BRITISH WORKERS IN FRANCE, 1815–1848*

In spite of the growing interest in 'connected histories', exchanges between France and its neighbours and between Britain and western Europe are seldom explored at an 'intermediary' level — between the local level of town, county, regional or national history, and the universal level of global or world history. This is particularly true for the early industrialization period, before the mass migrations of the 1880s and later. The emigration of several thousand British workers to France in the first half of the nineteenth century, however, enables a case study. These migrants are not unknown to economic and technical historians, in particular those of specific industrial sectors and areas or factories,[1] but they have not attracted much attention as a social and cultural phenomenon. Although in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries France was the premier European country in terms of immigration, immigrants were not integrated into the narrative of the construction of French national identity, in the tradition which

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[1] See W. O. Henderson, *Britain and Industrial Europe, 1750–1870: Studies in British Influence on the Industrial Revolution in Western Europe* (Liverpool, 1954); articles in Patrice Bret, Irina Gouzévitch and Liliane Pérez (eds.), *Les Techniques et la technologie entre la France et la Grande-Bretagne, XVIIe–XIXe siècles*, in *Documents pour l'histoire des techniques*, xix (2010), esp. Michel Cotte, 'Le Rôle des ouvriers et entrepreneurs britanniques dans le décollage industriel français des années 1820'; Annie Laurant, *Des fers de Loire à l'acier Martin*, i, *Maîtres de forges en Berry et Nivernais* (Paris, 2005); Yves Blavier, *La Société linière du Finistère: ouvriers et entrepreneurs à Landerneau au XIXe siècle* (Rennes, 1999), 87–98; Geneviève Dufresne-Seurre, 'Les Waddington, sept générations de cotonniers (1792–1961)' (École des hautes études en sciences sociales, Paris, Ph.D. thesis, 1990); Geneviève Dufresne, 'Une dynastie d'industriels du coton: les Waddington (1792–1957)', *Entreprises et histoire*, ix (1995); Guy Thuillier, *Les Ouvriers des forges nivernaises au XIXe siècle: vie quotidienne et pratiques sociales* (Paris, 2002); Rainer Fremdling, 'The Puddler: A Craftsman's Skill and the Spread of a New Technology in Belgium, France and Germany', *Jl European Econ. Hist.*, xx (1991); Gerd H. Hardach, 'Les Problèmes de main-d'œuvre à Decazeville', *Revue d'histoire de la sidérurgie*, viii (1967).

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extended down to the work of Fernand Braudel.[2] Yet, since the 1980s, immigration has increasingly been a subject of public debate, and following a seminal book by Gérard Noiriel there has been a growing interest in the history of immigration, now a recognized sub-field of the discipline, as illustrated by the opening of the museum 'Cité Nationale de l'Histoire de l'Immigration' in Paris in 2008.[3] Most ongoing research focuses on the period of mass industrial immigration: that is, from the 1880s. And although some works on the earlier flows deserve credit for rewriting the French national narrative,[4] few aim to connect the histories of different peoples, or to study migrants both in their original environment and in their country of destination.

European migrations in the first half of the nineteenth century differed greatly from those after 1880. In France, most migrants came from neighbouring countries and were 'tramping artisans' rather than unskilled workers. France did not feature prominently among the destinations of emigrants from the British Isles, and most of the existing Anglophone work focuses on larger streams of emigration.[5] But what about the minorities who went to the Continent?[6] While the British migrants of the period 1815–48 may be seen to have continued pre-industrial artisan patterns of emigration, they were also at the forefront of the much larger patterns of the industrial age, which involved more than fifty million European migrants during the period

[2] Fernand Braudel, *L'Identité de la France*, i, *Espace et histoire* (Paris, 1986).

[3] Gérard Noiriel, *Le Creuset français: histoire de l'immigration, XIXe–XXe siècle* (Paris, 1988).

[4] The main exception to this post-1880s focus is Pierre-Jacques Derainne, 'Le Travail, les migrations, les conflits en France: représentations et attitudes sociales sous la monarchie de Juillet et la seconde République' (Univ. of Burgundy Ph.D. thesis, 1999); Pierre-Jacques Derainne, 'Les Perceptions sociales des travailleurs migrants britanniques en France dans la première moitié du XIXe siècle', in Sylvie Aprile and Fabrice Bensimon (eds.), *La France et l'Angleterre au XIXe siècle: échanges, représentations, comparaisons* (Paris, 2006).

[5] Charlotte Erickson, *Leaving England: Essays on British Emigration in the Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca, 1994); Eric Richards, *Britannia's Children: Emigration from England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland since 1600* (London, 2004).

[6] David Brooke, *The Railway Navvy: 'That Despicable Race of Men'* (Newton Abbot, 1983); *The Diary of William Mackenzie, the First International Railway Contractor*, ed. David Brooke (London, 2000); David Brooke, *William Mackenzie: International Railway Builder and Civil Engineer* (London, 2004); Benoît Noël, 'Outsiders: petites entreprises et petits entrepreneurs anglo-calaisiens dans le marché français des tulles et dentelles mécaniques de la première moitié du XIXe siècle', in Claire Zalc and Anne-Sophie Bruno (eds.), *Actes de l'histoire de l'immigration*, v, special issue (2005).

1840–1940.[7] This article sketches the history of those Britons who went to France. An apparent mystery lies behind the steady rise of this immigration from 1814 despite the restrictive legislation in place until 1824, followed by its sudden halt in 1847–8 when many returned home. How many immigrants were there? Why did they leave the leading industrial country for relatively backward France? Where did they go? How did they find employment? The period 1815–48 raises broader questions. Does it fit into or change our view of longer trends in relation to industrialization and globalization? What was the social and political life of these migrants? Can any cultural 'transfers' be attributed to them?

Most works on nineteenth-century Franco-British relations contrast the Anglophilia of some of the elite (Guizot, Lamartine, Taine and Faucher) with popular Anglophobia; or they infer popular sentiment and 'public opinion' from diplomatic relations or from newspaper viewpoints, with Anglophobia reaching highs during crises such as the Affair of the Spanish Marriages (1846) or the Fashoda Incident (1898), and lows at the times of the first and second Ententes Cordiales. Even when other sources are taken into account, such as school textbooks, popular iconography, songs, literary texts, correspondence and travel guides, the binary opposition between Anglophobia and Anglophilia is seldom transcended, while popular feelings are not assessed.[8] However, in a way, migrants are an ideal case study for some 'diplomacy from below'.[9] Did they integrate with the local communities, did they assimilate, and what did this mean? How did

[7] Philippe Rygiel, *Le Temps des migrations blanches: migrer en Occident, 1840–1940* (Montreuil, 2007); Patrick Manning, *Migration in World History* (New York, 2005).

[8] The extensive bibliography on cross-Channel relations in the nineteenth century includes the sophisticated all-embracing study by Robert and Isabelle Tombs, *That Sweet Enemy: The French and the British from the Sun King to the Present* (London, 2006), and several other works: Christophe Leribault, *Les Anglais à Paris au 19e siècle* (Paris, 1994); Robert Gibson, *Best of Enemies: Anglo-French Relations since the Norman Conquest* (London, 1995); Jean Guiffan, *Histoire de l'anglophobie en France: de Jeanne d'Arc à la vache folle* (Rennes, 2004); Marc Vion, *Perfide Albion! Douce Angleterre? L'Angleterre et les Anglais vus par les Français du XIVe siècle à l'an 2000* (Saint-Cyr-sur-Loire, 2002); Clare Hancock, *Paris et Londres au XIXe siècle: représentations dans les guides et récits de voyage* (Paris, 2003); Laurent Dornel, *La France hostile: socio-histoire de la xénophobie (1870–1914)* (Paris, 2004); Paul Gerbod, *Voyages au pays des mangeurs de grenouilles: la France vue par les Britanniques du XVIIIe siècle à nos jours* (Paris, 1991).

[9] Renaud Morieux, 'Diplomacy from Below and Belonging: Fishermen and Cross-Channel Relations in the Eighteenth Century', *Past and Present*, no. 202

(cont. on p. 150)

local populations respond? Sources are scattered, and this partly explains the absence of an overall picture. But industrial reports and inquiries, parliamentary papers, state and local archives, company records, newspapers, memoirs and consular correspondence all testify to these lives and relationships.

This article first draws a general picture of these workers before focusing on their cultural life and their politics. I try to show how they played a significant part in the early industrialization of France; their skills accounted for their higher wages, even though not all of them were artisans. They brought with them some of their cultural practices, like Protestant worship, newspaper reading and British games; they had their friendly societies and political organizations. Like all migrants, they were the object of various stereotypical representations. They often integrated, but they were sometimes the targets of violent outbursts of anger.

I

GENERAL FEATURES

Figures, Chronology and Distribution

Numbers of British emigrant workers to France are uncertain until 1851, when the census first categorized foreigners.[10] In 1831, the French authorities calculated — and probably underestimated — that there were 12,500 British immigrants.[11] Thus they accounted for more than 12 per cent — and the largest group — of all foreigners in France. Under the July Monarchy (1830–48), increasing exchanges of all kinds between Britain and the Continent led to a further influx. An 1844 report mentioned an overall total of 66,000 Britons (that is, 8 per cent of the estimated 820,000 foreigners).[12] That included both residents and visitors, although the distinction was sometimes blurred: a visitor might find some paid work and still not intend to stay for more than a couple of weeks. The residents included large numbers of non-workers: middle- and upper-class residents in 'genteel

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(Feb. 2009); Renaud Morieux, *Une mer pour deux royaumes: la Manche, frontière franco-anglaise XVIIe–XVIIIe siècles* (Rennes, 2008).

[10] On gross flows, see E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield, *The Population History of England, 1541–1871: A Reconstruction* (London, 1981), table 7.11.

[11] Gerbod, *Voyages au pays des mangeurs de grenouilles*, 91–3.

[12] 'Rapport au ministère de l'Intérieur', quoted in *Norman Times*, 9 Mar. 1844, 2.

poverty', who settled in France for their leisure or for their health.[13] As for the British workers, most came initially for temporary employment, although this was sometimes extended. Census records and reports sent by the prefects to the government help us assess local numbers.[14] Geographical locations suggest certain distinctions: the British who lived in Sotteville-lès-Rouen or Calais were more likely to be workers than those in Deauville or Biarritz. In Saint-Pierre-lès-Calais alone, there were 412 British in 1824 and 1,086 in 1847, mostly working in the tulle and lace industries.[15] In the late 1840s, Seine-Inférieure (today's Seine-Maritime) had '3000 or 4000 English workmen employed in the factories in the neighbourhood of Rouen'.[16]

Until 1824, the emigration of British artisans was forbidden by law. But as the 1824 British Select Committee debates on 'artizans and machinery' showed, many artisans had been to France for well-paid jobs, while employers complained about the emigration of their skilled workers. Figures were controversial. A witness argued that about sixteen thousand workers emigrated to France in 1822 and 1823 alone.[17] But Tory MP Charles Ross, a leading member of the Select Committee, argued on the basis of information from the French police that there were only 1,300 or 1,400 in total, and his figures are supported by a case study.[18]

[13] See Archives nationales, Paris (hereafter AN), F[7] 12338: 'États numériques du mouvement des étrangers'; Gerbod, *Voyages au pays des mangeurs de grenouilles*, chs. 4–5.

[14] AN, F[7] 12338: 'États numériques du mouvement des étrangers'.

[15] Albert Vion, 'Aspects de la vie calaisienne au XIXe siècle, la communauté britannique', *Bulletin historique et artistique du Calaisis*, lxxx (1979), 532. Benoît Noël's ongoing Ph.D. research is examining the Calais tulle-workers.

[16] Marquis of Normanby, *A Year of Revolution: From a Journal Kept in Paris in 1848*, 2 vols. (London, 1857), i, 231; Featherstonehaugh to Palmerston, 1 Mar. 1848: National Archives, London, Public Record Office (hereafter PRO), FO 27/818; Featherstonehaugh to Normanby, 4 Mar. 1848: PRO, FO 146/350.

[17] Evidence given by Mr Alexander, 2 Mar. 1824, in *First Report from Select Committee on Artizans and Machinery*, House of Commons Parliamentary Papers Online, <http://parlipapers.chadwyck.co.uk> (hereafter P.P.), 1824 (51), 108.

[18] [Charles Ross], '1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, and 6th Reports, from the Select Committee on Artizans and Machinery', *Quart. Rev.*, xxxi (1825), 392–3. Ross's figures were probably realistic. For example, he stated that the Manby and Wilson ironworks in Charenton employed only 250 English, and not 500 to 1,200 as argued by some witnesses. Relying on the municipal archives of Charenton, Jean-François Belhoste has calculated that there were 248 British workers in 1824; including families and a few other fellow Britons, the total population of this community was about 640. Jean-François Belhoste, 'Les Forges de Charenton', in *Architectures d'usines en Val-de-Marne (1822–1939)* (Cahiers de l'inventaire, xii, Paris, 1988), 29.

This was still more than the total number of a thousand assessed by John R. Harris for 1710–1800.[19] Movements of British artisans and manufacturers to France indeed go back to the eighteenth century. Under Colbert, France took an interest in the technical and industrial progress of Britain. 'Observation' journeys, industrial espionage, the smuggling of machinery and the recruitment of artisans all took place, as illustrated by the case of John Holker, who settled in Rouen in 1751, introduced Hargreaves's spinning jenny and Arkwright's water frame into France, and played an important part in the *Ancien Régime* proto-industrialization of the country.[20] Even the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars did not entirely interrupt this flow. British machinery was smuggled into France; some Britons were jailed or detained, but others were employed.[21] William Haynes, a Nottingham tulle-maker, came to Paris during the Peace of Amiens (1802–3) to set up a tulle importation network, but stayed when the war resumed and was supposedly asked by Napoleon to set up a tulle industry in France. He continued smuggling instead, until his goods were seized and burnt in 1809 and he had to run away.[22] In contrast, Henry Sykes, the British owner of a cotton-spinning factory in Saint-Rémy-sur-Avre (Eure-et-Loir) from 1792, employing about two hundred workers by 1800, obtained French nationality in 1807, and his business became large and prosperous.[23]

Exchanges resumed on a more frequent basis after the fall of Napoleon. When the 1824 Select Committee met, Malthus and others alleged that restrictions on emigration were unfair because only workers were prevented from emigrating; this was inefficient, since they emigrated anyway, and intolerable as they dared not come home for fear of being jailed.[24] Following the

[19] J. R. Harris, *Industrial Espionage and Technology Transfer: Britain and France in the Eighteenth Century* (Aldershot, 1998), 552.

[20] *Ibid., passim*; John R. Harris, 'John Holker (1719–1786)', *Oxford DNB*; Philippe Minard, *La Fortune du colbertisme: État et industrie dans la France des Lumières* (Paris, 1998), 212–17; Morieux, *Une mer pour deux royaumes*; Henderson, *Britain and Industrial Europe*.

[21] See Henderson, *Britain and Industrial Europe*, 31–4; Harris, *Industrial Espionage and Technology Transfer*, 552.

[22] Samuel Ferguson Jr, *Histoire du tulle et des dentelles mécaniques en Angleterre et en France* (Paris, 1862), 62.

[23] Dufresne, 'Une dynastie d'industriels du coton', 74.

[24] Evidence given by Thomas Malthus, 10 May 1824, in *First Report from Select Committee on Artizans and Machinery*, 598–601.

recommendations of the committee, an act was passed which lifted all prohibitions on skilled workers' emigration.

A significant proportion of the subsequent migrants — all labelled 'Anglais' by the French press and authorities — came from Wales (iron), Scotland (linen and cotton) and Ulster (linen). The tulle-workers and manufacturers who settled in or near Calais from 1816 onwards mostly came from the Nottingham area. In railway-building, the geographical origin of the migrants was more diverse. In France, their distribution was uneven. Most migrants went to 'neighbouring' provinces: Northern France and Normandy. But there were also some in and around Paris, near Amiens in Picardy, in Alsace and Lorraine, in Burgundy, and even in the Loire, Aveyron, Bouches-du-Rhône and Gard *départements*.

Sections and Networks

Eric Hobsbawm has argued that the history of labour was one of constant movement, and this thesis has since been confirmed. As Pooley and Turnbull have shown, patterns of mobility between countries were very similar to those characterizing internal mobility in Britain.[25] Further research is needed to address the question of why British workers came to France, and to assess the respective parts played by push and pull factors. But most migrants were attracted by employment prospects. South Wales puddlers went to improve their wages; Nottingham tulle-makers did so because the market was very competitive in Britain and, since their technology was far superior to that of the French, they could successfully set up small businesses. But the Dundee female linen-workers who went to Brittany sometimes simply wanted to find employment.

There were certainly some individual stories: like that of 'journeyman goldsmith' William Duthie, who has left a narrative of his three and a half years' tramping in Germany, Austria and France;

[25] E. J. Hobsbawm, 'The Tramping Artisan', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2nd ser., iii (1951), reproduced in his *Labouring Men: Studies in the History of Labour* (London, 1964); more recently, see Humphrey R. Southall, 'The Tramping Artisan Revisits: Labour Mobility and Economic Distress in Early Victorian England', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2nd ser., xliv (1991); and several of the articles in Colin G. Pooley and Ian D. Whyte (eds.), *Migrants, Emigrants and Immigrants: A Social History of Migration* (London, 1991); David Feldman, 'Migration', in Martin Daunton (ed.), *Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, iii, *1840–1950* (Cambridge, 2000); Colin Pooley and Jean Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility in Britain since the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1998); Erickson, *Leaving England.*

like that of Charles Manby Smith, a printer who came to France in 1826 on the basis of professional rumour; and like that of James Dacres Devlin, a shoemaker who came to Paris in 1836 so as to learn the French techniques that presumably made French shoes so popular in Britain and who contributed to the newspaper *Paris Sun-Beam*.[26] But, in most cases, workers emigrated to the Continent through company connections. These existed because of the technological superiority — or difference, as several studies have recently suggested — and skills of the British after the wars in most textile sectors, in iron, in engineering and the railways, including their construction.[27] There were also some dockers and craftsmen, as well as numerous domestic workers. Emigrants usually followed employers. The most common pattern was for British businessmen to invest in France and then to try to get some British skilled workers to come and work for them. For instance, Aaron Manby opened the first steamship company on the Seine in 1822 and created a society which took a leading part in installation of gas lighting in Paris. With Daniel Wilson, he created and managed a modern factory from 1822 to 1828 in Charenton, south of Paris, bringing together in one place a foundry, a forge and a mechanical construction workshop. A total of 248 workers came with their families to form a community of about 640 people.[28] Staffordshire ironmaster Richard Harrison complained that fifty of his two hundred workers, 'our best and our most effective men', had been recruited by Manby.[29]

[26] William Duthie, *A Tramp's Wallet: Stored by an English Goldsmith during his Wanderings in Germany and France* (London, 1858). Although no dates are given in the account, these 'wanderings' probably took place in the early 1850s; Charles Manby Smith, *The Working Man's Way in the World: Being the Autobiography of a Journeyman Printer* (London, 1853), 21; James Dacres Devlin, *The Boot and Shoe Trade of France as It Affects the Interests of the British Manufacturer in the Same Business: With Instructions towards the French System of Blocking* (London, 1838). See also [John] Colin, pseud., *The Wanderer Brought Home: The Life and Adventures of Colin. An Autobiography*, ed. Rev. B. Richings (London, 1864). I owe this reference to Emma Griffin.

[27] Henderson, *Britain and Industrial Europe*; on the revision of the model of British superiority, see Robert C. Allen, *The British Industrial Revolution in Global Perspective* (Cambridge, 2009); and Liliane Pérez, 'Technique, économie et politique entre la France et l'Angleterre (XVIIe–XIXe siècles)', and Alessandro Nuvolari, 'The Theory and Practice of Steam Engineering in Britain and France, 1800–1850', both in Bret, Gouzévitch and Pérez (eds.), *Les Techniques et la technologie entre la France et la Grande-Bretagne*.

[28] Belhoste, 'Les Forges de Charenton', 29.

[29] Evidence given by Richard Harrison, 5 Mar. 1824, in *First Report from Select Committee on Artizans and Machinery*, 123.

Although he had to face some setbacks, notably in Le Creusot (Saône-et-Loire), Manby was a successful engineering businessman in France in the 1820s and 1830s, winning several prizes and securing important orders. Manby's 'importation' of British workers was no exception; for example, Salford machine-maker Thomas Marsden admitted that when he contracted in 1838 to set up a joint-stock company with John Maberley making flax machinery in Amiens, he took with him not only 'tools and raw material' but also '100 [workmen] from Manchester and other parts of England', who worked with '30 or 40 French men, principally as subordinate workmen and labourers to assist the Englishmen'.[30] In the Calais area, 270 British set up 230 different tulle and lace businesses between 1815 and 1865.[31] The delegate of the tulle manufacturers of Douai (Pas-de-Calais) explained that when the industry began in France they 'had to bring over some British workers, and were at their mercy'.[32] In the 1840s, steam-driven factories were set up for lace-making, more skilled workers were needed, and employers logically recruited them in Nottinghamshire.

When French manufacturers bought British machinery or were aware of the British lead in their sector, they also tried to get British workers to work for them, usually relying on a British recruiter as an intermediary. In 1836, Benoist, one of the managers of the Société des Fonderies et Forges d'Alais (Gard), successfully asked his friend Aaron Manby's son Charles to send him 'a few English foremen, like a good puddler, a good caster to drive the furnaces, and an engineer to oversee the different machines'.[33] In the Société linière du Finistère, a materials foreman, James Ogilvie from Aberdeen, who had been hired to supervise the purchases of linen, came in 1846 with two carders who were supposed to train the Breton workers. Then, at the request of the management of the plant, he organized an immigration ring: he relied on his networks in Scotland and went there several times to

[30] *Select Committee Appointed to Inquire into the Operation of the Existing Laws Affecting the Exportation of Machinery*, P.P., 1841 (201), qq. 1149–52, at p. 85.

[31] Noël, 'Outsiders'.

[32] Evidence given by Abiet, a delegate of the Douai tulle-makers, 4 Nov. 1834, in *Enquête relative à diverses prohibitions établies à l'entrée des produits étrangers commencée le 8 octobre 1834, sous la présidence de M. T. Duchâtel, ministre du commerce*, iii (Paris, 1835), 342.

[33] Letter from Benoist to Manby, 22 Mar. 1836, in Robert R. Locke, 'Drouillard, Benoist et Cie (1836–1856)', *Revue d'histoire de la sidérurgie*, viii (1967), 284.

get female workers to come to Landerneau — in 1851, he was even denounced by competing textile businessmen in Northern France for enticing workers away and had to convince the French police that the workers went with him willingly.[34] It seems that some agents had openly specialized in this line of work, like a certain Woods in Paris.[35]

Such recruitment could be in the form of family unions, as in the case of the Fourchambault (Nièvre) ironworks, whose manager Georges Dufaud went to Wales to buy iron in 1817. He met Richard and William Crawshay, who invited him to visit the Glamorgan factories, where Dufaud was able to observe their technical expertise. He then invited William Crawshay's son, George, back to Nièvre. Crawshay discovered that Dufaud's business also undertook refining and iron rolling, manufacturing items that were very similar to those produced in South Wales. George Crawshay's marriage to one of the Dufaud daughters helped to end the initial distrust, and the two families developed strong links over two generations, including further marriages and visits. All in all, it seems that about fifty British came from South Wales, including the famous puddlers.[36] The owner indicated in 1828 why this happened:

> The French workers have less experience and dexterity and because of the greater consumption of fuel and greater waste of cast iron we make a loss in spite of paying them less. Workers who have been trained since they were children have acquired a skill from which they can profit . . . When the children of French workers acquire the strength to do this work they will be just as good workers as the English. But those we have employed in this work were 22 to 25 years old when we hired them.[37]

As Chris Evans and Göran Rydén have noted, 'the period between the Napoleonic wars and the revolutions of 1848 was the golden age of the British puddler abroad'.[38] And there were also some British iron-workers in Decazeville (Aveyron), in Le

[34] Blavier, *La Société linière du Finistère*, 89.

[35] André Brandt, 'Travailleurs anglais dans le Haut-Rhin dans la première moitié du XIXe siècle', *Actes du 92e congrès national des sociétés savantes, Strasbourg, Colmar, 1967*, ii, *Le Commerce et l'industrie* (Paris, 1970), 300.

[36] On the links between the Dufauds and the Crawshays and the emigration of British workers to Fourchambault, see Laurant, *Des fers de Loire à l'acier Martin*, i, *Maîtres de forges en Berry et Nivernais*; on the puddlers, see Fremdling, 'Puddler'.

[37] Journal de Dufaud, cited in Thuillier, *Les Ouvriers des forges nivernaises*, 276.

[38] Chris Evans and Göran Rydén, 'The Industrial Revolution in Iron: An Introduction', in Chris Evans and Göran Rydén (eds.), *The Industrial Revolution in Iron: The Impact of British Coal Technology in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Aldershot, 2005), 12.

Creusot (Saône-et-Loire), in Boutancourt (Ardennes) and in Alès (Gard), together with some engineers in and around Marseille.[39]

British workers were not only in demand in the tulle and lace industries but also in textiles. The mechanization of the cotton industry largely relied on British technology, especially in pioneering Alsace. In Mulhouse, in order to introduce mechanized spinning and weaving in the 1820s, cotton-masters secured a partnership with Sharp and Roberts in Manchester for the provision of machinery, models, foremen and skilled workers. Bock, Thierry and Koechlin 'were still at the mercy of the highly paid English, who wanted to continue to prevail, did not train pupils and carefully concealed their manufacturing secrets'.[40] In linen, British superiority was even more obvious. Some male mechanics and some female spinners came to work in French factories in the 1830s and 1840s in Normandy, Brittany, Northern France and Alsace. Many came from Belfast, and Dundee, which was then the main British linen-manufacturing centre and where there were large numbers of skilled workers.[41]

Lastly, from the early 1840s, emigration of British railway-workers was organized by contractors William Mackenzie and Thomas Brassey to undertake the construction of several railway lines, including one of the first, the Paris–Rouen–Le Havre. This line was a great technical achievement, with many bridges and long viaducts and tunnels, such as the Barentin viaduct — a major feat in its day (see Plate 1). Part of the funding (from Edward

[39] Hardach, 'Les Problèmes de main-d'œuvre à Decazeville'; René Robinet, 'Les Premiers Fours à puddler dans les Ardennes: techniciens anglais et lorrains aux forges de J. N. Gendarme', *Actes du 89e congrès national des sociétés savantes, Lyon, 1964* (Paris, 1965); Robert R. Locke, *Les Fonderies et forges d'Alais à l'époque des premiers chemins de fer: la création d'une entreprise moderne* (Paris, 1978); Olivier Raveux, 'Les Ingénieurs anglais de la Provence maritime sous la monarchie de Juillet', *Provence historique*, clxxvii (1994); Olivier Raveux, 'Un technicien britannique en Europe méridionale: Philip Taylor (1786–1870)', *Histoire, économie et société*, xix (2000).

[40] Auguste Lalance, 'Notice nécrologique de M. Henri Thierry-Koechlin (1813–1893)', *Bulletin de la société industrielle de Mulhouse* (Mar. 1894), 103.

[41] Blavier, *La Société linière du Finistère*, 91; Louise Miskell and Christopher A. Whatley, ' "Juteopolis" in the Making: Linen and the Industrial Transformation of Dundee, *c.*1820–1850', *Textile Hist.*, xxx (1999). A prosopographic study in both France and Scotland — for example of the Dundee linen workers who emigrated to the Continent — might help trace migration patterns in this particular field. The same could be done — and has been done in part — on the South Wales puddlers: see Fremdling, 'Puddler'; Archives départementales (hereafter AD), Seine-Maritime, Rouen, 10 M 324 (table dated 6 Mar. 1848).

Blount) and most of the contracting and engineering (by Joseph Locke) came from Britain.[42] The locomotives and carriages were built in British workshops near Rouen, and most of the stations were designed by architect William Tite (see Plate 2). The train drivers were initially all British, and even coal for the locomotives was imported. And for the track construction Mackenzie and Brassey also obtained between two thousand and five thousand British workers, most of whom were itinerant navvies who moved along the line as it was built, or sometimes from one line to another.[43]

Wages, Women and Children

The living and working conditions of the migrants varied considerably. In most cases, as in puddling, their wages were higher than those of French workers.[44] As he was also more productive, the British navvy earned twice as much as his French counterpart, the *terrassier*. Emigrating to the Continent, usually on a temporary basis, could thus represent a way of selling a skill at a better rate. However, as their comparative advantage in skill diminished, emigrants became vulnerable, since they could then be replaced by cheaper workers, either local or from another country. British linen-workers in Haubourdin (Nord) threatened with dismissal wrote:

> the Company have taken occation as opertunity [*sic*] served them, either when a French girl was thought to be sufficiently taught, or Fleamish girl could be had cheaper, to reduce [the] wages [of the Scottish workers] from 12 francs to 10 per week and even to turn many of them away altogether.[45]

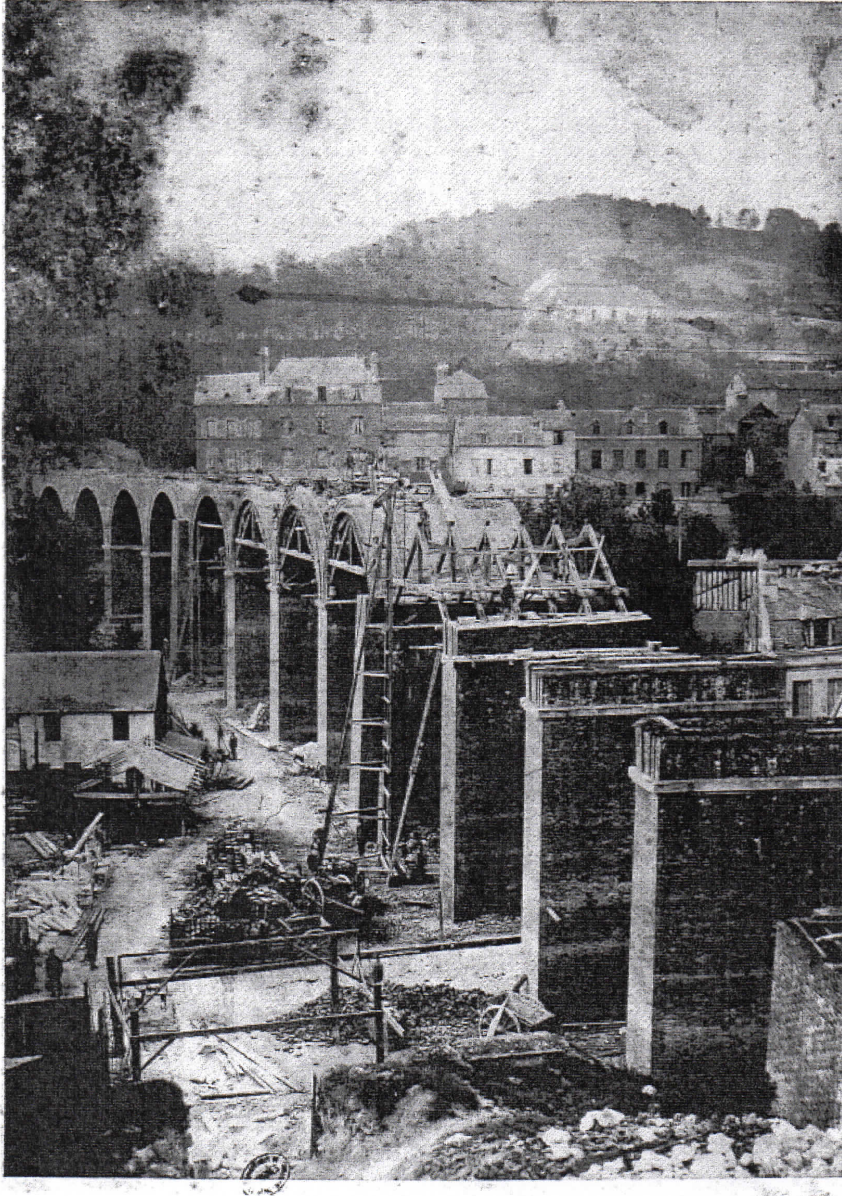
These workers soon had to leave. This also highlights inequalities among migrants along gender lines. Most migrants were young men, but some came with their families, and there were also working women, especially spinners, in the 1830 and 1840s. Women could in consequence form the majority of a community, though,

[42] Brooke, *William Mackenzie*; *Diary of William Mackenzie*, ed. Brooke.

[43] See J. A. Durbec, 'Contribution à l'histoire du chemin de fer de Paris à la mer', in *Actes du 81e congrès national des sociétés savantes, Rouen-Caen, 1956* (Paris, 1956); Virginie Maréchal, 'La Construction des lignes de chemin de fer de Paris à Rouen et de Rouen au Havre (1839–1847)', *Revue d'histoire des chemins de fer*, xiv (1996); Hélène Bocard, *De Paris à la mer: la ligne de chemin de fer Paris–Rouen–Le Havre. Île-de-France et Haute Normandie* (Paris, 2005); and esp. Brooke, *Railway Navvy*; Brooke, *William Mackenzie*.

[44] Fremdling, 'Puddler', 550.

[45] Haubourdin, letter to ambassador Lord Normanby, 21 Mar. 1848: PRO, FO 146/350.



1. 'The Building of the Barentin Viaduct', a daguerreotype (1845).
Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime.

as in the case of the linen-spinners, a few British male mechanics or overseers normally came with them. The wage advantage that applied to puddlers, engineers and mechanics did not apply so much to women workers, as the example of Haubourdin illustrates. Since their skills were more rudimentary than those of the male artisans, they could also be replaced more easily, and were therefore more vulnerable. Lastly, they have left behind few written documents, and the few sources which survive relating to them were usually produced by men, as the letter quoted above shows.

Children also represent a research problem in the history of these communities. They often accounted for 30 to 40 per cent of their inhabitants. There are few instances of their being employed but sources are scarce on this. Schools were set up in several cases, although under the Restoration (1814–30) authorization was required, and authorities were distrustful of British schoolmasters, who were assumed to be Protestant and liberal. For example, in Calais, the title 'gradué [graduate] de l'université de Dublin' of Revd Palmer was not acknowledged as valid and a Mr Lloyds (*sic*) was also turned down, on account of his poor language skills.[46] The July Monarchy was more liberal. In 1844, two 'English national schools' had been created in Rouen and were under the control of the Church of England, while better-off Englishmen preferred to send their children to a boarding school.[47]

II

RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE FRENCH

The integration of the British worker was difficult at first because of the language barrier. A mechanic writing on behalf of linen-workers threatened with being laid off wrote that 'from our total incapacity to speak or understand the language we are altogether at their mercy'.[48] Interpreters were rare and were mostly employed by the managers or the engineers. And we can be dubious about the claims made by some historians that a

[46] Vion, 'Aspects de la vie calaisienne', 520.

[47] *Norman Times*, 13 Jan. 1844, 1; 27 Jan. 1844, 4 ('Advertisements'); 16 Mar. 1844, 4; 20 Apr. 1844.

[48] Letter from Peter Strathern to Lord Normanby, 27 Mar. 1848: PRO, FO 146/350.

2. Malaunay railway station, designed by William Tite, 1843.
Photograph by the author.

new language was devised.[49] However, communication between workers of different nationalities was a necessary fact of daily life. There is some limited evidence of a language of labour gestures, of the acquisition of some French by British workers and of the creation of a kind of 'pidgin English'.[50]

The British brought their own culture with them and adapted it to the local context. The French authorities kept a suspicious eye on the importation of British practices into France, especially under the Restoration. By 1823, the mayor of Calais — possibly under pressure from French bakers — objected to the setting up of an Englishman as 'a baker in the English way, or as a trader of

[49] Terry Coleman, *The Railway Navvies: A History of the Men who Made the Railways* (London, 1965), 203. Virginie Maréchal, 'La Construction des lignes de chemin de fer de Paris à Rouen et de Rouen au Havre (1839–1847)', 2 vols. (Univ. of Paris I, MA dissertation, 1994), i, 102; Bocard, *De Paris à la mer*, 16; and Julian Barnes, 'Junction', in his *Cross Channel* (London, 1996), are reiterating this idea, whose source seems to have been an article in the *Journal de Rouen*, 22 May 1841, relayed in the *Times*, 27 May 1841, 5. See also Brooke, *William Mackenzie*, 128.

[50] Arthur Helps, *Life and Labours of Mr Brassey* (London, 1872), 62–3.

bread in the town for English families who are accustomed to English bread and prefer this to bread made according to French methods'.[51] From the 1830s onwards, however, the regime was more liberal and the British had their own chapels, clergymen and missionaries. They also had their own social occasions and games. Although the first ever French regatta took place in Calais in 1836, starting a tradition that spread to other French harbours, the introduction of most standardized sports into France from Britain began later — football and rugby in the 1870s and badminton in the 1890s. Calais tulle-makers were keen on gambling, boxing, and also cockfighting, which allegedly raised the price of poultry on the local market.[52] In Normandy, migrants also played trade games, where pride in physical skills could be jointly displayed with professional ones, for example through brick-making or picking up stones as fast as possible.[53] Cricket matches also took place, as in Normandy, between British teams of workers living in various French towns.[54] A correspondent of the *Norman Times* could rejoice that

> it is a peculiar feature in the character of an Englishman, that wherever he takes up his residence, he is sure to indulge himself in those exhiliating [*sic*] sports that he has been accustomed to in his native land; and, as those sports are calculated to improve health, to give vigour to the frame, and steadiness to the hand and eye, no one can be so churlish as to deny them the enjoyments. Crickets, steeple-chasing, and shooting matches are generally the order of the day where John Bull thinks proper to locate himself.[55]

British festivities sometimes worried the French authorities, for example when 150 gathered in a pub over which they raised the Union Jack.[56] 'Sick men's clubs' and newspapers were more easily tolerated. *Galignani's Messenger* — a daily issued between 1814 and 1890 — was the longest-running of the English newspapers in France, and its readership consisted predominantly of middle-class British residents in Paris and elsewhere. But there

[51] Archives municipales, Calais, série D no. 246, p. 37, quoted in Michel Caron, *Du tulle à la dentelle: naissance d'une industrie (1815–1860)* (La Sentinelle, 1997), 40.
[52] Vion, 'Aspects de la vie calaisienne', 531.
[53] 'Curious Athletic Feat at Malaunay', *Norman Times*, 2 Mar. 1844; 'Brick-Making', *Norman Times*, 18 May 1844.
[54] *Railway Advocate and Continental Express*, 27 July 1844, 1; 10 Aug. 1844, 1.
[55] *Norman Times*, 18 May 1844.
[56] See interesting correspondence on one particular meeting: AD Eure, Évreux, 1M 243, 'Surveillance de l'ordre et de l'esprit public sous la monarchie de Juillet' (1842).

were several other more ephemeral newspapers like the *London and Paris Courier* (1836) and the *Paris Sun* (1836–7), the *Norman Times* (1844) and the *Railway Advocate and Continental Express* (1844), both in Rouen, and even an early free weekly containing advertisements, the *Calais Messenger* (from 1827).[57] Some French newspapers, like the *Journal de Calais*, also published articles and advertisements in English.

As for relations with the local communities, we need to set aside some traditional stereotypes which originated with the actors themselves. Questioned by the 1824 Select Committee about his two-year employment as a carder for Schlumberger in Alsace, Adam Young gave blunt answers about the French. Although they got up at 4 a.m. and worked until 10 p.m., he said, not even eight of them could do the work of a single English worker:

> Are all the [French] workmen of that kind? — Yes; they are all of a lazy turn.
>
> . . . How did you like your residence there? — I did not like it at all.
>
> . . . What was the obstacle to your quitting when you liked? I quitted because I did not like the French.
>
> What was the reason you could not get away? — They would not sign my passport.
>
> Did you want to return? — Yes; the day I got there I wanted to return; I did not like the diet, nor the people, nor any thing they had; the Frenchmen seem so fond of an Englishman when they get him among them, I did not like it.
>
> . . . You were kept in the country contrary to your wishes? — Yes; I could not go out of the town without the permission of the gens d'armes.[58]

It was likely that Adam Young, who infringed the British prohibition on work on the Continent, overstated his case so as to convince the committee that he had stayed against his will. But when they were not itinerant and temporary, British workers usually managed to forge links and integrate into local communities. For example, the involvement of the navvies in the rescue operations following a devastating storm near Rouen in 1845 was widely praised in the local press. And many young British workers, both male and female, married local people, often their workmates, although to do so they usually had to convert to Catholicism.

[57] Little is known about either the *Norman Times* or the *Railway Advocate and Continental Express*, apart from their being published by individuals connected with the British railway contractors.

[58] *First Report from Select Committee on Artizans and Machinery*, 580–1.

But British workers in general and navvies in particular were also the object of various stereotypical views — the main ones being that they were hard-working, meat-eating drunkards. Even so, the French press was often positive about the navvies, 'the cleverest and the most hard-working' of their trade.[59] This cliché fed on the stereotypical view Englishmen had of themselves. So, engineer Locke remembered: 'Often have I heard the exclamation of French loungers around a group of navvies — "Mon Dieu, ces Anglais, comme ils travaillent"'.[60] These characterizations of the Victorian navvy related to some supposedly defining elements of Britishness in the mid nineteenth century: an Englishman works hard, unlike a Frenchman who is keen on protesting. Links between diets (beef, ale and 'plum-pudding'), physical strength, and work were often made. Why was the British worker more productive? Rather than seeking technical or skill explanations, commentators (both French and British) argued that meat-eating was the key:

> The experiment has been done a hundred times. In the Charenton ironworks . . . [the French workers] have done the same amount of work as the English from the moment that, like them, they ate beef and mutton, washed down with copious libations of wine or beer . . . Hence, once again, the need to promote meat-eating by all possible means among all the working classes in France.[61]

Thomas Brassey Jr, remembering his father's enterprise in France, also commented on the British navvies: 'the French held up their hands in amazement at Herculean labours which they were incapable of imitating. The meagre diet of the French labourers rendered them physically incapable of vying with the Englishmen'.[62] And no one mentioned a single English worker's meal without a reference to meat-eating.[63] So the English worker

[59] *Le Journal du Havre*, 3 Apr. 1841.

[60] Quoted in N. W. Webster, *Joseph Locke: Railway Revolutionary* (London, 1970), 118. Thomas Brassey's timekeeper also noted this: Helps, *Life and Labours of Mr Brassey*, 72.

[61] *Journal des débats*, in A. Égron, *Le Livre de l'ouvrier, ses devoirs envers la société, la famille et lui-même* (Paris, 1844), 94. This and all subsequent translations are my own.

[62] Thomas Brassey Jr, *Lectures on the Labour Question*, 3rd edn (London, 1878), 230.

[63] 'ENGLISHMEN ABROAD — About 250 Englishmen, foremen and workmen, employed on the Paris and Rouen Railroad, dined together at Vernon, on the 26th ult., off the true English fare of roast goose and plum-pudding. Mr E. Eyre was chairman on the occasion . . . Mr Brassey was present . . . Usual toasts were drunk to the Queen of England, King of the French, etc. Messrs Mackenzie's and Brassey's healths were then proposed': *Galignani's Messenger*, quoted in *Times*, 9 Jan. 1843, 6.

ate a lot; but he also drank. The British taste for alcohol was another commonplace. A member of the 1824 Select Committee wrote: 'the Englishmen abroad, though able workmen, are in general persons of extremely bad character, continually drunk, constantly quarrelling and occasioning most serious complaints'. In Charenton, he added:

> They drink nothing but the most expensive wines, Burgundy and Champagne, and never leave the cabarets till the whole of their wages are exhausted. Two men employed from Chaillot, in setting up a steam-engine, drank eighteen bottles of wine in three hours, and a man and a boy drank 273 in a fortnight.[64]

The manager at Fourchambault objected to the recruitment of an English roller: 'a man we would not know [and who] might be a drunkard whom we would find it difficult to control; this defect will not be mentioned to you: it is practically a virtue in Staffordshire'.[65] Similar evidence was collected in Mulhouse, Alsace, where an amusing anecdote was remembered about the early days of the Koechlin works, in the 1820s:

> there was a particularly zealous technical foreman, who soon stood up to the English and overcame their exclusive influence . . . The English moulders had stated that they needed beer to dampen the sand, water not being suitable; so every day, a large cask of it was brought into the workshop. Very early one morning, M. Risler hid in an attic, where he had made a hole so as to see without being seen. He easily worked out what was happening to this beer. From then on, it was no longer brought in.[66]

It was also commonly admitted that the navvies were drunkards and, in an illustration of the final banquet for the opening of the Paris–Rouen line, the only person drinking is the English spit-roaster (see Plate 3, left). In the discussion following the 1844 Queen's Speech, Lord Brougham raised the issue in parliament.[67] There was some indignation at his allegations, but they

[64] [Ross], '1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, and 6th Reports, from the Select Committee on Artizans and Machinery', 417. The same argument was repeated by Edwin Rose, in *Factory Commission Report*, Part I., D.I, p. 123, as quoted by Andrew Ure, *The Philosophy of Manufactures: or, An Exposition of the Scientific, Moral, and Commercial Economy of the Factory System of Great Britain* (London, 1835), 315–16.

[65] Letter from Dufaud to Boigues, 20 June 1820: AD Nièvre, Nevers, 22 F, quoted in Thuillier, *Les Ouvriers des forges nivernaises*, 35. See also 'Mémoire sur la topographie et l'hygiène publique de la ville de Calais', fos. 136–7, cited in Vion, 'Aspects de la vie calaisienne', 520.

[66] Lalance, 'Notice nécrologique de M. Henri Thierry-Koechlin', 103.

[67] 'Did you find the English sober? was his next question. Not at all, was the answer. He said he was sorry for that, but had heard of such a complaint before. Well, he asked, surely you got on better with the Irish? Oh, said they, they are a great deal worse; always quarrelling and fighting with each other, and drinking as well as fighting; excellent and

(cont. on p. 166)

reflected a view widely shared among the English elite.[68] In the 1846 Select Committee on Railway Labourers, a similar question arose: 'Does [the French labourer] drink?' 'No', was the answer of William Reed, the secretary of the Rouen and Paris railway, who often complained about the drunkenness of British navvies.[69]

Most statistics indicate that these interconnected observations on British intemperance and French sobriety were not well founded: the British did not drink more, and they proportionately had fewer pubs than the French.[70] But British drunkenness was an old French stereotype.[71] It is probably to the uprooting of the migrants, men in particular, from their family environment that we should turn for some explanation for such widespread prejudice. Indeed, British workers were not accused of 'alcoholism' — the disease related to addiction — but of 'drunkenness', whose circumstances are chosen by the drinker. In Britain, this stereotype also clung to the navvies. And in France, immigrants in general, be they Belgian, Italian or whatever, were often characterized both as hard-working and as drunkards. In England, Irishmen were also characterized as drunkards.[72] This supposed drunkenness of the workers was a central element of the discourse

(n. 67 cont.)
good-natured people when they did not fight, but so fond of it that they seemed to beat one another for the mere love of the exercise. He happened to mention this to a gentleman speaking English [from Philadelphia], whom he met saying it was a very painful thing that they could never hear of an Irishman who was not a fighter, or of an Englishman who was not a drinker': *Hansard*, 3rd ser., lxxii, col. 29 (1 Feb. 1844).

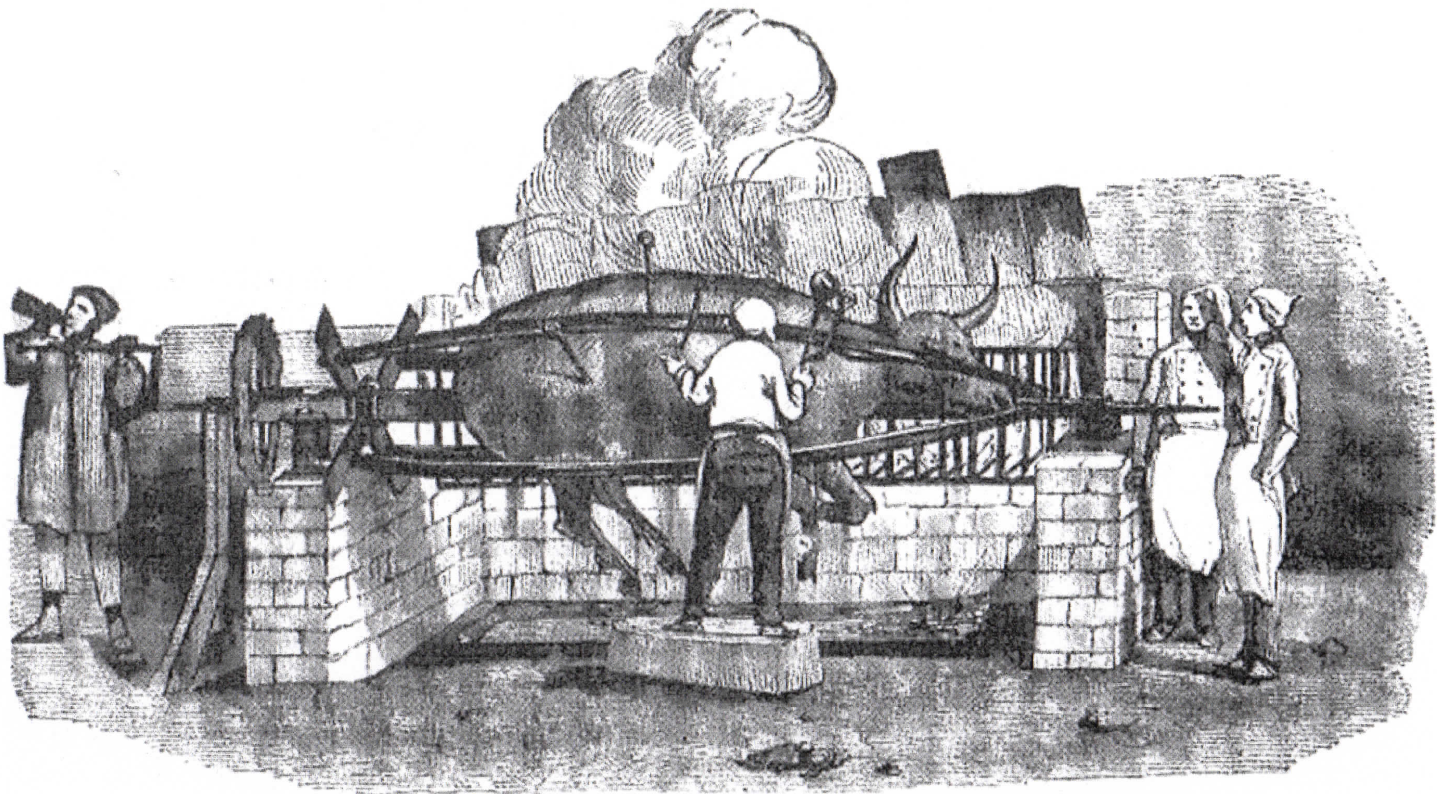
[68] See 'Lord Brougham and the Calumniated English and Irish Labourers in France', *Norman Times*, 17 Feb. 1844, 1.

[69] *Select Committee on Railway Labourers*, P.P., 1846 (530), q. 374, at p. 22.

[70] In Britain, consumption of alcohol rose in the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century. In the 1890s, Charles Booth considered that a quarter of the workers' incomes was spent on drink. In 1859, annual consumption per head in the UK was 107 litres of beer and 3.7 litres of spirits: Brian Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians: The Temperance Question in England, 1815–1872* (London, 1971). In France, at the same time, annual consumption per head was 107 litres of wine, 19 of beer, 28 of cider and 24 of spirits: Didier Nourrisson, *Le Buveur du 19e siècle* (Paris, 1990), 321. In 1861, England and Wales, where the public house played an important part in social and cultural life, had one pub for every 186 inhabitants; Scotland had one for every 255. France, whose population was more scattered than that of England, had one for every 122.

[71] See Tombs and Tombs, *That Sweet Enemy*, 100.

[72] L. Perry Curtis Jr, *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature* (1971; Washington, DC, 1997); Sheridan Gilley, 'English Attitudes to the Irish in England, 1789–1900', in Colin Holmes (ed.), *Immigrants and Minorities in British Society* (London, 1978).



3. 'Beef-Roasting in Maisons', *L'Illustration*, 6 May 1843, 154. Private collection of the author.

of the elite and of the temperance leagues about working classes. Like tuberculosis and venereal disease, drunkenness was thought to be a disease of the common people — a way of associating workers in general with evils which had not been proved to be more prevalent among them than among the elite.[73] According to this convenient way of thinking, English workers ate well, hence their productivity; but they drank too much, hence their poverty and their immorality.

As for reasons for the higher productivity of the British navvies, some credit can be given to the importance of their having eaten beef, a practice itself linked to better standards of living and to higher wages. But this difference also related to how workers used their bodies. Early British industrialization — the advanced division of labour, the use of the most suitable tools, and the individual and collective discipline this required — trained a workforce in ways which had no equivalent in France; in the French countryside many textile or construction workers were employed only part-time, and continued to spend part of the year on farming chores. But the consequences of economic and industrial development on how the body was used were often concealed from contemporaries by popular theories about national character.

III

LABOUR LAW AND LABOUR DISPUTES

The occupation of several thousand British workers in a country with different work traditions, wages, labour legislation and working-class organization led to various confrontations in terms of safety at work, trade unions and political organizations. The questions of safety at work and of different judicial practices were soon drawn to the attention of Mackenzie and Brassey. Cases of permanent invalidity were debated by the 1846 Select Committee on Railway Labourers. The activities of navvies and miners, in particular the digging of tunnels, were intrinsically

[73] David S. Barnes, *The Making of a Social Disease: Tuberculosis in Nineteenth-Century France* (Berkeley, 1995); Alain Corbin, 'Douleurs, souffrances et misères du corps', in Alain Corbin (ed.), *Histoire du Corps*, ii, *De la Révolution à la Grande Guerre* (Paris, 2005), 252.

unsafe.[74] Relief for widows and invalids was limited to what was contributed by the goodwill of the employers, who paid minimal contributions to the hospitals. For the Paris–Le Havre line, death tolls were not any lower than the usual British level.[75] The village of Pissy-Pôville (Seine-Maritime) alone witnessed ten deaths of British male adults when a long tunnel was dug nearby (1844–6). In France in the 1840s, although many workers failed to claim full damages for injuries they had received, and although work accidents became the legal responsibility of employers only in 1898, maimed workers often received far more compensation in French courts than contractors were used to granting in Britain.[76] This outraged Mackenzie and Brassey, and the matter became the subject of public debate during the hearings of the 1846 committee. The secretary of the Paris–Rouen line complained that the widow of a French worker killed in the building had obtained £200. As for a 'stupid Irishman' who had lost both eyes and both arms in an explosion, his behaviour displayed 'not merely carelessness, but ignorance' and was 'a positive act of folly'; while the company regretted having had to grant him £200 rather than risk a costly trial.[77] Isambard Kingdom Brunel also insisted on the worker's sole liability,[78] but the utilitarian Edwin Chadwick argued for the liability of the employer: the number of accidents would diminish if employers bore the legal costs. The committee recommended that the provisions of the French *code civil* should be embodied in English law, but its report was not even debated in parliament, and not until legislation in 1880 and 1897 were workers empowered to claim money in the case of an accident. As for the British navvies and miners in Normandy, it seems that most of them only belatedly understood that French legislation did not apply only to Frenchmen.[79]

[74] Brooke, *Railway Navvy*, 146. The construction of four British lines caused forty deaths and seventy-six serious injuries in 1840 alone: hearing of Edwin Chadwick, 16 June 1846, in *Select Committee on Railway Labourers*, 148.

[75] In April and May 1844 alone, three deaths and several serious injuries can be identified: *Norman Times*, 27 Apr. 1844; 18 May 1844; Archives municipales, Malaunay, régistres d'état-civil.

[76] Corbin, 'Douleurs, souffrances et misères du corps', 257; Caroline Moriceau, *Les Douleurs de l'industrie: l'hygiénisme industriel en France, 1860–1914* (Paris, 2009).

[77] Evidence given by William Reed, 19 May 1846, in *Select Committee on Railway Labourers*, 21.

[78] *Ibid.*, 16 June 1846, 140.

[79] Brooke, *Railway Navvy*, 126.