and Jewellers.	1,878,710	5.8	55,246	6.2
IX - Production and related workers, transport equipment operators and labourers, e.g. Dockers, Transport Operators, and Painters.	2,739,180	8.4	96,150	10.8
Non-occupational response	17,723,066	54.6	360,118	40.3
Total	32,493,318	100	894,230	100

Source: I-CeM

As the migrant communities expanded and established themselves, there was a degree of permeation into most industries. As was noted in 1921, standards of living and wage income increased over time, particularly in the latter portion of the nineteenth century, almost doubling between 1860 and 1914.¹²¹ There is evidence presented in this chapter that suggests migrants were attracted to particular forms of employment, but this does not implicate them as an economic conspirator.

In his report on foreigners in England in the 1860s, the jurist and statistician Leone Levi stated that few foreign-born persons could afford to live idly in England.¹²² Levi identified certain industries as having been dominated by foreign-born persons and as being in the hands of the foreigners. For instance, the sugar refining industry was described as being ‘of German extraction’; meanwhile, figure and image-makers were described as being ‘almost exclusively Italians’.¹²³ Levi, himself a migrant from Italy – provides a largely positive exemplification of foreign-born persons, with his central argument being that a policy of ‘free admission’ was beneficial for the entire country.¹²⁴ Paul Tabori supports this point when he argues that migrants worked harder as they felt indebted to their new country of residence and sought to demonstrate their worth.¹²⁵

Particular industries and occupations assumed key positions in the economic activity of foreign-born migrants. For example, the service industry played a defining

¹²¹ W. A. MacKenzie, ‘Changes in the Standard of Living in the United Kingdom, 1860-1914’, *Economica*, Vol 1, No. 3 (1921), p. 213.

¹²² Leone Levi, ‘On the Number, Occupation, and Status of Foreigners in England’, *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, Vol. 27, No. 4 (1864), p. 561.

¹²³ *Ibid*, p. 562.

¹²⁴ *Ibid*, p. 563.

¹²⁵ See Paul Tabori, *The Anatomy of Exile: A semantic and historical study* (London: Harrap, 1972).

role in the lives of many of the foreign-born persons living in England and Wales.

Tables 5.5-5.9 demonstrate how foreign-born persons were disproportionately engaged in domestic service roles in comparison with the native-born population. Each foreign-born group demonstrated a distinct economic activity; however, they were not static behaviours, and they responded to the evolving dynamics of their community and group. Consequently, there are some stark differences between the two entities with respect to occupational activity and engagement.

III. What degree of segregation was there in certain occupations and industries?

‘It was often asserted that the alien brought his own trade, and did not compete with the native worker for employment. It was absurd to suppose that aliens introduced tailoring, shoemaking, and cabinet-making into these islands...If the present movement was allowed to continue unchecked the competition between native and alien would reach a phase that none of them would care to contemplate.’¹²⁶

Major Evans-Gordon’s above description of the impact of aliens on the British labour market highlights the concerns and anxieties that emerged in the nineteenth century.

Amongst some of the host population, these attitudes became more common in the years following the large-scale migration from Eastern Europe into the country from the 1880s.¹²⁷ Evans-Gordon’s argument extended to how thousands of migrants ‘...could not be poured into one centre of industry without producing marked effect

¹²⁶ *Times*, 14 December 1904, ‘Major Evans-Gordon On the Aliens’.

¹²⁷ John P. Fox, ‘British Attitudes to Jewish Refugees from Central and Eastern Europe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries’, in Werner E. Mosse, Julius Carlebach, Gerhard Hirschfeld, Aubrey Newman, Arnold Paucker, and Peter Pulzer, eds., *Second Chance: Two Centuries of German-speaking Jews in the United Kingdom* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1991), pp. 465-484.

in all other centres.¹²⁸ The central argument, therefore, was that migration and its effect on the economy was a national issue, and not confined to a single area.¹²⁹

The national influence of migrants on occupational activity has rarely been addressed. Table 5.10 provides various data elements related to occupations in England and Wales for the period 1851-1901. Firstly, the foreign-born population never exceeded five per cent of the total number of persons in paid employment. Secondly, each of the censuses recorded the foreign-born population as being represented in at least 327 occupations. These two aspects indicate that migrants could be found across the British economy despite not forming an extensive component.

Changes within British society affected the economic activity of foreign-born persons and the perception of migrant dominated industries. Occupational segregation can be identified by comparing the proportion of foreign-born persons enumerated in an occupation to the total number of persons in that occupation. Table 5.10 reveals that the number of occupations that had a disproportionately greater number of workers than the total proportion of the foreign-born population decreased over the period. In 1851, 149 occupations had more foreign-born persons engaged than would be expected. The average number of foreign-born persons involved in such occupations was proportionately higher than would be expected given the number of native-born persons involved in such activities. By 1901, this number had decreased to 137. An increasing native-born population, changing economic circumstances, demographic changes, and the integration of migrant communities could explain the decrease in

¹²⁸ *Times*, 14 December 1904, ‘Major Evans-Gordon On the Aliens’.

¹²⁹ *Ibid*

occupations with an above average representation. Ultimately, the reduction in the number of occupations with an above average representation suggests a reduced concentration of migrants in occupations or at least greater numbers of native-born persons being involved.

Table 5.10: Foreign-born and native-born workers in occupations, 1851-1901

Census Year	Total native-born workers	Total foreign-born workers	% FB	Over represented	Total foreign-born workers	Under represented	Total foreign-born workers	Total Occupations
1851	8,279,916	360,534	4.4	149	217,749	179	142,785	328
1861	9,027,409	440,609	4.9	136	263,484	192	177,125	328
*1871	10,424,878	485,514	4.7	139	287,726	188	197,788	328
1881	11,822,346	530,419	4.5	142	311,968	183	218,451	327
1891	12,973,086	467,071	3.6	145	301,934	183	165,137	328
1901	14,770,252	534,112	3.6	137	353,382	191	180,730	328

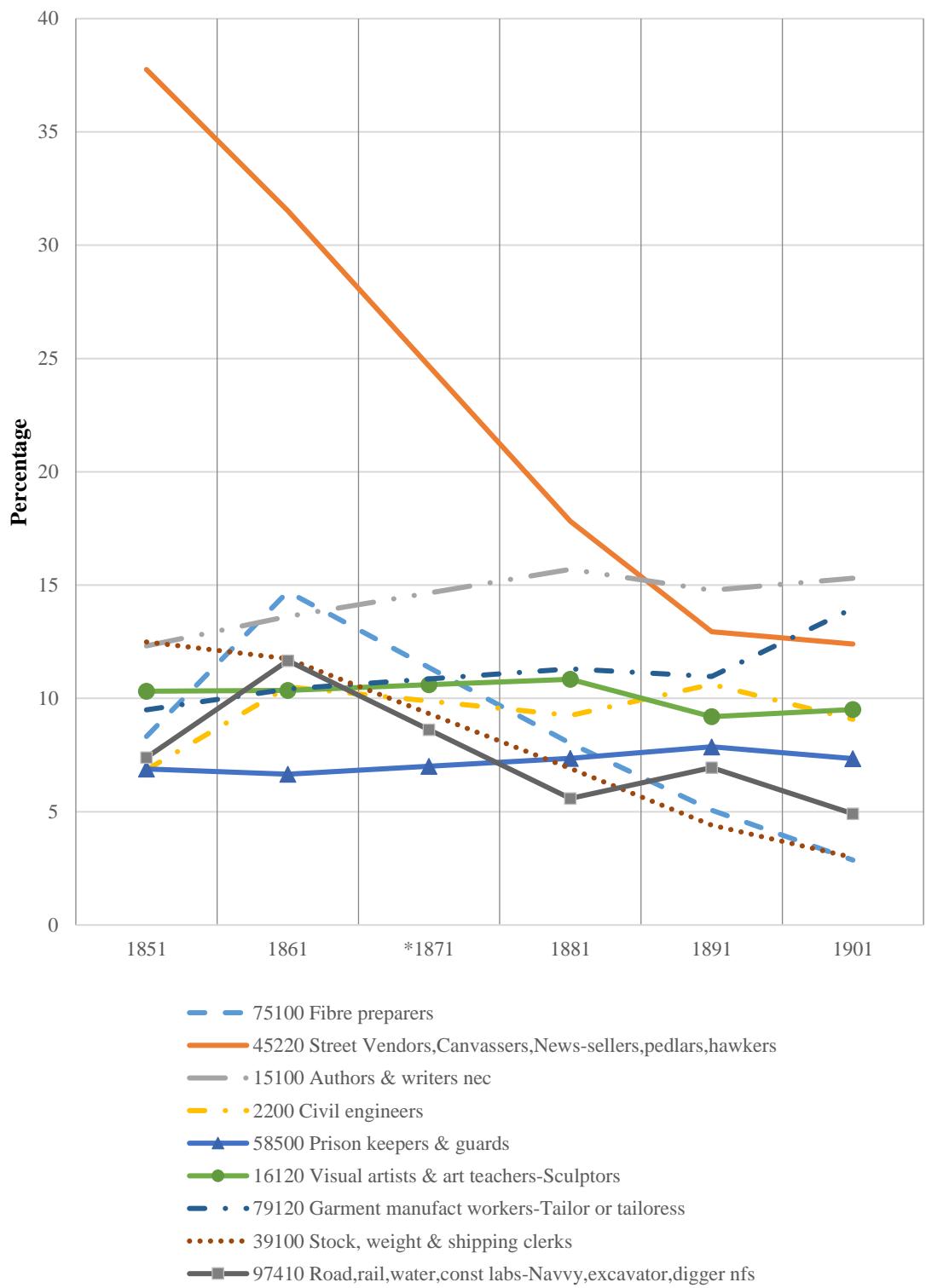
Source: I-CeM

*Extrapolated

There were no occurrences of complete segregation amongst foreign-born persons in any occupation of more than ten people at any point in the period. Despite the absence of complete segregation, in many occupations, there was an unequal proportion of foreign and native-born workers. Figure 5.4 takes a selection of occupations and charts the proportion of foreign-born persons in them. Nine occupation codes were randomly selected from each of the HISCO classes. One explanation for the sharp contraction of certain occupations is that there was a desegregation of occupations. When examining occupational segregation and integration, there are varying

degrees of detail that could be explored. For example, gender and hierarchical differences can play an important role in segregating behaviours. The examples in this section are examined without these considerations, but they would be a logical next step in future research building on this work.

Figure 5.4: Percentage of foreign-born persons in select occupations, 1851-1901



The occupations dominated by foreign-born persons in 1851 decreased significantly throughout the period. A notable exception is teachers of higher education, which remained at a constant level. There are several reasons for the desegregation of foreign-born workers in certain industries. In some cases, desegregation came because of sharp increases in the number of total workers in that occupation without a comparable increase in the number of foreign-born workers. In others, the departure of community members, through death, further migration, and retirement, provided opportunities for the native-born community, thereby reducing the degree of segregation. A third point to consider is that second-generation migrants were depicted as native-born and could mislead the assessment of occupational segregation. Finally, the longer a community existed, the greater the likelihood they integrated and interacted with local networks, thereby becoming aware of different work opportunities. Ultimately, while there were not always profound decreases in the number of foreign-born workers – the increase in native-born workers tended to be far higher.

Table 5.11: Dominant occupations amongst total foreign-born persons in 1851 - % of total population with that occupation

CODE	HISCO		1851	1861	1881	1891	1901
77200	Sugar refiners	%	60.8	55.0	34.6	23.5	16.9
		N	1,181	1,322	1,190	935	834
97120	Dockers, freight handlers-Ship boat loaders, dock workers	%	39.0	39.8	25.2	16.0	12.3
		N	7,022	11,852	8,707	8,885	10,477
74430	Other mineral-based product makers-Alkali, soda makers	%	38.7	29.1	23.0	30.5	4.4
		N	410	145	1,064	1,191	117
45220	Street Vendors, Canvassers, News-sellers, pedlars, hawkers	%	37.7	31.5	17.8	12.9	12.4
		N	10,637	8,522	8,051	6,449	6,169
58430	Members of military forces-Other mems of the armed forces	%	28.1	21.9	17.1	13.1	11.6
		N	10,957	18,398	16,728	12,105	15,441
1100	Chemists	%	25.8	34.2	24.4	19.7	12.4
		N	709	1,672	3,320	2,916	2,545
13100	Teacher - higher education	%	24.1	24.7	31.8	27.2	22.7
		N	717	688	1,051	964	708
74740	Animal fat, bone prod makers-Glue, size, gelatine makers	%	22.5	10.6	8.0	6.9	5.0
		N	40	33	32	31	38
74390	Charcoal & coal product makers-Other coal product makers	%	20.1	17.4	18.2	12.7	9.1
		N	1,024	858	1,509	1,314	1,407
17120	Musician, music teachers, other in music-performer, musician nfs	%	19.6	19.4	16.0	11.6	10.1
		N	2,143	2,571	4,312	4,264	4,311

Source: I-CeM

When reviewing the occupations that had large numbers of foreign-born workers in 1901, there was a noticeable shift. In 1851, three of the ten occupations were in the top two HISCO classes, whereas by 1901, five of the ten were in the top two HISCO classes. Performers, ministers of religion, and medical doctors and surgeons were skilled or specialist occupations that notably increased in absolute terms, but also in the proportion of foreign-born workers.

Table 5.12: Dominant occupations amongst total foreign-born persons in 1901 - % of total population with that occupation

CODE	HISCO		1851	1861	1881	1891	1901
17900	Performers & performing artists nec	%	14.3	10.5	10.7	29.4	43.6
		N	146	98	146	418	1,354
74750	Animal fat & bone produce makers-Wax or polish makers	%	6.2	0	0	0	40.0
		N	1	0	0	0	2
14140	Ministers of relig, mems relig orders-Mem relig order	%	6.6	13.1	18.8	29.2	25.1
		N	261	372	1,533	1,609	2,019
13100	Teacher - higher education	%	24.1	24.7	31.8	27.2	22.7
		N	717	68	1,051	964	708
52030	Housekeepers, housekeeping service supervisors-Steward	%	8.9	14.2	20.0	14.9	19.6
		N	99	512	1,515	1,220	2,008
4250	Ships officers-Ships navigating officers & ships mates	%	6.0	9.8	14.7	14.5	19.5
		N	2,563	8,713	11,784	8,108	11,720
95700	Glaziers	%	17.1	26.0	34.5	25.0	18.9
		N	453	617	791	593	522
6100	Med doctors & surgeons	%	7.3	7.6	14.8	17.7	18.6
		N	680	622	2,466	3,228	3,974
53220	Waiters, bartenders & related workers-Waiter or waitress	%	3.7	5.5	11.0	12.5	18.2
		N	303	569	1,911	3,027	6,248
53102	Cooks-Cook -not domestic	%	5.2	6.7	10.4	13.1	18.2
		N	187	260	813	686	2,125

Source: I-CeM

Emerging from this analysis are shifting behaviours that operated in conjunction with changes to the national economy, but also demonstrated the changing composition of the foreign-born community. For instance, in 1901, of the 3,974 foreign-born persons enumerated as being a Medical doctor & surgeon (6100), 2,289 or 57.6 per cent were Ireland-born, the second largest group being India-born persons, who accounted for 13.2 per cent. Meanwhile, of the 2,125 non-domestic Cooks (53102), 686 or 32.3 per cent were French, being largely concentrated in London. Therefore,

while foreign-born persons noticeably dominated certain occupations, there was another level of segregation within the occupations.

Geography and the establishment of foreign-born communities could be used to explore occupational activities further. For example, there were 6,248 Waiters and bartenders (53220) in 1901, of which 2,367 (37.9 per cent) were German-born, and 1,242 (19.9 per cent) were Italian. Yet, when explored by geography, other patterns emerge, in the registration district of Pancras, there were 341 German-born persons (43.3 per cent) and 140 Italy-born (17.8 per cent); and in the nearby district of Westminster, there were 123 German-born persons (15.6 per cent) and 423 Italy-born (53.5 per cent). Stereotypes concerning a proclivity towards a particular occupation would be borne up in the evidence that there was a correlation between a foreign-born community and engagement in certain occupations.

IV. Conclusion

This chapter sought to identify the occupations of foreign-born persons and then establish the extent to which they segregated from native-born persons in their occupational activity. Three questions are directing the research. First, what was the occupational activity of foreign-born and native-born persons and how did they differ from each other? Second, how did the occupations of foreign-born groups experience change over the course of the period? Third, what degree of segregation was there within certain occupations and industries? These questions effectively address the

central issue of segregation amongst the foreign-born population of England and Wales in relation to their occupational activities.

Several original findings have been presented in this chapter. First, it demonstrates that occupations disproportionately composed of foreign-born persons largely changed over the period and typically became less concentrated. Second, foreign-born persons were more likely to be in service and skilled occupations, and less likely to have a non-occupational response. Third, foreign-born persons were found in slightly higher proportions within the industrial classes than the native-born population. These findings meaningfully contribute to the current understanding of foreign-born migrants and suggest that as a whole, the migrant population were actively engaged in the British economy.

Migrants established several notable businesses and their investments in the nineteenth and early twentieth century continue to the present day.¹³⁰ There is evidence that demonstrates a certain entrepreneurial spirit amongst a number of minority and migrant groups, as highlighted in the work of Harold Pollins.¹³¹ However, despite an array of migrant successes and contributions to British society, as Holmes notes, the vast majority of migrants lived and died as members of the working class.¹³²

The occupational activity of foreign-born persons differed significantly from that of the native-born community. Foreign-born groups reacted and responded to

¹³⁰ Colin Holmes, 'Building the Nation: the contributions of immigrants and refugees to British society', *RSA Journal*, Vol. 139, No. 5423 (1991), p. 727.

¹³¹ Harold Pollins, 'Immigrants and Minorities - the outsiders in business', *Immigrants and Minorities*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (1989), pp. 252-270.

¹³² See Holmes, 'Building the Nation', p. 731.

technological and economic change by engaging in new and developing fields of employment. Consequently, migrants became increasingly involved in fields such as the performing arts, photography, civil engineering, and electrical workers.

A central finding in this chapter is how within select occupations there was an over-representation of foreign-born persons in proportion to the native-born population. However, these behaviours shifted over time. Foreign-born persons had been heavily represented within the sugar refining industry and amongst dockworkers. Yet, later in the period, they became increasingly enumerated within the performing arts, religion, and higher education. Most significant is the fact that foreign-born persons were clearly further divided by geography and their nationality. Ultimately, specific migrant dominated occupations were likely influenced by particular groups, such as Ireland-born chemists.

Ultimately, foreign-born migrants sought work to provide for themselves and their families. Migrants were drawn to every occupation that existed, yet they differed from previous waves of migration in the sense that they rarely introduced new industries or technologies. The evidence suggests that a significant portion of the workforce was skilled, but that the majority had unskilled occupations. Some were forced to take employment below their qualifications or skill sets. The idea that migrants were purposefully and intentionally outstripping and pushing out native-born workers from their trades is indeterminable from the aggregate data. Although there is evidence detailing occupational and trade competition in highly concentrated migration centres, they did not capture entire industries or occupations anywhere in the country. If such analysis was extended to include second-generation migrants, such findings might

support contemporary accounts. However, with the data at hand, the evidence does not support such claims.

This chapter and its findings are amongst the first to address the topic of occupational activity and segregation amongst the foreign-born population of England and Wales. The identification of occupations with an above average proportion of foreign-born persons raises interesting questions around information networks, work opportunities, and residential distribution, amongst others. Changes to the occupational structure of the migrant population are highlighted throughout this chapter, which indicates a heterogeneous and adaptive population. A valuable aspect of this chapter is that it provides an overview of the entire foreign-born population and establishes the industries that attracted greater numbers.

The tendency to occupationally cluster is acknowledged in the literature, yet the process of de-concentration is less recognised.¹³³ By demonstrating that migrants tended to reduce their concentration in certain occupations, this chapter indicates that further research is needed to ascertain the motivations for these changes. The central contribution to knowledge comes from the occupational characteristics breakdown of the key migrant groups. The contrasting compositions demonstrate a complex array of circumstances influencing the activities that particular groups could get involved in. The findings show that migration streams and communities could vary enormously in the types of paid employment they undertook.

¹³³ Holmes, *John Bull's Island*, p. 281.

The scope of this study is constrained to focus on occupational composition without extensive consideration of age, sex, geography, or other variables. Establishing the foundational occupational components of the foreign-born population is invaluable for determining the economic characteristics of the whole community. The sheer number of occupations, however, problematizes the research as only a selection of occupations can be considered in great depth at one time. Many of these factors influence the types of employment a person undertakes and their ability to interact with the host society. Without considering these other variables, the area of investigation remains purposefully limited for reasons of feasibility.

There are several recommendations for future research stemming from this chapter. First, more work is needed to explore the longitudinal behaviours and activity of foreign-born migrants during their life-course. For example, do migrants continue with the same form of employment throughout their life, or are they more likely to change their occupation than the native-born population? Second, further research is required to explore the geographical attributes of the I-CeM to establish regional and localised employment patterns. Finally, this research should be broadened to include other migrant groups with attention afforded to the development and emergence of new forms of employment. For example, knowledge gaps remain concerning many of the industries that migrants engaged with. Ultimately, the findings in this chapter offer vital insights into the foreign-born population of England and Wales and the forms of employment they undertook.

Chapter 6: RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION – CASE STUDIES

‘The distribution of the poor aliens, both as regards localities and trades, is said to be such that the pressure occasioned by them is out of proportion to their actual numbers...It is a matter of course that they should congregate in colonies of their own, in London and in some other large towns...’¹

I. Introduction

Residential proximity plays an important role in the integration and segregation of foreign-born populations.² For historians, identifying the geographical or spatial experiences and activities of migrants is pivotal for understanding the relationship between migrants and the host society. Ultimately, the historical issues with migration were less to do with the number of people, but more to do with their distribution across the country and in communities. Therefore, it is important for the history discipline and contemporary society to understand the residential distribution of foreign-born migrants and the extent to which they were segregated.

The spatial and geographical distribution of migrants is a crucial factor in previous studies of migration.³ As outlined in chapter one, a considerable amount of literature is available on the subject of foreign-born migration into England and Wales.

¹ *Times*, 17 August 1889, ‘The Report of the Select Committee’.

² Stanley Waterman, and Barry A. Kosmin, ‘Mapping an unenumerated ethnic population: Jews in London’, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 4 (1986), pp. 498-500.

³ Holmes, ‘Immigrants and Minorities’, p. 18.

Migrant settlement patterns, specifically, have received a degree of scholarly attention.⁴ However, as previously noted, most studies have addressed migrant distribution at a parish level or larger, rarely with individual households, and certainly only a handful with the I-CeM. Recent scholarly efforts by Nigel Walford demonstrate a novel approach to geocoding historical data using the MasterMap collection.⁵ The processes of assimilation and integration have been extensively discussed in previous scholarship, notable scholars including John Berry and Emmanuel Todd.⁶ Whilst the process of arriving and settling in a host society involves multiple factors, residential integration and segregation are the focus of this chapter.

The issue of foreign-born persons migrating and settling emerged as a widespread concern within British society in the late nineteenth century.⁷ As one contemporary noted, ‘The immigration of the poor aliens and people from the country was unquestionably answerable for much of the overcrowding.’⁸ Migrant groups often gravitated towards areas of cheap housing, which were typically in a state of urban decay, and suffering from unsanitary living conditions.⁹ These residential spaces, which hosted the poorer elements of society, offered migrants shelter for what they

⁴ As a recent international example see Sheryl-Ann Simpson, ‘Spatial Patterns of International Migrant Resident Settlement and Incorporation in Winnipeg Manitoba’, *Population, Space and Place*, Vol. 23, No. 7 (2017), unpaginated.

⁵ Walford, ‘Bringing historical British Census records into the 21st century’, pp. 1-16.

⁶ John W. Berry, ‘Integration and Multiculturalism: Ways towards Social Solidarity’, *Papers on Social Representations*, Vol. 20 (2011), pp. 2.1-2.21, John W. Berry, ‘Acculturation: Living successfully in two cultures’, *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, Vol. 29 (2005), pp. 697-712, John W. Berry, ‘Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaption’, *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, Vol. 46, No. 1 (1997), pp. 5-68, and Emmanuel Todd, *Le destin des immigrés: assimilation et segregation dans les démocraties occidentales* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1994).

⁷ Royal Commission, *Minutes of Evidence*, pp. 1-2.

⁸ *Times*, 15 March 1901, ‘Overcrowding in The East-End - A conference’.

⁹ John A. Garrard, ‘English reactions to immigrants now and 70 years ago’, *Patterns of Prejudice*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (1967), pp. 24-32.

could afford. In places, influxes certain migrants were accused of displacing the existing native-born population, leading slum areas to form into self-contained and segregated communities.¹⁰ Despite these claims, it remains unclear how accurate the perceptions of migrant numbers and settlement behaviours were.

Without the availability of GIS and the I-CeM, it was previously time consuming to repopulate entire streets or neighbourhoods to examine migrant settlement patterns.¹¹ Technological and data limitations meant scholars were limited in the scope and depth of their studies. In contrast, with new resources and tools, it is possible to measure and explore the subject of migrant residential distribution and revisit the existing historiography. Specifically, this chapter provides examples of how census microdata can be used for local level reconstitution and contributes to the literature with its case studies.

Although areas of high migrant settlement are identifiable, a significant knowledge gap exists concerning what happened to these communities over time. Longitudinal analysis of key areas would significantly contribute to our understanding of the extent to which areas of high foreign-born settlement remained dominated by the migrant community. Not knowing what happened to the communities or how they experienced continuity or change is a notable omission that this chapter will seek to address.

¹⁰ Richard Kirkland, 'Reading the Rookery: The Social Meaning of an Irish Slum in Nineteenth-Century London', *New Hibernia Review*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (2012), pp. 23-26.

¹¹ See Dennis R. Mills, 'The technique of house repopulation: experience from a Cambridgeshire village, 1841', *The Local Historian*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (1978), pp. 86-98.

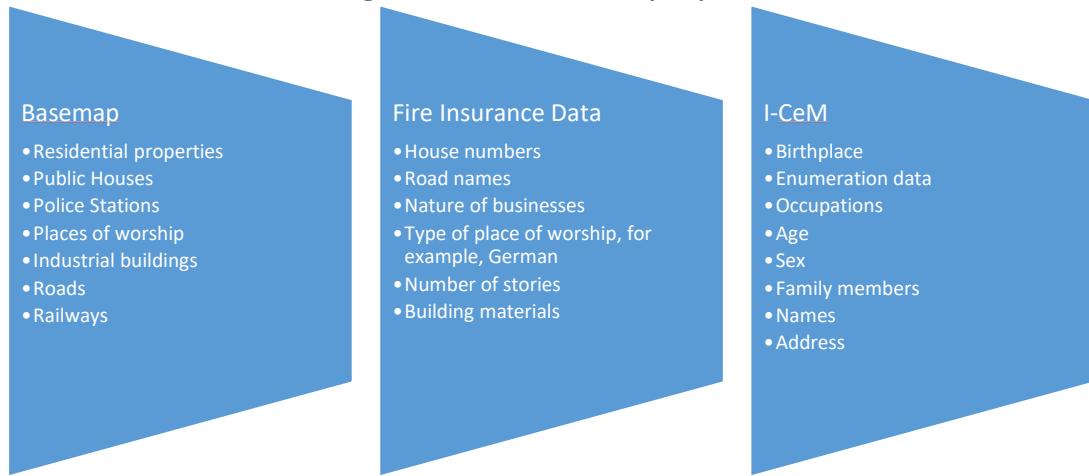
The main objective of this chapter is to demonstrate the complexity of establishing migrant residential tendencies. Through two case studies, this chapter argues that segregated migrant communities in Victorian England rapidly assimilated with the host society. Similarly, this chapter demonstrates that high levels of intra-area mobility resulted in shifting boundaries and communities. Consequently, evidence of migrant residential behaviours with individualised census data is presented for future methodological considerations.

The overall purpose of the research in this chapter is to demonstrate the nuances of migrant residential behaviours. Although migrants tend to be viewed as homogeneous, the materials presented here demonstrate a significant degree of heterogeneity. Within the same community, some migrants remained strongly associated with a specific area while others were notably transient. The mobility of migrants is emphasised in this chapter, which reveals that settlement was not always a permanent affair.

Many questions regarding migrant distribution and segregation remain. However, the central question addressed in this chapter is to what extent did foreign-born communities segregate from the host society? By answering this question, it becomes possible to identify the behaviours of migrant communities and how they experienced change over time. The principal methodology utilised in this chapter is a blend of data linkage and GIS visualisation (see figure 6.1). Ordnance survey basemaps and fire insurance maps underwent manual vectorisation. Following the vectorisation process, the I-CeM was then linked to the data to create detailed records for every property in select areas. The different layers of data resulted in an entirely new dataset, which can

pinpoint individual households and who was living in them. For the sake of consistency, road names were modified and standardised where necessary. The manual vectorisation and data linkage was a lengthy process that required considerable attention to detail. Far more properties underwent this process of reconstitution than this chapter presents. Instead, by providing select case studies from London and Newcastle upon Tyne, interesting behaviours of migrant communities in contrasting areas are observable.

Figure 6.1: Data overlay layers



Both the results and methodology of this chapter are of interest and value to historians. Using GIS to reconstitute neighbourhoods means it is possible to introduce various datasets to create a detailed overview of the spatial history and demography of an area. Although not entirely new to migration studies, in a British context this is a relatively unrealised approach. Findings from this chapter have wider ramifications for the existing literature as it enables the re-analysis of census data and prior assumptions. Most previous studies have relied on the tabulated census returns and have been unable to re-test the veracity of aggregate figures. In a similar fashion, as this thesis

is amongst the first studies to extensively analyse and explore the I-CeM, this approach enables a versatile assessment of the secure address data and the accuracy of property level mapping. Consequently, this study contributes to British migration studies and the broader historical field in several ways.

There are several limitations to this chapter. The selection of case studies is contingent on whether there is underlying property data available. For example, fire insurance maps enable the identification of house numbers and the correct assignment of migrants to the relevant property. Linking the property footprint with address data extracted from fire insurance maps to the I-CeM was no easy feat. Manually identifying and linking thousands of records together was almost certainly not error-free. Changes in address, incomplete census records, absences on the night of the census and a range of other factors influence the ability to reconstitute areas of England and Wales for the period of this study.¹² Furthermore, it is necessary to merge multiple households for each property to depict them in the figures. Consequently, future studies will need to address and overcome these limitations. However, for the purposes of this study and being amongst the first to pioneer this approach with the I-CeM, these limitations are not severe enough to discredit the findings. While this chapter focuses on residential distribution, it does not explore occupational behaviours in conjunction with residential distribution, which would be of significant value. Another significant constraint is how this study only focuses on two areas. Further case studies and examinations of other settlements and communities will reveal further behaviours and

¹² R. S. Holmes, 'Identifying Nineteenth-Century Properties', *Area*, Vol. 6, No. 4 (1974), p. 273.

insights. Similarly, the case studies in this chapter are both urban in nature. The paucity of studies concerning foreign-born rural migration is an area that requires scholarly attention.¹³

Other limitations of this chapter include the absence of some individual-level data and the challenges of correctly relating address data to households. The manual process of checking linkages is a weakness that can result in the introduction of issues. Changing geographies and street-names further complicate the situation, which means analyses require some form of standardisation and manipulation. One final consideration for future studies is how multiple households are dealt with. In the case of Newcastle, a street-level analysis can manage multiple-household properties. However, for Whitechapel, households had to be treated as merged, which is a problematic act. Consequently, further consideration is needed on how to overcome this liability.

After a justification for the selection of the case studies, this chapter will outline and present the two case studies that depict migrant settlement tendencies. Using GIS software, changes to the composition of residential areas are presented and analysed. Finally, the findings from this chapter are then placed in relation to theoretical considerations, and two models of migrant residential settlement are proposed.

¹³ Peter M. Solar, and Malcolm T. Smith, 'Background migration: the Irish (and other strangers) in mid-Victorian Hertfordshire', *Local Population Studies*, Vol. 82 (2009), pp. 44-62.

II. Case Studies

The registration districts of Newcastle and Whitechapel serve as the case studies in this chapter for multiple reasons. First, there is existing literature that examines the residential and segregating activities of foreign-born migrants in both Newcastle and Whitechapel for the period of this study. Second, in 1851, the registration districts of Newcastle upon Tyne and Whitechapel had a similar sized population of around 80,000. Both districts were consistently amongst those with the largest foreign-born populations, and they contained a number of distinct migrant communities. Third, with a distance of almost 250 miles between them, London and Newcastle are geographically divided and culturally distinct, providing both a northern and southern example. Finally, although similar in size in 1851, the districts rapidly diverged in size and composition. As illustrated in table 6.1, the districts will offer a contrast by analysing a geographically contained urban district (Whitechapel), and an expanding urban centre (Newcastle). Previous migration studies with case studies or interest in both Newcastle upon Tyne and London include Philip Carstairs' study on the improvement of the poor and the reforming of immigrants through soup kitchens.¹⁴ In his review of early 1980s migration historiography, David Feldman notes that the Irish and Jewish population of East London had opposing mentalities to social mobility.¹⁵ As comparisons between the two groups already exist, they remain the focus of this section.

¹⁴ Philip Carstairs, 'Soup and Reform: Improving the Poor and Reforming Immigrants through Soup Kitchens, 1870-1910', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, Vol. 21, No. 4 (2017), pp. 1-36.

¹⁵ David Feldman, 'There was an Englishman, an Irishman and a Jew....: Immigrants and Minorities in Britain', *Historical Journal*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (1983), pp. 185-186.

Whitechapel was a densely populated district bounded by other highly populated districts. Better housing, often in the form of large housing blocks replaced the slum properties and rookeries. The new residences provided improved living conditions, but also reduced the total residential provision. In contrast, Newcastle was able to expand outwards from its boundaries, thereby reducing the urgency to replace slum housing with new buildings. In the Newcastle case study, many of the slum buildings were cleared, but not initially rebuilt, thereby leading to depopulation in the area. The circumstances of Whitechapel and Newcastle were vastly different. For example, despite the total population of Whitechapel decreasing, its foreign-born population expanded significantly.

Table 6.1: Population of Newcastle upon Tyne and Whitechapel, 1851-1911

Year	Newcastle				Whitechapel			
	Total pop.	Pop. Density (per acre) ¹	FB	FB % of tot. pop.	Tot pop.	Pop. Density (per acre) ¹	FB	FB % of tot. pop.
1851	80,947	13	7,339	9.1	78,618	198	12,236	15.6
1861	107,851	15	7,974	7.4	73,272	192	12,486	17.0
1871*	128,867	18	7,742	6.0	71,631	190	13,009	18.2
1881	149,882	21	7,510	5.0	69,991	188	13,532	19.3
1891	197,859	27	7,614	3.8	74,268	197	20,031	27.0
1901	228,367	32	7,916	3.5	78,243	210	28,029	35.8
1911	250,756	34	7,080	2.8	67,648	180	22,078	32.6

Source: I-CeM

* Extrapolated

¹Population density drawn from the Vision of Britain statistics.¹⁶

¹⁶ GB Historical GIS / University of Portsmouth, Newcastle upon Tyne PLPar/PLU/RegD through time | Historical Statistics on Population for the Poor Law Union/Reg. District | Rate: Population Density (Persons per Acre), *A Vision of Britain through Time*. Available at: http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10139466/rate/POP_DENS_A, [accessed: 10 December 2018].

GB Historical GIS / University of Portsmouth, Whitechapel PLPar/PLU/RegD through time | Historical Statistics on Population for the Poor Law Union/Reg. District | Rate: Population Density (Persons per Acre), *A Vision of Britain through Time*. Available at: http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10174661/rate/POP_DENS_A, [accessed: 10 December 2018].

Table 6.1 demonstrates a contrast in the population structure of the Whitechapel and Newcastle registration districts. While the total foreign-born population of Whitechapel was increasing, there was a slight decrease in the total population of the district. In contrast, however, Newcastle had a static foreign-born population with a rapidly growing total population. As such, these urban centres underwent radically different processes over the period. The two cities also had different migration streams with Whitechapel experiencing an arrival of Eastern Europeans. As such, Newcastle had a more established Ireland-born population while Whitechapel adapted to significant numbers of Eastern Europeans. The differences between the communities lend itself to observing foreign-born migrant behaviours in contrasting contexts.

III. Whitechapel

Obtaining its name from a medieval whitewashed chapel, Whitechapel emerged as a principal thoroughfare for the east of the city.¹⁷ Due to its proximity to London and the Docklands, the area has a long history of migration into and through the district.¹⁸ The parish was often described as being crowded, with the rookery reportedly serving as a den for criminals, prostitutes, and the abject poor. A rookery is a colloquialism for slum, with the areas being strongly linked with criminality, destitution, and crowded conditions.¹⁹ The slum areas were unsanitary, poorly built and maintained,

¹⁷ Walter Thornbury, 'Whitechapel', in *Old and New London: Vol. 2* (London: Cassel, Petter, and Galpin, 1878), pp. 142-146.

¹⁸ Kate Bradley, 'Growing up with a City: Exploring Settlement Youth Work in London and Chicago, c.1880-1940', *London Journal*, Vol. 34, No. 3 (2009), p. 287.

¹⁹ Thomas Beames, *The Rookeries of London: Past, Present, and Prospective* (London: Thomas Bosworth, 1852, second edition), p. 79.

and vulnerable to outbreaks of disease. Attempts to remedy urban decay and the unsanitary conditions of the people led to slum clearances.²⁰ Contemporaries communicated the perceived criminality of the area, as illustrated in figure 6.2. In an attempt to cleanse the area, new properties were constructed, including the Rothschild Buildings.²¹ Despite efforts to reduce overcrowding, the number of new properties did not keep pace with the clearances, resulting in districts experiencing overcrowding.²²

Contemporaries saw Whitechapel as a place of poverty and disrepute.²³ A writer describing the area at the end of the nineteenth century had this to say, ‘Come down to Whitechapel and see. You think of Whitechapel as the prowling ground of Jack the Ripper, as a labyrinth of reeking slums, or a Ghetto crowded with foreign Jews chattering in Yiddish over piles of old clothes...’²⁴ Whitechapel and its housing stock continued to deteriorate throughout the period.²⁵ As overcrowding and decay pressured those living in the area, many native-born persons left the area.²⁶ Meanwhile, desperate migrants moved in – many being willing to tolerate dire living conditions.²⁷

²⁰ ‘Report of the Lancet Special Sanitary Commission on the Polish Colony of Jew Tailors’, *The Lancet* (3 May 1884), pp. 817-819, in David Englander, ed., *A Documentary History of Jewish Immigrants in Britain 1840-1920* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1994), pp. 85-90.

²¹ Jerry White, *Rothschild Buildings: Life in an East End tenement block, 1887-1920* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980), p. 31.

²² Susan D. Pennybacker, *A Vision for London, 1889-1914: labour and everyday life and the LCC experiment* (London and New York, NY: Routledge, 1995), p. 6.

²³ Charles Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London, First Series, Vol. 4* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1902), p. 44.

²⁴ Howard Angus Kennedy, ‘London’s Social Settlements’, in George R. Sims, *Living London, Vol. 1* (London: Cassell and Co., 1902), p. 267.

²⁵ Thomas Mackay, *Methods of Social Reform* (London: John Murray, 1896), pp. 246-247.

²⁶ Charles Booth, *Life and Labour of the People, Vol. 2* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1891), pp. 446-448.

²⁷ James A. Yelling, *Slums and Slum Clearance in Victorian London* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007, first published 1986), pp. 142-144.

Figure 6.2: Gustave Doré, ‘Whitechapel – A Shady Place’, 1872.

Source: Doré, and Jerrold, *London: A Pilgrimage*, p. 146.



Israel Zangwill was a British Jewish author born in Spitalfields to parents from the Russian Empire, who became an influential figure in Jewish thought.²⁸ The East End of London, which contemporaries regularly referred to as a ‘ghetto’, was consistently portrayed as a bleak and dilapidated cityscape, with the inhabitants described scurrilously. In his 1892 novel, Zangwill refers to the conditions of the area, within which he refers to Fashion Street, which connected Spitalfields and Whitechapel:

A dead and gone wag called the street “Fashion Street”, and most of the people who live in it do not even see the joke. If it could exchange names with “Rotten Row,” both places would be more appropriately designated. It is a dull, squalid, narrow thoroughfare in the East End of London, connecting Spitalfields with Whitechapel, and branching off in blind alleys. In the days when little Esther Ansell trudged its unclean pavements, its extremities were within earshot of the blasphemies from some of the vilest quarters and filthiest rookeries in the capital of the civilized world.²⁹

Other contemporaries made similar observations, which reinforces the perspective of the area and people as being utterly destitute, and as a blight on the city.³⁰ Despite the adverse living conditions, distinct communities emerged with strong loyalties to the area.³¹

In 1851, the Whitechapel registration district was comprised of ten civil parishes. The district stretched from the River Thames in the south to Bethnal Green in the north and from Stepney in the east to the City of London on the west, as illustrated in figure 6.3. Over time, some of the smaller parishes were absorbed into others, but

²⁸ Nadia Valman, ‘Walking Victorian Spitalfields with Israel Zangwill’, *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, Vol. 21 (2015), pp. 2-4.

²⁹ Israel Zangwill, *Children of the Ghetto: A Peculiar People* (Cockfosters: H. Pordes, 1998, this edition first published in 1914), p. 9.

³⁰ Berman, *London’s East End*, p. 148. See also Gustave Doré, and Blanchard Jerrold, *London: A Pilgrimage* (London: Grant and Co., 1872), p. 145.

³¹ Charles Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London, Third Series*, Vol. 7 (London: Macmillan and Co., 1902), pp. 247-248.

all remained within the boundaries of the registration district.³² Throughout the period, the foreign-born population was concentrated mainly in the Mile End New Town, Spitalfields, and Whitechapel parishes, as demonstrated in table 6.2. Issues connected to the source material and the I-CeM have been discussed in chapter two. However, table 6.2 also reveals two anomalies where the Tower of London parish is absent in 1891. St. Katherine by the Tower, meanwhile, was missing in 1851, despite both parishes being recorded in published returns and with the original records surviving. The absence of data for two parishes for these dates suggests a misallocation of records to another parish during the enrichment process.

Table 6.2: Total population of Whitechapel registration district parishes, 1851-1911

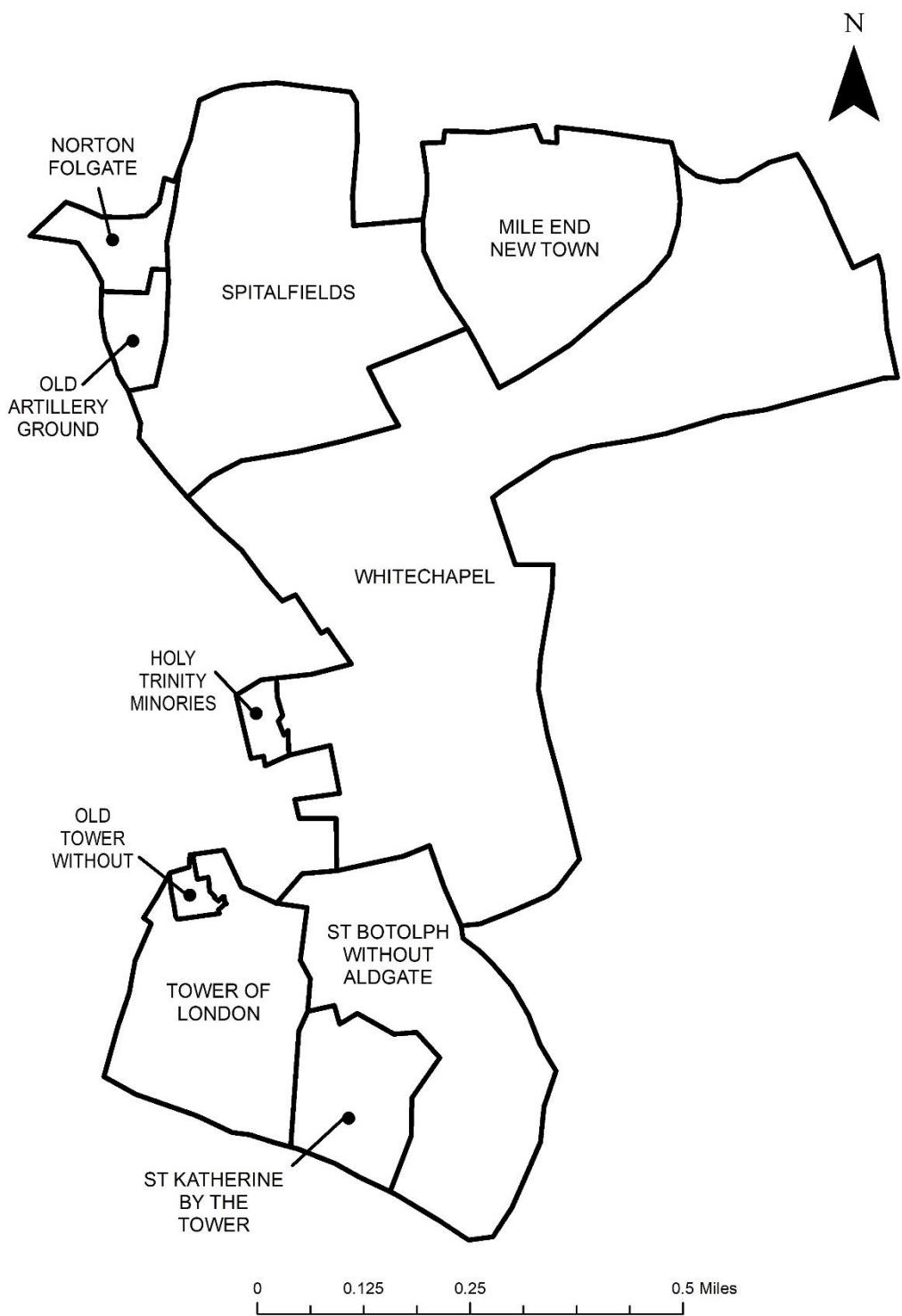
Parish	1851	1861	1871*	1881	1891	1901	1911
Holy Trinity Minories	572	144	165	186	404	N/A	N/A
Mile End New Town	10,183	10,845	10,757	10,668	11,636	13,278	12,334
Norton Folgate	1,770	1,881	1,703	1,525	1,447	1,663	N/A
Old Artillery Ground	1,967	1,313	1,914	2,514	2,126	2,098	1,472
Old Tower Without	285	514	374	233	74	N/A	N/A
Spitalfields	20,960	19,429	20,369	21,308	23,009	23,854	21,264
St. Botolph Without Aldgate	4,078	3,873	5,063	6,253	2,996	3,165	2,920
St. Katherine by the Tower	N/A	68	66	63	34	N/A	N/A
Tower of London	954	681	805	928	N/A	733	N/A
Whitechapel	37,849	34,524	32,083	29,641	32,542	33,452	29,658
Total	78,618	73,272	73,296	73,319	74,268	78,243	67,648

Source: I-CeM

*Extrapolated

³² In 1895, Holy Trinity Minories was absorbed into Whitechapel parish, that same year, the parishes of Old Tower Without and St. Katherine by the Tower became part of the parish of St. Botolph Without Aldgate. In 1901, the Tower of London parish was merged into the St. Botolph Without Aldgate parish.

Figure 6.3: Parishes of Whitechapel registration district, 1881



The Whitechapel registration district has a long and complicated history of migration, with people from across the world living there. Since before the nineteenth century, there had been a sizeable Ireland-born population.³³ Yet, the foreign-born population of Whitechapel became predominately comprised of persons from Eastern Europe, particularly from the 1880s.³⁴ As early as the 1850s, hundreds of Eastern Europeans began arriving in the parishes of Whitechapel, preparing the way for the larger waves that would follow in the ensuing decades. Harold Pollins has noted that by 1881 there was likely to be around 60,000 Jews in Britain.³⁵ The bulk of the Anglo-Jewry resided in London, and most were reportedly not pleased with the arrival of tens of thousands of their poor Eastern European co-religionists.³⁶

Due to the nature of migration from Eastern Europe into Whitechapel, the terms ‘Jew’ and ‘foreign immigrant’ became interchangeable.³⁷ The group is further complicated by ‘Jewish-ness’ being ‘both a religious and an ethnic category’.³⁸ While many Russian migrants were Jewish, not all were. In 1891, contemporaries noted how challenging utilising census data was amid the presence of non-Jewish persons in assessing the number of Jewish Eastern Europeans:

On the numerical distribution of the different nationalities amongst foreign-Jews in London it is impossible to obtain accurate information. Even the cen-

³³ Lees, *Exiles of Erin*, p. 56.

³⁴ William J. Fishman, *The Streets of East London* (London: Duckworth, 1987, sixth impression), pp. 76-99.

³⁵ Harold Pollins, *Hopeful Travellers: Jewish Migrants and Settlers in Nineteenth Century Britain* (London: London Museum of Jewish Life, 1991), pp. 22-23.

³⁶ Cesarani, *The Jewish Chronicle and Anglo-Jewry*, p. 70.

³⁷ Berman, *London’s East End*, pp. 115-116.

³⁸ Malcolm Dick, ‘Birmingham Anglo-Jewry c. 1780 to c. 1880: Origins, Experiences and Representations’, *Midland History*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (2011), p. 195.

sus will be deceptive, for every one of the countries which send us Jews, including Russia, sends us also a certain proportion of non-Jews. Probably the number would be about 53,000.³⁹

Similarly, a proportion of the Jewish population of Whitechapel had lived there for many generations. The perception of Judaism as an alien religion explains, to some extent, why ‘gentiles’ (non-Jewish persons), perceived the area as a foreign colony or ghetto.⁴⁰ Sensationalist newspaper articles and books that referred to the migration as an ‘alien invasion’ reinforced the ‘othering’ of Whitechapel and its inhabitants.

The proportion of non-Jewish Eastern European migrants is unclear. However, evidence exists to suggest that there was a significant non-Jewish component to the Eastern European migration stream. Jerzy Zubrzycki identifies how Christian and Jewish Poles exhibited vastly different settlement behaviours even within urban centres, with the groups congregating according to religion, rather than national identity.⁴¹ One contemporary noted that there were around 500 Polish Christians living in Whitechapel in 1888.⁴² The establishment of a Polish Roman Catholic Mission in July 1894 serviced the small but growing community of Polish Catholics in London.⁴³ Rainer Liedtke has argued that of the 98,321 migrants who passed through Hamburg in 1909, approximately half (around 47,000) were Russians, of whom 21,572 were Jewish. These figures would suggest far more significant numbers of migrants from the Russian Empire were not Jewish than previously suggested.⁴⁴

³⁹ *John Bull*, 16 May 1891, ‘The Jewish Chronicle’.

⁴⁰ Bermant, *London’s East End*, pp. 122-123.

⁴¹ Zubrzycki, *Polish Immigrants in Britain*, pp. 38-41.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁴⁴ Rainer Liedtke, *Jewish Welfare in Hamburg and Manchester, c.1850-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 150

The range of nationalities present in the I-CeM illustrates the ebbs and flows of migration. Table 6.3 illustrates how in 1891 seventy-six Romanians were residing within the district. In 1901, the number of Romanians increased to 678, with a heavy concentration in the parish of Whitechapel. Similarly, 8,885 Ireland-born persons were living in the district in 1851, but by 1911, this had dropped to only 683, a 92.3 per cent decrease. Just as the decrease in the Ireland-born was dramatic, so too was the increase in arrivals from the Russian Empire. Large numbers of German-born persons were present in the first few decades of the period, but like other migrant groups, they became displaced by subsequent arrivals. From 1881, German-born migrants started to appear in larger numbers in other districts, generally moving northwards and westwards. Evidently, as one migrant group left, another arrived. Within Whitechapel, the new arrivals displaced other migrants and the native-born population.⁴⁵ The radical transformation of the population composition was the result of many factors. Such factors included the death of older generations, localised displacement, and out-ward migration to other areas of the country and world.

The Anglo-Jewish population of Britain had gravitated and clustered together in the urbanising cities, with newer migrants often attracted to such locations. In the case of the Jewish Eastern Europeans, as David Newman notes, new migrants often supplemented the existing Jewish communities.⁴⁶ There is, however, a tendency to equate spatial segregation with social proximity, with most measures of segregation

⁴⁵ 'Aliens Bill', House of Commons Debate, 29 March 1904, Vol. 132, cc. 987-995.

⁴⁶ David Newman, 'Integration and Ethnic Spatial Concentration: The Changing Distribution of the Anglo-Jewish Community', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (1985), p. 365.

‘including aspatial and spatial indices...based on a premise that equates proximity with potential interaction.’⁴⁷ The ability to measure aspatial segregation is complicated and requires significant qualitative resources.

Laura Vaughan argues that ‘unlike most other immigrant groups, Jewish clustering continue beyond the first generation of immigration.’⁴⁸ The large wave of Jewish Eastern European migrants arriving in England and Wales in the late nineteenth-century differed significantly from most other migrant communities. Jewish migrants were heterogeneous and without a common language or religion within British society.⁴⁹ Furthermore, Jewish migrants comprised a complex blend of peoples from around Europe and North Africa.⁵⁰ Individuals, such as Jean Paul Sartre, have previously argued that the common animosity frequently exhibited towards Jewish persons served as a coalescent, thereby enabling them to form as a diverse collective.⁵¹ Widespread anti-Semitism forced Jews to band together to avoid persecution. These behaviours resulted in a strained relationship between Jews and the wider society, and an increased likelihood of segregation. This view, however, has waned in recent years. Instead, Vaughan argues that Jewish persons proactively sought to integrate and be-

⁴⁷ Angelina Grigoryeva, and Martin Ruef, ‘The Historical Demography of Racial Segregation’, *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 80, No. 4 (2015), p. 814.

⁴⁸ Vaughan, *Jews in London*, p. 2.

⁴⁹ Bermant, *London’s East End*, pp. 123-128.

⁵⁰ Vaughan, *Jews in London*, p. 2. Vaughan alludes to the complexities of Jewish migrants in the context of how different they were when compared to native-born and other foreign-born groups.

⁵¹ Jean-Paul Sartre, *Anti-Semite and Jew: An Exploration of the Etiology of Hate*, translated by George J. Becker (New York, NY: Schocken Books, 1976, first published 1948), p. 48.

come socially mobile. Andrew Godley also argues that Jewish migrants held ‘upwardly mobile aspirations’, with a tendency towards entrepreneurship.⁵² In consequence, residential segregation should not be conflated with a desire to be completely isolated.

Table 6.3: Largest foreign-born groups in Whitechapel registration district, 1851-1911

Migrant Group	1851	1861	1871*	1881	1891	1901	1911
German-born	1,740	2,142	2,019	1,895	1,690	1,279	714
Russia-born	332	891	3,192	5,492	13,554	21,567	17,635
Ireland-born	8,885	7,201	5,203	3,205	1,826	1,075	683
Austria-born	8	37	123	209	686	1,486	1,251
Romania-born	0	0	1	2	76	678	535
Netherlands-born	744	1,716	1,834	1,952	1,420	1,058	453
France-born	110	110	123	136	130	131	140
USA-born	41	39	104	169	99	51	125

Source: I-CeM

*Extrapolated

Whitechapel had a large number of institutions and organisations that served and benefited the migrant community.⁵³ Cultural transmission and formal education are two key methods of communicating societal values and behaviours and are important factors in the assimilation of migrant communities.⁵⁴ One of the prominent public institutions in the area was the Whitechapel Art Gallery. Juliet Steyn argues

⁵² Andrew Godley, ‘Enterprise and Culture: Jewish Immigrants in London and New York, 1880-1914’, *Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 54, No. 2 (1994), p. 430.

⁵³ An interesting introduction to two medical institutions related to migrant communities can be found in Howard Irving Rein, ‘A Comparative Study of the London German and the London Jewish Hospitals’, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Southampton (2016). See also Lara Marks, ‘Dear Old Mother Levy’s: The Jewish Maternity Home and Sick Room Helps Society 1895-1939’, *Social History of Medicine*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (1990), pp. 61-88.

⁵⁴ Alberto Bisin, and Thierry Verdier, ““Beyond the Melting Pot”: Cultural Transmission, Marriage, and the Evolution of Ethnic and Religious Traits”, *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. 115, No. 3 (2000), pp. 959-962. See also Israel Finestein, ‘Jewish emancipationists in Victorian England: self-imposed limits to assimilation’, in Jonathan Frankel, and Steven J. Zipperstein, eds., *Assimilation and Community: The Jews in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 38-56.

that the exhibitions hosted at the gallery sought to demonstrate and communicate the cultural value of Jews being in England, but it also urged migrants to assimilate.⁵⁵

The array of educational facilities enabled first and second-generation child migrants to participate in the English education system. However, members of the migrant community established educational facilities to communicate and retain their distinct cultural and religious identities.⁵⁶ David Salomans, a leader of the Jewish emancipation struggle, argued against schools for Jews, as he saw it as further segregating 'Jewish boys from their English peers'.⁵⁷ Likewise, Moses Angel, the head-master of the Jews' Free School in East London, sought to acculturate the students to life in Britain, and he was willing to do it 'even if it meant that their religious education was rudimentary'.⁵⁸ However, many of the Anglo-Jewry were opposed to the establishment of institutions that exclusively served their community. However, organisations such as the Jewish Lads' Brigade, actively sought to acculturate and integrate migrants and their progeny into British society.⁵⁹

The East End was not a Jewish ghetto, Rubinstein has argued, but Jews were a highly visible component of the area.⁶⁰ Although Rubinstein compares the East End

⁵⁵ Juliet Steyn, 'The Complexities of Assimilation in the 1906 Whitechapel Art Gallery Exhibition 'Jewish Art and Antiquities', *Oxford Art Journal*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (1990), pp. 48-49, and Sharman Kadish, 'A Good Jew or a Good Englishman?': The Jewish Lads' Brigade and Anglo-Jewish Identity', in Anne Kershen, ed., *A Question of Identity* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 77-93.

⁵⁶ Geoffrey Short, 'The role of education in Jewish continuity: a response to Jonathan Sacks', *British Journal of Religious Education*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (2005), pp. 256-259.

⁵⁷ Vivian David Lipman, *A History of the Jews in Britain since 1858* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1990), p. 25.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁵⁹ Richard A. Voeltz, '...A Good Jew and a Good Englishman': The Jewish Lads' Brigade, 1894-1922', *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (1988), p. 127.

⁶⁰ W. D. Rubinstein, *A History of the Jews in the English Speaking World: Great Britain* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1996), p. 96.

Jews to their co-religionists in North America, it is perhaps a disservice to do so.

While the number of Jews pales in comparison to the millions of Jews who settled in the US, the arrivals in Britain had a distinct impact on the country, and the public conscience. The impacts of migration included the introduction of new culinary delicacies and religious institutions, amongst others. The displacement of residents created a point of entry for new arrivals, an area where services, industries, and connections formed.⁶¹ In areas of high migrant concentration, institutions and neighbourhoods conveyed the idea of a ghetto to those from the native society.⁶² Despite the perception of some, Whitechapel was a complex and mixed community composed of native and foreign-born persons.

Despite being a place of high concentration, the idea that Whitechapel was a desirable place to settle is challenged. Jerry White, in his study on the Rothschild's buildings, states that: 'She [White's mother-in-law] came from the open villages in Russia. When she came to the Buildings she thought she was in Hell after the open life back home.'⁶³ The confined nature of tenements and the physical spaces of settlement differed vastly from what many of the migrants had known in their former homes. Foreign-born communities established specialist shops, cafes, places of worship, and social clubs, amongst others. These enterprises provided a network that en-

⁶¹ Anne Kershen, 'The Jewish Community of London', in Nick Merriman, ed., *The Peopling of London* (London: The Museum of London, 1993), pp. 142-145.

⁶² Berman, *London's East End*, pp. 161-163.

⁶³ White, *Rothschild Buildings*, p. 38.

abled social and cultural links to be both maintained and developed. As such, institutions in areas of high concentration served a function in simultaneously facilitating integration and enabling segregation.⁶⁴

In the case of foreign-born Jewish migrants in Whitechapel, and the East End more broadly, there was the complex factor that there were competing identities. In Whitechapel, there was a pre-existing Anglo-Jewry descended from Sephardic Jews who had arrived during the late seventeenth century from Spain and Portugal.⁶⁵ Over the years, the Sephardic Jews had navigated society to form a small but cohesive community that had experienced a degree of social mobility, with an estimated Jewish population in 1882 of 60,000 for the whole country.⁶⁶ The thousands of arrivals from the 1880s, however, were mostly poor Ashkenazi Jews from Eastern Europe.⁶⁷ The Ashkenazi had dissimilar religious beliefs, languages, and cultures to both the host society and the existing Anglo-Jewry. The polarity between the wealthy Sephardic Anglo-Jewry and the poor-migrant Ashkenazi Jews, affected the homogeneity of the Jewish community, although attempts were made to redress the divide.⁶⁸ Over time, initiatives sought to encourage arriving migrants to continue their journey to the USA,

⁶⁴ See David Dee, 'The Sunshine of Manly Sports and Pastimes': Sport and the Integration of Jewish Refugees in Britain, 1895–1914', *Immigrants and Minorities*, Vol. 30, No. 2-3 (2012), pp. 318-342, Panikos Panayi, 'The Anglicisation of East European Jewish Food in Britain', *Immigrants and Minorities*, Vol. 30, No. 2-3 (2012), pp. 292-317.

⁶⁵ Hidden London, 'Whitechapel, Tower Hamlets', available at: <http://hidden-london.com/gazetteer/whitechapel/>, [accessed: 5 April 2017], Ben Gidley, 'The Ghosts of Kishinev in the East End: Responses to a Pogrom in the Jewish London of 1903', in Eitan Bar-Yosef, and Nadia Valman, eds., *'The Jew' in Late-Victorian and Edwardian Culture: Between the East End and East Africa* (Hounds-mill: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 99-101.

⁶⁶ Geoffrey Alderman, *British Jewry Since Emancipation* (Buckingham: The University of Buckingham Press, 2014), p. 101.

⁶⁷ Beatrice Potter, 'The Jewish Community', in Charles Booth, ed., *Labour and Life of the People*, Vol. 1 (London: Williams and Norgate, 1889), pp. 564-568.

⁶⁸ See Susan L. Tananbaum, 'Philanthropy and Identity: Gender and Ethnicity in London', *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 30, No. 4 (1997), pp. 937-961.

as they sought to avoid further inflammation of tensions with the non-Jewish populace.⁶⁹

Two neighbourhoods are explored in depth to examine the residential behaviours of migrants in the Whitechapel registration district. These subsects, illustrated in figure 6.4-6.6, were located in the densely populated central and northern aspects of the district. Locations were selected after consulting George Arkell's 1899 map of Jewish East London, and Charles Booth's poverty maps of late Victorian London, as illustrated in figures 6.5 and 6.6. Both subsects had relevant accompanying fire insurance map data, were consistent across a number of censuses, and represented diverse neighbourhoods. Due to the challenge of changing urban landscapes recorded in maps, and the absence of the 1871 census in the I-CeM, the period explored in this section is limited to 1881-1911. However, this thirty-year period captures the important surge in the migrant community that came from Eastern Europe. The existence of the Jewish East London study of 1899 and the work of Laura Vaughan reveals that map visualisations can indicate the settlement patterns of foreign-born persons.⁷⁰ This case study will advance the current understanding one-step further by exploring settlement over time, rather than one fixed moment.

Booth's and Arkell's maps are important instruments for understanding the demographic composition of areas of East London. When viewed in relation to each other, the two maps provide a robust picture of migrant settlement and the conditions

⁶⁹ Ian Bild, *The Jews in Britain* (London: Batsford Academic and Educational, 1984), p. 10, and Severin Adam Hochberg, 'The Repatriation of Eastern European Jews from Great Britain: 1881-1914', *Jewish Social Studies*, Vol. 50, No. 1 (1988), pp. 49-50.

⁷⁰ Laura Vaughan, *Mapping Society: The Spatial Dimensions of Social Cartography* (London: UCL Press, 2018), pp. 147-151.

in which they lived. As discussed on page 32, Arkell's map was focused on the Jewish experience. Booth, meanwhile, sought to investigate the question of poverty.⁷¹ Together, these two maps provide insights into the conditions of areas, and in this case, entire streets. Using Arkell and Booth's work, it is possible to identify areas linked to migration and select locations to explore in greater depth.

⁷¹ Vaughan, *Mapping Society*, p. 8.

Figure 6.4: Overview of Whitechapel registration district subsects

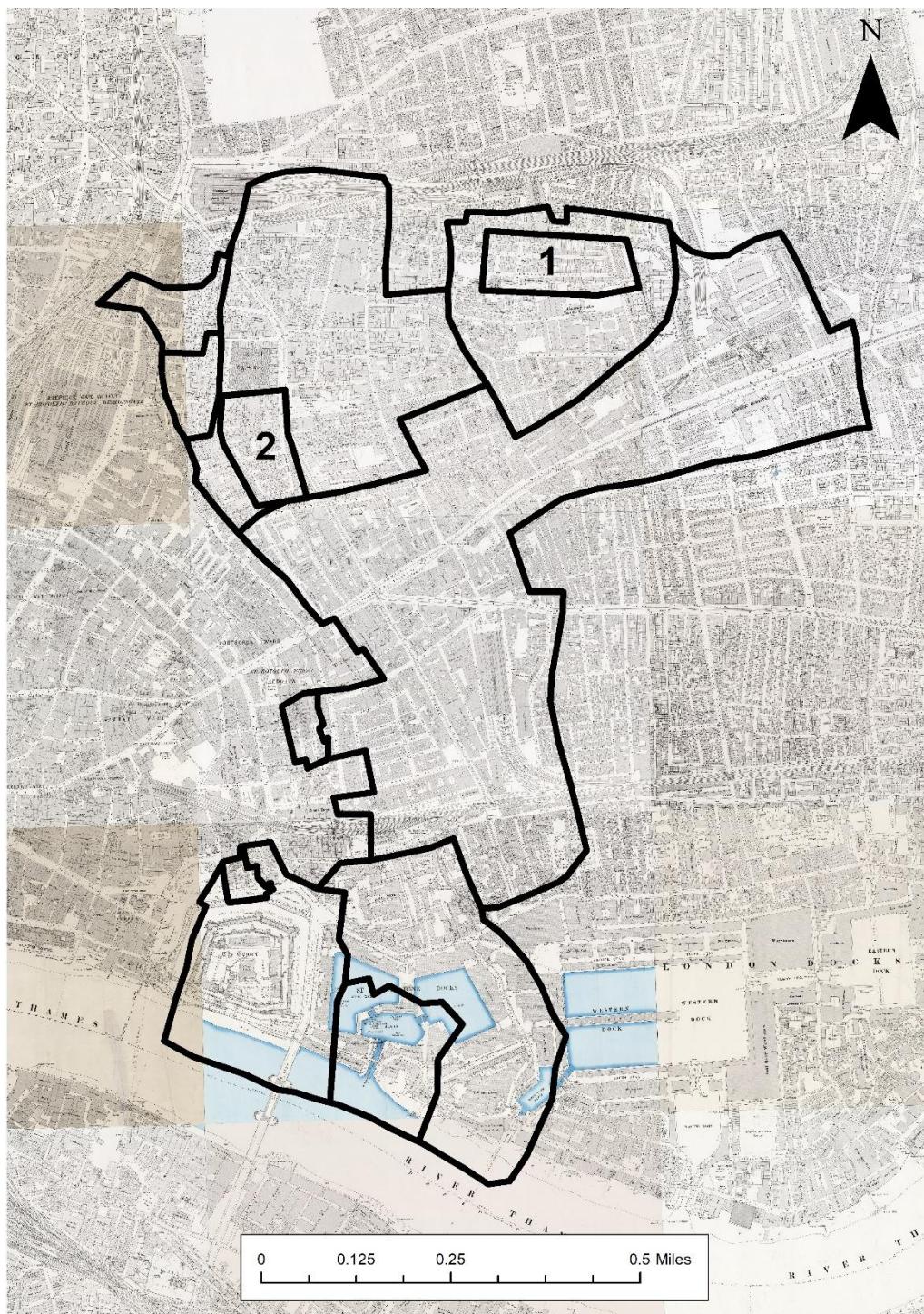


Figure 6.5: Extract from Booth's poverty map (top), and Arkell's 1899 map (bottom)⁷²

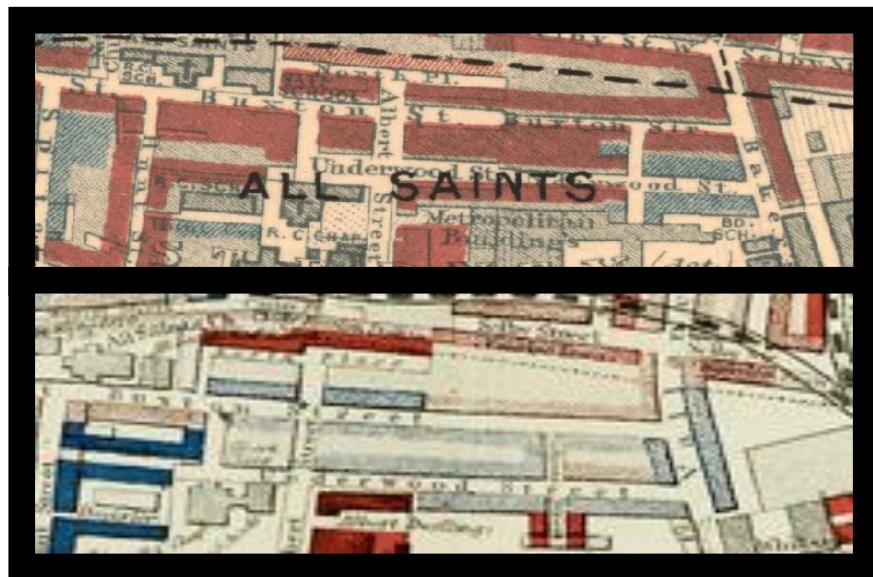
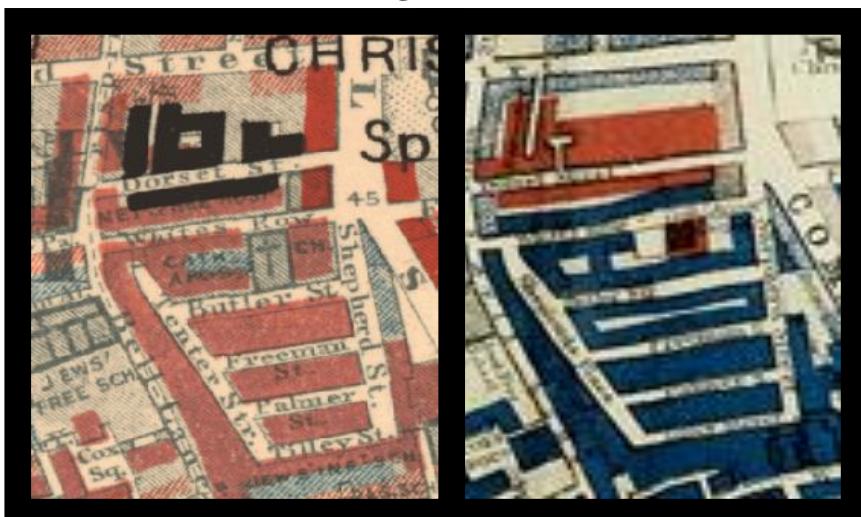


Figure 6.6: Extract from Booth's poverty map (left), and Arkell's 1899 map (right)



⁷² Key to Charles Booth's maps: Red; middle class, well to do; Light Blue; poor; Dark Blue; very poor, chronic want; Black; Lowest class, vicious, semi-criminal. Key to George Arkell map: Dark Blue, 95-100% Jewish; Light blue, 50-75% Jewish; light red, 25-50% Jewish; Dark red, less than 5% Jewish.

The first subsect of this case study is located in Mile End New Town and contains 252 residential properties. Institutions; industrial, religious, educational, and medical, bound the area. In addition, there was a considerable quantity of artisan dwellings in the surrounding areas. Included in the subsect is the Albert Street Metropolitan Dwellings (see figure 6.7), which were constructed by the Metropolitan Association for Improving the Dwellings of the Industrious Classes in the late 1840s. These artisan dwellings provided accommodation for both lodgers and families. The construction of residential property in the subsect largely took place in the late 1840s and early 1850s, and was in a standard two-storey terraced style, as illustrated in figures 6.9 and 6.10. In 1881, Buxton Street was still divided into three streets (Buxton, Spicer, and Luke), but for this exercise, the houses have been reallocated to Buxton Street as best as possible to ensure consistency over the period. The extent of subsect one is outlined in figure 6.11.

Figure 6.7: Albert Street Metropolitan Dwellings, c.1946⁷³



Figure 6.8: Underwood Street, c.1946⁷⁴



⁷³ 'Plate 76a' in *Survey of London: Volume 27, Spitalfields and Mile End New Town*, ed. F. H. W. Sheppard (London: Athlone Press, 1957), p. 75.

⁷⁴ 'Plate 75', *ibid*, p. 75.

Figure 6.9: North Place, c.1946⁷⁵



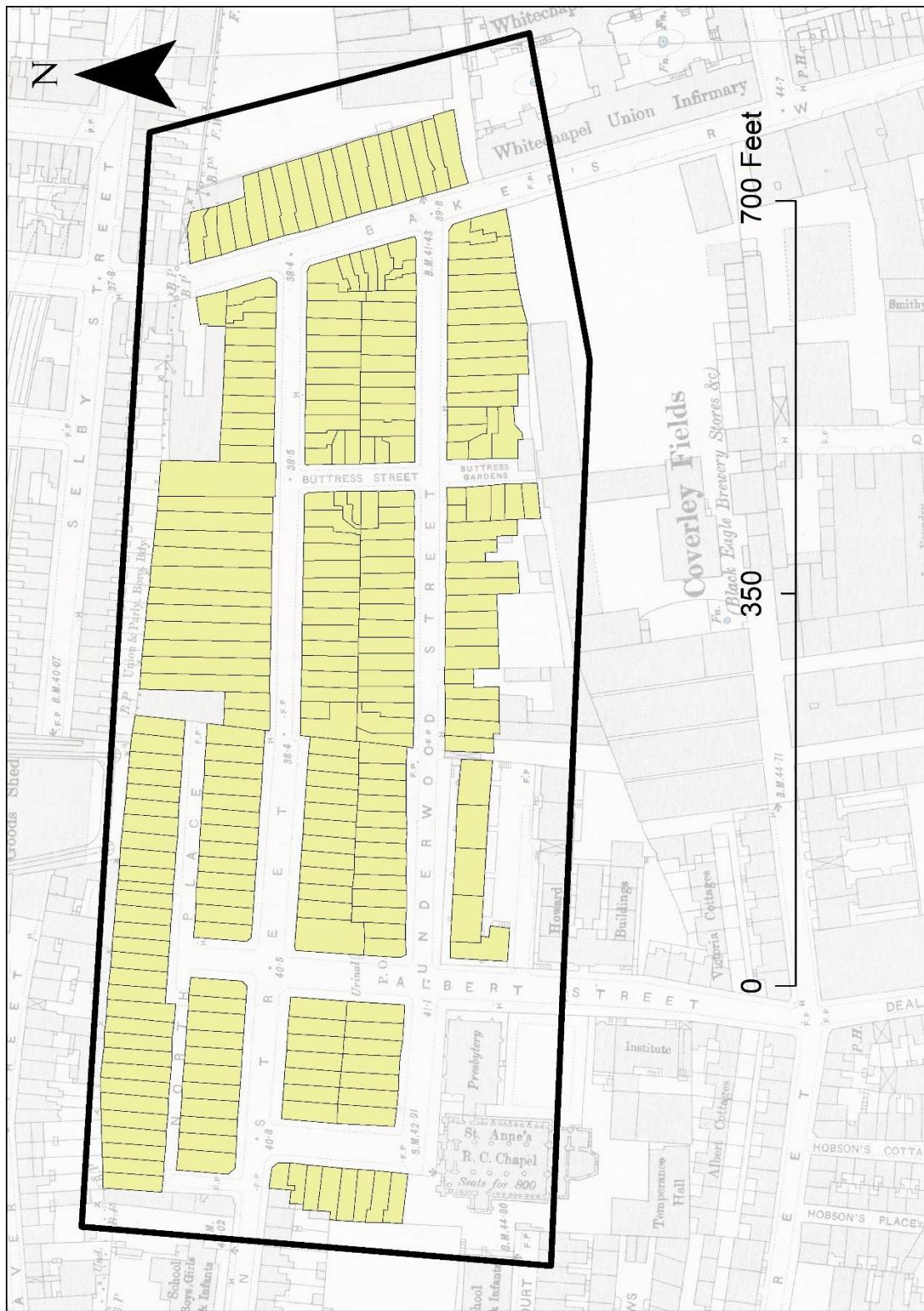
Figure 6.10: Buxton Street, c.1947⁷⁶



⁷⁵ 'Plate 75', in *Survey of London: Volume 27, Spitalfields and Mile End New Town*, ed. F. H. W. Sheppard (London: Athlone Press, 1957), p. 277.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, p. 277.

Figure 6.11: Overview of subsect 1

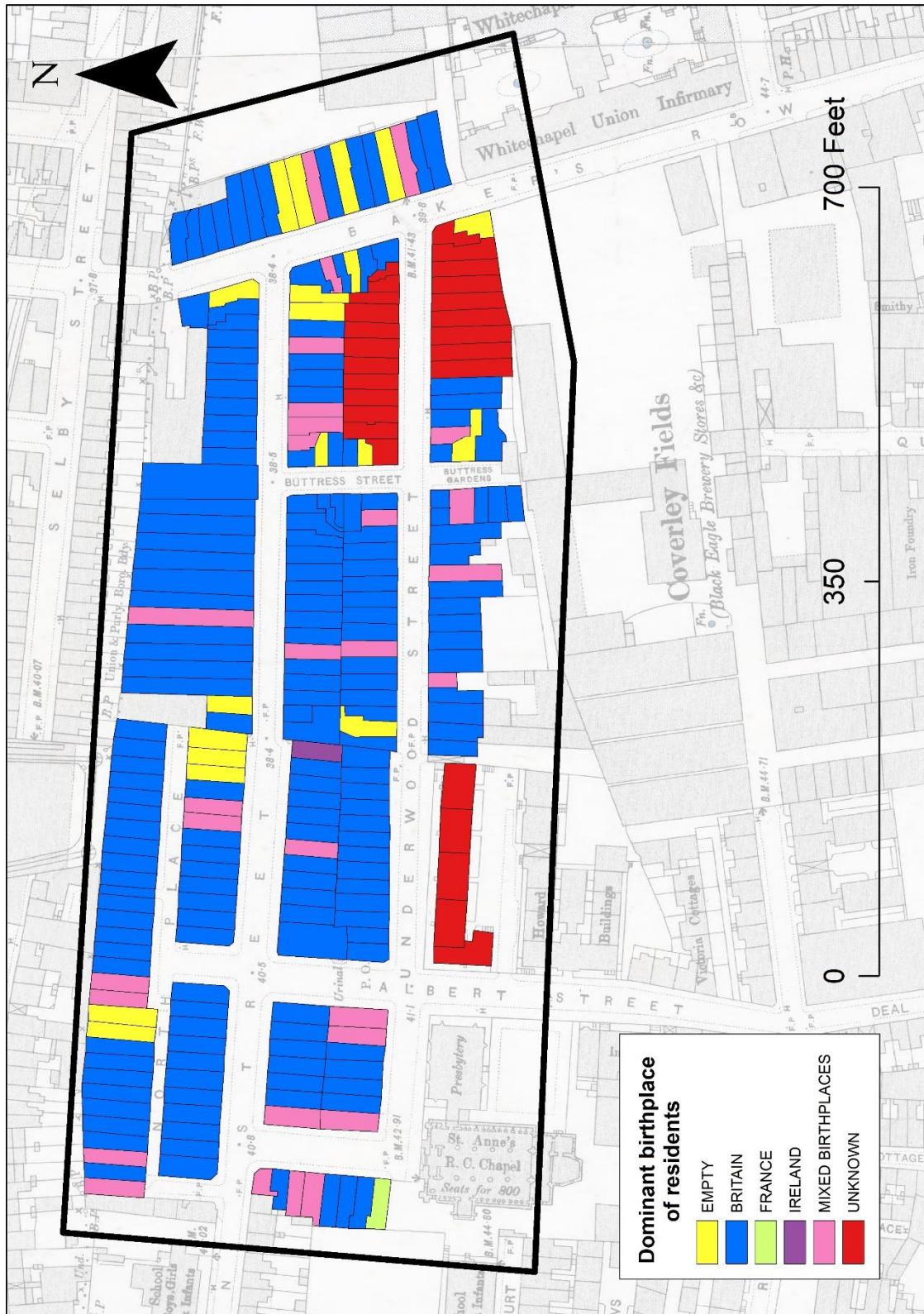


Figures 6.12-6.15 illustrate the transformation that the Underwood Street area underwent over the mid-late Victorian period. Each of the figures illustrate the most common birthplace of the residents in the property. The notable feature of 1881 is in the number of native-born dominated properties, with only a scattering of migrant dominated properties. At the time of the census in 1891, migrant clustering had begun to emerge. Portions of Buxton Street, Underwood Street, and Bakers Row (later Val-lance Road), exhibited strong segregating behaviours amongst its migrant population. Large numbers of properties remained solely inhabited by the native-born population, yet, migrants overwhelmingly clustered together. Interestingly, a number of properties had an equal number of foreign-born and native-born persons.

Over time, the Buxton Street area became attractive for migrants, probably due to a gradual expansion of the foreign-born community in the area. After spreading from its core in Whitechapel parish, adjacent districts and streets saw an increase in foreign-born migrants moving to their areas.⁷⁷ The first two censuses revealed the arrival and settlement of small numbers of migrants. In 1901, entire rows of houses began to be dominated by, and almost entirely composed of, foreign-born migrants, nearly all of whom were Russian-born persons. Interestingly, the only two residences with Romanians living in them were situated next to each other on the corner of Buttress Street and Buxton Street. By 1911, foreign-born persons, again, mostly Russians, were present in large numbers. Some properties remained devoid of migrants, but the area ultimately became heavily comprised of foreign-born migrants.

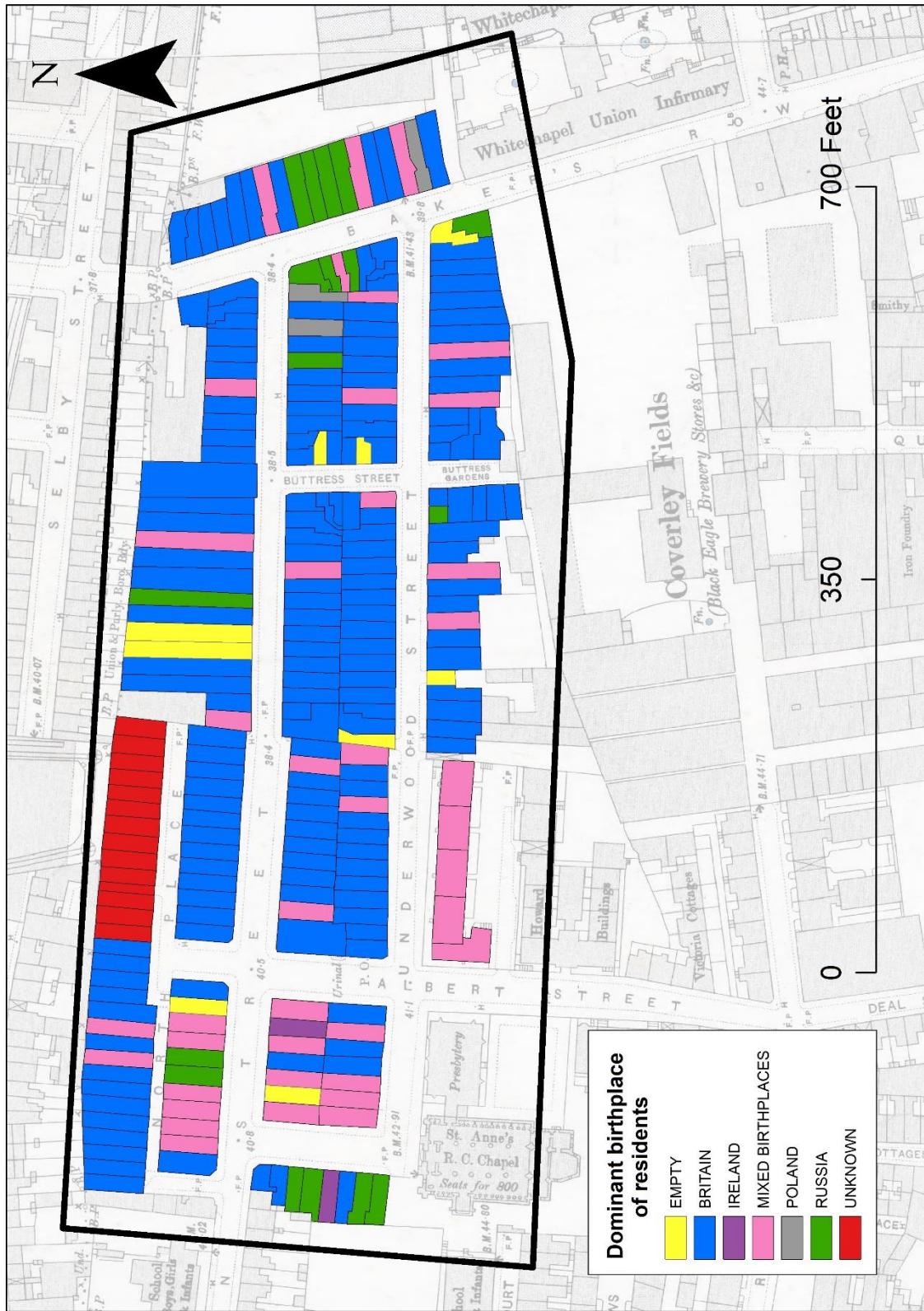
⁷⁷ Perry, 'Geo-locating Census Micro-Data'.

Figure 6.12: Subsect 1 – 1881: Birthplace composition of properties



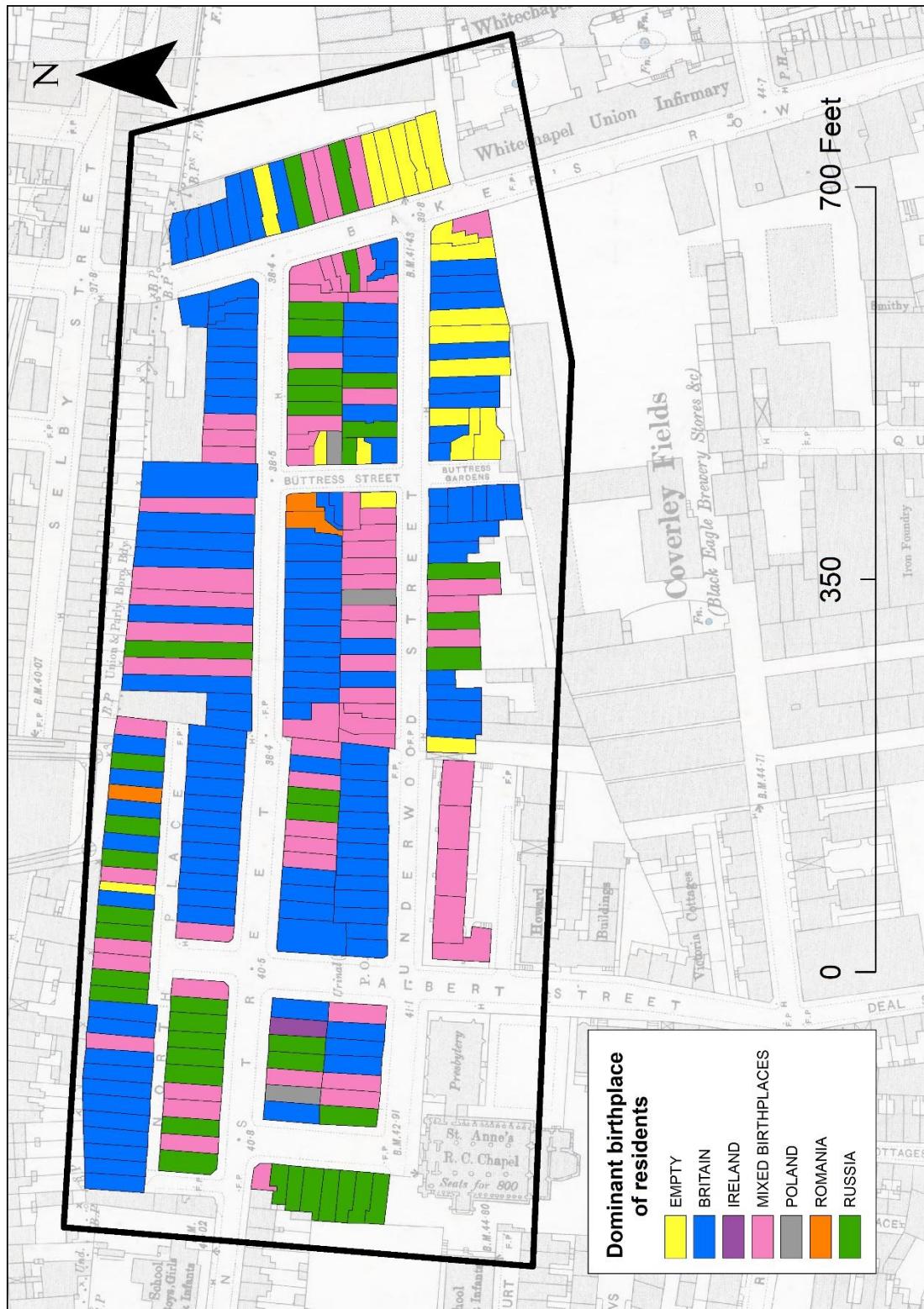
Source: I-CeM

Figure 6.13: Subsect 1 – 1891: Birthplace composition of properties



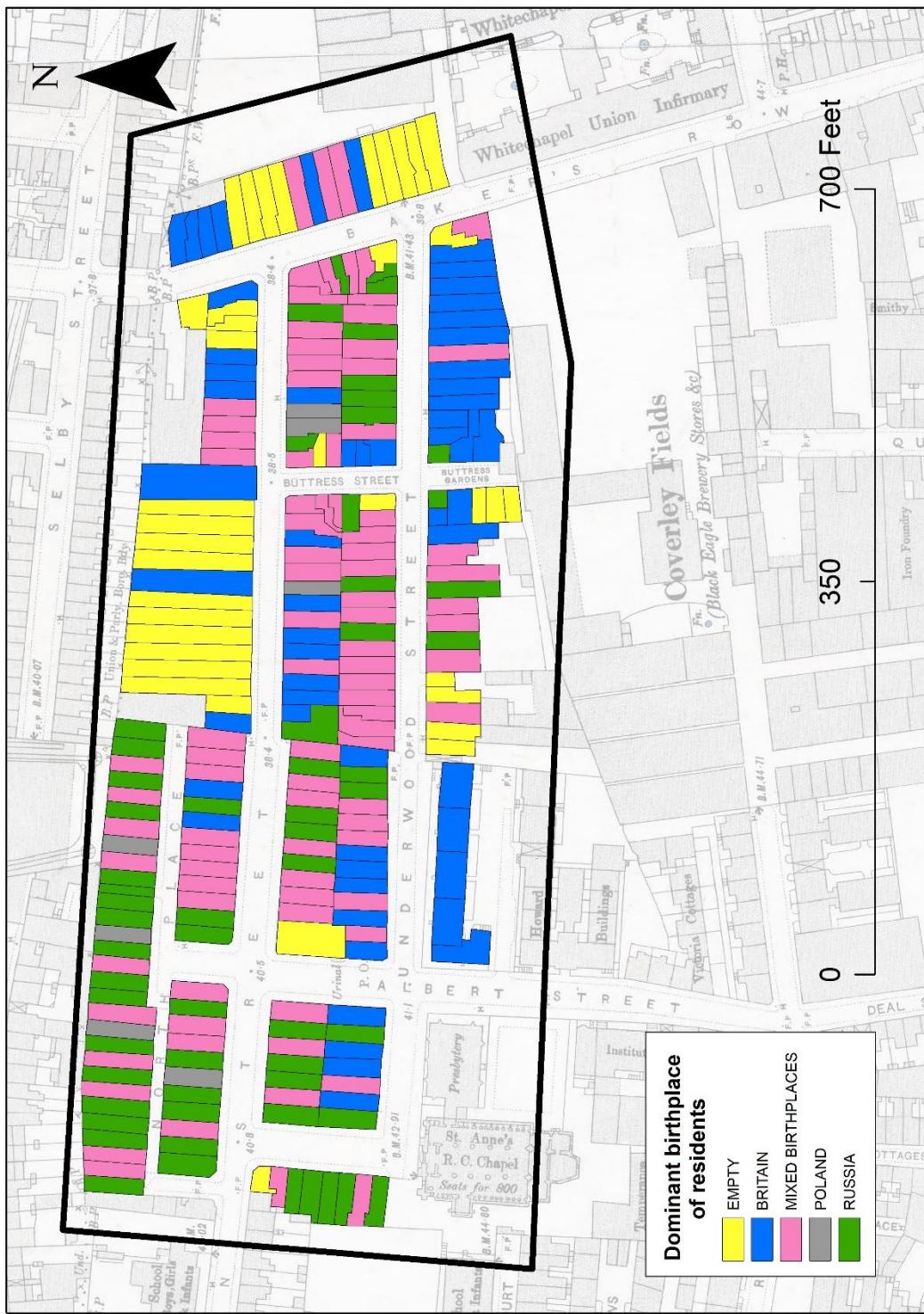
Source: I-CeM

Figure 6.14: Subsect 1 – 1901: Birthplace composition of properties



Source: I-CeM

Figure 6.15: Subsect 1 – 1911: Birthplace composition of properties



Source: I-CeM

Subsect two is located in south-western Spitalfields and is comprised of 272 residential properties (see figure 6.17). The area included the Tenter Ground Estate and contained a number of lodging houses, shops, and industrial buildings. The construction of most houses took place in the early 1820s.⁷⁸ The area was densely populated, and its residents suffered from poverty and overcrowding. The estate was essentially a cul-de-sac, and houses were small and cramped. One of the streets, Dorset Street, has been described as the ‘worst street in London’, with many lodging houses and slum housing.⁷⁹ Running north from Dorset Street was Little Paternoster Row and two small-enclosed courts. Crimes, including murder, frequently occurred.⁸⁰ Figure 6.16 depicts Dorset Street at the turn of the century, which suggests an enclosed space with rubbish on the pavements.

Figure 6.16: Dorset Street, 1902⁸¹



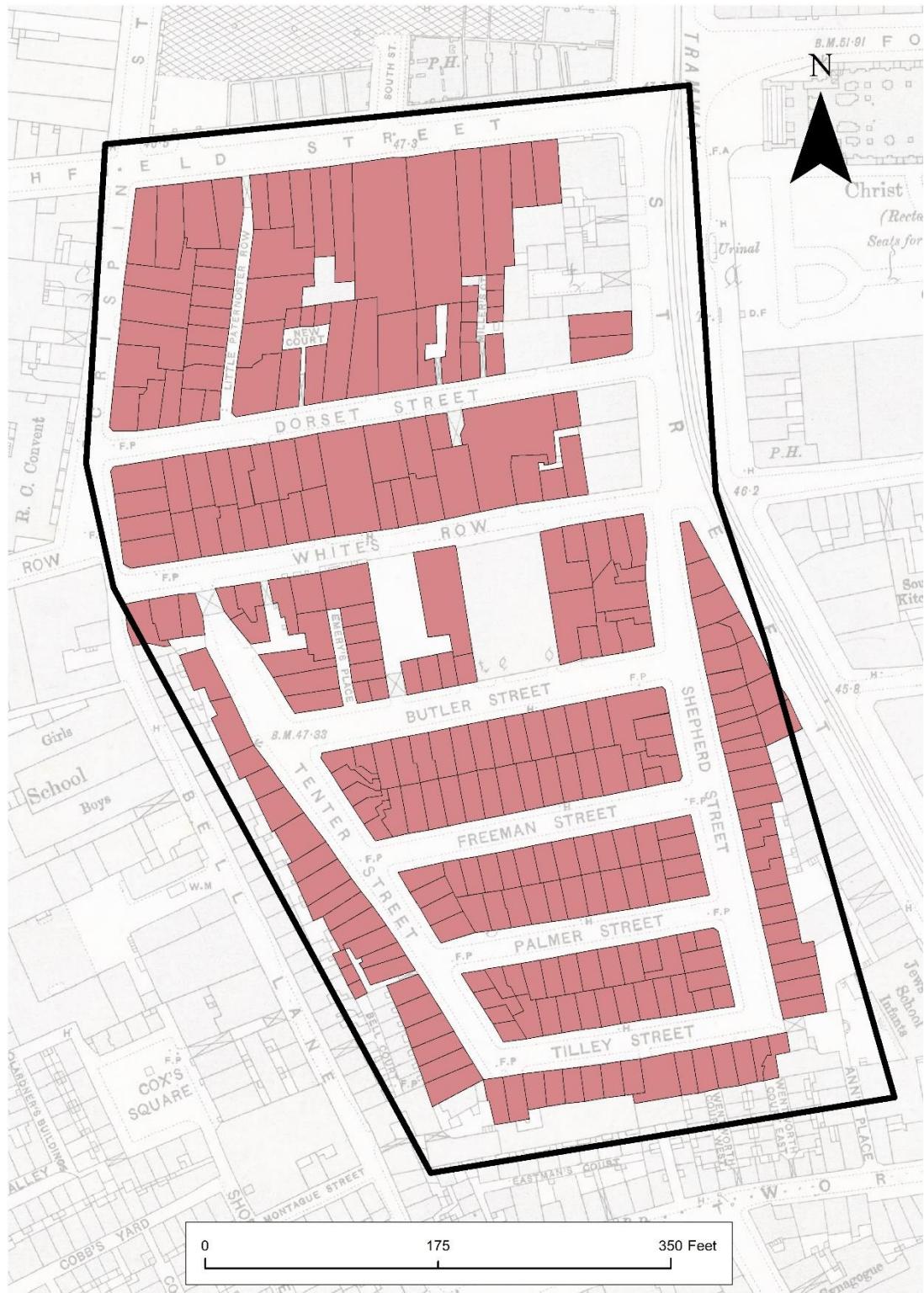
⁷⁸ ‘The Tenter Ground estate’, in *Survey of London: Vol. 27, Spitalfields and Mile End New Town*, ed. F. H. W. Sheppard (London: Athlone Press, 1957), pp. 242-244.

⁷⁹ See Fiona Rule, *The Worst Street in London* (London: Ian Allen, 2008).

⁸⁰ *Times*, 20 June 1901, ‘The Murder in The East-End.’

⁸¹ London, *The People of the Abyss*, p. 2.

Figure 6.17: Overview of subsect 2



The population of subsect two was mixed, with a scattering of properties dominated by persons born in Holland.⁸² Some native-born dominated properties could be found across the subsect, but there was a tendency for them to congregate in the northern elements. A number of properties had no one living in them, some being in the southern aspects. By the 1891 census, native-born properties were continuing to expand in the north. Around the same time, some properties dominated by Russia-born persons began to emerge in and around White's Row. Meanwhile, the number of empty properties decreased. In 1901, Russia-born dominated properties were scattered around the subsect. Mixed properties remained the most frequently occurring household type; this category records those properties with an equal proportion of native-born and foreign-born persons. Fewer properties in the north were returned as dominated by native-born persons. At the end of the period, a large swell of native-born persons displaced and replaced many of the mixed households. A number of Russia-born dominated households exist, but there is a significant shift in the proportion of foreign-born persons. A scattering of households composed of persons born in Holland persisted in the area.

What is noticeable across the censuses is the degree of change in the area of subsect two, with properties often changing in composition between censuses. Segregation within the extent of subsect two was strongly evident in 1881. As illustrated in figures 6.18-6.21, at the time of the census in 1881, Little Paternoster Row was almost entirely composed of persons hailing from Poland. Meanwhile, Emery's Place had a sizeable concentration of persons born in Holland. As time progressed, there was an

⁸² Perry, 'Geo-locating Census Microdata'.

increased number of native-born households settling in the area. Housing was generally of poor quality but was often more affordable for migrants. In 1900, an advertisement announced that rent for 4 Shepherd Street was 'at the low rent of £26 per annum'.⁸³ When sub-letting and multiple household occupancy is incorporated, rental costs became more affordable.⁸⁴

By 1911, a sizeable proportion of the remaining foreign-born population was residing in a cluster on one-side of Freeman Street. Overall, many properties became devoid of foreign-born persons in any of the households, undoubtedly as older migrants died or moved away, and were replaced by others. A large number of properties retained a mixed composition in the absolute numbers of migrants, but they become increasingly outmatched by exclusive native-born residences.

The Tenter Street area was popular with those arriving into London from Europe, and provided the opportunity for migrant households to acclimatise before then moving elsewhere in the area. The streets surrounding the subsect had various institutions that were utilised by Jews, many of whom were migrants, including synagogues, the Jews' Free School, Jews' Soup Kitchen, and others. The presence of these institutions, alongside clubs and societies, facilitated and encouraged migration into the area. Interestingly, there was a near total absence of Ireland-born persons in subsect two. In terms of future research, this absence should be of interest to scholars and more work is needed to map the entirety of Whitechapel to identify where the Ireland-born were living.

⁸³ *Jewish Chronicle*, 15 June 1900, 81.

⁸⁴ 'Aliens Bill', House of Commons Debate, 23 May 1898, Vol. 58, cc. 266-289.

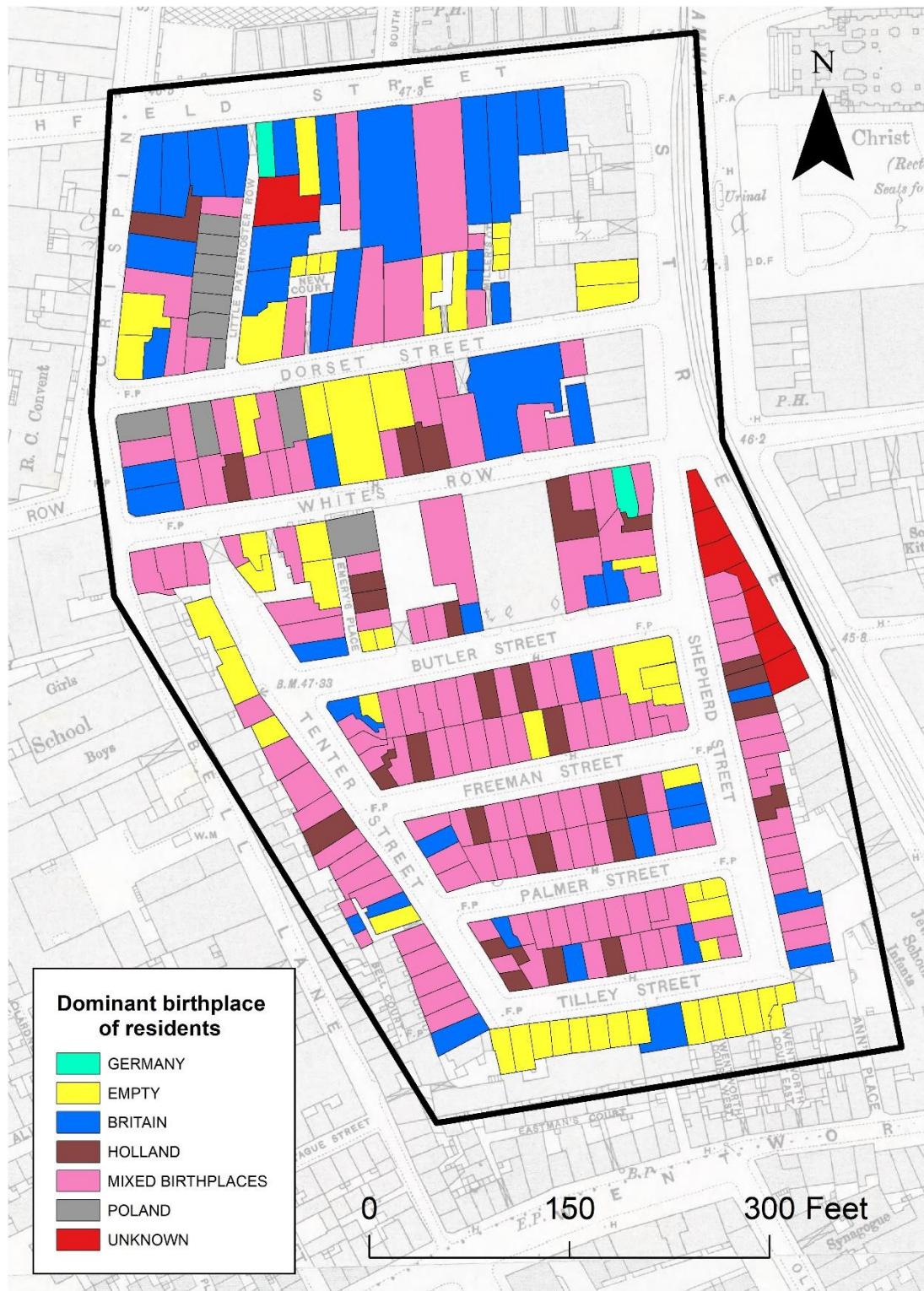
The existing literature highlights that the East End was popular with new migrants due to the availability of cheap housing, an existing community, and proximity to employment opportunities.⁸⁵ As is demonstrated, the Russia-born population lived in proximity to each other and formed a distinct entity with segregating tendencies.⁸⁶ However, these case studies do more than confirm the existing understanding. Through the geo-located and individualised approach, this section has demonstrated the radical transformation of select areas of Whitechapel within a short number of years. Areas not only contained large numbers of migrants, but these areas changed back and forth in their composition. The unexpected yet key finding from this section is the high-level of mobility amongst the foreign-born population. Similarly, the congregating behaviours of particular groups further extenuate the point regarding migrant segregation and tendencies to gather in residential networks. A final point regarding this section is the observation regarding the extent of the segregation. Certain foreign-born groups dominated entire rows of houses. There are several viable explanations for clustering behaviour, but the data suggests it was a common occurrence in two different settings. Much of the literature demonstrates that migrant communities, particularly Jewish Eastern Europeans, tended to gather and assimilate in non-spatial measures.⁸⁷ Future research should explore these behaviours further.

⁸⁵ Holmes, *John Bull's Island*, p. 46.

⁸⁶ Vaughan, *Mapping Society*, p. 146.

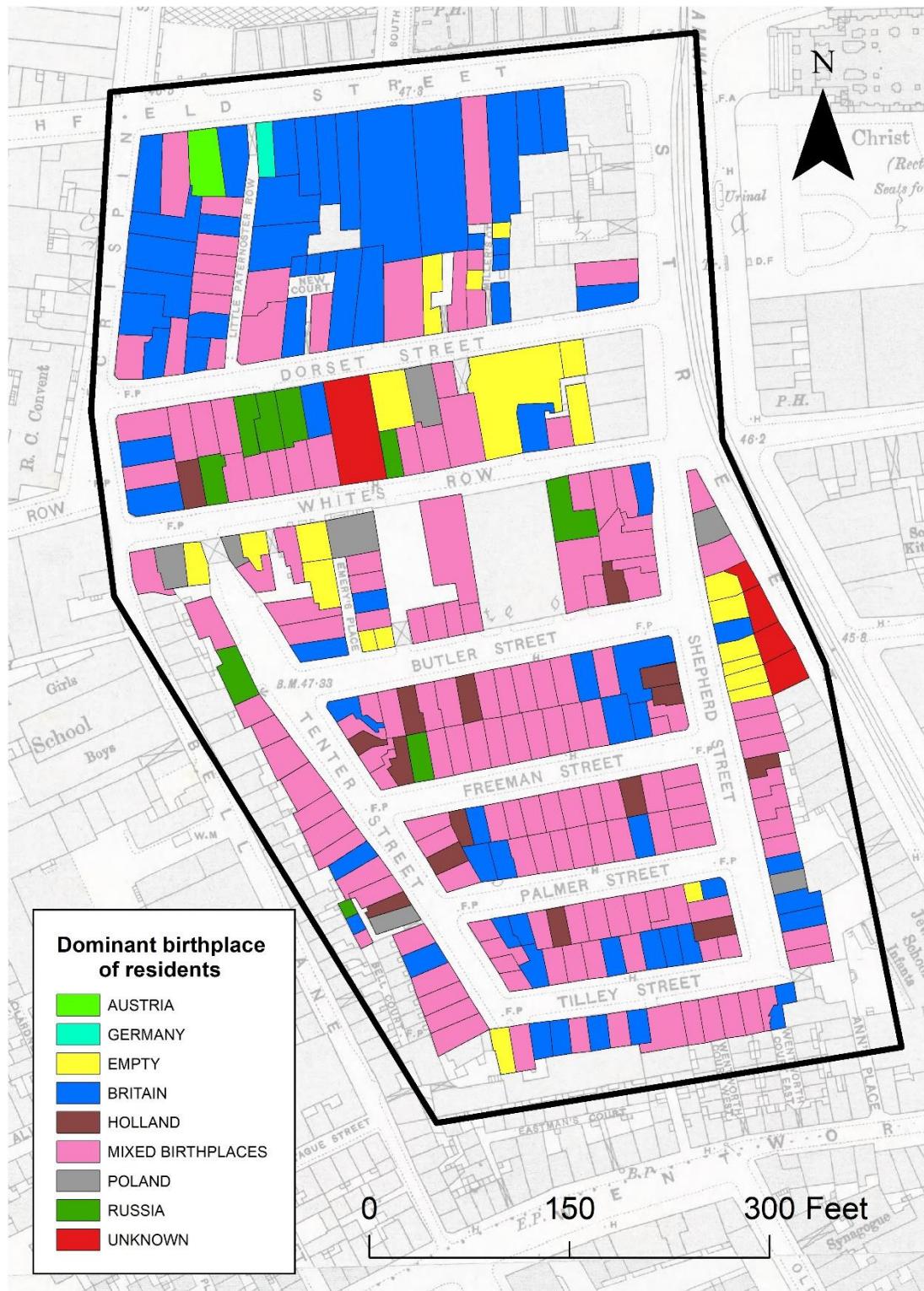
⁸⁷ Jonathan Frankel, 'Assimilation and the Jews in nineteenth-century Europe: towards a new historiography?', in Jonathan Frankel, and Steven J. Zipperstein, eds., *Assimilation and Community: The Jews in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 1-37.

Figure 6.18: Subsect 2, 1881: Birthplace composition of properties



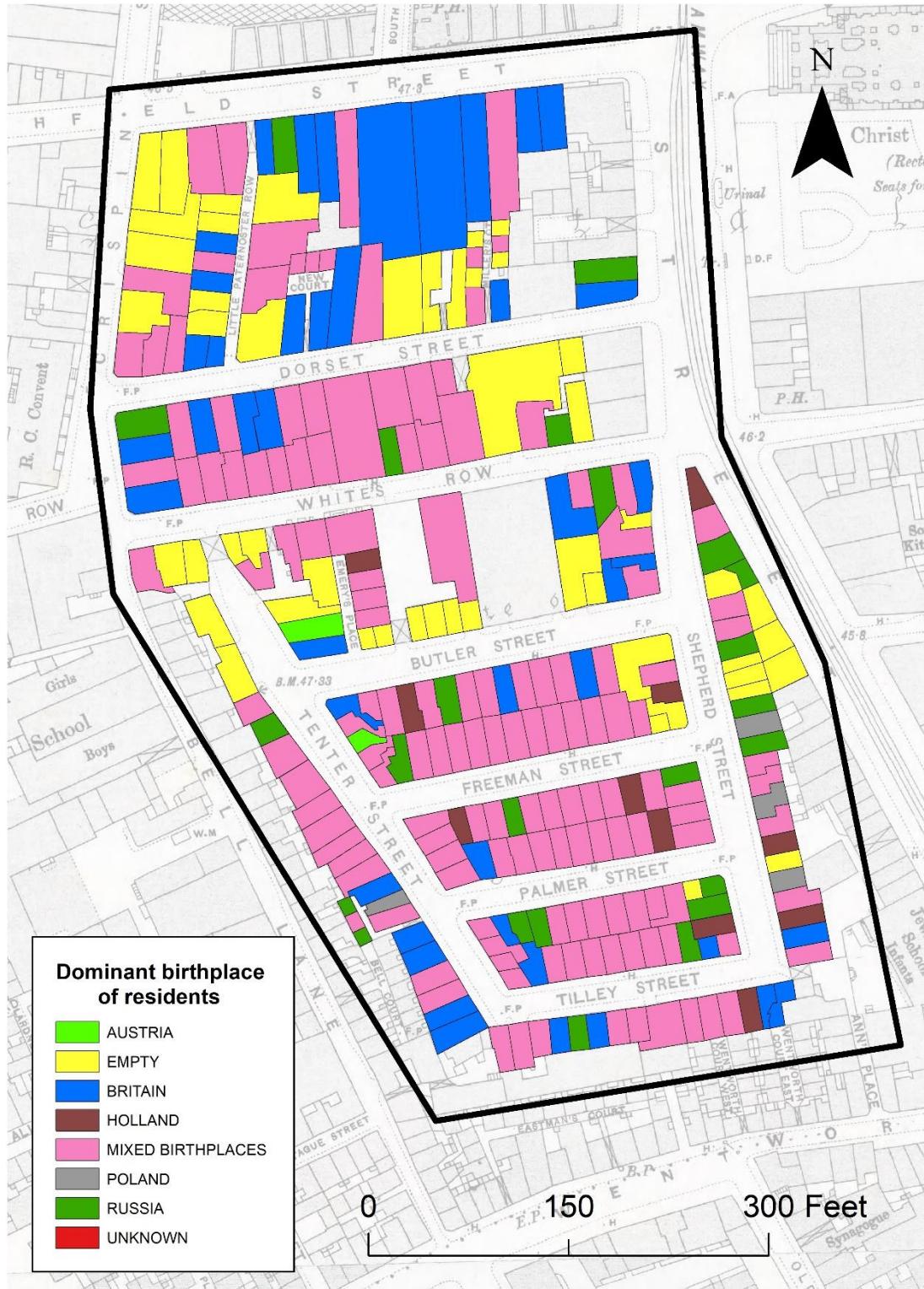
Source: I-CeM

Figure 6.19: Subsect 2, 1891: Birthplace composition of properties



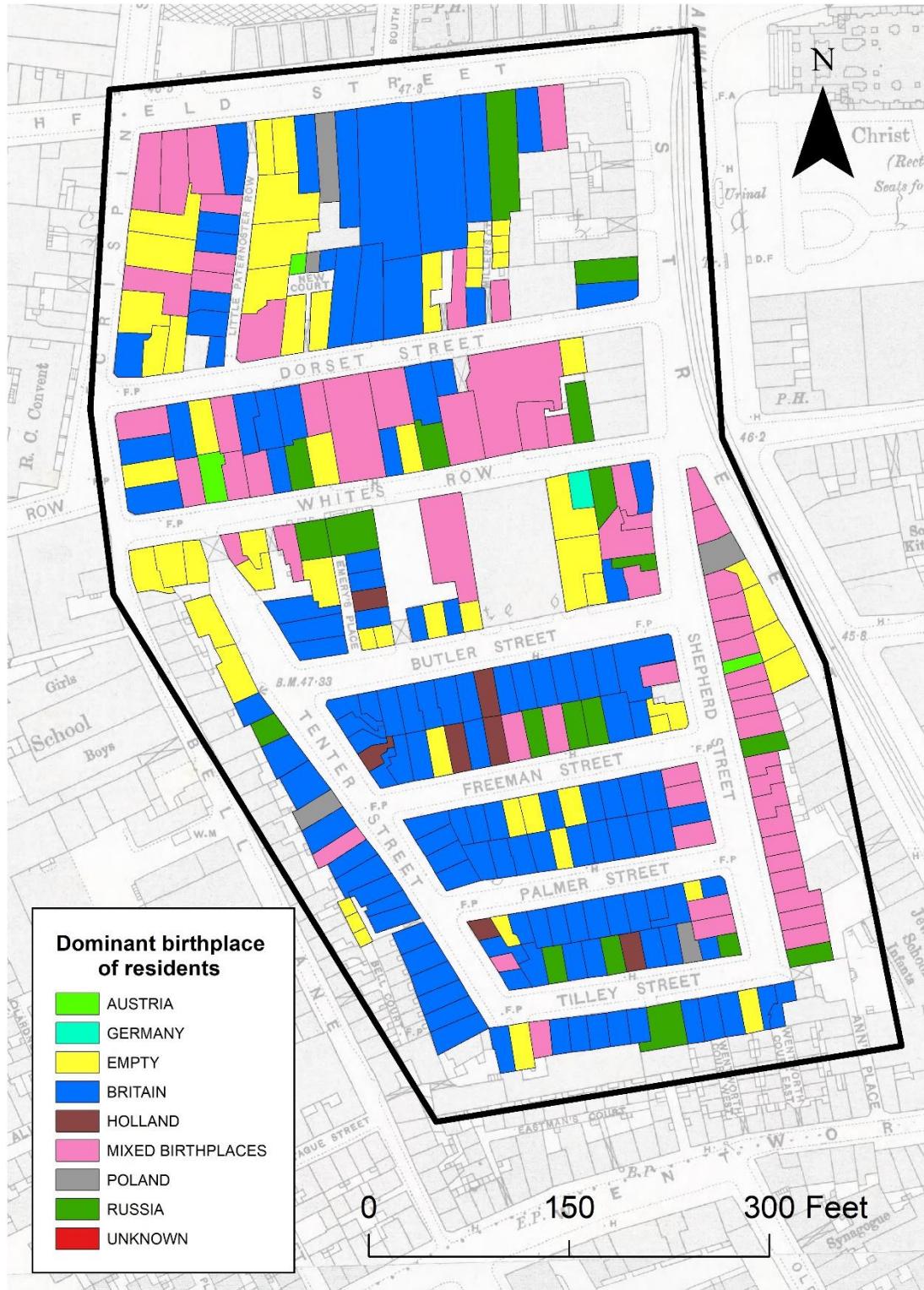
Source: I-CeM

Figure 6.20: Subsect 2, 1901: Birthplace composition of properties



Source: I-CeM

Figure 6.21: Subsect 2, 1911: Birthplace composition of properties



Source: I-CeM

IV. Newcastle upon Tyne

The origins of Newcastle are rooted in Roman antiquity, with the first recorded settlement established in the second century AD. Located at the mouth of the River Tyne, Newcastle served as an important centre of commerce and maritime activity. Being close to major coalfields and as the birthplace of the railway, the city had a prominent role in the economic and industrial history of Northern England.⁸⁸ The industrial revolution had a tremendous impact on the city, although it came at a price. By the mid-nineteenth century, Newcastle came to be described as a blend of old 'sombre and cheerless houses, huddled mabbishly into a confused and pent up mass'.⁸⁹ It was in these conditions that thousands of the city's inhabitants found themselves living in during the nineteenth century.

Similar to those living in Whitechapel, many migrants lived in squalid and cramped conditions. The work of Graham Butler reveals that even in the decades before the period of this study, the areas were decried for their poor living conditions.⁹⁰ In 1850, one health inspector noted:

In the storey above, which I got at by a staircase, in the most shameful condition, I found in one room two families. 'How many are there of you?' 'Only nine of us!' There were three beds. An old man lay ill on one, another man on the second, and a woman on the third. They had no blankets. 'Devil a stitch,' they said. They were Irish. Rent 1s.⁹¹

⁸⁸ James Guthrie, *The River Tyne: Its History and Resources* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Andrew Reid, London: Longmans and Co., 1880), pp. 228-230.

⁸⁹ William Whellan, *History, Topography, and Directory of Northumberland* (London: Whittaker and Co., Manchester: Galt and Co., 1855), pp. 156-157.

⁹⁰ Graham A. Butler, 'Disease, Medicine and the Urban Poor in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, c. 1750-1850', unpublished DPhil thesis, Newcastle University, (2012), pp. 1-3.

⁹¹ Anonymous, *Inquiry into the Condition of the Poor of Newcastle-Upon-Tyne*, (Unknown: n.p., 1850), p. 17.

Overcrowding, unsanitary conditions, inadequate heating, and other related issues plagued the lives of both native and foreign-born persons in Newcastle throughout the period.⁹² In 1861, one of Newcastle's slums that attracted high numbers of migrants, Sandgate, was described as follows: 'Cologne has a bad name, Cairo has a worse reputation, but that part of Newcastle called Sandgate, must be allowed to exceed either city in stenches, filth, overcrowding, and pestilential ills.'⁹³ The Sandgate and the quayside area had been home to many of Newcastle's most impoverished, including Ireland-born migrants, for years.⁹⁴ Even by standards at the time, Sandgate was a deprived area, with children playing in the streets without shoes, as illustrated in figure 6.22, violent crimes, and consistently adverse living conditions.⁹⁵

⁹² Carl Chinn, *Poverty Amidst Prosperity: The urban poor in England, 1834-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), p. 84.

⁹³ As quoted in Roger Cooter, 'The Irish in County Durham and Newcastle c.1840-1880', unpublished PhD thesis, Durham University (1972), p. 26.

⁹⁴ Jane Long, *Conversations in Cold Rooms: Women, Work, and Poverty in 19th-century Northumberland* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1999), p. 35.

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 45 and 57.

Figure 6.22: Sandgate, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1890, unknown⁹⁶



⁹⁶ Newcastle Libraries, 'Sandgate, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1890', available at: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/newcastlelibraries/4075817445/in/photostream/>, [accessed: 5 May 2017].

In 1837, the Newcastle registration district was created as part of the Births and Deaths Registration Act of 1836.⁹⁷ The district largely covered the urban Newcastle upon Tyne area and included some adjacent rural portions. For most of the period, the Newcastle registration district was composed of eleven civil parishes, as visualised in figure 6.23. In 1894, the Moot Hall and Precincts parish were created out of a portion of St. Nicholas, but there were only ever a handful of people who ever lived there.⁹⁸ For consistency and the purposes of this section, the parish has been reallocated to the St. Nicholas civil parish. The population of Newcastle was largely concentrated in the parishes of All Saints, Elswick, Westgate, and Byker.

Figure 6.23: Parishes of Newcastle upon Tyne registration district, 1881



⁹⁷ Edward Higgs, 'The early development of the General Register Office', *Histpop*, available at: <http://www.histpop.org/ohpr/servlet/View?path=Browse/Essays%20by%20kind%29&active=yes&mno=2002>, [accessed: 4 January 2019].

⁹⁸ Frederic Young, *Guide to the local administrative units of England*, Vol. 2 – Northern England, see also UKBMD, 'NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE REGISTRATION DISTRICT', available at: <http://www.ukbmd.org.uk/REG/districts/newcastle%20upon%20Tyne.html>, [accessed: 7 June 2017].

As with many cities, areas of Newcastle became associated with poverty and migration, the primary example being the Ireland-born.⁹⁹ It is important to note that unlike Whitechapel, there was no enumeration district, sub-district, or parish in Newcastle that had migrants in large enough numbers for it to be described or identified as a ‘ghetto’. Nonetheless, at a more localised level, namely at street and household level, there were distinct examples of the foreign-born community demonstrating segregating behaviours.

Newcastle had a substantial impact on the regional labour market, and attracted people from across the region and beyond. In each census, a sizeable proportion of the population was not native to Newcastle. Of the foreign-born element, Ireland-born persons composed the most significant group residing in Newcastle throughout the period. The I-CeM reveals that smaller communities did emerge in Newcastle over time, with Russia-born, German-born, India-born, and USA-born persons present in their hundreds.¹⁰⁰ In the nineteenth century, like most urban centres, Newcastle attracted large numbers of Ireland-born persons.¹⁰¹ The greatest increase in the Ireland-born population came in the period 1841-1851. At the time of the census in 1841, there were 2,857 Ireland-born persons in Newcastle, and by 1851, it had reached 6,849.¹⁰² The Ireland-born population of Newcastle did not escape attention,

⁹⁹ Cooter, ‘The Irish’, p. 5.

¹⁰⁰ Nigel Copsey, ‘Anti-semitism and the Jewish community of Newcastle-upon-Tyne’, *Immigrants and Minorities*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (2002), pp. 53-56.

¹⁰¹ Cooter, ‘The Irish’, pp. 25-28.

¹⁰² The 1841 figure is from the 1841 England Census, available at: <https://goo.gl/zDSRva>, [accessed: 24 July 2017].

and various commentators noted the impacts of the Ireland-born arriving and settling in Newcastle.¹⁰³

Although the Ireland-born population remained small, their progenitors and extended kin multiplied many times to form a distinctive sub-community. Newcastle became a prominent site for Irish nationalism, hosting the national convention for the Irish National League of Great Britain on 16 May 1891.¹⁰⁴ Similarly, meetings to champion greater unity between Ireland and the rest of the United Kingdom also occurred.¹⁰⁵ There were also presentations made concerning Ireland and its people.¹⁰⁶ Lectures on topics such as ‘Irish Martyrs’ were delivered to audiences in Newcastle, with one meeting held in 1872 being attended by almost 500 people.¹⁰⁷

The Tyne Ports served as the gateway for thousands of migrants passing into Britain, and for those *en route* to America. In the period 1892-1906, the primary maritime route into Newcastle stemmed from the Scandinavian Ports, with 82,911 foreign-born migrants stated as not *en route* to America arriving in Newcastle. Table 6.4 highlights the movement of individuals into the city from ‘Scandinavian Ports’ and ‘Other Continental Ports’. Further information on the origins of the ‘Other’ ports is not available. Geographical proximity to Scandinavia can explain the high volume of traffic to Newcastle; however, few migrants remained in Newcastle, despite established communities.¹⁰⁸ Newcastle was a notable point of arrival for many arriving in

¹⁰³ *Freeman's Journal*, 26 August 1878, ‘Dublin’.

¹⁰⁴ *Shields Daily Gazette*, 1 April 1891, ‘Irish Affairs’.

¹⁰⁵ *Newcastle Courant*, 28 October 1881, ‘Irish Meeting in Newcastle’.

¹⁰⁶ *Newcastle Guardian and Tyne Mercury*, 5 February 1870, ‘The Irish Diorama’.

¹⁰⁷ *Newcastle Guardian and Tyne Mercury*, 27 July 1872, ‘Irish Martyrs’.

¹⁰⁸ In 1901, some of the largest European migrant communities in Newcastle included 793 Russia-born, 498 German-born, 255 Denmark-born, 254 Italy-born, and 150 Norway-born migrants. Graeme J.

England from Northern Europe and served as a transitory hub for international and domestic migrants.

Table 6.4: European arrivals port of origin (Tyne Ports, 1892-1905)

Year	Hamburg, Bremen, and Bremerhaven	Rotterdam, Amsterdam, and Antwerp	Scandinavian Ports	Dieppe	Other Con- tinental Ports	Total
1892	262	0	2,037	0	2,595	4,894
1893	207	0	2,342	0	2,493	5,042
1894	351	314	1,953	0	2,041	4,659
1895	304	326	2,248	0	2,133	5,011
1896	357	301	2,046	0	2,036	4,740
1897	242	451	2,534	1	2,525	5,753
1898	415	702	2,287	2	2,742	6,148
1899	282	608	2,450	1	3,560	6,901
1900	556	547	2,652	0	3,540	7,295
1901	461	629	2,248	0	3,112	6,450
1902	557	611	2,328	0	3,148	6,644
1903	434	501	1,946	0	3,281	6,162
1904	229	434	3,289	0	182	4,134
1905	389	448	8,058	0	183	9,078
Total	5,046	5,872	38,418	4	33,571	82,911

Source: Board of Trade, *Alien Immigration. Return of the Number of Aliens That Arrived from the Continent at Ports in the United Kingdom*, (London: HMSO, 1892-1905).

While tens of thousands of migrants arrived in Newcastle and the Tyne ports, proportionally only a few remained in the area. Evidently, for many, Newcastle was only a step in their longer journey as they migrated to North America. Although the city served as an important facilitator in population migrations, it avoided any long-term demographic consequences.

Milne, *North-East England, 1850-1914: The Dynamics of a Maritime-Industrial Region* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006), pp. 40-42.

Newcastle had no identifiable migrant neighbourhood that could be defined as an entirely segregated migrant enclave.¹⁰⁹ Why then, did Newcastle, which had a large population, good transport networks, employment opportunities, and sizeable numbers of migrants passing through, not have a larger migrant community? One key reason might be in the competition for labour and more attractive prospects in cities further south. Ports in the south of England provided greater access to larger urban centres, and in so doing, were more desirable than travelling even further north. Many of those arriving in Newcastle used it as a relay point on their journey elsewhere. Evidence for these behaviours lies in the fact that the dominant migrant groups included the Ireland-born and those involved in seafaring activities, including those from Scandinavia.¹¹⁰ The profile of the migrant population of Newcastle suggests it struggled to attract international migrants from diverse locations.

A defining attribute of nineteenth-century Newcastle was the growth in its urban sprawl and total population. Migration was the primary factor in population growth, driven by the arrival of tens of thousands of internal migrants, with many coming from rural areas.¹¹¹ Table 6.5 illustrates how in Newcastle's parishes, native-born migrants, being those persons born outside the parish, often composed more than thirty per cent of the population of a parish. This composition highlights Newcastle's position as a site of transience and confirms the work of Roger Cooter.¹¹² The table

¹⁰⁹ Cooter, 'The Irish', p. 34.

¹¹⁰ The German-born are another example connected to mercantile behaviours in North East England; see Panayi, *German Immigrants in Britain*, p. 163.

¹¹¹ Cooter, 'The Irish', p. 5.

¹¹² Ibid, p. 5.

indicates that Newcastle was an area of significant transition, with large numbers of persons moving into and settling in Newcastle.

Table 6.5: Percentage of each parish composed of native-born migrants, 1851-1911

Parish	1851	1861	1871*	1881	1891	1901	1911
No_CONPARID	30.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Benwell	36.7	33.6	34.5	35.4	41.2	41.6	40.2
Elswick	46.5	43.8	42.7	41.5	42.0	36.9	36.8
Westgate	37.3	37.3	35.3	33.3	32.2	30.5	33.6
Fenham	30.0	19.1	34.7	50.3	29.3	12.0	47.5
St Andrew	40.3	38.3	37.2	36.0	38.5	38.8	43.6
St John	40.4	42.7	40.0	37.3	34.3	45.0	34.5
St Nicholas	44.7	42.4	43.4	44.3	40.7	29.3	43.0
All Saints	41.2	38.6	34.9	31.2	28.8	26.7	27.9
Byker	36.4	39.2	35.1	30.9	35.5	31.3	31.3
Heaton	24.6	37.6	37.8	38.0	42.3	39.6	44.4
Jesmond	33.1	33.4	36.2	38.9	42.1	46.6	50.9

Source: I-CeM

*Extrapolated

With employment options, international and domestic transport routes, and a myriad of cultural, social, and economic institutions, Newcastle was an urban centre with abundant opportunities for a migrant. The fulfilment of these major needs resulted in fertile conditions for the growth and expansion of the city. Yet, despite the ideal conditions, the number of foreign-born migrants living in Newcastle remained static in proportion to its population growth. Table 6.6 illustrates the changing population composition of the various parishes. The densely populated parish of All Saints

experienced a significant decrease in the proportion and the absolute number of foreign-born persons, moving from 14.2 per cent in 1851 to 2.9 per cent in 1911. By the end of the period, only the tiny rural parish of Fenham had a foreign-born population that composed more than five per cent of the total population of the parish.

Table 6.6: Native and foreign-born migrants per Newcastle parish, 1851-1911

Parish	1851		1861		1881		1891		1901		1911	
	NB	FB	NB	FB	NB	FB	NB	FB	NB	FB	NB	FB
None	442	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Benwell	1,274	28	1,796	70	18,161	389	27,044	410	4,738	136	10,357	171
Elswick	159	4	14,401	430	53,871	1,970	58,303	2,032	34,644	1,671	52,064	2,034
Westgate	12,315	538	21,283	1159	30,116	1,401	28,472	1,140	26,776	1,231	30,300	1,315
Fenham	100	3	89	1	158	0	1,044	63	157	10	147	0
St Andrew	15,289	801	16,950	708	17,518	761	16,940	743	18,756	928	19,819	864
St John	9,692	997	9,209	963	3,250	252	1,422	45	5,706	392	3,669	268
St Nicholas	5,579	669	4,739	598	2,608	110	1,246	33	4,182	516	3,497	214
All Saints	25,570	3,623	29,197	3,323	25,861	1,139	24,666	712	26,425	1,634	28,208	1,405
Byker	7,979	626	7,554	668	45,459	942	48,663	801	20,951	684	32,508	796
Heaton	487	8	388	9	16,006	302	21,902	336	1,439	40	8,722	195
Jesmond	2,061	36	2,245	45	15,359	621	20,874	787	6,108	228	8,568	305
Total	80,947	7,339	107,851	7,974	228,367	7,887	250,576	7,102	149,882	7,470	197,859	7,567

Source: I-CeM

Migrant occupations varied in the city. As was true across the country, the Ireland-born in Newcastle were often working as low skilled labourers.¹¹³ Meanwhile, the main form of occupation for German-born migrants was in specialist occupations such as pork butchering, and tailoring. Russia-born migrants were recorded with occupations including tailors, cabinetmakers, and a swathe of semi-skilled trades. There

¹¹³ Cooter, 'The Irish', p. 168.

were, however, a series of smaller and interesting anomalies regarding the employment of foreign-born persons in Newcastle throughout the period. Of the twelve opticians in the city at the time of enumeration in 1851, six were born in Italy, five of whom lived on Dean Street in All Saints.¹¹⁴ Ultimately, Newcastle was largely unaffected by international migration, and through cross-cultural and exogamous relationships, with time most migrant groups integrated with the native population.

As previously noted, the foreign-born population of Newcastle was overwhelmingly comprised of Ireland-born persons. Contemporaries linked Ireland-born migrants to certain areas of the city, one of those being the All Saints Parish. For this section, a sample area of Newcastle has been mapped to identify and examine the segregating behaviours exhibited by foreign-born persons. The mapped area includes a portion of the city centre and quayside, stretching from St. Ann Street on the east to St. Nicholas Street and Newcastle Swing Bridge on the west. Mosley Street and City Road marked the northern boundary, which was bounded on the south by the River Tyne. Frank Neal and others identify the area as having the greatest number of Ireland-born.¹¹⁵ In addition, this area has surviving fire insurance records and detailed

¹¹⁴ According to the I-CeM data for 1851, of the five Italy-born opticians living on Dean Street, four lived in the same property, at 34 Dean Street, the other living at 41 Dean Street. Four of the Italy-born were unmarried, with two aged over fifty, and the other three under thirty. In total, there were five persons living at 34 Dean Street, with a native-born servant also living with the opticians. The household structure was composed of two business partners, with a nephew and assistant also residing with them. The few Italy-born present were concentrated in the area surrounding the town centre, stretching from the fringes of Pandon to Grainger Street.

¹¹⁵ Frank Neal, 'The foundations of the Irish settlement in Newcastle upon Tyne: The evidence in the 1851 census', *Immigrants and Minorities*, Vol. 18, No. 2-3 (1999), p. 75.

OS maps, which provide the opportunity to explore household level practices of segregation.¹¹⁶

Over time, the clustered Ireland-born community of mid-Victorian Newcastle dissipated in various directions. Despite reluctances, some migrants assimilated with the host society, while others moved on.¹¹⁷ Yet, by the end of the period, the Ireland-born were no longer present in such large numbers in places like Sandgate, Pandon, Silver Street, and Pilgrim Street, as they had been. As W. A. Armstrong noted, the Ireland-born ‘tend to congregate in large numbers in lodging houses’.¹¹⁸ In his work on the foundation of the Ireland-born settlement of Newcastle, Neal related the composition of Eddy’s Entry in a survey held in 1853, which was heavily overpopulated, and in ‘one of the worst districts in Newcastle’.¹¹⁹ Even in single rooms, some families and individuals took in a large number of lodgers. The tendency for Ireland-born migrants to lodge with other Ireland-born contributed to the establishment of a migrant core.¹²⁰ Concerning the specific birthplaces of the foreign-born population, Neal identified that for the Ireland-born from the 1851 census, regional clusters existed.¹²¹ The clustering of migrants from the same region of their native country is preliminary evidence of chain migration.

¹¹⁶ Town Plans 1:500 2nd Edition [TIFF geospatial data], c. 1894, Scale 1:500, Tiles: long list, Updated: 30 November 2010, Historic, Using: EDINA Historic Digimap Service, available at: <http://digimap.edina.ac.uk>, [accessed: 9 February 2017].

¹¹⁷ Cooter, ‘The Irish’, p. 20.

¹¹⁸ W. A. Armstrong, ‘Social Structure from the Early Census Returns’, in E. A. Wrigley, ed., *An Introduction to English Historical Demography* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966), p. 220.

¹¹⁹ Neal, *Irish settlement in Newcastle*, p. 77.

¹²⁰ Cooter, ‘The Irish’, p. 57.

¹²¹ Neal, *Irish settlement in Newcastle*, pp. 77-80.

Roger Cooter argues that Ireland-born migrants in Newcastle ‘coalesce[d] into a ghetto’, but that it was issues of poverty, residential affordability, and economic factors that primarily drove such behaviours.¹²² In contrast, however, Cooter argues that single-industry towns, primarily those involved in the coal and iron trade, tended to segregate according to social and religious factors, rather than the ‘economic pressures determining the ghetto.’¹²³ The residential choices available to many of the poor and destitute Ireland-born in most cases was by necessity amongst the poorest stock. Over time, the congregation of the Ireland-born into impoverished areas further attracted migrants, thereby forming a distinct migrant community.

The area of Newcastle examined was crisscrossed with long narrow ‘chares’, and ‘stairs’, many of which stretched down to the Quayside. These steep stairways were dark, unwelcoming, and residual remains of Newcastle’s medieval history. Despite being primarily relegated to deprived neighbourhoods, for the Ireland-born in the North East, conditions were mostly an improvement to those in Ireland. Migrants arriving in the 1840s and 1850s were largely famine refugees who found shelter, food, and work opportunities in the Tyneside communities:

Of the many asylums to which the Irish fled after the great exodus of the forties, there was none in which, owing to many circumstances, they were able ultimately to find more favourable surroundings than the Tyneside.¹²⁴

¹²² Cooter, ‘The Irish’, p. 34.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

¹²⁴ T. P. O’Connor, ‘The Irish in Great Britain’, in Felix Lavery, ed., *Irish Heroes in the War* (London: Everett, 1917), p. 21.

In reference to the wider Tyneside area, in 1874 it was asserted that only Liverpool, Manchester, and Bradford had a higher proportion of Ireland-born in their population.¹²⁵

Within Newcastle, only a small percentage of migrants lived in exclusively foreign-born households. If anything, households became less likely to be entirely composed of migrants over time, largely as a result of children of foreign-born persons being born in England and Wales. As the total population grew, the likelihood of a household including a migrant decreased, especially in being entirely composed of migrants. Table 6.7 illustrates how the number of migrant only households proportionally decreased over the period, despite increasing in absolute terms. Ultimately, while the number of households increased, there was not a reciprocal increase in the number of migrants. Unfortunately, the data for 1891 did not contain detailed address data, only the street address. Consequently, results for that year have been Extrapolated accordingly. A reprocessing of the data may yield the detailed information required for such detailed analysis, but at the time of analysis for this thesis, it was necessary to rely on interpolations.

Table 6.7: Composition of migrant present households, 1851-1911

Year	Households	0 %		< 50 %		50 %		50 > %		100 %	
1851	5,754	4,634	80.5	933	16.2	34	0.6	104	1.8	49	0.9
1861	11,309	9,146	80.9	1,776	15.7	103	0.9	198	1.8	86	0.8
1871*	15,941	13,165	82.2	2,314	14.8	145	0.9	204	1.4	112	0.8
1881	20,573	17,185	83.5	2,852	13.9	188	0.9	210	1.0	138	0.7
1891*	29,512	27,731	86.3	3,098	11.3	286	1.0	249	0.9	145	0.6
1901	38,451	34,278	89.1	3,344	8.7	385	1.0	289	0.8	153	0.4
1911	46,472	42,351	91.1	3,246	7.0	414	0.9	281	0.6	178	0.4

¹²⁵ C. M. Fraser, and K. Emsley, *Tyneside* (Newton Abbott: David and Charles, 1973), p. 118.

Spatial distribution can determine the opportunity of interacting with fellow migrants or the native-born society. Figures 6.24 and 6.25 use three terms to categorise foreign-born migrant households: Isolated, Proximate, and Adjacent. Households are defined according to their proximity to other migrant households. If residing adjacent to a foreign-born neighbour, they are categorised as 'Adjacent', from which it is subsequently inferred that they are relatively segregated. If a household does not have a migrant household next to them, but there is one at least five doors of them on either side, they are 'Proximate', meaning that they lived in a mixed area, or as Vaughan and Kershen note partially mixed areas.¹²⁶ Finally, if there was no foreign-born household within five doors either side, they are 'Isolated', suggesting that they lived alongside the native-born population, and isolated from other migrants.

Despite the limitations of the data for 1851, figure 6.24 corroborates the argument that the largely Ireland-born foreign-born population desegregated over time. The address data for 1851 is messy and ambiguous in places, resulting in some distortion in figures 6.24 and 6.25. As migrants dispersed and separated from the migrant community core, they began to assimilate with the host society. Highlighted in figure 6.24 is an increasing proportion of the foreign-born population living in isolated migrant households, with a decreasing proportion living adjacent to one another. This finding further suggests that migrants were integrating with the native-society as they became less congregated.

¹²⁶ Vaughan and Kershen, 'An analysis of urban space and religious practice', p. 30.

Figure 6.24: Foreign-born household residential segregation in Newcastle, 1851-1911

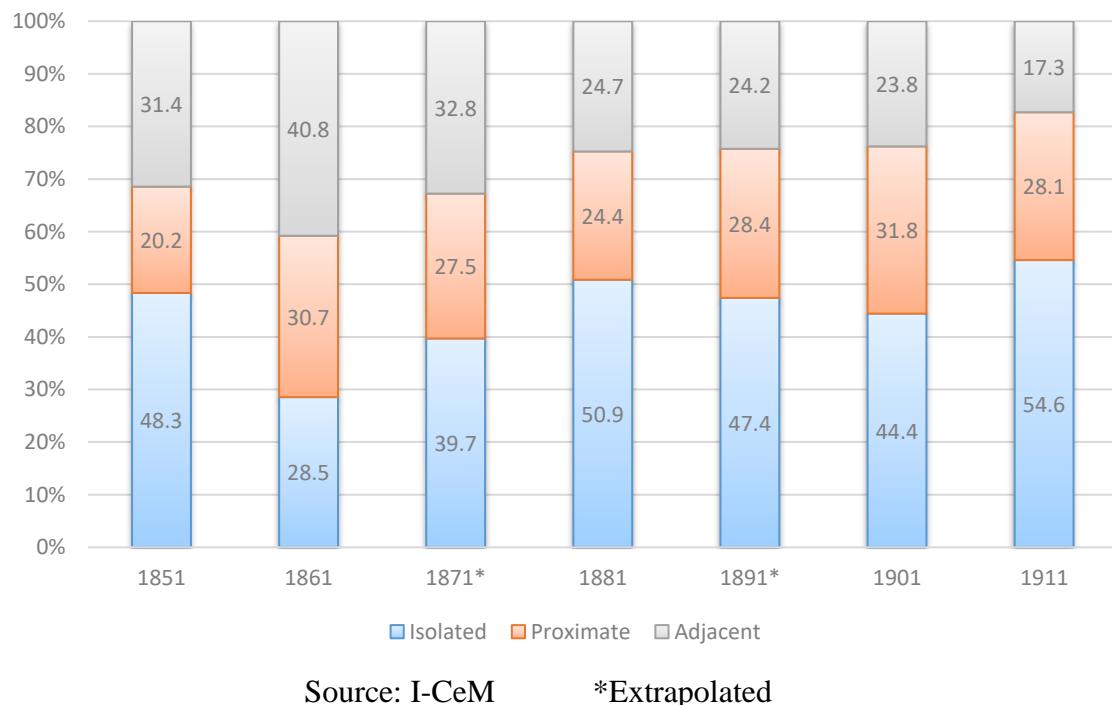
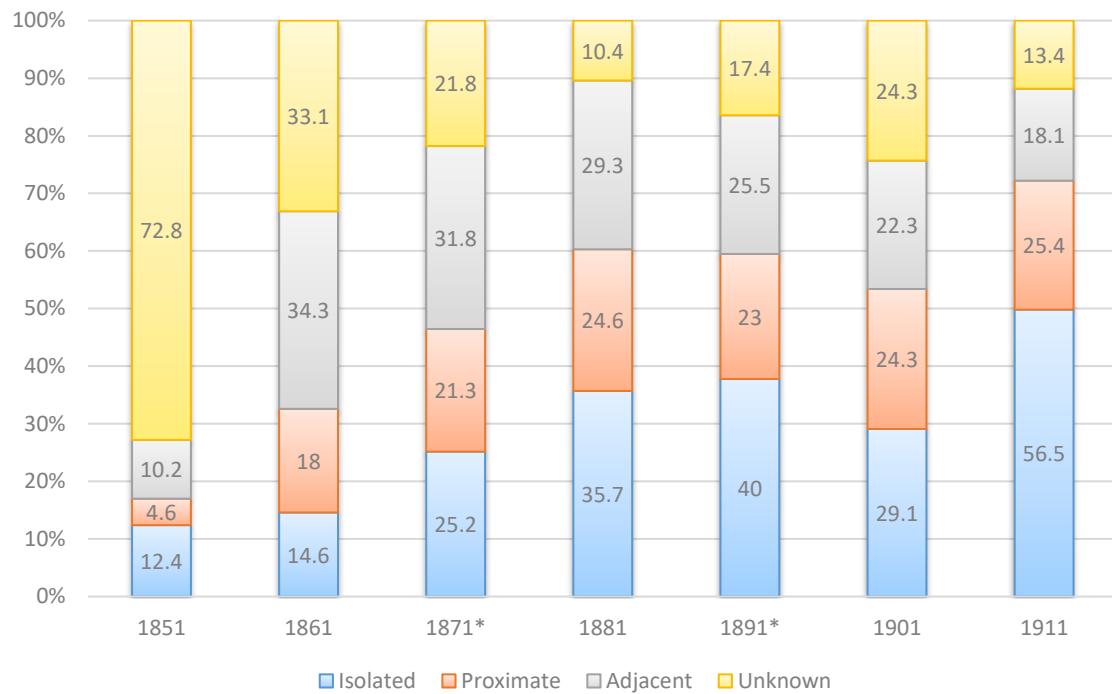


Figure 6.25: Relative proportion of the foreign-born population living in residentially segregated housing, 1851-1911



Source: I-CeM

*Extrapolated

Contemporary observers noted the concentrating behaviours of the Ireland-born migrant community, 'At Pandon... a wretched rookery of tenements [was] chiefly occupied by the lowest class of Irish.'¹²⁷ Figures 6.26-6.29 illustrate the areas addressed in this case study and communicate the aesthetics of the neighbourhood. Properties were largely composed of tall properties, including tenements, which were a blend of stone, wood, and brick, located in narrow streets, and bereft of sanitation. Observers reiterated how the population lived in overcrowded conditions and were vulnerable to outbreaks of cholera and other diseases.¹²⁸

¹²⁷ *Newcastle Courant*, 14 March 1884, 'Local Records and Notes'.

¹²⁸ *Hertford Mercury and Reformer*, 17 September 1853, 'The Cholera at Newcastle'.

Silver Street was composed of lodging houses, small shops, and tenements. Few positive things were said of the area. Outbreaks of disease were reported in the area as a result of the poor living conditions.¹²⁹ The deterioration of the housing stock led to the abandonment of the area by the previous residents.¹³⁰ As was stated:

The former dwellers had gone to the suburbs, but they still had their business premises in the old street...it was gradually deserted for smarter streets, and soon was abandoned to shabby shops and tenemented houses...¹³¹

In the Sandgate area, a distinct community persisted in dire conditions, living and working in almost abject poverty:

The Soap Works are in the middle of this row, and down Soap House Lane, about the centre of the eastern portion, there is a characteristic glance obtained of New Road life. In the houses to the left as you enter a small colony of Irish carry on the stick trade, chopping up timber for firewood sold from carts, or by women and girls in baskets in the streets.¹³²

Within these conditions, the Ireland-born huddled and congregated together, scraping a living how and where they could.¹³³

¹²⁹ *Shields Daily Gazette*, 29 December 1883, 'Fever Dens in Newcastle'.

¹³⁰ Cooter, 'The Irish', pp. 25-27.

¹³¹ *Newcastle Courant*, 2 June 1876, 'Peeps At Old Newcastle'.

¹³² *Newcastle Courant*, 5 November 1880, 'Northern Streets',

¹³³ Cooter, 'The Irish', pp. 24-25.

Figure 6.26: Silver Street, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1884, Edwin Dodds¹³⁴



Figure 6.27: Sandgate and Milk Market, Newcastle upon Tyne, c.1879, unknown¹³⁵



¹³⁴ Newcastle Libraries, ‘Silver Street, Newcastle-upon-Tyne’, 1884, Edwin Dodds, available at: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/39821974@N06/4080719673/>, [accessed: 5 May 2017].¹³⁴

¹³⁵ Newcastle Libraries, ‘Sandgate/Milk Market, Newcastle-upon-Tyne’, 1879-1880, unknown, available at: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/newcastlelibraries/4076437790>, [accessed: 24 July 2017].

Figure 6.28: Pandon, Newcastle upon Tyne, c.1910¹³⁶



¹³⁶ Newcastle Libraries, 'Pandon, Newcastle-upon-Tyne', c.1910, unknown, available at: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/newcastlelibraries/4075664539>, [accessed: 20 April 2017].

Figure 6.29: Dog Bank, Newcastle upon Tyne, c.1890¹³⁷

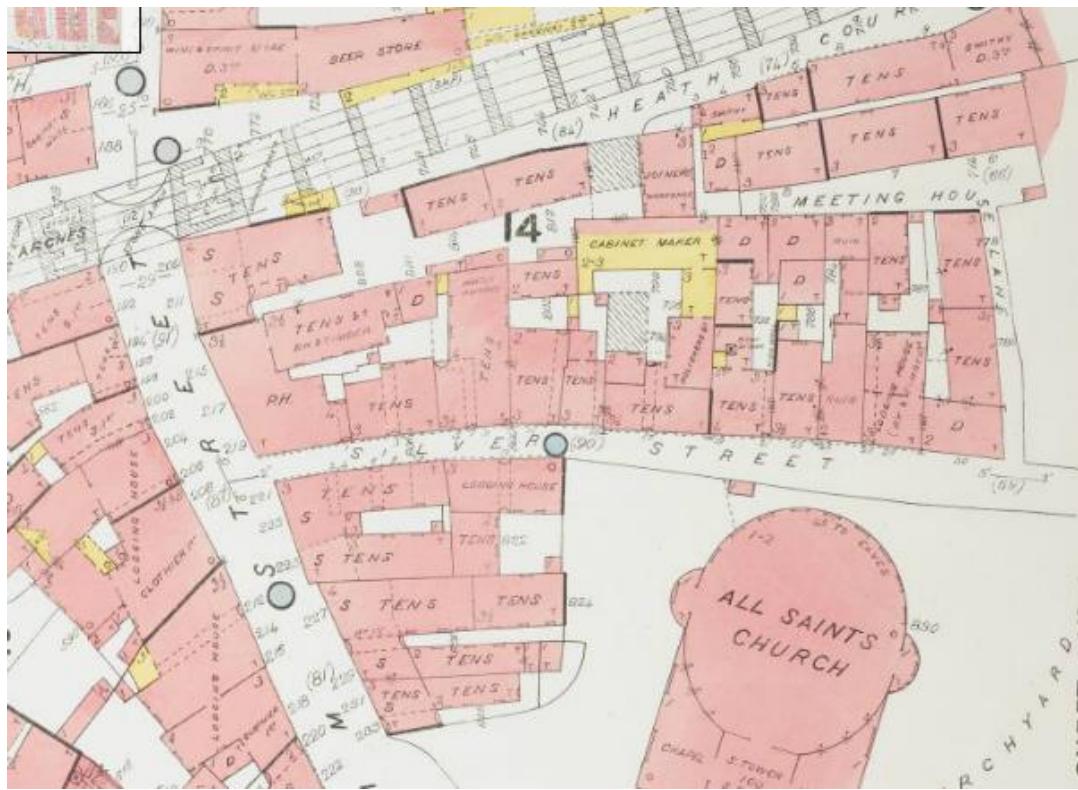


¹³⁷ Newcastle Libraries, 'Dog Bank, Newcastle-upon-Tyne', c.1890, unknown, available at: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/39821974@N06/4086173883/>, [accessed: 20 April 2017].

Nearby Silver and Pilgrim Streets were also populated with tenements and lodging houses. By 1881, twenty per cent of the population residing in Silver Street were foreign-born, all of whom were Ireland-born, except for one USA-born person, Matthew Perkins – a bricklayer labourer who was lodging at number three. There was a small number of Scots also present at the same census (9.3 per cent). Amongst the native-born population, a large number had surnames that were distinctively non-English. Surnames such as Currey, Tweedy, McDonald, Gaffney, and Quince were nearly entirely utilised by the native-born population, which would suggest a large proportion of second or third generation migrants. According to the I-CeM, in the 1851 census, 751 individuals were residing in Silver Street, of whom 397, or 52.9 per cent, were Ireland-born. Of those, 31.7 per cent were visitors or lodgers, who lived in the area for varying lengths of time. Figure 6.30 illustrates the layout of the street, which had buildings largely consigned to the north side, with All Saints Church on the other. Most buildings on Silver Street were tenements or lodging houses. The photograph of Silver Street (figure 6.31) indicates a stone-sloped street with individuals, including children, gathering. However, the area was repeatedly identified as a space of criminality, with ‘houses of ill-fame’ recorded in the area.¹³⁸

¹³⁸ *Newcastle Courant*, 25 April 1857, ‘Newcastle Police’.

Figure 6.30: Charles E. Goad Fire Insurance Map, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1887¹³⁹



¹³⁹ British Library, Charles E. Goad, 'Insurance Plan of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, sheet 3, 1887', available at: <http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/firemaps/england/northeast/mapsu145ubu19uf003r.html>, [accessed: 24 April 2017].

Figure 6.31: Silver Street, Newcastle upon Tyne, c.1884¹⁴⁰



¹⁴⁰ Newcastle Library, 'Silver Street, Newcastle-upon-Tyne', c. 1884, Edwin Dodds, available at: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/39821974@N06/4080703315/>, [accessed: 2 May 2017].

The majority of Ireland-born persons that came to Newcastle were Catholics, which bolstered the number of adherents in the country, although it was not exclusive.¹⁴¹ The arrival of many thousands of new migrants placed pressures on existing places of worship across the country.¹⁴² In response, there was an increase in the number of places of worship across the country, as they sought to provide for the growing flock of arrivals. Within Newcastle, a Catholic Chapel of ease was established in Wall Knoll in 1852, at the centre of the growing Ireland-born community.¹⁴³ The establishment of the chapel served as a further magnet for Ireland-born migrants to the area. There were also other nearby Catholic places of worship. In 1875, St. Andrew's, a Catholic Church was built in Worswick Street, which replaced an earlier Church that had been built in 1798 and based in Pilgrim Street.¹⁴⁴ The Priest, Joseph Gillen, who completed the return for the St. Andrew's Chapel during the 1851 Census of Religious Worship, stated that:

There are 10,000 Roman Catholics in Newcastle, 6,000 of whom are served by one Roman Catholic Priest, attached to this Chapel. About 1,000 labourers having families in Ireland attend this Chapel.¹⁴⁵

On the day of the census, 1,689 persons attended the two morning services, and a further 604 were present at the evening service. St. Mary's Catholic Cathedral, which

¹⁴¹ G. M. Trevelyan, *English Social History: A Survey of Six Centuries Chaucer to Queen Victoria* (London: Longman Group, 1973), p. 567. See also Cooter, *The Irish*, p. 36.

¹⁴² Sheridan Gilley, 'Catholic Faith of the Irish Slums, London, 1840-70', in Jim Dyos, and Michael Wolff, eds., *The Victorian City: Images and Realities*, Vol. 2 (London: Routledge, Kegan and Paul, 1999), p. 837.

¹⁴³ See John Marius Wilson, *Imperial Gazetteer of England and Wales* (London: A. Fullarton and Co., 1872).

¹⁴⁴ St. Andrews, 'History of Saint Andrew's Church', available at: <http://www.st-andrews-worswick.org.uk/history.php>, [accessed: 4 May 2017].

¹⁴⁵ National Archives, Kew, HO 129, Census of Religious Worship, 552, p. 13.

was based on Clayton Street, had been completed in 1844 and had 1,700 persons attend services in the morning, with a further 900 in the afternoon.¹⁴⁶ Both places of worship were located near to the Quayside, which was mostly populated by Ireland-born persons. Gillen's comments reveal three key elements. First, that he felt that the Roman Catholic community needed additional resources, which he felt he was unable to manage the demands placed upon him. Second, in the two places of worship there were 1,744 seats, with over 4,893 attendants (including possible double attendances), suggesting there was a sizeable element of the population that were actively participating in Catholic worship services, yet, there was about half of the estimated Catholics who did not attend.¹⁴⁷ Third, Gillen notes the presence of 1,000 labourers with families in Ireland. This final observation indicates that there was a large mobile Ireland-born group present in the area, with further possibilities of migration into and out of the area.

In addition to the Catholic places of worship, a Jewish Ashkenazi Orthodox congregation met in a synagogue on Temple Street (erected in 1838). In 1851, the average attendance was fifty people on average over the prior twelve months.¹⁴⁸ There was a schism in 1867, with a group breaking away to form the 'Polish Synagogue' in Charlotte Square.¹⁴⁹ The secessionist congregation eventually closed in 1878 when it

¹⁴⁶ National Archives, Kew, HO 129, Census of Religious Worship, 552, p. 38.

¹⁴⁷ Horace Mann, *Census of Great Britain, 1851. Religious Worship in England and Wales: Abridged from the Official Report* (London: George Routledge and Co., 1854), p. 126.

¹⁴⁸ National Archives, Kew, HO 129, Census of Religious Worship, 552, p. 34.

¹⁴⁹ JCR-UK, 'Temple Street Synagogue', last revision: 7 August 2016, available at: http://www.jewishgen.org/jcr-uk/Community/newcast_temple/index.htm, [accessed: 4 May 2017].

reunited with the Temple Street Synagogue to form the Newcastle Old Hebrew Congregation.¹⁵⁰

As was the case in many other port town and cities, there was a religious community dedicated to serving sailors and transient persons. In Newcastle, this was the ‘Union of Evangelical Christians for the Sailors’, which in its 1851 return for the census of religious worship decried the need for a ‘better Sailors Chapel’, and that many of the sailors attended services at various places of worship in the town.¹⁵¹ The congregation recorded only thirty persons at the afternoon service and twenty-four in the evening. It is challenging to put a number on how many sailors were foreign-born, but evidence exists to suggest that across Tyneside, foreign-born sailors would have been present in small but growing numbers.¹⁵²

Relationships between the native and migrant communities were not always harmonious, and riots broke out periodically. The Sandgate area proved to be particularly troublesome for law enforcement and was the scene of some violent outbursts. The ‘Horrid War I’ Sangeyt’, was a large riot that broke out on Sandgate on 11 May 1851, before spreading out across the surrounding streets. Although there were competing accounts on the immediate cause of the riot, it was supposed to revolve around a slight of some description.¹⁵³ However, there were longer-term frustrations and animosities at play. The violence manifested in mid-nineteenth century Sandgate was a consequence of the coalescing of multiple driving factors. Deprived living conditions,

¹⁵⁰ JCR-UK, ‘Charlotte Square Synagogue’, last revision: 3 August 2016, available at: http://www.jewishgen.org/jcr-uk/Community/newcast_charl/index.htm, [accessed: 4 May 2017].

¹⁵¹ National Archives, Kew, HO 129, Census of Religious Worship, 552, p. 45.

¹⁵² Tabili, *Global Migrants*, p. 58.

¹⁵³ *Leicester Chronicle*, 17 May 1851, ‘Riot in Newcastle-Upon Tyne’.

heightened racial tensions, criminality, religious sectarianism, and others drove the host and migrant communities into a state of enmity. When tensions boiled over, violence broke out. Just one month later, another disturbance took place when locals started a fight with Ireland-born migrants in Sandgate. During the proceedings, the locals rushed into an Irishman's house and 'violently assaulted a man who was quietly taking his supper, tore off his waistcoat and shirt, and attacked every Irishman with whom they came in contact.'¹⁵⁴

Further outbreaks of violence took place in the 1860s. One such occurrence was in 1864 when the North Durham Militia was disbanded, and a large group of men began a disturbance in Sandgate.¹⁵⁵ Once again, bricks were the weapon of choice, and one ringleader of the disturbance was arrested with half a brick in his possession, after he had smashed a police officer in the face. A larger more serious event was the Sandgate riot in July 1868, where there was an outbreak of violence by Ireland-born persons against the police, who were attacked with 'pokers, hammers, and other weapons'.¹⁵⁶ The aggression resulted in the assault and serious injury of several police officers.¹⁵⁷ Street fights persisted throughout the evening, and the local population hampered the efforts of the police to hinder and contain the outbreak. Through her work on street crime in Victorian Liverpool, Zoë Alker suggests that violence occurred between competing migrant communities, but also within them as well.¹⁵⁸ Other violent

¹⁵⁴ *Newcastle Courant*, 20 June 1851, 'Police Intelligence'.

¹⁵⁵ *Newcastle Courant*, 1 July 1864, 'Newcastle Quarter Sessions'.

¹⁵⁶ *Morning Post*, 29 July 1868, 'Serious Riot at Newcastle'.

¹⁵⁷ *Newcastle Courant*, 31 July 1868, 'Police Intelligence'.

¹⁵⁸ Zoë Alker, 'Street Violence in Mid-Victorian Liverpool', unpublished PhD thesis, Liverpool John Moores University, (2014), pp. 147-149.

occurrences took place in Newcastle and across the country throughout the period with varying degrees of seriousness and scale.¹⁵⁹

When reviewing property usage, as illustrated in figure 6.32, the case study area was loosely divided into discrete sectors. There were industrial buildings, including warehouses, in the eastern elements, commercial buildings and offices in the southern, with the bulk of the residential properties contained in the northern and eastern streets. Figures 6.33-6.38 illustrate the degree of segregation within the streets. After 1851, the area quickly lost any semblance of segregation, with few streets being composed of migrants in any sizeable numbers. The slum clearances in the case study area likely led to a redistribution of the population and influenced the housing stock availability.

The epicentre of the community in the Silver Street and surrounding areas area collapsed in number, and over the course of the period, newer constructions replaced many older buildings. The undesirability of the area meant it was affordable for migrants, and was in proximity to the Quayside, industrial buildings, and warehouses for work. Yet, the Ireland-born community, which resided in the Silver Street and Sandgate areas, appear to have assimilated. One would expect that as migrants increased their income and financially improved they would move on. The Ireland-born population was also highly mobile, and with other large Ireland-born communities nearby, there were opportunities to move and find work in the surrounding area. However,

¹⁵⁹ See Frank Neal, 'A Criminal Profile of the Liverpool Irish', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, Vol. 140 (1990), pp. 161-200, and Alan O'Day, 'Varieties of anti-English behaviour in Britain, 1846-1922', in Panikos Panayi, ed., *Racial Violence in Britain in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (London: Leicester University Press, 1996), pp. 26-43.

second and subsequent generation migrants should not be ignored. As table 6.7 illustrates (p. 407), when accounting for children born to Ireland-born parents in England or Scotland, the measures of segregation would be noticeably higher.

Figure 6.32: Property types of Newcastle upon Tyne case study area



Figure 6.33: Foreign-born percentage per street, 1851

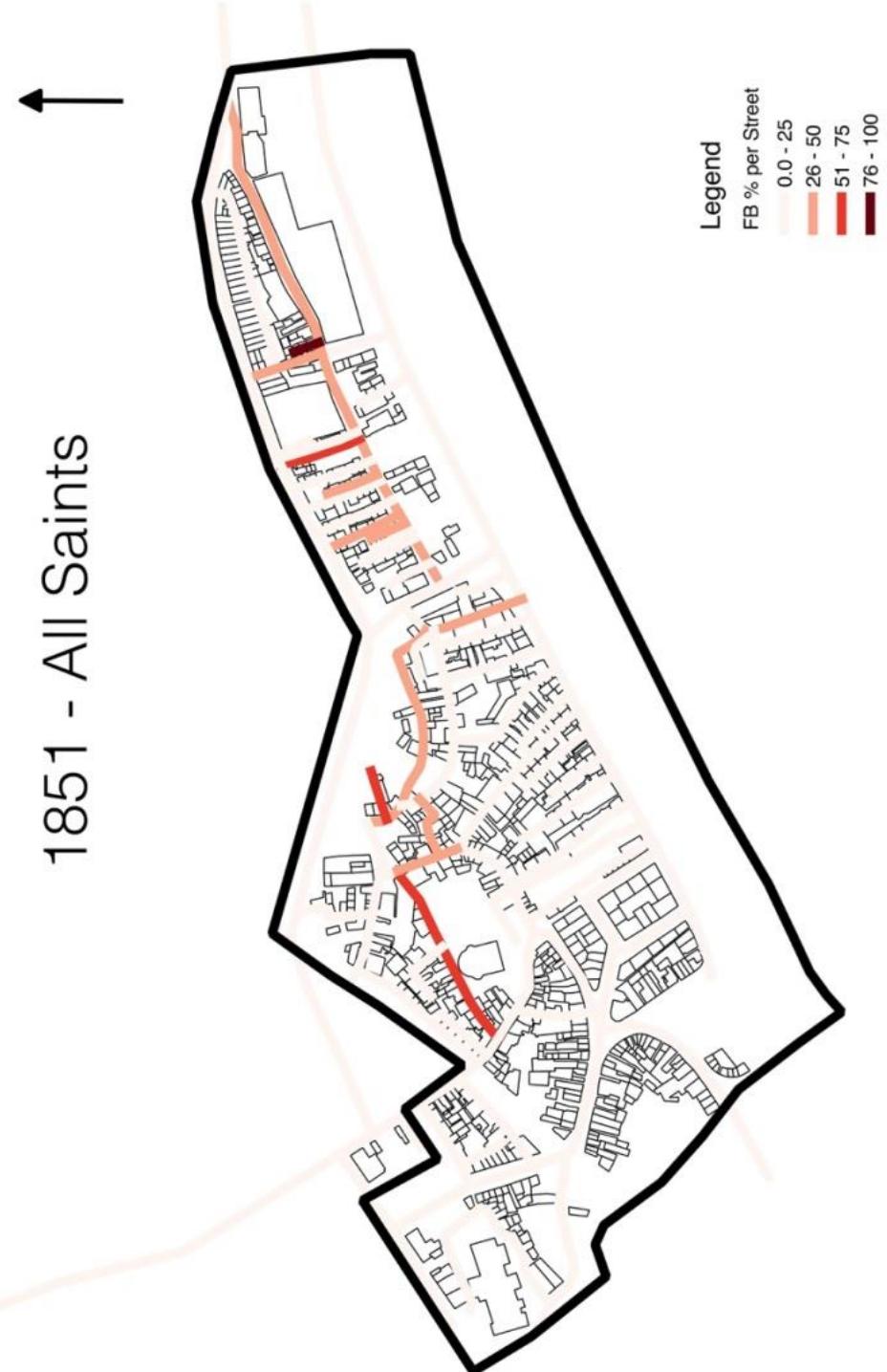


Figure 6.34: Foreign-born percentage per street, 1861

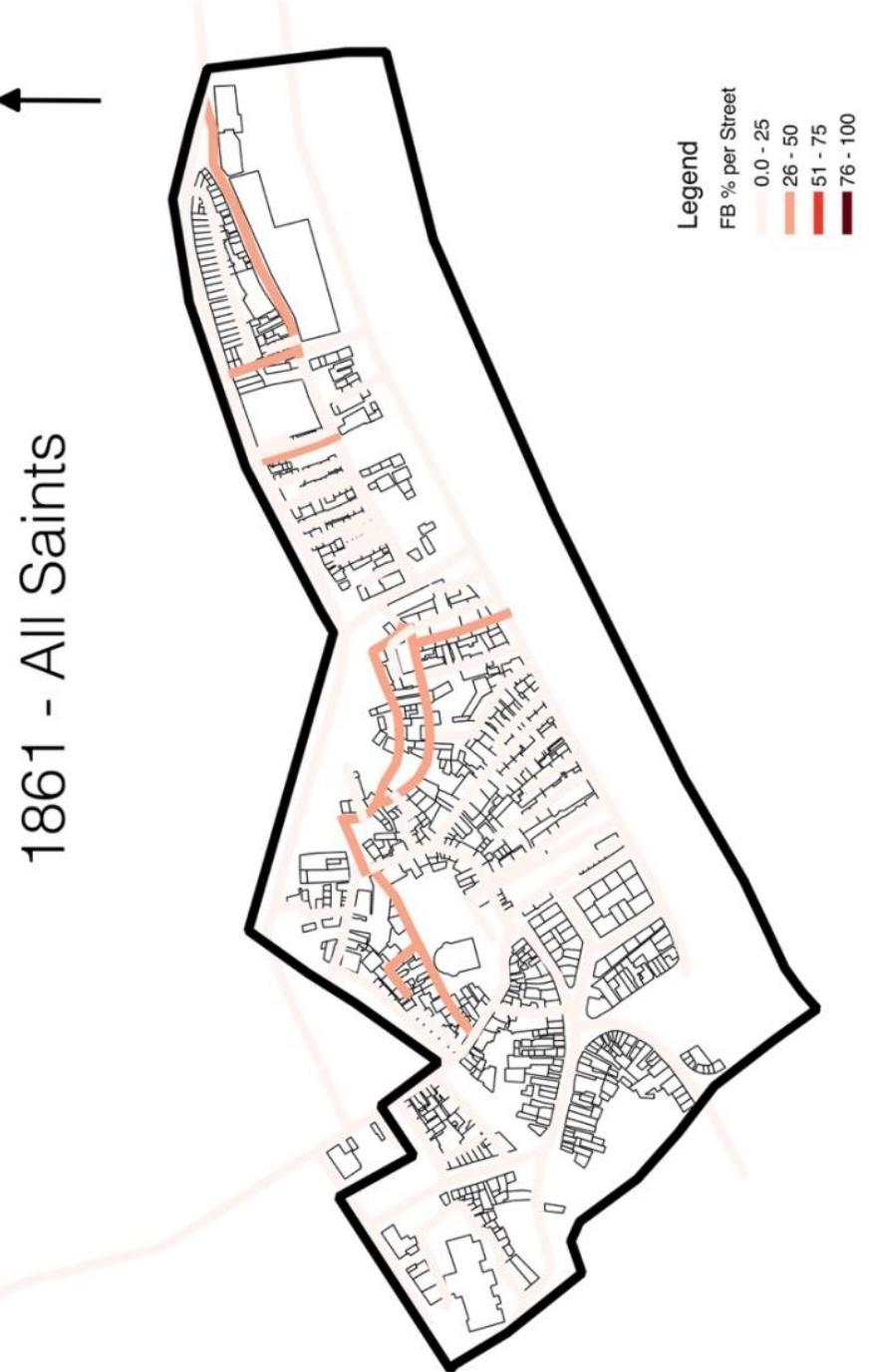


Figure 6.35: Foreign-born percentage per street, 1881

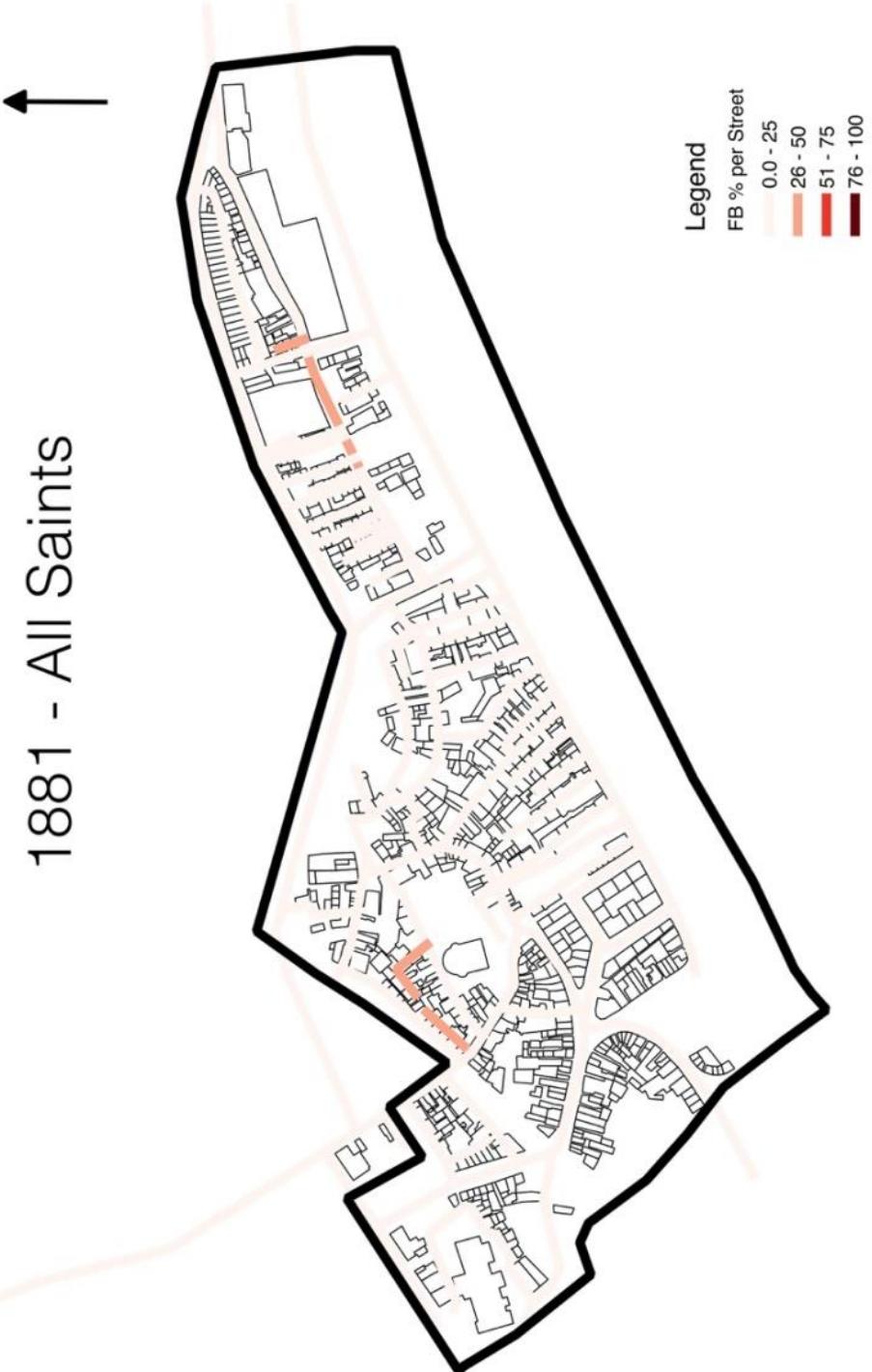


Figure 6.36: Foreign-born percentage per street, 1891

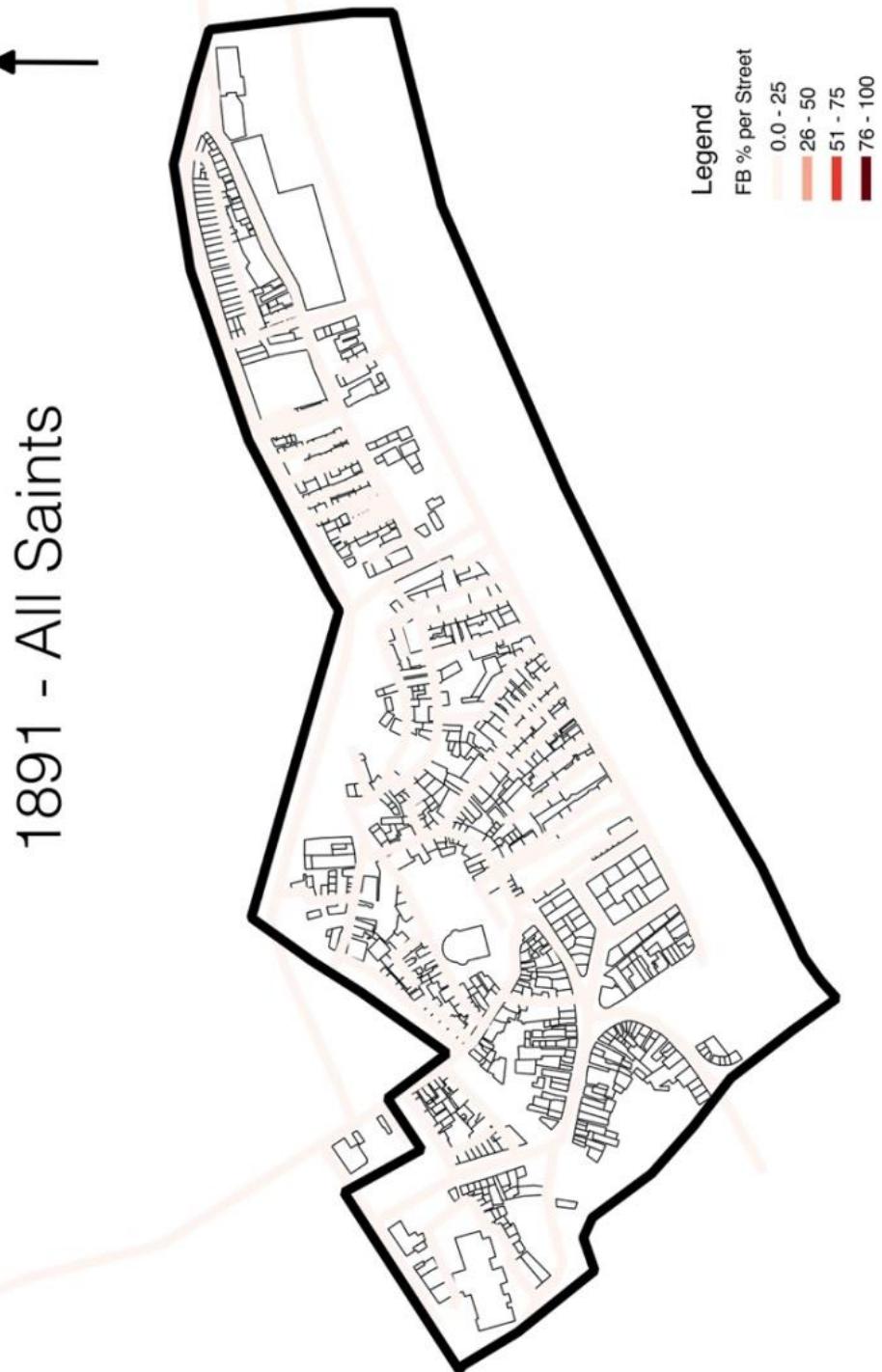


Figure 6.37: Foreign-born percentage per street, 1901

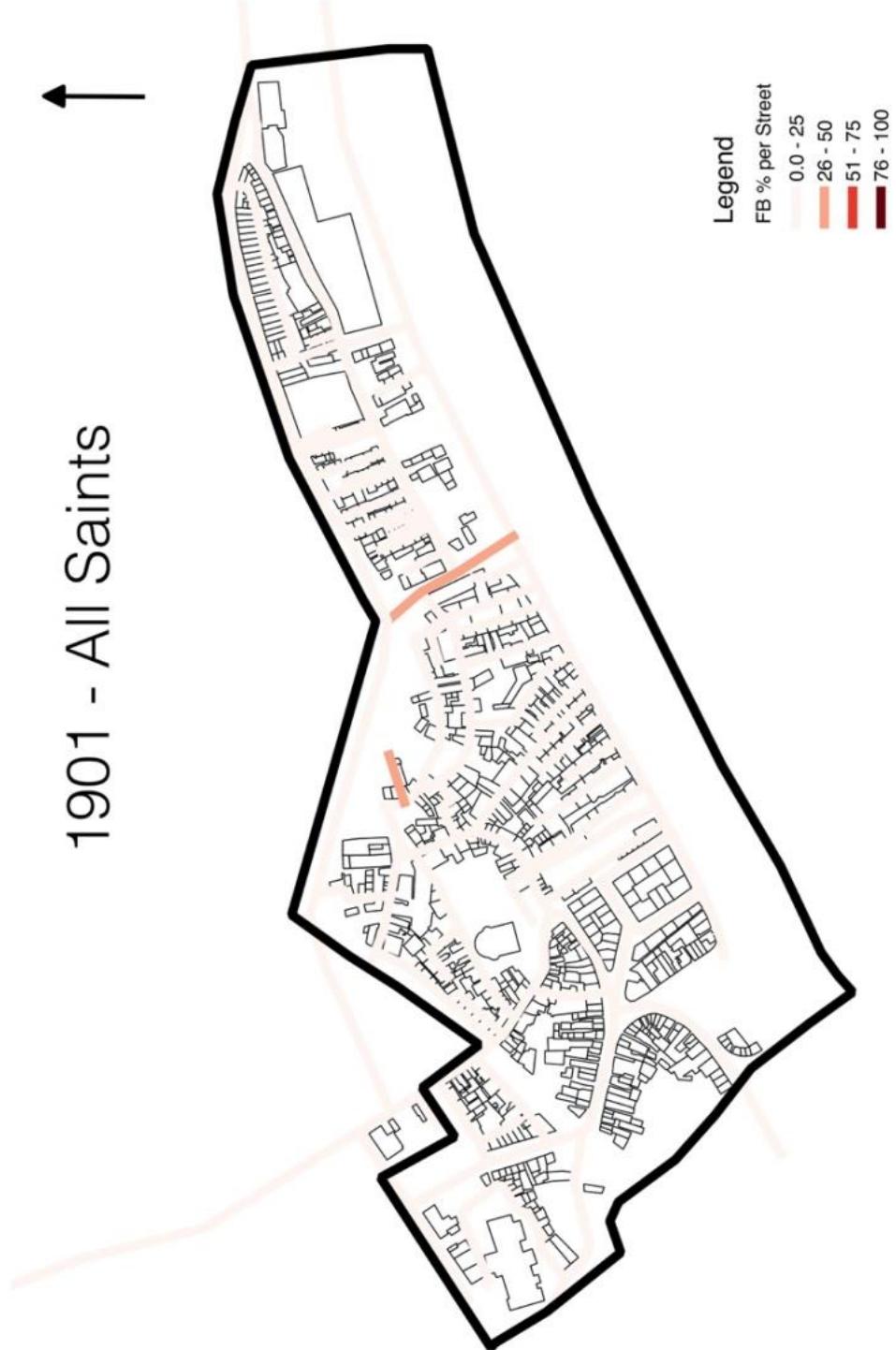
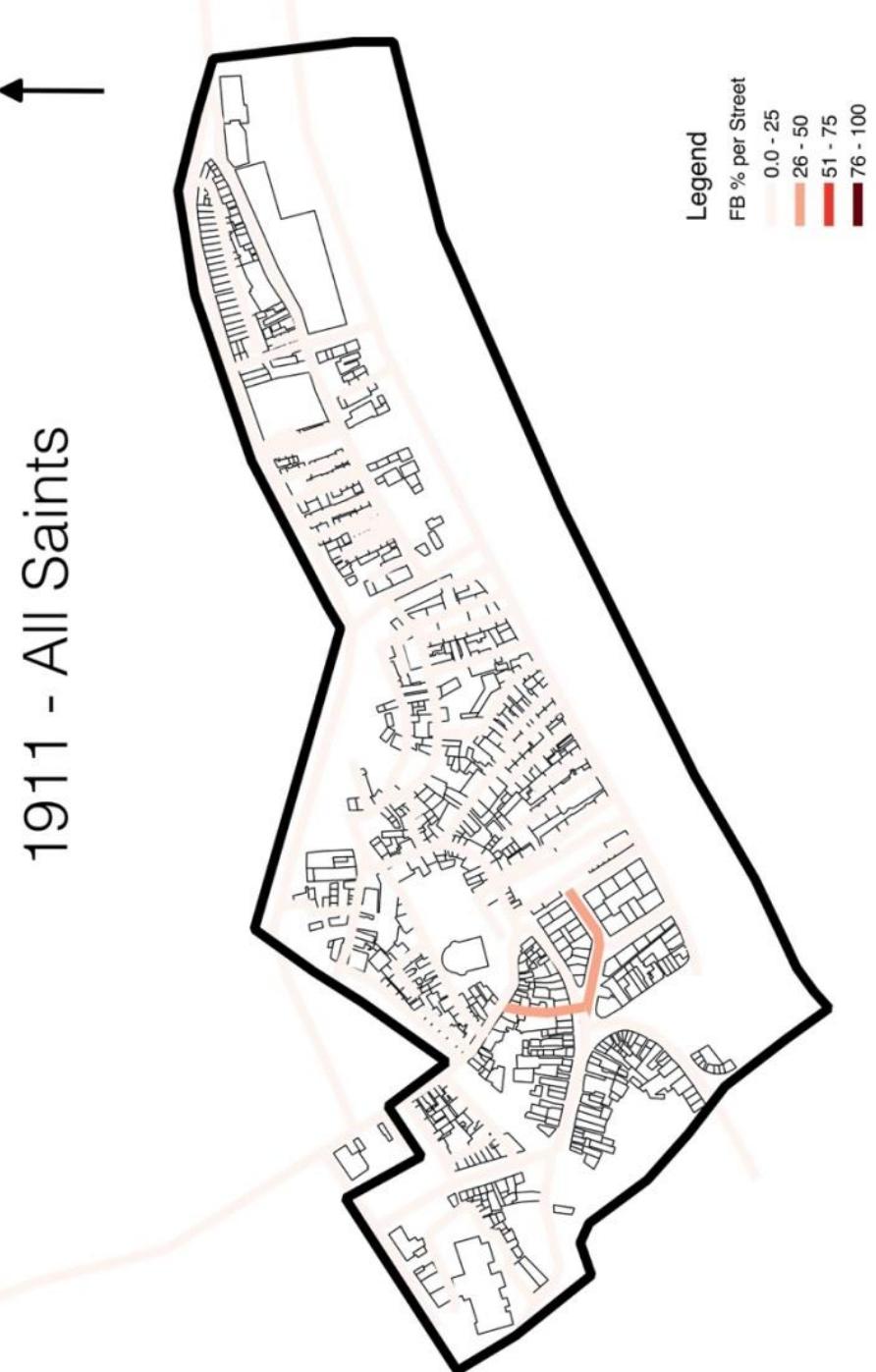


Figure 6.38: Foreign-born percentage per street, 1911



In time, the Ireland-born community in the area around All Saints dispersed and integrated with the host society. The movement of migrants across each parish in Newcastle correlates with the findings of others including John Papworth, Lynn Lees, and Colin Pooley in their research on other British urban centres.¹⁶⁰ These scholars' findings suggest that there was both a concentration and dispersal of Ireland-born across the city.¹⁶¹ Although migrants clustered in focused areas, with time they moved across the urban centre. Certain lanes and chares were inhabited largely or solely by the Ireland-born, whereas others nearby were totally composed of native-born persons. As migrants moved away from the clustered community, they were often moving into areas without a sizeable number of other migrants. These isolated conditions suggest that migrants were integrating with the native-population with greater ease.

In the case of Silver Street and the surrounding area, slum clearances displaced many of the Ireland-born migrants. As the migrant community dispersed across the city and assimilated with the host society, the core of the All Saints Parish Ireland-born community diminished, or at least mutated.¹⁶² With time, other areas, such as the parish of Elswick, began attracting greater numbers of Ireland-born migrants.

Ultimately, this section has demonstrated that the migrants coming into Newcastle in the late 1840s and 1850s remained segregated for a limited time. Within a decade, the Ireland-born community began to disperse across the city and into the

¹⁶⁰ See John D. Papworth, 'The Irish in Liverpool 1835-71: Segregation and Dispersal', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Liverpool, (1981), Lees, *Exiles of Erin*, and Pooley, 'Segregation or integration? The residential experience of the Irish in mid-Victorian Britain', pp. 60-83.

¹⁶¹ Specifically, see Papworth, 'The Irish in Liverpool 1835-71'.

¹⁶² The issue of Ireland-born migrant identity is well-covered in Alan O'Day, 'A Conundrum of Irish Diasporic Identity: Mutative Ethnicity', *Immigrants and Minorities*, Vol. 27, No. 2-3 (2009), pp. 317-339.

surrounding areas. When factoring second and subsequent generation migrants, the foreign-born population of Newcastle emerged as a sizeable entity. The institutions that emerged in Newcastle were primarily cultural and social in nature, and served a function in coalescing the migrant community and retain cultural traditions. In addition, Roman Catholic Churches served an important function in retaining the religiosity of the Ireland-born masses, but it is questionable the extent it played in the lives of migrants.

V. Discussion

Earlier studies have noted the relationship between residential distribution and proximity to places of employment.¹⁶³ It was beyond the scope of this chapter to also investigate distances to places of employment. However, in reviewing the literature, no studies in a British context have focused on the distribution of foreign-born migrants at an individual property level. This research found that migrants were highly mobile and that even in areas of significant migrant concentration, the composition of households underwent significant changes. It is interesting to note that in both case studies, neighbourhoods with high numbers of migrants did not remain that way. The significant level of mobility radically changed the social make-up of areas. For example, migrants in Whitechapel moved out from one area and arrived in another. In Newcastle's case study, meanwhile, there were initially high numbers of migrants, but they

¹⁶³ Lees, *Exiles of Erin*, pp. 63-64.

quickly dispersed around the city. These findings are further complicated by the emergence of a significant second-generation population, who hide evidence of segregation on account of birthplaces. As such, on the question of migrant segregation, this study suggests that total segregation rarely occurred and that a significant portion of migrants remained highly mobile.

Surprisingly, migrants in Newcastle demonstrated divergent behaviours to those in Whitechapel. While the overall populations of both districts expanded, there was no greater increase in the number of migrants residing in Newcastle. Meanwhile, over the same period, the foreign-born population of Whitechapel swelled significantly. It is one thing to measure residential segregation at a quantitative level, but it is another thing altogether to qualitatively identify the extent to which migrants resisted integration. Similarly, migrants may have chosen to live close to others from their native country, but it does not mean they were averse to integrating, or that they actively maintained cultural traditions. As demonstrated in this chapter, migrant institutions were prevalent in parts of London and present to a much lesser extent in Newcastle. Crucially, these unexpected outcomes indicate the value of this methodological approach.

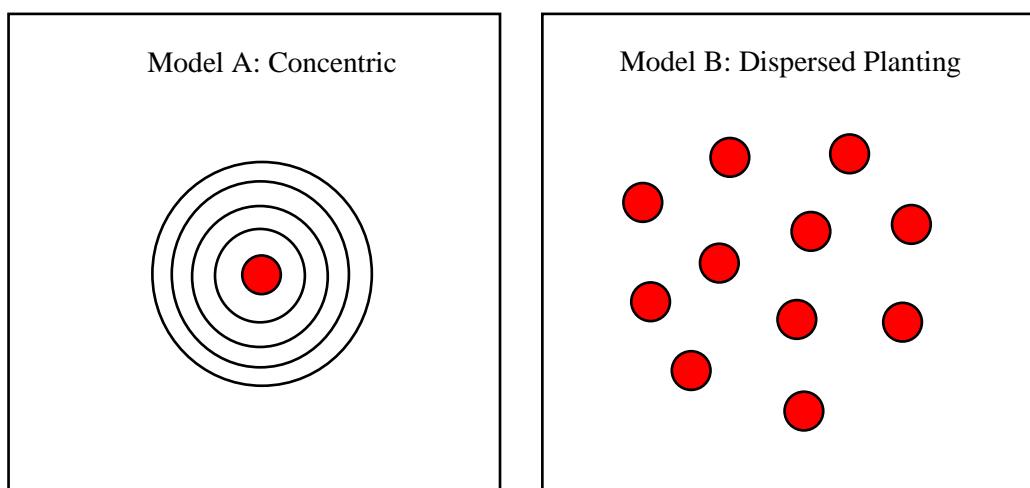
The findings from this chapter are original in the sense that they offer unique perspectives based on the units of measurement, namely individual properties. Herson modelled a similar approach to migrant settlement in his study of the Ireland-born in Stafford.¹⁶⁴ However, there is a notable absence of related studies. The circumstances

¹⁶⁴ See Herson, *Divergent Paths*.

of Eastern Europeans generally align with the pre-established behaviours. Yet, while the existing literature highlights the role of East London in the migration and settlement process, it fails to demonstrate these behaviours at an individualised level.

Fitzpatrick's observation on the mobility of Ireland-born in Britain reaffirms the variable distribution of Ireland-born migrants.¹⁶⁵ The mobility observation is highly pertinent to the Newcastle example, where Ireland-born migrants were notably transient. The flow of migrants out from the Sandgate and Quayside area and the lack of an equally disproportionately settled area indicates high levels of mobility. Meanwhile, the emergence of distinct communities in poor and deprived areas, as was the case in Newcastle, neatly aligns with the findings of Donald MacRaild.¹⁶⁶ MacRaild demonstrates that the rough work many Ireland-born were involved in typically led them to urban settlements.

Figure 6.39: Migrant Settlement Models



¹⁶⁵ Fitzpatrick, 'A curious middle place: the Irish in Britain, 1871-1921', pp. 13-15.

¹⁶⁶ MacRaild, *The Irish Diaspora in Britain, 1750-1939*, pp. 41-47.

Migrant groups exhibited different modes of settlement. Figure 6.39 illustrates two settlement models that can explain how migrant communities settled. As was highlighted in this chapter, Eastern European migrants congregated in large numbers in Whitechapel. The expansion of the community took place on the peripheries, in a concentric manner, with the community expanding from the core. This form of expansion can be described as the concentric model. In contrast, other migrant groups, such as the German-born, were more equally distributed. Although migrants clustered in small groups, they did not necessarily have a central core. Instead, migrants could be found scattered around an area. The movement away from a distinguishable core, and the tendency to be scattered in a series of small clusters can be classified as the dispersed planting model.

The patterns observed in this study fit into one of the two models proposed here. In the case of Newcastle, as has been mentioned, the Ireland-born transitioned from having a settlement core to that of a dispersed planting, whereby they became increasingly isolated from the central migrant body. The Ireland-born population of Newcastle diffused across the city, and over time assimilated with the host society. Lynn Hollen Lees observes this pattern in the geographic distribution and settlement of Ireland-born migrants in London.¹⁶⁷ On the other hand, Whitechapel had a far more complicated settlement composition. The Russian community of Whitechapel was heavily concentrated in a distinguishable core that steadily expanded outwards with

¹⁶⁷ Lees, *Exiles of Erin*, p. 56.

malleable characteristics. Other minority groups demonstrated similar behaviours by remaining in small but distinct communities, such as the Dutch-born migrants.

Anxieties concerning migration stemmed from the tendency for migrant groups to cluster together, both spatially and socially. Writing in 1895, Geoffrey Drage commented on the relatively small but focused nature of migration and settlement in England and Wales:

...alien immigration into the United Kingdom is both absolutely and relatively insignificant, and that, were it not for the fact that the immigrants congregate in three centres – London, Manchester, and Leeds, and engage mainly in one branch of industry, we should hear little of the “displacement of native labour by the lower-priced labour of “aliens”.¹⁶⁸

The congregation of migrants within key urban centres ensured they received attention. Yet, the concentration of migrants augmented concerns about them, including their numbers and the impacts on local communities and economies.¹⁶⁹

The findings from this chapter have focused on the experiences of foreign-born migrants in urban centres. It is unclear whether such behaviours, including the proposed models, is applicable in other settings, such as rural settlements. The results from the I-CeM must be interpreted with caution because it is unable to account for second-generation migrants. The testing of the settlement models on other locations and migrant communities would further enhance their veracity. From the analysis presented here, therefore, it can be generally surmised that foreign-born migrant communities exhibited divergent behaviours. Once again, the heterogeneity of the migrant

¹⁶⁸ Drage, ‘Alien Immigration’, p.12.

¹⁶⁹ Samuel, ‘Immigration’, p. 318.

population is highlighted, which should be recognised when applying findings across the foreign-born population.

Several important implications emerge from this study. First, this chapter has demonstrated that the I-CeM is capable of significant local level reconstitution, which can have significant ramifications for future historical research. Second, these findings help to understand better the importance of exploring migrant communities over time and how they experience change and continuity. Third, the combination of findings indicates significant differences in the residential distribution of two migrant communities in different urban centres, which illustrates the importance of expanding geographical considerations outside of London for migration studies. Finally, two new models are proposed that identify and address the process of residential settlement within migrant communities that significantly contribute to the historiography.

A key feature highlighted in this chapter is the process of clustering. Reluctance to rent to migrants by property owners may be the reason for the clustering of migrant households on streets, but this remains unproven. The tendency for migrants to be absent from some properties and to be present in large numbers in others raises the question of whether property owners actively resisted renting their properties to migrants. Extant contemporary accounts would support the argument that property owners had ulterior motives, yet most evidence stems from anti-migrant accounts and is suspect. Nonetheless, discriminatory behaviours would explain the peculiar tendencies at a micro level.

Ultimately, few migrant communities remained truly segregated. Practices indicative of self-segregation, such as clustering and congregating, demonstrate that migrants took advantage of existing social networks being utilised by new and recent migrants. At a national level, most migrants resided alongside the native population. Yet, it was the speed with which the composition of an area could change that often caused resentment amongst the native population. The resilience and concentration of Eastern European communities, particularly in London, meant institutions and organisations could support and perpetuate migrant populations.

Too frequently, there is a failure to disaggregate migrants and to recognise their heterogeneity. The tendency to categorise large groups of people has led to gross generalisations. Not all Ireland-born were poor Catholics, and not all Russia-born refugees were Jewish.¹⁷⁰ Graham Davis highlights the distinction concerning the Ireland-born in his identification of ‘the emigrants of hope’, and ‘the emigrants of despair’. In his work, Davis illustrates the complexity of group composition and suggests that a homogeneous approach to migration is short-sighted and problematic.¹⁷¹ The process of pushing newcomers to the margins of society resulted in migrants being treated as the ‘other’. This behaviour leads the host society to view and treat migrants as homogeneous, thereby obfuscating their complexity.

Although Jewish Eastern Europeans and Ireland-born migrants differed in their approaches and experiences of interacting with the host society in England and Wales, they shared common features. The native population treated both groups as a

¹⁷⁰ Zubrzycki, *Polish Immigrants in Britain*, pp. 44-47.

¹⁷¹ Graham Davis, ‘The Irish in Britain, 1815-1939’, in Andy Bielenberg, ed., *The Irish Diaspora* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), p. 19.

detrimental presence in the country, they had religious identities that differed from the host society, and had divergent societal norms. Jews exhibited distinct cultural practices, not limited to languages, dietary codes, religious customs, dress, and other factors.¹⁷² Unlike Jewish migrants, the Ireland-born had generally reciprocated resentments towards the English, which served as an important segregating factor, as highlighted in the case of Newcastle and the violent outbursts.

Unlike the Ireland-born, Jewish migrants demonstrated an awareness of the impact of their arrival and recognised the value of integrating. Writing in 1912, Sir Marcus Samuel, himself the son of an Iraqi Jewish family, stated the following:

I for one—and I believe every thinking member of the community will agree with me—am very glad to see the dispersal of our coreligionists over a wider area. Segregation was never and is not a wise policy. I firmly believe that the more we mix up with our Gentile friends, the more we know them and the better they know us, the better will it be for our community in this country.¹⁷³

With the Ireland-born legally identified as British Subjects, they were not socially bound to integrate in the same way as other migrant groups. Naturalisation was a process that many foreign-subjects undertook to acquire citizenship, but it also enabled them to adopt a form of British identity. Notably, the Ireland-born lacked a formal organisation akin in scale to the Jewish Board of Guardians, or an institution formed specifically for migrants, unlike the Poor Jews' Shelter.¹⁷⁴ In areas of high concentration, Irish customs and identity was often incorporated into the local community. In

¹⁷² Ursula R. Q. Henriques, *The Jews of South Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1993), p. 3.

¹⁷³ *Jewish Chronicle*, 1 November 1912, 'Stamford Hill Synagogue'.

¹⁷⁴ J. G. Smith, and Aubrey N. Newman, *Poor Jews' Temporary Shelter Database, 1896-1914*. [data collection]. 2nd Edition. UK Data Service, (2008), SN: 6012, available at: <http://doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-6012-1>, [accessed: 5 April 2017].

contrast, the Jewish Eastern Europeans appear to have mostly segregated from the native-born population. The segregation of this distinct community could be attributed to multiple factors, including; large numbers of migrants spatially displacing the native-born population, strong cultural and religious values that diminished the prospects of exogamy, and the existence of anti-Semitism, which coalesced and strengthened Jewish identities.

From these case studies, it emerges that segregated communities in Victorian and Edwardian England exhibited divergent behaviours. The migrant communities focused on in this chapter were both mobile entities. The Ireland-born areas contracted with considerable speed and diffused throughout the surrounding residential areas. In contrast, Eastern European migrants rapidly formed spatially segregated communities. When accounting for second-generation migrants, Eastern Europeans tended to dominate congregated areas for an extended period. Despite the competing behaviours, the existing historiography reveals that the heterogeneous nature of the group means they were likely to have broad ranges within each group. Some Ireland-born networks will have remained segregated throughout the period, whereas groups of Russians would have integrated rapidly. However, the comparisons between the communities must be appropriately reflected upon. The Ireland-born were an established entity at the time of the major flow of Eastern European migrants arrived. That said, future studies may well extend the period of comparison to explore the longer-term trajectory of Ireland-born and Eastern European migrants. The different waves of migration cannot be treated as being identical; both the drivers and compositions of the migrations differed greatly.

VI. Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to explore the residential distribution of foreign-born migrants in two discrete case studies, Whitechapel and Newcastle upon Tyne. By visualising the residential composition of select areas of the cities, it is possible to identify segregating behaviours. As was noted in the introduction, it is important to understand the residential distribution of foreign-born persons at national and localised levels. Many studies on the subject have addressed national level analyses, but micro-histories are invaluable for furthering our understanding of this subject.¹⁷⁵

The primary finding from this research is that foreign-born migrants in Newcastle differed significantly from those communities that were establishing themselves in Whitechapel. Despite similarities between the groups, they undertook dissimilar strategies and responded differently to the host society. Eastern Europeans in the East End remained clustered together, with neighbourhoods undergoing rapid transformations. In the two subsects, migrants arrived, and native-born persons were displaced, but this ran both ways. In Subsect one there were significant increases in the number of migrants living alongside each other; this mode of settlement development is defined in this thesis as concentric expansion. A large swell of native-born persons replaced the concentration of foreign-born migrants in Subsect two. Meanwhile, the rapid displacement of the Ireland-born in Newcastle upon Tyne demonstrates a more dispersed model. Collectively, this thesis reveals the complexities of

¹⁷⁵ Tabili, *Global Migrants*, p. 9.

migrant settlement and the greater need for an individualised approach to residential distribution.

In the case of Whitechapel and Newcastle upon Tyne, a key finding is the mobility of the migrant population. Either moving as a collective or as household units, foreign-born communities consistently demonstrated a tendency to move locations, even within the same urban centre. The population fluxes in the subsects of Whitechapel demonstrate a complex and shifting landscape of foreign-born and native-born persons living nearby. The concentric expansion of the Eastern European community indicates a willingness to ‘stay with the herd’, wherein proximity to the hub of the migrant community is maintained.

The evidence from this study suggests that additional research is needed to determine behaviours for other minority groups. The case studies used in this chapter reveal a need for more individualised analyses. Similarly, the findings reiterate the importance of exploring geographical areas outside of the popular scholarly scope of interest, such as London, Liverpool, and Leeds.¹⁷⁶ In other words, the example of Newcastle reveals distinct behaviours to those in London; such approaches need to be replicated in other settlements.

The key strengths of this chapter are its utilisation of the I-CeM and the corresponding incorporation into a GIS environment. This research will serve as a base for future studies and will be replicable by other scholars. The findings from this study contribute to the current literature, but they also offer a novel approach to utilising the

¹⁷⁶ Tabili, *Global Migrants*, p. 8.

I-CeM by migration historians. These results suggest that the I-CeM can provide valuable insights into the history of migration into England and Wales.

Future studies should seek to expand on the individual-level household reconstruction methodology used in this chapter by examining migration to rural communities. Although the main migration streams have been established, both the geographical and community-based approaches continue to exclude smaller minority groups. The two case studies themselves can be expanded further to incorporate different areas of the city and to analyse how they are affected over time, with the inclusion of more qualitative sources. Areas of high migrant concentration can reveal interesting aspects of migrant behaviour, but more can be done on less infiltrated areas.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

‘Here we may insert a remark that may be perused with interest by those who would agitate for the passing of a law forbidding more foreign paupers to be dumped upon our island. None are more earnestly in favour of this message than the foreigners who are already settled here. Many of them do their best to dissuade their compatriots from following the example they have set, for they know that new-comers will be certain to settle in the same quarter and follow exactly the same trades as themselves, adding to the keenness of competition.’¹

I. Introduction

During the period 1851-1911, England and Wales played an important role in the lives of millions of foreign-born migrants either. For some migrants, their stay was only temporary, but for thousands it became their permanent home. Many of those who chose to settle in the British Isles tended to follow and reside within migrant communities that had preceded them. Such behaviours sometimes led to neighbourhoods and occupations developing concentrated groups of foreign-born persons. However, this thesis confirms previous scholarship in identifying that segregation in the period was generally short-lived.² The routes utilised by migrants influenced their national distribution. Concentrations emerged in large urban centres, typically those with key ports. London, as the heart of the British Empire, attracted migrants from all four corners of the globe and became a popular settlement of choice. Within this thesis, a recently

¹ *Leeds Mercury*, 12 May 1900, ‘Why Aliens Come To England’.

² Panayi, *An Immigration History of Britain*, p. 96.

released national-level dataset (I-CeM) has been utilised to explore the migration, settlement, and segregation of foreign-born migrants. The evidence presented demonstrates the heterogeneity of migrant communities and their vastly different approaches to interacting with the host society.

Although some scholars have dismissed the arrival of foreign-born migrants as ‘exceptional’, the influences of migrants have been far-reaching.³ In the introduction to this thesis (p. 11), the central research question was ‘to what extent did the foreign-born population of England and Wales segregate from the native-born population?’ Each of the research chapters revolved around their own research questions, which links to this overarching question. While the central question is tested from a national perspective, examples and case studies from areas around the country were introduced. As such, this thesis has examined several key themes exploring the behaviours of foreign-born migrants. Chapter three offered an introduction to the national foreign-born population, including an identification of where they came from, where they lived, and what they did for work. Through a preliminary analysis of the I-CeM, it emerged that migrants were overwhelmingly European and lived in urban centres. Other findings include that a sizeable portion of the foreign-born population had no recorded occupation, and there was a noticeable underrepresentation in agricultural occupations, amongst other important observations.

The fourth chapter explored households that recorded a foreign-born migrant as being present. The number of households with migrants oscillated over the years.

³ Tabili, *Global Migrants*, p. 7.

Over a third of all migrants were unrelated to the other people they lived with, and another third lived in a traditional nuclear family unit. On average, fifteen per cent of migrants lived in households composed of only foreign-born persons. However, there were distinct differences between migrant groups. The Ireland-born population had a balanced gender ratio, whereas the Russia-born and German-born were overwhelmingly composed of males, with the USA-born and India-born having more females than males. The analysis offered in chapter four reveals the complexity of the demographic composition and the household structure of the foreign-born population, and that there was significant variation between key migrant groups.

The fifth chapter analysed the occupational activity of foreign-born migrants and compared it to the native population. Migrants disproportionately occupied certain occupations. Sugar refiners are an example of segregation within employment. In 1851, 60.8 per cent of sugar refining workers were foreign-born, and by 1901, it had decreased to 16.9 per cent. Tables 5.11 and 5.12 (pp. 342-343) demonstrate how occupations changed in composition. Dockers also had a sizeable foreign-born composition, which similarly decreased from thirty-nine per cent in 1851 to 12.3 per cent in 1901. In contrast, performers and ministers of religion increased over the same period, from 14.3 per cent to 43.6 per cent and 6.6 per cent to 25.1 per cent respectively. The oscillatory nature of foreign-born migrant occupational activity was a result of diverse migration streams, technological developments, a developing economy, and the introduction of global products, techniques, and ideas.

Chapter six examined the distribution and residential segregation of foreign-born migrants in two case studies; Whitechapel, and Newcastle upon Tyne. A key

finding was the difference in behaviours manifested by migrants from Ireland and the Russian Empire. After their initial arrival into segregated environs, the Ireland-born quickly began living amongst the native-born population. In contrast, the continental migrants in Whitechapel remained distinctly isolated, as demonstrated in the case of the Dutch (p. 387). The utilisation of street level and individual address mapping offers increased versatility for measuring segregation and illustrates the distinct behaviours lost at an aggregate level.

The methodological approach to this thesis has been to explore statistical evidence, with an emphasis upon the contents of the I-CeM. Although primarily examined within spreadsheet and database software, GIS environments are utilised to examine the data. Although an extensive process, the vectorisation of fire insurance maps has allowed the reconstitution of communities within a digital environment. Chapter six utilised vectorised data in conjunction with the I-CeM to demonstrate how Ireland-born and Eastern European communities, in Newcastle and London respectively, employed vastly different settlement strategies. In 1851, the Ireland-born residentially segregated in large numbers, but in the following years, they redistributed across the city. Meanwhile, the migrant community of Whitechapel demonstrated segregationist behaviours consistently in their residential activities. Streets sharply divided, and migrants remained congregated throughout the period. Scaling up this process of specific localities would reveal minutiae behaviours that are lost in aggregate forms of analysis. A similar process, albeit using point data derived from a directory, has been successfully utilised in Scotland to explore the distribution of the Italian

community in the period 1890-1940.⁴ The successful geo-location of migrant communities in the British Isles is an important development in British migration studies and signals a shift from reliance upon aggregated forms of analysis to that of migrant localisation.

II. Microdata – Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM)

The I-CeM provides an immense opportunity to explore the foreign-born population of England and Wales across the Victorian and Edwardian periods. The efforts and resources invested in the I-CeM have resulted in a truly versatile dataset. Historians for years to come will be able to use the I-CeM for a range of socio-economic questions. When utilised within manipulative environments, such as GIS, the observation and quantification of new patterns of behaviour are possible. These characteristics place the I-CeM as possibly one of the most influential datasets for the historical study of migrant communities.

Chapter two analyses the census and I-CeM, and concludes that despite the introduction of new errors, I-CeM's flexibility offers profound opportunities. A defining challenge of the I-CeM is its size. Limits introduced in both selecting and downloading records shaped the direction of the study and restricted the national comparisons of foreign-born and native-born persons. Nonetheless, the downloadable content and system can be utilised to provide aggregated figures, although it also has record

⁴ 'Family Portrait: The Scots – Italians 1890-1940', available at: <http://maps.nls.uk/projects/italians/>, [accessed: 29 August 2018].

query limits. Naturally, the data has all of the inherent issues from the original enumeration. However, the vulnerabilities of the data are only amplified with each further stage of interaction. The enrichment process introduced new errors, which requires careful handling when being analysed.

The processing time for analysing the I-CeM is significant. Repeating queries and ensuring each filter is correct can take a considerable amount of time, especially when it is replicated for the six censuses. However, the ability to select a distinct foreign-born community and explore them in-depth is invaluable. For example, identifying all persons born in France is of profound use when examining the group's socio-economic composition, geographical distribution, familial and household relationships, or other variables. In essence, the I-CeM allows the published census returns to be scrutinised, but also correlated with other records, thereby making the census a profoundly valuable source for migration studies.

The I-CeM offers unprecedented opportunities for historians interested in the socio-economic and demographic composition of Britain in the long nineteenth century. The merits of the I-CeM far outweigh the limitations and any shortcomings as identified in chapter two and at various stages of the thesis. Additionally, attempts have been made to overcome the I-CeM's limitations by using other sources. With long-term ramifications for British history, the I-CeM is a resource that will offer profound insights for the period for years to come.

III. Assimilation and Segregation

As demonstrated in this thesis, nineteenth-century Britain experienced a rapid increase in the scale and number of foreign-born communities. Arrivals from across the world settled in England and Wales for diverse reasons, and migrant groups pursued vastly different processes of assimilation. As demonstrated in chapter six, some Ireland-born migrants in Newcastle upon Tyne tended to be mobile within the urban environment. Consequently, it appears that over time the Ireland-born spatially integrated with the host society, although, in many places, they continued to be culturally resistant, as evidenced in their aggressive encounters with the police and local populace (p. 50). However, it is important to point out that these generalisations are problematic and not necessarily representative of the wider experience.

Although the Russian Jewish migrants pursued a strategy of spatial segregation, they economically and politically integrated with the native population. Yet, with time, even the most culturally resistant groups assimilated with the native society to some extent. Todd Endelman's study of the Frankau family who moved from Germany to England charts their progression as they assimilated with the host society. Endelman found the connection between the family of Adolph Frankau and the English Jewish community was 'severed within one generation.'⁵ Persecution was a prominent aspect that either forced individuals or groups to become increasingly segregated and culturally resistant, or to assimilate with the host society, as was occurring on mainland Europe. Connected to this point, Jonathan Helfand states 'Their alienation

⁵ Todd M. Endelman, 'The Frankaus of London: A Study in Radical Assimilation, 1837-1967', *Jewish History*, Vol. 8, No. 1/2 (1994), p. 125.

from Judaism, together with increased participation in Christian society, led many young Jews to the baptismal font.⁶ The severing of ties to their ancestral religion enabled migrants to become socially mobile, and thereby assimilate with greater ease.

The central research question sought to establish the extent to which the foreign-born population of England and Wales was segregated from the native-born population. Through microdata, it was possible to ascertain new insights into migrant activities, distributions, and behaviours. One of the most significant findings was that the majority of migrants resided outside of London, which as was mentioned, is something that has recently started to be picked up on (p. 158). With time, the domination of certain occupations by foreign-born migrants shifted, thereby resulting in de-segregation of certain occupations. Similarly, the residential distribution of migrants and subsequent integration varied considerably. The Ireland-born rapidly spatially integrated with the native-born population (p. 405), the Italians remained congregated throughout the period (p. 182), and migrants from the Russian Empire proved remarkably residentially segregated (p. 177). Yet, despite the segregationist behaviours, first and subsequent generations of migrants tended to assimilate with the host society, as noted by Walter Besant:

...their children, you may look for them in the Board-schools; they have become English-both boys and girls: except for their names, they are English through and through; they accept our institutions, laws, and customs; they rejoice with our successes, they grieve with our misfortunes; never yet has it been known that the second generation of the alien has failed to become English through and through. I believe that our power of absorbing alien immigrants is even greater than that of the United States.⁷

⁶ Jonathan I. Helfand, 'Passports and Piety: Apostasy in Nineteenth-Century France', *Jewish History*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (1988), p. 59.

⁷ Besant, *East London*, p. 191.

Nonetheless, assimilation and integration was not universal. Groups that continued to experience migration, had strong identities, and held distinct religious identities took longer to acculturate and assimilate. However, there is enough evidence to make the argument that even the most segregated of communities assimilated to some extent with time.

In response to the Houndsditch Murders of 1910, reports claimed ‘The unassimilated alien is increasingly with us, a growing cause of perplexity, weakness, and, it might be, danger.⁸ Yet, within one generation, most migrants appear to have begun assimilating with the host society. Social, economic, and cultural aspects of migrant communities began to be absorbed into British society, a prominent example being fish and chips.⁹ Migrant communities and leaders had long sought to retain their identity. Places of worship served current and future generations of migrants, particularly in London where a wide swathe of migrant-specific religious institutions and communities existed. Ultimately, segregated communities diminished with time and the populace became British, while some retained certain characteristics.

In all of the areas examined in this thesis, demographic and household composition, occupational activity, and residential circumstances, foreign-born migrants demonstrated a general tendency to integrate, albeit some having an initial period of segregation. Many migrants and most second-generation migrants came to see themselves as British, and despite resentments for migrants, there were no ghettos or completely segregated communities. Therefore, beyond the arrival and initial clustering

⁸ *Times*, 27 December 1910, ‘The Unassimilated Alien’.

⁹ Panayi, *Spicing Up Britain*, pp. 16-18.

of migrants, it is inaccurate to label many migrant communities as having been segregationist.

IV. Contributions to Knowledge

This thesis makes several original contributions to knowledge, as it is the first comprehensive review of foreign-born migration in a way that has never before been undertaken in British contexts. These contributions cut across methodological considerations and current understandings. Several points relate to the I-CeM and the analysis of particular migrant groups. For example, the data indicates that there were tens of thousands of USA-born persons living in England and Wales in the later years of this study. This observation has largely been ignored in the historiography. The most noticeable aspect of chapter four was the vast differences in the age, gender, and marital status profiles of several migrant communities. As an example, the ageing German-born population diverged noticeably from the predominantly youthful USA-born population (p. 242). Demographic observations of foreign-born communities is a largely unexplored avenue of the migrant population, one noticeable example being the work of David Coleman.¹⁰ Other scholars have touched on the demographic composition of particular communities, but the scope has mostly rested on the largest migrant groups.

Throughout the period, Europe remained the dominant source from which foreign-born migrants came, even in the later years of the census (p. 148). Nonetheless, the number of persons born in Africa and Oceania nearly doubled during the 1890s

¹⁰ See Coleman, ed., *Demography of Immigrants and Minority Groups in the United Kingdom*.

(p. 148). As such, there was an unequal growth rate of foreign-born migrants between migrant communities (p. 148). The heterogeneity of the foreign-born population was revealed in this thesis when three distinct waves of migration were identified in chapter three. First, there was an immense in-swell of Ireland-born migrants in the 1840s and 1850s. Second, the arrival of thousands of foreign-born migrants from continental Europe from the 1860s. Third, a sizeable increase in foreign-born British subjects from the late 1890s onwards. Ultimately, this thesis demonstrates that the origins and drivers of migration were complex and subject to fluctuations.

One crucial contribution of this study to the field of migration studies is the identification of migrant occupations and the ensuing shifts over time. At times, there was an overrepresentation in migrant occupations, but in most cases, these segregated occupations began to incorporate native-born persons. An example used in this thesis was that of German-born sugar refiners, which rapidly desegregated (p. 304). Another important finding is the low representation of foreign-born persons in agricultural and related occupations. Despite the literature identifying large numbers of predominately Ireland-born workers, the data is unable to support this observation. However, the census was conducted during a quieter time of year for agricultural workers; therefore, seasonal workers would have been largely omitted in the enumeration (p. 315). The variation between migrant communities might be expected, but this thesis has outlined some of the key ways in which they differ. Establishing these foundational points and putting them in relation to each other and the native-born population is a useful starting point for future in-depth studies.

The presentation of information relating to the individual property level analysis of East London and street level in Newcastle upon Tyne supports the claim of needing more in-depth analysis of local areas. Simultaneously, the geographical distributions of migrant communities in London, and nationally, highlight new patterns of residential settlement. The models proposed, namely the dispersed planting and concentric expansion, are two approaches and observations relating to foreign-born migrant settlement, residential distribution, and mobility. These findings, although important for understanding migrant distributions, have largely gone unnoticed or unaddressed by previous scholars.

Contributions highlighted in this section and throughout the thesis provide historians with new insights and avenues for research. The I-CeM has demonstrated its versatility and ability to provide macro and micro perspectives. The reconstruction of the foreign-born population sought by Tabili has begun through this thesis and will continue as other historians take advantage of the I-CeM. Being able to confirm or contradict the existing literature offers the ability to reinvigorate British migration studies as individualised census data can be extracted and analysed rather than relying on the tabulated returns.

V. Limitations of this study

Several constraints required this thesis to limit its scope and areas of investigation. First, data management and handling issues required chapter five to exclude the 1911 census in its analysis of occupations. Second, the length of time required to manually

geo-locate and reconstitute entire neighbourhoods in chapter six was significant. The processing time, including vectorisation, meant broadening the scope to additional settlements and areas was impractical for this thesis. A third constraint was the inability to explore the geographical distribution of occupations in relation to the migrant communities. The sheer number of occupations and the large number of communities and registration districts made it unviable to attempt in this study. Finally, the selection of the five key groups was predicated on the availability of existing literature and priority was assigned according to the size of the groups in relation to others. These limitations indicate that the study faced several issues related to the size of the foreign-born population and the geographical extent it covered. With the foundation now presented, future studies using the I-CeM will now be able to focus on discrete areas, times, and communities.

VI. Future Directions and Prospects

‘Historical research on immigrants and minorities in Britain’, said Endelman in 1994, ‘is in its infancy but growing’.¹¹ In the years since Endelman’s statement, notable works have contributed towards our understanding of migrant communities, but work remains to be done. Many promising directions for future research on the subject of migration, settlement, and segregation of foreign-born persons exist. Outlined here

¹¹ Todd M. Endelman, ‘Review: Jews, Aliens and Other Outsiders in British History’, *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (1994), p. 969.

are a number of viable directions that future research and scholarship could take that would benefit the field.

Prosopographical approaches to migrants and their kin networks offers a layered approach to understanding social mobility, and the long term effects of migration on first and subsequent generation migrants. Snapshots offered by census data are of value and have a place in migration studies. However, studies concerned with segregation require a longitudinal approach to understand the particulars of the behaviour and to explore the implications over time. Family group sheets enable multiple generations to be analysed over time and often contains details concerning the exact birth-places.

There remains a paucity of scholarly attention for the small numbers of migrants from across the world living in England and Wales. Researching these communities, including how they formed and experienced change, would further contribute to the understanding of minorities and their relationship to the host society. Many of these smaller migrant groups remain a neglected area. Small migrant communities formed in the late nineteenth century became the foundation for migrants arriving in the twentieth century. However, attention should turn to distinct and neglected communities. As Zygmunt Bauman notes, studies of assimilation within migrant communities typically refer to the Jewish experience.¹² However, there is scope for a wider remit. For example, there are questions regarding the experiences of Spanish migrants

¹² Zygmunt Bauman, 'Assimilation and Enlightenment', *Culture and Society*, Vol. 27, No. 6 (1990), p. 71.

or those of South America. As such, new avenues for research have emerged for British migration scholars.

Through its utilisation of surname analysis, the work of Adam Crymble has demonstrated possibilities for future directions in assessing the extent of the second-generation migrant community.¹³ After ascertaining migrant-specific surnames, it is possible to analyse them and their derivatives across time, irrespective of birthplace. Although women would have lost their surname at marriage, the aggregation of migrant related surnames would provide a general sense of the scale and mobility of second and subsequent generations.

Record linkage between the censuses is one possible direction that could further augment migration studies. Understanding the degree to which migrants and their progeny were socially mobile has a direct relation to current debates on the subject. Providing a historical context would supplement understanding of how the decision to migrate affects subsequent generations. The presence of raw and derived socio-economic and demographic variables is well suited for charting social mobility longitudinally, at multiple levels of scale, including local, regional, and national.

VII. Concluding Remarks

Hundreds of thousands of foreign-born migrants arrived, passed through, and settled in England and Wales during the period 1851 to 1911. Distinct communities and

¹³ Adam Crymble, ‘Surname Analysis, Distant Reading, and Migrant Experience: The Irish in London, 1801-1820’, unpublished PhD thesis, King’s College London, (2014).

neighbourhoods emerged where migrants congregated, forming areas of exclusivity. Historical contemporaries recognised the existence of migrant dominated districts and explored them through social investigations.¹⁴ Examples of such awareness are demonstrable in the work of individuals, such as George Sims, Charles Booth, and Jack London, amongst others.

In 1960, Gartner noted that in exploring and understanding the migrants who travel through and settled in England, ‘We must look to the census as our basic source and almost entirely abandon attempts to derive annual immigration figures from other sources.’¹⁵ Herein lays the immense value of the I-CeM project, which has made the exploration of migrant communities possible, at localised, regional, and national levels. Ultimately, because of the I-CeM project, the census will remain a crucial source for migration studies in years to come. Similarly, it has launched the possibility of a second-wave of census-based migration studies.

The large-scale migration of particular groups, namely the Ireland-born and Eastern Europeans, had an impact on British society. Due to the scale of the migrations, nativist attention fixated on issues such as overcrowding, wage undercutting, competition, and displacement.¹⁶ There are contemporary lessons to learn from the historical migration and settlement of England and Wales by foreign-born groups. However, the evidence presented in this thesis demonstrates the complex nature of

¹⁴ See Daniel Renshaw, ‘Investigating the “Other” – A Comparative Study of Migrant Settlement in the Work of Charles Booth and Jacob Riis in Victorian London and New York’, in Marie Ruiz, ed., *International Migrations in the Victorian Era* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 278-302, and Paul O’Leary, ‘Mass commodity culture and identity: the Morning Chronicle and Irish migrants in a nineteenth-century Welsh industrial town’, *Urban History*, Vol. 35, No. 2 (2008), pp. 237-254.

¹⁵ Gartner, ‘Notes on the Statistics of Jewish Immigration’, p. 102.

¹⁶ Marc Brodie, ‘Artisans and Dossers: The 1886 West End Riots and the East End Casual Poor’, *The London Journal*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (1999), p. 35.

migration and settlement in Victorian and Edwardian Britain. Similarly, it has been demonstrated that there was a tendency for migrants to congregate according to their origins, and for migrants to assimilate over time. Importantly, this thesis has revealed original points concerning the foreign-born population and indicated the immense value of the I-CeM for historians.

APPENDIX 1

Random sample of households from the 1851 England and Wales census

Census Returns of England and Wales, 1911. Kew, Surrey, England: The National Archives of the UK (TNA), 1911. Ancestry.com. *1911 England Census* [database online]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2011.

ID	Name	Sex	Age	Occupation	Relationship to Head	Birthplace
55 Acacia Road, Marylebone, London (first household)						
1851 England Census. HO107; Piece: 1491; Folio: 839; Page: 36; GSU roll: 87819-87820						
1	Jean De Lolme	M	54	Professor of Languages	Head	Switzerland
2	Isabella Macbean	F	50	Servant	Servant	Scotland
55 Acacia Road, Marylebone, London (second household)						
1851 England Census. HO107; Piece: 1491; Folio: 839; Page: 36; GSU roll: 87819-87820						
3	E. Sentellas	M	24	Merchant	Not stated	France
4 Williams Square, Garden Street, Kingston upon Hull						
1851 England Census. Class: HO107; Piece: 2363; Folio: 318; Page: 29.						
1	Martin Rothwell	M	35	Labourer	Head	Yorkshire
2	Catharine Rothwell	F	40		Spouse	Ireland
3	Mary Ann Baker	F	20	Servant	Offspring	Lincolnshire
4	Richard Dermott	M	40	Labourer	Relative	Ireland
5	John Beland	M	29	Labourer	Visitor	Ireland
6	Margaret Beland	F	23		Visitor	Ireland
7	John Beland	M	10 mo.		Visitor	Yorkshire
8	Nicholaselle Devit	M	42	Labourer	Visitor	Ireland
9	Jane Devit	F	30		Visitor	Northumberland
10	Mary Ann Devit	F	2		Visitor	Yorkshire
11	William Barber	M	24	Labourer	Visitor	Yorkshire
12	Ann Oates	F	15	Servant	Visitor	Scotland
32 Sandhill, Newcastle upon Tyne (first household)						
1851 England Census. Class: HO107; Piece: 2406; Folio: 360; Page: 20; GSU roll: 87084						
1	John Baker	M	30	Butcher	Head	Germany
2	Elizabeth Baker	F	25	None	Spouse	Yorkshire
3	John Robert Baker	M	5	None	Offspring	Northumberland
4	Louisa Baker	F	6 mo.	None	Offspring	Northumberland
5	Charlotte Shroff	F	13	Servant	Relative	Germany
6	Godfried Shroff	M	15	Butcher App.	Relative	Germany
7	Jacob Baker	M	24	Butcher App.	Sibling	Germany
8	Thos. McDuff	M	18	Butcher App.	Not stated	Scotland
9	Isabella Robson	F	19	House Servant	Not stated	Northumberland
32 Sandhill, Newcastle upon Tyne (second household)						
1851 England Census. Class: HO107; Piece: 2406; Folio: 360; Page: 20; GSU roll: 87084						
1	Peter France	M	60	Bookseller & Newsagent	Head (Not stated)	Lancashire

2	Alexander Hardie	M	47	Bookseller & Newsagent	Not stated	Lancashire
29 Manchester Street, Oldham						
1851 England Census. Class: HO107; Piece: 2240; Folio: 515; Page: 11.						
1	John Adams	M	40	Hatter	Head	Ireland
2	Mary Ann Adams	F	39		Spouse	Ireland
3	Joseph Adams	M	5		Offspring	Lancashire
4	William Adams	M	3		Offspring	Lancashire
1 Rose Cottages, Bristol Temple						
1851 England Census. Class: HO107; Piece: 1947; Folio: 405; Page: 23; GSU roll: 87347						
1	William Hoene	M	62	Toymaker	Head	Wiltshire
2	Ann Hoene	F	62	None	Spouse	Ireland
29 Cock Croft, Liverpool						
1851 England Census. Class: HO107; Piece: 2259; Folio: 347; Page: 16; GSU roll: 87282-87283						
1	Richard Hignett	M	54	Grocer	Head	Ireland
2	Jane Hignett	F	56		Spouse	Lancashire
2 Jardine Street, Blackburn						
1851 England Census. Class: HO107; Piece: 2258; Folio: 533; Page: 37; GSU roll: 87281						
1	Patrick Murry	M	25	Stone Mason	Head	Ireland
2	Mary Murry	F	20		Spouse	Ireland
3	Patrick Murry	M	6 mo.		Offspring	Lancashire
4	Sarah Smith	F	52		Relative	Ireland
5	Patrick McDonall	M	40	Labourer	Lodger	Ireland
6	Mary McDonall	F	36		Lodger	Ireland
7	Bridget Dunn	F	20		Lodger	Lancashire
8	Margaret Burk	F	18		Lodger	Ireland
9	Thomas Richards	M	28	Wood Sawyer	Lodger	Ireland
106 Henderson Street, Liverpool						
1851 England Census. Class: HO107; Piece: 2187; Folio: 404; Page: 25; GSU roll: 87194						
1	Henry O'Neil	M	45	Broker & Machine	Head	Ireland
2	Mary O'Neil	F	45		Spouse	Ireland
3	Anne Mullen	F	30	Servant Girl	Servant	Ireland
23 B Fordrough Street, Birmingham						
1851 England Census. Class: HO107; Piece: 2052; Folio: 118; Page: 17; GSU roll: 87308-87310						
1	John Dixon	M	36	Mechanic	Head	Ireland
2	Bridget Dixon	F	28		Spouse	Ireland
3	John Dixon	M	4	Scholar	Offspring	Warwickshire
4	David Logan	M	30	Coal Labourer	Visitor	Ireland
9 Queen Street, Manchester						
1851 England Census. Class: HO107; Piece: 2227; Folio: 499; Page: 30.						
1	James Smith	M	44	Tailor	Head	Ireland
2	Mary Smith	F	40		Spouse	Ireland
3	Tho. Smith	M	18	Tailor	Offspring	Ireland

APPENDIX 2

Random sample of households from the 1911 England and Wales census

Census Returns of England and Wales, 1911. Kew, Surrey, England: The National Archives of the UK (TNA), 1911. Ancestry.com. *1911 England Census* [database online]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2011.

ID	Name	Sex	Age	Occupation	Relationship to Head	Birthplace
406 Mile End Road, London						
1911 England Census. Class: RG14; Piece: 1613.						
1	Jacob Abrahams	M	38	Tailor	Head	Russia
2	Rachel Abrahams	F	39		Spouse	Russia
3	Katie Abrahams	F	18	Tailoress	Offspring	Russia
4	Samuel Abrahams	M	15	Tailor	Offspring	London
5	Barnet Abrahams	M	13		Offspring	London
6	Israel Abrahams	M	11		Offspring	London
7	Joseph Abrahams	M	9		Offspring	London
Harlow, Reigate						
1911 England Census. Class: RG14; Piece: 3215; Schedule Number: 77.						
1	John Humphrey	M	37	Wharfinger	Head	Warwickshire
2	St George Humphrey	F	36		Spouse	New Zealand
3	Vera Humphrey	F	11		Offspring	Surrey
4	Queenie Humphrey	F	5		Offspring	Surrey
5	Freda Nuthie	F	20	Domestic Nurse	Servant	Switzerland
6	Mary Crowl	F	41	Domestic Cook	Servant	Devon
56 Croft Street, Deptford, London						
1911 England Census. Class: RG14; Piece: 2603						
1	Charles Collis	M	42	Foreman (Electricity)	Head	Dorset
2	Sarah Collis	F	42		Spouse	Wales
3	Henry Collis	M	18	Apprentice	Offspring	Yorkshire
4	Alice Collis	F	16	Apprentice	Offspring	London
5	Lily Collis	F	14	School	Offspring	Kent
6	Jessie Collis	F	12	School	Offspring	Kent
7	Ernest Collis	M	11	School	Offspring	London
8	Florence Collis	F	6		Offspring	London
9	Arthur Collis	M	4		Offspring	London
10	Dorothy Collis	F	2		Offspring	London
11	Violet Collis	F	2 mo.		Offspring	London
12	William Collis	M	38	Weigher & Checker	Relative	Dorset
13	Clara Snowie	F	48	Dressmaker	Boarder	Germany
31 Addingham Road, Liverpool						
1911 England Census. Class: RG14; Piece: 22676						
1	Ernest Bond	M	28	Schoolmaster	Head	Lancashire
2	Francis Bond	F	30		Spouse	Lancashire

3	Jane Auld	F	22	General Servant	Servant	Ireland
Dafhem, High Street, Orpington						
1911 England Census. Class: RG14; Piece: 3701; Schedule Number: 121.						
1	Elizabeth Dann	F	63	Private Means	Head	Essex
2	Arthur Dann	M	47	Private Means	Offspring	Germany
3	Emma Farrington	F	63	Housekeeper	Servant	Kent
4	Catherine Farrington	F	9		Relative	London
16 West Grove, Sale, Manchester						
1911 England Census. Class: RG14; Piece: 21572						
1	Philipp Kraft	M	39	Chef	Head	Germany
2	Ellen Kraft	F	36		Spouse	Ireland
3	Frank Kraft	M	3		Offspring	Cheshire
4	Jack Dunworth	M	29	Kitchen Porter	Relative	Ireland
5	Margaret Dunworth	F	33		Relative	Ireland
125 Palatine Road, Didsbury						
1911 England Census. Class: RG14; Piece: 23663						
1	Frederick Hertz	M	52	Shipping merchant	Head	Yorkshire
2	Emily Hertz	F	41		Spouse	Northumberland
3	Dora Bradshaw	F	22	Domestic Cook	Servant	Lancashire
4	Esther Griffith	F	25	Domestic Servant	Servant	Cheshire
5	Catharine Callaman	F	36	Domestic Servant	Servant	Ireland
23 Denmark Street, Charing Cross, London (first household)						
1911 England Census. Class: RG14; Piece: 1177						
1	Louis Zwee	M	34	General Dealer	Head	Russia
2	Yetta Zwee	F	27		Spouse	Russia
3	Phyllis Zwee	F	1		Offspring	London
4	Fanny Zwee	F	54		Parent	Russia
5	May Zwee	F	17		Sibling	London
23 Denmark Street, Charing Cross, London (second household)						
1911 England Census. Class: RG14; Piece: 1177						
1	Benjamin Levy	M	32	Tailor – coat maker	Head	Russia
2	Yetta Levy	F	32		Spouse	Russia
3	Hyman Levy	M	9		Offspring	London
4	Harry Levy	M	7		Offspring	London
5	Elsie Levy	F	4		Offspring	London
6	Rosie Levy	F	2		Offspring	London
243 Devonshire Road, Forest Hill, London						
1911 England Census. Class: RG14; Piece: 2835						
1	Horace Thorburn	M	71	Bookbinder	Head	London
2	Elizabeth Thorburn	F	60	Domestic Duties	Spouse	London
3	Charles Thorburn	M	36	Theatrical Asst. Manager	Offspring	London
4	Lydia Soanes	F	49	Private means	Friend	London
5	Janne Go	M	24	Student (Law)	Friend	India
6	Florie Taylor	F	18	Domestic Servant	Servant	London
169 Lansdowne Road, Tottenham, London						
1911 England Census. Class: RG14; Piece: 7320; Schedule Number: 269						
1	Albert Kruger	M	32	Hairdresser	Head	Germany
2	Frieda Kruger	F	30		Spouse	Germany

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