FOLLOWING THE FISH TO GRIMSBY

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An important aspect of the nineteenth-century transformation of the British fishing industry was the migration of fishermen from Devon, Kent, and the Thames to newly developing east coast fishing ports such as Yarmouth, Grimsby, Hull, and Scarborough. In claiming that all these places were established as a result of colonisation, natives of Devonshire believe Brixham was responsible for Scarborough, Hull, Grimsby, and Lowestoft and that Barking colonised Harwich and Yarmouth.[1] The evidence on which this statement is based is not clear. Taking Grimsby as broadly representative of other new east coast fishing ports this study uses the 1861 census enumerators' books to test the accuracy of the Devonshire claims. It analyses the origins of the migrant fishermen who settled at Grimsby in the 1850s – the 'take-off' years of the port's modern fishing industry. It also examines patterns and processes of migration as the pioneers followed the fish to Grimsby and comes to some conclusions as to the date of their arrival in the town.

Prior to the 1850s there had been no recent fishing industry of any importance at Grimsby. According to the census of 1841 only 1.3 per cent of all economically active males in the town were listed as fishermen. By 1851 – when the first stage of the re-development of the port was nearing completion – this figure had dropped to 0.6 per cent. In 1852 the Manchester, Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway Company (hereafter the M.S. & L.R.) opened a large, and, for its time, technologically advanced new dock at Grimsby. This event followed the connection of the town to the growing rail network.

It is believed Grimsby was originally developed by the M.S. & L.R. as a general trade port and that the establishment of a resident fishing community was not necessarily a part of the company's early plans. It seems an initial objective was to 'entice' fishermen from other places to use Grimsby's new facilities to 'land, forward, and cure'. As late as 1856, despite recent overtures to Hull smack-owners aimed at persuading them to move their businesses across the Humber to Grimsby, the M.S. & L.R. directors were 'expecting back' for the spring and winter fishing the same itinerants who had made use of the port's facilities during the previous year.[2] Towards the end of the 1850s the M.S. & L.R., together with its associate the Great Northern Railway, introduced measures designed to attract the fishing trade to the port, such as the provision of a separate dock for the use of fishing craft, an ice house, houses for fishermen, and cheap carriage rates for fish.

Table 1 Birthplaces of 209 fishermen in the 1861 census of Grimsby

Group	Birthplace	No.	%
1	Barking and other Thames-side towns	91	43.5
2	Devon [mainly Brixham]	8	3.8
	Kent [mainly Dover, Ramsgate and Margate]	18	8.6
3	Colne, Blackwater, Stour fishery area	7	3.4
	Harwich	6	2.9
	Lowestoft/Yarmouth	6	2.9
	Hull	11	5.3
4	Grimsby	12	5.7
	Lincolnshire [other than Grimsby]	34	16.3
5	Other	16	7.6
Total		209	100.0

Source: 1861 Census of Grimsby.

The success of the developers of the port in attracting the fishing trade to Grimsby is evident, for, by 1861 – less than a decade after the commencement of the deep-sea industry – 12 per cent of all employed males in the town were smack-owners, smack captains, fishermen, or fishing apprentices. This percentage includes fishermen ashore when the census was taken as well as the number of men definitely stated by the enumerators to be at sea on fishing vessels. The figure of 12 per cent is almost certainly an under-enumeration since some Grimsby enumerators – including one individual responsible for a district, which, according to the census, was comparatively heavily populated with the families of fishermen – had not made the all-important distinction between merchant seamen absent at sea on census night and individuals absent on fishing smacks. Men in this doubtful category of absentees have been excluded from the above calculation of the size of the 1861 Grimsby fishing labour force.[3]

The absence of an indigenous pool of experienced labour on which in-migrant smack owners transferring their businesses to Grimsby in the later 1850s could draw, meant that the crews of fishing vessels had to come in from outside the town. Table 1, using the 1861 manuscript census, groups the fishermen ashore in Grimsby on census night according to birthplace. Fishermen originating from Devon and Kent (excluding the Thames area of Kent, e.g. Greenwich and Gravesend), are shown in Group 2, and are generally referred to collectively in the literature. This grouping, as will be discussed in more detail later, reflects the early migration of Devon fishermen out of Torbay and into the waters of the English Channel where they based themselves at ports on the Kent coast. A simple analysis of birthplaces, as in Table 1, shows that the total of men originating from Devon and Kent represented only 12.4 per cent of all Grimsby's early fishermen. Further, less than 14 per cent of the females described in the census as a 'fisherman's wife' – this term indicating a woman with a husband at sea when the census was taken – had been born in Devon or in coastal areas of Kent. This comparatively low number was surprising in view of the claim that fishermen from Brixham had colonised – among other places – Grimsby.

As Table 1 shows, there were some fishermen listed in the 1861 Grimsby census who had been born in north-east Essex, on the Norfolk coast, and in Hull, and others with origins in Lincolnshire (including a few in Grimsby). The census shows, however, that by far the largest number of fishermen in Grimsby in 1861 – 43.5 per cent – had been born at ports or places adjacent to the Thames. Fifty per cent of the females listed as a 'fishermans's wife' had also been born in the Thames area. The high number of Thames fishing families was contrary to expectations since Grimsby is not noted, even in local circles, as having been host to a large number of migrant fishermen originating from the Thames ports.[4]

'Birthplace', however, as Lawton pointed out in his study of the population of Liverpool is not synonymous with 'migrant from'.[5] A migrant may have moved several times between leaving his place of birth and arriving at his present place of residence. A synthesis of census data relating to the birthplaces of parents and of their children is therefore used to trace the migration routes of the Devon and Kent fishermen, as well as the Thames men, as they followed the fish to Grimsby. It can also shed some light on, among other matters relevant to the aims of this study, the arrival date of these two major groups of pioneers in the town.

The Thames fishermen

To appreciate the circumstances surrounding the migration of the Thames fishermen to Grimsby in the 1850s, it is necessary to consider briefly the history of the demise of the traditional Thames fishery. From the fourteenth century until the middle of the nineteenth the most important industry at Barking was fishing. Early in the nineteenth century the town ranked as one of the greatest fishing ports in England. At this time Barking's fishermen were enlarging their craft and extending their line-fishing into the open sea. Some smacks went as far north as Iceland and others fished the Dogger Bank. Previously the small Barking well-smacks worked the deep channels in the Thames and its estuary.[6]

The great boom in trawl fishing began about 1830 and Barking trawlers, like those from Devon and Kent, pushed out into the North Sea to search the fishing grounds for the soles so much in favour in the London market. New grounds were constantly being explored and commercially exploited and it was Samuel Hewett, a Barking smack-owner, who devised the system of fleeting. This enabled smacks to remain at sea from four to eight weeks by putting their haul on board fast cutters which brought the combined catches to the London market.[7]

Barking was at its zenith as a fishing port about the middle of the nineteenth century but its decline set in soon afterwards. The spread of the railway network was mainly responsible for sounding the death knell of Barking's fishing industry. The railway opened up direct links between Billingsgate, the fish market of the metropolis, and the new east coast fishing ports, and it became quicker and cheaper for fishermen to land catches at these ports and despatch them by rail to London than to attempt the long, and sometimes

Table 2 Birthplaces of the Thames fishermen

Birthplace	No.	%
Barking	20	22.0
Greenwich	8	8.8
Gravesend	5	5.5
*Other Thames birthplaces	58	63.7
Total	91	100.0

Notes: *Other Thames-area birthplaces given in the census were: Bromley, Camberwell, Camden Town, Chelsea (4), City Road, Clerkenwell, Deptford (5), Fort George, Hadleigh, Hammersmith, Ilford, Kensington, Lee Bridge, Limehouse (3), Middlesex London (21), Poplar, Rainham, Shoreditch, St Agnes, St George's East (4), Stepney, Wandsworth (3), Westminster (2).

Source: 1861 Census of Grimsby

difficult, navigation up the Thames. By the end of the nineteenth century Barking had ceased to exist as a fishing port.[8]

At Greenwich, like Barking, fishing had been carried on for centuries past. Gravesend, too, had close associations with the Barking fishing industry in that the cod-chests of the Barking fishermen were moored in the river there. Live cod were taken out of the welled-smacks of the Barking men and put in floating containers until such time as the fish was required for market. After transportation up the river to Billingsgate in small hatch boats, the fish were then killed and sold as 'live cod'. The practice of storing cod in chests at Gravesend ceased around the middle of the nineteenth century due to the pollution of the Thames.[9]

The birthplaces of the Thames fishermen resident in Grimsby in 1861 are given in Table 2. Figure 1 indicates the geographical distribution of their Thames-side origins – the majority of these being on the north bank of the river. Twenty-two per cent of the Thames men had been born at Barking, nearly 9 per cent at Greenwich and over 5 per cent at Gravesend. Of the 'Other' Thames birthplaces shown in Table 2, 23 per cent of these were in an area of the metropolis described in the census as 'Middlesex, London', and another 40 per cent at a number of small towns and locations broadly adjacent to the river. These last miscellaneous Thames birthplaces have been identified at the foot of Table 2.

Fifty-one of the ninety-one Thames-born fishermen were described by the census enumerators as household 'heads'. Forty-two of these men had children, the number of their children totalling 111. As mentioned earlier, over half of all fishermen's wives listed in the Grimsby census (this term meaning women with a husband at sea) had also been born at Barking, Greenwich, Gravesend, or at some other Thames-side town. Twenty-nine of these women had children, the number of their children being seventy-four. The birthplaces of these latter children, together with those of the children of the fishermen ashore, can provide evidence of the migratory movements of their fathers. In total, there were 185 children of Thames fishing families available for the analysis of birthdate and birthplace data.

Figure 1 The River Thames showing birthplaces of the Thames fishermen in Grimsby in 1861

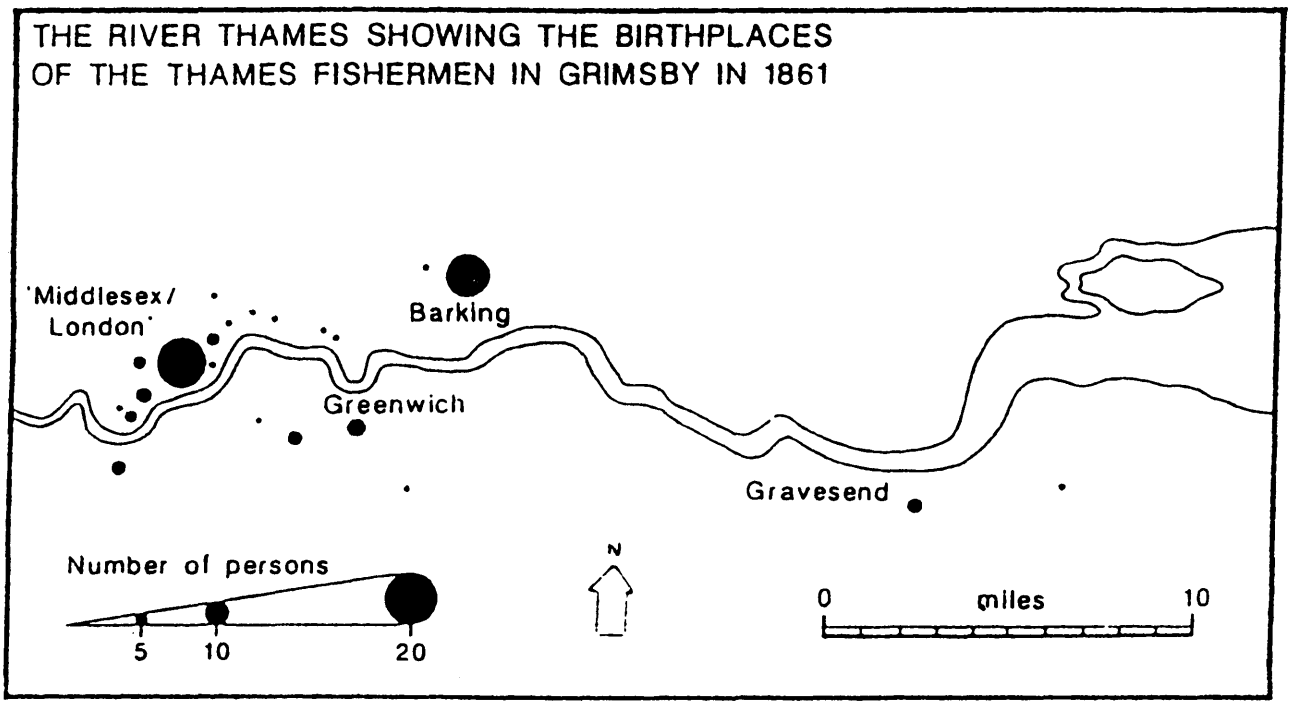

Table 3 shows that more than 76 per cent of the children of the Thames fishermen had been born at Barking, Greenwich, Gravesend, or at some other Thames-side location. It also reveals that over 21 per cent of their children had been born at Grimsby. This means that a total of almost 97 per cent of all births of children to Thames fishing families had occurred, either in the area of origin of the migrants (i.e. the Thames region) or in Grimsby (the migration destination). This being so, there can be little doubt that the majority of the Thames fishermen in Grimsby in 1861 – assuming the birthplaces of their children are indicative of movement – had migrated directly there from the Thames ports.

An analysis of the birthplaces and ages of the children of the Thames fishermen, as recorded in the census, gives an indication of the arrival date of the Thames men in Grimsby. First, it was noted that the majority of wives in the 1861 Grimsby fishing community were predominantly in the younger age groups, many in their 'teens and early twenties. This was particularly marked in the case of the Thames wives and the fact has implications for comparatively high fertility rates in the group. Second, none of the thirty-nine children born in Grimsby to parents of Thames origin was more than four years of age at the time the 1861 census was taken. Bearing these facts in mind it can be argued with some confidence that, had many families of London origin been in Grimsby much before 1857, then the census would surely have shown a number of Grimsby births to these people of children who would have been older than four years in 1861.

Table 3 Birthplaces of 185 children of the Thames fishermen

	Birthplaces of the children of the fishermen 'heads'		Birthplaces of the children of the 'fishermens' wives		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Barking	73	65.8	42	56.7	115	62.2
Greenwich	10	9.0	5	6.8	15	8.1
Gravesend	2	1.8	2	2.7	4	2.1
*Other Thames Towns	2	1.8	5	6.8	7	3.8
Grimsby	23	20.7	16	21.6	39	21.1
+Other Places	1	0.9	4	5.4	5	2.7
Total	111	100.0	74	100.0	185	100.0

Notes: *Other Thames Towns (above) were: Deptford, Romford, and those described in the census as 'Middlesex, London'.
+Other Places (above) were: Mistley in north-east Essex, and Cleethorpes, Lincolnshire.

Source: 1861 Census of Grimsby

The evidence of the enumeration books, in fact, suggests that for 38 per cent of the families of Thames origin, the move to Grimsby had taken place around 1859, that is, two years after the reported opening of the port's first purpose built fish dock.[10] Many of the families had children aged under one year, and others had children aged between one and two years, all of whom, according to the census, had been born at Barking, or, in a very few cases, at other towns in the Thames area. The sum of the census evidence indicates that the move of the Thames fishermen to Grimsby did not begin before 1857, at the earliest, and was probably at its height around 1859-1860.

The census evidence of the birthplaces of the Thames fishermen, taken in conjunction with that of their wives and children, suggests a relatively high degree of social and residential stability had probably existed in Thames fishing communities before the decline of the fisheries compelled London smack-owners to move their businesses to the east coast. In the case of Barking, the census shows that many of the fishermen who had been born in that town had married women also born there. Other young fishermen with birthplaces in the surrounding Thames area had apparently moved into Barking as bachelors, married a female of local birth, and stayed to raise a family in the town. The evidence on which this conclusion is based is that in the fifty-one cases where the eldest child of a Thames fisherman (or Thames 'fisherman's wife') had been born at Barking, then all subsequent children born to that family – before migration to Grimsby – had also been born at that Thames port.

The number of fishermen who had originated from the ports of Greenwich and Gravesend – eight and five respectively – is too small for any firm conclusions to be reached as to the social stability and cohesion of these particular Thames fishing communities prior to their decline. The individual case histories of the families concerned, however, are of interest in this respect. Of the eight

Greenwich-born fishermen in Grimsby in 1861, three were married and had children. In each of these cases all the wives had been born at Greenwich as had all of the children. Of the five fishermen born at Gravesend, three were married and all had a family. Two of the wives, and all of the children of these men had been born at Gravesend. Had the Thames fishermen made a practice of migrating from one port to another (as did the Devon and Kent men who are discussed below) then it can be assumed that some men, at least, would have moved their home and family in the interests of living closer to the Thames water-front from which their vessel operated.[11] There is no census evidence of this having occurred in any of the Thames fishing stations under review.

The Devon and Kent fishermen

Fishermen born in the counties of Devon and Kent are noted for their exploration of fishing grounds in the English Channel, and, later, in the east and central areas of the North Sea. These pioneers are referred to collectively in the literature – and by contemporaries – as 'Devon and Ramsgate men' or as 'Devon and Kentish fishermen'.[12] The association between the two groups probably began at the end of the eighteenth century and it is against the background of their liaison – summarised below – that the migration of fishermen from Torbay, and the English Channel, to Grimsby and to other east coast fishing ports has to be set.

Walter Smith, a Devon fisherman, told the 1833 inquiry into the state of the Channel fisheries that, forty-five years back, (c.1788) he had been fishing off the Kentish coast with two others and that they were the first from Torbay to go so far east.[13] Around the year 1815 Brixham trawlers began spring fishing in the region of Dover and Margate. Prime turbot were to be found in abundance on the Varne and Ridge grounds and there was a ready market for these in London. About 1820 there began a regular winter migration of Torbay men to fish the waters of the English Channel. The men left Brixham in the month of October, and some took with them their families, together with goods and chattels, and returned to the home port in May.[14] At first the seasonal migrants used the harbour at Dover but this proved unsatisfactory. By 1828 a good harbour had been completed at Ramsgate. The advantages of Ramsgate over Dover persuaded the Brixham men to transfer their activities to that port. Ramsgate eventually became a trawler port in its own right with about fifty smacks registered there by 1863.[15]

In the early 1830s a few trawlers from the south also visited north Yorkshire on a seasonal basis, as the summer influx of visitors to the popular watering place of Scarborough provided a lucrative market for fish. These vessels were only about eight in number, but the fishermen concerned emulated the example of the Devon men who had made Dover and Ramsgate their forward base, and took wives and families with them to Yorkshire, returning to their home port at the end of the season. As yet there had been no increase in deep-sea trawling at Hull, for it was not until 1845 that Hull could muster a small fleet of twenty

-nine vessels.[16] At this point in time fishing smacks by-passed Grimsby. One reason for this was the lack of transport and other facilities there.

The Silver Pits – an area of the North Sea teeming with fine soles in exceptionally cold weather – were discovered sometime in the late 1830s or early 1840s, and word of the discovery spread rapidly among the south coast trawlermen. This resulted in a rush of Brixham and Ramsgate smacks north to Yorkshire.[17] A number of Devon and Kent owners subsequently followed up the winter fishing, season by season, some using Hull as their base, others Scarborough. The practice was to leave the home port in October and return south at the following Whitsuntide, but the removal of family, household goods, and business twice a year eventually became so onerous that some families decided to remain at one or other of the Yorkshire ports.[18]

In the early days of the Hull industry, fishing was 'prosecuted under the greatest difficulties and hardships'. The smacks did not have a recognised place for discharging catches and no facilities of any kind were provided for the fishermen. In short, 'people of all kinds' regarded the fishing industry as an 'intolerable nuisance'. As a result of this, other ports are said to have been created by men forced out of Hull by the prevailing conditions there.[19] One of those to benefit from the exodus was to be Grimsby. Smacksmen from the south who settled higher up the Yorkshire coast at Scarborough fared little better than did the fishermen making Hull their base. Trawling was looked on with suspicion at Scarborough, lining and drift net fishing being mainly followed by the local men. The Scarborough Corporation was reluctant to foster and develop the fishing industry and the Scarborough harbour was exposed and often difficult to enter in the high seas common on that part of the north-east coast. A combination of these circumstances persuaded some of the Devon and Kent men who had settled at Scarborough to transfer their businesses to Grimsby when facilities became available there soon after the mid-nineteenth century.[20]

Although, as Table 1 shows, there were only eight Devon-born fishermen listed in the 1861 Grimsby census, and eighteen with origins in coastal areas of Kent, there is sufficient evidence related to the birthplaces and birthdates of the children of these men to trace the direction, and determine the chronology, of the multi-stage migration route these people followed to Grimsby. The criterion used to identify a family able to provide information about the migration history of its 'head' is that such a family has to contain at least one child born somewhere other than at the father's place of origin, and such place has to be other than the last migration destination – in this case Grimsby.

Of the Devonshire-born fishermen and fishermen's wives having children (thirteen families in total) twelve families met the above requirement. Of the ten families of Kent origin having children, six of these also qualified. The combined Devon and Kent families had, between them, a total of fifty-seven children (Table 4) whose ages, according to the 1861 census, ranged from one month to twenty-seven years. Table 5 analyses these children by year of birth and birthplace. The analysis provides evidence, not only about the geographical

Table 4 Birthplaces of the 57 children of the Devon and Kent fishermen

	Devon fishermen		Kent fishermen	
	No.	%	No.	%
Brixham	8	20.5	1	5.6
Ramsgate	3	7.7	1	5.6
Hull	20	51.3	10	55.6
Scarborough	-	-	3	16.6
Grimsby	8	20.5	3	16.6
Total	39	100.0	18	100.0

Source: 1861 Census of Grimsby

Table 5 Birthplaces of 57 children of Devon and Kent fishing families analysed by year of birth

Year Born	1840-	1841-1844	1845-1850	1851-1856	1857-1859	1860 1861
Grimsby	-	-	-	-	3	8
Scarborough	-	-	1	2	-	-
Hull	-	-	6	13	10	1
Ramsgate	1	3	-	-	-	-
Brixham	3	4	1	-	1	-

Source: 1861 Census of Grimsby

direction, and the historical time scale, of the multi-stage migration route these people followed, but, also, about the likely arrival date of the first fishermen of Devon and Kent origin to take up residence, and settle, with their families, at Grimsby.

The pattern of births shown in Table 5 mirrors the direction of the north-easterly migration flow of fishermen from Devon and Kent. It also reflects the earlier seasonal habits of the Torbay pioneers whose practice it was to leave their home port of Brixham in October and locate themselves, with their families, at their forward base of Ramsgate for the winter – and later summer – fishing in the Channel. The concentration of births at Hull, beginning in 1845, is consistent with the build-up of a small fleet of deep-sea fishing vessels at that port, as well as the belief that the Silver Pits, by that year, were being extensively worked over by smacks from the south, and that Hull was being used as a base by the southerners to land and forward their catches to market.[21]

Some of the earlier Hull-born children shown in Table 5 (i.e. those with birthdates in the 1840s) may have been born during the course of the winter migrations to Yorkshire which followed the initial discovery of the Silver Pits. Later Hull births would have occurred as the Devon and Kent men decided to base themselves permanently at that port. The three births occurring at

Scarborough during the same period are indicative of the habit of some of the Devon and Kent fishermen using that north-Yorkshire port in preference to Hull. According to the census, the earliest Grimsby birth of a child of Devon and Kent parentage, as Table 5 shows, was in 1857, but the majority of Grimsby births to this group occurred between 1860 and the date of the 1861 census.

These births are consistent with evidence given to the 1866 Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the Sea Fisheries of the United Kingdom. Witnesses testifying to the Commission indicated that, although some fishermen with businesses at Hull had been 'associated' with the port of Grimsby for some years, they had not come to live in the town until comparatively recently. One witness, who had taken up residence in Grimsby in 1858, said, 'As our experience taught us that Grimsby had more natural facilities than Hull we came here to reside'. Another Royal Commission witness recalled that a quarrel in Hull in 1859 resulted in what he described as 'the greatest flush we ever had' of fishermen migrants from Hull in that year.[22]

Conclusions

Social aspects of the nineteenth-century transformation of the British fishing industry – like the migration of the fishermen which accompanied it – have tended to be an incidental, rather than central issue in some of the literature. This is especially the case where technological advances such as changes in the size and structure of vessels, new methods of fishing, and the effect of the railways on the development of new markets, have been the major concern. The evidence of the 1861 Grimsby census indicates that a lack of objective attention to the antecedents of the pioneer fishermen, has clouded some issues connected with the patterns and processes of their migrations, and has obscured others.

Taking, first, the case of the Devon and Kent fishermen. Census evidence of the birthplaces of children of these men shows that migration to Grimsby was not direct as the literature sometimes implies. By the time Grimsby was able to offer attractive dock and harbour facilities to smack-owners in the later years of the 1850s, it is likely that direct migration from Devon and Kent had passed its peak. Census evidence, taken in conjunction with that from other sources, suggests the Devon and Kent fishermen who were in Grimsby in 1861 arrived as a result of their dissatisfaction with the facilities offered at Hull and Scarborough. Had disillusionment with conditions at these two places not arisen, then it is at least questionable as to whether 'Devon and Kentish' men would have figured at all in the history of Grimsby's nineteenth-century rise as a deep-sea fishing port.

In mitigation of this view it is likely that some, at least, of the transient fishermen known to have been using the port's facilities in 1855, that is, before the establishment of a resident fishing community, were men of the Devon/Kent connection. The strong probability is that among the itinerants at this time were smack-owners, who, according to witnesses giving evidence to the 1866 Royal Commission on the Sea Fisheries, discussed above, were retaining homes and businesses at Hull while taking advantage of Grimsby's superior facilities for discharging catches and transporting them to inland

markets. According to the **Lincoln, Rutland, and Stamford Mercury**, however, 'powerful smacks from the Thames' were calling at Grimsby as early as 1853.[23] The presence of Thames fishermen when the Grimsby industry was in its infancy negates any idea that Devon and Kent men had the sole monopoly of the port in the early days.

It has been said that Grimsby, like Hull, was a 'poor' place 'until the Devonshire men came and showed them [the natives] how to fish'[24]. G.L. Alward, the veteran Grimsby fisherman, said there were twenty-two fishing smacks sailing out of Grimsby in 1857. Seventeen of these vessels were 'liners'. That is, the fish were caught on lines rather than in nets. The other five smacks Alward referred to were trawlers.[25] With the spread of trawling in the North Sea Grimsby became known as a great trawler port, and a long-standing Devonshire claim, as note 1, below, indicates, is that Brixham is 'the mother of trawl fisheries.' The idea that Devon and Kent fishermen should be accorded the credit for the rise of Grimsby's modern fishing industry may be rooted in the fact that the port's first trawlers – as distinct from 'liners' – belonged to Devon and Kent fishermen.

If, however, 'colonisation' is synonymous with 'settlement' – as the dictionary indicates it is – then, in view of the fact that Thames settlers at Grimsby in 1861 outnumbered, by more than five to one, the Devon and Kent residents, the belief that Brixham 'colonised' Grimsby cannot be sustained.[26] There is, also, no census evidence to indicate that fishermen originating from Torbay and the Channel ports arrived in Grimsby, and took up residence there, **before** the advent of the Thames men.

In contrast to the credit given to the fishermen from Devon and Kent for furthering the nascent Grimsby industry, there has been a failure at both a local and wider level to acknowledge the large presence of Thames men at the port in the later 1850s. Judging by the Grimsby experience, it seems the patterns and processes of the north-easterly movement of fishermen from the south, south-west, and the Thames will not be fully explained and understood until the relevant nineteenth-century manuscript census returns relating to the antecedents of individuals who settled at other east coast fishing ports, have been objectively analysed. Here, perhaps, is a prospective field of research.

NOTES

1. **The fishing industry in Brixham: the mother of trawl fisheries**, 1970, Devon County Council Library Services, Torbay County Borough.
2. G. Jackson, **The history and archaeology of ports**, 1983, p.89. M.M. Gerrish, 'Special industrial migration in nineteenth-century Britain: a case study of the port of Grimsby 1841-1861', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Hull, 1992, pp.177-79, cites evidence suggesting Grimsby was originally developed as a 'general trade' port. **The Hull Advertiser**, 16, June 1855. **PRO/RAIL** 463/3 28 November 1856.
3. Census of Grimsby 1861.
4. W.G. Hoskins, **Devon - a new survey of England**, 1954, p.213, says Grimsby and Hull were 'poor places until the Devonshire men came and showed them how to fish'. J. Corin, **Provident and the story of the Brixham smacks**, 1980, p.14, also says that in the 1850s many of the Brixham smacks moved to, among other east coast ports, Grimsby, and that vessels from Brixham's rival port, Barking, 'moved in on Harwich and Lowestoft'.

5. R. Lawton, 'The population of Liverpool in the mid-nineteenth century', **Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire**, 107, 1955, pp.89-120.
6. 'A history of Essex', **The Victoria History of the Counties of England**, vol.5, 1960, p.240.
7. 'A history of Essex'.
8. 'A history of Essex'.
9. J. Dyson, **Business in great waters**, 1977, pp.37, 69. E. March, **Sailing trawlers**, 1970, p.13.
10. Gerrish, 'Industrial migration', p.185, says the reported 'opening' of Grimsby's first purpose built fish dock in 1857 may be misleading in that a small dock for fishing craft might have been in use several years earlier.
11. In 1851 Hull trawlermen – most of them originating from Brixham and Ramsgate – lived close to each other not because of a wish to reside near to migrants of a similar origin, but for the purely practical reason that they all wished to be near the docks. P.A. Tansey, 'Residential patterns in the Victorian city: Kingston-upon-Hull 1851', unpublished Ph.D, thesis, University of Hull, 1973, p.96.
12. G.L. Alward, **The sea fisheries of Great Britain and Ireland**, 1932.
13. March, **Sailing trawlers**, p.193.
14. March, **Sailing trawlers**, p.194. P. Russell, 'Some historical notes on the Brixham fisheries', **Devonshire Association Transactions**, 83, 1951, p.288.
15. March, **Sailing trawlers**, p.194.
16. R. Robinson, 'The rise of trawling on the Dogger Bank grounds: the diffusion of an innovation', **Mariners Mirror**, 1986, pp.79-88.
17. March, **Sailing trawlers**, p.176.
18. Alward, **Sea fisheries**, pp.269, 278.
19. Alward, **Sea fisheries**, p.337.
20. Alward, **Sea fisheries**.
21. Robinson, 'Rise of trawling', pp.79-89.
22. **Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of the sea fisheries 1866**, vol.2, Minutes of evidence.
23. **Lincoln, Rutland, and Stamford Mercury**, 13 May 1853.
24. Hoskins, **Devon**, p.213.
25. Alward, **Sea fisheries**, p.200. Hoskins, **Devon**, p.213.
26. **Chambers 20th century dictionary** [new edition] 1987.