



**Keywords:** Suffolk; Burton upon Trent; Maltsters; brewing industry; internal migration; Bass

# A Genealogical Investigation of the Suffolk Seasonal Maltster Migration in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Burton upon Trent

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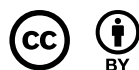
**ABSTRACT:** Local historians have drawn attention to Suffolk-born farmworkers who travelled annually by train over 150 miles northwest to Burton upon Trent in Staffordshire, for over-winter seasonal work in the brewing industry as maltsters from the mid-19<sup>th</sup> to the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century. However, little was clear about the Suffolk seasonal migrant community in the initial decades of the initiative, or the extent of settlement in Burton. Using genealogical research techniques and key sources, this article reports on findings uncovered. The research established the person responsible for generating the original impetus and the names and geographic birth distribution and age profiles of the seasonal maltster migrants recorded in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Burton census enumeration books (CEBs) from 1861. A longitudinal sample of twenty-eight of the early 'Persisters' informed themes of settlement and relationships, occupations and mortality. The findings and associated data will be potentially useful to family and local historians researching both Burton and Suffolk people and communities. The research also contributes to seasonal studies and internal migration theory by possibly identifying a novel category of, or exception to, step-migration definitions.

## Keywords

Bass	Bass, Ratcliff & Gretton Ltd
Burton	Burton upon Trent Borough townships
19 <sup>th</sup> C CEBs	19 <sup>th</sup> Century Census Enumerators' Books
GCS	Genealogical Case Studies of sample Persisters
GPS	Global Positioning System
Persisters	Those men selected for the GCS who were present in the Burton community between 1861 and 1891 appearing in at least two consecutive Census returns, with an occupation as a maltster at least once, and who married.

## Introduction

Some of our 19<sup>th</sup> Century ancestors engaged in seasonal farm work, often involving temporary migration. Very often these were communities of agricultural workers moving to a place nearby in summer for short-term intensive work such as haymaking, corn and barley collection or regional specialisations, such as hops and fruit picking in Kent, Surrey and the West Midlands, or potato-picking in Lancashire. Transient farm work, of any kind, was notably less reliable in winter, reflected in lower rates of pay<sup>1</sup> and increased workhouse statistics concerning those without regular work seeking indoor relief.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, in Burton upon Trent, Staffordshire, due to the estimated threefold expansion of the brewing industry from 1850 to 1880, resulting in an estimated 8,235 workers by 1888,<sup>3</sup> there was an increased need for temporary, skilled maltster labour during the barley malting period<sup>4</sup>, which ran from September to May each year, conveniently dovetailing with England's summer farming season.<sup>5</sup> The long-distance Suffolk to Burton seasonal migration was thought to have started around 1860, building on established economic links barley-growing farmers in Suffolk delivering barley supplies to Burton brewers. Railway developments in the East of England brought further business opportunities, although who had initiated the partnership had not previously been established.<sup>6</sup> Industrial historian Owen, and oral historian Evans, had provided insights into Burton brewery development and the cultural lives of seasonal maltsters respectively, particularly between 1880 and WW1<sup>7,8</sup>. Although local historian Cox reported on Suffolk-born population figures recorded in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Burton CEBs<sup>9</sup> naming specific Suffolk-born men found in the 1871<sup>10</sup> Census, he did not undertake an analysis of movement flows or their roles or persistence in the community. The aim of this research therefore was to uncover details of the early seasonal migration, utilising a systematic, longitudinal, methodological approach from a genealogical perspective. The research focussed on two main aspects: firstly, uncovering details and evidence



concerning people, to understand the nature of the seasonal maltster migration from its conception until 1891 and, secondly, to assess a sample of Suffolk maltsters who married and settled in Burton ("Persisters"), to consider aspects of settlement and relationships influencing their long-term persistence in the community, and the impact of their settlement on their and their sons' occupations and mortality.

## Background

The 19<sup>th</sup> Century CEBs are an important source for tracing people's movements within the UK. Researchers have used the records in internal migration studies, often seeking to prove or disprove Ravenstein's 'Laws of Migration'<sup>11</sup>, focussing on broad trends of population change from one census to the next, from counties and major places.<sup>12,13,14,15</sup> Smith showed that the net number of 60 persons migrating per 1000 acres from Suffolk in 1861 was the highest level in the country comparatively.<sup>16</sup> Friedlander and Roshier's internal migration maps for 1851 and 1891 England indicate movements from rural Suffolk to London and the industrial North, but not into Staffordshire, although they noted they could not examine all '1,378 possible directions for each of the intercensal periods'.<sup>17</sup> Other researchers used 19<sup>th</sup>C CEBs in more specific microstudies of certain parishes and occupations<sup>18</sup>. Although seasonal work was not a subject, Whyman showed how the *timing* of the census in June 1841 was significant in capturing seasonal holiday activity in Margate.<sup>19</sup> The change in Census enumeration timing to Spring from 1851 onwards<sup>20</sup> (until 1911), similarly illuminates the presence of Suffolk seasonal maltster migrants living in Burton. Cox noted this and published the names of 132 Suffolk-born men appearing in the 1871 Census in Burton on Trent, indicating with an asterisk next to 38 names, those who were a 'permanent resident'.<sup>21</sup> Although not stated, he probably used the designation of 'Head' in the 19<sup>th</sup>C CEBs as an indicator of permanency, but it was unclear if he had captured all Suffolk-born men in this exercise, nor was it possible, without further investigation and analysis, to draw any conclusions about whether all men were part of the seasonal migration, or if the identified Heads were or had been maltsters, or if some men persisted in Burton. Cox later published *total numbers* of 'Suffolk-born men (and single women)' he found in the Burton upon Trent 19<sup>th</sup>C CEBs from 1871 to 1901, indicating the figures generally increased over time, but it was unclear which townships of Burton he had included, how his figures related to his 1993 communication, or how, what he considered to be a temporary stream, related to future permanent residency in Burton.<sup>22</sup> This research aimed to clarify the nature of the Suffolk seasonal migration.

Although the commercial brewing process remained 'relatively unchanged until the late-nineteenth century',<sup>23</sup> its huge comparative growth and overcapacity in production in Burton meant there was a continuing need for the barley supplies, along with men to work it into malt. Surviving Burton brewery maltster employee evidence for the 19<sup>th</sup> Century is limited<sup>24</sup> but Owen<sup>25</sup> fortuitously transcribed the names of 125 East Anglian migrant employees of Bass in 1890/91 before the labour books were destroyed by the company c.1986, also enabling Evans<sup>26</sup> to publish the details of their names, home village and nearest railway station, which helps in identifying Suffolk workers. Owen estimated that 75% of 3-400 total East Anglian maltsters working in Burton during the malting season in the mid-1890s were from Suffolk, implying 225-300 men, a figure unconfirmed before this research.<sup>27</sup> Pooley and Turnbull noted how 'seasonal migration systems' could move workers over significant distances in Europe;<sup>28</sup> however, their own research utilising and showing the value of over 16,091 individuals' life histories, including inter-census movements,<sup>29,30</sup> supported much shorter moves in the UK, excepting London.<sup>31</sup> Their dataset includes only two men born in Suffolk who died in a Burton township.<sup>32</sup> Pooley later wrote that their work<sup>33</sup> had 'ignored to some degree the impact of net differences in migration flows on particular localities'<sup>34</sup> which implied that a larger, more detailed sample size of individuals moving from one place over time, might better inform aspects of local migration in a particular destination place. In connection, a study by Day, who more recently revisited Ravenstein's definition of 'step' migration via a large longitudinal census study, found that in general the majority of young men made only a single internal move from rural farm service before settling in industrial locations, rather than many, with most women moving prior to the birth of their first child.<sup>35</sup> This raised the question of how did the long-distance Suffolk seasonal migration relate to his findings concerning those migrants who settled in Burton?

Some oral testimonies of 'Suffolk Jims'<sup>36</sup> were published.<sup>37</sup> These insightful memories, located mostly in the seasonal migration of the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century, recounted by old men in 1968, focussed on transport arrangements, malting processes, living and working conditions, culture and social lives of East Anglian seasonal maltsters, with references to a few named Suffolk men who had settled in Burton.<sup>38</sup> Some of the men interviewed stated that the brewing companies usually selected healthy, "big-framed", honest men between the ages of seventeen to twenty-five for the heavy-duty seasonal work of maltsters; old men were not employed.<sup>39,40</sup> This contrasted with Dunlop, reporting official statistics in the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century concerning occupational mortality ages, who implied that maltsters continued working in this well-paid and skilled job, being in "Group 1" (i.e. with the lowest mortality rate) throughout their working life.<sup>41</sup> Buchanan disputed Dunlop's report, proposing that once a maltster lost his great lifting strength 'he may possibly drift into casual labour with its high "Group 6" mortality'<sup>42</sup> (highest level). This raised questions as to whether all seasonal maltsters were young, if those Suffolk-born maltsters who settled in Burton remained in the same occupation and what might be understood from their mortality rates?

## Methods and sources

The research methodology utilised was designed to uncover (1) the composition of the Suffolk-born migrant community in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Burton, (2) seasonal maltsters, where they came from and their ages and (3) of those, to determine a sample who persisted there, in order to (4) develop longitudinal genealogical case studies to inform themes of settlement and relationships; occupations and mortality.

The sources selected to support these research objectives were the 19<sup>th</sup>C CEBs, parish records, civil registration birth, marriage and death index records, known surviving, relevant and accessible published brewery employee records, and available online local newspapers.<sup>43</sup> Burton

electoral registers were considered, but were not investigated due to Staffordshire archives' ongoing COVID restrictions. The National Brewery Centre in Burton on Trent advised it was unlikely they held any maltster employee records within their Bass record collection.<sup>44</sup>

The 19thC CEBs provided a representative sampling frame to determine Suffolk-born people recorded living in Burton. In 1851 the parish included seven 'townships'.<sup>45</sup> However, by 1878 when the Municipal Borough of Burton upon Trent with its coat of arms was established,<sup>46</sup> it comprised only five townships: Burton, Burton-Extra (or Bond End), Horninglow, Winhill and Stapenhill.<sup>47</sup> This research therefore reflected census data for all Suffolk-born people recorded living in these five townships.

The I-CeM 1851-1891 census dataset with names<sup>48</sup> was not utilised for this research because firstly, the 1871 Burton data was not available, and secondly, because a close genealogical analysis and checking of the original entries for individuals in the CEBs over time was still required. Anonymous I-CeM data was however collected for 1851 to check for any Suffolk-born men appearing as maltsters in Burton (there were none). A total 1619 records were identified through search returns for all people born in Suffolk living in the identified Burton townships in 19thC CEBs between 1861 and 1891, found via the genealogical database, Ancestry.co.uk. The results were copied into an Excel spreadsheet where the data was further manipulated and curated under the following headings:

Ancestry URL, Unique Reference, Census Year, Other, Name, Middle Name/ Initial, Surname, Birth Year Estimate, Age, Birthplace in Suffolk, Relationship, Residence in Census Year, Occupation (men), Sex, Birth County.

The data was sorted by Surname/ Name/ Birth Year Estimate and Birthplace to match same-named people across census years and further validated, if relevant. For example, where surname variant spellings appeared for the same person, as is often the case in the census, one was selected to accommodate consistent longitudinal reporting. The digitised census records were viewed individually to obtain the occupations of men, excepting for 1881 where this was taken from the census index transcription (unless still unclear). Some entries were checked for index transcription errors such as poorly transcribed names and Suffolk birth places and occasionally ages and corrected in the spreadsheet. Similar occupations were recorded in a variety of ways by different enumerators therefore, where possible, occupations were consolidated under the same heading for ease of comprehension across census years<sup>49</sup>. For example, small numbers of records for 'Working Maltster' were essentially the same as a 'Maltster', but an Assistant Maltster, Foreman Maltster and a Maltster's Labourer remained as separate occupations. A 'Labourer', without qualification, was recorded as a general labourer rather than a 'Brewer's Labourer'. As the focus was on finding males who had been maltsters (and their subsequent occupations), there will still be errors in the created research dataset, of surnames or place names, particularly for females. A cross-check against Cox's published list of names for 1871 was made and the matched person noted in the additional 'Other' column with 'Cox' for 1871. Similarly, if a Suffolk-born person appearing in the list of East Anglian maltster names transcribed by Owen concerning Bass's 1890/1891 brewery records, matched in the 1891 CEBs, it was noted in the 'Other' column with 'Bass'.

Two crude but useful census measures of type of presence in the community were utilised via the man's status recorded under the 'Relationship' column (albeit not always accurate). Firstly, seasonal maltsters were identified as men who were recorded in the CEBs as Lodgers or Boarders, indicating their temporary status in Burton, born in Suffolk, with occupation 'maltster'. Secondly, settled Suffolk-born men in Burton were identified as married Heads of household. If a man was present in Burton in two consecutive census enumerations it provided evidence of persistence in the community, particularly when his children were recorded as born there in the interim. As an aim was to trace those who had been maltsters, who stayed in the community ('Persisters'), a list of potential men was generated by first identifying Suffolk-born men who appeared in at least two consecutive Burton CEBs between 1861 and 1881, then reducing this list to those twenty-seven men with occupation as a maltster at least once. A younger brother of one of the men (not recorded as a maltster) was also included, to total 28 in the sample of Persisters. This meant the sample included men who were first recorded as seasonal maltsters who became Heads (but did not include men who appeared in only one enumeration, but who may possibly have been present in the Burton community for up to 19 years). See [Table 1](#) for the list of Persisters.

In order to assess the 28 Persisters concerning the themes mentioned above, genealogical case studies (GCS) for each of the men were researched, using consecutive census data (beyond 1891 in some cases), parish and civil registration sources and occasional additional information, found via Ancestry and Findmypast searches and sources, to collect (and cite) the following facts:

Name; Birth/Baptism details and birthplace; parents' first names (from baptism or census returns<sup>50</sup>)  
 Suffolk Area (northeast, southeast, mid-west or southwest) for birthplace;  
 Presence in census before Burton (not always included)  
 Arrival Year in Burton Estimate;  
 Marriage date/year; marriage place; wife's birth date and birthplace;  
 Children – their names, estimated birth year and birthplace;  
 Census entry details including occupations and addresses, plus the names, occupation and birthplaces of any lodgers, boarders, visitors or others living with them;  
 Death Year; age at death, place of death registration;

Details of wife's address after husband's death (up to 1911);  
Any other information considered relevant.

Each Persister's 'arrival year in Burton' was estimated from their marriage year in Burton, or when a child was born in Burton, or if they had been recorded in the Burton census after a marriage elsewhere, but before the birth of a child in Burton.

Key findings were transferred into Excel sheets to enable consolidated reporting in tables, maps and charts on certain criteria. Tableau<sup>51</sup> was used with the Excel datasets to support quantitative and qualitative analysis and insights, visualise data in maps and present findings. GPS coordinates (Latitude and longitude) were added in Tableau manually where the software did not correctly identify a birthplace in the map display. Google Maps<sup>52</sup> and Mind Meister<sup>53</sup> were also used to display information found in the GCS.

The 1921 census was interrogated concerning the sons of the Persisters referenced in the GCS, to establish whether they were living in Burton and what occupation they held. The data was collected in an Excel spreadsheet.

All research data generated is available on request from the Author.

### Results and discussion

The catalyst for the seasonal migration was discovered to be Henry Edwards Junior (b.1815), a maltster, manure and corn merchant, from Woodbridge near Ipswich, in southeast Suffolk,<sup>54,55</sup> who in August 1858 advertised for some experienced maltsters, as well as strong young recruits, to work in a large, un-named, Midland Brewery (figure 1).<sup>56</sup>

Thus, from the beginning, a level of skill and expertise was associated with the Suffolk migrant community. This first call for workers probably came in the knowledge that travel to Burton would be facilitated soon by the planned opening of the railway line between Lowestoft in northeast Suffolk and Ipswich, which took place in June 1859.<sup>57</sup>

TO MALTSTERS  
Wanted, for large Brewery in the Midland Counties,  
some experienced Maltsters. Also, some young  
strong able Agricultural Labourers, as Malting  
Recruits. Good character indispensable. Apply by  
letter or personally to Mr Hy. Edwards, jnr.,  
Woodbridge.

Figure 1. Transcription of a Suffolk Chronical advert for maltsters in 1858.<sup>58</sup>

An 1874 newspaper report of a local market dinner of leading gentry and farmers in the Woodbridge area, confirmed Henry Edwards progressed to "one of the largest and best-known merchants of the Eastern Counties"<sup>59</sup>. The report also confirmed that Woodbridge's primary commercial arrangement with Burton breweries was to deliver barley, with some of those present clearly seeking to increase their own local malting power and profit:

'It was all very well for their friends from Burton to come and buy the barley and take it away to malt it; but they, in Woodbridge, wanted to make malt of it in that town, and take the pull of it (Hear, hear).<sup>60</sup>

The earliest seasonal maltster migrants were probably key players in spreading the word to family and friends about the possibilities of work in Burton and what to expect. Certainly, the Suffolk-born community in Burton rose significantly during the mid to late part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The total number of *all* Suffolk-born people (including children and single women) found enumerated in the Burton townships in 1861 was 55, rising to 215 in 1871, 689 in 1881 and then reducing to 659 by 1891. The figures were estimated to represent about 1.9% of the total Burton borough population in 1881 and 1.6% in 1891.<sup>61</sup>

Most adults were male lodgers and boarders until 1891, when the heads of household figure increased, indicating a rise in settlement of some Suffolk-born men (Table 2a). Initially, most people were recorded living in the central Burton upon Trent township, but by 1891 nearly 74% of men were resident in the peripheral Burton Extra or Horninglow townships, reflecting the growth in the brewing industry and need for additional accommodation beyond the town centre. In each decade, the total number of Suffolk-born male heads of household was higher than for Wives born in Suffolk, suggesting some men married local women, or from other places, or they were widowers. Table 2(b) figures reflect all single adult numbers and, when compared with Cox's figures,<sup>62</sup> they show a

**Table 1. Suffolk-born Maltster Persisters in Burton 19<sup>th</sup> Century CEBs.<sup>63</sup>**

Surname	Name	Age	Birth Year Est.	Census	Residence in Census Year	Occupation	Birthplace in Suffolk	
Adkin	William	24	1857	1881	Burton Upon Trent, Staffordshire	Maltster	Barrow Hill	Head
		34	1857	1891	Horninglow, Staffordshire	Maltster	Barrow	Head
Angel	Harry	26	1855	1881	Burton Upon Trent, Staffordshire	Maltster	Clare	Lodger
		36	1855	1891	Burton Extra, Staffordshire	Maltster's labourer	Clare	Head
Bampstead	Walter	22	1859	1881	Burton Upon Trent, Staffordshire	Maltster	Whepstead	Lodger
		31	1860	1891	Burton Extra, Staffordshire	Brewer's labourer	Whepstead	Head
Bannister	Henry	35	1846	1881	Burton Extra, Staffordshire	General labourer	Stowmarket	Head
	Harry	45	1846	1891	Burton Extra, Staffordshire	Maltster	Earl Stonham	Head
Baxter	William	55	1805	1861	Burton upon Trent, Derbyshire	Maltster	Brampton	Head
		66	1805	1871	Burton upon Trent, Staffordshire	Maltster	Brampton	Head
		76	1805	1881	Burton Upon Trent, Staffordshire	Maltster	Brampton	Head
	William (son)	18	1843	1861	Burton upon Trent, Derbyshire	Clerk	Holton	Son
		28	1843	1871	Burton upon Trent, Staffordshire	Maltster	Holton	Son
		38	1843	1881	Burton Upon Trent, Staffordshire	Maltster	Halesworth	Head
Bird	George	26	1835	1861	Burton upon Trent, Staffordshire	Maltster	Mettingham	Lodger
		35	1836	1871	Burton upon Trent, Staffordshire	Maltster	Mettingham	Head
Borley	Frederick	32	1839	1871	Burton upon Trent, Staffordshire	General labourer	Woolpit	Lodger
		43	1838	1881	Burton Extra, Staffordshire	Maltster	Woolpit	Head
		54	1837	1891	Burton upon Trent, Staffordshire	Foreman Maltster	Woolpit	Head
Bryenton	James	44	1837	1881	Burton Upon Trent, Staffordshire	Maltster	Cratfield	Head
		49	1842	1891	Horninglow, Staffordshire	General labourer	Halesworth	Head
Cooper	John	25	1856	1881	Burton Upon Trent, Staffordshire	Maltster	Cavendish	Head
		34	1857	1891	Burton upon Trent, Staffordshire	Maltster	Cavendish	Head
Flatt	Charles	37	1844	1881	Burton Upon Trent, Staffordshire	Maltster	Cratfield	Head
		44	1847	1891	Burton upon Trent, Staffordshire	Maltster	Linstead Magna	Head
	David	29	1842	1871	Burton upon Trent, Staffordshire	Maltster	Cratfield	Lodger
		39	1842	1881	Burton Upon Trent, Staffordshire	Maltster	Cratfield	Head
	William	49	1842	1891	Burton upon Trent, Staffordshire	Maltster's night fireman	Cratfield	Head
		28	1843	1871	Burton upon Trent, Staffordshire	Maltster	Lenstead	Head
		37	1844	1881	Burton Upon Trent, Staffordshire	Maltster	Cratfield	Head
		48	1843	1891	Burton Extra, Staffordshire	Foreman Maltster	Lenstead	Head
Harper	Robert	34	1837	1871	Horninglow, Staffordshire	Maltster	Fressingfield	Head
		42	1839	1881	Burton Extra, Staffordshire	General labourer	Fressingfield	Head
Harvey	George	29	1842	1871	Burton upon Trent, Staffordshire	Maltster's labourer	Sutton	Lodger
		39	1842	1881	Burton Upon Trent, Staffordshire	General labourer	Sutton	Head
		49	1842	1891	Horninglow, Staffordshire	General labourer	Sutton	Head
Head	James	24	1847	1871	Horninglow, Staffordshire	Maltster	Barrow	Head
		34	1847	1881	Horninglow, Staffordshire	Maltster	Barrow	Head
Jolly	Frank	30	1841	1871	Burton upon Trent, Staffordshire	Maltster	Sudbury	Head
		40	1841	1881	Horninglow, Staffordshire	Brewer's labourer	Not Known	Head
		50	1841	1891	Horninglow, Staffordshire	Maltster	Not Known	Head
Mills	Thomas	22	1859	1881	Burton Upon Trent, Staffordshire	Maltster	Iken	Head
		32	1859	1891	Horninglow, Staffordshire	Maltster	Iken	Boarder
Moore	Isaac	33	1848	1881	Burton Upon Trent, Staffordshire	Maltster	Ipswich	Head
		44	1847	1891	Burton upon Trent, Staffordshire	General labourer	Ipswich	Head
	Phillip	27	1844	1871	Burton upon Trent, Staffordshire	Maltster	Bucklesham	Lodger
		37	1844	1881	Horninglow, Staffordshire	Maltster	Bucklesham	Head
Mullinger	Philip	24	1837	1861	Burton upon Trent, Staffordshire	Maltster	Woolpit	Lodger
		34	1837	1871	Burton upon Trent, Staffordshire	General labourer	Woolpit	Head
		45	1836	1881	Burton Upon Trent, Staffordshire	Maltster	Woolpit	Head
		55	1836	1891	Burton upon Trent, Staffordshire	Maltster	Woolpit	Head
	Robert	28	1843	1871	Burton upon Trent, Staffordshire	General labourer	Woolpit	Head
		38	1843	1881	Burton Extra, Staffordshire	Brewer's labourer	Woolpit	Head
		50	1841	1891	Horninglow, Staffordshire	Brewer's labourer	Woolpit	Head
		Todd	William	36	1845	1881	Burton Upon Trent, Staffordshire	Brewer's labourer
48	1843			1891	Burton Extra, Staffordshire	Maltster	Woodbridge	Head
Turner	Frederick	22	1859	1881	Burton Upon Trent, Staffordshire	Maltster	Beccles	Head
		32	1859	1891	Burton upon Trent, Staffordshire	Maltster	Beccles	Head
	William	26	1845	1871	Burton upon Trent, Staffordshire	Maltster	Sutton	Head
		37	1844	1881	Burton Upon Trent, Staffordshire	Maltster	Sutton	Head
Tye	Jeremiah	25	1846	1871	Burton upon Trent, Staffordshire	Maltster	Hasketon	Head
		36	1845	1881	Horninglow, Staffordshire	Maltster	Hasketon	Head
		46	1845	1891	Horninglow, Staffordshire	Foreman Maltster	Hasketon	Head
	John	23	1838	1861	Burton upon Trent, Derbyshire	Maltster	Hasketon	Lodger
		34	1837	1871	Burton upon Trent, Staffordshire	Maltster	Hasketon	Head
		43	1838	1881	Burton Extra, Staffordshire	Maltster	Hasketon	Head
Wright	Arthur	35	1846	1881	Burton Upon Trent, Staffordshire	Maltster	Monewden	Head
		45	1846	1891	Horninglow, Staffordshire	General labourer	Monewden	Head

significant difference in 1881 and 1891 (Table 3) indicating the basis of his research differed. It was concluded that the current dataset of 1,618 records was a more complete reflection of the Suffolk-born 19<sup>th</sup> century migrant community in Burton.

**Table 2. Numbers of Suffolk-born people aged 18+ enumerated in the Burton townships in 1861, 1871, 1881 and 1891.<sup>64</sup>**

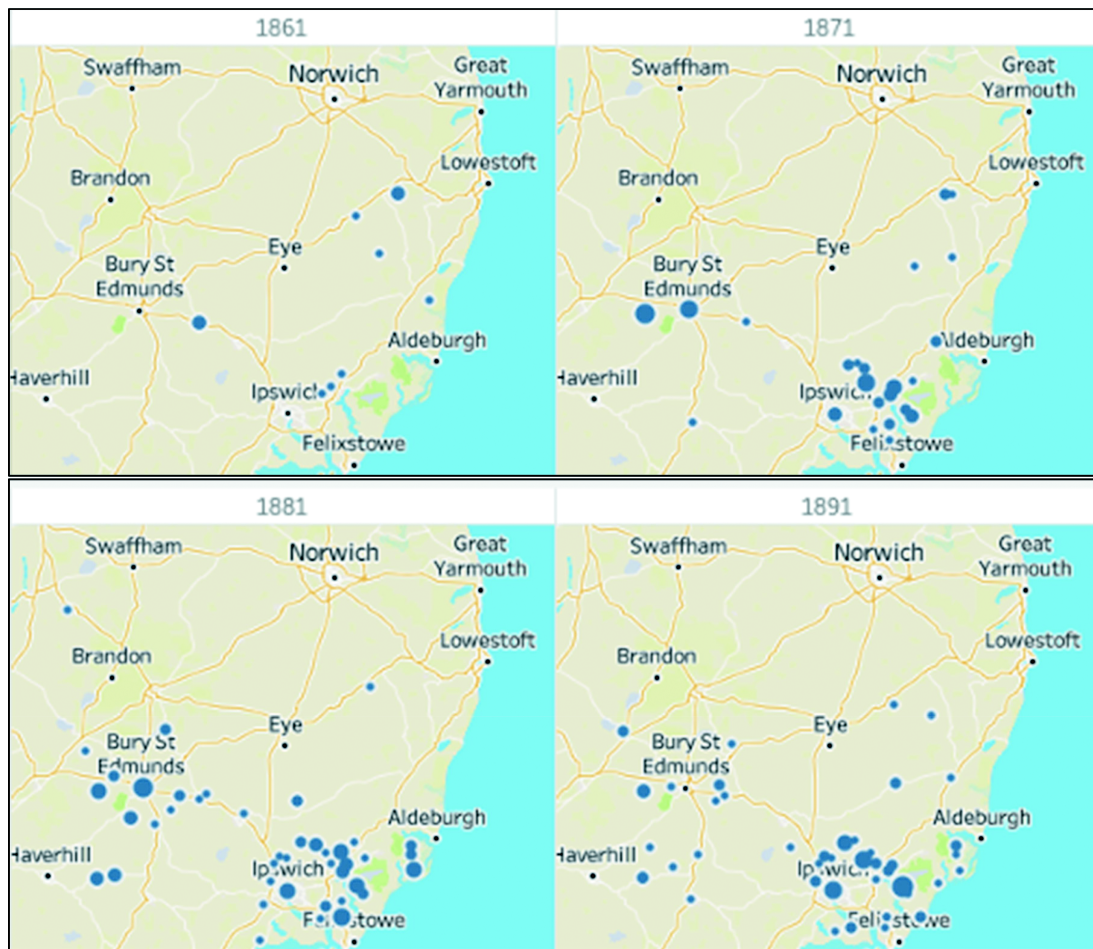
		<i>(a) Lodgers, Boarders, Heads and Wives.</i>							<i>(b) Single Adults</i>				
Census	Residence in Census Year	Lodger		Boarder		Head		Wife	Total	Sex		Total	
		F	M	F	M	F	M	F		F	M		
1861	Burton upon Trent, Derbyshire	2		1		1		1		5		5	
	Burton upon Trent, Staffordshire	12		1		6		2		21		21	
	Burton Extra, Staffordshire	2		1		6		3		12	2	9	11
	Horninglow, Staffordshire	1				1	1			3	1	2	3
	Stapenhill, Derbyshire						1			1		2	2
	<b>Total</b>		<b>17</b>		<b>3</b>		<b>1</b>	<b>15</b>		<b>6</b>		<b>42</b>	
1871	Burton upon Trent, Staffordshire	66		1	21	1	23	14		126	3	113	116
	Burton Extra, Staffordshire	10			2		5	5		22	1	17	18
	Horninglow, Staffordshire	12					9	6		27		22	22
	Stapenhill, Derbyshire					1	1			2	2	3	5
	Winshill, Derbyshire	1					1	1		3		2	2
	<b>Total</b>		<b>89</b>		<b>1</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>39</b>		<b>26</b>		<b>180</b>	
1881	Burton Upon Trent, Staffordshire	79		3	59	5	87	46		279	14	245	259
	Burton Extra, Staffordshire	21			48		33	26		128	2	108	110
	Horninglow, Staffordshire	13			47		34	17		111	5	101	106
	Stapenhill, Derbyshire				2	1	10	5		18	2	17	19
	Winshill, Derbyshire	2					7	6		15		9	9
	<b>Total</b>		<b>115</b>		<b>3</b>	<b>156</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>171</b>		<b>100</b>		<b>503</b>	
1891	Burton upon Trent, Staffordshire	1	18	2	14	1	54	24		114	8	92	100
	Burton Extra, Staffordshire	1	43	1	31	2	83	51		212	12	163	175
	Horninglow, Staffordshire	1	43		26		70	35		175	13	145	158
	Stapenhill, Staffordshire				1		11	7		19	1	14	15
	Winshill, Staffordshire			1			5	1		7	1	6	7
	<b>Total</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>104</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>223</b>	<b>118</b>		<b>527</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>420</b>	<b>455</b>

**Table 3. Number of Suffolk-born men and single women aged 18+ Recorded in Burton upon Trent census enumerations in 1871, 1881 and 1891.<sup>65</sup>**

Census	Cox's Figures	This Study	Difference	% Difference
1871	160	163	3	1.88%
1881	343	503	160	46.65%
1891	382	455	73	19.11%

### Seasonal Migrants

Map 2 gives a visual impression of where the maltster migrant workers were born, by Census enumeration year.<sup>66</sup> Until 1871, not surprisingly, most of the 81 men came from places in southeast Suffolk, near the locus of the initiative, but by 1881 numbers had increased from west Suffolk. In 1882 some local election-related newspaper bluster in Burton reported on the supposed impact of over-winter work being offered to gangs of 'strangers' brought in from Suffolk and Norfolk by major breweries, to the supposed detriment of jobs for 'much superior' Burton men. The report indicated that the Suffolk men's presence in the community was generally considered seasonal and by invitation of brewery owners.<sup>67</sup> By 1891 when migrant numbers were waning, the distribution of their birth locations concurred with Owen's estimate for the late 19<sup>th</sup> Century: that at least three-quarters of the migrant workers came from villages in the Ipswich/Woodbridge and Bury St Edmunds areas of Suffolk.<sup>68</sup>



**Map 1. Birthplaces of Suffolk-born seasonal maltsters living in Burton townships, by census year.<sup>69</sup>**

Chart 1 shows that the majority of seasonal maltster lodgers or boarders were in an age range of 20 to 25, reflecting stories heard by Evans concerning migrant workers in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>70</sup>, but clearly some breweries also employed older, experienced men, including 19 of 65 Suffolk males aged 26+, 'engaged' by Bass for the 1890-91 Season<sup>71</sup>, who also appeared in the 1891 Burton census enumeration. Three of the men on the Bass listing were married: Samuel Emmerson<sup>72</sup>, Matthew Lawes<sup>73</sup> and Frederick Turner<sup>74</sup> were found recorded as Heads of household with family in the 1891 census (so were not collected in chart 1 figures). However, only Frederick Turner was actually living in his own household as a Head in Burton (and had been since 1880, now with five children) and, as he was born in Beccles, this suggested he was probably a different Frederick Turner from the man from Ashbocking on Bass's listing<sup>75</sup>, who probably did not, after all, travel to Burton for seasonal work. Owen's transcription of the Bass listing<sup>76</sup> included many Suffolk men, supposedly hired for work in Maltings in Burton, who did not appear in the 1891 Census in Burton, perhaps suggesting that seasonal work in Burton was a standby option for some, or possibly meaning that they had already returned to Suffolk by the time of the Census enumeration.

Although the research only reflects a snap-shot sample of seasonal maltsters across time at 10-year intervals, the collected records of Suffolk-born Maltsters could help some family historians identify an unmarried male ancestor born in the areas shown in Map 2, who cannot be found as expected in the 19<sup>th</sup> century Suffolk census records, and their employment at Bass may be confirmed from the Bass listing. Knowledge of the seasonal migration may also help resolve why some men, who did not appear in the census enumerations in Burton upon Trent, were found to have married there, or why a wife was found to have been born in Burton, in the Suffolk census returns.

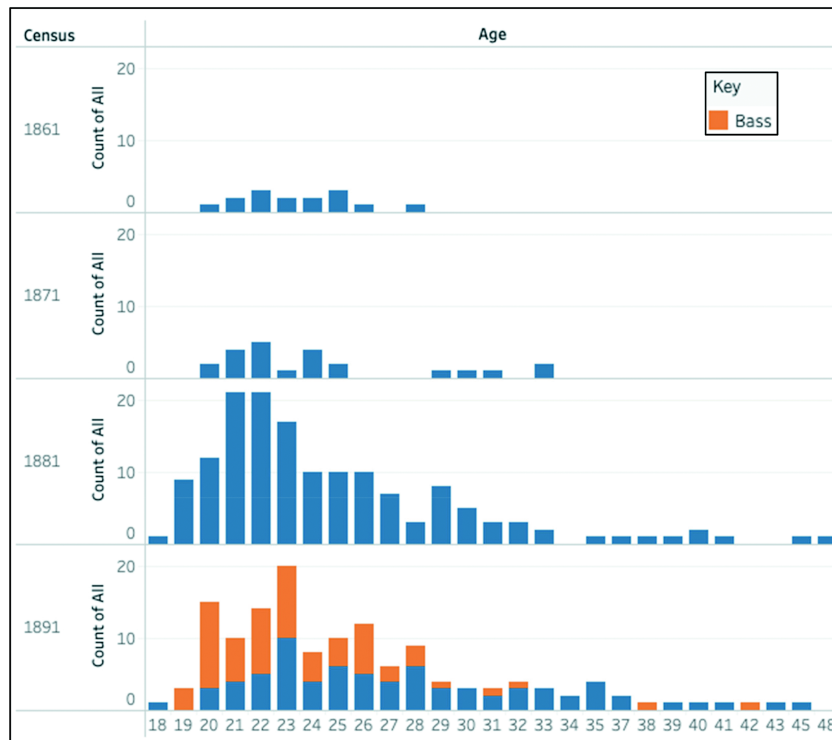
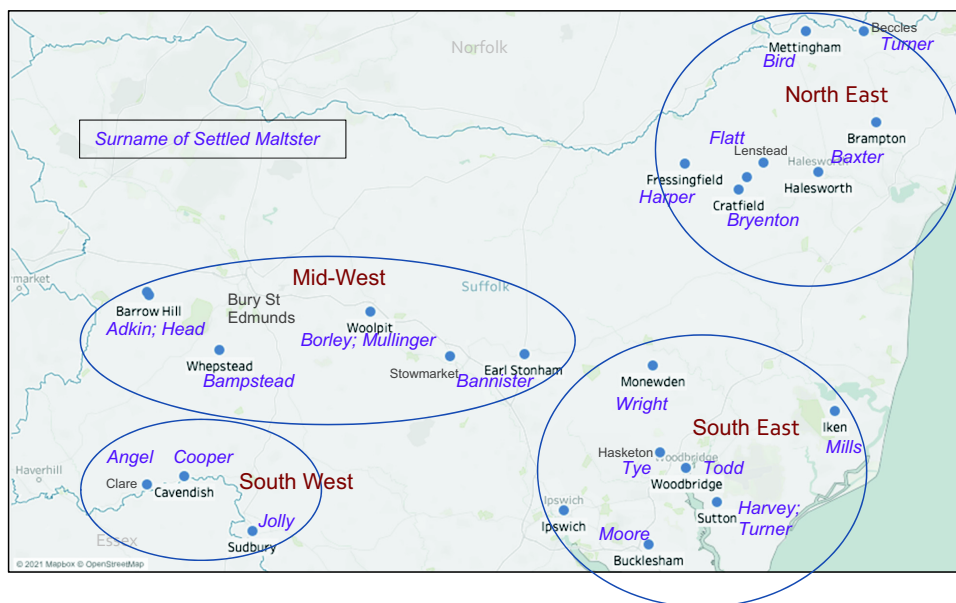


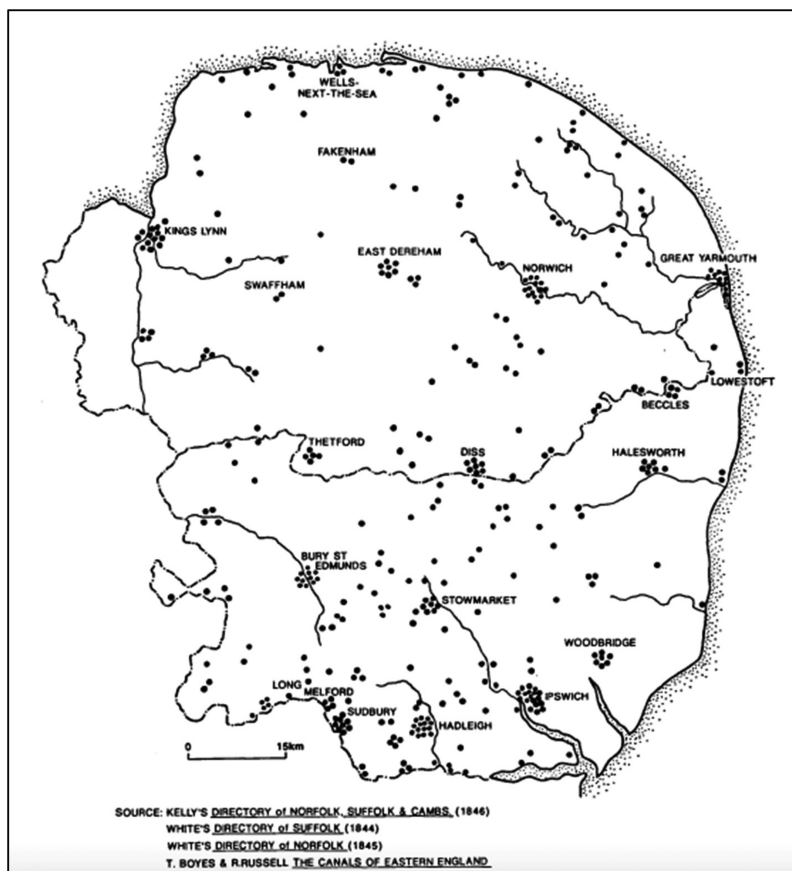
Chart 1. Distribution of Suffolk-born seasonal Maltsters (lodgers and boarders) by age and census Year.<sup>77</sup>

**Persisters: Settlement and Relationships**

The sample cohort of twenty-eight identified “Persisters” (men who settled in Burton) came from four defined geographic areas of Suffolk, rather than a few places<sup>78</sup> (see Map 3). Not surprisingly, places within these areas align with places which traditionally had high concentrations of local maltster expertise in the 1840s, as indicated in Map 4.<sup>79</sup> It seems unlikely that many of these men had known each other before starting work in Burton.



Map 2. Birthplaces of Suffolk Seasonal Maltsters identified as “Persisters” in Burton Townships.<sup>80</sup>



**Map 3. Distribution of Maltsters in Norfolk and Suffolk, 1844-1846.<sup>81</sup>**

Settlement by seasonal migrants started slowly. Of the sixteen Suffolk-born heads of household recorded in the 1861 Burton census (see [Table 4](#)), being a few years after the start of the seasonal initiative, only four men were listed as maltsters and only two were married: William Baxter and George Eastin. It is unclear why the enumerator recorded two single men, William Day, living in the household of William Livey, 34 Park Street, Burton Extra<sup>82</sup> and Robert Spall, living next door in the household of Thomas Robinson, as Heads.<sup>83</sup> They and George Eastin (or his wife) could not be found in later Burton CEBS. William Baxter (senior), however, appeared in the 1871 census as a maltster and must be considered the earliest known maltster settler. He had been a maltster in 1851, in Westleton<sup>84</sup> (20 miles North of Woodbridge), providing evidence he was employed in Burton for his experience. He probably had a role in training young malting recruits, such as John Tye and John Frost who lodged with him in 1861.<sup>85</sup> It is possible that Charles Boast, Joseph Fulcher and George Keable, working for brewers, and possibly William Felgate, had initially travelled to Burton as migrant seasonal maltsters. Only William Baxter and John Tye appear on the Persisters listing.

**Table 4. 1861 Census: all people born in Suffolk, living in Burton upon Trent as heads of household.<sup>86</sup>**

Surname	Name	Birth Year Est.	Age	Birthplace in Suffolk	Relationship	Occupation
Ball	William	1797	64	Bungay	Head	Hawker
Baxter	William	1805	55	Brampton	Head	Maltster
Beet	Robert	1820	41	Beccles	Head	Carpenter
Boast	Charles	1828	33	Halesworth	Head	Brewer's engineer
Bugg	Alfred	1840	21	Creeting	Head	Miller
Cutts	James	1795	66	Mettingham	Head	Pig dealer
Day	Henry	1826	35	Wickham Market	Head	Headmaster Grammar School
	William	1835	26	Leiston	Head	Maltster
Eastin	George	1817	44	Stowmarket	Head	Maltster
Felgate	William	1811	50	Stowmarket	Head	General labourer
Fulcher	Joseph	1821	40	Bedingham	Head	Brewer's labourer
Heath	Elizabeth	1797	64	Baylham	Head	Proprietor of House
Keable	George	1824	37	Sadfield	Head	Brewer's labourer
Moth	John	1815	46	Glemsford	Head	Inland Revenue Office
Rowe	John	1841	20	Bramfield	Head	Millman
Spall	Robert	1842	19	Westleton	Head	Maltster

**Table 5. Suffolk-born Seasonal Maltster lodgers in 1861 Census and with whom they lodged.<sup>87</sup>**

Seasonal Maltster	Persister?	Lodging with in 1861	Occupation	Status	Birthplace
David Addison		Thomas Rowland	Gardener	Widower	Burton
<b>Frederick Borley</b>	Yes	John Simnett	Maltster	Married	Burton
Arthur Bezant		Thomas Marriott	Cordwainer	Married	Leicestershire
<b>George Bird</b>	Yes	John Simnett	Maltster	Married	Burton
Charles Boughton		John Simnett	Maltster	Married	Burton
William Denmark		William Livey	Brewers Labourer	Married	Leicestershire
John Frost		William Baxter	Maltster	Married	Suffolk
Robert Hanley		Henrietta Warburton	Laundress	Widow	Burton
William Harper		Edward Gamble	Engine Driver	Married	Leicestershire
<b>Philip Mullinger</b>	Yes	William Taylor	Brewers Labourer	Married	Burton
Eli Pipe		Thomas Marriott	Cordwainer	Married	Leicestershire
John Revel		Edward Gamble	Engine Driver	Married	Leicestershire
David Spencer		William Collier	Brickmaker	Married	Burton
<b>John Tye</b>	Yes	William Baxter	Maltster	Married	Suffolk

The relationship of a head of household with a lodger or boarder may have been purely economic, but there was some evidence to suggest that a few Suffolk seasonal workers who had lodged with Burton heads of household in jobs aligned with the brewery industry in 1861 were influenced to settle (see Table 5). For example, prior to settling, Frederick Borley and George Bird had lived in the household of Sarah and John Simnett, a local maltster, with their two maltster sons.<sup>88</sup> George was the first of the Persisters to marry a local woman in 1863.<sup>89</sup> When he died in 1875<sup>90</sup> his Suffolk lodger, Horace Pulford, married his widow and they provided accommodation for deceased George's Suffolk maltster nephews in 1881.<sup>91</sup> None of the other 1861 Suffolk-born heads of household living in Burton were accommodating maltster lodgers from Suffolk.

Suffolk-born lodgers/ boarders were accommodated, however, by 22 of the 28 Persisting families at some point during their life cycle. It is also possible that those who took in no lodgers in census years accommodated Suffolk seasonal workers between enumerations. Figure 2 attempts to provide a consolidated visual representation of the earliest Persisters and their lodger relationships. The green connecting lines indicate either a family relationship, or where a persisting man had lodged with another Suffolk maltster, so lines of influence show between William Baxter (senior) and John Tye in 1861<sup>92</sup>, and subsequently John Tye, with his lodger-Persister, David Flatt in 1871.<sup>93</sup> In 1872 Isaac Moore married May Ann Elliott<sup>94</sup>, the daughter of locals William and Emily Elliott, with whom he had lodged in 1871.<sup>95</sup>

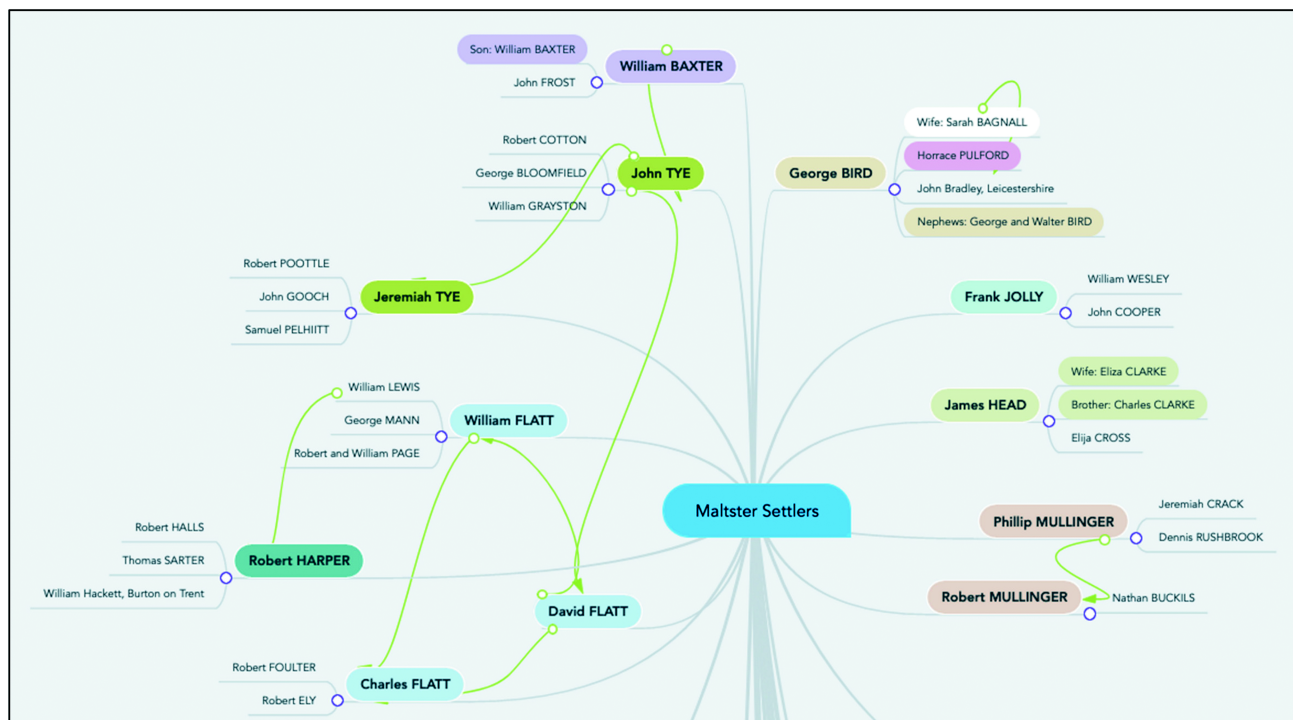


Figure 2. Relationships and connections from census enumerations – earliest Suffolk-born Persisters.<sup>96</sup>

The estimate of order of arrival and settlement by the Persisters is shown in Table 6. Whilst marriage brought settlement, it seems unlikely that most of the 14 men who married in Burton may have met and married their future wife all in the same first seasonal trip to Burton. It seems more likely that many undertook several years of annual, or possibly intermittent, long-distance travel to Burton and home again for summer work before settling there. An example is found in Frederick Borley who appeared with lodger status in Burton in 1861 and 1871. Half of the Persister cohort settled in Burton, having first married and worked in Suffolk, or somewhere else. 71% of the women had their first-born child in a Burton township, with 25% moving there after the birth of one or more children in Suffolk or elsewhere. Harry Angel was unusual in being found as a married seasonal maltster lodger (wife not present) in 1881, before settling in Burton by about 1886, where his third child was born. On the other hand, Thomas Mills was a Head with family in 1881 and then a lodger in 1891, with his wife and children back home in Suffolk. Only the first two of his twelve children were born in Burton. Both he and William Turner eventually returned to Suffolk with their families. These patterns of forward and backward steps appear anomalous with Day’s findings in his reworked step migration theory<sup>97</sup>, perhaps better reflecting Massey *et al.* who proposed that a migrant continues to move based on the best pay and employment conditions, involving continuing ‘steps’ until a best net return on investment was established.<sup>98</sup>

**Persisters: Occupations and Mortality**

Address details in the census provide an insight into where families lived and illuminate the somewhat locally itinerant lives many of the Persisters led over the years, reflecting changes in jobs, roles or occupations (Table 7).

**Table 6. Suffolk-born Persisters in Burton: 'Arrival' Estimate, Details of Marriage and Children's Births.**

Name	Arrival in Burton	Marriage year	Marriage Place	First child birth year	Year first child born Burton	Total children and birthplace of first child
William BAXTER	1860	1844	Suffolk	1843	-	1 Holton, Suffolk
William BAXTER (son)	1860	1873	Radford, Nottinghamshire	1877	1877	1 Burton
George BIRD	1862	1863	Burton	1866	1866	1 Burton
John TYE	1864	1863	Woodbridge, Suffolk	1864	1864	1 Burton
Frank JOLLY	1868	1868	Burton	1870	1870	1 Burton
Robert HARPER	1869	1869	Burton	1872	1872	1 Burton
James HEAD	1870	1869	Stow, Suffolk	1873	1873	1 Burton
Jeremiah TYE	1870	1868	Blything, Suffolk	1870	1870	1 Burton
Philip MULLINGER	1870	1866	Lambeth, London	1871	1871	1 Burton
Robert MULLINGER	1870	1866	Stow, Suffolk	0	-	NR
William FLATT	1870	1863	Blything, Suffolk	1864	1874	1 Lenstead, Suffolk
William TURNER	1870	1871	Sutton, Suffolk	1869	-	1 Sutton, Suffolk
George HARVEY	1872	1872	Burton	1874	1874	1 Stapenhill
Isaac MOORE	1872	1872	Burton	1872	1872	1 Burton
James BRYENTON	1874	1874	Burton	1878	1878	1 Burton
Philip MOORE	1874	1874	Burton	1876	1876	1 Burton
David FLATT	1875	1875	Burton	1876	1876	1 Burton
Frederick BORLEY	1875	1873	Stafford	1875	1875	1 Burton
Thomas MILLS	1878	1878	Burton	1880	1880	1 Burton
Arthur WRIGHT	1879	1879	Burton	1880	1880	1 Burton
William COOPER	1879	1879	Burton	1882	1882	1 Burton
William TODD	1879	1879	Burton	1876	1876	1 Burton
Charles FLATT	1880	1874	Stockingford, Warwickshi..	1875	-	1 Stockingford
Frederick TURNER	1880	1878	Wangford, Suffolk	1881	1884	1 Beccles, Suffolk
Harry BANNISTER	1880	1879	Stow, Suffolk	1880	1880	1 Burton
William ADKIN	1880	1879	Burton	1879	1880	1 Derbyshire
Walter BAMPSTEAD	1884	1884	Burton	1887	1887	1 Burton
Harry ANGEL	1886	1874	Risbridge, Suffolk	1880	1886	1 Clare, Suffolk

**Table 7. Addresses of identified Suffolk-born Persisters in Burton organised by census year.<sup>99</sup>**

Name	1861 Census	1871 Census	1881 Census	1891 Census	1901 Census	1911 Census
William ADKIN			21 Wetmore Rd, B	105 Hawkins Lane, H	77 Hawkins Lane, H	34 Mosley St, B
Harry ANGEL			2 Douglass Row, B	Grange St, BE	119 Grange St, BE	119 Grange St, BE
Walter BAMPSTEAD			3 Dale Terrace, Dale St, B	31 Queen Street, BE	23 Leicester St, BE	23 Leicester St, BE
Harry BANNISTER			2 Branch 1, BE	Grange St, BE	5 Thomas St, H	
William BAXTER	Bass' Brewery, Station St, B	Bass' Yard, Station St, B	Bass's Yard, Station St, B			
William BAXTER (son)	Bass' Brewery, Station St, B	Bass' Yard, Station St, B	87 Hominglow St, B	St Paul's Square, BE	St Paul's Square, BE	
George BIRD	5 Cross St, B	Brookes Yard, Park St, BE	38 Park Street, B			
Frederick BORLEY	5 Cross St, B	7 Anderstaff Lane, B	Bass & Co, Shobnall Rd, BE	4 Bass Bldgs, Wetmore Rd, B	4 Bass Bldgs, Wetmore Rd, B.	
James BRYENTON			29 Wetmore Rd, B	7 Thomas St, H		
John COOPER			35 Branstone Rd, B	53 Dale St, B	53 Dale St, B	38 Paget St, B
Charles FLATT			135 Station St, B	135 Station St, B	135 Station St, B	135 Station St, B
David FLATT		66 Anderstaff Lane, B	137 Station St, B	Bass's Courtyard, Station St, B	137 Station St, B	137 Station St, B
William FLATT		64 Anderstaff Lane, B	Bass' buildings, Wetmore Rd, B	Bass & Co Malting Cottages, 1 Shobnall Rd, BE	Bass & Co Malting Cottages, 1 Shobnall Rd, BE	40 Cross St, B
Robert HARPER		Wetmore Fields, H	Bass & Co, Shobnall Rd, BE			
George HARVEY		16 Anderstaff Lane, B	73 Wetmore Rd, B	296 Wetmore Rd, H	298 Wetmore Rd, H	298 Wetmore RD, H.
James HEAD		Wetmore Fields, H	Hawkins Lane, H	3 Smiths' Yard, Draycott, Derbyshire		
Frank JOLLY		Horninglow Rd, Little Burton, B	201 Dallow St, H	201 Dallow St, H	213 Dallow St, H	4 Dallow St, B
Thomas MILLS			8 Union St, B	244 Wetmore Rd, H	Iken, Suffolk	Iken, Suffolk
(James) Isaac MOORE		21 Albert Place, B	14 Douglass Row, B	59 Wetmore Rd, B	59 Wetmore Rd, B	
Phillip MOORE		67 Anderstaff Lane, B	159 Goodman St, H	127 King St, BE		
Philip MULLINGER	Slaters Bldgs, Moor St, B	5 George St, B	5 George St, B.	60 Wetmore Rd, B	249 Wetmore Rd, B	249 Wetmore Rd, B
Robert MULLINGER		31 Cross St, B	32 Wellington St, BE	241A Goodman St, H		
William TODD			7 Dale Terr, Dale St, B	79 Napier St, BE	Repton, Derbyshire	
Frederick TURNER			136 Station Rd, B	58 Wetmore Rd, B	4 Lansdowne Terr, Goodman St, H	32 Sydney St, B
William TURNER		82 Anderstaff Lane, B	Bass' Bldgs, Wetmore Rd, B	Sutton, Suffolk	Sutton, Suffolk	Sutton, Suffolk
John TYE	Bass' Yard, Station St, B	66 Anderstaff Lane, B	Bass & Co, Shobnall Rd, BE	Linton Village, Derbyshire	227 Horninglow Rd, H	Not known.
Jeremiah TYE		65 Anderstaff Lane, B	208 Derby St, H	208 Derby St, H	202 Derby St, H	172 Waterloo St, B
Arthur WRIGHT			27 Wetmore Rd, B	277 Wetmore Rd, H		

**Key:**  
 Address as a seasonal maltster  
 Address as a Head in Burton  
 Address as a Head in Suffolk  
 Wife's address after husband's death

B = Burton upon Trent  
 BE = Burton Extra  
 H = Hominglow

Anderstaff Lane was renamed Wetmore Road by 1871 and the street was extended North.



**Map 4. Address locations of identified Suffolk Persisters on modern map.**<sup>100,101</sup>

In 1871 many of the maltsters lived in Anderstaff Lane close to Bass's malting houses. Some continued to have careers as maltsters, living in accommodation provided by Bass in different Burton locations, such as William Baxter (senior), Frederick Borley, Charles, David, William Flatt, Robert Harper, William Turner and John Tye. William Bass, founder of the Bass Brewery in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century, bought his first house in Burton at 136 Station Street<sup>102</sup> and it appears that Frederick Turner lived there in 1881, with Charles Flatt and David Flatt living either side. It was unclear if those who remained maltsters would still have needed to find alternative occupations between May and September or if they returned to Suffolk to help with the harvest and see relatives. It seems that a decision to stay in Burton required flexibility to ensure continuing employment, perhaps with different breweries and competing with locally born men<sup>103</sup>. Moving into a different role may have provided some men with more stability year-round as their families grew. Walter Bampstead, for example, moved from Dale Street in 1881 as a maltster, then South to Queen Street in 1891, as a brewer's labourer, then further South to a new build on the corner of Leicester Street by 1901, where in that year he also accommodated three boarders, none of whom were maltsters, or from Suffolk. It is possible some families lived in additional locations between census years. Burton electoral register records and copies of civil birth registrations for their children showing birth addresses should help to assess this further. Detailed local maps of Burton from the 1880s<sup>104</sup> to early 1900s<sup>105</sup>, showing the great proliferation of malting houses and breweries, as well as the development of housing between these dates, could visually inform family historians of the changing living and possible working locations of the men, considering their addresses.

All the men in the settled cohort lived to age 40 or over (chart 2), with 40% reaching 65 years, being higher than Dunlop's estimates for their last occupations, shown in Table 8.<sup>106</sup> There appeared to be a trend to live longer when continuing to work in a role connected to the malting process, with more brewers' and general labourers dying sooner in the sample, which seems to reflect Buchanan's comments to some extent,<sup>107</sup> although noting three maltsters died first, including William Baxter (junior) who died in July 1890 aged 47.<sup>108</sup> His esteem in the malting and brewing community was expressed in a *Burton Chronicle* tribute to him, referencing nearly 34 years' service and his important role as 'chief-assistant maltster under Mr R. W. Abbotts' at Bass.<sup>109</sup> His coffin was carried by six foremen maltster colleagues, including Suffolk Persisters William,

David and Charles Flatt, and Frederick Borley - plus Lord Burton sent a wreath.<sup>110</sup> It was perhaps due to William's comparatively early death that he received such honours. William's father had received only a short newspaper entry when he died 9 years earlier on 14 May 1881, aged 76, but it also referenced '28 years in the employ of Messrs Bass and Co', indicating a long and loyal relationship.<sup>111</sup>

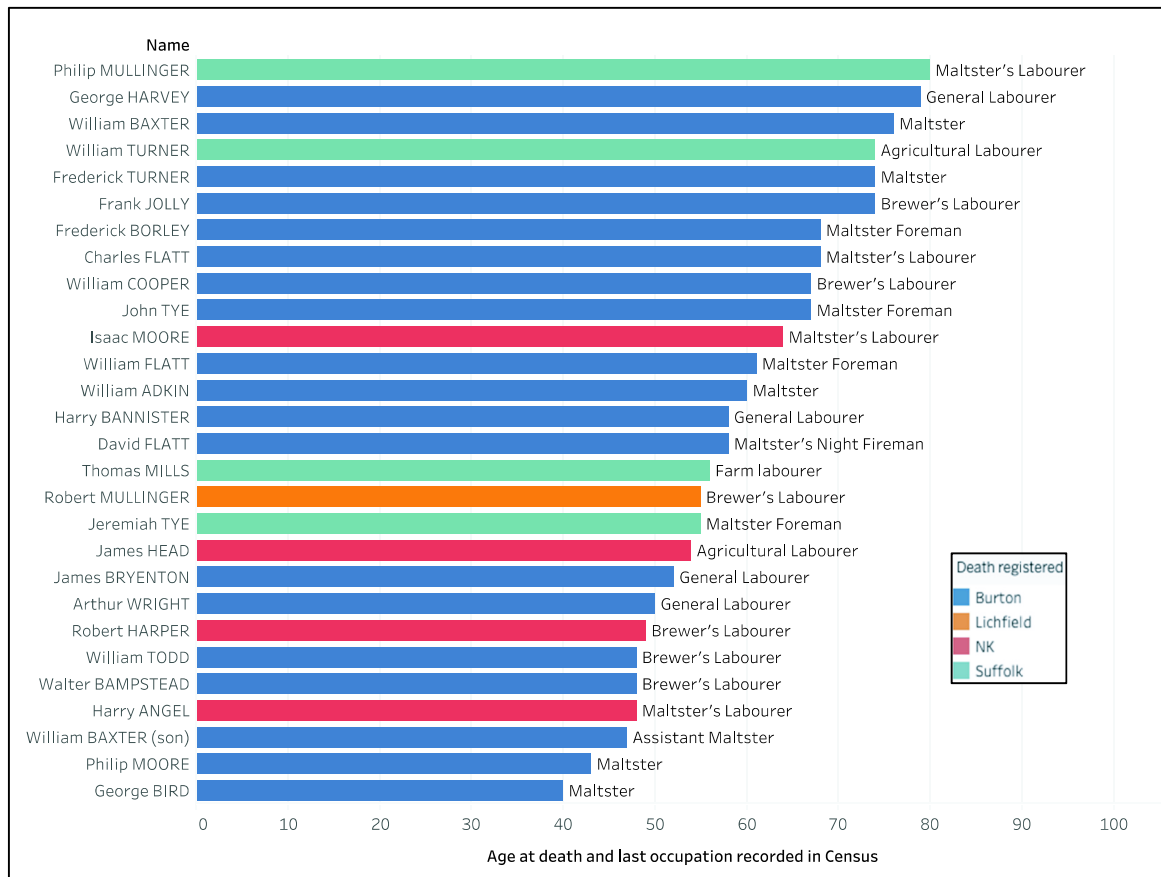


Chart 2. Age at death, place registered and last occupation recorded - identified Suffolk settlers.<sup>112</sup>

Table 8. Life expectancy relating to occupations in early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>113</sup>

Occupation	Group	Compared to those of ALL MALES	
		Life Expectation at age 25 (years)	Probability at age 25 of reaching age 65 (%)
ALL MALES		37.3	
Gardener, Nurseryman, Seedsman	1	42.3	17.2
Farmer, Grazier, Farmer's Son etc	1	41.8	15.9
Farm Labourer, Farm Servant	1	41.5	15.1
Maltster	1	39.9	7.0
Brewer (brewer's labourer)	6	33.8	-12.2
General Labourer	6	27.8	-27.9

In the ten cases where men were known to have died before their wives (Table 7), half of the widows had moved address by the next census-taking. This probably reflected the extent to which the widows were living with resident male breadwinners and where they were working. Only one widow was recorded with an occupation: Priscilla Bampstead was a grocer in 1911.<sup>114</sup> William Baxter Junior's wife, Eliza, and David Flatt's wife, Martha, were the only widows found to be living on their own means after their husband's death in 1891<sup>115</sup> and 1911<sup>116</sup> respectively, although Sarah Flatt had no male resident adults either in 1911<sup>117</sup>, suggesting they all benefitted financially from their spouses' long-term working relationship with Bass.

What can be said about the next generation of males? By 1921 the brewing industry in Burton was in a process of amalgamations and closures.<sup>118</sup> In the 1921 census, only 20 of the 44 named surviving sons of the Persisters in the GCS, could be found in the Burton Census returns. In 1914, 34 of the men were aged between 17 and 40 years, so it seems probable that many had died during WW1, although this was not investigated. Of the sons recorded living in Burton in 1821, over half were working in brewery-associated jobs (Table 9). However, only one man, Albert J. Tye (son of maltster Persister, Jeremiah Tye), was a Foreman Maltster, working for Truman, Hanbury and Buxton brewers. His younger brother Arthur was a Maltster's fireman for the same firm.

**Table 9. Burton Persisters' sons recorded in the 1921 Burton census.**<sup>119</sup>

SURNAME	NAME	Birth Year Estimate	Place Born	Occupation in 1921 Burton Census	Employer in 1921	Age in 1914	Age in 1918
TURNER	John	1903	Burton	Brewery Labourer	Bass & Co Ltd Brewers	11	15
TURNER	William	1899	Burton	Platelay	Midland Railway	15	19
ADKIN	Herbert	1893	Burton	Brewery Labourer	Bass, Ratcliff & Gretton	21	25
BAMPSTEAD	Harry	1893	Burton	Brusher out	Worthingtons Cooperage Department, Brewers, Burton on Trent.	21	25
ADKIN	William	1892	Burton	Machinest Engineer	Baguley Cars Ltd Internal Combustion Locomotives Steam Loco Engineer & Rail Cars	22	26
FLATT	Isaac James	1886	Burton	Watchman	Bass Ratcliffe & Gretton Brewers	28	32
FLATT	Walter	1884	Burton	Joiner	Bass Co Ltd Brewers	30	34
COOPER	Walter	1883	Burton	General Labourer	Bass & Co Brewers	31	35
BANNISTER	Frederick William	1882	Burton	Bricklayer labourer	Mr Adams Contractory, Burton on Trent.	32	36
HARVEY	Robert	1881	Burton	Railway Drayman	G. H. Railway	33	37
TYE	Edward James	1881	Burton	House Furnisher	Own Account.	33	37
TYE	Arthur John	1880	Burton	Malster's Fireman	Truman Hanbury Buxton, Brewers	34	38
FLATT	Frederick Charles	1878	Burton	Engine Fitter	S Briggs Co.	36	40
FLATT	William Ripley	1877	Burton	Maltster's labourer	Bass Ratcliffe & Gretton Brewers	37	41
FLATT	George D	1876	Burton	Engineer	Naval Pensioner, living with mother-in-law and her sons who were farmers and cattle dealers.	38	42
HARVEY	George	1875	Burton	Gas Worker	Corporation Gas Works, Burton on Trent.	39	43
HARVEY	Ephraim	1874	Stapenhill	Gas Work Labourer	Corporation Gas Works, Burton on Trent.	40	44
TYE	Joseph	1873	Burton	General Labourer	In the Workhouse	41	45
TYE	Albert J.	1872	Burton	Foreman Maltster	Truman Hanbury Buxton, Brewers	42	46
TYE	Charles	1864	Burton	Reporter	Burton Daily Mail Ltd, Newspaper Proprietors, Publishers and Printers	50	54

## Conclusion

This research investigated the long-distance Suffolk seasonal migration to Burton in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. It established that skilled older maltster, as well as healthy young agricultural workers, were employed by the breweries (notably Bass initially). The routes of 'arrival' and settlement in Burton for the identified early Persisters did not reflect one discrete life movement from Suffolk farm service to permanency in the new destination for most, indicating a possible novel category of, or exception to, current definitions of step migration concerning seasonal workers who settle in a place, which implies both forward and backward steps over several years. Although several of the early settlers remained loyal maltsters for Bass, the majority changed their occupations and perhaps employer, moving address regularly with their growing families, probably competing for employment with local men. Many accommodated a network of their county-men as lodgers for seasonal work, some of whom were related, but not exclusively. Most lived longer than the expected average for the period and a few returned to Suffolk permanently. Many of the sons of Burton Persisters were likely to have been in service in WW1 and following the war there was minimal evidence in the 1921 census to suggest that the maltster's descendants continued as maltsters. The database, research findings and research data may be potentially useful to genealogists researching both Burton and Suffolk ancestry. It could help them understand why an ancestor is missing from the Suffolk census records or why a Burton-born child's parents were born and married in Suffolk, and how the census can be used to identify the same people, via their occupations and different locations over time.

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