

MOVING-ON FROM A RURAL PARISH:
A Multidisciplinary Longitudinal Study of Population
Trends and Migration in an area of the English-Welsh
Borderland

David Maund, BA; M.Phil. (Leicester)
Department of Applied Sciences, Geography and Archaeology
University of Worcester.

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ABSTRACT

This study is about migration and aims to analyse the complexities which underlie the movement of people in time and space. There are three major interdependent elements essential to such a study – data, a context and longitudinal time scale. The study commences with a discussion of various approaches which have been taken by scholars to the study of migration, drawing particular attention to the behavioural or decision making perspective. This is followed by an assessment of relevant data sources, including census enumerators' books, parish registers and oral accounts. This piece of research has been structured to use these sources for an analysis of a study area in the middle English /Welsh Borderland, concentrating on the neighbourhood of the parish of Little Hereford. The salient geographical characteristics of the area and family structure are highlighted in Chapter 4, before an examination is made of its culture, ways of life and changing demographic profile in Chapters 5 and 6. The remainder of the study homes in on the details of migration, first looking at the pattern of movement in the decade 1871 to 1881 and then charting the movements of three core families (Bennett, Rowbury and Maund), with a particular focus on the last of these. It is these three families which give the longitudinal dimension to the study. An assessment of the role of place in migration decisions is attempted but even at this micro scale of analysis it proves difficult to get really close to the decisions made over a long time period.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Migration, or the movement of people from one residential location to another has, over time, not only increased in volume and diversity but has also involved steadily lengthening distances. With industrialisation and urbanisation, and the emergence of a world economy and globalisation, migration has exploded at all geographical scales. These trends form the overarching background to this study which involves the migration of individuals and families through time and reflects changes in economy and society in Britain both regionally and locally.

Essentially this study is concerned with migration through time and space involving one small rural area with its own cultural distinctiveness and a time dimension of more than a century and a half. Its broad aim is to determine the nature and form of individual and family migration since the 1870s and to gain an understanding of the processes involved from the viewpoint of the migrants, and, in particular, the role of culture and place. By focussing on one small rural area, the neighbourhood of Little Hereford, a parish in the heart of the Welsh Borderland, and the utilisation census data from the Census Enumerators Books to develop a residence history analysis supplemented by family histories it is hoped that this research will contribute to our understanding of migration through time as well as the way that individuals and families responded to a changing economy and society.

Until recent decades much of the geographical research on migration was based on deriving patterns largely from census based data (Lewis 1982; Boyle et al 1998). The use of such data enable detailed examination of general trends but is much less suitable for investigating detailed causal processes. This study seeks to contribute to a growing body of research which has focussed on process, albeit largely contemporary, and does so by adopting a time-space perspective. By deriving suitable data from family histories, which in this instance are available in detail from 1841 and in lesser detail from as far back as 1540 for one family, a longitudinal approach can be developed whereby the migrations may be seen in operation over a long time scale.

The explanation of large scale migration patterns and trends has, frequently, relied upon their association with equally large scale socio-economic changes. Thus, the 19th century depopulation of the countryside has been ascribed to technical advances and consequent restructuring of economic activity producing increased concentration in urban areas. Such large scale changes cannot easily explain individual cases and it is in this context that the focus of this study rests. It seeks explanation, certainly in the context of national changes but, particularly through individual decisions and the influences which play upon those decisions. Part of this influence is, according to Pooley and Turnbull (1998 p97), local culture because “Attachment to Place is likely to be an important part of cultural identity.”

Essentially then this research has two broad aims:

1. to identify the paths and character of individual family migrations based upon the neighbourhood of Little Hereford since the 19th century, and,
2. to elucidate the nature and significance of local culture and place in the decision-making of migratory families at different stages of their lives.

To effect these aims the research was divided into four principal parts each of which has its own specific objective.

(a) Research by local historians has identified long term residents, usually in families, which are associated with particular territories (Hey 1976; Metson 1993). These have been termed ‘core families’ and it has been argued that the territory they occupy can be viewed as a distinctive rural neighbourhood. Such a neighbourhood in turn is embedded within a cultural region which families identify with and in turn develop their own values and attitudes. According to Mabogunje (1972) such cultural identities can help families to remain within the rural neighbourhood for a long time, hence the concept of core families, as well as attracting family members to return later in their life cycle. On the other hand, in certain contexts these identities can be overridden by the social and economic attractions of other places, particularly cities. So, in order to begin to identify the role of culture and place in the migratory decisions of families over time it is necessary first

to identify the nature of the rural neighbourhood in question and in particular the changing characteristics of its culture over the period of the study.

(b) Over the past two centuries Little Hereford and its region, the Welsh Borderland, will have experienced considerable restructuring of its population. It is well documented that the 19th century witnessed great changes in the socio-economic structure of England and Wales which was clearly evident in the countryside. The resultant population change involved national, regional and local changes including differential trends between town and country (Redford 1925; Saville 1957). It was towards the end of the 19th century that the core families exemplified in this study began to move away from their rural neighbourhood. The relative depopulation of the countryside in which the core families were to be found raises the question as to what this meant for the behaviour of the families living there. This can be examined, at least for a short period, using the data from the Census Enumerators' Books (CEBs) for each of the parishes in the rural neighbourhood in question between 1871 and 1881, the point of absolute population decline in many parts of the countryside. In order to gain an insight into the nature of this population change and the migratory flows involved it will be necessary

to determine the population trends from the early 19th century onwards as well as the detailed migration flows at the end of the 19th century.

(c) Inevitably since the mid 19th century, at the family scale, individuals will have been directly or indirectly influenced by the wider social and economic changes experienced by the countryside. From family history records it is possible to witness how complete nuclear families and individual members have reacted to socio-economic change and have quite often pursued different migratory paths. Core families are particularly interesting since generally members maintain strong ties with their rural neighbourhood. So, in the context of wider migratory movements, the third objective will be

to identify the migratory paths of core families since the early 19th century and their changing attachment to their rural neighbourhood.

(d) The residential sifting and sorting of individual families over time will involve a number of causal factors. To determine the residential decision making process and

the influences involved in deciding whether to move or not is, of course, extremely difficult because of the complexity of unravelling individual and family responses (Seavers 1999). In this study it is even more difficult because of a dearth of suitable historical documentary sources. However, in this research, such difficulty has partly been overcome by the construction, for one family, of detailed and specific information using oral histories and other documentary sources overtime of family members in the form of a family biography. By using these data it will be possible to explore:

the extent to which culture and place influenced the residential decision making of individual family members over time.

The general structure of this thesis follows the normal convention. Chapter 2 provides an overview of the literature which has a direct bearing upon the investigation. Because the focus is upon migration process and its particular relationship to place by no means all of this literature is geographical. The methods and sources and in particular the use of family and oral histories is explained in Chapter 3. Here the necessity of employing a range of methodological approaches is argued.

The local historian's view of neighbourhood area or locality is complemented by the idea of a cultural region within which the neighbourhood is embedded. Therefore, in Chapter 4, the idea of neighbourhood is explored in relation to Little Hereford and a territory identified and delimited as a unit from which family migratory behaviour may be examined. In Chapter 5 the identification and description of a broader cultural region within which interrelated but distinctive ways of life may be found is attempted. Thus, at least notionally, a mosaic of localities embedded within a region can be envisaged.

Chapter 6 provides a detailed analysis of population change at differing scales, national, regional and local showing the changing relationship between countryside and town since the early 19th century. This provides a context for the movement of individual family members which is analysed in the succeeding three chapters. The first, Chapter 7, provides a detailed analysis of family migration between 1871 and

1881 in Little Hereford and its neighbourhood at a time when depopulation of the countryside was at its zenith. Chapter 8 traces the migrations of members of three core families from their entry to the neighbourhood onwards and highlights the different paths adopted. Using one family as a case study, Chapter 9, investigates the decision making of its members by means of interviews, a diary and writings of the individuals involved. The researcher is also a member of this family, though some half a generation younger and, therefore, able to offer reflection and different experiences (Rose 1997).

The distinctiveness and contribution of this study, within the context of the migration process, comes from its longitudinal time scale of some 400 years made possible by the use of data from family genealogy, a series of detailed individual testimonies from members of a single family and an investigation conducted by a member of that family. It is intended that the outcome of the investigation should be a contribution to the overall understanding of migration. However it cannot be claimed that the movements of one family reveal laws or even generalisations about migration process rather it is intended to give some insights. Such insights, when taken together with others, may result in some more sustainable generalisations. Thus “macro generalities should be founded on individuals, identities, and the micro level, rather than people treated as a mass” (Peet 1998 p151).

Chapter 2

Migration through Time and Space

2.1 Introduction

With the explosion of migration at all geographical scales over the past two centuries it has inevitably become of major concern, thus justifying Goldstein's (1976 p424) observation that, "whereas the study of fertility dominated demographic research in the past several decades, migration may well have become the next important branch of demography in the last quarter of the twentieth century." In order to enhance an understanding of these expanding migratory flows, Zelinsky (1971) has linked them to the process of modernization in such a way that different types of migration could be seen as being characteristic of different stages of development. His model highlights two significant transformations in the redistribution of population since 1850: firstly, during the late nineteenth century the concentration of population, or urbanisation, consequent upon the advance of industrialisation, into a limited number of areas, and secondly, during more recent decades, a rather different and what some have regarded as unexpected trend, whereby "a number of major centres of population concentration in the industrial nations began to experience a decline in the in-movement of population from the more remote and peripheral regions of those nations. This decline has continued and in many places has gone as far as to create a net flow of population out of the major conurbations back into the peripheral and predominately (sic) rural regions" (Vining and Kontuly 1978 p49).

Within such migratory trends there has been a corresponding increase in the desire and necessity to identify and explain these movements because, according to Claeson and Egero (1972 p1), "a knowledge of population movement, representing as it does both cause and effect of societal processes, remains of fundamental importance to a complete understanding of social change, economic development and political organisation".

The realisation of the importance of migration in any understanding of human organisation is reflected in the extensive and detailed literature that is available (for an overview see for example, Willis 1974; White and Woods 1980; Lewis 1982; Ogden 1990; Boyle, Halfacree and Robinson 1996; Cohen 1996; Guinness 2002). The

genesis for much of the study of migration lies in Ravenstein's (1885; 1889) seminal studies. Despite these early beginnings Lewis (1982) has claimed that there was a dearth of substantial migration studies until the 1950s; after that date there was a massive growth of interest in the field, possibly reflecting the emergence of several distinctive social science disciplines as well as sub-fields within historical studies.

The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to identify those elements of the literature which reflect the particular needs of this study, its aims and research thinking and, subsequently, the implications for the methodology and data sources. Any review of migration literature will quickly reveal that there are a number of false or inadequate conceptions concerning the nature of migration, and these have led to unsatisfactory definitions of the phenomenon (Boyle and Halfacree 1998). Much of the resultant confusion is due partly to the fact that each discipline has viewed migration from its own particular perspective and partly to the variability of the data sources available for study (Lewis 1982). Put simply, "the essential defining feature is that migration occurs where a permanent change of residence has occurred" (Pryce 2000 p66). According to the national census permanence is defined as residence in a defined area for at least one year (ONS 2001). However, for the purpose of this research a slightly wider perspective has been adopted: "...migration is the changing of the abode permanently, or when temporarily, for an appreciable duration It is used symbolically in the transition from one surrounding to another in the course of human life" (Weinberg 1961 pp265-6).

The long history of interest in migration studies, as revealed in the literature, shows a number of notable shifts in emphasis and these are examined, albeit briefly, here in order to show the points of departure for this study. A shift towards a more process orientation, which is the focus for this study, is a notable feature in the literature. Here the approach taken is to view migration as a series of continuous events over time in contrast to migration pattern which is seen as the product of those events at a moment in time. In other words a snap shot by contrast to a moving picture. Such a distinction may be useful for purposes of exposition and classification (Pryce 2000). In this interpretation the two are inextricably linked and intimately interrelated because ultimately the distinction is a false one since the two can be reconciled at the point of decision (Burrell 2003). However, an emphasis upon process brings with it certain

attributes and characteristics which have significant antecedents in the literature. These include developments in approach, in the type and use of data, macro/micro relationship, life cycle/life course, and place and culture.

2.2 From Pattern to Process

Inevitably any review of migration literature must begin with Ravenstein's (1876; 1885;1889) analysis of late nineteenth century migration in Britain and Western Europe. By means of place of birth statistics, Ravenstein was able to identify different flows of migration between places and regions and he assumed an economic cause for the patterns he observed. From these observations Ravenstein enunciated his now famous 'Laws of Migration' which have been used as the starting point for innumerable contemporary studies. Indeed several of the 'Laws' are still valid today, as is pointed out in two major reviews (Grigg 1977; Pooley and Turnbull 1998).

Ravenstein's work in the late 19th century was essentially about pattern and was prompted by the national growth of population at the time accompanied by the significant growth in the population of towns and the depopulation of the countryside (Chapter 6). Thus people were assumed to leave the countryside because less labour was required as farming became mechanised and, on the other hand, moved to towns because of the concentration of industry requiring labour (Saville 1957; Lawton 1967). Thus both pattern and explanation were about change in the macro structure with human migratory behaviour determined by forces beyond individual control. There was little recognition of individual agency. The situation in the neighbourhood of Little Hereford at this time will be examined in Chapter 7 using a similar positivist approach and quantitative methodology.

Redford (1926) was able to confirm Ravenstein's findings on the prevalence of short distance migration using census data. However, he also used Poor Law data for the early 19th century and was able to show how the Laws of Settlement interrupted the free operation of the labour market. Under these laws, persons who were unemployed were liable to be sent back to the parish which held their settlement, irrespective of where it was or whether there was employment there (Snell 1985). Such evidence therefore begins to divide migrating populations on both economic and social class

dimensions and begins a shift in the attempt to explain pattern away from purely deterministic ones.

Despite this, people continued to be viewed as the passive receivers of migratory forces beyond their power to control rather than as people in control of the decisions. A shift to a more behavioural approach attempted to overcome this and several reasons were advanced to explain patterns (Cohen 1996; Brettell and Hollifield 2000). At its most crude was the notion of the supposed attraction of the town at least offering the possibility of individual choice of town. There was also the notion that people left from economically depressed areas, areas of unemployment, to seek work in areas of labour shortage (Knowles 1995). But it was also observed, by some, that similar areas may have different migration patterns thus raising the matter of human decision (Baines 1985). There was also the problem of ascribing generalised, macro level, explanation to micro level situations, for which the term 'ecological fallacy' was coined by Robinson (1950).

2.3 A Behavioural Perspective

The economic historian Baines (1985) in a quite exhaustive account of emigration, exposed the problem with economic determinism when he showed that, despite some coincidence with fluctuations in the business cycle, people emigrating to the Americas in the second part of the 19th century did not do so from uniformly similar environments. His tentative explanation of this was that migrant sources tended to be where there was good feedback home from the early migrants that gave knowledge and security to those who followed as part of a chain migration. This is a similar knowledge feedback conclusion to that proposed by Mabogunje (1970). This clearly introduces the element of human agency and decision making. Potentially this is an example of tension between structural forces determining migration and individual family factors. This form of explanation removes the over concentration on economically deterministic reasoning and places the decision firmly within human processes of decision-making (Fotheringham 2000).

A framework for viewing human agency, not exclusive to migration studies, had been offered by Kirk (1963). He suggested that each person constructed their own reality

by perceiving their environment, physical and cultural, through a filter of values and attitudes. In this manner decision was placed firmly within particular value systems. Such a construct allows for the effect of structural forces but the response to them is a matter of human decision rather than an inevitable, pre-determined one. This was a very important insight for the study of migration process.

	White and Van der Knaap (1985)	Champion and Fielding (1992)
Assumptions:	Search for general theory as explanation; economic, rational man, supply led, forecasting as purpose.	Issue based, empirical e.g. housing market, unemployment. Model building as bridge to theory construction. Continued need for monitoring of macro trends, migration as a dynamic and multifaceted process.
Approach:	Positivist, quantitative, behavioural.	Behavioural, individual assessment of cost/ benefit, rediscovery of place
Scale:	Macro and regional level with aggregated data.	Sub regional, but advocacy of move to micro level and individual level.
Descriptors:	Life cycle; age; socio-economic and environmental conditions.	Importance of social changes; life course; families; housing tenure; education; sensitivity to distance; migration as a cultural event.
Questions raised:	Does way of life reflect where you live? Complex motives for migration? What is the role of individual preference?	What is the micro reaction to macro trends? How do we 'measure' love of the new or place identity? The role of local culture?

Table 2.1 Changes in Migration Studies 1980s to 1990s

Briefly, a number of other studies have advanced the concept of the behavioural environment in the study of migration. Thus Wolpert (1965) proposed that the decision to migrate was taken according to the value placed on residence and its environment, what he called place utility. According to Golledge et al. (1981) decisions are a function of learning, cognition, perception and attitude formation, not unlike the views of Kirk (1963). Such a perspective became the basis of much migration research during the late 1970s through to the early 1990s.

The particular emphasis tended to be individual migration and often this involved movements within cities (Clark and Moore 1980; Preston 1987) and moves into and out of the countryside (Champion 1989). Much effort went into the gaining an understanding of the process of residential decision making and the components involved including knowledge, attitude and image. (Brown and Moore 1970; Cadwallader 1989). As summarised in Table 2.1 there had, by the beginning of the 1990s, been a distinct shift in the geographical analysis of migration from pattern to that of process, or as some would say from positivism towards behaviouralism (Golledge 1980; Courgeau 1995; Walmsley and Lewis 1998).

Pooley and Turnbull; Migration and Mobility in Britain since the 18th Century (1998)	Pryce, W.T.R., A Migration Typology and some Topics for the Research Agenda (2000)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Migration decisions are embedded in culture • Events in one place and time are affected by events in another place and time. • Need for research using individual biographies and life paths. • Culture and social change is a necessary component of migration. • Regional and cultural identity is of increasing importance. • Work on the individual needs to be set in the wider process. • Choice/Constraint provides a suitable framework. • Structuration Theory offers the best approach. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some of the most effective studies are small scale because processes can be examined impossible at the aggregated scale. • Studies need to be related to the wider context. • Need to look at individual histories and motivations. • Career ladders may be a useful study. • Need to look at the role of individuals in the decision process. • Individual perceptions of migration destinations necessary. • Migration trajectories may be a useful technique.

Table 2.2 Recent Ideas in Migration Studies.

The voluminous literature on behavioural approaches to the migration process has in turn led to a realisation that geographers and social scientists need to be more sensitive to the factors involved rather than simply asking the questions ‘why?’, ‘where?’ and ‘what?’. So over the past decade or so a much wider perspective has been adopted in the analysis of the migration process as summarised in Table 2.2.

Broadly, it may be said that of these recent developments in migration studies three are of particular significance for this small scale study. First, the greater emphasis placed upon the individual decision maker led to the realisation that cultural factors

and their territorial context had important formative influences upon the individual (Holloway and Hubbard 2001; Johnston and Sidaway 2004). A number of studies had advocated exploration of the role of culture in the study of migration (White and Jackson 1995) by arguing that local cultures form the background from which individuals migrate. So, for example in relation to the decision to migrate, Champion and Fielding (1992) maintain that cultural norms are an essential element in the decision to migrate whilst Pooley and Turnbull (1998) assert the importance of the social and economic context. A second trend has identified the household as a more sensitive unit of analysis, not only because of its implications for social change but also, because of the changing nature of the family (Coleman and Salt 1992). Thus the notion of a typical nuclear family has, through the 20th century, undergone re examination (Drake 1994; Elman 1998; Goode 2003). For example, the relationship between total households and total population has undergone a change. Families tend to be smaller, there are more of them, including single person households (Haskey 1996). These changes are a function of change in the total society as divorce and cohabitation become more prominent features. “Recent decades has seen major changes in the structure of families in most western countries. In most countries, both the number of single, never married people and of the divorced as a percentage of the adult population has risen, and the proportion of those who are married has fallen.” (Campbell and Ormerod 1998 p2).

So it has become evident that a more significant unit of analysis in the contemporary world is the household and its constituent members. Thirdly, somewhat surprisingly, the time element has been largely neglected in migration studies despite the fact that time, as well as space, is implicit in all forms of spatial interaction. The greater emphasis upon a behavioural approach has led to the realisation of the significance of a longitudinal or ‘through-time’ approach to migration. Essentially this has led to two themes: first, the frequency of moves by individuals during their life history, or specific time-periods; and second, the susceptibility of individuals or households to migration through their life history (Fielding 1989; Lewis and Sherwood 2000). Each of these three contemporary trends in the study of migration are nowhere better illustrated than in the recently completed theses by Seavers (1999), Glasser (2002) and Burrell (2003).

2.4 Place and Culture

A growing number of researchers have attempted to determine the significance of place and culture in the decision to change residence (Burrell 2003). Fielding (1992) claimed that the rediscovery of the importance of place and the bonds between people and place pointed to the relationship between culture and migration. Although an intuitively attractive concept there is a very real problem with the definition of culture and even greater difficulty with attempting to use it as an implementable research tool. Thus, "Culture is the property of individuals and groups and arises from the sharing of practices and the intersubjective negotiation of meanings and refers to deeply felt values and to all those things that are taken for granted in our relations with others" (Fielding 1992, p202).

These ideas firmly place the explanation of migration into the sphere of human agency and the influences of culture and place upon decision also raised the question of the relationship between human agency and structural process. There are a number of relevant contributions in this context. For example, local historians have long been interested in the relationship between local studies and the broader historical context (Hoskins 1966; Phythian-Adams 1993; Hey 1999). However, it was Structuration Theory, developed by Giddens (1984) which attempted to provide some insight into the structure-agency problem. Briefly and simply this maintained that macro processes were received in cultural regions (termed Locales) according to the filters and values of that culture and that the same force may have different outcomes in different places or at different times. Further, it proposed, changes in the locality at the micro level may filter back to the macro and effect change there. There is thus two-way interaction, a release from determinism and inevitability and a justification for a place-centred approach. It seems therefore that the shifts in thinking have identified context as a critical element in individual migration behaviour. Such a realisation leads inevitably to a focus on individual decision and, by implication, a shift from quantitative methodology towards a more qualitative one involving judgement in a particular context.

So far the argument has maintained that the decision to migrate is firmly based with the individual, either person or family. Even when some structural imperative beyond their control exists there are still elements of personal decision remaining (Lawson

1999; Burrell 2003). Further, the argument runs, the decision is conditioned by the attitudes and values of the individual which are formulated in consequence of them learning a set of cultural values and *mores* and that this culture is related to a place or area which has both a spatial and a time dimension. In other words, as Blauw (1985 p105) maintained, “Ways of life depend on where you live”. Clearly though, people, areas or regions do not exist in isolation and so the question arises as to the nature of the relationship which exists between the macro and micro scales, that is between structure and agency?

The discussion so far has shown something of a convergence in thinking between geographers, local historians and sociologists about the concept of place and its inevitable relationship to culture. There is an inextricable and interdependent relationship between place, culture and way of life. The literature yields some powerful support for this claim, for example, “Quality of life relates to the rediscovery of the importance of Place and the importance of bonds between people and Place.” (Champion and Fielding 1992 p217) and “Locales are settings within which people learn how to act as human agents; their interpretations of their compositional categories are learned in particular places.” (Johnston 1997 p238), “Locales provide the settings within which interactions are organised.” (Johnston 1997 p238) and “Locality is the space within which the larger part of most citizen’s daily working and consuming lives is lived. We become what we are because of where we are”. (Johnston 1997 p243).

This revival of interest in the role of place and culture in the migration process has according to Burrell (2003) raised four fundamental questions:

1. What components of place identity and culture influence the decision to migrate?
2. How does place identity and culture both encourage and discourage the act of migration?
3. How does migration itself initiate cultural change?
4. How does individual and family place attachment and value system change over a life-time and trigger the decision to migrate?

Some of these issues have been analysed by Burrell (2003) in a detailed and painstaking analysis of three small migrant communities – the Poles, Italians and Greek Cypriots in Leicester. By means of a series of oral histories and in-depth interviews Burrell (2003) highlights how place identity is still a strong element in the migrants' everyday life but is not sufficient to encourage them to return to their homeland. This she attributes to a shift over generations in the value system of parts of the community due to their experiences of their day to day activities. The study also highlights the tensions felt between collective ideals and personal autonomy, and argues that the flexibility of collective constructs allows each respondent to experience migration, place of origin and place of destination, as well as community, individually.

2.5 New Household Formation and Decision-Making

A major factor in determining mobility is the changing threshold of residential dissatisfaction that accompanies changes in the family life cycle. From the formation to the dissolution of the cycle critical events can be identified which increase or decrease the propensity to migrate, for example, marriage, birth of child, last child leaving home or retirement (Schurer 1991). Despite initial evidence demonstrating the significance of the life cycle in the migration process, later writers have indicated that life changes are never perfectly correlated with mobility levels, particularly those involving changing career patterns, income or social status (Lewis 1982). Probably the most significant reason for a need to revise the family life cycle has been the diversification of family and non-family structures over recent decades. These new household formations, such as single parent households, young and old single adult households or two earners in a dual-headed household, have led Stapledon (1980) to suggest an expanded life cycle model, emphasising that a variety of households now exist and that these tend to fluctuate in time and space. Within a rural context, for example, Lewis and Sherwood (1994) found that in shire England divorce, widowhood and the onset of adulthood were significant stimulants to migration, in particular moves from the countryside to the cities, or at least to the local town. According to Seavers (1999) essentially four questions arise from these changes;

1. How do household formations influence residential mobility?

2. How do the transitions from one household formation to another initiate migration?
3. Do different household formations locate in different localities?
4. How do different household formations decide to migrate?

Seavers (1999) has also suggested that, as a result of greater female participation in the labour market, the balance of power within the residential decision making process has begun to shift away from the employed male (Bonney and Love 1991). For example, Seavers' (1999) findings in a study in lowland England during the 1990s supports the view that the presence of two earners within a dual-headed household "potentially both increases and narrows residential location options whilst also increasing the influence of the female in the residential location options, significantly, the more equal the spouses income the more equal their influence in the process" (Fegnani 1993 p176).

Further, Seavers (1999) identified the respective roles played by each of the partners at different stages of the decision-making process; for example, it was shown that the female dominated decision was evident in several parts of the process, in particular the choice to move into or within the countryside (Mulder and Wagner 1993). From this growing literature on the nature of household decision-making it is apparent that the distinction often made between male dominated power to make important but infrequent decisions ('orchestration power'), and more female oriented power to make time-consuming but less important decisions ('implementation power') needs to be reassessed (Katz and Monk 1993; Van Haan 2003).

2.6 Life Courses and Residential History Analysis

According to Glasser (2002 p7) most studies of migration "thus far have adopted what can be termed a cross-sectional approach; that is that the focus is upon the same place at two different points in time, but in general does not involve the same people."

The prospect of a longitudinal study is provided by the use of family biographies. Using family history data offers the potential to exploit advantages not available through the cross sectional approach (Hagerstrand 1982; Hobscraft and Murphy 1986;

Bailey 1989). The use of family biographies has been advocated (Hagerstrand 1982; Halfacree and Boyle 1993; Gutting 1996; Ni Laoire 2000) as a means of tracking the movement of both individuals and families but may offer only the time scale of one generation. For example, Pooley and Turnbull (1998) used data from family histories which yielded a time scale back to the 18th century. However they aggregated the resultant data and so maintained a positivist approach with a largely quantitative methodology. An alternative, adopted here, is to use family histories and their family trees back to the 16th century and over up to eleven generations (Chapters 8 and 9) thus enabling a significant time scale to a longitudinal approach (Courgeau and Lelievre 1992). The advantage of this over a cross sectional approach is summarised Figure 2.1.

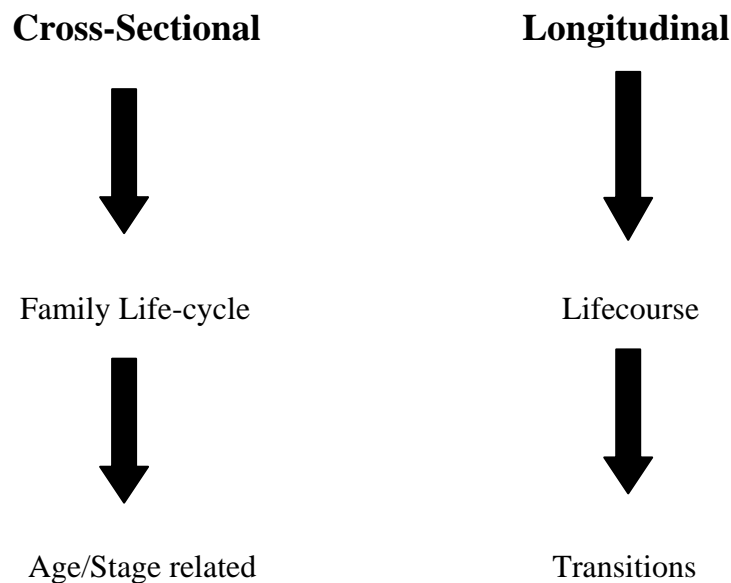


Figure 2.1 Approaches within Migration (After Glasser 2002 p8)

Shyrock and Larmen (1965) suggest that the advantages of the longitudinal approach are that it:

1. Shows the migration development over a lifetime.
2. May identify types of area of residence.
3. Indicates circular or return migration.
4. Reveals proportion spending entire lives in one locality.
5. Shows frequency of moves made.

Together with the use of family trees developed by family historians, such perspectives open the possibility of extending the reach of a study beyond a single

lifetime, indeed for as long as the family tree may be extended. This also offers the possibility for the construction of context for each generation and the changes which follow. This study proposes to do this using three families.

The cross-sectional approach used the idea of family life cycle as an important framework for analysis to explain migration (Warnes 1992; Grundy 1992). This idea of age related migration was explored by Thomas (1938) in her investigation of interstate moves in late 19th and early 20th century USA. The concept applied well to large populations of data but has disadvantages in that it suggests an inevitable, even immutable, sequence of moves associated with stage in the family life cycle. It takes little account of individual differences and is therefore of little use in individual cases such as envisaged by this study. The more flexible life course idea proposed under the longitudinal approach is more likely to yield insight into detailed process and this is particularly so when allied to the related notion of a transition (Bryman 1987). Both Grundy (1992) and Warnes (1992), whilst discussing life cycle, see the way forward through the pursuit of life course approaches. This had been discussed some ten years earlier by Hareven (1982) who saw it as having the advantage of accounting for constant change rather than stage change and emphasising the importance of the context in which such changes took place.

The disadvantages have been pointed out by Warnes (1992) who went on to explore the utility of a life course approach as an alternative framework in relation to migration (Table 2.3). The life course approach is not time specific and that implies that not all individuals or social groups follow the same sequence. Warnes (1992) suggests that rather than the inevitable stages of the life cycle there may be a series of what he calls life course transitions. It is not clear though from the list of transitions which he presents (Table 2.3) whether he sees these as definitive or merely illustrative. A distinctive feature of the life course is the idea of 'Transitions' by contrast to the life cycles 'stages'.

Table 12.2 Life-course transitions associated with household changes and migration

Life-course transition	Housing needs and aspirations	Distance of moves (repeat frequency per year)	Ages (years)
1. Leaving parents' homes	Low-cost, short tenancy, central city, often share	Short and long distances; high frequency (1 +)	16-22
2. Sexual union	Low/medium-cost, tenancy few years	Short distance; medium f (0.3)	20-5
3. Career position	Low-mortgage flat or house	Many long distance; medium f (0.5)	23-30
4. 1st child (good income)	Medium-mortgage 2+ bedroom house	Short distance; (long suburban move in large cities)	23-30
5. 1st child (low income)	Local authority flat or house	Very short distance	21-8
6. Mid-career promotions or inheritance	Higher-mortgage, larger house	Many long distance; low f (0.1)	30-55
7. Divorce	Low-cost, short tenancy	Short distance	27-50
8. Cohabitation and second marriage	Medium-cost rental or low-mortgage	Short and long distance; low (0.1)	27-50
9. Retirement	Buy outright medium- or low-cost house	Many long distance to periurban areas	55-68
10. Bereavement or income collapse	Low-cost, rental or share in well serviced areas	Short distance or return migrations	70 +
11. Frailty or chronic illness	Low-cost, rental, share, congregate or institutional	Short distance; medium f (0.3)	75 +

Table 2.3 Life Course Transitions (Warnes 1992 p182)

These may occur at any time and are not necessarily age related. They might therefore be viewed as turning points or ‘time of decision’ to use a phrase coined by Kirk (1963). An important characteristic of the life course is that it necessarily accounts for what has gone before and therefore gives a context for action (Cohen 1984). Such an idea is very important to the analysis of migration decisions of the families investigated in Chapters 8 and 9. In Harris’s (1987) terms an individual’s life course is the intersection of historical time and personal time. To this might well be added geographical space as will be developed in Chapters 4 and 5 of this study.

In her study of migration through time Glasser (2002) adopts a Residence History Analysis together with the concept of life course as a central idea to the analysis (Pryor 1979). The nature of a life course perspective has been succinctly summarised by Hareven and Adams (1982 p6) as the “the interrelationship between individuals and collective family behaviour as they constantly change over peoples lives in the context of historical conditions. The life course approach is concerned with the movement of individuals over their own lives and through historical time with the relationship of family members to each other as they travel through personal and historical time.”

From a migration viewpoint this approach raises three questions:

1. What are the circumstances of the household at the time of the migration?
2. What is the position of a particular migration within the life and migration history of the household?
3. What are the possible influence of previous migratory experiences upon the present, and likely future moves?

There is clear utility in the use of the concept of life course in the analysis of migration process. It does, though, demand an examination of the context in which a life takes its course and upon the contextual factors which influence its transitions. Such a conclusion brings the discussion back to culture and place but also, by implication, to structuration theory the relationship between individual action and structural processes (Giddens 1984).

2.7 Conclusion

This brief and selective review of an enormous literature has revealed a number of factors and ideas of direct relevance to this investigation. In doing so it has shown not only points of departure but potential for a distinctive contribution to be made. Clearly with any developing field there will, over time, be changes and shifts of emphasis. Some of these may be due to fashion but more importantly they are to do with meeting the challenge of newly identified issues in society. Alternatively they may be due to a particular line of enquiry being exhausted for the moment. But developments are certainly not exclusively linear and several different ones may coexist, indeed different paradigms may be pursued contemporaneously either as a matter of differing belief systems or because they address different problems (Halfacree and Boyle 1993; Skeldon 1995).

What might be called first order shifts such as:

Positive/Behavioural, Ethnographical Approaches
Objective/Subjective
Pattern/ Process
Macro/Micro Scale
Quantitative/Qualitative Methodologies
Aggregated/Individualised Data
Agency/Structure

can all be found in the literature but they hide lesser order but very significant factors which in combination may offer distinctive ways forward. Thus in the context of an investigation of migration process the following would appear to be of major importance for this project.

- Longitudinal approach using biographical data.
- Individual data and life course
- Family unit as decision-making locus
- Context involving culture, place and time

This necessarily brief review does not pre-empt the use of and reference to, other literature. Indeed this will be necessary as the enquiry proceeds. In the next Chapter methods and sources are discussed in the course of which the ideas presented above are developed further to the point of implementation and a strategy identified to carry the investigation forward.

Chapter 3

Sources and Methods

3.1 Introduction

Place, and the ways of life associated with it, constitutes a dimension of major importance to the explanation of migration decisions. The place, in this instance, is an area of the Mid Borderland but wholly in England and to the east of the boundary between England and Wales and is therefore referred to throughout the study as the Mid Borderland. This territory is identified in Chapters 4 and 5. Before proceeding, however, it is necessary to discuss the sources and methods employed in the enquiry and these constitute the subject matter of this chapter.

Some sources, and indeed methods, are not necessarily familiar ones. For example, some of the data for this small scale, longitudinal study come from the records of family historians and the sources for these and the manner of their application for analysis need to be discussed in some detail. First, however, it is necessary, briefly, to explain the approaches and methodologies within which the sources and methods supporting this enquiry are embedded. This will be followed by a brief outline of the structure and sequencing of the project in order to provide a context for the discussion of sources and methods.

Some have recently argued that the nature of enquiry into migration demands both a multi approach and a multi methodology. For example, “researchers have, recently, combined a wider range of approaches – quantitative, behavioural, ethnographic – in explicitly multi-method approaches to migration research” (Pooley and Turnbull 1998 p21). These imply necessarily small scale enquiries, albeit within a broader context, and “these approaches highlight a key methodological issue in migration research: namely, the significance of small-scale, micro-level studies in the context of large-scale macro investigations” (Pryce 2000 p66).

The study adopts a broadly behavioural approach which is implemented, particularly in Chapter 7, through a quantitative methodology utilising information derived from population census and related sources. Small scale research based upon three

families, and ultimately a single family, brings different methodological requirements and, especially in Chapter 9, an ethnographic methodology is employed. The methods which serve the approach and methodologies are explained below and expanded upon in later chapters where appropriate. They are chosen as fit for the purpose of pursuing the aims and objectives outlined in Chapter 1.

Table 3.1 provides a conceptual framework for the enquiry and makes explicit the interrelationships between the objectives as expressed in Chapter 1 (columns) and the approaches, methodologies, sources and concepts (rows). More explicitly, row 1 outlines the broad sequence of the analysis (given in greater detail in Figure 3.1) with the associated approach and methodology in row 2. Rows 3 and 4 are the subject matter of this chapter (developed below) and row 5 shows something of the conceptual underpinnings revealed in the literature (discussed in Chapter 2). The columns show how each of these relates to the main analytical content. In order to make this conceptual approach more explicit from the point of view of methods and sources, Table 3.1 can be read in conjunction with Figure 3.1 which indicates the sequence of the investigation.

The scale of the enquiry and data used has clear implications for the sources and methods. The remainder of this chapter will focus upon methods and sources although, as indicated above, more detail will also be included, where appropriate in particular chapters, as the analysis proceeds.

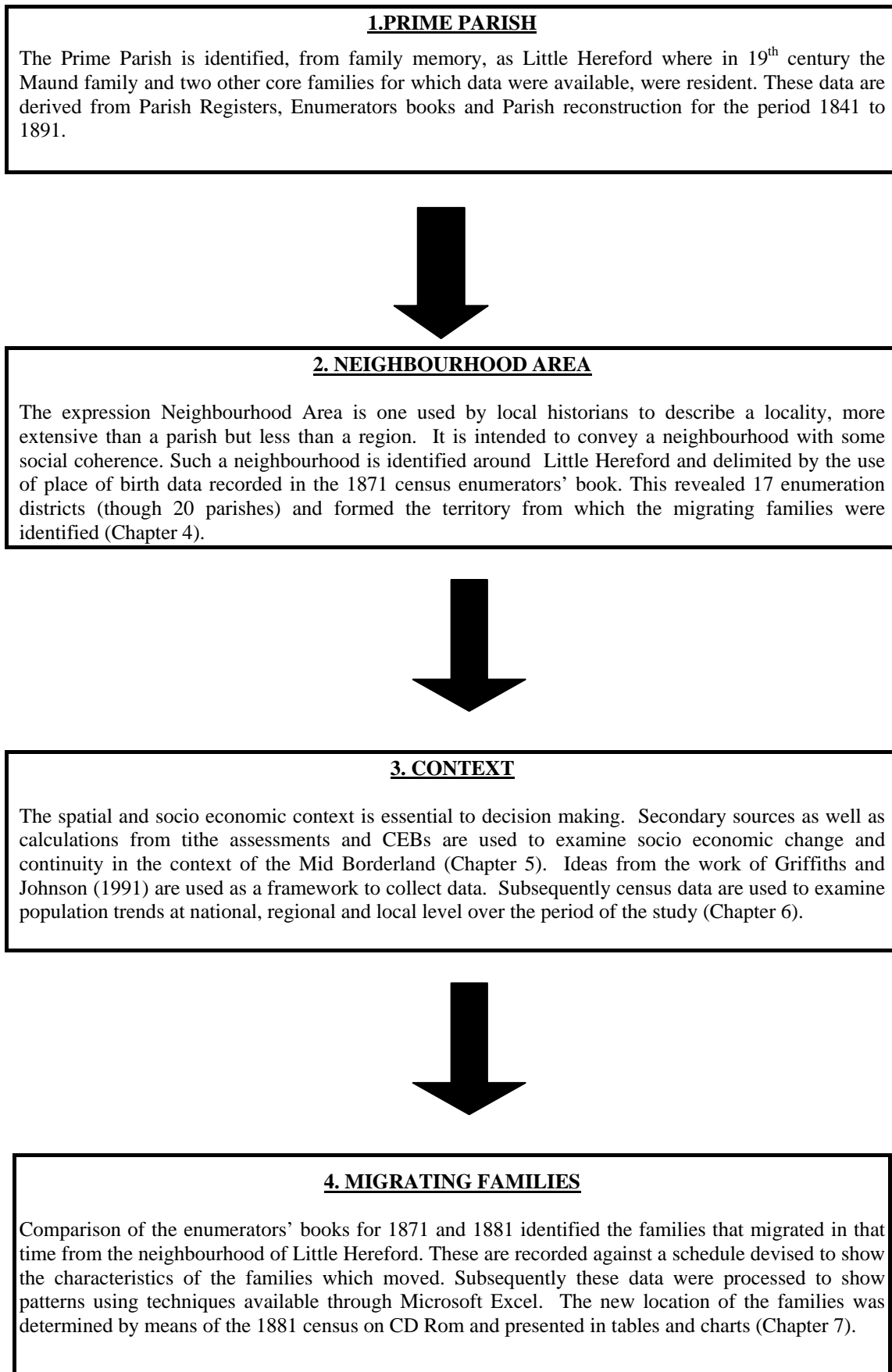
3.2 Sequence followed by the Investigation

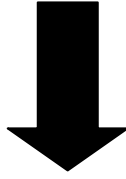
The purpose of this section is to offer a broad outline of the path followed by the investigation. The major phases and concepts of this multidisciplinary research are identified in sequence. It is emphasised that this sequence relates to the substantive analysis detailed in Chapter 4 to 9 (Figure 3.1).

1 CONTENT	1 IDENTIFICATION: RURAL NEIGHBOURHOOD	2 CULTURE AND WAYS OF LIFE	2 a POPULATION TRENDS	2 b FAMILY MIGRATION PATTERN	3 MOVEMENT CORE FAMILIES	4 INDIVIDUAL DECISION & MOTIVE
2 APPROACH METHODOLOGY	Behavioural; Regional. Quantitative	Behavioural Secondary source search	Positivist. Quantitative.	Behavioural Quantitative	Behavioural Genealogical	Ethnographic Participant Observation
3 METHODS	1. Identification of concepts. 2. Identification of criteria to delimit NA. 3. Plot Place of Birth. 4. Identify Parishes in Neighbourhood of Little Hereford.	Search of published sources against criteria derived from literature.	Aggregation and manipulation by Excel of census data to graph trends at three scales from 1801 -1991	Identification of Migrating families by comparison of 1871 and 81 CEBs for 17 parishes. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Locate Families • Classify Families. • Presentation by table and graph using Excel. 	Identification and plot of location of families according to detail of Family Tree.	Taped Interviews, Informal discussion, Site visits, Diary for 1934, Biography, Checking/triangulation
4 SOURCES	Census Enumerators Book for Little Hereford 1871.	Secondary source material from Books, Articles, Pamphlets, Tithe Apportionment.	Census, General and County Reports 1801 – 1991.	CEBs for 17 Parishes 1871 and 1881. CD Rom from 1881 Census of UK.	Family Trees constructed from Parish Registers, IGI, CEBs, Certificates.	Generation of Siblings, Cousin. 1934 Diary,
5 CONCEPTS	Neighbourhood Area. Core Family. Region/Place.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic Features • Social relations • Political Structure 	Trend; Differentiation Urbanisation Counterurbanisation	Family Description. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Distance • Life Cycle • Social Class • Family Structure • Structure/Agency 	Nuclear Family. Migration Path Longitudinal, intermittent Structure/Agency	Motive, Place, Decision, Transition Acculturation Life Course. Longitudinal Structure/Agency

Table 3.1 Framework for achieving Aim of Gaining Insight into Migration Process and Decision

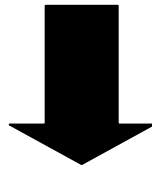
Figure 3.1 Sequence through the Investigation.





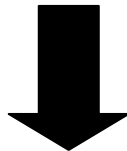
5. MIGRATION PATTERNS

These data of migrating families establish patterns such as family structure, life cycle and proximity of marriage partners and enables a description, shown in tabular, graph and map form. This enables an analysis of their major characteristics and determines the extent to which there is a pattern (Chapter 7).



6. THREE CORE FAMILIES

The CEBs from 1841 to 1891 for Little Hereford show that 7 families out of a variable total of about 80 families in the parish were there for the entire period. This was used as a definition of core family. For three of these rigorous family history work had been conducted and therefore genealogies established here. For one family the surviving third generation members were subsequently interviewed to determine their movements over the last 80 years. Unlike other sources these data yield information on every move made rather than that which is simply officially recorded (Chapter 8 and 9).



7. MIGRATION DECISION

The family trees enable a plot of the migration paths of each family. This is of course incomplete because of reliance on the recording of vital events. Later, through a form of participant observation (although the researcher is a member of the family), taped interviews and lifetime experiences a more complete record of the members of the Maund family is made together with their motivations and decisions.

One of the distinctive features of this investigation is the use of data from family history sources and this is explained below in some detail especially the use of parish records and various elements of the census. But before turning to the sources there will first be discussion of scale and its implications for the enquiry and the resultant data issues.

3.3 Scale and Data

If the underlying decision process of migrants is to be more clearly understood then this can not readily be achieved through large scale studies nor, of course, from aggregated data. According to Courgeau and Lelievre (1992 p2) “as long as demographers use statistics such as those published in registration records or population registers, they have no way of dealing with the two basic problems; the analysis of the interactions between demographic phenomena and the heterogeneity in human groups.” The data for many migration studies have come in aggregated form from the decennial census and frequently used place of birth statistics but they have also used data from sources such as the National Health Service Central Register (NHSCR). There are many such studies describing general population changes both in the past and present, for example, Lawton (1968, 1973; Owen and Green 1992). None of these studies provide detail of individual moves which would enable the study of motivation and decision. So there have for some time been calls for the use of alternative data sources such as personal biographies (Hagerstrand 1982; Pooley and Turnbull 1998; Pryce 2000) or indeed diaries and other personal accounts (Hey 1975; Parton 1980).

However, it must be emphasised that all of this is not new since over fifty years ago Saville (1957) in his classic study of rural depopulation in England and Wales maintained that the starting point for migration studies should be small communities i.e. parishes of less than 500 population. He maintained that migration generally started with the smaller places and it was only by means of local studies that a clear understanding of the reasons to migrate could be achieved. Where census data are used this of necessity produces a form of cross sectional study (Glasser 2002 p7) since the data are only available at ten year intervals. Individual biographies could possibly allow for a lifetime study, depending on the source, and therefore the possibility for longitudinal study. It is in this regard that family histories may well have a role as data sources. But two forms of scale issue arise with personal biographies, firstly, how many biographies should there be in a study and, secondly, over what time period are they spread? Pooley and Turnbull (1998) made extensive use of records of family historians which enabled them to study migration from 1750 with 16,091 life histories sourced from 80 Family History Societies in England, Scotland and Wales. The

quantity of data enabled aggregation which formed the basis for their analysis. However, from the perspective of this study, its major advantage was that it enabled a longitudinal study and this important feature will be returned to in more detail below.

There is not an extensive literature on family history although Hey (1996) provides an overview. Apart from local publications, Society magazines and practical guides, for example, Pelling (1995), the major works are limited (Camp 1978; Wagner 1983; Sanders 1989; Pryce 1994). The methods and sources used by family historians will be returned to in detail below. For this study the use of family histories raises two issues, it enables detail and a long time scale over which to examine migration process. The use of individualised data may yield insights into process but it removes the possibility of generalisation from the findings. It is in this form of analysis that an ethnographic methodology is required and methods involving participant observation (Cloke et al. 2004). Such an approach is not new and perhaps owes something to the work of Sauer (1956), of his “being there” attitude. Subsequent studies by Ley (1974) into living in a black inner city area in the USA, Western (1981) into life in an inner city neighbourhood in South Africa and Rowles (1978) study of the lives and geographical experiences of older people have all used a methodology of immersing themselves in the lives of their subjects. But this immersion is almost invariably for a finite period. In this study the researcher, as a member of one of the families concerned, has the distinction of a lifetime of participation. This is discussed in detail in Chapter 4 and again in Chapters 8 and 9. Finally, the need to set all such enquiries in a more general context is essential if the study is to recognise the possible influence of macro processes since individual cases do not operate in a vacuum. This is discussed further in Chapter 5. There will now follow a detailed discussion of the sources and methods to be used in the investigation as summarised in Table 3.1.

3.4 The Census

The decennial census provides two broad types of source for this study (Higgs 1989). Firstly, there are the gross data of population totals presented in the County reports each ten years from 1801. These data are used as the basis for the investigation of population trends for England and Wales, the Mid Borderland, the neighbourhood of Little Hereford and selected towns discussed in Chapter 6. This is intended to provide

a context for the study of migration as the changes in the distribution of population are described and analysed. Notable in this context is 1881 the time of absolute decline in the populations of Herefordshire and Shropshire and this point provides the period for the study of migrating families from the defined neighbourhood of Little Hereford between 1871 and 1881 (Chapter 7). There are though a number of other features of the census at this scale that need to be noted.

The period from 1801 nearly defines, but not quite, the longitudinal scale of this enquiry. Data on family trees extends dates back before the first census in 1801 and so for demographic trends during the 18th century this research relies upon the formidable reconstruction of national totals calculated by Wrigley and Schofield (1981). There were boundary changes at a variety of levels over the period from 1801 to the present. In this time parishes were created or amalgamated or incorporated into urban areas. The definition of the county of Worcestershire changed and at the other end of the scale the parish of Burford was divided into three separate parishes. Additionally there were some changes in enumeration districts vis a vis civil parishes. The manner of dealing with these issues is pursued in the chapters in which they are relevant but where possible the integrity of the initial unit is maintained by aggregation. It is also the case that the published units of population are not always those that would be ideal for spatial study.

Another important source within the census is the Census Enumerators' Books (CEBs). The first useful one of these is for 1841. They show the detail of each household at each census and are available for each census year up to 100 years of the present¹. The Church of Latter Day Saints (Mormons) has codified the Books of the 1881 census on CD Rom which also includes a search mechanism. This is quite critical for this enquiry especially in Chapter 7 where it is used first of all to identify migrating families from the neighbourhood of Little Hereford and then to locate their whereabouts in 1881.

CEBs are a major source for family historians too because they record details additional to place and date of the vital events. But they too have their problems, for

¹ At the time of the calculations for this enquiry the most recent available were those for 1891.

example, in deciphering handwriting, the use of phonetic spelling of some names and the vagaries of memory of some respondents. Thus some names are misspelt, ages are sometimes erroneous or simply not known by the respondent and even their place of birth can be recorded differently at different censuses. A page from an enumerator's book, Figure 3.2, shows the detail they contain. It indicates the parish and the location of the household in the parish. Then for each household (numbered in sequence enumerated) it gives names, status, relationship, sex, age, occupation and

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The undermentioned Houses are situate within the Boundaries of the:

Civil Parish (or Township) of	City or Municipal Borough of	Municipal Ward of	Parliamentary Borough of	Town of	Village or Hamlet, etc. of	Local Board, or Improvement Commissioners District of	Electoral District		
Part of the Parish of Little Harford called Heathwood Row in the County of Hereford									
No. of Households	ROAD, STREET, etc. and No. or NAME of HOUSE	HOUSES No. of Inhabited (No.)	NAME and Surname of each Person	RELATION to Head of Family	CON-DITION	AGE of Male Female	Rank, Profession, or OCCUPATION	WHERE BORN	Whether 1. Deaf and 2. Blind 3. Imbecile 4. Lunatic
76		1	George Maund	Head	Mar	42	Ag Lab	Hereford, Little Harford	
			Fanny do	Wife	Mar	36		Hereford, Diddlebury	
			Hannah do	Daughter	X	23		Hereford, Little Harford	Idiot
77			James do	Son	Mar	33	Lab	do do	
			Hannah do	Daughter	Mar	36		Hereford, Diddlebury	
78		1	Edward Jones	Head	Mar	70	Ag Lab	Hereford, Little Harford	
79		1	Mary Beunell	Head	Mar	57		Hereford, Little Harford	
			Edward do	Son	Mar	47	Ag Lab	do do	
			Elizabeth do	Daughter	Mar	40		Hereford, Little Harford	
			Richard do	Grandson	X	8		Hereford, Little Harford	
			Elizabeth do	Granddaughter	X	9			
80		1	John Maund	Head	Mar	68	Ag Lab	do do	
			Emma do	Wife	Mar	38		do do	
			Miee do	Daughter	X	11	Scholar	do do	
			Peter do	Son	X	8	do	do do	
			Thomas do	Son	X	6	do	do do	
			Samuel do	Son	X	4	do	do do	
			Clara H. do	Daughter	X	2		do do	
81		1	William Mason	Son	Mar	36	Ag Lab	do do	
82		1	Thomas Roberts	Head	Mar	58	Ag Lab	do do	
			Priscilla do	Wife	Mar	53		do do	
83		1	Richard Withall	Head	Mar	57	Ag Lab	Hereford, Diddlebury	
			Ann do	Wife	Mar	57		do Tewbury	Blind
Total of Houses..		7	Total of Males and Females..		12	11			

Figure 3.2 Detail of a CEB.

the place of birth. This resource therefore complements and supplements the parish register and civil registration data for the family historian. In Figure 3.2, from a 1871 CEB, one of the core families used in this study is shown. At the time, George Maund, Household 76, has only has one of his eight children, Hannah, living at home and she is designated as an “Idiot”². For each of those enumerated their place of birth is shown and their year of birth can be determined from their age. For example, George’s wife Fanny was born in Diddlebury (a parish in Shropshire to the north in 1795). The single line marked by the enumerator below Hannah indicates that there

² Hannah is the researcher’s Great, Great Aunt.

was another family living in the same household. It is George and Fanny's son James and his wife, also named Hannah. This Hannah was born in Bewdley and this raises the question of how and where both James and his father came to meet their wives. A family historian would search for the marriage place and date. In the case of household numbered 80, the family of John Maund, son of George, the birthplace of his wife, Emma, is given as Little Hereford but more detailed research using the website ancestry.com has revealed this to be incorrect. She was actually born in Ross where her family had moved from Hereford sometime in the late 1820s. This serves to illustrate some of the errors that do occur and the problems that can come by a too ready acceptance of the data contained in the CEBs. But despite this it is still a vital source for this enquiry and also for family historians generally.

For this study enumerators' books were a help in building family trees but also, in Chapter 7, for identifying migrating families from the parishes of the Little Hereford area and then locating their new residences. Comparing the enumerators' books for each parish concerned and then using the search mechanism contained in the 1881 CD Rom provided a means for locating each family. Thus the leavers from each parish in the neighbourhood of Little Hereford after 1871 were identified and their residence in 1881 located. This is briefly explained in Chapter 7. Once a family that had moved had been identified by comparing the 1871 and 1881 CEBs it can, in many cases, have its location identified. The search mechanism depends on:

- A surname, first name or both.
- A year of birth (which can be calculated from age)
- A County and/or Parish of birth.

This seems very simple but in practice it is not so because, as indicated above, information is not always accurately represented for a whole range of reasons. Never the less the method proved to have a more than 70% success rate in locating a family. Families are easier to trace than individuals since any member of a family may be used. Those that are not traced will have died, emigrated, not been enumerated or so badly enumerated that they cannot be detected. It is a very helpful though imperfect procedure.

The tracing of the migrating families between 1871 and 1881 as described is, in practice, an extremely cumbersome method. The procedures for processing these data

on moving families relied upon a search for pattern involving a classification of family characteristics devised from the headings of the CEBs and explained fully in Chapter 7. There was also the pattern of movement from calculations of distance, direction and place. The patterns produced by statistical manipulation using Excel formed the basis for the analysis of the characteristics of the families that moved.

The CEB data has other uses and one particularly relevant to this study is parish reconstruction. The data are collected in Households as can be seen in Figure 3.3 and each is numbered but their precise location is not always clear and is especially difficult to locate when a dwelling may have been demolished subsequently. But from such data, and some work in the field, it is possible to do a parish reconstruction for any census year and indeed a longitudinal one from 1841 and this was done for Little Hereford³. In such a way it is possible to build a profile of each residence over the time period and to identify the length of time that a household remains in a parish and often how long they remain at a particular location. Thus the core families of Little Hereford were identified.

Page 101											
The undermentioned Houses are situate within the boundaries of the											
Civil Parish (or Township) of	City or Municipal Borough of	Municipal Ward of	Parliamentary Borough of	Town of	Village or Hamlet, &c., of	Local Board, or (Improvement Commissioners) District of	Statistical District of				
Park of the Parish of Little Hereford called Middleton in the County of Hereford											
No. of Households	ROAD, STREET, &c. and No. or NAME of HOUSE	HOUSES In respect whereof the Census is taken	NAME and Surname of each Person	RELATION to Head of Family	SEX	AGE of Male Females	RANK, PROFESSION, or OCCUPATION	WHERE BORN	Whether 1. Born in this Parish 2. Imported or 3. Imported or 4. Imported		
42	Temple Farm	1	James Smith Head 67	Head	Male	67	Farmer 16 Acres Emp. 3 Men	Hereford, Redditch			
			Mary Smith Wife 74	Wife	Female	74		do. Hereford			
			Edwin Smith Grandson 12	Grandson	Male	12	Schooler	Worcester, Tewkesbury			
			William J. Pomeroy Servant 11	Servant	Male	11	Farmer's Serv. Indent	Hereford, Ludford			
			Samuel Reynolds Servant 34	Servant	Male	34	do. 12	do. do. Hereford			
			Charles Roberts Servant 15	Servant	Male	15	do. 12	Hereford, Brimfield			
			Eliza Washburn Servant 32	Servant	Female	32	Domestic Serv.	Hereford, city			
43	South Cottage	1	Edwin Howard Head 66	Head	Male	66	Ag. Lab.	Worcester, Tewkesbury			
			Anne do. Wife 57	Wife	Female	57		Alcester, Warwick			
44	do	1	Elizabeth Stephens Head 65	Head	Female	65		do. Hereford			
			Ann Howburne Niece 13	Niece	Female	13		Hereford, E. Hereford			
45		1	John Curran Head 41	Head	Male	41	Ag. Lab.	do			
			Mary do. Wife 42	Wife	Female	42		do			
46		1	Elizabeth Giles Head 60	Head	Female	60	Farmer 26 Acres & 3000 w. 1000	do. do. St. Mellons			
			Richard H. do. Son 27	Son	Male	27	Farmer's Serv. 1000	Hereford, E. Hereford			
			John do. Son 24	Son	Male	24	Farmer's Serv.	do			
			Elizabeth Key Servant 20	Servant	Female	20	Domestic Serv.	do. Goredy			
			Elizabeth Morris Servant 21	Servant	Female	21	do	Hereford, Shrewsbury			
			William Edmunds Servant 24	Servant	Male	24	Farmer's Serv. Indent	do. Berkeley			
			Thomas Tomkins Servant 15	Servant	Male	15	do. 11	Hereford, Ludford			
			Charles Hill Servant 17	Servant	Male	17	do. 11	do. E. Hereford			
			John Johnson Servant 22	Servant	Male	22	do. 11	do			
			George Price Servant 20	Servant	Male	20	do. 11	do. Bibton			
Total of Houses		8	Total of Males and Females							16	9

Figure 3.3 Family and Household.

³ For a different project conducted in the 1990s.

In Figure 3.3 the household of James Arnett is shown. His is one of the core families of the parish although not used in the later analysis here (Chapter 8) and he heads his nuclear family but also the household that contains a number of farm workers as does the household of Elizabeth Giles at No 46. This serves to illustrate that a family may constitute a household but that a household may be made up of more than a family. It is important for this study that there be no confusion over terms. When the migration of families is considered in Chapter 7 it is the nuclear family, whose members would be a cohabiting couple and their progeny, that is the focus. Families appear to be a more sophisticated measure of social change than individuals since family type seems to reflect the changes taking place in the broader society.

Clearly the sources of parish register, civil registration and CEBs form a source that provides the framework data for a family tree, but there are gaps in between the dates they provide and also potential gaps between the locations given at any time. Thus there may be movement which these sources do not record. Therefore, the data are incomplete but yet provide a reasonably detailed picture of the past.

3.5 Family History

Family history data are, at least potentially, an important source at this scale of analysis. Pooley and Turnbull (1998) had used family history data but they aggregated them to arrive at macro patterns. By contrast this investigation uses data at the scale of the individual nuclear family as will be made explicit in Chapters 8 and 9. Because the use of family history data is unusual, if not unique for this type of enquiry, it needs further discussion in order to make clear its various components as well as its weaknesses and strengths.

The last thirty years has seen a huge growth in interest in family history as more people have pursued their family trees. Record Offices all over the country have become hives of activity as the resources they contain have become increasingly widely used, family history societies have been founded and even a Chair in Family and Local History established at the University of Sheffield. The result is a major network of Record Offices, Family History Societies and a developing literature. The

increasing popularity of this field is recognised in programmes on network television which show celebrity search for ancestors.

There are a number of simple and basic guides in existence, for example, Pelling, (1980) provided detailed advice on the available sources for the construction of family trees. There are also a number of periodicals such as the monthly 'Family History' and 'Family Tree' magazines to mention but two. In addition there is a whole range of local, limited circulation, publications, the product of investigations by local history societies and even individuals. More recently there has been development of data available on the Word Wide Web, for example, there is access to census reports, even enumerators books and the subscription web-site, Ancestry.Com, provides a search mechanism of available documentation.

Despite this quite significant output there is, as yet, little documentation of a substantive and longitudinal nature detailing actual family histories and the methodology of their construction. An exception is the work of Camp (1978) who, as Director of Research at the Society of Genealogists, not only produced an authoritative study on sources for genealogy but also traced their historical context and significance. Similarly Sanders (1989) study of his family history from the mid 17th century is meticulously researched and set in its appropriate historical context.

Interestingly, there are also books which have been developed around particular people or families not so much as genealogies and family trees but rather focussing upon a person or set of circumstances. Examples of these include that written by Ashby (1961) about her remarkable father, Joseph. This is written, despite their relationship, in an academic style and shows the impact and influence of this low born and illegitimate son of a housemaid who grew to have major influence in the rural communities and local politics of south Warwickshire. In the act of writing this book a whole set of features relating to ways of life in the late 19th century Warwickshire countryside is revealed. But it is a snapshot of a time and place not a history of a family. Another possible source is a diary; probably one of the most detailed being Kilvert's diary which is an account of life in a rural parish in the Welsh Borderland during the late 19th century from the viewpoint of a parish priest (Kilvert 1987).

A further example, but of a rather different nature, is the account by Lorna Sage (2001) of the life of her eccentric father and the quite dysfunctional family in which she was brought up. In doing so she tells much of ways of life in post war England and of the movements of families at that time. The field of family history is, therefore, a quite diffuse one that stretches on the one hand from what are essentially instruction manuals to biographies and personal accounts on the other.

Much of what is called family history is in fact genealogy and the quality of the research is extremely variable. Except for common sources and certain presentational software packages a common methodology is only slowly evolving and certainly the concept of evidence is applied variably. The product, in these circumstances, can only be of doubtful provenance and variable in quality and accuracy. By no means all family histories insist upon the rigour of documentary evidence to support their findings. Practitioners vary from those with a mild and passing interest to those who have spent a lifetime and have developed a huge knowledge base. The link with local history is frequently tenuous. But despite this, if used with caution and circumspection, family histories still have enormous potential as a data source in the study of migration.

In this study data from three families are used. They all lived in the parish of Little Hereford, in the Mid Borderland, from the late 18th century and into the 20th century. These are the families referred to as core families (Chapter 4) and they will be traced throughout the period for which the genealogical data exist (Chapter 8). It is the availability of these data which defines the time period of this study as a longitudinal one. The concept of a core family is also part of the basis for defining the locality or neighbourhood of Little Hereford. The coincidence of the availability of data from three families, the Rowburys, the Maunds and the Bennetts, resident over the same time period in Little Hereford, is the key to the definition of the spatial as well as time scale for this project. This theme will be increasingly apparent as the investigation progresses and is explored in some detail in Chapters 4 and 6.

Four individuals were responsible for the collection of these data for the three families. Christopher Davies has, (from a curiosity about his origins), traced his direct family, the Bennetts, from the neighbourhood of Little Hereford to North Wales and

eventually to Bristol with some references to off-shoots in south and southwest Wales. This is a relatively narrowly focussed tree but admirably performs the function demanded of it in this study, as will be seen in Chapter 8. The Rowbury family tree, on the other hand, has a rather different origin and motivation. Polly Rubery, whose central interest lies in the name and its variants, has provided these data. She is a highly skilled and knowledgeable genealogist with a vast database of this name. She maintains that it derives from “Rough Hill” which is located very close to the territory from which Maund takes its name to the east of the River Lugg in north Herefordshire between Leominster and Hereford (Chapter 9). So the origin and meaning of surnames is also a source of interest for genealogists and local historians. Similarly the Maund family data too owe something to the origin of the name that derives from the Celtic, Magene (Gelling, 1984; Coplestone-Crow 1989). It is what Hey (1997) has termed a locative name, that is one derived from a place. Such names therefore give a clue to family historians tracing their family tree backwards which is the normal practice. This route was followed by the current researcher in an earlier investigation. Such a route starts with the living and their memories and only later to documents as will be shown below. For those trees relating to the family before they moved to Little Hereford, about 1783, the study rests on the work of Gary Maund who in the course of investigating his own direct branch obtained data from which he was able to construct the tree relevant to this study.

3.6 Parish Registers

The basic data for the construction of a family tree, baptisms, marriages and burials, are contained, from 1538, in Parish Registers. These data vitally indicate the date and parish of the event. In the case of baptisms they give the names of the parents, and for marriages the names of the couple and that of their fathers. Data contained in parish registers are subject to a variety of flaws, not least that some have been lost or destroyed particularly those from the Civil War period. They are subject to the vagaries of spelling and some have been damaged in a variety of ways and it has even to be concluded that some events were simply not recorded by the incumbent. There is also, sometimes, an issue with clarity and the decoding of handwriting. For the Maund family, the Brimfield register is fragmentary up to the mid 17th century but virtually complete in Little Hereford from the time of their arrival there about 1783. The

Bennetts simply have not been located before the mid 18th century but the Rowburys offer a complete trace from the 16th century.

Due to the work of individuals, family history societies and the Mormons many registers have now been transcribed and are available in Record Offices and also on the Internet. Much has been done and published on a County basis by Mormons and recorded in an alphabetical index, the International Genealogical Index (IGI). This removes some problems presented by raw parish registers but it is still subject to errors in transcription and indeed omission and is not entirely reliable although it does make searching very much easier. The IGI has developed in a major way in recent times with the availability of subscription web-sites which contain data from a variety of sources, including overseas, and also search engines which take much of the labour away from the search.

From 1837 there was a requirement to register vital events through the civil authority and copies of certificates can be obtained through the Public Record Office. It was through this means that the birthplace of Thomas E. Maund (see Chapters 8 and 9) was traced and provided a link in the chain of migratory movement of that family. In summary registration provides dates and place of vital events together with some family relationships. Apart from the errors noted its main disadvantage for migration studies is that it is episodic and gives no account of movement between events. It is though a form of individual record, which for micro study is a significant advance upon the aggregated census data.

3.7 Oral Sources

There are of course a whole range of other sources that are used by family historians - wills, gravestone inscriptions, Poor Law Records, diaries and a whole variety of less systematic sources. One very important source though is oral evidence of the people who actually had the experiences of moving and the decisions which underlay them (Humphries 1984; Perks 1992; Perks and Thomson 1998). Within a rural context a classic study using oral evidence is Blythe's (1972) account of life in a remote Suffolk village in the 1960s.

In fact the origins of this project lie in what can only be called oral evidence. Within the Maund family there were stories told of journeys from Birmingham to Herefordshire, specifically Bircher Common, of living in a caravan, roaming the vast common, attending Cock Gate School and of the great pleasure of visiting and living in north Herefordshire and experiencing its ways of life. Then there were the people, Emma, Uncle Dave, Bill, Hazel and Jack. This became almost like folklore. This, and the curiosity aroused by living in an area where places were prefixed Maund (Chapter 9) eventually, many years later, led to this enquiry. Just sufficient information to begin the project came with the clue that Little Hereford was part of the story and thus the essential location from which this enquiry grew.

An oral enquiry into the migration of a family inevitably deals with the time scale of living memory and the testimony of those who actually took the decisions and activated the processes (Moss and Goldstein 1979). Those used here are the living members of a branch of the Maund family whose personal experience stretches back to the early 1920s complemented by stories told for a generation or two before that. The researcher is, unusually, a part of this family so although the source is clear the methods used and the form of evidence they produce needs some consideration (Rose 1997).

By relying for part of this research (Chapters 8 and 9) on oral testimony essentially an ethnographic approach was adopted (Cook and Crang 1995; Findlay and Li 1997). In particular a form of participant observation (Hoggart et al 2002; Cloke et al, 2004). The ethnographic approach and a methodology involving participant observation is not new (Dey 1993). Indeed there is a long and honourable history both in geography and other social sciences (Cook and Crang 1995; Cloke et al. 2004). Each study is different, and does not provide a framework since each gives differing perspectives. Limb and Dwyer (2001) argue that the position of the researcher may be different or the length of the participation only a short period and the ethical issues controversial, there may even be a purpose of social action. In such differing circumstances the research design needs to have both a clear framework and structure. An important aspect of the framework here comes from the idea of a longitudinal study using individual family biographies allied to the life course transitions that arise. All of this is placed not merely in the family context but also the broader local and national one.

This framework and the focus in retrieving data upon transitions, formative experiences and the unfolding events in time and space offered essential structure but there remains the issue of the insider who is also recorder and researcher. In accounts of participant observation as a methodology stress is placed upon the need for reflexivity on the part of the researcher (Rose 1997; Cloke et al 2004). In addition to the usual reflection upon events and processes there is also the need to triangulate events, reports and assessment among the siblings, a form of constant checking and verification (Denzin 1989). In a somewhat similar context Robina Mohammad (2001 p104) remarked, “experiential ‘sameness’ is used to prove moral authority to an account on the basis that this sameness endows the researcher with greater understanding of the researched’s reality.” Similarly, twenty years earlier, Hagerstrand (1982 p326) had remarked that, “the insider ...is involved in the network of meanings that bind ... together and... he might even be able to trace to the roots of the projects back to their finer details”.

Also Burrell, (2003) in her study of the lives of Polish migrants to Leicester quotes Portelli (1981 p99), “the unique and precious element which oral sources force upon the historian and which no other sources possess in equal measure is the speakers subjectivity.” All these quotations not only emphasise the problem with oral histories but also their advantages when used with care and sensitivity.

There are ethical considerations about the extent to which the observed were aware of and in agreement with the observation. For example, Parr (2001 p160)) has a particular view of the morality issues in her work. In part she appears to justify her method because it, “...was necessary if I was to make contact with people who avoided other medical and voluntary institutional geographies.” In a sense this suggests that the method is justified because there is no other way and this is difficult to reconcile with an ethical position.

In the case of this research issues of this type did not arise and the participants knew, at the more formal stage of the investigation, what it was about and were willing collaborators. Those being observed were of the immediate family of the observer and thus there is no question of going native since the observer was already a native! Use of observations or unconscious participation made over possibly the 60 previous

years is a matter for the researcher to reflect upon before putting forward insights. A major strength in this case is that the participation was not for a known restricted period but for a lifetime. This brings with it some issues which need to be resolved. In particular there may be a possibility of a taken for granted culture which may involve unstated assumption among the participants. Although in a very different context Fuller (1999 p223) considered this issue and concludes that “We are different people in different circumstances, we have different identities or roles in different spaces.” For the purposes of this study this research method is about reporting and reflecting upon actions from the position of an insider in order to gain an insight into the process of migration. These matters are pursued further in the context of where they arise in Chapters 8 and 9.

3.8 Other Sources

The identification of the cultural context and ways of life in the Mid Borderland outlined in Chapter 5 come from a wide range of sources. Inevitably selection was a problem but guidance was provided by Johnston and Sidaway’s (2004) suggestion that a framework for determining local cultures and ways of life should focus on local economy, local society and local political structures. These criteria follow closely those suggested by others (Champion and Fielding 1992; Warnes 1992) and were used in this study to cull the appropriate information from different sources.

The sources used include the Tithe Surveys, agricultural returns, the census for its data on occupations and Ordnance Survey maps at different scales. A significant local source was the Transactions of the Woolhope Club, based in Herefordshire, which has been in publication since 1852. The articles it contains are all based on original research in the Mid Borderland and cover a large range of disciplines and topics.

A unique source which provided much local information during the 19th century was publication of the letters of Anna Maria Fay who in 1850 came to live in Richards Castle for one year (Fay 1923). Whilst in Richards Castle Fay wrote regularly to her family in the USA. These published letters are a quite splendid reflection on the countryside habits and manners in the mid 19th century. It is used appropriately in Chapter 5 which seeks to identify ways of life in the local countryside. Although

written from the point of view of the landowning and privileged classes it offers important insights into social and cultural activities and also relationships between the classes.

Information from these sources together with some calculations made from the Tithe Assessment Survey of 1846 and occupations from CEBs, are used as the basis for the analysis of ways of life in the Mid Borderland in the 19th century.

3.9 Summary and Conclusions

This chapter has focussed, in the main, upon issues arising from the sources and the methods used to carry forward this enquiry and attempted to show their coherence through a framework of enquiry in which they are located (Table 3.1). Much of the data collection was notably time consuming, for example, the retrieval of data from CEBs in the Record Offices, the search for families which had migrated, the analysis and checking of family trees and the plotting and checking of migration routes. Some of this was due to the wide range and disparate nature of the material and its widely dispersed nature.

Eventually the product of this retrieval process is, where possible, stored on spreadsheets as a preliminary to presentation in tabular, graphical and map form. Other data of a non quantifiable form are stored on audio tape and CD representing the interviews with the respondents largely represented in Chapter 9.

It is important to indicate that some of the data sources, even the CEBs, are to an extent problematic. This is reinforced in the context of their use in appropriate sections of the analysis. In other areas there are the vagaries of memory and selected perception to be, if not overcome, minimised. They will be highlighted in the text. This is possibly in the nature of a micro study down to the individual level, where the errors can not be 'hidden' or evened out by aggregation.

At the core of this study is the investigation of the relationship between place and migration. In the next chapter the identification of the places involved is undertaken.

Chapter 4

Place: The Geographical Context

4.1 Introduction

It has long been established that studies of migration which seek explanation in terms of human reaction to a series of remorseless forces can only give at best a partial answer (Lewis, 1982). As discussed in Chapter 2 this shift away from such a deterministic mode of explanation to a more behavioural and structural one has raised the issue of the significance of place in the migration process (Walmsley and Lewis, 1988). Increasingly several authorities have argued that place influences values, attitudes and behaviours (Peet 1998; Holloway and Hubbard 2002; Johnston and Sidaway 2004) since according to Blauw (1985 p106) “ways of life depend on where you live”.

Throughout this study the notion of a place-based culture is an important theme and, in particular, its role in the process of migration over time. Immediately this raises the question of how to identify the nature and form of place and its culture and ways of life. As a prelude to the investigation this chapter discusses the concept of place identity and its character within the case study area whilst its culture and ways of life are outlined in the succeeding chapter.

In a longitudinal study of migration covering in excess of 200 years it is to be expected that there will be a range of places and locations involved. The focal point of the study is the parish of Little Hereford in Herefordshire, and Shropshire in the heart of the Mid Borderland. The specific purpose of this chapter is to identify the parish which gave rise to the study and also its surrounding neighbourhood together with its setting in the Mid Borderland. It is this parish locality or neighbourhood from which the analysis of migrating families at the end of the 19th century is undertaken (Chapter 7). The Borderland setting for this is the key to the subsequent assessment of the influence of the ways of life upon individual family migration (Chapters 8 and 9). There are thus two different scales of territory to be determined in this Chapter, a region, which might be termed the Mid Borderland and the locality of a Borderland Parish. However, the chapter begins by

considering the nature and location of the case study parish, Little Hereford, within its regional and local setting.

4.2 The Mid Borderland

Little Hereford is a rural parish set in a remote area of the countryside in the Mid Borderland. Because of the significance of the regional setting and the debate about how such an area might be identified this analysis deals with this before moving to the more precise identification of the locality of Little Hereford.

A number of subjects including geography, local history and family history are interested in the identification of areas as the setting for regional description and local studies. Inevitably there are particular issues involved in this because what is sought is not a unique area unrelated to its surroundings but rather in the words of Johnston and Sidaway (2002 p234) “a regional mosaic ... reflecting the interpretation of local contexts by the actors involved”.

The image here is one of several localities contributing to a region. An interesting conceptual framework for the identification of such areas has been suggested by the sociologist, Giddens (1984), in his development of structuration theory which addressed the problem of the relationship between macro and micro or structure and agency. His view was that changes in macro structure produced a response at the local level but interpreted differently in different places. He further maintained that changes brought about locally would feed back to the macro structure and produce a response there. Therefore, a two way interactive system was produced. The ‘places’ which formed the micro part of this interaction he referred to as “Locales”. “It is usually possible to designate locales in terms of their physical properties, either as features of the material world or, more commonly, as combinations of those features and artifacts” (Giddens 1984 p118). Unfortunately, this gives little assistance to identify a specific place.

However local historians, have made significant contributions to the identification issue (Phythian-Adams 1993; Hey 1996). Hey (1996 p282), quoting Marshall, claimed that “whatever criteria one uses, a “region” can scarcely be seen as a

fixed and static entity. It is, to say the least, a mass of overlapping and sometimes conflicting or interlocking economic and social relationships.” The implication would seem to be that regions are neither fixed nor homogeneous but rather they are a balance of elements which for the moment creates the whole. Presumably an imbalance provoked either internally or externally would produce change. A region may therefore be a form of an open system. For the historian of the countryside, Rackham (1986 p1), humans are the powerful agents of change, “...there are instances where men have made different landscapes out of apparently similar natural environments, or the same landscape out of different environments”. This view suggests two features, firstly that there is a long and evolving history but also secondly the importance of human control; in other words a region is not determined by physical factors alone. These ideas are not new and certainly the concept of sequent occupance has a long history in the writings of cultural geographers (Whittlesey 1929; Meinig 1979). Phythian-Adams (1993 p6) would concur with the importance of historical continuity since he has suggested that “... it is difficult to envisage a better surrogate for changing local social structure as a whole than the spatial geography of social relations” By this he is emphasising the importance of the residential pattern thrown up by each successive generation. Later he writes of , “ a socially definable district ... with an intensity of economic, cultural and kinship links between the places concerned” (Phythian-Adams 1993 p6).

In a contribution on the geographical distribution of surnames, Hey (1997) introduced the concept of ‘Country’ to describe the territory occupied by predominant surnames and added that “these ‘Countries’ were moulded partly by topography, partly by the nature of the work, by building materials, by characteristics of speech, and by ways of thinking and believing” (Hey, 1997, p.xix).

From this comes the image of a territory built up by successive changes over time and manifested both in the landscape, including artefacts, values and ways of life of the people. However, this is not the end of the matter for in seeking an adequate philosophical and methodological basis for their subject local historians have claimed that local study needs to be placed in its broader context (Short 1992).

Thus, “any conscientious student of the comparative histories of the numerous local societies of the ‘English’ ought simultaneously to confront the history of English ‘society’ as a whole” (Phythian-Adams 1993 p2) and “the message is that, however distinctive a local society may appear, it needs to be studied in relationship to its neighbours in contexts that are constantly shifting” (Hey1999 p283).

There is some resonance here with structuration theory but for this study it points to the operation of at least three scales of place namely, the national, the regional or Locale and the local or local societies. The issue for this section is the identification of a regional territory in the Mid Borderland within which Little Hereford is located.

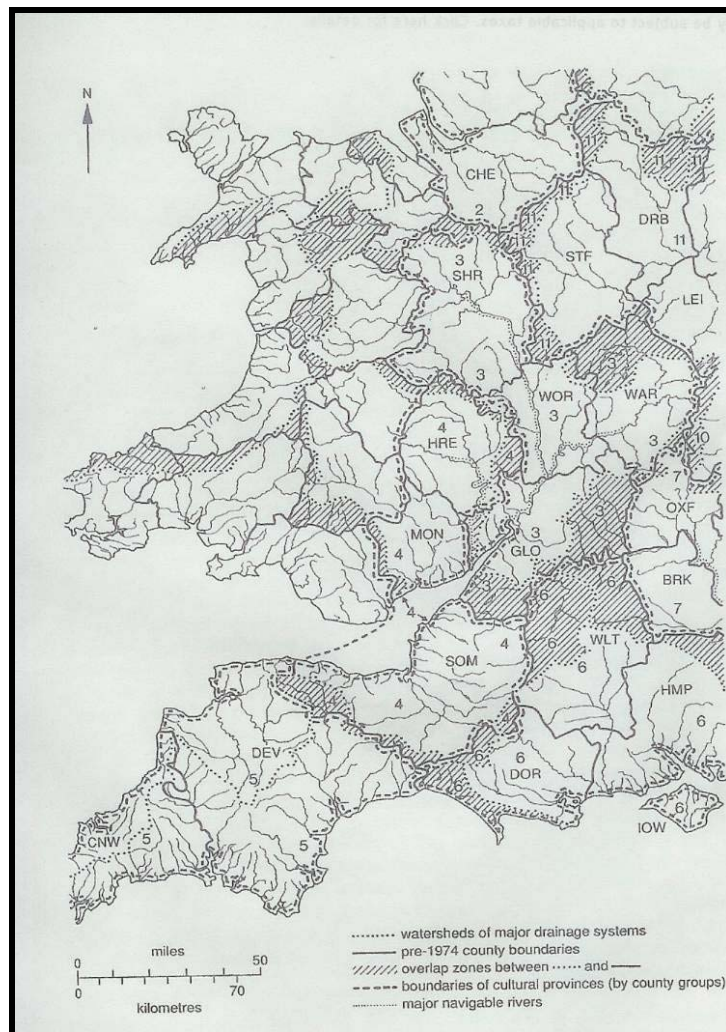


Figure 4.1 Western Cultural Provinces (Phythian-Adams 1993 PX1X).

Phythian-Adams (1993) proposed a nation divided into a series of 'Cultural Provinces' based upon the great river basins defined by their watersheds and therefore suggestive of a degree of physical determination. In the context of the Borderland he offers Herefordshire and Monmouthshire as a province and Shropshire and Worcestershire as another but with the county boundary between Herefordshire and Shropshire being an 'Overlap Zone' (Fig. 4.1).

This structure cuts across the territory under consideration here and is not entirely helpful in the designation of a region in which Little Hereford would be located. However there are two other sources which take the discussion forward. Firstly, Thomas's (1957) analysis of the political development of Wales and, more specifically,, the geographical character of the Middle Welsh Borderland and, secondly, Sylvester's (1969) extensive and detailed consideration of the Welsh Borderland in its entirety. Briefly, Thomas (1957) considers the Borderland in terms of both its cultural divide and a national boundary as evidenced by the existence of several dykes including, of course, that of Offa (Fig. 4.2). He quotes Fox (1940) for whom Offa's Dyke is "a boundary defined by treaty and agreement between the men of the hills and the men of the lowlands" (Thomas 1957 p186).

Sylvester's (1969) view broadly concurs with this divide and emphasises how the area to the east of it has been subjected to various overlays of cultural influence over time. Thus she refers to the Borderland as a hybrid zone. In this she tended to agree with Rackham (1986 p1) "regions are of great antiquity, for county and parish boundaries determined a thousand years ago completely ignore them." There is, according to Sylvester (1969), a continuity produced by a form of acculturation which develops this hybridisation as the Borderland adapted to each successive influence. She does, however, discuss the Borderland in detail on a county basis and thus ignores the strictures of Rackham. This is largely forced upon her by the manner in which her sources are available county by county. However, within each county she does identify sub regions which contrast with neighbouring ones but which have some degree of internal integrity and cohesion. Thus, she identifies the southern hill country of Shropshire which is very similar to what she describes as central and eastern Herefordshire. These two territories when put together form a part of the Borderland shown in Figure 4.2 and enlarged in Figure 4.3.

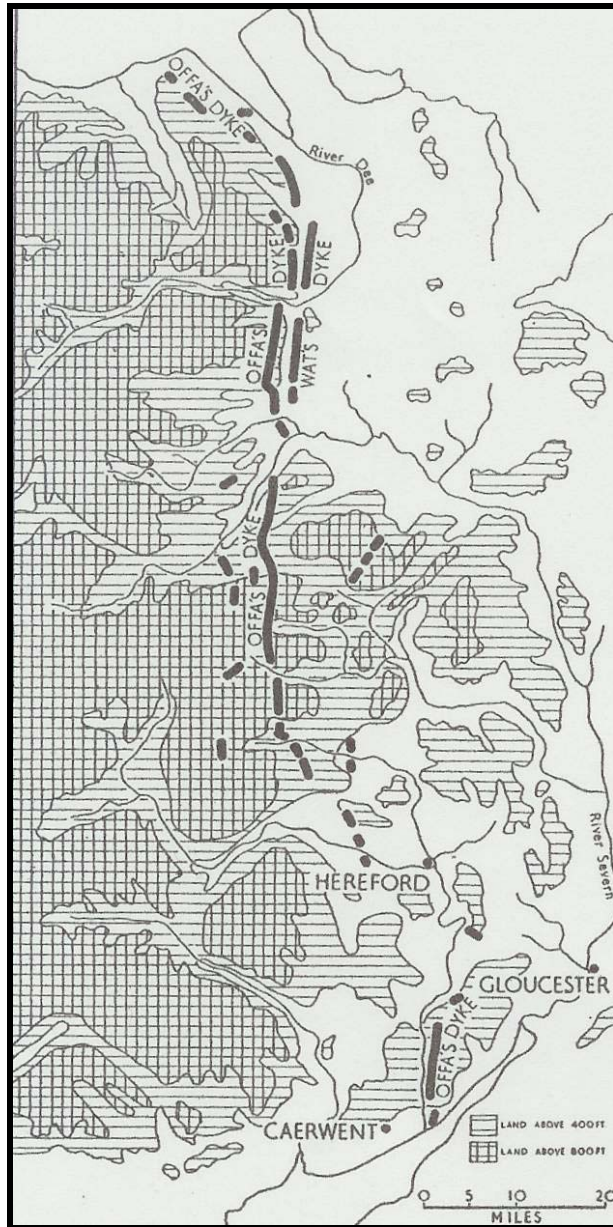


Figure 4.2 The Welsh Borderland (J.G.Thomas 1957 p184)

For the purposes of this study this area is defined as the Region, Cultural Province or Locale which forms the study area. It can not be, despite the search by Phythian-Adams (1993 p9), an “ unambiguously defined area”. The cultural characteristics of this region will be examined in detail in Chapter 5.

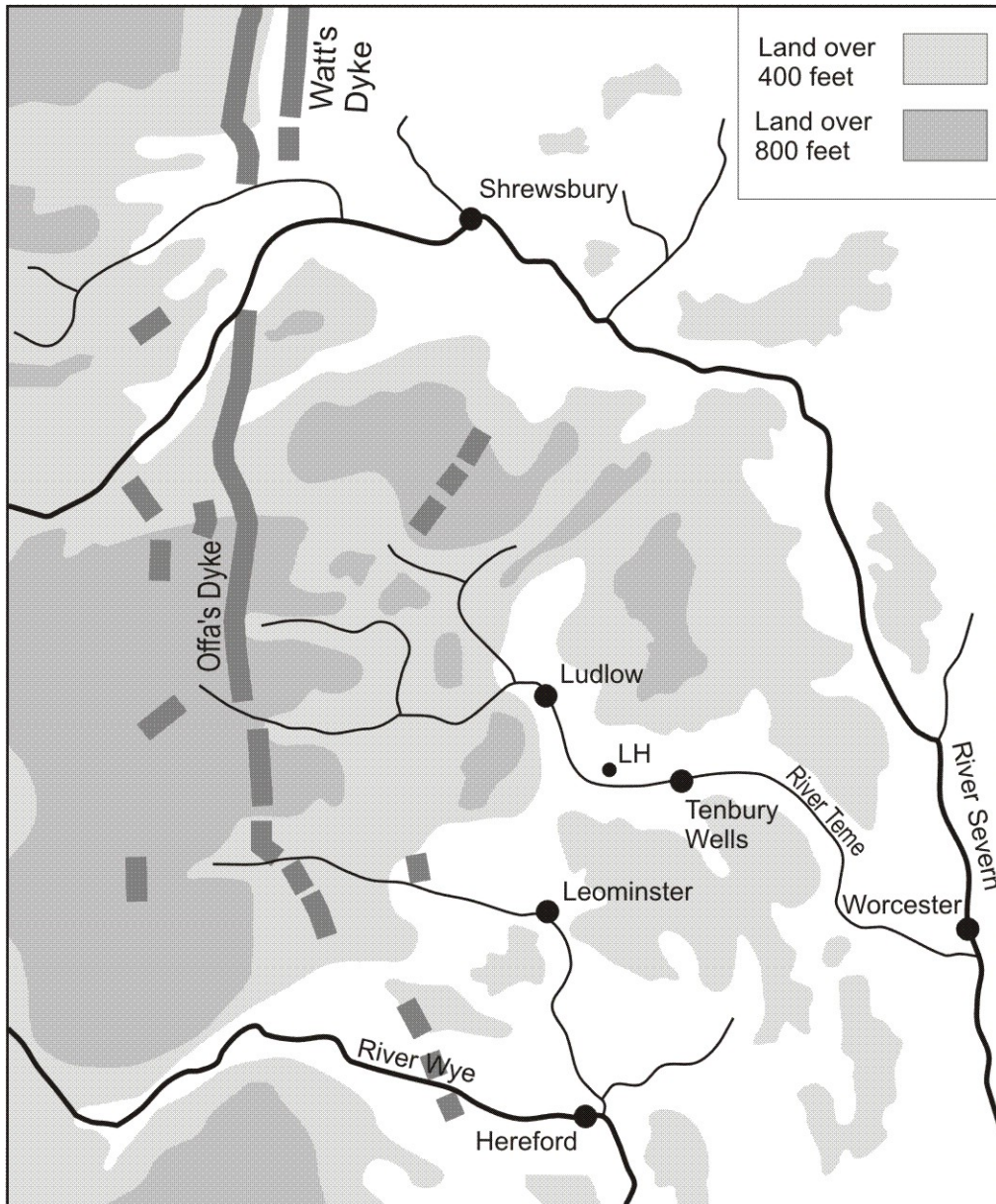


Figure 4.3 The Mid Borderland.

For the moment this study area is designated as one with identifiable ways of life which will inform the analysis of migrating families. It stretches west to east broadly from Offa's Dyke to the Severn and north to south from Shrewsbury to Hereford. The fact that it is not entirely arbitrary is helpful because it fulfils two conditions. Firstly it is designed for the purpose of this study, another study may have a different region and, secondly, it is intended to merge with its adjacent areas rather than contrast with them. It is essentially that area of rolling hilly country with river valleys which extends into England from mid Wales and identified by both Sylvester (1969) and Thomas (1957). It is certainly intended to be spatially greater

than any one local society. In Figure 4.3 Little Hereford is shown as **LH**, roughly in the middle of the territory.

This region is the broader setting for Little Hereford but the parish also has a more local area in which it is set. It is to this local scale that the analysis of geographical context now turns.

4.3 Little Hereford and its Location

The parish of Little Hereford is in northern Herefordshire at the point where the county meets two other counties. Thus the north western and north eastern boundary of this triangular shaped parish are formed with Shropshire and part of the southern boundary, at the eastern end, is with Worcestershire. This latter boundary is effectively made by the eastward flowing River Teme (Figures 4.4 and 4.5). The Prime Parish is therefore a form of intrusion into two other counties which raises the issue of the relationship between areas of study and administrative units.

Data are collected for administrative units and even with family history, as Chapter 3 has shown, much of the documentation is collected in such units. Even though Little Hereford is a single parish it has relationships with its surrounding area, a parish boundary even a county boundary, does not prevent interaction particularly with its immediate neighbourhood and this is explored later below.

From Figure 4.4 it can be seen that the Parish consists of three areas. The western part is Middleton, in the 19th century an area of relatively large tenant farms. The scattering of dwellings along the main west to east route, which includes the Church, was known as the Village and the area to the north of it, but east of Middleton, was called Bleathwood, part of which had been Common land. There is no village as such, which is typical of an area that probably never had an open field system but rather an area of hamlets.

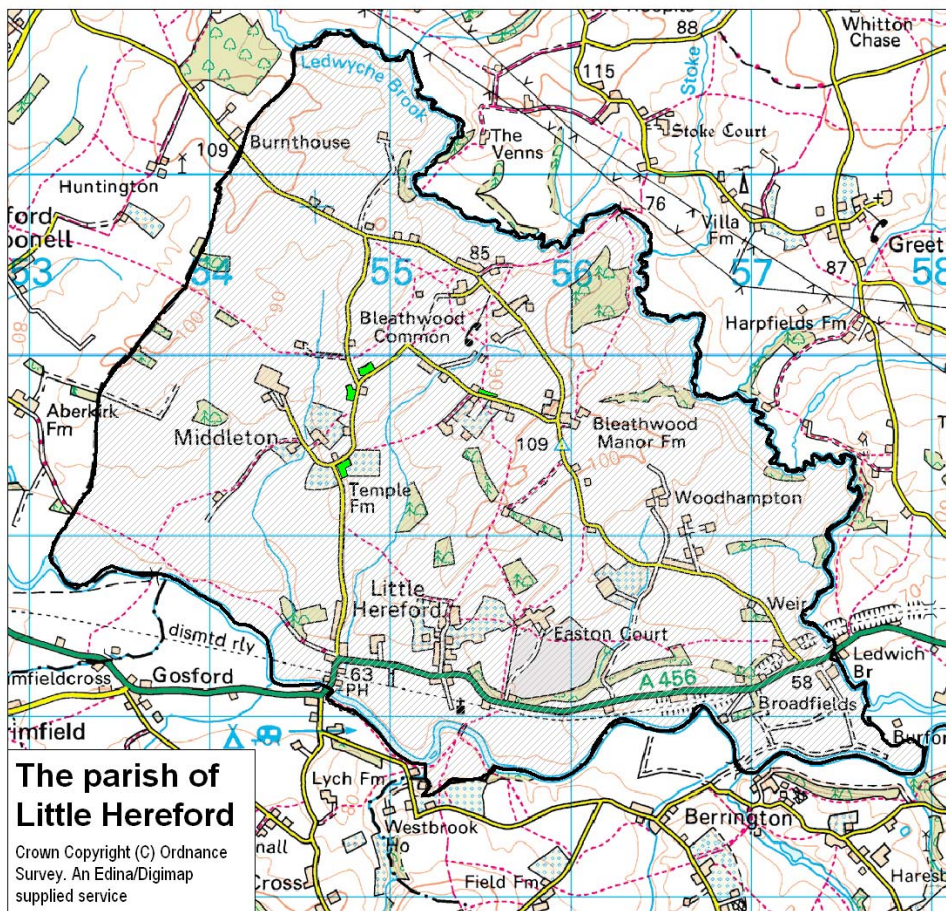


Figure 4.4 The Prime Parish - Little Hereford

Easton Court, the seat of the Lord of the Manor, is to the east of the Parish. From the River Teme in the south the land rises northward from about 60 metres to over 100 metres around central Bleathwood, thereafter it slopes away again to the north and east towards the Ledwyche Brook. Generally the parish is an area of good rich farmland.

Figure 4.5 shows the location of Little Hereford in relation to its immediate surroundings. It can be seen that it is broadly equidistant between three market towns, Ludlow, Tenbury Wells and Leominster. These towns are, in the days of modern transport, very close together and at a maximum 12 miles apart means that

even in earlier times people and animals could walk to a town, there and back, in a day. They were effectively market towns serving a farming community.

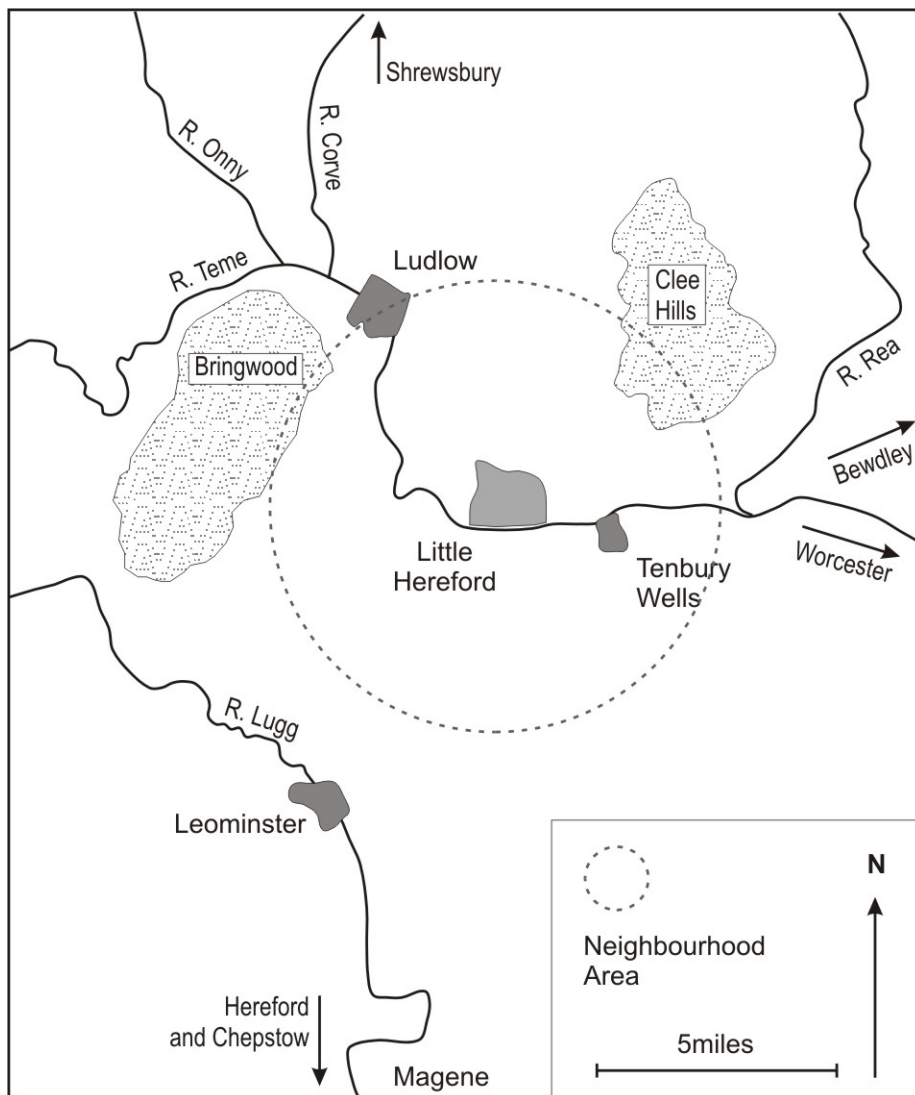


Figure 4.5 Little Hereford and its Neighbourhood.

Another feature to be noted is that Little Hereford lies on the big bend of the River Teme where it changes from southward flowing to eastward. Figure 4.5 shows the significance of this in terms of route ways. Thus little Hereford has access to the major north south route down the Mid Borderland and also to the main route to the east, to Bewdley, Worcester and therefore access to the Severn and beyond. It is remote but not isolated.

Parishes are not single social entities, they are a part of an interacting social and economic locality; the parish boundary or even the county one does not cut them off

from their neighbours. How such an interactive area might be determined is an important question for the spatial context, at the smallest scale, for this study.

4.4 The Neighbourhood and Core Families

The local historian has a central interest in the question of definition of local and the related concepts of Core Family and Neighbourhood Area. This merits examination in the context of this study of nineteenth century migration. These two concepts have been mainly used in studies of local histories of the late medieval and early modern period, a time of relatively slow population change (Hey, 1974; Mitson, 1993). The late nineteenth century on the other hand was a period of massive population and technological change and concomitant change to institutions, which affected the countryside. It is interesting to consider whether conceptual frameworks developed for an earlier age continue to have efficacy during a period of rapid change.

The concepts are interdependent because, according to local historians, neighbourhood area relies upon core family for its identification. For the local historian a core family is taken to be one that resides in a locality for a long period of time and has social interactions within that locality which defines it as a neighbourhood area. There are immediate and obvious problems with this. How long is a long time and what is the extent of the locality and the nature of the interactions within it? A whole range of studies gives us some insight into these questions.

Some studies have used these concepts, incidental to the main theme of the work, and appear to take their meaning for granted. For example, Kathleen Ashby (1961) in her study of the remarkable life of her father, Joseph Ashby of Tysoe, observed that it was very unusual for a family to stay in that part of rural south Warwickshire, during the second half of the 19th century, for more than three generations. She also claimed that her grandmother, Elizabeth, never went outside her own District. So, arising from a quite different agenda, a number of ideas can be identified. Firstly, there is the suggestion that three generations, perhaps a hundred years, was the maximum length of residence in one district. Might this be a definition of core

family? However, it was not clear whether members of the family travelled outside their own district and what, most importantly, constituted a district?

In his classic study of the Shropshire rural community of Myddle, Hey (1974) identified core families by means of the family trees of farmers who worked the land from the late sixteenth to early eighteenth centuries. This length of residence is not inconsistent with the more casual observation of Ashby (1961) although the period is slightly more than 100 years. Hey (1974) however added that these stable families become related through marriage during this period and so gave a sense of permanence to the community. It is important to register that those identified as core families represented only one social class, tenant farmers, and not labourers, despite the latter representing half the population by 1650. This under representation of the lower classes in local histories is a point made forcibly by Hoskins (1966) some years earlier and also has some relevance for this study (Chapter 8).

Even the stable families had regular movement between groups of parishes and marriage partners were drawn from about a ten-mile radius (Perry 1968). In this context the families which are core are status defined as well as being time defined and the interactions which result from marriage or blood, take place over a group of parishes. Is this then a neighbourhood area? It should be noted that the countryside had, during this period, basically three status groups, Gentry, Farmers and Labourers (Hobsbawm and Rude, 1969). Of course these were neither distinct nor discrete categories. There were variations in wealth within each class and some labourers had small plots of land whilst some farmers sold their labour from time to time. In addition there were skilled men who, although they identified with labourers, may have owned some land and farmed it. There was also a sprinkling of professional people, clerics, teachers, and land agents. The Gentry appear to have operated across a much wider territory, county wide or even nationally rather than the neighbourhood area. The point is that those families designated as core were most often from a class of people likely to be recorded or had left wills. The poor left nothing behind them. According to Hobsbawm and Rude (1969 p41) "... they left nothing identifiable behind them, for the marvellous surface of the British landscape, the work of their ploughs, spades and shears and the beasts they looked

after, bears no signature or mark such as the masons left on cathedrals.” So could labourers too form core families? The problem with any attempt to answer this question is that a great deal of work on migration by historians and local historians before the advent of the census and particularly that of 1851, is heavily dependent upon sources which were unsystematic. For example, the research on Myddle was dependent upon the availability of the contemporary writings of Richard Gough (1834) published 140 years after it was undertaken (Hey 1974). In these circumstances it is difficult to be sure that any conclusions about core families do not simply reflect the available material.

Of course marriage between local people was not just restricted to core families; the majority married someone from the locality. There are some interesting observations relevant to this discussion, but not strictly concerned with core families, made by Perry (1968) in a study of marriage distances in Dorset. He offered the notion of each person having a territory for interaction, a personal or community region. He observed that the upper classes selected partners from a wider area and if by this he meant the gentry, then the observation fits with that of Hobsbawm and Rude (1969). In contrast to Hey (1974) Perry maintained that it was the workers whose behaviour defined territory. However it must be borne in mind that Perry (1968) was researching the period 1837 to 1937 and using a much more comprehensive and systematic data source than was available to Hey, namely the civil records, which were instituted in 1837. Some labourers too stayed in an area for long periods of time and interacted across a territory that could be seen as a neighbourhood area. Perry (1968) maintained that from the 1880s the rural situation changed rapidly and coincided with complete literacy in adults implying that written contact could now be maintained. The ‘territory’ expanded as workers were freed from walking as a means of communication. It is certainly likely that up to this point the economy of rural areas, particularly the pastoral areas of the west with its need for regular, daily labour was one that was entirely consistent with the development of a neighbourhood area. This travel issue also related to the spacing of market towns as touched upon above.

The two concepts of core family and neighbourhood area appear to be used, quite centrally, by local historians as part of a framework for viewing and defining a

locality. Interestingly some studies have directly employed the concepts of core family and neighbourhood area as a means for analysis. For example, Mitson (1993) acknowledged the richness of the work that had been done on single parishes and that had recognised the core family and neighbourhood area as a major characteristic and she wished to apply these ideas further into the wider community. Using an area in west Nottinghamshire between Nottingham and the Derbyshire border she attempted to show a sense of belonging, which went beyond the family and the parish into the wider area, which she identified as the neighbourhood area. Such an area was defined as “an entity comprising a group of parishes” (Mitson 1993 p 24) which were highly interconnected. In so doing Mitson (1993) refined the concept of the core family into that of a dynastic family, a term borrowed from Everitt (1982), and defined as a “stable group of core families resident over several generations in the same parish or, more significantly over a group of contiguous parishes”. (Mitson, 1993, p25).

However, despite the detail involved in this study the distinction made between a core and dynastic family still remains rather unclear. Perhaps Mitson, (1993) intended that dynastic families had more than one branch and exercised some degree of power and influence over their neighbourhood, but this was never stated. She even claimed that the presence of such families is “the delimiting factor in the perpetuation of quite precisely defined neighbourhood area” (Mitson 1993 p 25).

From such a claim Mitson proceeded to arbitrarily define her study area within which three neighbourhood areas fit exactly. The families that she identified had been in their neighbourhoods for at least 130 years. There then follows a description, using a variety of criteria derived from Hearth Taxes and Wills which aimed at showing the distinctiveness and discreteness of each neighbourhood area. But, given the flawed nature of the definitions, the conclusions seem somewhat tautological and inevitable. In consequence it must be concluded that neighbourhood area is an attractive but loose concept lacking a definition useful for practical application.

4.5 The Neighbourhood of Little Hereford

An essential precondition for this study is to define and delimit an area or locality around Little Hereford which has an interactive relationship with that parish and which will be the territory from which migrating families can be identified and located (Chapter 7). Defining such an area would need to fulfil certain requirements:

- Reflect the behaviour of local people
- Have some cohesion or internal integrity
- Be faithful to the context of the area
- Be capable of replication in similar areas
- Be simple to construct and apply
- Yield sufficient data

The successful application of these criteria offers the possibility of delimiting a locality or neighbourhood area. For the 19th century the most comprehensive available data source is the Census Enumerators' Books (CEBs). For the period 1841 – 1901 in Little Hereford the occupants at each dwelling at successive decennial censuses were identified. This involved plotting, dwelling by dwelling, the occupants at each decennial census. This produced about an 80% success rate because some dwellings, even with the aid of fieldwork, could not be identified. The Tithes Assessment schedule was particularly helpful in this task because it was produced in 1846, at an intercensal point and showed changes not available by a ten year interval. By this method seven families were identified as having been present in the Parish throughout the period 1841 - 1901. This is a minimum of sixty years or about two generations but provisionally they were designated as core families. Of these, in 1901, four were labourers and three farmers.

It needs to be indicated that this exercise does not necessarily take account of changes in name through marriage and, therefore, the seven families are a minimum number. For example, Richard Hill, a sawyer, lived at Bradley Cottage in 1841. He took on a live-in worker, William Rowbury who married his daughter Sarah and by 1891 was head of household there. So in a sense a core family married into a

core family and there was a form of sequent occupance of the dwelling. In 1841 Mary Addis, a servant, was living-in with Head of Household, Thomas Brown, a blacksmith. Later, in 1861 there is a Sarah Addis living there and she remains certainly until 1891 when she is Head of Household. Exactly what the relationships were in that household is difficult to determine. Other families, Hills, Giles, Butcher, Yapp and Corbett were identifiably resident for a minimum of forty years. In the 1871 CEB the family of Thomas Banks had arrived from Diddlebury and a female descendent is still there today. The point is that any attempt to identify a core family is a complex and interwoven one and probably requires a detailed local history study itself. For the purposes of this study a very simple, minimum method is used.

Before 1851, the family reconstruction process is a very arduous and complex one, well beyond the scope of this study. From the 1851 census it is possible to trace where the head and spouse of the seven core families were born. For three of them, highlighted in Table 4.1, other information from family history data are available and the trace can go even further back (Chapter 8).

Family Name	Parish of Birth	Distance of Birth Place from Little Hereford	Period of residence in Little Hereford	Previous Family Residence
Arnett Spouse	Richards Castle	5 miles	From 1836	Middlesex
Bayliss Spouse	Brimfield	Adj. Parish		
	Orleton	6 miles	From 1833	Eye
	Wigmore	11 miles		
Bennett Spouse	Ashford C. Lindridge	Adj. Parish 8 miles	From c 1783	NK
Froggatt Spouse	Stanton Lacy	8 miles	From 1831	Ashford Bowdler
	Cleobury North	12 miles		
Maud, J. Spouse	Brimfield	Adj. Parish	From c 1828	None
	Little Hereford	--		
Maund, G. Spouse	Little Hereford Diddlebury	-- 12 miles	From Birth	None
Rowbury Spouse	Thornbury Little Hereford	7 miles -----	From c1782 From Birth	Greet

Table 4.1 Core Families of Little Hereford Parish (19th Century).

Table 4.1 shows the results of the process of reconstruction described above. The significance of locality and of time spent in the parish is readily observed. This of course relates to residence in Little Hereford. Even at the scale of a single parish there is evidence of the existence of core families and of a neighbourhood area

determined by their origin and previous residence. Thus no one is born more than 12 miles from Little Hereford, including the marriage partners.

These data were derived solely from information contained in the 1851 census which gives place of birth in contrast to that in 1841. The period of residence in Little Hereford is in some cases calculated from the date and place of birth of the children and, therefore, cannot be precise. It should also be noted that all of these families are plotted through the male line. To do the same through the female line is much more complex because of the possible change of surname involved. If this is unknown it makes searches very difficult and can have a knock on effect through the generations.

On the basis of Table 4.1 there is a clear relationship to the ideas of core families and neighbourhood area although the evidence does not demonstrate relationships between the families. From other information it is known that both the Rowbury family and the family of John Maund were related to the Roberts, who were long time residents of Little Hereford. It is also known from family trees to be used later in the study (Chapter 8) that the parents of George Maund arrived in Little Hereford about 1783 from the neighbouring parish of Brimfield. Thus no one source contains all evidence.

All of the families originated from within the locality and some moved within it. Only one family, Arnett, moved a major distance but they were born in the locality, moved to Middlesex and then returned. The Arnetts, Froggatts and Baylises were farmers and all tenants of the Lord of the Manor. The other four families were essentially labourers, although the Rowburys later became craftsmen and small landowners. At the time of writing none of the families is still living in Little Hereford. Over time even core families are essentially temporary.

Clearly there is evidence for the existence of core families in Little Hereford during the 19th century and for them occupying a locality. In an effort to define the locality more precisely, and to be more inclusive or comprehensive than the earlier writings, the place of birth in 1851 of all heads of household and spouses was calculated. 1851 was chosen because this was the first census to record these data but also

because it was well before the total population of Herefordshire and Shropshire began to decline.

From Table 4.2 it can be seen that there is a distance decay feature rather than a discrete territory something not noted by Mitson (1993) who used clear boundaries. The shape of the gradient away from Little Hereford is interesting (Table 4.2). There is almost a plateau of about ten miles diameter within which about 72% of heads of household and 72% of spouses were born, then a quite rapid fall-away with a very small proportion from beyond 20 miles. The neighbourhood area is not a discrete territory but a continuum which falls away gently at first from Little Hereford and then steeply from about six miles.

Distance from LH	Head of Household	Spouse/Next of Kin
Little Hereford	35%	30%
Up to 5 miles distant	28%	31%
6 to 10 miles distant	9%	11%
11 to 15 miles distant	10%	10%
16 to 20 miles distant	5%	2%
Over 20 miles	9%	6%
Not Known	5%	10%

**Table 4.2 Little Hereford:
Place of Birth, Heads of Household and Spouses 1851.**

These findings are not inconsistent with those of Perry (1968 p124). He conducted a study of marriage distances in rural Dorset and found that between 1837 and 1886 in excess of 80% of marriage partners came from within six miles of the parish concerned. These two calculations are not exactly comparable because Perry used data drawn from Marriage Registers. Never the less there is confirmation of an area, around a parish, where there is intensive social interaction. After 1886, according to Perry (1968) this spatial relationship, whilst not breaking down, extends to greater distances.

So far the analysis has shown that the concepts of core family and neighbourhood area have utility, and that place of birth of heads of household and their spouses also support the idea of an area of intense social interaction. The benefit of this latter is that it involves all heads of household and, therefore, removes the problem of a territory defined solely by higher status people. Place of birth seems to be an

effective index of social interaction in the context of the territorial mobility patterns of the day such as journey to work and journey to market.

The place of birth of all inhabitants is given in the CEB. Having established the core families from the point of their earliest inclusion in the CEB a date nearer to the date of the analysis in Chapter 7 was adopted to define the neighbourhood area. Data for all inhabitants of Little Hereford were plotted from the 1871 CEB. This census was used because it comes in the ten years just prior to the point at which an absolute loss of population in the Mid Borderland was observed. This means that every resident, including children, not merely those that are core or even married, has an opportunity to contribute to the definition of neighbourhood area. In this way, for example, those living-in in households and contributors to the area of social interaction would be included and this may delimit the neighbourhood area more precisely and might be used to provide a comparison with data from 1851 (Table 4.3).

Born within	Number	Cumulative No.	% Cumulative
Little Hereford	161	161	40
1 Mile	14	175	44
2 Miles	27	202	51
3 Miles	31	233	59
4 Miles	20	253	64
5 Miles	13	266	67
6 Miles	10	276	70
7 Miles	1	277	70

Table 4.3 Birth Place Distance of Little Hereford Parish Residents 1871.

The results of this calculation for the locality are given in Table 4.3. The distances refer to any parishes through which lines drawn from the centre of Little Hereford pass. Any person born in a parish through which such a distance line goes is ascribed that distance from Little Hereford.

It can immediately be seen that this neighbourhood area is broadly similar to that for 1851. The 70% of all inhabitants born either in or within six miles of Little Hereford demonstrates the area of intensive social interaction. More broadly the distance decay feature indicates that although this area is identifiable it also merges

with other neighbourhoods at the fringe. Beyond this area of social activity the gradient falls away steeply.

This Table 4.4 extends the area of data and can, despite the different basis of the calculation, be compared with that for Head of Household and Spouse in Table 4.2.

% - Cumulative	Distance from Little Hereford
40%	born in Little Hereford
67%	within 5 miles
82%	within 10 miles
84%	within 15 miles
91%	Over 20 miles

Table 4.4 Birth Place Gradient 1871

Although two thirds of the population is born within five miles of Little Hereford at the other end of the continuum only 9% were born more than 15 miles away and, although not included in the Tables, only 12 people were born more than 100 miles away. This gives the broader context for identifying a credible neighbourhood area.

So what is the extent of the neighbourhood area? It is clearly not a distinct entity and some judgement has to be made as to its extent. Too much precision would be inappropriate and spurious because the distances measured are only approximations not measurements to the precise spot at which each person was born. Parishes vary in area and shape so it is quite conceivable that some people might actually be born further away than the measurement given.

From Tables 4.3 and 4.4 the boundary of the neighbourhood can be identified as those parishes within five miles of the centre of Little Hereford. This was a compact area and at the point at which the cumulative total begins to grow more slowly, it is a break in slope in the distance decay function. Clearly this is a distance that could be comfortably walked there and back in a day. This is particularly important given that all of the population is included in the calculation rather than only those who had access to other means of travel. It reflects one essential aspect of everyone's behaviour, the place where they were born. However there are some

qualifications to be made before arriving at a final definition of a neighbourhood area.

It seems important that the parishes identified by this means be contiguous with no territorial breaks and in this instance this is the case. Clearly not all of the parishes were the same shape or size and the method would be more accurate were it possible to define the area based on the location of the actual household in which the individual was born. The census was collected on an enumeration district basis, which was almost always the parish, and was not sufficiently accurate to identify easily the location of a number households.



Figure 4.6 The Parishes of the Neighbourhood of Little Hereford 1871.

Even when this was attempted by intensive fieldwork in Little Hereford it failed to locate a number of the dwellings. Some had been demolished and for some others the census description was too general.

What this method has given is a series of parishes around Little Hereford in every direction, a total of 20 parishes and one market town within a 5-mile boundary. Three parishes to the east and north east of Little Hereford, Hope Bagott, Nash and Boraston had no one born there and resident in Little Hereford and so these were omitted. A total of 17 parishes and one market town within the 5-mile boundary were identified as the neighbourhood area or locality and shown in Figure 4.6. The position of the parishes identified in this manner in relation to their immediate surroundings has been indicated previously in Figure 4.5. They occupy an area of about 64 square miles and a total parish population in 1881 of 7,994 in addition to the market town of 2,090. This is the area to be used as the base for analysis from which some families migrated after 1871. It is more comprehensively delimited than those suggested by local historians and, for this study, is the area from which the pattern of migrating families after 1871 will be studied (Chapter 7).

Although to some extent data are determined arbitrarily by parish boundary, it is interesting to note that there are three counties involved and their boundaries do not appear to influence the identification of the locality at all, in fact they cut right through the neighbourhood. It is as though these boundaries did not exist. The conclusion is that, at least at this scale, boundaries did not influence social interaction. So there is now a locality defined which represents the territory around an individual parish from which it drew the majority of its population and over which they interacted. It was also an informal unit rather than an administrative one. For the purposes of this study the neighbourhood or locality of Little Hereford was:

That contiguous territory around the Prime Parish from which it drew the majority of its residents at a moment in time. This territory showed diminishing interaction away from the prime parish, at first gently sloping and then sharply falling away. This change in slope was the delimiting factor of the Locality.

Clearly this is not a generalisation, the last word on defining neighbourhood areas during the 19th century; it merely takes some of the earlier work a little further and serves the purpose of defining a small scale area for this investigation that is not completely arbitrary. To take this a little further it is possible to suggest that in the gradient away from the prime parish there is an inner neighbourhood area, here delimited at five miles, and an outer neighbourhood area of between five and seven miles. This would be consistent with the idea of an area of immediate interaction and one of less frequent interaction. Thus in the 19th century five miles might be an acceptable maximum daily journey to work by foot whereas seven miles might be a weekly visit to a market town or perhaps a visit home by those living-in.

This procedure has established an area that fulfils the criteria established at the outset of the analysis. It reflects the behaviour of people in the context of time and place; it is relatively easy to calculate and is certainly replicable in any area. There is also almost certainly some coherence within the area so defined (Chapters 5 and 7). It is the area where the majority of people who live there were born and find their marriage partners. It is what might be called a locality, “the space within which the larger part of most citizens daily working and consuming lives is lived ” (Johnston 1997 p243). It can never be a completely discrete and unique area; it must inevitably merge with others.

The neighbourhood so defined yields, even in an area of low population, sufficient data from which to draw valid conclusions without losing the detail required by a small-scale enquiry. Finally, it has to be noted, that a neighbourhood area in the 19th century may be very different in extent from a neighbourhood area in the 21st century when working, consuming and social lives are conducted more easily across space. It takes perhaps, an hour to walk five miles, perhaps fifteen minutes on a bicycle and five minutes by car. Therefore, developments in transport technology may affect the dimensions of a neighbourhood area or locality.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has identified areas at two different scales: A region and a locality. In doing this it has used ideas from local historians. However, these ideas of cultural

province, neighbourhood area and core family have been adapted to fit the purposes of this study. The great significance of this is to use the idea of “we become what we are because of where we are” (Johnston 1997 p243) in order to investigate its significance to the pattern and process of migration. No where is it suggested that the places delimited here are static and unchanging, indeed the very notion of a gradual merging with surrounding areas is an important aspect of this study. In a longitudinal study involving more than two hundred years change is to be expected. The locality of Little Hereford is that which existed towards the end of 19th century but the region of the Mid Borderland may have more longevity as suggested by its historical antecedents. Change here may be more concerned with adaptations to the ways of life over time than its external boundaries.

This study will now proceed on the basis of an identified Prime Parish, Little Hereford, a locality here called the Neighbourhood of Little Hereford and a Region here designated as the Study Area. The cultural context of these areas is discussed in the next Chapter.

Chapter 5

The Cultural Context and Ways of Life

5.1 Introduction

The realisation of the inadequacies of deterministic explanations of human behaviour or, as Cloke et al (2004 p308) put it, “people are not rocks”, resulted in an extensive exploration of the role of culture in migration studies (Gordon 1992; Fielding, 1992; Halfacree and Boyle 1993; White and Jackson 1995; Pooley and Turnbull, 1998; Johnston 1997; Johnston and Sidaway 2004). When the notion of culture becomes identified with place as outlined in the previous chapter it appears as a powerful idea for analysis. However, this immediately attractive concept is not without its difficulties especially in definition and application and may therefore be problematical. The purpose of this chapter is to explore the concept of culture and its application to the activities and behaviours in the region under study. This is consistent with one of the aims of the study and the objective, expressed in Chapter 1, to identify the nature and culture of the rural neighbourhood of the Mid Borderland.

According to Dorothy Sylvester (1969) the Welsh Borderland was historically a cultural hybrid. She justified this by a detailed analysis of the cultural overlays of successive occupiers of the region using in particular one of their cultural artefacts namely settlement type and form. As indicated earlier Phythian-Adams (1993), on the other hand, defined the concept of a region by means of physical boundaries and then looked at the cultural artefacts. Both stress the importance of the time dimension in the adaptation and acculturation process and this is clearly important in a longitudinal study. As noted previously sources for this type of investigation are fragmented and of variable provenance but the attempt will be made to bring some coherence to them by identifying at least a general framework for their analysis.

The structure of the chapter is to firstly examine various interpretations of culture and then to proceed to identify, in an historical time scale, such elements and activities of the Mid Borderland which might contribute to a description of its culture. Finally, in the light of this exercise there will be a discussion of practical ways forward for the enquiry and how culture may best be interpreted for the purposes of this enquiry.

5.2. Defining Culture

Culture is very difficult to define in a way that makes it useful in a research investigation of migration, as is indicated by the selection of definitions given below.

“Culture is that complex whole which includes knowledge, art, morals, customs and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society” (Chinoy 1964 p20 quoting Taylor 1871)

“The totality of what is learned by individuals as members of a society” (Chinoy 1964 p20)

“... a collective memory store from which individuals or groups could choose different combinations of available beliefs or ways of doing” (Hey 1996 p365)

“An interconnected pattern of widely observed ways of believing, communicating and doing that is informally transmitted from generation to generation” (Phythian-Adams 1996 p364)

“...groups of people who adopt similar ways of life and whose everyday lives are given shape through cultural artefacts and rituals they create and exchange” (Holloway and Hubbard 2001 p146)

With such a range of abstractions it is difficult to see how they might be operationalised for the purposes of research. Moreover no mention is made of the significance of place or the distinctive ways of life and sense of belonging that is also involved. However, other studies have produced less abstract and indeed more comprehensive views, for example Pooley and Turnbull (1998) introduced the important reference to place, quoted in the previous chapter of this study, indicating the significance of place identity and culture. This view is supported by Burrell (2003) who pointed to the real and emotional ties that the migrants she interviewed still had to their homeland. The introduction of the notion of attachment suggests some personalised and emotional tie to a place.

These views were reinforced by Johnston, (1997 p249), “regions are places where people learn culture and contribute to its continuation.” It seems that place and ways of life are inseparable and therefore there is some irresistible relationship between culture, place and ways of life.

From the discussion of definition and interpretation of culture it seems clear that the concept of culture is a highly complex one. For the purpose of this study it is seen as an amalgam of values, beliefs, attitudes, behaviours and practices inextricably linked to place. Further, these attributes evolve continuously over time and therefore the culture is subject to change over both time and space. In the Borderland there is tangible evidence for this in the artefacts of previous generations for example, settlement form (Sylvester 1969) and field systems (Shepherd 1979). There appears to be much support for the position that people's decision to migrate is related to individual and cultural factors rather than determined by some outside impulsion. Burrell (2003 p27) using Chamberlain (1997) put the position quite clearly, "the motive for migration may have had as much to do with the maintenance of the family and its livelihoods, with the enhancement of status and experience within a culture which prized migration per se and historically perceived it as a statement of independence, as to do with individual economic self advancement." The question then arises of how to proceed with an analysis of the Borderland as a context for this study.

There has been much discussion of place, locale and locality possibly resulting from the extreme difficulty with the concept of culture. For example, Johnston (1997) and Johnston and Sidaway (2004) review the arguments involved in the development of thinking around these concepts and their relationship to region. They conclude that a practical application is offered in the study made by Griffiths and Johnston (1991). In this study of the 1984 miners strike they offer a three component framework as a means of describing and analysing place. This framework was briefly referred to in the previous chapter as using categories related to the locality namely, local economic, social and political structures. Although these are very broad categories they do at the very least suggest a way forward. Hoggart et al (2002) point to the importance of an explicit structure because, although, they maintain that research can only be an interpretation, a framework and structure allows for checking. These structures certainly offer the potential for this and provide a framework for the retrieval of data from the variety of sources available, in other words, a form of structure for data selection. With the addition of a time scale this structure provides an opportunity to examine the major features and characteristics of the Mid Borderland in an historical time scale thus showing the evolution of the social,

economic and political characteristics. Such an approach may reveal both continuity and change in the Borderland over more than two hundred years to the present. In practice this involves an overview of the regional setting, farming and farming practice, transport and social relations. Data collected on these will be informed by reference to the economic, political and social relations that essentially reflect those characteristics of the region important to this study. Thus some attempt to show the evolution and development of activities historically, an examination of the dominant activity, the ways in which transport systems were contrived for the commercial activities of a remote area and finally some examination of the major ways of life arising. This study now proceeds to a more detailed examination of the Mid Borderland.

5.3 The Regional Setting

The purpose of this section is to give a brief general description of the main features of the region identified as the Mid Borderlands and in which the Neighbourhood or locality of Little Hereford is set.

Briefly and as argued in Chapter 4, Thomas (1965) examined what he terms the Middle Borderland although this is a territory immediately and wholly to the west of the English-Welsh boundary. This political demarcation is to an extent justified by Thomas in terms of history and economy. At the very least it offers a western boundary to the definition sought for this study. A further analysis is provided by Sylvester (1969) who deals with an area astride the boundary. Both these accounts were written from the standpoint of the region as an integrated, though not entirely discrete, unit both in space and time and as such conform to notions of locale (Giddens 1984) and cultural province (Phythian-Adams 1993). It is perhaps proper to claim that both the work of Thomas and Sylvester deal with the region in terms of historical evolution rather than as a region based upon physical determinism. As such they therefore describe what for them is a place based culture.

It is essentially an area of rich farmland to the east of the boundary between England and Wales (Figure 5.1). To the west a line of market towns running north-south are located at the points where rivers issue from the Welsh hills (Lewis 1970). From

Welshpool in the north to Hay-on-Wye in the south may be the effective western edge of the region. Both in the past and in the present these towns serviced the different agricultural regimes to their east and west. East of the western towns is yet another line of towns running north south from Shrewsbury through Church Stretton, Craven Arms, Ludlow and Leominster to Hereford. These too are important agricultural markets but are also linked by the major north-south route down the Borderland.

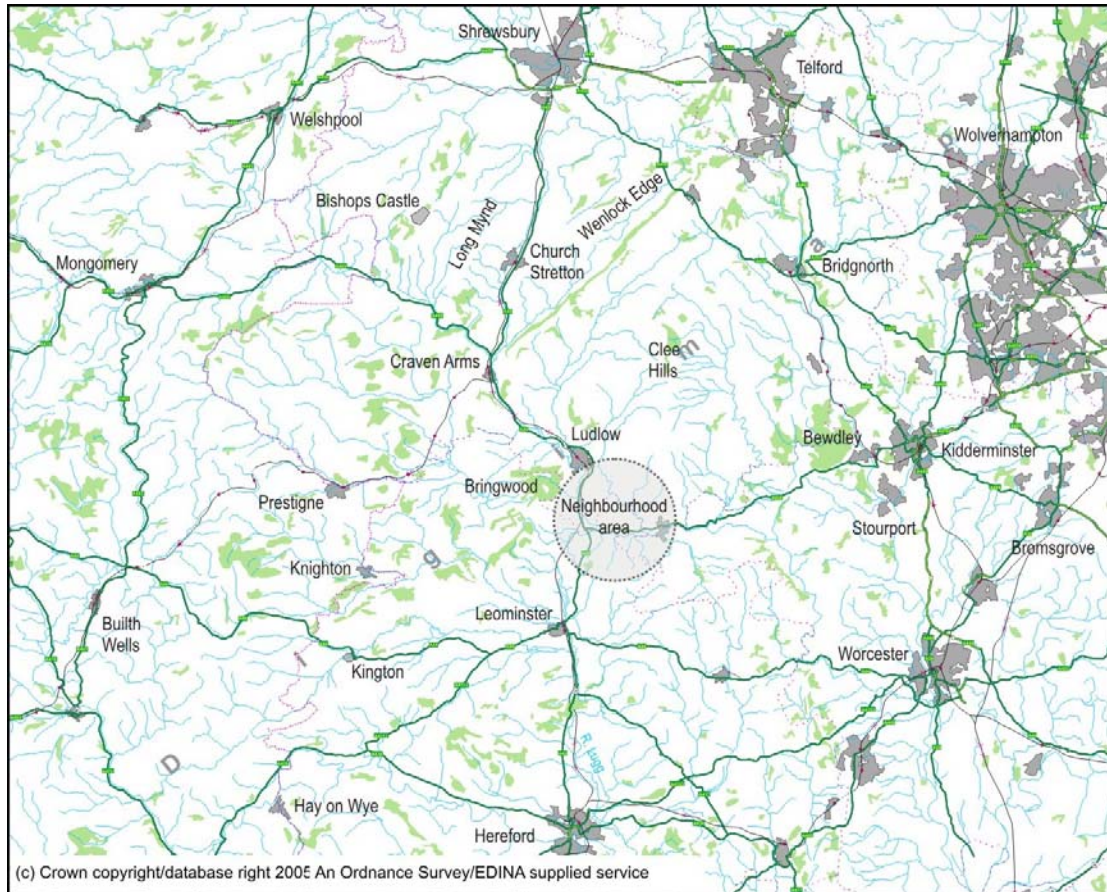


Figure 5.1 The Mid Borderland.

The rivers flowing east from this area eventually flow south to join the Severn. Especially significant for the locality of Little Hereford are the rivers Teme, Lugg and Wye. Finally, at the extreme east is the line of the River Severn and the towns along it that formed an important means of transportation for agricultural produce. Of particular significance are Bewdley, Stourport-on-Severn and Worcester. Routes from these provided access not only to Birmingham and the Black Country but also down stream to Gloucester, Bristol and London by water. From Leominster and Hereford

routes south down the Lugg and the Wye led to South Wales and Bristol via Chepstow.

These market towns and river ports form, over a long period of time, an essential network for the economy of the area (Lewis 1973). The closely spaced market towns were essential points of exchange, each servicing its own neighbourhood but also connected with others so that livestock from the hills of Wales could be sold at market to those seeking to fatten them in the lowlands. Thence the products could be moved to the Severn for transfer to the wider market. So there was a coherence, an interconnected system which served the agricultural activities of the region. Importantly, the Mid Borderland was remote but not inaccessible. This is an important theme, one which may be noted as an enduring characteristic.

The great arc of the River Severn is important in this system and effectively provides the northern and eastern edge to the region. But it is also the collection point for a number of other but smaller river systems. Thus the Teme rises in mid Wales flows east to Ludlow and then south and finally east forming the southern boundary of Little Hereford and then on to join the Severn at Worcester. This river basin of the Teme is effectively in the centre of the region and important for the neighbourhood of Little Hereford (Figure 5.2).

Little Hereford, the Prime Parish, is in the centre of its neighbourhood area between the market towns of Ludlow in the north and Tenbury to the east. Ludlow is about four and a half miles away in a direct line and Tenbury about three. Six miles away to the south is Leominster. The distance between markets was conditioned by the need to have access to them. With transportation difficulties there was a need to be able to get to them and back on foot in a day frequently driving livestock on the hoof. So, although the towns may be ten to twelve miles apart, no intervening location was more than five to six miles from a town. This feature is more readily seen on the more localised Figure 4.10 in Chapter 4. On this map also the routes out of the region and the towns they connect to are indicated. The location of these can be seen on Figure 5.1. The neighbourhood marked on Figure 4.5 and again on Figure 5.1 is almost entirely in the basin of the middle Teme. On its north eastern edge is Clee Hill and Bringwood Chase on the north-western, both with different economic histories and, therefore, exceptions to the generally rich farm land of the remainder of the area as is

indicated later.

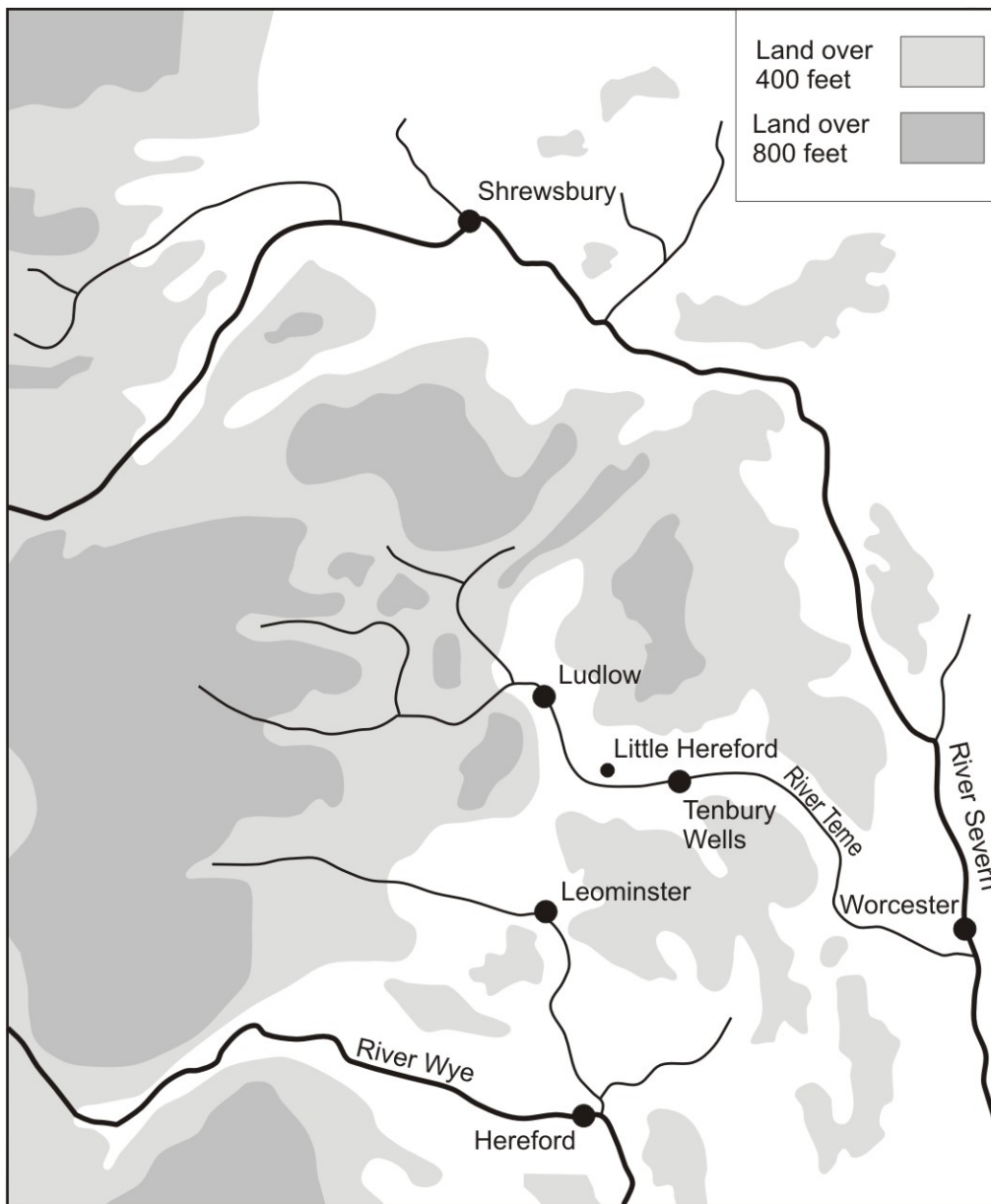


Figure 5.2 Little Hereford and Basin of River Teme

South of this is the River Wye which, rising in mid Wales, flows east to Hereford and then south to the Severn at Chepstow. On the way it collects the Arrow near Leominster and the Lugg and Frome at Hereford. These minor river systems not only provide wide valleys and meadowland but also, essential route ways for the commercial agricultural products and linkages between the market towns before the coming of the modern transport systems.

In many ways the Mid Borderland fits Rackham's (1986) description of Ancient Countryside with its hamlets, very few nucleated villages but small market towns, isolated farms, roads not straight and sometimes sunken, small woods with open fields largely abolished before 1700. It is doubtful whether there was ever an open field system here and such enclosure that took place did so in 15th and 16th centuries (Tate 1978; West and West 1985; Hey 1997). Later at the end of 18th century there was some enclosure of the commons (Moir 1990). Much of this enclosure was undertaken at the behest of the Lord of the Manor in particular parishes.

In arguing for a hybrid form of the culture in the Borderland Sylvester (1969 p166) shows that distinctions in settlement structure are determined by what she refers to as the Parish Line which does not follow an English/Welsh distinction but cuts across that line. Thus for the Mid Borderlands region the line between single and multi township parishes cuts through south Shropshire. Most of the region in the 19th century was designated as an area of single township parishes. She also notes that where there were nucleated villages these tended to be in west Herefordshire whereas the east and north east was typified by dispersed settlement. The move to greater nucleation is in fact a mid 20th century phenomenon when planning authorities designated key villages in the face of rising demand for housing (Maund, 1976).

Much of the discussion among historians of the countryside about settlement form rests on interpretations of the presence or otherwise of an open field system and the nature of the control of the community (Short 1982). In an attempt to classify different forms of settlement Mills (1980) developed a classification based on attitudes towards the implementation of the poor law. In doing so he proposed 'open villages' where the control of the Lord of the Manor was weak and 'closed villages' where incomers were prevented from settling by the Lord. This typology was developed for areas of eastern England where much of the farming was arable and there was a very strongly developed open field system and does not appear to be an useful concept to describe the countryside of the Mid Borderland. It would appear that the nature of the demand for labour was different from that of the pastoral west (Hobsbawm and Rude 1969; Snell 1985) and had significant implications for the type of settlement. However, whatever the form of the settlement, they appear to be

determined by the needs and activities of each region which may well have developed its own response to changes.

The description of the countryside in the Mid Borderland is taken further by the words of Daniel Defoe (1719) on his early 18th century travels when he came up the Teme valley and must therefore have passed through, or close by, Little Hereford. “I observe they are a diligent and laborious people, chiefly addicted to husbandry, and they boast, perhaps not without reason, that they have the finest wool, and the best hops and richest cider in all Britain great quantities of this cider are sent to London, even by land carriage, though so very remote, which is evidence for the goodness of it, beyond contradiction. but ‘tis certain, that not any of our southern counties ... comes up to the fertility of this county” (Defoe 1719 p 372).

This quotation raises a number of points. It was clearly a rich agricultural area engaged in mixed farming with both animals and cash crops of a significantly commercial variety. It was able to trade over distances even in Defoe’s time when travel and transport were by no means easy. Further Defoe testifies to its remoteness, so the goods must have been much in demand. It seems clear from this that remoteness was not necessarily a barrier to access.

A more contemporary view of the countryside over a hundred years later, in 1850, was that by the American, Anna Maria Fay writing home about her journey from Shrewsbury south to Richards Castle in the neighbourhood of Little Hereford. “For twenty miles we drove through what appeared to us Paradise. Parks on all sides with sheep and cattle grazing under magnificent oaks, mountains in the distance tinted under a glorious rising sun with shades of purple, cottages sometimes in the foreground, sometimes on hillsides, in valleys, built of stone with pointed thatched roofs and the fronts and sides covered with ivy or flowering vines” (Fay 2002 p66).

This brief description of the region is not merely the platform or setting for this study it is an essential aspect of the character of the area. The region was pre-eminently a farming area and most of the economic activities supported farming or those engaged in it. There was a small amount of other workings including coal, iron and quarrying in Bringwood Chase and Clee Hill but this was not typical of the region. In terms of

the landscape of an area divided by rivers the Victoria County History (1989) has described south Shropshire as a series of 'Pays' whilst Dodd (1979) identified a series of similar sub regions in Herefordshire in the 19th century based on minor differences in agricultural regime.

5.4 Farming and Farming Practise

One of the purposes of this section is to consider the view of Phythian-Adams (1993) that 'Cultural Provinces' display not only continuity but also change, and that of Giddens (1982) on the relationship between macro and micro structures and their role in producing a distinctive culture of place. The Mid Borderland has a remarkable history of adaptability in the face of external and national forces and therefore adaptability will be a strong and enduring theme.

The early 14th century in Herefordshire was a period of famine and disasters which, in 1349, gave way to the Black Death (Hopkinson 1983). There followed a national and local decline in population, (Chapter 6), perhaps by more than a third of the national total (Hey 1997). Thus land became cheap and labour in short supply. One answer to this in Herefordshire was a consolidation of holdings through piecemeal enclosure. Another response in the Borderland as a whole was for less labour intensive practises, and so sheep rearing took hold as the major economic activity. It was during this period, the late 14th and early 15th century, that the yeoman farmer began to appear (Hopkinson 1983). Over the next two centuries the region developed a widespread trade in wool, even into Europe, and the market towns boomed (West and West 1985). Reeves (c1970) in a study of the history of Leominster and district quotes an unknown source (p120)

*"Where lives the man on Britain's furthest shore
To whom did never sound the name of Lemster ore?
That with the silk worm's thread for fineness doth compare"*

This "ore" he maintains, came from the fleece of the famous Ryland sheep, developed around Leominster, and much of its success was due, up to the mid 16th century, to the work of the Priory monks. Leominster became a major late medieval and early English market. But over a period of time the quality of the wool declined with

changing habits for feeding sheep. The region adapted through the development of beef cattle breeding to take the place of wool (Reeves c1970). This illustrates a continuous process of adaptation, a process rather than an event and the change was slow and piecemeal, there was both continuity and change.

According to Reeves (c1970) the tradition for cattle breeding began in about the 17th century and some maintain that the Scudamore family of Holme Lacy, long term aristocratic farmers, were responsible for this when the then Lord introduced Flemish cattle in about 1660 (Reeves c1970). Lord Scudamore too was responsible for the red streak apple and, by 1639, was sending cider to London, noted a hundred years later by Defoe (1971). So the challenge to wool which came from the continent was met by turning to beef cattle.

A particular characteristic of the Mid Borderland was the influence of pioneers and innovators perhaps not nationally famous but none-the-less very important locally as leaders of change. For example, the Tomkins family from just north of Hereford were another family to progress by careful selective breeding of cattle. From this beginning the famous Hereford breed was established and with it a tradition of herd improvement and selective breeding, and in 1846 the first edition of the famous Hereford Herd Book Society was published. This breeding practise and success was not localised for it influenced the cattle areas of the world. The practise of improving the Hereford breed continued into the second half of the 20th century when competition from other foreign breeds and beef products saw a decline. However it must not be overlooked that there was a close association between beef and arable because of the need for fodder and with it rotations and the maintenance of soil fertility. So wheat became an important crop not only for cattle fodder and subsistence but also for export. Of course this long tradition of commercial farming in the Mid Borderland required well worked transport systems and this will be returned to later.

By the mid 17th century the region was an area of mixed farming and, it is reasonable to suppose, able to respond more rapidly to changing markets than the more monocultural eastern England. This possibly stemmed from its history and attitudes and perhaps the hybrid nature of its culture. There were also a continuous set of innovations, experimentation and technological developments that enabled changing

conditions to be met. Improvements in manuring and the introduction of clover and turnips into the rotation were all achieved here. For example, as early as 1689 Ann Cooke of Richards Castle was growing five acres of winter corn and 18 acres of spring crops including two acres of turnips (VCH 1989 p147). By 1650 hops had been introduced into the Teme valley and John Smith of Burford had 20,000 poles as well as apples and cider (VCR 1989). But the emphasis still remained on livestock and much of the crops were grown as fodder in support of this. The local towns were the markets and essential to the activity of the area (Lewis 1975). Animals were transported on the hoof until the coming of the railways, but buyers at specialist fairs that were established came from as far afield as Berkshire and Kent (Reeves 1970).

Perhaps part of the Mid Borderland's adaptability was due to external contacts for, despite its remoteness, there was much contact with the outside world and, therefore, exchange of knowledge and ideas, and not merely by the better off. Apart from fairs, drovers out of Wales traversed the area en route to the markets of London although the major tracks went south of the neighbourhood area, crossing the Wye at Hereford or north through Shrewsbury (Bouser 1970). There was a ford across the Teme at Ashford Carbonel, a neighbouring parish to Little Hereford, and through here herds of cattle were driven on their way to Bewdley (Ray 1998). But the system of markets and fairs will have brought much contact. Factors from as far afield as Berkshire and Kent came regularly to the region. One of the functions of the region was cattle fattening as well as cattle breeding. Cattle came from the west to the local markets and were bought by local farmers for fattening for resale to buyers who came from the populated Midlands or London (VCR 1989). This was one of the major farming activities and provided a demand for labour and much of it all year round.

The 19th century is particularly important for this study as a context for the investigation of migrating families. It has now been established that the region of the Mid Borderland was by the 19th century a rich one for agriculture and capable of sustaining a variety of farming regimes which continued well into the 20th century and the next. The success of farming regimes and production may be, in some senses, subject to physical conditions so a bad harvest can be the product of poor weather as at the end of the Napoleonic Wars and then again during the early 1870s. But physical conditions are better regarded as permissive rather than deterministic. Farmers can

respond to the market although changing agricultural regimes takes some time. Clearly there are different time scales: selective breeding may take a hundred years; to change from arable to pastoral, say, five years; to cultivate a different crop, one year. Building up a herd takes time too as does growing a new crop, so there are lags in response to the market and these have to be managed. In such circumstances the simple laws of supply and demand have to be amended for agriculture to take account of the time delay hence the Cobweb Theorem (Lipsey 1963). Despite the difficulties, by the very nature of its mixed regime, the region was well placed to respond to changed demand. From the late 20th century the demand for milk has fallen away, beef is now highly specialised but potatoes, farm shops, leisure pursuits and fruit are now all part of the farming regime as the region adapts yet again by diversifying.

All these adaptations were the results of decisions made by farmers in consequence of their interests and how they perceived the conditions of the day. Some were innovators like the Tomkins family and others improvers like John Arkwright (to be discussed later). It appears that some changed because of their individualistic and pro-active outlook, some simply as a response to national circumstance. Not all responded successfully and indeed some may not have responded at all. But in total these decisions were all part of the characteristics and traditions of the area to which different people had different reactions. Commercial success in farming is frequently an individual response rather than a corporate one and this is illustrated in Chapter 9. Individualistic responses are a characteristic of the region as some of the above illustrates. In 19th century agriculture there was a series of national phases and in terms of farming they formed four distinct periods:

1. To 1812 - Boom in prices, poor harvests and the poor suffered.
2. 1815-51 - Depression, rioting, Swing Riots, New Poor Law, Reform Act, Tithe Commutation Act, repeal of Corn Laws.
3. 1852-74 - Boom, High Farming, land draining.
4. From 1874 - Depression, competition, depopulation of the countryside.

One result of the 1836 Tithe Commutation Act was a survey that enables the reconstruction of the land use of the time and thus some judgment can be made of the farming regime. In Little Hereford this survey was conducted in 1846 and the data when aggregated from each of the field totals offers the following summary of land use in the parish (Table 5.1). Most of the land within the parish was in use and Table

5.1 illustrates that a total of 53% of the land was down to grass. It was a very active agricultural area, even before the boom that came after 1850.

Land Use	%
Meadow	17
Pasture	38
Arable	42
Hops	3
Orchard	10
Wood etc	0.4
Rough	0.4

Table 5.1 Little Hereford – Land Use 1846.

Grass was necessary for hay as fuel for horses which were used on the farms and thus for transporting produce and also to feed other livestock over wintering.

In Kimbolton, to the south of Little Hereford, the tithe apportionment was completed six years earlier in 1840 (James 2001). As can be seen from Table 5.2 orchards were

Land Use	%
Meadow/Pasture	53
Arable	37
Woodland	2.5
Hops	1.6

Table 5.2 Kimbolton - Land Use 1840

not recorded for Kimbolton, although they must have existed but, this aside, the land use pattern was similar to that in Little Hereford. The making of cider was an important aspect of farming because its provision was an essential part of the labourer's employment terms. It is likely that orchards were included in pasture because it had this dual use. This pattern of agriculture derived from the tithe data confirms the suggestion by Phillips (1979) that after 1870 the proportion of grassland actually increased. Such a finding was entirely consistent with the changing fortunes in agriculture as farms went out of wheat in the face of cheaper grain from overseas.

Crop	Arable	Wheat	Barley	Oats	Turnips	Beans	Ley	Fallow
Acres	40	14	3	2	4	4	6	7

Table 5.3 Crop Proportions on single Farm , late 19th century (Dodd 1979).

In a very interesting survey Dodd (1979) used data from a range of sources relating to the second half of 19th century, to produce land and crop surveys for different parts of Herefordshire. For the Little Hereford neighbourhood he showed the crop proportions on an 81-acre farm (Table 5.3). The 40 acres not down to crops was clearly down to grass but a picture was also given of the range of crops produced. In addition there was also an orchard and a small hop yard. It was a typical mixed holding with apples for cider, hops for brewing, wheat as a cash crop and the remainder as fodder. As shown in Table 5.4 there were only a few animals on this farm.

Cattle	3 Store	2 Calves	2 Milch
Sheep	4, 2 year (Wintered)	19 Ewes	12 Lambs
Horses	3		
Pigs	1		
Poultry			

Table 5.4 Animals on a single Farm, late 19th century (Dodd 1979)

So this particular farmer's income would come from wheat (although some was fed to animals), lambs, beef and some from the orchard and hops. Although the milch cows, pigs and poultry and to some extent the apples were largely for subsistence they were also reared for small scale commercial purposes. The animals for sale were taken to market on the hoof and other products such as eggs, poultry and butter would be driven to the appropriate town on market day, probably in a pony and trap. Certainly as late as the 1920s this was still happening, for example, from Yarpole, adjacent to the neighbourhood of Little Hereford, to Leominster on a Friday (Chapter 8).

The animal husbandry on this farm illustrated was labour intensive and required work all year round hence the differing regime from the arable east referred to previously. The animals would be indoors during the winter and have to be fed daily with hay and roots and this demanded daily labour. An acre of ploughing would take a day, in the course of which the ploughman would walk about eight miles. The acreage under crops was seasonal and probably additional casual labour would be required at harvest. Some of the activity was aimed at subsistence, the pig, two Milch cows and the poultry. Until the coming of mechanisation, after 1870, much of the work would have been hand labour and this persisted in some areas up to the Second World War. Certainly the early machinery was all horse drawn (Hill & Stamper 1993).

During the 19th century fields and farms in Little Hereford were generally small, illustrative as typical of a landscape that had long been enclosed (Table 5.5),

50% of fields were below 5 acres in size
3% of fields larger than 10 acres in size
Mode less than 3 acres
Mean 5.7 acres
Median 11 acres

Table 5.5 Little Hereford- Field Size 1846

producing mixed produce commercially and utilizing much labour. Yet farm sizes in Little Hereford varied considerably (Table 5.6).

L. Hereford Farm Size 1871	No. of Farms
Up to 50 Acres	4
50 – 99 Acres	1
100 – 199 Acres	5
200 – 300 Acres	5

Table 5.6 Little Hereford Farm Size.

The 19th century was one when the Victorians were developing labour saving devices (Newby 1987). The scythe had long since replaced the sickle as a means of harvesting and this meant that women were no longer employed to cut the harvest. In the neighbourhood this may have had little impact as the area gradually went out of wheat after 1870 and there was a greater emphasis on cattle (Robinson 1978 p259). On the other hand this would have implied more grassland and the need for more hay for over wintering. Other fodder crops would have been introduced such as roots where much casual female labour would have been used. The threshing machine driven by steam was developed at this time and greatly reduced the need for labour in the winter.

How this period of innovation influenced the farmers of the neighbourhood is difficult to determine since records are difficult to find. Consistently the CEBs of the latter part of the 19th century for Little Hereford show that about 15 heads of household were designated as farmers. But farms varied in size as was shown above. The bigger

farmers lived in large houses and employed much labour, both on the land and as domestic servants. For example, the widow Elizabeth Giles had 260 acres and employed four men, three women and a boy and additionally five men living-in. They were generally family farms and employed their sons, but not exclusively so. Younger sons moved on at marriage to other farms in the neighbourhood area and established themselves as independent. But the farmers themselves moved. By 1901 only three of the farmers present in Little Hereford in 1841, all with farms over 100 acres, were still there and one of these, the Baylises, had moved to a very much smaller farm. This was, of course, in the midst of the depression which did not lift until the Great War gave a much needed impetus. Some farms disappeared from the census, which suggests that when a farmer moved the land was redistributed to existing farmers by the landowner. Generally, but not exclusively, it was the smaller farmer who moved in the period 1841 to 1901, which might support the notion that farmers moved to better themselves (Saville 1957).

Rees (1994 p289) reviewing farming from the mid 19th century in Herefordshire describes a system of high farming, land drainage and changing landownership. The peak price years for farmland were in the early 1870s; prices were less than a half of this by the end of the century. In the face of this slump estates frequently adjusted rents to keep tenants in business. But, he goes on, as farming slumped everywhere it was less severe in Herefordshire because of the mixed farming regimes. Hand in hand with these changes went a decline in population in the countryside. For sixty years after 1870 natural increase in the County was 53,000 but over the same period there were 65,000 out migrants (Grundy 1986 p448).

Thus the Mid Borderland had been and remained a major commercial farming area during the 19th century. Dodd (1979) in his account of farming in Herefordshire during the 19th century testified to the quality of the produce and the pre-eminence of wheat, much more of which was produced than the population could consume. He too quotes Defoe but shows how the cultivation of hops and fruit had expanded but wheat was still the major crop and capable of yields of 30 bushels to the acre. This was maintained by a big programme of land drainage, very necessary in these heavy soils and initiated by provisions in the Act of 1848 that repealed the Corn Laws to give aid to this process. At the same time new pipes took over from the older system

of putting small tree cuttings into a trench.

It is difficult to assess the relationship between local farming and national trends (Howkins 1991). At the very broadest level the region was clearly subject to macro forces, thus the broad farming trends shown above applied but the real question is how did the region respond? The answer given here is that it adapted positively because of its mixed farming regime which enabled a quicker response than a monocultural system such as that in the east and south of England. On the other hand, there were local men who were pioneers and affected the national system, thus the Hereford breed of beef cattle had an international impact and continued to do so up to the 1960s. The area was a great wheat growing one at the time of the Napoleonic wars. All through this time period the price of Herefordshire wheat remained below the national average price. Parker (1979 p 44) maintains that this lower price was the consequence of the large quantities produced. This, he continues, was in part due to the successful production and national demand which led to the bringing into production of more marginal land and the enclosure of commons such as Bleathwood in Little Hereford in 1799. One very intriguing factor, he suggested, was the willingness of farmers to sell wheat to their labourers at well below the market price, thus suppressing the average price. If this was true it reflected upon the labourer relations in the area and may explain why there were so few cases of criminal disruption in the area. This is returned to later.

There are a number of distinctive features about the economy of the Mid Borderlands that would suggest a regional response to changing conditions. Firstly, there was the great adaptability of the farming regimes over time and this was not simply due to the advantage of physical conditions. Advantage needed to be identified and exploited and this could only be achieved through the decisions of people. This is seen not merely in the simple change of regime but also in the care taken with selective breeding, the introduction of new features into the rotation and later draining the land. Much of this was due to the drive and energy from new money such as that of the Arkwrights and the Clives (See 5.6). Secondly there was the condition of labour that, although poorly paid and housed, was more frequently in work and fared relatively better when wages slumped than their contemporaries in the east and south of England (Redford 1926; Snell 1985; Mingay 1986). There was no evidence of

significant labour disputes (Hobsbawm and Rude 1969). Finally there was the persistence of trade despite remoteness. Mass transport systems came late to the area, perhaps reflecting its remoteness but also the relative scarcity of venture capital (Beddoes and Smith 1995). A region is bound together by its social relationships. Despite being late with many technical developments the Borderland adapted to national change and changed its farming regimes successfully but it also contributed through the enterprise of some of the farmers to the national and even international developments. This characteristic of enterprise continued into the 21st century. For example, in 1911 only 8% of farmers owned their land, by 1922 this had risen to 18% and by 1941 to 30% (Hill and Stamper 1993 p12). In part this was due to the demise of the great landowners as they sold off farms cheaply to tenants, in order to pay off debt.

In the Mid Borderland there were undoubtedly phases of adaptation and development. From the close of the feudal system there was the sheep and wool phase which saw the establishment of the market towns and the transport routes. From the 17th century came the great era of beef cattle but supported by hops and fruit, particularly apples. Alongside this was a very significant trade in wheat (Parker 1981). All through this time national population growth was surging (Wrigley and Schofield 1981). With the onset of the depression after 1870 the region turned to dairying to satisfy demand especially from the rapidly growing Birmingham and the Black Country area (Wise 1950). Collection stations were set up throughout the region and milk was transported rapidly by a developing transport system. Thus through the depression in farming and up to the Second World War the region maintained an important farming role in the national economy. In the 1920s a new cash crop, sugar beet, was introduced and this gave an impetus in the midst of depression which was further enhanced by the onset of the Second World War (VCR 1989). This resulted in the bringing into cultivation of marginal land to aid the drive for home grown produce. After the war this continued as the Mid Borderland population grew and the start of the population turnaround could be noted. This prosperity lasted through into the 1980s when a succession of events and government policy produced a significant move to diversification and changing regimes (Evans et al 2001). Thus, beef, wheat, milk and hops declined and niche markets for specialised products developed. There are also signs, perhaps for the first time, of a move to extensive farming of potatoes and soft

fruit. Some of the developments are highly inventive and individualised. For example, the conversion of a potato farm into crisp production on a national scale at Dilwyn, some twelve miles west of Little Hereford and the setting up of direct selling to the door of milk and milk products in Cleobury Mortimer, eight miles to the north east. These are individual responses to identified need in the face of the decline of more traditional products.

5.5 Transport Factors

Such commercial orientation of farming gave rise to the need for transport and communications systems. This was particularly the case in an area so remote from large centres of population and over an undulating and heavy terrain that rapidly became waterlogged in wet conditions.

According to Rackham (1986) there had been a well-developed system of routes in Britain from the earliest pre-industrial age. This would appear to have been also true in the Mid Borderland. Without it the trade which undoubtedly existed would not have been possible, thus the conclusion must be that the Borderland was relatively remote but not inaccessible. Briefly there was a well-developed Roman system of main and feeder routes. As referred to earlier, there were routes north/south along the Borderland and connecting the main markets and on to South Wales. West/east routes coming out of Wales headed to the Midlands and also to London via the ports of the Severn and its Estuary. The west to east routes followed the line of the rivers in the main. For those going to the south the important link was down the Lugg to the Wye and into the Severn at Chepstow. The neighbourhood of Little Hereford sits conveniently where the main north/south route meets the west/ east one down the Teme initially and then the Rea to Bewdley on the Severn (Figure 4.10).

People used these routes from earliest times but produce and products were not always farm ones. For example, iron was brought from Bewdley to Bringwood in the 19th century (Figure 4.5) where there was timber for charcoal to work the iron. This was effected by pack horse and horse and cart despite the fact that at times the route was impassable because of water logging. Bewdley was important because it was a river port on the Severn although later it was a crossing en route to the Black Country

and Birmingham. It was a nearer and less hilly route to the Severn than the one to Worcester that was only used when the Bewdley route was impassable. Animals were driven on the hoof and other products carried by horse or oxen drawn vehicles.

Rivers were very important, not just because they provided a lower land route but because they were themselves a system for transport. In the region the main river route was either down the Lugg from Leominster and into the Wye and thence either to Bristol or to south Wales. This was particularly important for transporting the bulk goods like wheat downstream and coal back upstream. Alternatively there was the route down the Teme and Rea east to the Severn either at Bewdley or Worcester. There is no record of the Teme being used for navigation; it was probably too shallow and unreliable. This is not to say that the Lugg was entirely satisfactory for navigation, it too was liable to flood and drought so the regime was variable in the extreme. None the less from the late 17th century on there was significant interest in making the Lugg and Wye more navigable (Brian 1994). After 1695 various Acts were presented to Parliament to buy up mills along the rivers, to raise bridges and build locks. This is testament to the demand for Herefordshire food from London and elsewhere and the urgent need to get it there efficiently. Undoubtedly produce from the region was moved in this way but better land routes were needed too, either to feed the water routes or as connections in their own right. In 1728 an Act was passed to construct the toll road from Leominster to Brimfield. There then followed in 1751 the Ludlow to Woofferton and Little Hereford toll. Toll houses were built to collect the tolls but these had a remarkably short life. The toll house at Brimfield was sold in 1869 for £40, the one at Little Hereford in 1873 for £45, whilst at Woofferton the toll house fetched only £35 in 1878. By this time though there was a railway network (Tonkin 1994).

Towards the end of the 18th century interest grew in building a canal through Little Hereford and to connect Leominster to Bewdley, but it never completed its length. The canal era came late to the region and was overtaken by the development of the railway. The first railway in the area was that from Shrewsbury to Hereford, opened in 1852, which effectively connected the area to south Wales and to Liverpool. It was another nine years before the west/east line was opened in 1861. This connected with the north-south route at Woofferton Junction and proceeded to Little Hereford where

there was a station and then on to Tenbury and thence to Bewdley. Eventually this connected via Kidderminster to Birmingham and the Black Country (Figure 5.3).

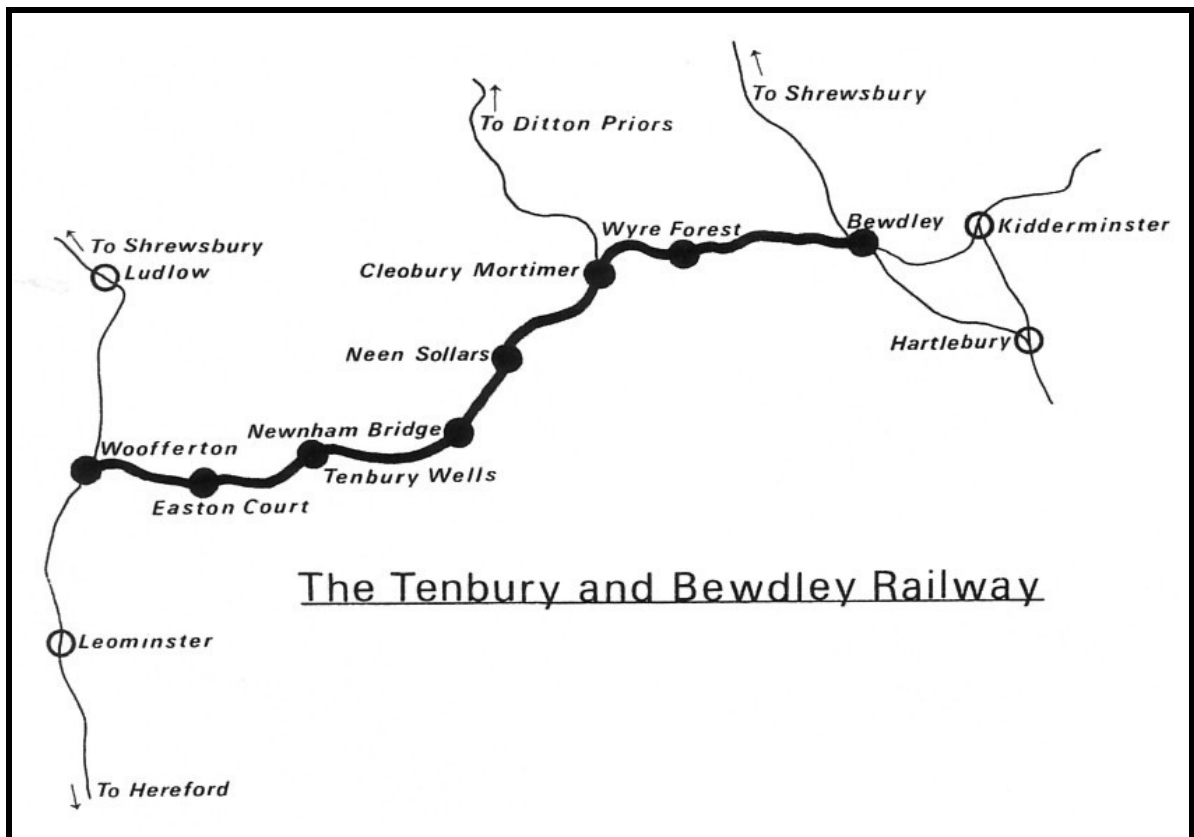


Figure 5.3 Tenbury and Bewdley Railway (Beddoes and Smith 1995 p22)

Also opening at the same time was the important spur off Cleve Hill west to Ludlow (Figure 5.4). This area of Cleve Hill, then a part of the parish of Caynham, was an important quarrying and mining area and it is the only exception to the general agricultural economy of the neighbourhood. Up to 1860 transport of these heavy goods had been very difficult in the hilly and inaccessible terrain. Goods were carried mostly on packhorse and even on the backs of women, down to Ludlow or to Tenbury. The enumerators books suggest that the labour was specialized and not interchangeable with agriculture because a large number of the workers employed on Cleve Hill came from other parts of the country, particularly the quarrying area of Leicestershire. There would be no competition for labour therefore and no consequent need to inflate agricultural wages.

By 1871 there was a fully operating rail network for goods and passengers, right

through the neighbourhood and connecting to all parts of the country. The rail system needed a feeder system to get goods to and from its access points. This was a system of carriers but in the enumerators books they do not appear as occupations. This was because most of them were women who were not Heads of Households. It is maintained that, at this time, a parish with a population of 450 could sustain four carriers (Paul 1994 p582), yet in the neighbourhood of Little Hereford not a single carrier is registered by the census enumerator.

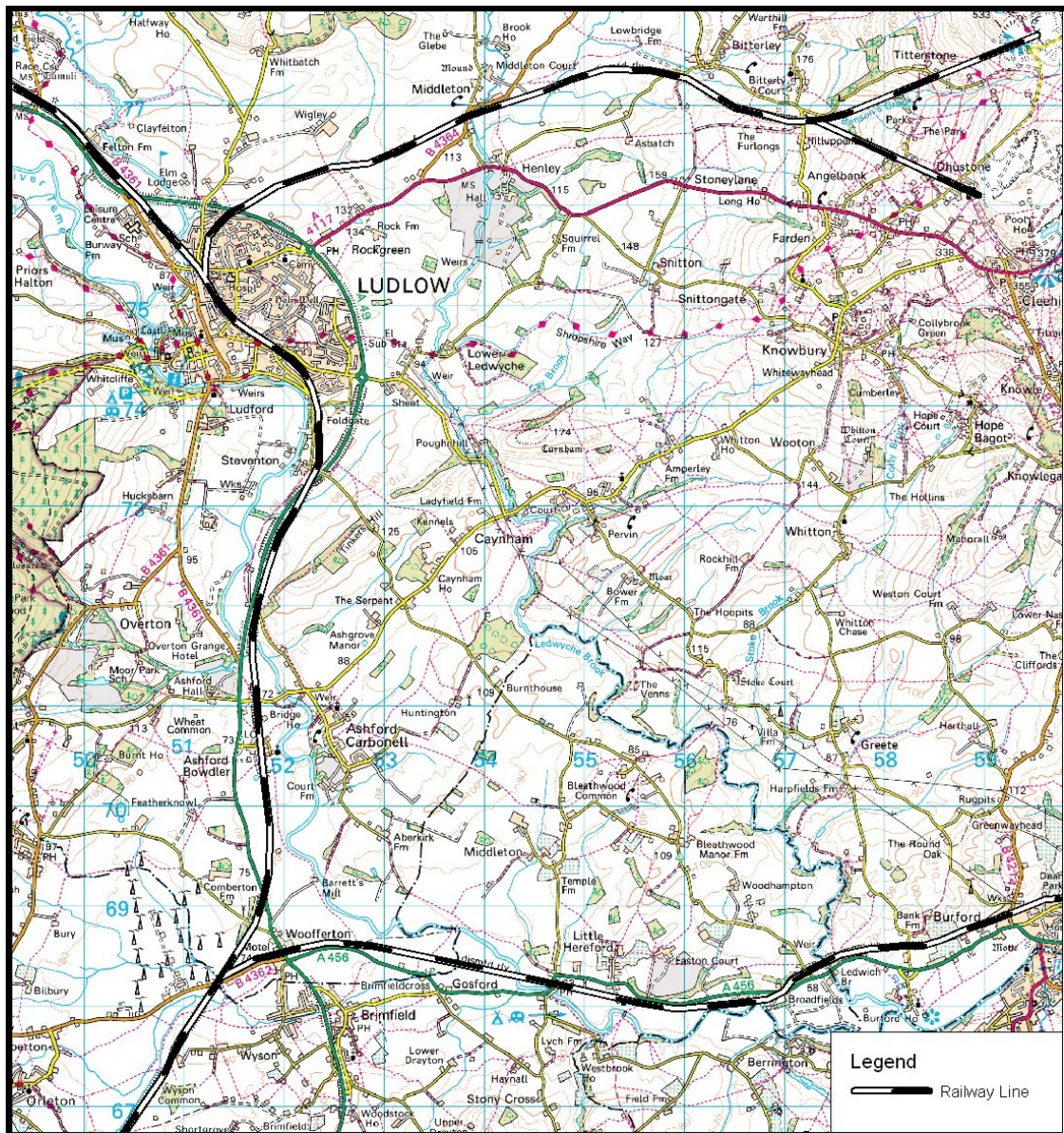


Figure 5.4 Railway of Little Hereford Locality c1870.

The rail network was funded, like the canal system before it, by private investors working through limited companies. By the last third of the 19th century the region,

and with it the neighbourhood, was a prosperous farming area with a large trade in agricultural produce and, though remote, well connected to all other parts of the country. The prosperity though was invested in very few people. The gradual evolution of the transport system driven by the needs of the modifying farming system illustrates the slow but continuous adaptation of the area to the demands of the market.

Despite its individuality and enterprise the Mid Borderland had to have leadership and governance and the farming systems had to be organised and, in a region of farms, it came from the landowners and the farmers. In the 19th century the whole system, nationally, of who governed was in transition and its local circumstances are to be investigated next.

5.6 The Society

5.6.1 Landowners and Farmers

In the 19th century power and influence, based on wealth and title, lay with the landowner and the landed (Newby 1977) since 7,000 people owned half the land in Britain and Ireland (Bateman 1971). These were arranged in a hierarchy at the centre of which were 2,800 Great Landowners that included 400 Peers of the Realm. They wielded the power in Parliament and at County level. But tenant farmers whose rents funded the life style of the landowner did the farming in the main. Only 15% of the land nationally was actually farmed by owner-occupiers. But changes to this structure took place throughout the century and it came from two directions. In the first place many landowners over-reached themselves and found themselves in financial difficulties that were passed on to their heirs. Secondly there was the rise of a different class of wealthy people, those who had gained wealth from commerce, trade and industry and who felt detached from power by the control still exercised by the landed in Parliament. The Great Reform Act of 1832 changed the franchise and gradually over the century the membership of the legislature and of the great houses changed. Some who moved in were interested in agriculture and agricultural innovation and others were not (Mingay 1986; Newby 1987).

For example, just south of the neighbourhood of Little Hereford the textile magnate,

Richard Arkwright, bought the Hampton Court estate at Bodenham for his son, Richard. Previously this 6,000-acre estate had been, for generations, in the hands of the aristocratic Viscount Conningby who sold it in 1808 for £220,000 (Fitton 1989). Eventually it came into the hands of Arkwright's grandson John who, in addition to becoming a Member of Parliament, proceeded to farm the estate on modern and innovatory lines. In the 1880s he won several prizes at the Smithfield show for the quality of his beasts (Reeve c1970).

The County became attractive to 'new' money looking to invest and enhance their status. Little Hereford provided an excellent example. Here the estate was in the hands of the Dansey family until 1841. They were a very old established family who had owned and lived on the estate at Brinsop Court just north of Hereford until 1723. At this point it was sold for £4,000 to pay off debts and the family moved to their other land at Easton Court, Little Hereford. This the family had acquired by marriage from the Delemere family in the 16th century. In 1841 they sold again, because of debt, to the Baileys, iron masters and coal owners in South Wales.

The Danseys did little in the parish but they did rebuild the Court¹ and enclosed the 103 acres Bleathwood Common in 1799 (Tate 1978). This was at a time when the price of wheat was very high. Significantly the houses of Bedlam Row on the edge of the Common were left untouched (Chapter 8). The pattern of tenant farms remained under the Baileys who also appear to have been benefactors. They founded the school in the 1840s and contributed to the funding of the railway. The Baileys did this rather cleverly by providing the metal rails in return for shares in the Company (Beddoes and Smith 1995). The estate in 1876 was worth £25,000 per year (Bateman 1971).

A similar pattern emerged in Bockleton (Figure 4.6) when Mrs Arabella Prescott, widow of a wealthy London banker, bought the Court. This was 5,000 acres worth £3,000 a year in 1876 (Bateman 1876). In nearby Richards Castle the Salwey family, in 1851, appeared to be in difficulty according to Anna Maria Fay, an American whose family had leased Moor Park, the Salwey family seat, "The Salways (sic) are of Saxon origin and were settledin the County of Staffordshire at a period

¹ Cheaply and poorly according to a personal account from then owner in 1998.

antecedent to the Conquest..... and have been resident at Richards Castle for several generations. They have always held honourable positions in their day. The present proprietor is John Salway. Who, from extravagance, finds it necessary to economise” (Fay 2002 p10). In 1881 Alfred Salway and his small household were living in the lodge. In 1876 the estate was 3,064 acres, valued at £3,136 but yielding less than £3,000 a year (Bateman 1876).

Much expense could be incurred through the social life of the landowning families. Fay (2002) describes a quite hectic round of entertaining, visits for sumptuous lunches and dinners and sometimes balls. There was much devotion to country sports, hunting with hounds, shooting of game birds and indeed horse racing. There was a local round of events and church going was described rather more as a social than a spiritual experience. The clergy too were part of the social scene of this upper stratum; they entertained, rode and went hunting. In addition to this local round of events there were also trips to the county town, Shrewsbury, and even to London. A large number of servants, both indoor and outdoor, supported these activities and lived-in.

One characteristic which emerges from an examination of census enumerators books is that by far the largest proportion of servants in the great houses came from outside the neighbourhood and even outside the region. Very little employment was given to local people and this would have distanced the landowner even more from them. On census day in 1871 there were 22 persons in the Bailey household at Easton Court, Little Hereford. Of these, seven were family members and one was a visitor, the Vicar of Burford. The fourteen servants had a range of jobs from butler to kitchen maid and none of them was from the parish or even the neighbourhood. The butler came from Suffolk and the valet from Fife.

Fay (2002) has given some flavour of the relationships in the 1850s between the well to do and the villagers in an account of a trip from Richards Castle to Orleton. She writes: “You should see us receive the salutations of the cottagers – the gracious bow we give to the elders, and the smile we bestow upon the little ones. Indeed I do not flatter myself, I am sure, when I say that no lady of the Manor could find fault with the style in which I confer these favours. ... Willie confirms me in this opinion, and

compliments (sic) me upon the smile I give the boys when they pull their forelocks and the little girls as they curtsy” (Fay 2002 p59).

Such were the manners of the day and the attitudes towards the ordinary people who provided the labour to create the wealth. It points to the distance that must have existed between the classes, not just social distance but distance in experience. Even those appointed for their spiritual needs lived an entirely different life style. In other words during the 19th century there were differences within the local society (Newby 1979).

However, relationships within the upper classes were not always cordial. In the early 19th century Richard Dansey of Easton Court fathered a number of illegitimate children with women from Little Hereford. Their Baptisms are recorded in the Parish Register where the Incumbent takes the unprecedented step of naming the father. Thus, for example, “Richard, Base son of Ann Maund by Richard Dansey, Lord of the Manor, 10 Jan, 1801” (Parish Register HCRO). Clearly the relationships between Church and Manor were strained. There had been a dispute when a previous Dansey refused to pay some dues to the Parish that was ultimately settled by a deal over a piece of land for housing the poor. This is important in a later analysis of core families (Chapter 8).

It would clearly be a stereotype to argue that there were particular ways of life relating to a particular class of person. Within the broad category different landowners had different ways of life. Thus the cattle breeder, benefactor and MP John Arkwright had a different way of life from the impoverished John Salwey. But the old order of landowner was being replaced and many of the new order were investors of wealth created from trade and industry. They were migrants, investing, incomers looking for a way of life but also mobile; benefactors but not necessarily committed to an area as a core family. Such a family was the Baileys who were in Little Hereford from 1841 until 1909. The Danseys, on the other hand, had a long-term stake in the area, they were long term landed, but because of unwise living had to move. The major point is that the class of landowner was in the late 19th century changing and this change meant mobility.

The farmers were a heterogeneous group. They were mostly tenants renting from the

landowners; in fact 86% of the land in Herefordshire was rented in the period 1870 to 1900 (Robinson 1978 p259). However, the definition of a farmer was varied (Newby 1977). Some were little more than labourers, working a few acres and supplementing their income by other work and, at the other extreme, were tenants with large acreages, maybe 300 to 400 acres, employing up to twenty labourers as well as domestic staff. In many ways the latter lived like the landed. It was from this class that the parish was governed. They formed the 'Vestry' that ran the affairs of the Parish, the roads, the relief of the poor and were elected by each other to these offices. They, with the Vicar in the chair, also set the Parish rate. They had their nominated pews in church, behind the big house of course, but generally arranged in a hierarchy of esteem. On the other hand the smaller farmers led a life more like that of the labourer, they worked the land and worked along side their labourers, some of them may indeed have started off as labourers (Newby 1977).

There is however a question about the mobility of these farmers. In 1722 in Little Hereford a Schedule of Kneeling was drawn up (H.C.R.O. AB24/3). In this the Dansey family had the front pew and their servants immediately behind; perhaps another social barrier to separate them from their tenants. Thereafter, came the farmers. But none of these farming families were present in Little Hereford at the time of the first available enumerators book in 1841. There had been a complete changeover of farms in this 110 year period. Later in the period 1841 to 1901 only three farming families were ever present in the parish in the same farms. The others all moved, so there was migration of tenants maybe to better themselves as other property became available or perhaps from sell-off by impecunious landowners.

Figure 5.5 illustrates what it meant in 1871 to be a large tenant farmer. New House was one of the bigger farms with 260 acres employing four men, three women and, a boy. In addition there were five men living-in and two women. Two of the farmers sons also worked on the farm, a total of 16 employed on the land. The social gap between such a farmer and the one with about 15 acres seems clear. But, in an area of small farms, the ways of life of those who worked them was very similar to those who worked for them. There is evidence given above that farmers were not as static as might be imagined, only three of them in Little Hereford were core families.



Figure 5.5 New House Farm – Little Hereford

Many worked like labourers and alongside labourers. Although they subsisted largely on the farm produce they were also commercial and had wide commercial contacts from the markets, fairs, merchants and factors. They were businessmen. They had relationships up and down the social hierarchy and, most importantly, they brought their children up to work the land and to a way of life.

Locally the landed controlled the rents of their tenants and, therefore, to an extent the livelihood of the farmers. Nationally they could influence the legislature through their social networks which were on a national scale or directly if they were members of the Commons or Lords. At the County level they controlled the by-laws and frequently the administration of justice or at least the law. But their membership and therefore their interests were changing as a new group of very rich emerged. By the nature of their position they had a very distinctive way of life (Newby 1987).

Farmers controlled the parish and they could hire and fire. They wanted to keep wages down; education was not valued because it took away cheap casual labour. This must have been a major influence upon the migratory habits of the poor.

Farmers were vulnerable not only to rents but to national, even international, movements in farm prices and also to the vicissitudes of the weather. They were also, in part, at the mercy of their relative location in the country. London had dominated the market for agricultural produce until the national market was fully established with the development of the rail network after 1850 (Newby 1987).

5.6.2 The Farm Workers

There may be something of a stereotype attaching to the 19th century farm worker; the inarticulate cloddish person may not reflect the actuality. Snell (1985) asserts that there is evidence to the contrary in sensitive and emotional letters sent back home from abroad. But it is true that before 1870 there was very little opportunity for education.

Even among those that might be called the ordinary people on the land there were different groups (Hobsbawm and Rude 1969). There were labourers but also waggoners and stockmen, dairymen and drainers who, because of their greater level of skill and specialisation, were higher in the social structure. According to the CEBs from 1851 there was some evidence of this in Little Hereford although there is no certainty about its accuracy or consistency. Table 5.7 is an attempt to show those variations of farm worker that are recorded. It is very difficult to judge what credence can be placed on the accuracy of this and the term labourer may hide unstated specialisms. It is surely true that labourer carried with it important farming skills.

Little Hereford Labourers '51	No. Outworkers	No. Living- In
Labourers	45	16
Farm Servants		4
Waggoner		5
Stable Boy		1
Drainer	4	
Totals	49	26

Table 5.7 Types of Farm Worker in Little Hereford 1851

It was not merely a specialist skill however. There was also the matter of adapting to new ways of farming which came about in the later 19th century. For example, the use of machinery like the steam plough or the steam driven threshing machine that

became widespread from the 1840s (Hill and Stamper 1993). By 1901 there were still different categories of worker that almost certainly carried with them differing status and wage (Table 5.8). They also now predominantly lived off the farm whereas in 1851 those who worked with animals tended to live-in.

Little Hereford Labourers 1901	No. Outworkers	No. Living-In
Labourers	28	
Farm Servants	2	3
Cattlemen	7	
Carters	3	
Horse boy	2	
Bailiff	2	1
Waggoner	9	1
Totals	53	5

Table 5.8 Types of Farm Worker in Little Hereford, 1901.

The move away from home was an important aspect of the migration process. Young men left home when they were old enough to work, and lived-in on the farm where they were employed, generally on a yearly contract. So, for example, in 1881, Thomas Maund of Bleathwood in Little Hereford, aged 15, lived-in on a farm in neighbouring Greet. Young farm workers were referred to as ‘farm servants’ until such time as they received adult wages. There were variations from place to place and time to time in the age at which this was granted; anything from 18 to 21 years.

According to Snell (1985) children joined the workforce and left home earlier in the east than in the west. In 1860 the average age of leaving home in Herefordshire/Worcestershire/Monmouthshire was 14.1 but in Hertfordshire it was 13.8. Snell also revealed a further contrast in the level of winter unemployment among agricultural workers in the arable east which compared very poorly to that of the west where there was more regular labour demand. This difference was attributed to the fact that livestock need tending all year round and in all weather conditions.

In wages too there were differences between east and west. Prior to the boom years after 1850, nationally, there was a wage peak in 1833. At this time an agricultural worker in Herefordshire received 8/6 per week by contrast with the 11/4 in Hertfordshire. Wages then fell so that by 1850 the Herefordshire labourer had 8/5 per

week whilst the Hertfordshire labourer had 9/-. Snell's (1985) point is that when the hard times came Herefordshire labourers received the highest proportion of the 1833 rate and they were to an extent cushioned by the nature of the farming regime. This is further evidence that despite being poor the Borderland's farm workers were better off than those in the south and east.

Dodd, (1979) whilst generally confirming the wage levels calculated by Snell (1985), was also able to show how wages varied and fluctuated with farming fortunes. In 1853 wages in Herefordshire were 9/- in June but by December it had risen to 11/-. This seems surprising since there were more hours of daylight in June and hay to make; on the other hand, the animals had to be fed by hand in December since they were over wintering inside.

Aside from wages living conditions were also poor in other ways. Accommodation was cramped and damp which, according to Dodd (1979), contributed to the trend to migrate although he does not give any evidence for such an assertion. In fact this may be a case of 19th century living conditions seen through 20th century values. It was certainly the case though that the system of tied cottages made the labourer more vulnerable, if he left his job he also had to leave his accommodation and he could only take a job if some accommodation was provided with it. Housing supply was certainly an issue in rural migration during the 19th century and this is returned to in Chapters 7 and 8. For example, in the areas of eastern England the supply of housing in estate villages was controlled by the landowner and so created a system of closed villages (Mills 1980). In this way newcomers were prevented from settling and had to move to those villages which were less restrictive, often termed open. There is no evidence that this system existed in the Mid Borderland which adds to the impression of the region's distinctiveness.

Labourers had little power, not even the power of their labour (Hobsbawm and Rude 1969). They worked for low wages, lived in a tied cottage and faced the workhouse if they were injured or old. But times were changing for the labourer too; at the end of the 19th century there was less demand for agricultural labour but there was also the prospect of organised labour. For example the VCH (Shropshire Vol 14 1989) tells of an 1871 meeting of the North Herefordshire and South Shropshire Agricultural

Labourers Mutual Improvement Society attended by about 300 people. At this time wages were 9/- per week with an extra 1/- for Sunday work but 'perks' accounted for maybe as much as 3/- to 4/- per week.

Until the 1870 Education Act children frequently left school, if they went at all, by the age of 9 years. They had to pay for what schooling they had in any case. Significantly, the 1870 Education Act took some children out of the employment market at a time when demand for labour was declining, as is frequently the case with changes in school leaving ages. Truancy for illegal work still continued (Boynton 1990) and another Act was introduced in 1873 to attempt to regulate children's employment in agriculture. Perry (1968 p126) maintained that there were other benefits from the introduction of schooling. It extended social contacts since the school was often shared by several parishes and thereby promoted social change by extending the sphere of social contact of working people. For example, Phyllis Ray (1998 p36) has shown how children from Ashford Carbonel walked the two miles to Little Hereford after the school opened there in 1843 which continued until Ashford's own school opened in 1872. The ability to read and write also had a similar effect in that it enabled people to maintain contact. This idea of change and with it social change was important at the end of the 19th century (Newby 1987; Howkins 1991).

5.7 An Interpretation of Change and Social Coherence in the 19th Century

The whole sphere of social relationships is difficult to identify and describe. To an extent the hierarchical arrangement of society determined these relationships. There was certainly a significant gulf between the landed and the labourers. Nationally, in the first part of the 19th Century there was widespread fear of the influence of the French Revolution on the part of the ruling classes. At this time discontent in parts of England was rife. The poor were poverty stricken as the price of bread rose with the grain shortages produced by poor harvests and continental blockade and as the old Poor Law proved inadequate to meet their needs despite the Speenhamland modifications (Chambers and Mingay 1966; Hobsbawm and Rude 1969; Mingay 1976). Landowners were discontented because of poor agricultural returns as were the developing middle class of merchants and industrialists because of their distance

from control of political power. In eastern England the effects of the Parliamentary Enclosure and of high food prices pushed discontent to the verge of insurrection. There were riots and rick burnings. The authorities were stretched to the limit and became the focus of the discontented. In these circumstances the elected village constables were no match for angry rioters and frequently the militia had to be called in. This discontent was not only in rural areas but also in the newer industrial areas of the northwest as witnessed by the Peterloo massacre in 1819.

The authorities acted swiftly to quell the uprising and to punish those involved. Often transportation ensued. This turbulence and unrest, together with the memory of the French Revolution, had its effect and brought about the legislative changes of the 1830s. These were reluctant moves by a government and a Parliament that did not represent the people. The House of Lords were mainly large landowners and aristocrats. The Commons were merely landowners. The Reform Act restructured the parliamentary constituencies and enlarged the franchise. It was enough to appease the hitherto unrepresented middle classes but not to satisfy them. The Poor Law Amendment Act was in the end a fudged attempt to relieve the problem, not so much of poverty, but rather the strain on ratepayers who were responsible for the poor. The most significant feature was the establishment of Poor Law Unions to build and run the new Workhouses. The Municipal Reform Act extended the franchise to all ratepayers and the Police Act gave permission for the establishment of police forces (Evans, 1983).

What of the response in the Borderland region? In 1841 nearly 40% of the population was associated with agriculture but it was detached by reason of its remoteness from other agricultural populations in the east and south of the country. During the discontent at this time in Wiltshire, 339 men and women were transported to New South Wales and 162 from Berkshire. But in Herefordshire only one was transported and that for a threatening letter sent to a large farmer. No threshing machines were broken but in nearby Gloucestershire 28 were damaged and there were two cases of arson (Hobsbawm and Rude 1969). This suggests that either the Herefordshire labourer was much more acquiescent or that relationships with employers were more confident. For example, when the price of flour was high farmers sold it cheaply to their workers (Reeve c1970; Phillips 1981; Snell 1985) which suggests sympathetic

relationships between the labourer and the farmer. Farms were small and the farmer and his family worked alongside the labourers in the fields and with the animals. Some labourers also lived-in with the family and work was all year round since there were daily needs for animals to be tended especially in winter when outdoor work was impossible.

Circumstances were undoubtedly changing and living-in seems to be a key item for interpretation of migration processes and indeed for social change in the Borderland. Snell, (1985) records that in 1851 Herefordshire had 18.7% of its agricultural work force living-in whilst Hertfordshire had 7.9%. He maintains that there was at least a 30-year time lag between agricultural regions of the east and south and those of the west, evidence for the distinctiveness of the Borderland.

A move from home to live-in with a employer was usually the first step that a young person made to move on from home. It was driven by a cultural norm with an expedient rationale. Firstly, in an era of large families, there was no more room at home and the young moved on. For example, John and Emma Maund had 10 children between 1856 and 1880 in their one up and one down cottage on the edge of Bleathwood Common in Little Hereford (Chapter 8). The young had to leave home too because they needed to work to survive in a low wage economy. The critical financial time for a labourer was between the age of about 30 and 45. At this time there were likely to be maximum dependent children to support (Chapter 7). So the demise of living-in either produced or, more likely, was a symptom of social change (Howkins 1991). Snell's (1985) evidence on living-in supports the notion that there was greater social cohesion between labourer and farmer in the Borderland than elsewhere. The pattern of living-in in Little Hereford for the second part of the 19th Century is interesting. Table 5.9 shows the contrast between 1851 and 1901, the period in which an absolute decline in population occurred. It is displayed in this way for two reasons. Firstly to be consistent with the notion that change is a slow continuous process and, secondly, because, with small populations, the change may not be seen over a shorter period. The one chosen here starts at the beginning of the period of prosperity and runs some thirty years into the period of depression.

Little Hereford	1851	1901
Population	391	411
Total Labourers	75	58
% Employed Pop	37%	14%
Total Labs Living-In	26	5
% Employed Pop	15%	9%

Table 5.9 Living-In Contrasts in Little Hereford, 1851 and 1901.

The results are clear. Despite a slight increase in total population, against the trend of Herefordshire and Shropshire as a whole, there was a decline in the total numbers of labourers both absolutely and relatively. There was also a decline in the numbers of those living-in. Compulsory schooling also meant that children stayed at home later and this process was aided by the move away from living-in. Snell (1985) suggested that one reason for the decline of living-in was not only a decrease in the demand for labour but also a change in attitudes on the part of farmers, more particularly their wives. As tenant farmers became better off so their style of living changed and they became more socially distant from the labourers. So, as aspirations rose, there was less toleration of the 'rough' labourer at their table and in their house. However in Herefordshire the living-in system lasted as much as thirty years longer than in the east and this suggests that social change occurred more slowly in the west and farmers and labourers still remained closer socially. The implication of the above analysis is of a slowly changing situation for the labourer where a pattern of life had to change but their experiences left them with adaptable skills.

There were workers other than those who worked on the land. There was also a group of workers who might be referred to as skilled, who provided essential servicing for the agricultural communities. Some were closely allied to farming like the blacksmith, miller and wheelwright while others had more everyday functions like shoemaking. There was also a hierarchy within this group. Some like millers or blacksmiths needed significant capital investment to pursue their trade and they frequently farmed land as well. There were changes within this group too as some trades declined and others grew. Many of those doing these jobs were self employed and had served apprenticeships in their trade. This would have given them a slightly different standing in their community though they were more closely associated with the labourer than the tenant farmer but it was not unusual for some to become small farmers as well. The labourers were in a sense brought up with an expectation to

move. They left home, sometimes as early as 9 years old. When they married they went to where there was accommodation and they moved again perhaps several times into tied cottages. Daughters went into service and sometimes moved a long way for work; if they were unemployed they sometimes returned home to help out.

	1851	1901
Shoemaker	7	-
Dressmaker	5	1
Blacksmith	4	2
Carpenter	3	2
Sawyer	3	-
Gamekeeper	2	1
Seamstress	2	1
Gardener	2	4
Saddler	1	-
Mason	1	-
Wheelwright	1	1
Tailor	1	-
Bricklayer	-	1

**Table 5.10 Changing Trade Skills and Occupations
Numbers Employed in Little Hereford 1851 and 1901.**

The consequence of change was that employment structure changed also and Table 5.10 showing numbers in skilled trades gives an indication of this. Some occupations ceased to exist in the parish, possibly as a consequence of the function migrating to the town and most notable in this context is the demise of the village shoemaker. In 1851 twelve different trades were represented in the parish, by contrast, in 1901, there were only eight. So, there was gradual change in the type, range and location of skilled jobs. This change in the range of skills on offer within the parish was a significant element of both economic and social change.

Table 5.11 gives another perspective on structural change. The numbers in skilled and specialist jobs located in Little Hereford diminished over the fifty years whereas domestics held their place and living-in declined a little. Domestics, mainly women, maintained their position in the occupational structure of the parish between 1851 and 1901 but the skilled workers declined absolutely and proportionately. There was both

Little Hereford	1851	1901
Nos. Domestics	42	36
% Employed Population	24	24
Nos. Living-In	33	29
% Living-In	19	19
Nos. Skilled	32	13
% Employed Population	18	9
Nos. Living-In	0	0
% Living-In	0	0

Table 5.11 Change in Skilled Jobs in Little Hereford 1851 and 1901

structural change, as some skills become increasingly redundant and also locational change. Skilled functions moved as well as those employed in them, and relocated in the town. This would imply an inevitable change in the social structure of the community as economic functions migrated and centralised.

The gradual shift of some of these skilled occupations to the town was assisted by the development of cheap rail transport. Tenbury was only minutes away by train from Little Hereford. However, it was also part of a much more widespread pattern as functions began to concentrate in the town. This implies significant change in ways of life over a period which also saw change in population totals and distribution (Chapter 6). Such small and gradual changes over a fifty-year time span may well have been accompanied by change in habits and customs as the socio-economic structure of the parish changed.

As well as those in employment it is also necessary to consider, albeit briefly, the position of the poor and destitute who came under the Poor Law provisions. According to the CEBs for 1871 and 1881 in the 17 parishes which make up the neighbourhood of Little Hereford only 12 received outdoor relief in their own homes or that of a relative. But the poor were also provided for by the Union Workhouse and the Alms Houses. In 1881 the provision in Leominster, Ludlow and Tenbury amounted to 193 inmates. Of these only 53, or 27%, had been born in the Neighbourhood. All this suggests movement and that there was no substantial poverty although there may well have been poor people. Of course the Workhouse was more a safety net for the very young and the old.

5.8 Summary and Conclusions

This analysis has attempted to show the nature of the society, largely during the 19th century, in the Mid Borderland. Clearly there was persistence and change but it was slow and maintained a continuity as adaptation took place in the region. Such adaptation must also have brought with it social changes which influenced the ways of life of the people which might be seen as an attribute of the culture of the place. From the mid 19th century onwards there was structural change at the macro level as industrialisation and urbanisation took place and this was inevitably reflected in the countryside (Saville 1957).

The picture described in this chapter is of a rich agricultural area with a long tradition of commercial farming and with much commercial interaction across its territory. It was consistently able to adapt its regime when faced with different circumstances. But change was also provoked internally by local enterprise as in the establishment of the Hereford cattle breed. The challenge towards the end of the 19th Century came from foreign imports driven by the technological changes brought about by the industrial revolution accompanied by unprecedented population growth and redistribution (Chapter 6). This was the period of urbanisation when the countryside lost population relative to the town (Mingay 1986; Newby 1987).

It seems fairly clear from the above analysis that the character of this remote area was, in the last part of the 19th century, changing. This change locally was slow and it may have been that those experiencing it were only gradually aware of it. The different social groupings that made up the region each had differing, but interrelated, roles that slowly changed with circumstance, both national and local. There was a slow change not only in the demand for labour on the land but also in what was required of this labour so those who stayed had to adapt. It was a tribute to the flexibility of the labour force that it was able to do this as mechanisation took place and new and different products were needed. Changes was not merely about numbers, which were relatively small, but rather about manners and social relationships. There were changes in the behaviour of the families as a result of the demise of the system of living-in and the advent of primary education for all.

While it would be unwise to speak of a distinctive regional culture, this is not to say that there is no distinctiveness about the Mid Borderland. On the contrary the greater focus on place using the framework offered by Griffith and Johnston (1991) has yielded a number of features which may be seen as characteristic of the region. Thus it is physically remote but because of the nature of its economic products is not inaccessible and, indeed, there is evidence of a persistent attempt to maintain contacts by adapting transportation systems. This theme of adaptability is to be found as a general feature, economically and socially. Clearly an attribute of adaptability is flexibility and this is true for the agricultural workforce as different practises were adopted at different times. These attributes of adaptability and flexibility give a form of social cushion in times of change and thus the changes may be imperceptible in the time scale.

Some of these changes were adaptations to structural and national changes and some as the result of local developments and initiatives especially within the farming community. There is evidence here of inventiveness, innovation and pioneering initiatives. However there has frequently been a time lag in adapting to change and this in part is due to remoteness but also to the different nature of a mixed and pastoral farming regime.

What does seem apparent though is that there is continuity among the changes which took place over a long time scale. This continuity extended also to differing, though overlapping, ways of life associated with the major economic function of farming. Such interrelationships though slowly changing with circumstances show a degree of social stability which is yet another aspect of the regional unity.

These features or characteristics seem to be evidence for the distinctiveness of the Mid Borderland Region and to provide an essential context for the analysis of migratory behaviour of families (Chapter 7). Beyond this is the question of the extent to which these regional characteristics and ways of life lead to an attachment to place and what part this may play in the migration process? The concept of culture remains a difficult one but place and culture may well be inextricably bound together although not easily demonstrated. Because of this the concept of culture is not rejected rather

there is a change of focus to give place a more central role in the investigation. If the approach is from the perspective of the place then perhaps a greater insight into culture can be achieved. As Pooley and Turnbull (1998 p7) have observed “attachment to place is likely to be an important part of cultural identity.” Thus culture is pursued through place rather than place through culture particularly in Chapters 8 and 9.

The social and structural changes taking place, particularly during the 19th century and into the 20th were associated also with demographic changes. These changes produced differential trends from place to place and were a factor to be considered when examining migration process. These trends too provide an essential context for a study of migration and the enquiry will examine these in the next chapter.

Chapter 6

Demographic Context 1801 – 2001

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter examined the changes in culture and ways of life in the Mid borderland over the past 200 years. Demographic changes are a response to changes in the economy and society which in turn create further socio-economic changes. Demographic change provides a context in which the movement of people, both individual and families, takes place. The purpose of this chapter therefore is to examine changes in population and its redistribution at several geographical scales during the 19th and 20th centuries as a background to the detailed analysis of the migration of individuals and families considered in Chapters 7, 8 and 9.

Population data on a systematic basis only became available from 1801 with the institution of the national census but aspects of this study predate this so efforts will be made to examine some of the data that does exist for the period prior to 1801. The analysis is conducted at four levels; the macro level in the form of England and Wales; the regional described as the Mid Borderland; the locality or neighbourhood of Little Hereford; and the individual parishes which make up that neighbourhood. It should be stressed that this is an analysis of trends in population over time. It is not itself a direct demographic study of birth rates, death rates and marriage rates but these will be referred to where appropriate to the analysis.

There are three macro population trends which particularly inform this analysis; firstly the population transition from about 1750, secondly the point at which population in the countryside began to decline during the second half of the 19th century and, thirdly, the population turnaround from the 1980s onward when population appeared to return to the countryside from the towns (Saville 1957; Cross 1990). The period of this study also encompasses two major national periods of social change with implications for population redistribution and migration, namely a process of urbanisation and then later a process of counterurbanisation. The period of urbanisation was associated with concentration of economic activity and consequent growth of towns and thus is important for this study. Included in this is an

examination of trends in Birmingham, the provincial capital for the Mid Borderland. The magnitude of change may be demonstrated when in 1851 half the national population lived in places designated as urban but by 1951 this had increased to over 80% (Jackson 1998). This was part of a socio-economic and structural change which manifested itself generally in the countryside by a 20% decline in male agricultural workers between 1861 and 1881 (Saville 1957).

Over the past two centuries differential changes in population trends between the scales suggests a redistribution of population and it is this redistribution which is of interest to a study of migration. Redistribution brought with it boundary changes as some areas grew and others declined. There are therefore some issues with the data caused by this feature, in particular there are issues of comparability not merely between different scales but also within the same place at different times. For example, the area designated in Chapter 4 as the neighbourhood or locality of Little Hereford has 17 parishes located in three counties. Simple aggregation can give population totals for this area but to maintain comparability the units in 1801 have been used throughout. It is very difficult to calculate data for the Mid Borderland as a whole and therefore data from the three counties which in part occupy this area will be used. As the analysis progresses differences in the population trends of Herefordshire and Shropshire on the one hand and Worcestershire on the other diverge and this highlights the problem of identifying a region which does not conveniently correspond with data collection units. Issues arising from this, and the changes in boundaries which take place over the two hundred years, are addressed at the relevant points in the text.

6.2 England and Wales

The trends in the population of England and Wales provide the macro context within which families moved throughout the period of the study and serve as an illustration of its longitudinal nature. This chapter relies for its data largely upon the decennial national census. Before 1801 there was no national census and estimates of the population total were very difficult to calculate. The monumental work of Wrigley and Schofield (1981) resulted in a reconstruction of population totals and trends

before 1801 using information from a sample of parish registers and based on calculations using the 1871 census as a datum line (Figure 6.1).

The major population change known as the population transition took place towards the end of the 18th century and, since this coincided with moves into Little Hereford by the core families (Chapter 8), it is worthy of detailed discussion here. This Demographic Transition was a period which started around the mid 18th century when population grew markedly (Figure 6.1). The changes associated with this were profound and had consequences for the whole of England and Wales (Kitch 1992).

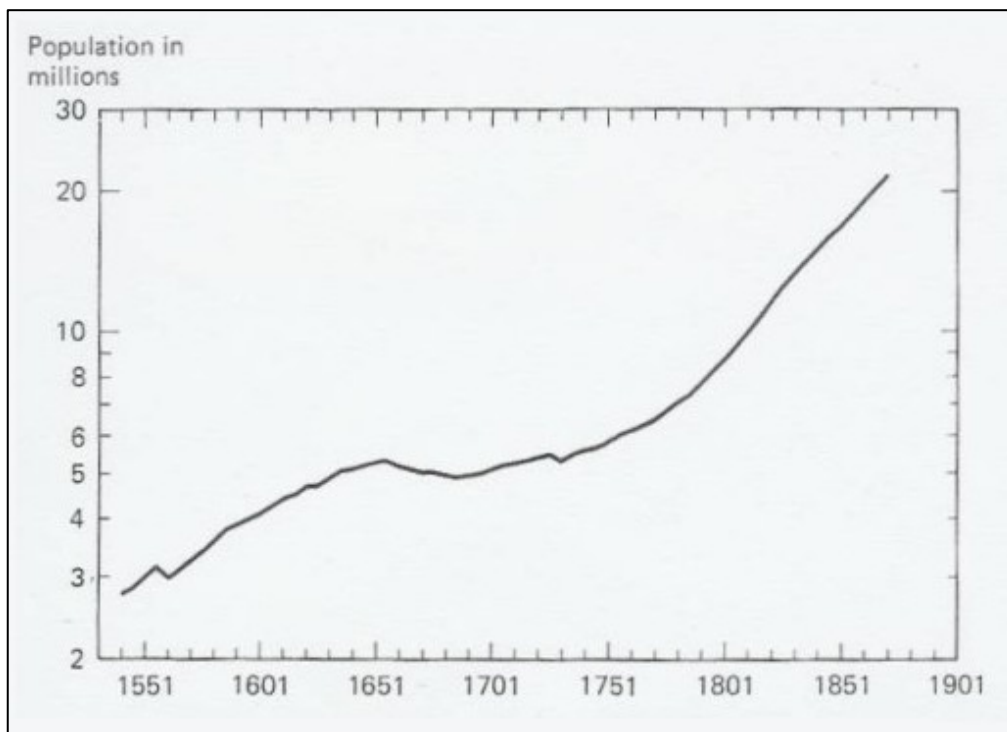


Figure 6.1 Population Transition (Wrigley and Schofield 1981 p207).

6.2.1 Outset of Urbanisation – up to 1850s

The most noteworthy feature was the change in the rate of growth of population after about 1750, there had been other periods of population growth but this one was unprecedented both in terms of its rate and also its sustainability. Estimates made by Wrigley and Schofield (1981) suggested that the population of England grew, during that century, by some 3.6 million, from 5 million in 1700 to 8.6 million in 1800, a growth of 71%. As outlined in the previous chapter the Mid Borderland was capable

of increased agricultural production and exhibited significant adaptability including switching regimes in response to demand. The expansion in trade links also meant important contact with the world outside the Borderland and, therefore, knowledge of other places that may be significant for migration process.

There was, in the 18th century, the beginning of a national market although this was not to be completely realised until a railway network was established in the mid 19th century (Saville 1957). Despite this the demands of a growing population in London required large quantities of food and all parts of the country contributed (Barker 1967). In 1650 it is estimated that London had about 7% of national population but by 1750 it had 11% (Wrigley 1967). Further, it was thought that a high proportion of the population visited London at some time in their lives, thus creating conditions for changing national attitudes and social change (Clark 1987).

Earlier population growths had always come up against the problem of the provision of a surplus to support the additional population. This time there was take-off into self-sustained growth, a period now known as the Industrial Revolution. Arguments have always taken place as to the reasons for the population growth (Deane 1965) and these have been debated extensively (Hinde 2003) but here it is sufficient to say that it is now thought that a change in the average age at marriage of women resulted in longer exposure to child bearing and therefore an increased birth rate (Pollock 1998). Clarkson (1982) maintained that nuptiality had a key influence on fertility and ascribed this to increased real incomes consequent upon improved economic conditions. It may also be the case that this change was associated with the decline of living-in (Snell 1985) and, therefore, lowered the age at marriage and the earlier setting up of new households. But this was a cultural change that clearly did not happen everywhere at the same time. The implications of this for the Mid Borderland were discussed in Chapter 5 where it was argued that living-in persisted much later than elsewhere, but differing farming regimes and customs bring with them differential application of structural change as localities adapt.

This population increase came about in the period before the establishment of a national means of mass transportation. In the Borderland cattle were driven on the hoof out of Wales across the region to London; ox drawn carts and wagons took other

goods to navigable watercourses. From the region they went west to Stourport and Bewdley or south to Chepstow. The growth of population during the demographic transition, and specifically and earlier in London, provided an engine for change. Thus the Demographic Transition was not a single dimension change it was part of a complex and complicated interrelated set of changes that altered forever the course of the whole nation not merely the pattern of living in the countryside. “ England was radically transformed from a rural, agrarian country into the first Nation to be reshaped by the Industrial Revolution” (Wrigley and Schofield 1981 p402).

It was a period of complex interrelationships between population growth, industrialisation and concentration of population into urban and metropolitan areas. What is certain is that output grew as did incomes and there was a change in the relationship between town and countryside. Agricultural employment declined but productivity increased; it was what has come to be known as the agricultural revolution. An important question arising from these structural changes is to what extent did migration from the countryside contribute to urban concentration? This is a question to be examined in Chapter 7.

6.2.2 From Urbanisation to Counterurbanisation

In England and Wales population continued to grow throughout the 19th century and by the time of the analysis of family migration from the neighbourhood of Little Hereford between 1871 and 1881 (Chapter 7) growth in England and Wales as a whole had been taking place for over 100 years. Population rose throughout the period but the rate slowed progressively and after the 1950s it was significantly slower. Figure 6.2 shows this slow down in overall growth from the turn of the century until about 1971 when it slowed even more. These changes are shown even more clearly by the proportional change at fifty year intervals in Table 6.1. Although there is clear absolute growth for each of the 50-year periods during the 19th and 20th centuries there are changes in rates of growth. Just as with the demographic transition these changes had their roots in socio-economic factors, the increased spread of the desire

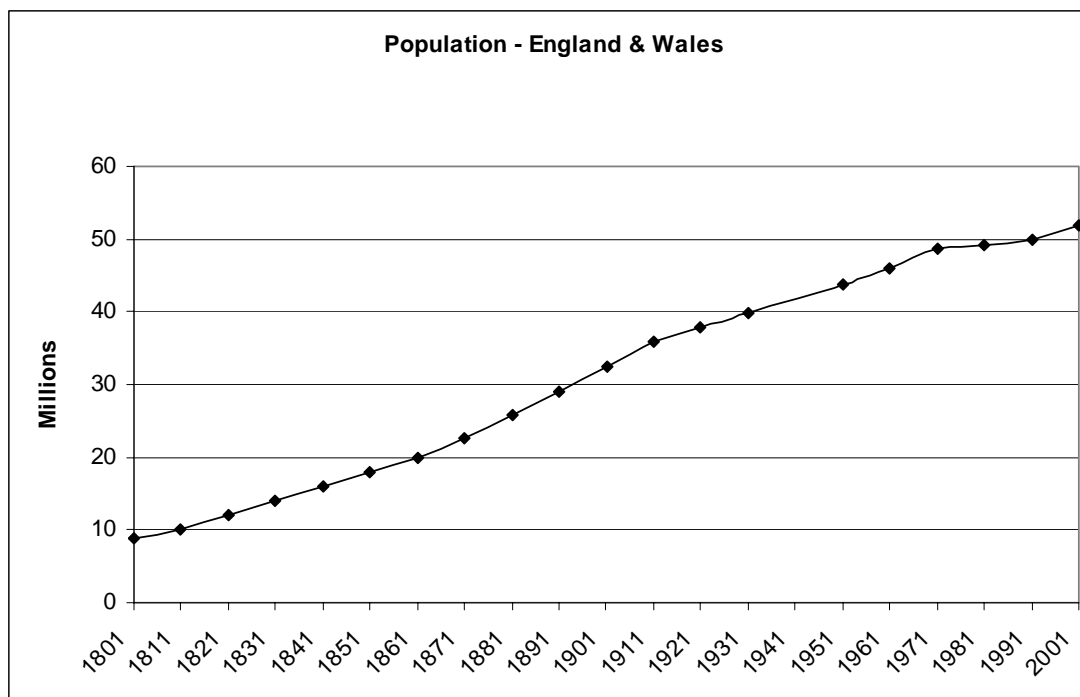


Figure 6.2 Population Trends in England and Wales 1801 – 2001

to limit families, changes in family structure and the desire for enhanced standards of living and consequent changes in life style and, of course, changes in the roles of the sexes.

Period	Change, Actual	Change %
1801-1851	9 million	101%
1851-1901	14.6 million	82%
1901-1951	11.2 million	34%
1951-1991	6.1 million	14%

Table 6.1 Rate of Population Change-England and Wales

The quite marked decline in rate of growth after 1901 and accelerating decline after 1951 is well illustrated in Table 6.1 but these data at the macro level give no indication of regional variation or social change. Indeed Lawton (1990) has shown that rural population peaked at 9.1 million in 1861 and continued to a low of 7.3 million prior to the second world war. There are problems of course in defining rural but following Bowley (1914) who used Rural Districts with a population density of under 0.3 persons per acre, in 1801 65.2% of the population of England and Wales lived in rural areas whereas by 1851 this had dropped to 49% and by 1937 to 17.6%. Thus there are not only hidden variations in the crude data but also major differences

between urban and rural trends. According to Lawton (1967) the major areas of population loss were in a belt from east Anglia to the south west and also Wales and the Pennines. Out migration was seen as the principle reason for this population decline and this was described as the drift to the towns (Saville 1957). This macro level trend was not the only feature for both Perry (1969) and Lewis (1979) noted a tendency, in the late 19th century, for inter parish population movement within about a ten mile radius of origin. Such a movement is confirmed by Pooley and Turnbull (1998).

The major movement to towns was explained by Saville (1957 p131) as “the result of the concentration of economic activities in the rapidly growing towns and the successful competition of the urban factories with the rural craftsmen and rural industries”. However, these population trends were more complex than this, Saville (1957) noted that population loss beyond the expanding urban area was not as great as elsewhere in the countryside. Pahl (1965) noted the expansion into the countryside of Hertfordshire of urban dwellers and this was confirmed by Maund (1976) in north Herefordshire and Lewis (1979). There was thus a counter movement to urbanisation, the turnaround.

This movement, very obvious from the 1970s, but present in smaller numbers before this, was socially selective for whilst the young continued to move to the towns the early movers to the countryside were older families, generally middle class and frequently retired (Maund 1976). Nationally the turnaround appears to have had a number of phases. From the end of the Second World War until the 1960s population redistribution in England was from north to south as old industries declined and the southeast boomed. Thereafter and into the 1970s, movement was out from the major conurbations, the very ones that had grown a hundred years previously. The general figures in Figure 6.2 and Table 6.1 can not show these trends. People moved from the metropolitan centre, particularly after 1980 (Lewis 2000) and one of these was the regional centre of the Mid Borderland, Birmingham.

6.2.3 Urban Growth: Birmingham

During the late 19th and early 20th centuries urban areas in England and Wales grew rapidly to create a series of major cities and conurbations (Robson 1973). As detailed

in the previous section, this growth has attenuated during recent decades with the onset of counterurbanisation but the nature and form of these large urban areas remains largely unchanged. In terms of urban growth London clearly has primacy over the whole of England and Wales but it must not be overlooked that every region has its own major urban influence. In the case of the Mid Borderland it was, and still is, Birmingham that is the pre-eminent influence. It was, and still is, the regional centre extending from the Welsh Border to north Staffordshire, Leicester and to the edge of the Cotswolds (Wise 1950). In view of the significance of Birmingham for the economy and society of the Mid Borderland and, in particular, for the migration of people during the late 19th and 20th centuries a brief examination of its growth in population follows.

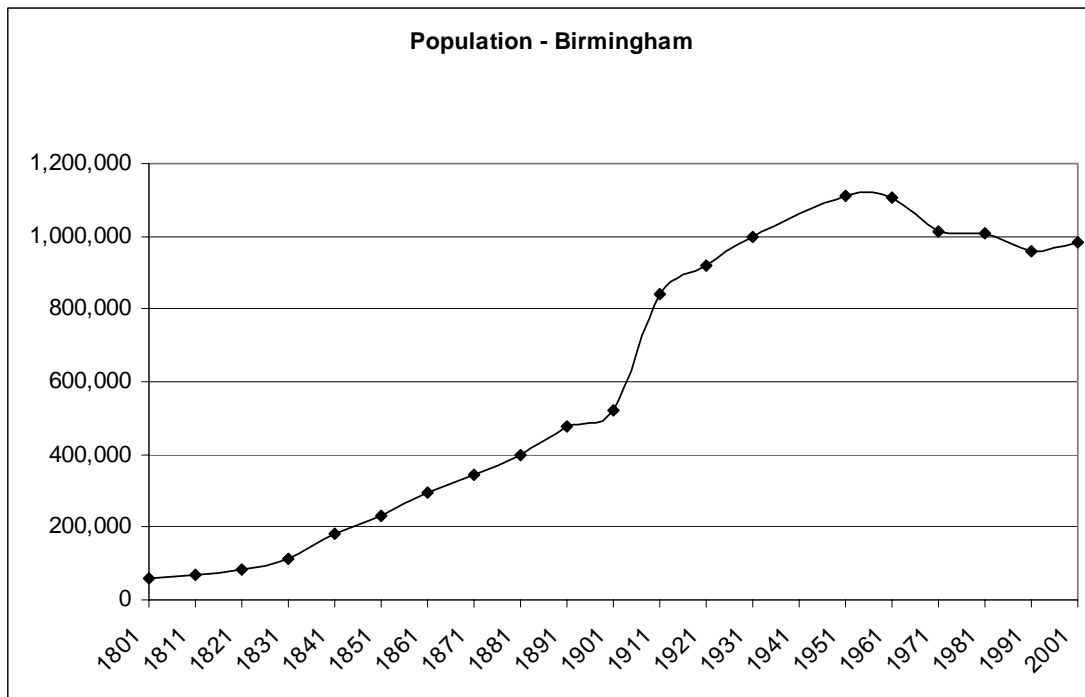


Figure 6.3 Population Trends in Birmingham.

From Figure 6.3 it can be seen that the population change experienced by Birmingham between 1801 and 1991 was to a certain extent similar to that of England and Wales as a whole. Thus, Birmingham's population growth in the 19th century was fairly steady which contrasted to the national surge of the population transition. The surge in the population of Birmingham began later and accelerated from the beginning of the 20th century. The population of Birmingham peaked in the 1950s and thereafter declined. There were a number of relevant factors behind these trends. The

growth of industry in Birmingham and the Black Country was supported by the rapid development of transport systems, initially canals from 1772 and then rail from 1837. The system of canals connected the area to the Severn which was the principle transport artery at the time. The Birmingham to Worcester canal opened in 1815 thus

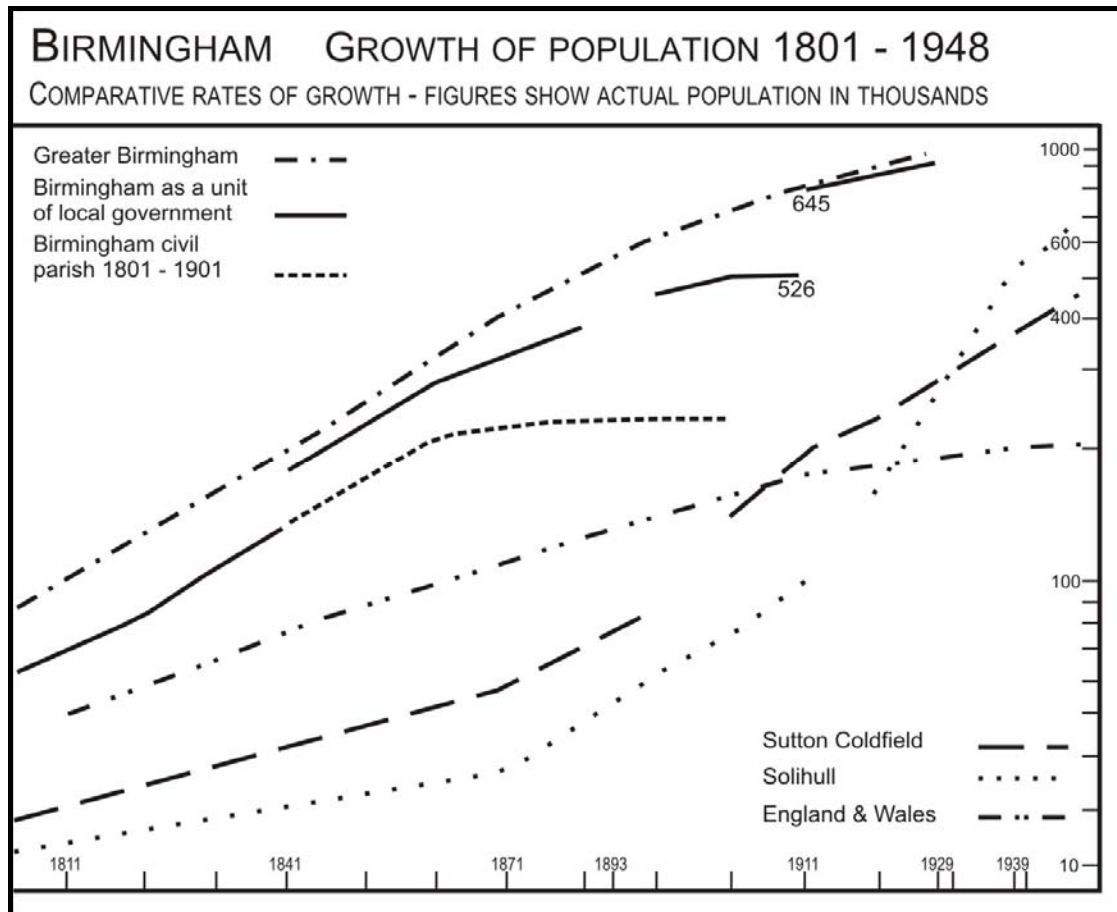


Figure 6.4 Birmingham: Population Growth and Boundary Change (Redrawn from Wise 1950 p208)

tying Worcester into the industrial region. This did not happen west of the Severn until 50 years later. These systems came much earlier than they did to the Mid Borderland or to the Teme valley (Chapter 5). Never the less they assisted the bringing in of agricultural produce from the west via Worcester, Bewdley and Stourport.

As Birmingham's population grew and spread out the boundary of the city was extended on several occasions (Figure 6.4). According to Wise (1950) there was a major extension of the city's boundaries in the period 1891 to 1910 which coincides

with the great surge in population shown in Figure 6.3. This was the period of suburbanisation when great areas of new housing were constructed as evidenced, for example, by the increased growth of Sutton Coldfield and Solihull. Of particular relevance to this study is the southward spread of the city.

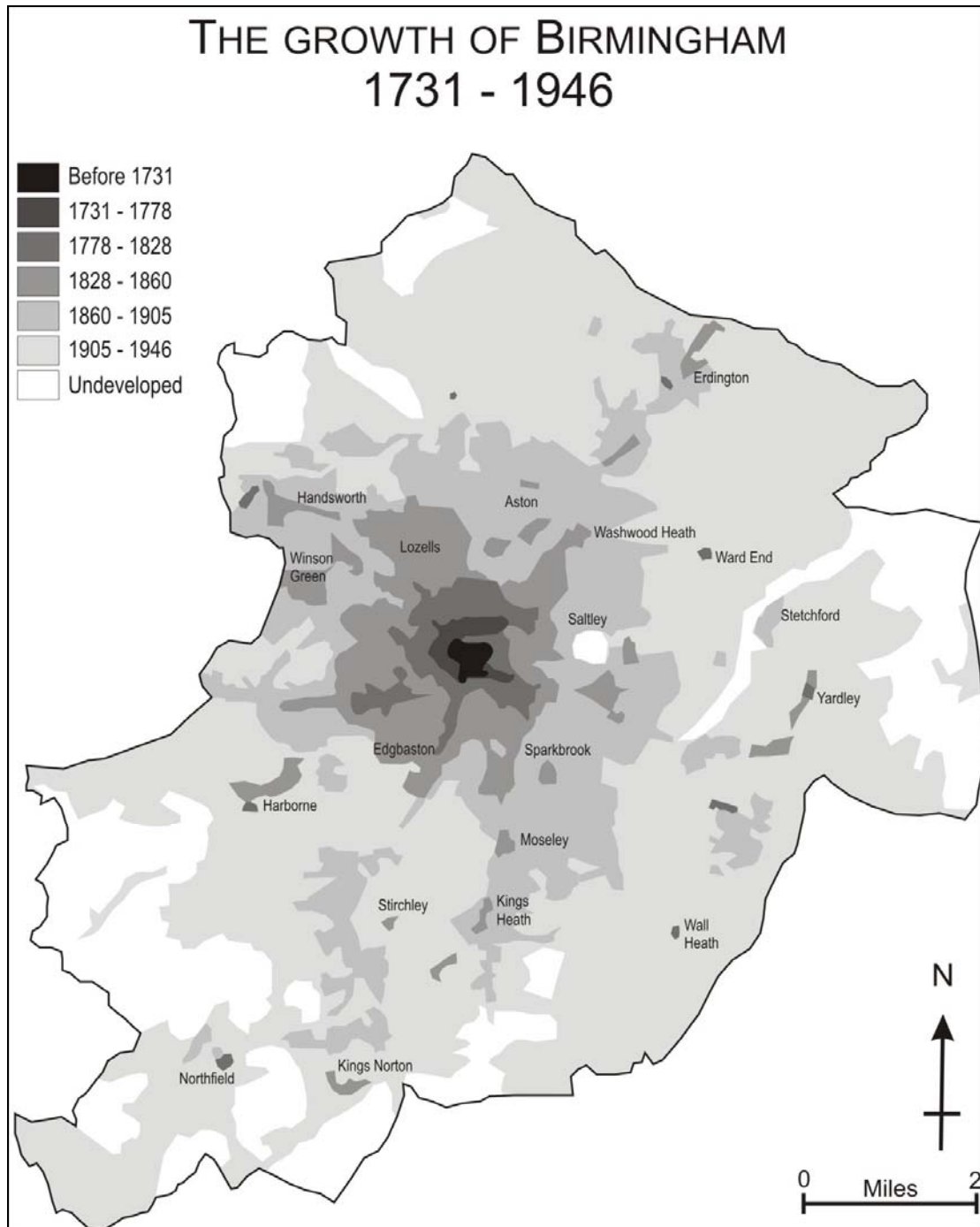


Figure 6.5 The expansion of Birmingham (Redrawn from Wise 1950 p215)

For example, the south west of the city was undeveloped and in this area a detached village in 1890, Kings Norton, subsequently became swept up in the suburbanisation process and taken into the city (Figure 6.5).

This is significant as the place to which Thomas Maund moved his family in about 1889 (Chapter 8). This is simply acknowledged here but will be developed fully in Chapter 8 and again in Chapter 9. The Austin Motor Works factory at Longbridge began to develop around the turn of the century and there was a major extension from 1914, first as part of the war effort and then as the mass production of motor vehicles took off.

In the inter war period the city population grew by nearly 17% but the centre and middle suburbs decreased by 22% (Wise 1950 p228). At the same time the outer suburbs grew by 90%. This is important in terms of movement of the Maund family to be discussed in Chapter 9.

Place	1801-51	1851-01	1901-51	1951-91
England & Wales	9 million- 101%	14.6 million – 82%	11.2 million – 34%	6.1 million – 14%
Birmingham	171,816— 282%	289,566 – 124%	590,481– 113%	-151,644- -14%
Herefordshire	27,053 - 31%	-2940 - -3%	14,610 – 13%	33,822 – 27%
Salop	60,092 - 36%	10,443 – 5%	5,019 - 21%	113,676 – 39%
Worcestershire	130,485 - 89%	211,412 – 76%	34,508 – 7%	-14,831 - -3%

Table 6.2 Comparative Rates of Population Change

Table 6.2 illustrates the high growth rate of the Metropolitan area after 1851 compared with the national pattern. It also illustrates the late 20th century fall in the population of Birmingham, when the turnaround is particularly noticeable after 1950 as the counterurbanisation process was revealed but with continued population rise nationally (Cross 1990).

Having examined the trends in population in England and Wales over the past two centuries, and also that of Birmingham, the provincial capital of the Borderland, it is now necessary to consider the demographic changes experienced by the broad region within which the case study area is located.

6.3 Regional: The Three Counties

The Mid Borderland region was delimited in Chapter 4, as that between the Welsh Massif in the West and the River Severn in the East and between Shrewsbury in the North and Hereford in the South. This definition presents a significant data problem because the region as defined is not an administrative unit, indeed by its very nature its boundaries are porous and changing. The prime parish of Little Hereford lies at the point where the three counties of Worcester, Hereford and Shropshire meet and the 17 parishes of its neighbourhood are not equally distributed among them as shown below:

- Worcestershire (2): Bockleton, Tenbury.
- Shropshire (7): Ashford Bowdler, Ashford Carbonel, Burford, Caynham, Greet, Ludford, Richards Castle (part).
- Herefordshire (8): Richards Castle (part), Orleton, Brimfield, Little Hereford, Middleton-on-the-Hill, Laysters, Pudleston, Eye.

Thus the majority of the territory is administratively in Herefordshire or Shropshire and there would therefore be a case for using data solely from these two counties to represent the Mid Borderland. The problem of regional definition and compatible data collection units is clearly pointed up by this example. As a means of proceeding the three counties population trends are examined together in order to consider their characteristics and perhaps begin to, at least partially, resolve the problem.

In his major work on rural depopulation Saville (1957) noted that the first absolute decline in rural population occurred in Wiltshire and Montgomery in 1851 whilst in Herefordshire and Shropshire absolute decline was delayed until 1881. From Figure 6.6 it can be seen that over the period 1801 to 2001 all three counties experienced an overall increase in their total populations. Throughout the period Worcestershire always had the largest population, which fluctuated in certain decades, whilst Herefordshire and Shropshire with their smaller totals, experienced a steadier and slower growth. Yet the rate of population growth in all the three counties in the early 19th century was much lower than that of England and Wales as a whole. A significant feature of the trends identified in Figure 6.6 suggests that the demography of Worcestershire from 1801 to 2001 was quite different to that of Herefordshire and Shropshire (Lawton 1968).

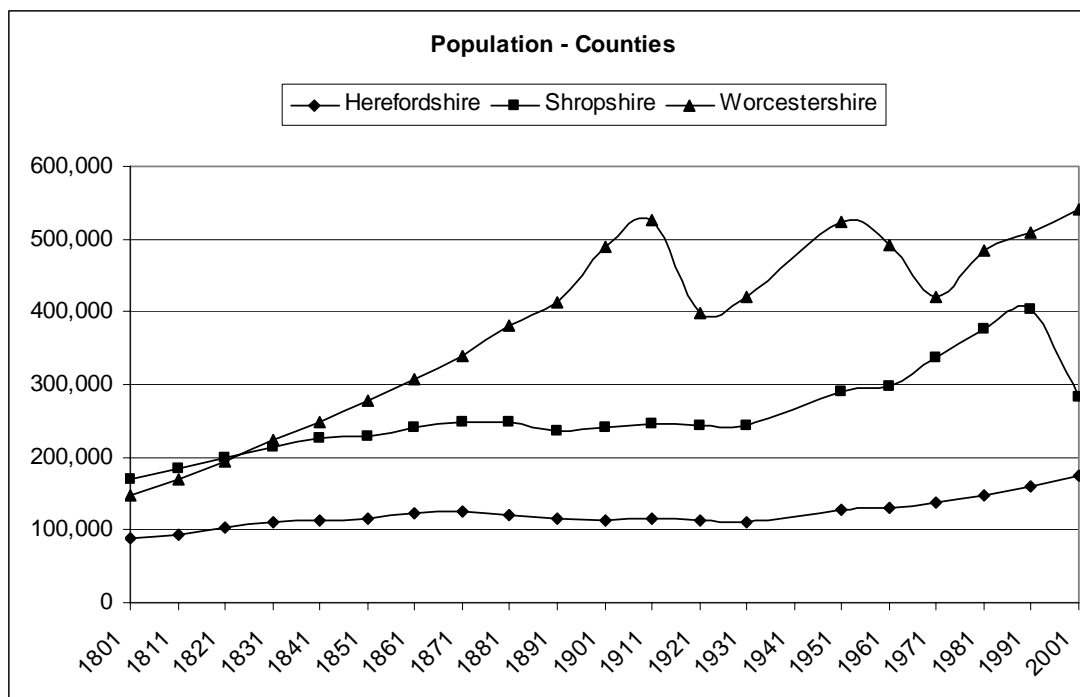


Figure 6.6 Trends in County Population Totals, 1801-2001

The most startling difference was the steep increase in population from 1841 until the turn of the century (Figure 6.6; Table 6.2). Much of this was due to the growth of the urban and industrial areas within its boundaries, for example, these included the southern parts of Birmingham and parts of the Black Country. In other words, Worcestershire, rather than being a largely rural area is a county of great contrasts with significant urban development.

According to Grundy's (1987) detailed study, the loss of population in Herefordshire after 1871 was overwhelmingly through migration; she asserts that between 1871 and 1931 natural increase in the county totalled 57,000 but 67,000 were lost through migration. Grundy (1987) cogently argued that this depopulation was engendered by a decline in agriculture under pressure from foreign imports and the attraction of better wages and living conditions. In the case of Herefordshire the major destination of the migrants was Birmingham and the Black Country but a substantial number also went overseas (Erickson 1994). It could be argued however, that too much can be made of rural depopulation since in the case of Herefordshire the number lost was as little as 10,000 over a sixty year period, less than 170 per year for a whole county (Grundy 1987). Even here of course, though overwhelmingly based on out migration, it must be emphasised that it was a net figure and even in periods of depopulation there was still an inflow of people (Lewis 2000; Pooley and Turnbull 1998).

By the 1990s much of rural Britain began to experience an upturn in population, a feature which is often referred to as counterurbanisation or the rural turnaround (Cross 1990; Lewis 2000). In the case of the Mid Borderland it would appear that counterurbanisation was not quite as widespread in its occurrence as might be expected from the national picture (Chapman 1996; Lewis 2000). From Figure 6.6 and Table 6.2 it seems that the population of both Herefordshire and Shropshire had grown significantly between 1951 and 1991 whilst, surprisingly, that of Worcestershire had actually fallen by 3%. Such a difference is difficult to explain for a number of reasons; for example, Lewis (2000) has argued that the rural turnaround occurred in different places at different times and was certainly underway in some areas as early as the 1950s; secondly, because of the use of net data both depopulation and counterurbanisation could coexist; thirdly the effect of boundary changes resulted in distortions in the overall totals such as the enlargement of the boundaries of Birmingham, Dudley and Kidderminster as a result of suburbanisation.

Tables 6.3 and 6.4 focus in more detail on the so called turnaround period. What is evident from these tables is that since 1951 the overall population growth was much higher in Shropshire and Herefordshire and only after 1991, though markedly attenuated, did Worcestershire's growth rate mirror that of the other two counties.

Period	Worcestershire	Shropshire	Herefordshire
1951 - 2001	4%	52%	37%
1971 - 2001	29%	31%	26%
1991 - 2001	7%	9%	9%

Table 6.3 Period Population Changes.

Some of the difficulties in interpreting the differential trends was unravelled by Boyle et al (1996) in a ward level analysis of census data for 1990-91. This revealed that there were marked local variations within Worcestershire in terms of the movement of people. It would appear that counterurbanisation was rife in north west Worcestershire largely due to out migration from the West Midlands conurbation whilst other rural parts of the county grew quite sharply at the expense of some of the surrounding towns. Clearly at this scale planning authority decisions played a role;

	1951-61	1961-71	1971-81	1981-91
Herefordshire	4k - 3%	8k - 6%	9k - 6%	13k - 9%
Shropshire	7k - 2%	40k - 13%	39k - 12%	27k - 7%
Worcestershire	-31k - -6%	-71k - -14%	63k - 15%	24k - 5%

Table 6.4 County Population Change by Decade

for example, the designation of growth villages in the 1970s within four miles of Hereford played a significant part in explaining the population growth in part of Herefordshire (Maund 1976). Yet, the growth in west Herefordshire was much more diffuse since it involved not only commuters but also retired and rural retreaters. (Lindgren 2003; Stockdale 2006).

Essentially, over the past two centuries the three counties considered here underwent a considerable degree of population change and redistribution. Not all of it mirrored national trends and each county, to a certain extent, had a different demographic experience at different times. What is evident from this examination is that the towns within the Mid Borderland played a significant role in these demographic changes. It is now opportune to consider the nature of the changes they experienced.

6.3.2 The County Towns

The largest significant urban centres in the Mid Borderland are the three County towns: Hereford, Shrewsbury and Worcester. Although roughly in the centres of their respective counties these are actually at the periphery of the region of the Mid Borderland as defined earlier. It has been shown that the population trends of the county of Worcestershire were different from those of the other two counties, sufficient to suggest that it was largely a different region. It might follow from this that its county town, connected so readily to Birmingham and standing on the great early route way of the Severn would be similarly different from the other county towns. Figure 6.7 illustrates the population trends in Hereford, Shrewsbury and Worcester between 1801 and 2001. None of these county towns reached a population of 100,000 during this period and demographically they were dwarfed by Birmingham, where population exceeded 1 million in 1981.

So these are urban centres of an entirely different order. All three towns had a similar steady population growth up to about 1950 after which they all show a more rapid rise. There is no evidence of the turnaround; on the contrary growth seems to accelerate after 1960. They may even be recipients of the Metropolitan loss in the increased growth after 1950 perhaps a movement of people down the urban hierarchy. Significantly the losses in population experienced in Herefordshire and Shropshire during the 19th century were not mirrored in their respective towns and this raises the question as to whether there had been wholesale migrations from the countryside.

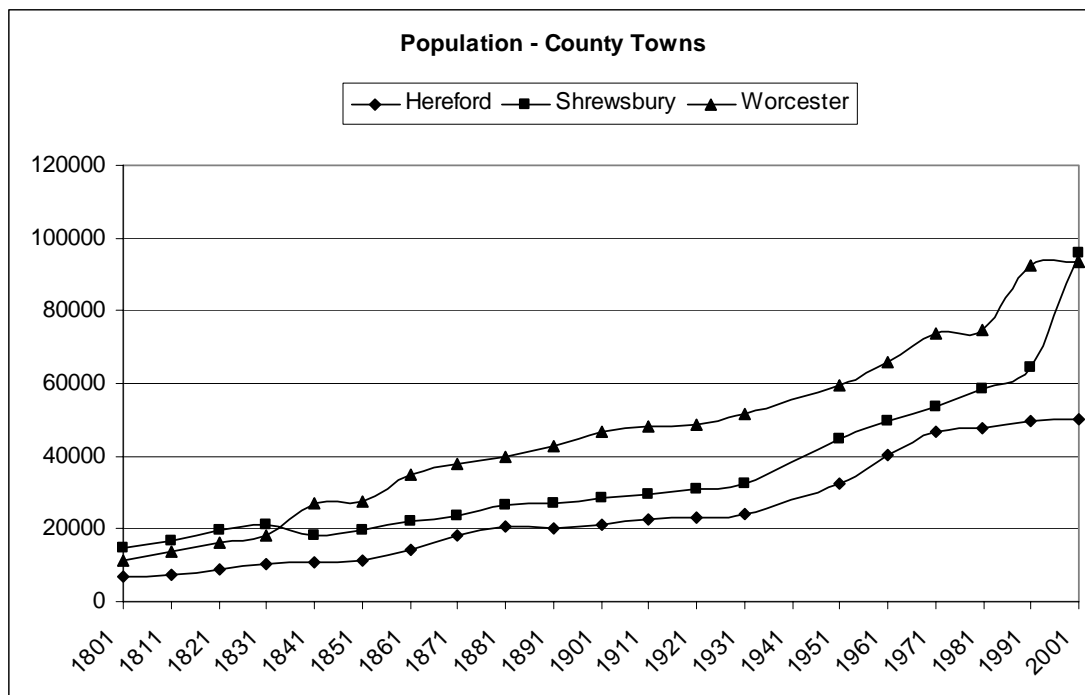


Figure 6.7 Population Trends in County Towns, 1801-2001

So the experience over two centuries is one of continual population growth in these medium sized towns with Worcester at a higher level than the other two.

City	1801-51		1851-01		1901-51		1951-91	
Birmingham	171,816	282%	289,566	124%	590,481	113%	- 151,644	- 14%
Hereford	4,328	63%	10,226	91%	112,119	52%	17,251	53%
Shrewsbury	4,942	34%	8,714	44%	16,524	58%	19,300	42%
Worcester	16,397	147%	19,096	69%	13,079	28%	32,650	59%

Table 6.5 Population Changes, County Towns

Interestingly the highlighted figures in Table 6.5 indicate where growth rates were higher than the national figures. Even Hereford, the smallest county town, with a peak

of just under 50,000 in 1991, has generally higher rates of growth than England and Wales as a whole. The contrast with Birmingham was clear both in scale and magnitude of change. Hereford in the latter part of the 19th century had a very significant growth of 91% at a time when the countryside was losing population.

However, Worcester does show features which lend it some distinction from the other two. This is not as marked as the differences between the counties but sufficient to suggest that Worcestershire and its county town are different and reinforces the notion that it belongs to a different region. There is scope here for further investigation of these features of county towns and the processes underpinning them since it does not appear to have been explored in the literature.

In an attempt to gain more insight into the trends among the three counties for the last half of the 20th century, broadly the period of the population turnaround, the data are used to show change for each period of the census (Table 6.6). From this exercise a number of features emerge. Firstly, there was similar proportionate growth among the three county towns over fifty years - just over a third in each case. But in absolute terms the bigger the city the bigger the growth. Yet the growth of Hereford from 1951 to 1971 was significantly greater than for the other two county towns is particularly noteworthy. The reasons are difficult to determine and would need detailed local investigation but it may be to do with the establishment of a major

	Hereford	Shrewsbury	Worcester
1951-2001	35%	33%	36%
1951-1961	24%	10%	10%
1961-1971	15%	8%	12%
1971-1981	3%	9%	2%
1981-1991	4%	10%	11%
1991-2001	1%	5%	12%

Table 6.6 Percentage Population Growth, County Towns, 1951-2001

engineering enterprise in Hereford which may also relate to the changes in nearby villages as identified by Maund (1976).

6.3.3 The Market Towns

Historically market towns were an essential aspect of the economic system of the Welsh Borderland (Thomas 1965) since they formed an interrelated system of markets. These were stable over many years with only slight changes in the hierarchy (Lewis 1973). They were the very hubs of commercial farming almost to the end of the 20th century when some markets closed or were relocated. Lewis (1973) has shown that these towns had been in existence for several centuries, even in the time of the Norman conquest of Wales. In a longitudinal study of urban central places he identified twenty one towns between the Cambrian watershed and the north-south line linking Shrewsbury and Hereford. His region, as defined, does not go east of this line but the Mid Borderland defined in Chapter 5 extends to the line of the River Severn. In this eastern area there are seven such towns, Bridgenorth, Stourport, Bewdley, Worcester, Much Wenlock, Cleobury Mortimer and Tenbury Wells. Of these the first four are on the river and also performed the function of ports for carrying agricultural produce (Chapter 5). The last three are genuine market towns similar to those studied by Lewis (1973). It was shown by Maund (1969) in a study of central places in Herefordshire that there was a distinct regularity in the spatial arrangement of these towns such that no place was more than about six miles from a market, a convenient distance over which to drive animals on the hoof to market before the advent of mechanised transport (Chapters 4 and 6). The local market was therefore essential and for Little Hereford there were three roughly the same distance apart. These were the market towns of Tenbury, Leominster and Ludlow and towns which served, perhaps different parts of the neighbourhood of Little Hereford. Strictly only Tenbury is included in the neighbourhood of Little Hereford (Chapter 4). Ludlow lies at the northern fringe and Leominster is about two miles south west on the southern fringe.

In 1801 Tenbury, Ludlow and Leominster were small towns (less than 4,000 population) and all of them had tracts of countryside with farms within their boundaries. The county towns may have hosted the specialised livestock markets and fairs but the week by week trading in butter, eggs, cheese and cider, all produced on the farm in addition to the livestock and field crops passed through the market towns. From the mid 19th century the skilled trades such as shoemaking and dressmaking

were to be found there having migrated from the surrounding villages as these functions moved up the urban hierarchy.

The spatial arrangement of market towns has already been noted in Chapter 5 but the precise distances are given in Table 6.7 with Little Hereford and its neighbourhood in a mid position between them.

MARKET TOWNS	DISTANCE
Ludlow to Tenbury	6 Miles
Ludlow to Leominster	10 Miles
Leominster to Tenbury	8 Miles

Table 6.7 Distances of Market Towns

These distance intervals are important. For example, the five market towns in Herefordshire are arranged around the periphery of the county and are at 13-mile intervals, thus each town, which is 13 miles from Hereford and from each other. This would mean that no place is more than 6 1/2 miles from a town, walkable there and back in a day, which was what was needed for the market until into the 20th century (Maund 1969). Certainly, as Chapter 9 will show, animals were driven from Bircher Common to Leominster on market day and other produce taken by pony and trap. Perry (1968) maintained it was not until the advent of the bicycle in early 20th century that labourers could seek work further afield from home. But market towns were also the places of entertainment for the well-to-do and the poor alike. Thus in 1851 Anna Maria Fay (2002) was able to describe the balls held in Ludlow attended by local gentry and well to do tenant farmers and the fairs and horse races attended by all. As the century progressed and into the 20th century, towns increased their service provision including clothing and shoes and then food which had previously been available in the villages.

Even by 1991 these three market towns remained relatively small in population size below 10,000. Throughout the two centuries Tenbury was always the smallest town although with essentially the same functions as the other two (Figure 6.8). For Tenbury there was no evidence of a population surge during the demographic transition and only slightly so for Leominster and Ludlow which parallel each other broadly as they showed gentle growth to about 1871 (Figure 6.8). In national and

urban terms this implies a relative loss in population. The decline from the late 19th century and into the early 20th century is an echo of the decline in county population and is important for analysis of migrating families in the next and subsequent chapters.

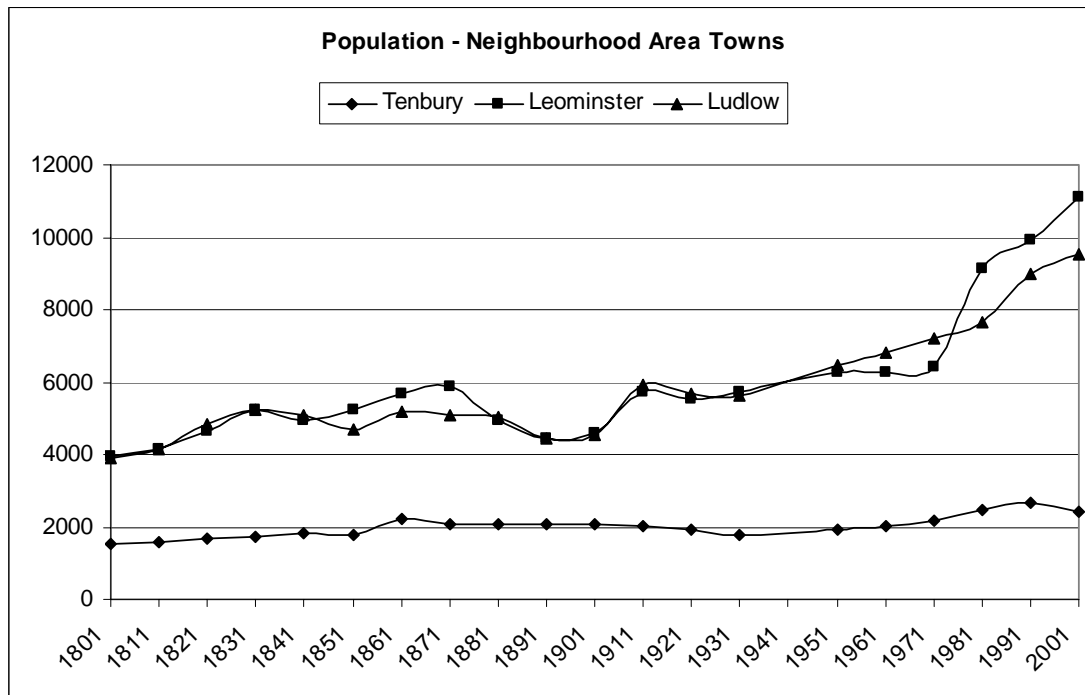


Figure 6.8 Population Trends in Market Towns

It seems to be an important conclusion that market towns appear to be part of their immediate context, they behave as part of the countryside in which they are embedded. Some of the 19th century trends in population may be explained in terms of the integration rather than distinctiveness of town and country, especially in an area remote from large cities.

Figure 6.8 indicates that between 1911 and 1931 there is some recovery from the late 19th century slump in population and then quite sharp growth from 1971 in the cases of Leominster and Ludlow. This feature could well be part of the turnaround (Champion 1989; Cross 1990). Tenbury does not experience the mid to late 19th century slump and in fact it grows by 16%. This may be as a consequence of the development of the railway from the 1860s and attempts to develop Tenbury as a Victorian Spa town. This illustrates the potential of local factors to influence trends as well as the more macro ones.

The trends are seen more clearly in Table 6.8 which shows change both at county and market town level and in which negative changes are highlighted.

Place	1801 - 1851	1851 - 1901	1901 - 1951	1951 - 1991
Herefordshire	27,053 - 31%	-2940 - -3%	14,610 - 13%	33,822 - 27%
Salop	60,092 - 36%	10,443 - 5%	5,019 - 21%	113,676 - 39%
Worcestershire	130,485 - 89%	211,412 - 76%	34,508 - 7%	-14,831 - -3%
Leominster	1,248 - 31%	-628 - -12%	1,704 - 37%	3,638 - 58%
Ludlow	794 - 20%	-139 - -0.3%	1,904 - 42%	2,555 - 40%
Tenbury	245 - 16%	294 - 16%	-162 - -8%	747 - 39%

Table 6.8 Rates of Population Change in Three Counties and the Market Towns-1801-1991.

Here it can be seen that Herefordshire, Leominster and Ludlow all lost population in the latter part of 19th century. The population turnaround may be illustrated by the final column in Table 6.9. This shows significant population gains over the forty-year period from 1951 for all but Worcestershire. Even in absolute terms the gains are quite significant for a low base population. It should be noted that this was after the return of the core family of Maunds to Herefordshire (Chapter 9).

6.4 The Neighbourhood of Little Hereford

6.4.1 The Neighbourhood

Bearing in mind the trends in population identified in the three counties and their respective county and market towns it is now opportune to examine the demographic shifts within the case study neighbourhood. For the purpose of initial analysis population data was aggregated for the 17 defined parishes and summarised in Figure 6.9. In turn these population trends can be considered within the socio-economic changes experienced by the neighbourhood of Little Hereford (Figure 6.10). This figure shows the population trends over two hundred years in the aggregated neighbourhood parishes along side certain key events, nationally and locally. Thus the movement of the core families to be discussed and analysed in Chapters 8 and 9 is shown. Additionally some of the detail from the description of the Borderland in the previous chapter is repeated in the context of the population trend. This figure can be used as a point of reference to a number of events to be discussed in later chapters.

Three significant features stand out from Figure 6.9. Firstly there was a quite sharp growth in population at the beginning of the period, reflecting the demographic

transition to 1811; after that there was a slight decline followed by a rise which evened itself out to 1851.

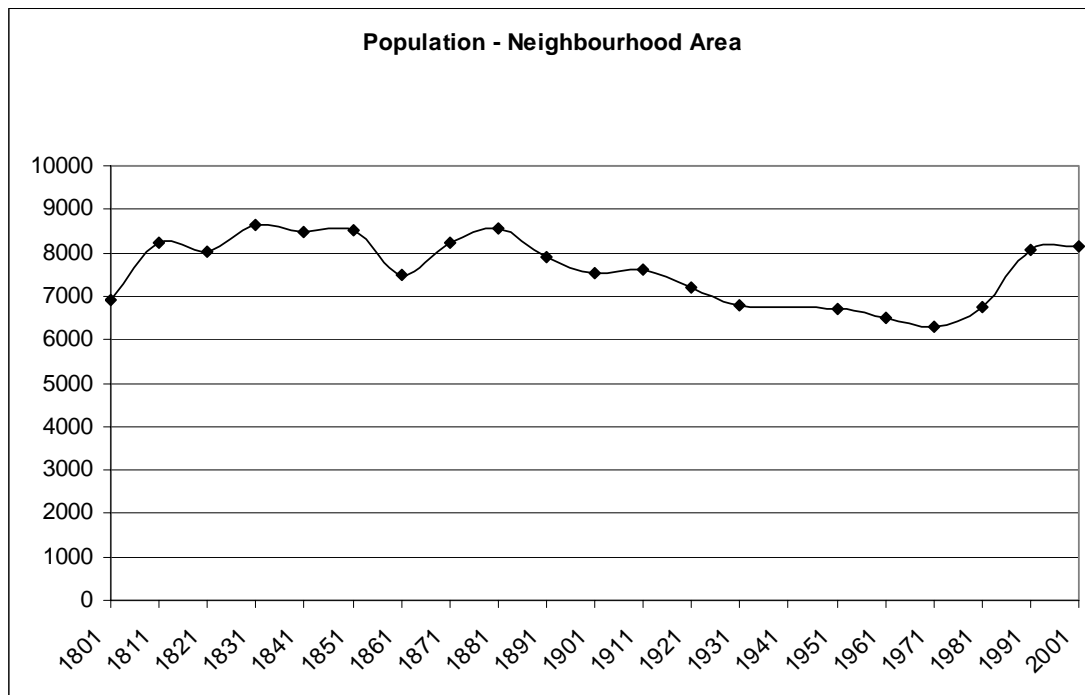
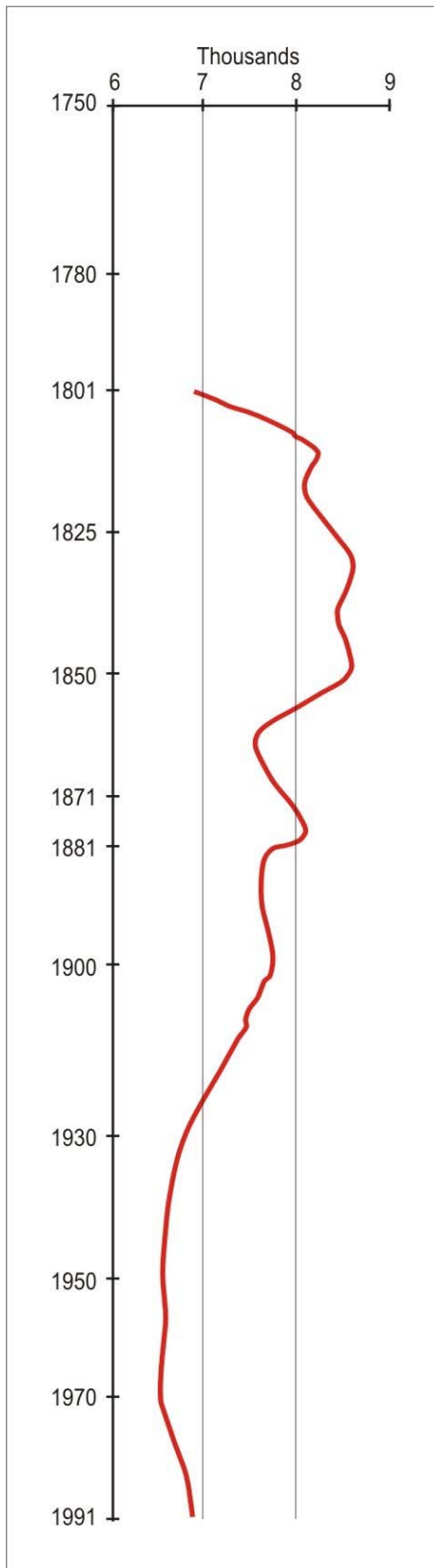


Figure 6.9 Population Trends in the Neighbourhood of Little Hereford.

This change may have been sufficiently slight and so variable between the 17 parishes as to be scarcely detectable over a generation of inhabitants. Anna Marie Fay (Fay 2002), staying in Richards Castle in the mid 19th century, makes no mention of it in her letters home. It was an imperceptible phase. In terms of the national pattern the period from about 1850 was one of high demand for agricultural products before the era of importation from the ‘new’ colonies. What does appear to be the case is that, in contrast to Herefordshire and Shropshire as a whole, 1881 was not a point of absolute loss for the neighbourhood of Little Hereford.

In terms of the trends in rural areas generally there was no great decline but rather a period of gentle decline from late 19th century onwards (Saville 1857). This came to an end around 1971 to be followed by a significant growth coinciding with the decline seen in the figures for Birmingham. In detail the high point for total population was 8,647 in 1831 and the low point 6,287 in 1971, a decline of 27% but



Before the 1801 census local and regional population is difficult to calculate. But, after Black Death population slumped and agriculture became less labour intensive & the wool trade grew with the Ryland sheep. Local markets established and trade with London expanded. As population grew increasing amounts of wheat and beef were produced, The Hereford breed emerges. Later hops in the Teme valley in addition to apples. Surge in wheat production as result of Napoleonic wars.

Period of Demographic Transition.

Maud family enter LH.

Bennett Family enter LH.

Bleathwood Common enclosed.

Rowbury Family enter LH.

Despite innovation farming was still labour intensive and living-in continued as the first move from home. This continued to end century because of need to care for animals.

Repeal of Corn Laws facilitated land drainage & enabled increase in wheat production.

Tenbury to Bewdley railway completed & linked locality to Severn, Birmingham and Black Country which were growing significantly. Gave impetus to market towns. **Absolute decline in population of Shropshire and Herefordshire. Study of Migrating families Chapter 7.**

Thomas Maund leaves for Birmingham fringe.

Population in slow decline and farming suffers from overseas competition but area adapts to milk production to supply Midland conurbation using now rapid transport system.

Family of Thomas E. Maund begin the return to Herefordshire.

Farming recovers with War and its aftermath. Milk production very important.

Diversification into fruit and eggs. Noticeable increases in population at key villages, many retired and middle class.

Period of Demographic Turnaround.

Major challenges to farming with EU policy and globalisation.

Response in large scale fruit, holidays, farm shops, golf courses, organic food. Change in itinerant labour.

Figure 6.10 Key Events in Context, Little Hereford 1750-1991.

over a period of 140 years. Put in another way the loss was 2,360 over 140 years or less than an average of 17 persons per year in 17 parishes! This is not massive population loss, it is a gentle decline and this seems to be a very important conclusion in a relatively remote area of about 80 square miles. This point can be illustrated further when the data for absolute change are broken down by fifty-year intervals (Table 6.9).

Period	Change, Numbers	Change %
1801-1851	1,607	23.2
1851-1901	- 964	- 11.3
1901-1951	- 1,164	- 15.4
1951-1991	1,954	20.1

Table 6.9 Absolute Population Change in the Neighbourhood of Little Hereford 1801-1991

In the period to 1851 population grew in the parishes of the neighbourhood. From 1851, the trend was one of stagnation and decline despite it being a period of agricultural prosperity and success and the development of the transport system with the coming of the railway (figure 6.10). For a century the locality declined in population and in fact it was only after 1971 that there was renewed growth, perhaps coincident with the period of the population turnaround, a growth rate of 28% between 1971 and 1991.

However, it is evidence that even within the 17 parishes considered together there were differences in their demographics since 1801 which are of significance in any understanding of local family moves. A brief examination of population changes over the last two centuries in these parishes will now be undertaken.

6.4.2 The Parishes

The 17 parishes which make up the neighbourhood of Little Hereford are shown in Figure 6.11 and for the sake of comparability and consistency, the boundaries in 1881 have been retained throughout the study.

The population trends between 1801 and 1991 in the neighbourhood parishes are shown in Figure 6.12 and with the exception of Caynham and Burford the pattern is far from clear. Caynham, in 1881, is not only the largest unit by far but its population

trends are erratic. In 1871 –81 it was one enumeration district occupying, in part, the western flanks of the Clee Hill. At this time this was a coal mining and quarrying area employing relatively large numbers of people many of whom were relative newcomers from similar quarrying areas particularly the Mount Sorrel district of



Figure 6.11 Parishes of the Neighbourhood of Little Hereford

Leicestershire (Chapter 5). The remainder of the parish had a similar landscape and farming regime as the neighbourhood generally. Burford, which is immediately adjacent to Tenbury, was for all practical purposes, in the late 19th century, a functioning part of Tenbury; the railway station called Tenbury was actually in Burford with all the activities associated with it including a hotel and cattle market.

Saville (1957) observed that during the 19th century smaller communities tended to experience depopulation first and this appeared to still be the case in the mid 20th century when Maund (1976) observed a category of parishes which had suffered depopulation. Not only were these small but they were the least accessible.

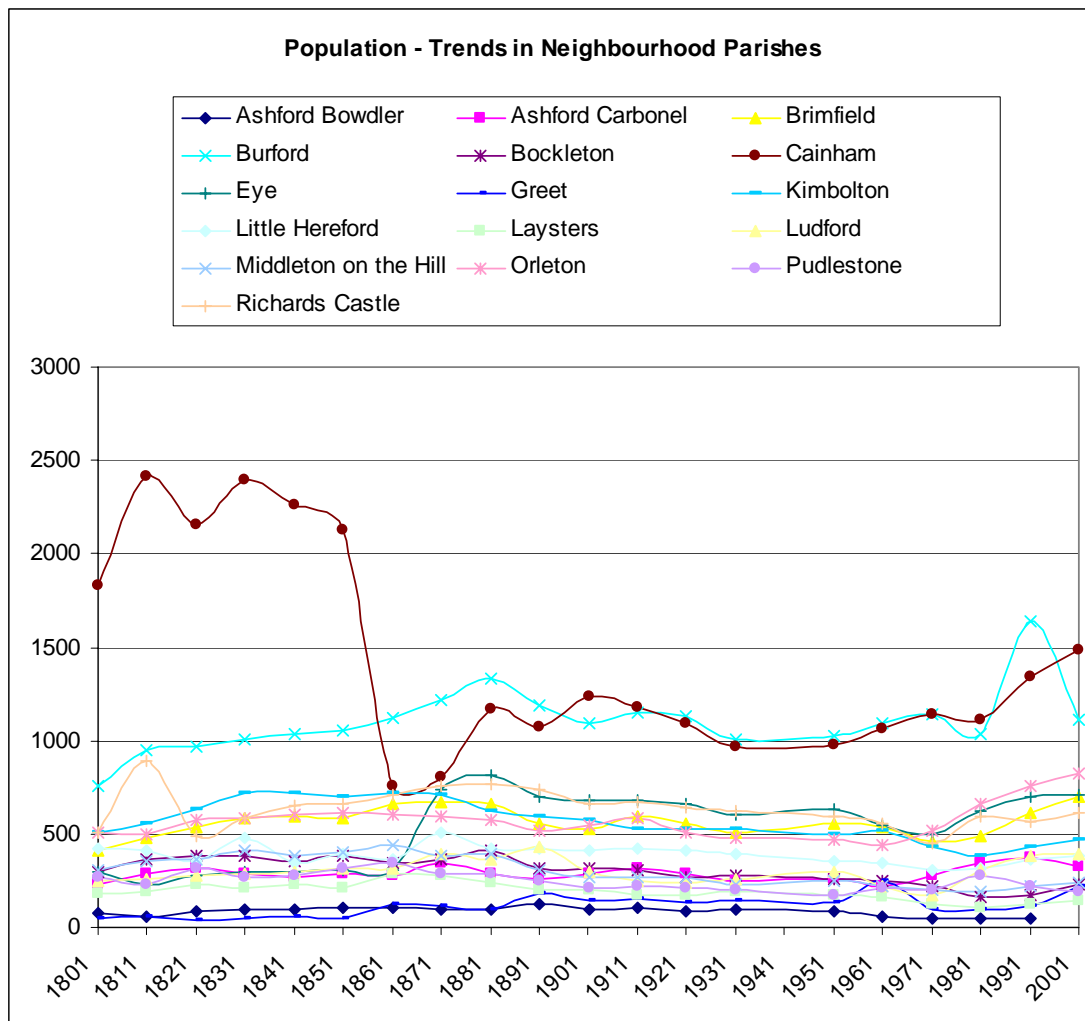
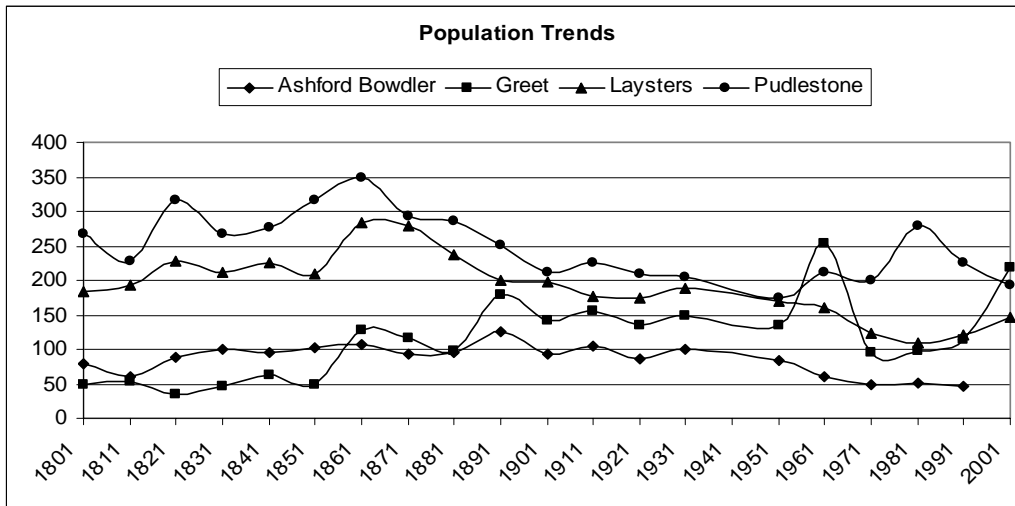


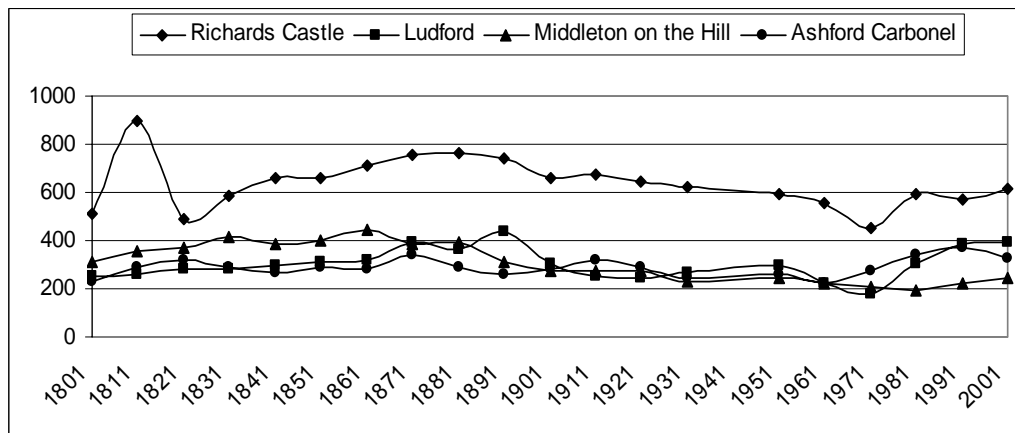
Figure 6.12 Population Trends in the Parishes of the Neighbourhood.

Based on this the population trends of the neighbourhood of Little Hereford were examined by parish population total in 1881 modified by spatial proximity. For this exercise, which is intended to clarify the trends obscure in Figure 6.12, Cainham is omitted because of its clearly different nature and Tenbury because of its urban functions. Figure 6.13 shows the population trends of the remaining parishes in a form intended to enable visual comparisons.

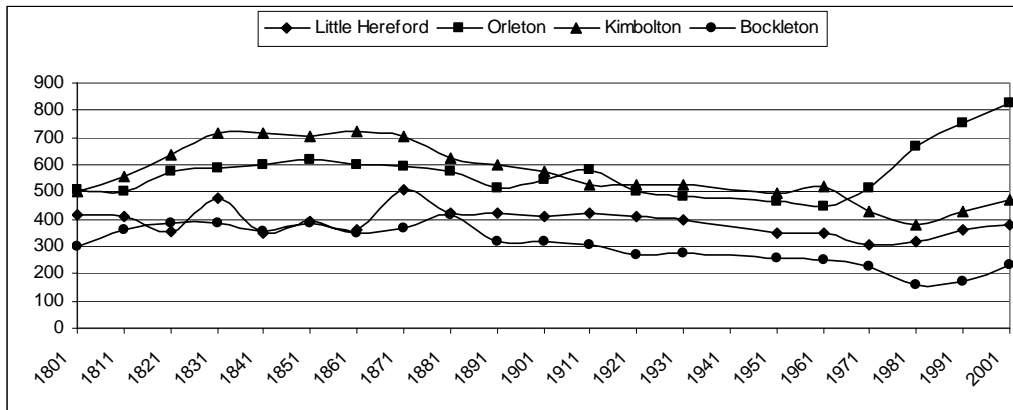
For the parishes in category (1) all had been small over the entire 200 year period with less than 350 population. The decline in the late 19th century was most marked in Laysters and Pudleston, adjacent parishes (Figure 6.11). The latter parish though is the only one to show what might be evidence of the population turnaround. misleading without other evidence.



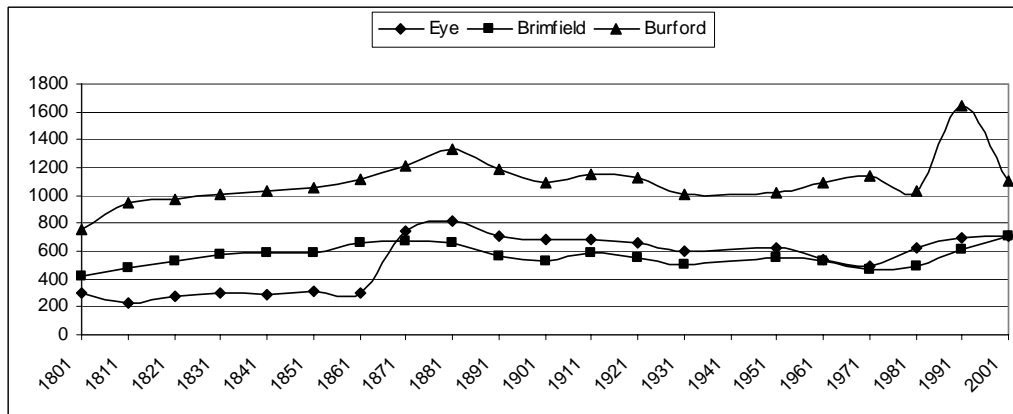
Category 1



Category 2



Category 3



Category 4

Figure 6.13 Summary of Population Trends, Category of Parish

On the other hand with such low numbers it could simply be the development of a residential school in the 1960s in the former Pudleston Court. Ludford is an adjacent parish to Ludlow on the south bank of the Teme. This almost certainly explains the quite rapid growth in the late 20th century which may well be suburbanisation rather than counterurbanisation. Ashford Carbonel is just off the A49 Shrewsbury to Hereford road and is a sought after residential area with its cul de sac position but with good access to the main road. The gentle growth from about 1960 reflects this. Middleton on the Hill is an isolated parish of hamlets and farms well off through routes. This may well explain the continued decline from about 1881 with only the hint of increase in the 1980s. It also illustrates that the micro scale can reveal subtle population trends and draws attention to the importance of location in analysing them. However size of itself is not sufficient to explain population trends.

Bockleton (3) showed a peak in population of over 400 in 1881. Thereafter there was gradual decline with no indication of the influence of turnaround. It too is an isolated

parish similar to Middleton on the Hill. No main road goes through it and there has never been a railway, in fact it is not a place that people go through, they have to go to it. The major feature is the strong growth of Orleton from the 1960s. This was a period of major building as part of the Development Plan of Herefordshire (H.C.C. 1960). The precise locations were not specified in the Plan but in practice were located where existing infrastructure reduced costs. In this manner a form of access criterion existed. Orleton was designated as a key village and the infrastructure developed to accommodate major house building. Thus the population rose from 445 in 1961 to 754 in 1991. In an area of small parishes this is major growth. The largest parish of all in the 19th century, Kimbolton, shows a decline from the peak in 1861; there is some recent late 20th century growth but this is slight. The prime parish of Little Hereford shows unexplained peaks in 1841 and again in 1881 but these are on a base of less than 500 total. The 1841 surge may have been associated with the move into the parish of the Bailey family and their household. A similar surge in the 1870s may have been to do with the coming of the railway. There was a plateau from 1881 to 1931 followed by gentle decline and what appears as the beginnings of recovery in the 1980s.

The final graph, (4), shows the trends in the three largest parishes in 1881. This has a slightly different scale from the previous ones with an interval of 200 people. However, despite this it does show the trends which are quite distinctive. Brimfield is the best connected parish. In 1881 it had the main Shrewsbury to Hereford road, the main road east to Bewdley, Kidderminster and Birmingham and an important rail junction where the north south lines met the east west line. Despite these favourable conditions the trends appears as stable with very few fluctuations or noticeable changes in trend. There is a dip from 1881 and a slight rise from the 1970s.

Eye was another parish where some residential development was promoted from the 1960s and this shows in the trend. It is Burford which shows the most marked features. The rising trend from about 1871 was almost certainly to do with the increased activity brought about by the Tenbury railway station and cattle market. The decline afterwards follows the familiar trend of loss from the countryside but the most marked feature is the sharp rise from 1981. This is a period of major house building but whether this is suburbanisation as Tenbury grew or counterurbanisation

as people moved to the area from other towns is difficult to tell without further, more detailed investigation.

A number of points emerge from this analysis of the individual parishes of the neighbourhood. Firstly, 1881 is by no means the point of absolute decline in population unlike the general trend for the two counties. There is some evidence for the turnaround but more so in the larger parishes but, to what extent this is to do with the strategy of the planning authorities is not entirely clear without further investigation. There is some evidence to confirm a relationship between population trend and both size and access but there was no dramatic fall in population in this area of countryside. Any fall was gentle and over a span of about fifty years.

These parishes of the neighbourhood area do show some features in common but the impression is that the area is by no means homogeneous. Of course when the area was delimited in Chapter 4 no claim was made for homogeneity rather it was an area of parishes with an interactive relationship with the prime parish of Little Hereford. It seems clear that even at the level of the locality there are differences to be identified and thus different places respond differently to macro trends.

Table 6.10 highlights some of the key trends in the parishes and also for the neighbourhood as a whole. Generally the neighbourhood follows what might be seen as an expected pattern. There is a rise in the early 19th century, at the latter part of the population transition but during a time of comparative farming depression. The trends in the parishes however did not by any means fit this overall trend. This is interesting because the neighbourhood as designated in Chapter 4 was one of social and economic interaction but was not necessarily a homogeneous one. It may be that population trends need to be seen over such an area for a general but none the less local pattern. Viewed in this manner the area is a form of self regulating unit. Little Hereford, the prime parish is in no way typical of its neighbourhood, nor indeed need it be if a neighbourhood is in some form of counteracting balance.

Place	1801-51	1851-01	1901-51	1951-91	Pop 1881
Ashford Bowdler	23%	-8%	-10%	-37%	95
Greet	2%	182%	-4%	-16%	97
Laysters	14%	-6%	-14%	-29%	238
Pudleston	18%	-33%	-18%	29%	287
Ashford Carbonel	61%	-5%	-23%	-17%	290
R.Castle	29%	1%	37%	-4%	312
Ludford	24%	-4%	-3%	31%	365
Middleton-o-Hill	30%	-32%	-9%	-10%	392
Bockleton	29%	-17%	-19%	-33%	416
Little Hereford	-6%	5%	14%	-3%	421
Orleton	22%	-17%	-15%	61%	575
Kimbolton	29%	-18%	-13%	-13%	622
Brimfield	40%	-11%	6%	11%	663
Eye	4%	121%	-8%	-2%	815
Caynham	16%	-42%	-21%	38%	1165
Burford	40%	3%	-6%	60%	1335
Neighbourhood LH	23%	-11%	-11%	20%	8088

Table 6.10 Comparative Parish Population Trends

The failure to grow at all in the first part of the 19th century may be to do with the unpopularity of the Dansey family (see Chapters 5 and 7). It was also the period in which Bleathwood Common was enclosed. Only detailed local investigation would reveal the factors underlying this time. The positive trend in the second half of the century may reflect the drainage of land in the Middleton area, the coming of the railway with a station located there and the influence of the Bailey family. The negative trends for the hundred year period after 1851 follows the pattern emerging of slow gradual decline in population totals already noted. Although the proportions between parishes are variable from minus 42% in Caynham to plus 61% in Orleton. The general 20% growth in the neighbourhood after 1951 reflects the turnaround but a number of parishes did not experience this. Generally therefore the data confirm that even at the local level there are internal differences.

6.5 Summary and Conclusion

From the above analysis it is possible to draw out a number of features that are of significance in an analysis of migration. The Mid Borderland and the provincial capital, Birmingham, appear to be part of an interacting system. In part this seems to be driven by the provincial capital in that it grew faster than any other city and than England and Wales as a whole. Having said that other cities grew faster than the countryside. In the countryside there was population decline from the 19th century onwards but it was a slow process. Interestingly the market towns tended to behave

similarly to that of the countryside they served; they appeared to be more countrified than urban. The countryside and the provincial capital appeared to have an inverse relationship; thus in the late 20th century, there was population loss in the large cities and gains in the countryside including the market towns. This though was not always such a simple pattern in the Mid Borderland as originally designated because the county, as a data collection unit, often masked important internal differences since demographically Worcestershire often behaves more like Birmingham. Significantly, even at the local scale, the parishes of the neighbourhood of Little Hereford were not demographically homogeneous over the period 1801-2001; at certain times they react differently to national trends.

This chapter, like the previous one, has been constructed with a view to discovering whether, by analysing population trends, there is a case for claiming some distinctiveness for the Borderland region and in particular the neighbourhood of Little Hereford. The summary of findings suggests that this may well be the case. But there is also the matter of providing context for the migration study which is to follow. However, it is important to acknowledge that the trends noted in this chapter were all part of a broader set of processes of significant structural change involving urbanisation and modernisation but which had different responses and consequences in different areas.

There is a major difficulty in relating population change, shown by net data, to migration. It can not be stated from this analysis whether decline was due to changes in the vital rates, from migration or some interaction of the two. The major loss from depopulation proposed by Grundy (1985) could be construed differently. The evidence here is for gentle, slow loss. Of course that does not mean no change because these forms of data hide any incoming and outgoing movement since they merely record the balance. There does appear to be a form of unity in the neighbourhood of Little Hereford but there are also contrasts between parishes in population trends.

In an attempt to examine more closely these trends the study now moves to a direct focus upon migrating families from the neighbourhood of Little Hereford and the patterns and processes which they bring about.

Chapter 7

Migrating Families: Neighbourhood of Little Hereford, 1871 – 1881

7.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter it was revealed that in 1881 the Mid Borderland experienced an absolute decline in population for the first time after the 18th century demographic transition. However, it was also revealed that within the region, for example in the neighbourhood of Little Hereford, there was still a growth, although attenuated, in population whilst several of its parishes were beginning to lose individuals and families. Despite these variations it would appear that something was happening in the decade 1871 to 1881 and it would appear to be the beginning of a long period of rural depopulation (Saville 1957). Clearly this demographic turmoil, or turning point, deserves a more detailed investigation particularly as a context for the movements of individuals and families analysed in the succeeding chapters (Nicholas and Shergold 1987). From this two questions arise, firstly, what role did migration play in these trends and, secondly, what was the form and pattern of any migration flows at the point of absolute decline?

In order to seek answers to these questions the focus will be upon families rather than individuals. Individuals leave home as part of the life cycle, as described in chapter 5, and there has been much research on this and their gender differences during the 19th century which has been so effectively summarised by Pooley and Turnbull (1998). However, the focus in this study is upon the family not only because of its role as a decision making unit in the migration process but also because the relationships between different branches of the same family bring some coherence to an area (Hey 1976). The introduction of the notion of a core family strengthens this because it implies a presence over a long period and, therefore, stability. Such stability would also assist in the development of the value systems and culture, giving it identity and sustainability. It is this which gave rise to the identification of the concept of a neighbourhood area or locality. Thus, there are three intimately interrelated factors, the family, the neighbourhood and the region with the family as an essential building

block. If this were to begin to change as a result of the movement of hitherto core family movement then this might be seen as an indicator of structural change.

It has already been shown (Chapter 6) that the slow decline in population experienced in the neighbourhood of Little Hereford during the second half of the 19th century continued well into the 20th century. In other words there had been no sudden emptying of the countryside but rather an imperceptible decline. But what was the role of migration in this slow population process? Part of the function of this chapter is to offer some assessment of this decline. More specifically the chapter identifies the pattern of family movement from and within the neighbourhood and in doing so identifies the characteristics of the families that moved (Darroch 1981).

The sequence of this chapter will be firstly to specify the methods used, then to look at the patterns of the moving families and identify their characteristics and finally to examine in more detail the movement associated with the prime parish, Little Hereford. This latter phase of the analysis provides the platform for the identification of the migration histories of the parish's core families and in particular their movement after 1881.

7.2 Sources and Methods

In this section the sources and methods employed, as previously outlined in Chapter 3, are developed in more detail. The approach is generally behavioural since the purpose is to identify migration patterns. The neighbourhood concerned though relatively small in scale, involved 17 parishes which occupied less than 80 square miles. This neighbourhood as defined in Chapter 4 contained 18 parishes but because one of these, Whitton, was included for electoral enumeration purposes in the parish of Burford, there were actually 17 units. Additionally the parish of Tenbury contained the market town of Tenbury Wells and a surrounding area of three substantial hamlets. In order not to confuse the analysis with functions that were essentially to do with this town the census data for the town itself have been omitted. This entailed judging from the addresses in the CEBs whether a household was in the town or the surrounding rural district. Inevitably there will be some inaccuracies incurred by this procedure but on balance it was judged better to tolerate these rather

than omit in excess of 800 rural dwellers and, therefore, potential migrants. Ludford too raises a similar issue. Although it was a discrete parish in 1871, part of it was effectively within the town of Ludlow. Here because of the smaller numbers involved, Ludford was included in its entirety within the analysis.

There are several phases to this aspect of the investigation which, together with their associated methods, lead to the identification of the family migration patterns. Broadly they involved the comparison of the 1871 CEBs for the seventeen units (hereafter referred to as the parishes) of the locality with those of 1881 CEBs. It needs to be emphasised that because of difficulties with data retrieval the focus will be upon families which leave their 1871 residence. It is not possible to identify the 1871 residence location of those who move in and they are not included in this aspect of the analysis. However, the parish of Little Hereford is of particular importance to this study as the 19th century location of the core families to be examined in Chapter 8. It is therefore the Prime Parish and the point from which its neighbourhood is measured and delimited (Chapter 4). The last section of this chapter will examine, by a form of parish reconstruction, both out and in movement of families.

The CEBs for each of the parishes were printed from the CD Rom containing the 1881 National Census (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints 1999). These were then compared with those for 1871 stored in the appropriate County Record Office on microfiche or micro film. A parish of 500 population would take about 5 hours of sustained intensive work and each parish, or more accurately enumeration district, would need to be coded at a single sitting because of the need for familiarity with the data. Thus the largest parish, Caynham, took well over 6 hours. Families which were on the 1871 record but not the 1881 were deemed, at this stage, to have moved out of the parish. The details of the entire household in 1871 were recorded from the CEB for later use.

The next phase relied upon the search mechanism within the CD Rom of the 1881 census. Using this search mechanism the location of families which had moved after 1871 could be traced. Unfortunately it is not possible to identify the previous residence of newcomers in 1881 and so the data collected refers only to leavers and their location in 1881. The search rests firstly upon the family name but also the place

of birth and the age from which the year of birth can be determined. From these the location of the family in 1881 can normally be identified. There are problems which can arise though, for example, the Head of Household may have died in which case the search depends upon other members of the family. Here too there are potential difficulties because the children may have left home and the wife remarried. In these circumstances, sometimes, a widow who had remarried may be identified from the first name, place of birth and age statistic and the same too with married daughters. The more difficult problems emerge where the census enumerator has not, for whatever reason, recorded accurate information and, therefore, the search mechanism has incorrect data upon which to work. Finally, though families may have died out in the intervening ten years their age in 1871 may present reasonable grounds for assuming that they were deceased and that younger people may have emigrated. Despite these shortcomings, over three quarters (77%) of 1871 families were traced in 1881. The search mechanism in the CD Rom is therefore a very powerful research tool for this type of investigation.

The details recorded in the census for the family and household in 1871 were noted and, therefore, the characteristics of the family before they moved formed the basis for the analysis. In this way even families which were not traced are included on the grounds that, in whatever circumstances, they had left the parish and, therefore, changed its composition. Before describing the next phase which was to identify and record characteristics of the families it is important to define family and household. In the CEBs a household is all those resident in a dwelling. For the purpose of this study a family is taken to be that of the nuclear family, whilst a household includes both a family but also co-residents such as relatives, lodgers and those living-in.

Of course, the household is essentially a short-lived feature and would be unlikely by the nature of its interrelationships and structure to migrate as a unit. The family too is a temporary and changing feature but, because of the nature of the interdependence between its members, may well migrate as a unit. The family though is not a unit of singular and uniform structure. Several different family structures may be identified both in the past and present. One way of arriving at a workable classification of the 19th century family might be to view the family as a feature with a definite life cycle which changed over time in rather the same way as an individual (Figure 7.1).



Figure 7.1 Schematic Family Cycle (adapted from Coleman and Salt ,1992).

Despite this simple description the family is in reality a complex and changing phenomenon. Here we are concerned in particular with the family role in migration in the late 19th century and it is, therefore, important that any classification reflects the times involved. A notional family life cycle is used as the basis for classification here (Figure 7.2).

1	2.	3	4	5	6.
Married Couple No Children	Married Couple Dependent Children	Married Couple Independent Children	Older Married Couple With/Without Children	Widow/ Widower With/Without Children	Family Disperses

Note Variation: Remarriage, possibly children from two marriages. Two families living in single Household Family in household containing others, Boarders, Living-In. Family containing aged parent

Figure 7.2 Notional Family Cycle

Such a classification formed the basis for identifying migrating families and the means for retrieving data from the CEBs which formed the next phase of the data collection method. The first aspect of this phase was to design a schedule under which to collect both the data contained in the CEBs but also other significant information which could be determined from them and the new location of the family in 1881. Because of its central importance to this part of the study the schedule is given in full below (Table 7.1). It is emphasised again that this schedule was applied only to those families in the neighbourhood of Little Hereford who left their 1871 residence and not to all families in the neighbourhood. To achieve this a team of researchers would have been necessary.

The composition of this schedule was in part dependent upon the data available in the CEBs but conditioned by the nature of the society in the late 19th century. Thus, there is an important relationship between this schedule and the findings about the nature of the society in the Mid Borderland in the late 19th century as outlined in Chapter 5. Some of the relevant features are drawn attention to in the commentary on the schedule below.

Both the 1871 and the 1881 censuses specified a designated Head for each Household and such a designated Head was almost invariably male unless the household was the responsibility of a widow and the **Sex and Age of Head of Household** were also noted. At this time there was clearly a relationship between age and the activities of the family. The categories in **Age Cycle** reflect something of the features of the life of the agricultural worker at this time. The age at which adult wages were paid was variable probably between 19 and 21 years. The most economically stressful years were those when there were dependent children to support. It was not uncommon for women to bear children regularly for over twenty years after marriage, for example, Emma Maund, a member of a core family to be discussed in Chapter 8, had her first of ten children in 1856 and her last in 1880. Age at marriage was historically variable in the countryside. Snell (1985) maintained that the reduction of living-in resulted in earlier marriage. If this was the case in the Neighbourhood of Little Hereford marriage continued to be delayed. It was usual in the era of living-in for a couple to save £40 from the proceeds of living-in to support their marriage.

Dependent Children are defined as those designated as scholars in the census, although the age will vary from time to time, they are likely to be under the age of nine. By 1871 the 1870 Education Act, granting primary education for all, had only just come into force and there may not yet have been a uniform school leaving age in force. This may have in practice been widely ignored, as suggested in Chapter 5, but **Age Cycle Category 46 – 60** is suggestive of a point in the life cycle when children may no longer have been dependent. There was no retirement age and men worked as long as they were able and as long as they could find employment.

Social status has long been regarded as a major discriminator of behaviour and attitudes and hence of course of the underlying value systems which produce them. Currently the Registrar General has a classification based upon occupations as described in the census. It is questionable whether this classification is appropriate for use on data from the late 19th century. Then, occupations, as described in Chapter 5, though different, were changing. Rural areas tended to lag behind the newer,

Table 7.1 Schedule of Characteristics of Migrating Families - Definitions and Coding
Analysis sheet used to retrieve data from CEBs. Bold letters refer solely to Excel spreadsheet columns.

<p>B. Family Structure</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Young, childless, married couple (Head of Household under 45) 2. Married couple with dependent children 3. Married couple with dependent and independent children 4. Married couple with independent children 5. Widow/widower with children 6. Older married couple (H.o.HH over 46) 7. Widow/widower – no children 8. Single person with household 	<p>C. Number in Household</p>
<p>D. Household Characteristic</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Nuclear Family 2. Living-in 3. Living-in (relatives) 4. Living-in (others, e.g. boarders) 	<p>E. Sex, Head Household</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Male 2. Female
<p>F. Age, Head Household</p>	<p>G. Age Cycle, Head Household</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 20 – 30 Years 2. 31 – 45 Years 3. 46 – 60 Years 4. Over 60 Years
<p>H. Occupation Head of Household</p>	<p>I. Occupation Category, Head of Household</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Farmer 2. Labourer 3. Skilled Person 4. Domestic 5. Others (specify)
<p>J. Numbers of Children in Household</p>	<p>L. Categories of Children</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Infant and Scholar, as shown by Enumerator 2. Young working i.e. c9 to 19 3. Over 19 <p>(These ages are defined from consideration of school leaving ages and ages at which adult wages were paid.)</p>
<p>P. Distance Moved</p>	<p>Q. Distance Category</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Up to 7 miles 2. 8 - 15 miles 3. 16 – 20 miles 4. 21 – 30 miles 5. Over 31 miles 6. Not Known

<p>R. Direction Moved (<i>From lines drawn NE – SW & NW – SE through Parish from which the migration takes place.</i>)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. North 2. South 3. East 4. West 5. Not Known 	<p>S. Rural/Urban Destination</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Rural 2. Industrial Village 3. Market Town 4. County Town 5. Industrial Town 6. Regional centre 7. Not Known
<p>U. Previous Moves</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Head of Household 2. Spouse 3. Both 4. Neither 	<p>V. Birth Proximity of Couple</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Both, Neighbourhood Area 2. One, Neighbourhood Area 3. Neither, Neighbourhood Area 4. Both, proximate but away from NA 5. Both, apart but away 6. Not Known
<p>W. Outcome</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Family Moved 2. Family Dispersed 3. Family Reconstituted 4. Not Known 	

growing urban ones in a variety of ways although here too the old systems were on the verge of change. But the suggestion made here is that in rural north Herefordshire in 1871-81, change was even slower. In the countryside, as argued in Chapter 5, there were essentially three classes, Landowners, Farmers and Labourers with the caution that there were overlaps and differences. Despite this a simple classification suggests itself although tradesmen or craftsmen were also an important element. In the earlier parts of the 19th century cordwainers, tailors, carpenters and blacksmiths were familiar occupations in most rural areas. This is applied with caution because gradually the socio-economic systems were changing partly as the result of the development of new transport systems and the increasing concentration of some crafts in towns (see Chapter 5).

There was also technological change, for example the coming of the railways (1863 in Little Hereford), which brought new trades, like platelayer, with them. The late 19th century was also the beginning of the end of the village blacksmith as hay gave way to steam. From these considerations an Employment Index was constructed

(Occupation and Occupation Category of Head of Household) which, whilst reflecting the conditions of the day, had sufficient data in each category to be meaningful. Therefore, the category of agricultural labourers was not subdivided for this reason but also because the sub categories did not always appear to be consistently recorded in the CEBs. Landowners, Clerics and School Teachers formed such a small element that they were consigned to category 'Others' although their exact status was maintained on the database.

Migration implies a permanent change of residence as defined in Chapter 2. Place of Birth statistics are useful but they only show where someone was born and do not show how many moves have been made to the current residence. An indicator of this might be the birth place of children and this is used in Chapter 8. Here such an indicator does not yield uniform data because some families do not have children or they have left home. Because this issue cannot be entirely resolved this section of the analysis shows the location of families only in 1881 and it is acknowledged that there may have been moves in the previous ten years. The distance between the recorded 1871 location and the recorded 1881 one is used (**Distance Moved** and **Distance Category**) and also the nature and direction of the new residence. (**Direction Moved**). The nature of the new residence should go some way towards providing an answer to the question of whether there was direct movement to towns. (**Rural/Urban Destination**). For the indices involving **Distance** the straight-line distance from the centre of the leaving parish to the centre of the receiving parish was measured. This may result in some marginal underestimation of distance but it has the benefit of being a uniform method. In an attempt to break down these crude distance figures they were divided into categories. The basis for these categories requires some clarification. The area up to seven miles is designated as the neighbourhood of the individual parish. In Chapter 4 the neighbourhood or locality was defined and delimited around the Prime Parish of Little Hereford. The figures actually showed an interactive neighbourhood at some five miles from the centre of Little Hereford but there was also an area beyond this which was related but not necessarily reciprocally. There was therefore an inner Neighbourhood and a form of outer Neighbourhood. The inner neighbourhood seems perfectly manageable for the purposes of daily interaction on the basis of a maximum of four to five miles to work. Beyond these, distances would be too great for those travelling on foot though

journeys to market and occasional visits home would still be practical for up to seven miles or so. It is assumed that for local migration that a similar outer neighbourhood would be appropriate. The remaining distance categories reflect the rate of fall off in place of birth locations.

Direction was measured by lines drawn from North East to South West and North West to South East intersecting in the centre of the Prime Parish. Thus four quadrants were produced labelled as the cardinal points of the compass. The expectation might be that families would move at least towards the areas of urban concentration given the growth in population of cities and especially the Birmingham conurbation (Chapter 6). In order to examine the nature of the location to which families moved these were classified into a number of categories. These were intended to depict a number of different possible locations for migrating families, including a division in types of urban centres.

The data in the CEBs enabled the testing of one of the definitions of neighbourhood, namely as the area from which marriage partners were drawn (Hey 1974). **Birth Proximity** may give some indication of the degree to which people in the countryside remained 'local'. Finally, given the proposition that families had a life cycle there is the issue of what happened to the moving family. The outcome of this may suggest differing motivations to move (**Outcome**).

The next phase was to encode the data for each migrating family and record it in an Excel spreadsheet, family by family and parish by parish. By the conclusion of this phase, there were 17 parishes with variations from 9 families leaving from Ashford Bowdler to 69 families leaving from the defined Tenbury Rural (TenRur). Each of these appeared on separate Excel spreadsheets with appropriate data from the schedule. In addition to the coding, each family was named on the data base as well as the name of their 1881 location and their precise employment. Not all these data were used subsequently but they did provide a detailed record of each individual family despite its use in more aggregated form later. The encoded data were then aggregated into a single data base summarising the characteristics of the families which could then be manipulated statistically to produce tables and graphs. It is these

data which are presented as the product of this part of the research and the basis of the analysis which follows.

7.3 Population Change in the Neighbourhood 1871-1881

The data in Table 7.2 were obtained entirely from the 1871 and 1881 census returns.

Parish	Population						Households					
	'71	'81	+	-	+%	-%	'71	'81	+	-	+%	-%
A.Bowdler	93	95	2		2		27	18		9		33
A.Carbonell	341	293		48		14	72	70		2		3
Bockleton	304	220		84		28	53	51		2		4
Brimfield	673	633		40		6	163	148		15		9
Burford	672	432		240		36	73	89	16		22	
Caynham	819	1170	351		42		197	228	31		16	
Eye	302	704	402		133		63	162	99		157	
Greet	188	97		91		48	33	17		16		48
Kimbolton	704	622		82		12	163	124		77		47
Laysters	279	238		41		17	60	56		2		7
Little Hereford	400	421	21		5		87	89	2		5	
Ludford	390	461	71		18		58	98	40		70	
M.o.H	382	392	10		3		80	68		12		15
Orleton	591	574		17		3	136	122		14		10
Pudleston	292	287		5		2	87	61		26		30
R.Castle	433	765	332		130		87	155	68		78	
Tenrural	782	843	61		8		135	169	34		25	
Total	7645	8247	602		8		1574	1684	110		7	
Mean	449.7	485					92.6	99				
Median	390	427					80	89				
Range							197-	228-17				

**Table 7.2: Population and Household Change, 1871-81:
Parishes of Neighbourhood of Little Hereford.**

They are gross data for individuals and also for households which is the basis on which the census data were collected and recorded. These data for households should not be confused with those for families presented later. The most obvious feature is the variability of population change between the parishes over the ten year period both in terms of individuals and households. In Burford there was a loss in population but a gain in households. Why this should be is a matter of conjecture; for example, it may be that in 1871 there were still temporary residents associated with the newly constructed railway and cattle market and by 1881 households serving these functions

were established. The growth in Eye too was notable and this may well be to do with the railway which runs north-south through the parish and its position adjacent to Leominster in the south and the then important railway junction of Woofferton to the north.

The data shown in Table 7.2 are important because, as indicated in Chapter 6, despite the general trend for the Mid Borderland to lose population in the late 19th century, the population of the neighbourhood actually increased by 602 (8%) over the period 1871 to 1881. These findings do not support the notion of a mass movement from the countryside, at least as represented at the scale of the neighbourhood. Despite growth overall in both population and households there were, as noted, significant variations between parishes over the period to 1881.

Parish	Total Families	% Families moving out
A.Bowdler	9	33
A.Carbonell	27	38
Bockleton	35	66
Brimfield	46	28
Burford	30	41
Caynham	66	34
Eye	30	48
Greet	22	67
Kimbolton	57	35
Laysters	26	43
Little Hereford	21	24
Ludford	29	50
M.o.H	41	51
Orleton	49	36
Pudleston	37	43
R.Castle	39	45
Tenrural	69	51
Total	633	40
Mean	37.235	
Median	35	
Mode	30	
Range	66 - 9	

**Table 7.3 Families Moving Out 1871-81
Parishes of Neighbourhood of Little Hereford**

The most simple and basic data, derived from the calculations above and relating to families moving from the neighbourhood are summarised Table 7.3. What stands out immediately is that all parishes had families leave over the ten-year period. This

amounted to a total of 633 families, 40% of the total families in the neighbourhood in 1871. Each parish lost at least a quarter of their 1871 total families. It needs to be stressed that this is a gross figure and it represents only the total families leaving and, of course, this does not mean that because a family left a parish that they also left the neighbourhood.. The net figure, in the form of Households, is shown in Table 7.2 and varied between 157% increase in Eye to a 48% decrease in households in Greet. These data also give a clear idea of both the magnitude of family migration in this part of the Mid Borderland in the late 19th century and the variation between parishes. In summary it seems clear that between 1871 and 1881 a high proportion of families moved out of the individual parishes. The smallest parishes appeared to lose the greater proportion of families and the larger ones the lowest. But the reasons for these patterns are difficult to explain. For example, there is no instantly apparent spatial patterning to the distribution of parishes within the neighbourhood either in terms of clustering, or relationship to any other location such as proximity or otherwise to the market towns.

In Table 7.3 the parishes of Greet and Bockleton are highlighted in red since they are the two parishes with the greatest proportion of families moving out. On the other hand, Little Hereford, Brimfield and Ashford Bowdler are shown in blue as having the least proportion of families moving. A possible interpretation might be that at a time when travel for ordinary people was difficult this may have made the residents of Greet and Bockleton comparatively remote with fewer opportunities for work, housing and marriage. Burford and Brimfield (in red) on the other hand are well served by communications. Brimfield is possibly the best-connected parish in the neighbourhood since it is at the point where the River Teme makes a right angle turn to the east. Here the north – south route along the Marches meets an east – west route from mid Wales to the Midlands; a natural thoroughfare (Chapter 6). There may therefore be an access component to the patterning.

It has been shown by Maund and Lewis (1975) and Maund (1976) in a case study of 46 parishes in North Herefordshire that population change could be differentiated on the basis of access. Briefly, a simple access index was devised using a very simple scoring system of accessibility involving proximity to routes, both road and rail and also the presence of a railway station (Table 7.4).

Road linking Towns	3 points
Road to one Town	2 point
Road	1 point
Railway	2 points
Railway Station	2 points

Table 7.4 Access Index

Calculations were made from the reprint of the first edition of the one inch Ordnance Survey map for Ludlow and Leominster. An access index was calculated for each of the 17 parishes and is summarised in Table 7.5.

Brimfield	8 points
Burford	8 points
Eye	6 points
Little Hereford	5 points
Ashford Bowdler	4 points
Kimbolton	4 points
Ludford	4 points
Ashford Carbonel	2 points
Orleton	2 points
Laysters	2 points
TenRural	2 points
Richards Castle	2 points
Caynham	2 points
Middleton-o-Hill	2 points
Pudleston	1 points
Greet	1 point
Bockleton	1 point

**Table 7.5 Accessibility:
Parishes of Neighbourhood of Little Hereford**

This does show something of an access hierarchy and that there was a relationship between access and families moving out. This is reinforced in Figure 7.3 where the most accessible and least accessible parishes are identified. Briefly, it can be claimed that a greater proportion of families migrated out of the remote parishes between 1871 and 1881 whilst the more accessible parishes retained more of their 1871 families. Interestingly the prime parish, Little Hereford, was reasonably accessible and lost only 24% of its families between 1871 and 1881. There is here some agreement here with the results presented in Chapter 6 concerning the size of parish and population growth and decline. This is an area which may well repay further, and more detailed and sophisticated, examination applied to other time periods.

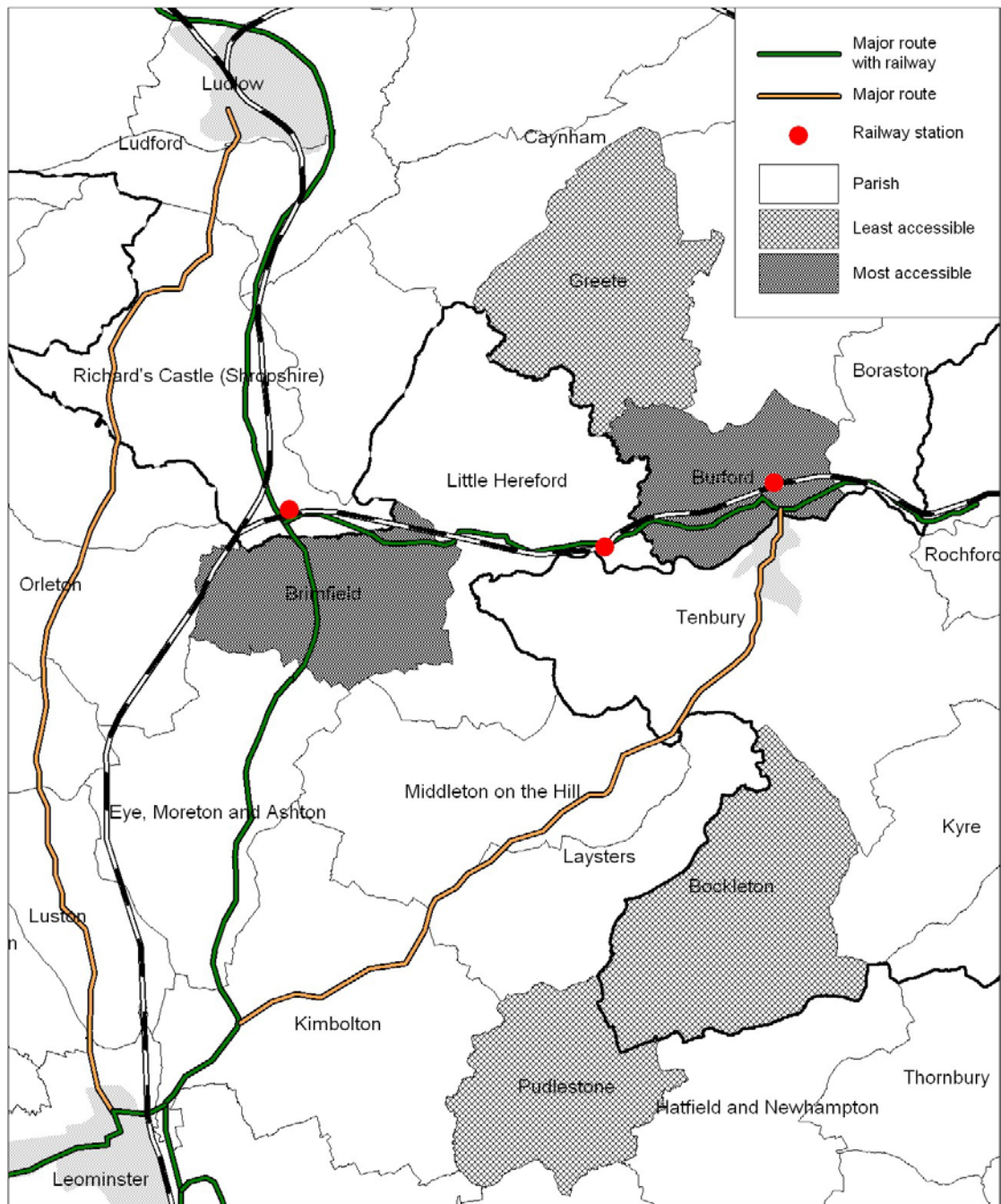


Figure 7.3 Accessibility in the Neighbourhood of Little Hereford, late 19th century.

7.4 New Households 1881

Unfortunately, it is not possible to identify from the 1881 CEBs the inward flow of families into each of the parishes. However, what can be determined is the number of new households which may have moved as a unit, or family formations within the parishes themselves. Table 7.6 summarises the degree of household turnover between

1871 and 1881 in the parishes of the Little Hereford neighbourhood. In Table 7.6 Column 1 derives from the original research described in Section 7.2 the remainder

Parish	1. Families Leaving	2. New Families	3. Gains/Losses	4. Turnover (Absolute)	5. Turnover % 1881
A.Bowdler	9	0	-9	9	50
A.Carbonel	27	25	-2	52	74
Bockleton	35	33	-2	68	133
Brimfield	46	31	-15	77	44
Burford	30	46	16	76	85
Caynham	66	97	31	163	71
Eye	30	129	99	159	98
Greete	22	6	-16	28	164
Kimbolton	57	18	-39	76	49
Laysters	26	42	-4	48	85
Little Hereford	21	23	2	44	49
Ludford	29	69	40	98	100
M.o.H.	41	29	-12	70	102
Orleton	49	35	-14	84	68
Pudleston	37	11	-26	48	78
R.Castle	39	41	2	80	51
TenRural	69	103	34	172	101
Neighbourhood of Little Hereford	633	743	110	1376	81

Table 7.6 Household Turnover 1871-81: Neighbourhood of Little Hereford.

are taken from the censuses of 1871 and 1881 and arithmetically calculated from those data. The most striking feature of this table is that despite considerable losses of families there was also a high proportion of new families within each of the parishes. The absolute negative changes are highlighted in red in Table 7.6 and this varies from a loss of 39 families in Kimbolton to a gain of 99 families in Eye. There is therefore no uniformity between the parishes. Overall however, there is compensation among the parishes because the neighbourhood shows a gain 110 new households. It needs to be emphasised that these figures do not necessarily denote households moving in, they are merely new households, some of which, may have been created from existing people in the parish.

Columns 4 and 5 give data on turnover of families in each parish, both in absolute numbers of families and also as a proportion of families present at the 1881 census. In absolute terms the greatest turnover was in Tenbury Rural, Caynham and Eye but these were in parishes with relatively large populations (Table 7.2). On the other

hand other parishes, with large populations, did not experience quite such a degree of turnover in particular Brimfield, Burford and Kimbolton. The explanation for these features are more difficult to explain. There is some correspondence with the access index (Table 7.5) but this is by no means a complete. The most marked feature from these calculation is the degree of turnover which existed in these late 19th century parishes. They were by no means stable populations and this has implications for social change and for the role of core families (Chapter 8). It is certainly a characteristic of this part of the Mid Borderland at this time.

7.5 The Structural Characteristics of Families Moving-On

Having identified those families that left their parish of residence between 1871 and 1881 their principal characteristics can be determined. However, there is one caution about this analysis since would be wrong to assume that family structure remained stable over a long period even during the latter part of the 19th century (Coleman and Salt 1992; Pooley and Turnbull 1998). This aspect of the investigation is a snapshot within the longer longitudinal scale of this study and is based in the conditions in the neighbourhood of Little Hereford at the outset of the decade 1871 – 1881. It needs to be noted that, in the various tables illustrating the findings, the data for the numbers of families leaving each of the parishes between 1871 and 1881 are repeated. This is to allow some base for the interpretation of the data for each parish on each index.

7.5.1 Household Type

It has been well established in the literature that, during the middle of the 19th century, the majority of families were made up of nuclear families and at least one other person living-in (Wrigley and Schofield 1982). For example, Anderson (1990) has calculated that in 1851, 44% of households contained at least one person living-in. Therefore, rather surprisingly, in the neighbourhood of Little Hereford between 1871 and 1881 as much as 59% of those households that moved were nuclear family only (Figure 7.4; Table 7.7). None the less 40% of neighbourhood families which moved did so with others living-in. For the majority, nuclear families, when the household moved they were either nuclear at that point or other members of the household either remained at the original residence or moved elsewhere. It must be emphasised however, that there was significant variation between the different parishes Table 7.7.

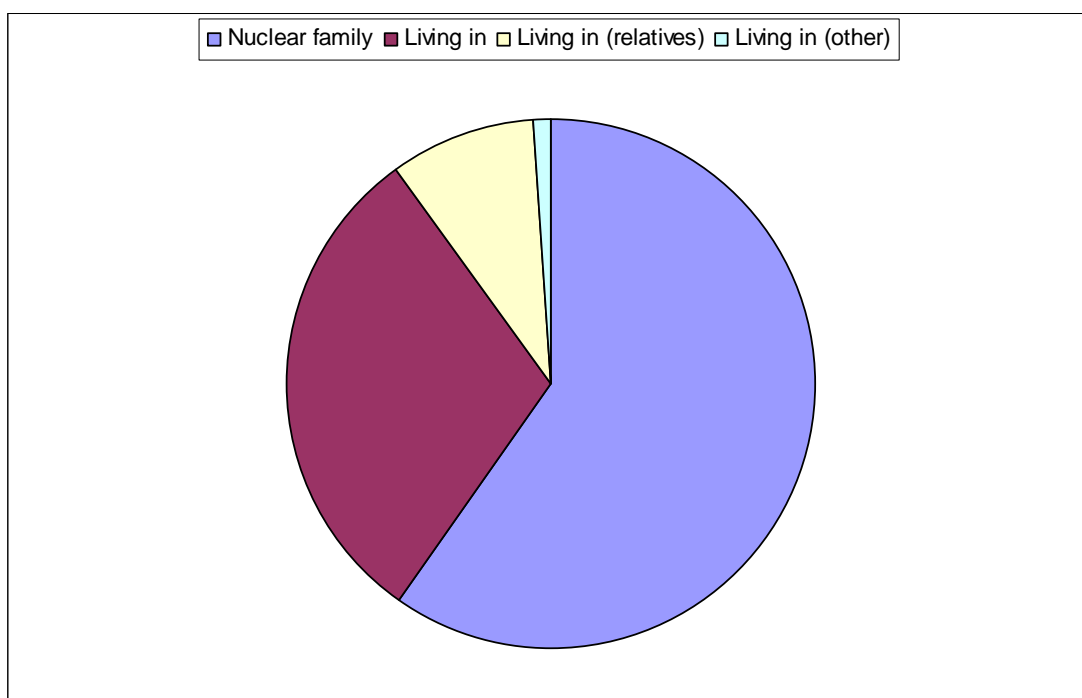


Figure 7.4 Characteristics Out-Migrating Families: Neighbourhood of Little Hereford, 1871-1881

Nuclear families varied from at one extreme Burford (83%), Orleton (81%) and Little Hereford (71%) to Ashford Bowdler (33%) and Pudleston (41%) although it is clear that the majority of parishes clustered around the neighbourhood mean of 59%. It is possibly surprising that relatives was not the greatest group of those living-in and only amounted to 9% whereas 30% of other families had servants or other workers. Here too though there were significant variations between the parishes.

Although variation between the parishes appears to be something of a theme the explanation of the variation is very difficult to determine even when contrasting parishes are identified. Whether parishes show any common pattern among the various indices is a matter for further examination as the analysis develops.

Parish	Total No. Families	1. Nuclear Family		2. Living-in		3. Living-in (relatives)		4. Living-in (other)	
		Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
A.Bowdler	9	3	33%	4	44%	2	22%	0	0%
A.Carbonell	27	15	56%	4	15%	3	11%	0	0%
Bockleton	35	22	63%	9	26%	4	11%	0	0%
Brimfield	46	24	52%	13	28%	9	20%	0	0%
Burford	30	25	83%	4	13%	0	0%	0	0%
Caynham	66	36	55%	26	39%	4	6%	0	0%
Eye	30	18	60%	8	27%	4	13%	0	0%
Greete	22	12	55%	9	41%	1	5%	0	0%
Kimbolton	57	31	54%	21	37%	5	9%	0	0%
Laysters	26	16	62%	7	27%	1	4%	2	8%
L. Hereford	21	15	71%	2	10%	3	14%	1	5%
Ludford	29	15	52%	10	34%	3	10%	1	3%
M.o.H	41	21	51%	16	39%	4	10%	0	0%
Orleton	48	39	81%	9	19%	0	0%	0	0%
Pudleston	37	15	41%	14	38%	6	16%	2	5%
R.Castle	39	21	54%	17	44%	1	3%	0	0%
Tenrural	69	45	65%	18	26%	6	9%	0	0%
Total	632	373	59%	191	30%	56	9%	6	1%
Mean	37.1765								
Median	35								
Mode	30								
Range	9-69								

Table 7. 7 Characteristics Out Migrating Families: Neighbourhood of Little Hereford. 1871-1881

7.5.2 Household Size

Of course not all the individuals that make up the households will have migrated but it does imply that the migration of the family changed the circumstances of all those who lived in the household. Table 7.8 shows a simple count of the totals in each moving household for each parish. The column for families is retained to indicate the volume of moving families from each parish but the calculation is based on the total moving households containing families. These have been processed statistically to arrive at a variety of forms of average size of household. The range in household size varied from one person in several parishes to twenty-two in Eye. The mean was slightly less than five persons per household for the neighbourhood and this is quite close to the means for each parishes. The median too is around the same figure but the most frequently occurring, the mode, is 4. These figures were collected in 1871 and therefore can not be taken as completely accurate because they contain

individuals living-in who may not have moved with the family and they almost certainly contained individuals who were not born when the data were collected.

Parish	Total Families	Total Indivs	Mean	Median	Mode	Range
A.Bowdler	9	47	5.2	5	5	2 – 8
A.Carbonell	27	152	5.6	5	5	1 – 18
Bockleton	35	195	5.6	5	4	2 - 13
Brimfield	46	209	4.5	4	4	1 – 9
Burford	30	118	4.1	4	3	1 – 8
Caynham	66	325	4.9	5	5	2 – 11
Eye	30	155	5.2	5	2	1 – 22
Greete	22	120	5.5	5.5	4	2 – 10
Kimbolton	57	265	4.6	4	4	1 – 13
Laysters	26	143	5.5	5.5	7	2 – 10
Lithfd	21	91	4.3	4	2	2 – 10
Ludford	29	139	4.8	4	2	2 – 15
M.o.H	41	190	4.6	5	4	1 – 10
Orleton	48	172	3.6	3	2	1 – 8
Pudleston	37	155	4.2	4	3	2 - 8
R.Castle	39	182	4.7	5	6	1 – 9
Tenrural	69	344	5.0	4	3	1 - 13
N'hood Area	632	3002	4.8	5	4	1 - 22

**Table 7.8 Numbers in Households
Out Migrating Families Neighbourhood of Little Hereford, 1871**

Nationally, during the 19th century, mean household size had declined. According to Anderson (1990) it had not exceeded five persons since the 18th century. In 1851 it was 4.7 persons per household and in 1901 it was 4.4 . He noted though that these average sizes varied with the age of the household and, thus, a young household had a greater size than an older one. The data in Table 7.8 may lead one to speculate that the size of moving households also varied spatially between parishes; for example, it was as low as 4.2 persons in Pudleston and as high as 5.6 in Ashford Carbonel and Bockleton. What the reasons are however, for these spatial variations in size of moving families is a matter of conjecture. This will be returned to at the conclusion of this analysis of family characteristics.

7.5.3 Age of Head of Household

There is much evidence to indicate a relationship between age and migration behaviour, in particular, that age acts as a constraint on migration. For example, Pooley and Turnbull (1998) found that there was a distinct decline in migratory levels

after the age of 40 years. Significantly for those over 40 years of age the distances involved tended to be relatively short. In the case of the neighbourhood of Little Hereford this raises the question of at what point in their life did family members decide to change their place of residence. One measure of this may be the age of the Head of Household as recorded in the 1871 census. Table 7.9 clearly suggests that the Head of Household of a migrating family was, on average, over 40 years of age. But, of course, this does not mean that this was the first time these households had moved since it merely reflected the age in 1871 of the Heads of the Households that had migrated during that decade.

Parish	Families	Total Indivs	Mean	Median	Mode	Range
A.Bowdler	9	381	42.3	47		27 - 54
A.Carbonell	27	1215	45.0	38	38	22 - 89
Bockleton	35	1538	44.0	42	42	23 - 77
Brimfield	46	2088	45.4	43	41	21 - 73
Burford	30	1270	43.8	42	45	23- 72
Caynham	66	2845	43.1	39	33	21 - 83
Eye	30	1409	47.0	44	28	25 -78
Greete	22	917	41.7	41	51	23 - 60
Kimbolton	57	2809	49.3	46	40	20 - 80
Laysters	26	1112	42.8	38	77	28 - 77
L.Hereford	21	1014	48.3	48	43	28 - 72
Ludford	29	1181	40.7	41	29	24 - 73
M.o.H	41	2086	50.9	53	40	24 - 77
Orleton	48	2122	44.2	40.5	30	24 - 77
Pudleston	37	1708	46.2	45	45	26 - 80
R.Castle	39	1823	46.7	45	39	22 - 83
Tenrural	69	3077	44.6	42	30	23 - 84
N'hood Area	632	28595	45.1	4	45	20 - 89

Table 7.9 Age of Heads of Household Out Migrating Families, Neighbourhood of Little Hereford, 1871-1881.

Despite the broad agreement among the various averages in the neighbourhood as a whole, the range of ages at which Heads of Household migrated varies greatly from 20 years to 89 years (Table 7.9). There is one unexplained anomaly in the parish of Leysters where the mode, the most frequently occurring event, is recorded as seventy years. Apart from this, the variability of average ages between the parishes is not the feature that it has been on previous indices and there is a marked consistency at around 45 years of age.

A possible way of interpreting the relationship between age and the propensity to migrate is to view age within the context of the life cycle phase of the household (Lee 1966; Grundy 1992; Warnes 1992). Following Grundy's (1992) categorisation of a life cycle, for the needs of this study, phases were designed to reflect the features of the life of the agricultural worker.

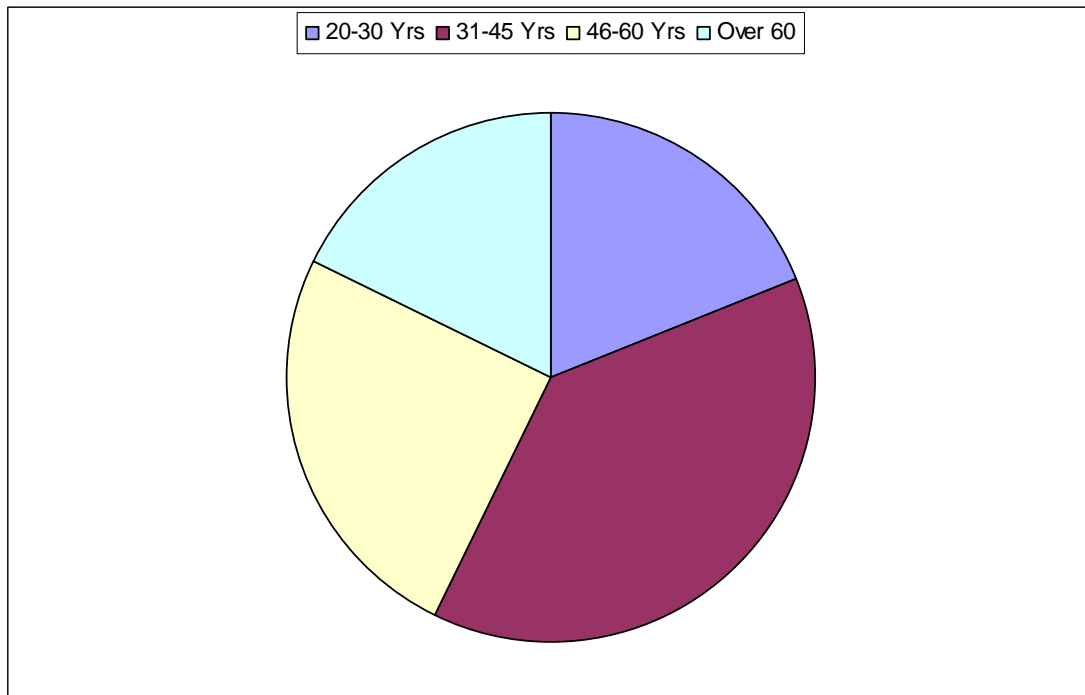


Figure 7.5 Life Cycle: Head of Household of Out Migrating Families, Neighbourhood of Little Hereford 1871

Figure 7.5 illustrates the pattern of life cycle moves in the neighbourhood as a whole. The first category 20 – 30 years reflects those years immediately after the point when full adult wages were paid and the period during which marriage was entered. As quoted earlier, Snell (1985) maintained that a reduction of living-in resulted, in England and Wales, in earlier marriages but, generally, age at marriage was historically variable in the countryside. It was normally at the point when the couple had £40 from the proceeds of living-in (Snell 1985) and usually, this would be around 30 years of age. During the second half of the 19th century the most economically stressful years were those when there were most dependent children to support, generally between 30 and 45 years of age. This cannot be an exact category because the point at which children were born depends to an extent on the age at marriage. It was not uncommon for women to bear children regularly for over twenty years after

marriage. On the other hand the 46 – 60 years category in Figure 7.5 is suggestive of a phase in the life cycle when children may no longer be dependent and were leaving home for work. During the 19th century there was no retirement age and men worked as long as they were able and as long as they could find employment.

The overall pattern however, does not point to a particular cycle when migration took place. The largest single category is 31 to 45 years, the most economically stressed years but there was significant movement during the three other cycles too suggesting that generally, life cycle was not a particularly sensitive discriminator and that people moved throughout the life cycles.

In Table 7.10 the data for cycle movers are given for each parish and although the general data for the whole of the neighbourhood were used to construct Figure 7.5 it can immediately be seen that there is significant variation between the parishes for each phase of the life cycle. Thus, for example, one person in the 20 to 30 years phase moved in Little Hereford whereas in Caynham 16 moved. Admittedly there are differences in the sizes of parishes but even proportionately this represented 24% in Caynham and only 5% in Little Hereford. Because this is the age group where marriages are likely to occur and when people finally left home there may be housing factors at work here. In this regard, Little Hereford may be an exceptional case and this will be returned to in Chapter 8. This variability extends to other age categories too even in category 31 to 45 years where the largest numbers of movers are recorded. Here there is a range from 22% in Ashford Bowdler and Ashford Carbonel to 65% in Laysters. A speculation would be that this variation was to do with availability of work. It seems clear that there is variation both between categories and within categories (Table 7.10).

An examination of the individual parishes reveals significant variations showing that the neighbourhood was not homogeneous in the age at which families moved and suggesting that, at the scale of the individual parish, life cycle may not be so useful an analytical framework as several authorities have claimed.

Parish	Total No. Families	1. 20-30 yrs		2. 31-45 yrs		3. 46-60 yrs		4. Over 61 yrs	
			%		%		%		%
A.Bowdler	9	2	22	2	22	5	56	0	0
A.Carbonell	27	6	22	6	22	4	15	6	22
Bockleton	35	6	17	16	46	7	20	6	17
Brimfield	46	9	20	19	41	10	22	8	17
Burford	30	5	17	14	47	5	17	5	17
Caynham	66	16	24	22	33	15	23	13	20
Eye	30	8	27	9	30	5	17	8	27
Greete	22	3	14	10	45	9	41	0	0
Kimbolton	57	6	11	18	32	17	30	15	26
Laysters	26	3	12	17	65	2	8	4	15
L. Hereford	21	1	5	9	43	7	33	4	19
Ludford	29	10	34	9	31	7	24	3	
M.o.H	41	6	15	11	27	11	27	13	32
Orleton	48	10	21	10	21	10	21	8	17
Pudleston	37	7	19	14	38	8	22	8	22
R.Castle	39	7	18	14	36	10	26	8	21
Tenrural	69	9	13	34	49	17	25	1	1
Total	632	114	18	234	37	149	24%	110	17
Mean	37.1765								
Median	35								
Mode	30								
Range	9-69								

Table 7.10 Out Migrants by Life Cycle: Neighbourhood of Little Hereford, 1871.

From Table 7.10 and Figure 7.5 it can be seen that despite differences in the circumstances of households at various ages, the age related migration was nowhere as clear-cut in the neighbourhood of Little Hereford. Certainly households where the Head was aged between 31 and 45 years were the most mobile though those aged between 46 and 60 years also moved, notably in Ashford Bowdler, Little Hereford and Kimbolton.

7.5.4 Family Structure

A number of studies have used what might be termed the characteristics of migrants. For example, Pooley and Turnbull (1998 p63) examine their sample by such criteria as age, marital status, position in the family and occupation. By contrast this study used a notion, closely related to life cycle, namely family structure. There seems little on this in relation to migration in the literature despite the known changing characteristics of the family over time (Coleman and Salt 1992). In Figures 7.1 and 7.2 the notion of a family life cycle was proposed, a similar idea to that of the age life

cycle. Thus there would be a pattern from the establishment of a family at marriage to its dispersal with the death of parents and the formation of other families by their children. For the purpose of this investigation the different structures of a family, admittedly related to life cycle, are identified through the research in order to determine the relationship between structure and migration. Clearly this can only be a static classification reflecting the society of the late 19th century countryside and can take no account of changes taking place in the 20th century (Coleman and Salt 1992 p227).

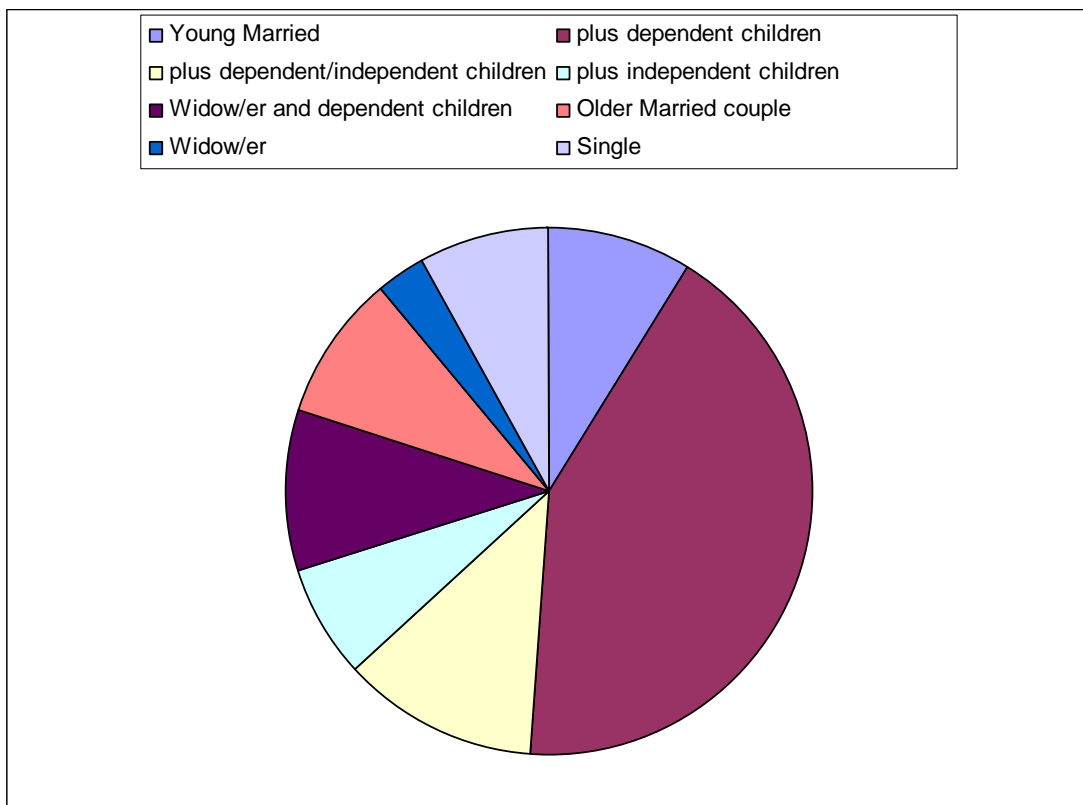


Figure 7.6 Family Structure: Out Migrating Families, Neighbourhood of Little Hereford, 1871.
(See also Table 7.1)

In this section the 633 migrating families in the neighborhood of Little Hereford are classified by family structure in order to yield the pattern of families migrating. In Figure 7.6 the seven categories relate to the discussion of family structure in Section 7.2 and identified in Table 7.1. Here in Figure 7.6 the proportions of each of these categories migrating are shown. The biggest single, and quite dominant category of family movers is that with dependent children which, to an extent, accords with those in the life cycle category 30-45 years. Precisely what role the children played in this process can not be known but in a society dependent on tied cottages accommodation

must have been significant. This would certainly be important for young couples starting out on married life. But the evidence seems to suggest that people moved throughout the family cycle

Parish	Total No. Families	1	%	2	%	3	%	4	%	5	%	6	%	7	%	8	%
A.Bowdler	9	0	0	4	44	2	22	0	0	1	11	2	22	0	0	0	0
A.Carbonell	27	2	7	11	41	5	19	0	0	3	11	0	0	1	4	5	19
Bockleton	35	2	6	19	54	4	11	5	14	2	6	3	9	0	0	0	0
Brimfield	46	3	7	23	50	3	7	2	4	3	7	6	13	1	2	5	11
Burford	30	1	3	15	50	1	3	2	7	5	17	3	10	1	3	1	3
Caynham	66	6	9	33	50	7	11	6	9	4	6	6	9	0	0	4	6
Eye	30	6	20	11	37	1	3	3	10	5	17	1	3	1	3	2	7
Greete	22	1	5	12	55	2	9	3	14	0	0	2	9	0	0	2	9
Kimbolton	57	4	7	19	33	8	14	3	5	11	19	3	5	4	7	5	9
Laysters	26	2	8	12	46	5	19	1	4	3	12	2	8	0	0	1	4
L.Hereford	21	2	10	7	33	3	14	0	0	2	10	2	10	2	10	3	14
Ludford	29	2	7	11	38	3	10	4	14	3	10	4	14	0	0	2	7
M.o.H	41	1	2	13	32	7	17	3	7	6	15	5	12	3	7	3	7
Orleton	48	4	8	20	42	2	4	3	6	3	6	10	21	0	0	6	13
Pudleston	37	6	16	12	32	2	5	3	8	3	8	3	8	2	5	6	16
R.Castle	39	3	8	11	28	4	10	5	13	8	21	2	5	1	3	5	13
Tenrural	69	10	14	33	48	15	22	0	0	3	4	5	7	1	1	2	3
Total	632	55	9%	266	42%	74	12%	43	7%	65	10%	59	9%	17	3%	52	8%
Mean	37.1765																
Median	35																
Mode	30																
Range	9-69																

Table 7.11 Structure of Out Migrating Family, Neighbourhood of Little Hereford, 1871.

In Table 7.11 the numbers 1 – 8 in the first row refer to the different family structures discussed earlier. As revealed by Figure 7.6 the biggest single family type among the migrating families in 1871, was the married couple with young children in fact 266 or 42% of the 632 families. Significantly, this figure broadly conforms with the average for England and Wales as a whole (Anderson 1990).

The detail of the individual parishes in Table 7.11 appears to show little significant variability between parishes. Because the variability is between categories this suggests that the pattern shown in Figure 7.6 is indeed a general one. The largest group of families moving was that with a married couple with dependent children.

7.5.5 Family Cycle

A closely related notion to that of family structure is that of family cycle. The use of this concept may enable a more flexible and less predetermined analysis (Warnes 1992). Any one family is a temporary phenomenon which goes through a cycle similar to that of an individual. In relation to migration this cycle can be depicted as: (1) Family formation – the creation of a new household; (2) Family moved – where the parent(s) and children move as a unit; (3) Family Dispersed – beginning of the break-up of the family by the departure of some or all of the children, and (4) Family reconstituted – where a parent moves to live with one of the children. However, because data are not available for family formation only the latter three are included in this analysis.

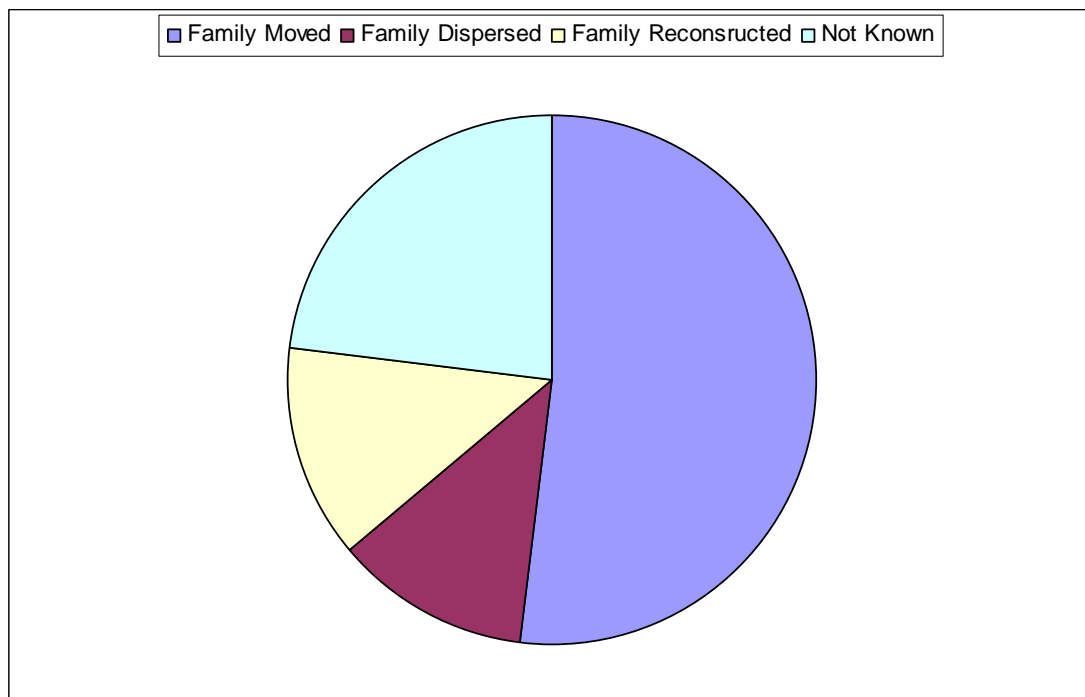


Figure 7.7 Family Cycle of Out Migrating Families, Neighbourhood of Little Hereford, 1871.

Data on three of these categories of families that had moved were collected in 1881 and are represented in Figure 7.7 where it can be seen that the majority of families (52%) moved intact between 1871 and 1881 and, therefore, clearly represented the maintenance of the nuclear family. On the other hand, the 'Family Dispersed' occurred when, for example, the children had left home to live-in or set up separate establishments and where one or both of the marriage partners had died. This is the

nuclear family at the end of the cycle. It does though raise the question as to whether this is truly family migration although the dispersed members of the family can be located. If there was one spouse living, even though living-in with relatives, this was taken here to be the ultimate phase in family migration. Family Dispersed made up 12% of the identified migrating families. Reconstituted families were taken to be those who remarry after the death of the spouse or an elder sibling caring for the family in a new household and there were 13% of these at a time when it was not uncommon for one spouse to die early.

Even though most families moved intact and set up a new household in a new residence, the fact that a quarter of the moving households changed their structure by 1881 is a significant feature. Bearing in mind that the changes could have taken place after the date of migration there is a strong likelihood that the migration was initiated by changes in the structure of the family or even the move itself initiated changes in the family structure. (Wrigley and Schofield 1981). Possibly this evidence suggests the beginning of the decline of the nuclear family as a migratory unit and the growing significance of the changing family structure, so prevalent in the present day, in the migration process (Coleman and Salt 1992).

In Table 7.12 the detail of the parishes for family cycle is given. It should be borne in mind that family numbers in this table are based on those successfully discovered in 1881. Column 4, (NK) are those which remained untraced and which amount to some 20% of the total. Just over half of those that moved were families with children. So, only slightly over half the families moved as a unit which suggested that the move of the other half of the families was provoked by the phase in their life cycle. There are variations between the parishes. Thus, in Leysters, over three quarters of those families which moved did so as a unit whereas from Little Hereford and Orleton only 36% moved as a unit. For the other two categories the numbers are so small as to make a pattern difficult to detect.

Even if this index is taken together with the life cycle there is no clear pattern revealed nor do these data indicate how life cycle, family cycle and migration interacted. The data sets are not sufficiently large to refine the classes further but

Parish	Total No. Families	1. Family. Moved		2. Family Dispersed.		3. Family Reconstit'		4. NK	
			%		%		%		%
A.Bowdler	9	4	44	4	44	0	0	1	11
A.Carbonell	27	13	48	4	15	3	11	7	26
Bockleton	35	24	69	8	23	0	0	3	9
Brimfield	46	24	52	0	0	8	17	14	30
Burford	30	12	40	0	0	14	47	3	10
Caynham	66	43	65	0	0	11	17	12	18
Eye	30	20	67	5	17	0	0	5	17
Greete	22	10	45	0	0	6	27	6	27
Kimbolton	57	24	42	12	21	5	9	16	28
Laysters	26	20	77	4	15	0	0	0	0
L. Hereford	21	8	38	5	24	2	10	6	29
Ludford	29	17	59	3	10	3	10	6	21
M.o.H	41	18	44	12	29	4	10	7	17
Orleton	48	18	38	1	2	11	23	18	38
Pudleston	37	17	46	2	5	9	24	9	24
R.Castle	39	18	46	10	26	2	5	9	23
Tenrural	69	38	55	8	12	7	10	5	7
Total	632	328	52	78	12	85	13	127	20
Mean	37.1765								
Median	35								
Mode	30								
Range	9-69								

Table 7.12 Family Cycle of Out Migrating Families, Neighbourhood of Little Hereford, 1871

there is no overwhelmingly common pattern. In fact people migrated at all points in the life cycle between 1871 and 1881. Movement in the late 19th century countryside was a complex matter and the framework provided by family structure and family life cycle, certainly at this scale, does not appear to provide either an explanation or a convincing pattern. This will be returned to later in the discussion.

7.5.6 Marriage Partners

Another feature that may have had a bearing on migration habits was the origin of the marriage partners of those families which moved out. In Chapter 4 reference was made to the work of Hey (1976) who maintained that one of the defining characteristics of a neighbourhood was the area from which marriage partners are drawn. Such a feature might be seen as part of family structure since, if it were the case that significant numbers married from within the neighborhood, then there would be implications for community relationships and coherence but it would also add to

the evidence about the utility of the neighbourhood as a research aid. It has to be noted that, in an era of travel difficulty, it might be expected that marriage partners generally came from the same locality. The data were derived from the place of birth statistics in the 1871 census. Table 7.13 and Figure 7.8 seem to indicate that location of marriage partners alone may not be adequate to define a neighborhood or locality. In only 21% of families do both partners come from the same neighbourhood. But these data are derived only from families who migrated and this may indicate that families that migrated usually had less ties to the area and therefore a greater tendency to migrate and the families that do not migrate have a greater proportion of local marriage partners.

Perry (1968) analysed mobility in rural Dorset in the century after 1837 using data from marriage registers. He observed that each parish had a territory, similar to Hey's (1976) neighbourhood area as used in this investigation. Unlike Hey, he specifically targeted what he called the working classes in 27 parishes. In a complex analysis he showed that the more isolated the parish the more intra parish marriages took place in the period before 1886. After this point the intra parish marriages declined sharply. The data for the neighbourhood as presented suggests that, if Perry's findings hold true here, then the Neighbourhood of Little Hereford may well be experiencing a changing pattern in 1881. This would tend to support both Hey (1976) and Mitson (1993) who claim the significance of core families. This may be important indicating a greater propensity to migrate among those who have experienced migration.

But 25% of families had one partner from the neighbourhood. In 46% of cases at least one partner was born in the area. On the other hand 26% had neither partner from the Neighbourhood and a further 17% were born not only outside the Neighbourhood but at some distance away from each other.

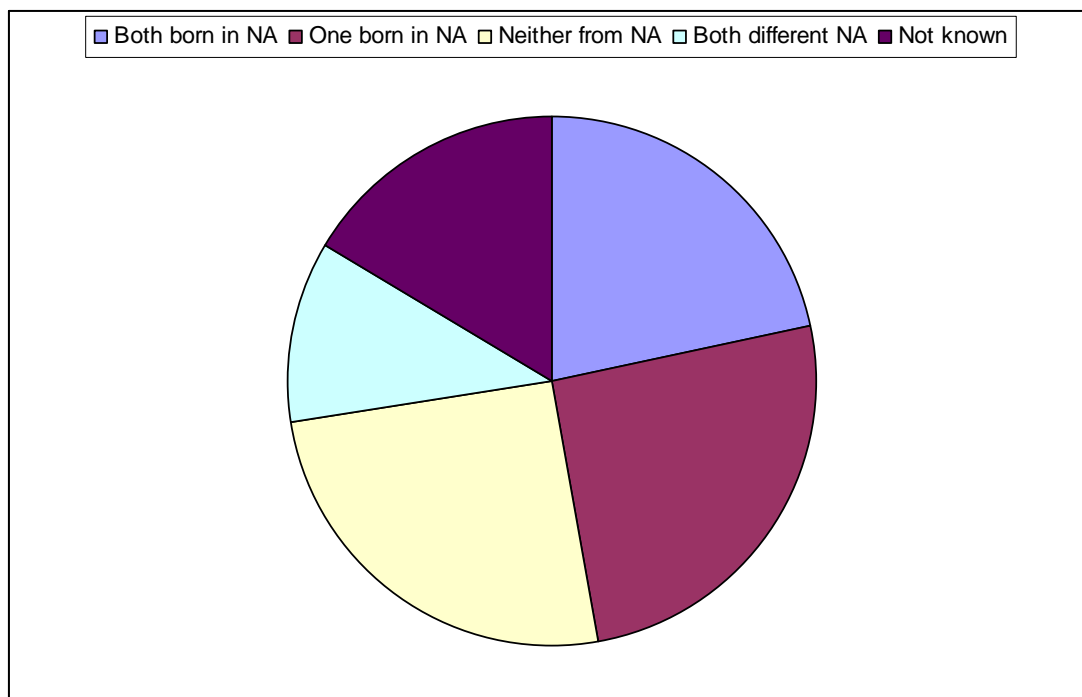


Figure 7.8 Origins of Marriage Partners of Out Migrating Families, Neighbourhood of Little Hereford 1871

The importance of the neighbourhood for at least one of the partners is clear but it is also further evidence of the amount of movement in the countryside of the late 19th century. Perhaps travel was not so difficult as some times thought.

In Table 7.13 the detail for each of the parishes is given and there is some measure of variability at this scale. For example, only 10% of marriages in Burford were from the neighbourhood whereas the figure in Little Hereford was 48%. At the other extreme, where neither partner came from the neighbourhood there were only 10% in this category in Little Hereford. So, not only were a significant proportion of marriage partners from the neighbourhood moving, there were also a very small proportion of those not married in the neighbourhood leaving. This is a situation difficult to explain. A small number (11%) were partners from the same neighbourhood but a different one from that of Little Hereford. Burford which had a small number from the same neighbourhood also had a large number, 40% where neither was from the neighbourhood.

Parish	Total No. Families	1. both born NA		2. One born NA		3. Neither from NA		4.Both diff NA		5. NK	
			%		%		%		%		%
A.Bowdler	9	2	22	1	11	3	33	2	22	1	11
A.Carbonell	27	10	37	4	15	6	23	2	7	5	19
Bockleton	35	6	17	12	34	10	29	5	14	2	6
Burford	30	3	10	7	23	12	40	3	10	4	13
Brimfield	46	9	20	12	26	13	29	3	7	9	20
Caynham	66	20	30	19	29	15	23	7	11	5	8
Eye	30	7	23	8	27	4	13	5	17	6	20
Greete	22	5	23	7	32	6	27	2	9	2	9
Ludford	29	7	24	5	17	7	24	5	17	5	17
Kimbolton	57	9	16	17	30	11	19	4	7	16	28
Laysters	26	4	15	3	12	7	35	6	23	2	8
L. Hereford	21	10	48	2	10	2	10	0	0	7	33
M.o.H	41	11	27	13	32	7	17	4	10	6	15
Orleton	48	11	23	12	25	10	34	8	17	7	15
Pudleston	37	4	11	6	16	13	36	3	8	11	30
R.Castle	39	4	10	3	8	16	41	6	15	10	26
Tenrural	69	13	19	27	39	16	23	4	6	4	6
Total	632	135	21	158	25	158	26	69	11	102	16
Mean	37.176										
Median	35										
Mode	30										
Range	9-69										

Table 7.13 Origin of Marriage Partners of Out Migrating Families, Neighbourhood of Little Hereford, 1871

Greet, Bockleton and Middleton on the Hill all had over 30% where one partner was from the neighbourhood and when this is added to the numbers for both partners this yields a figure of 55% in the case of Greet, 51% for Bockleton and 59% for Middleton, all of whom were families moving out. So despite ties to the locality they were moving. What is not known is where they were moving to and this will be examined later in this chapter.

7.5.7 Socio-Economic Structure of Families Moving-On.

This section was motivated partly by the assertion of Pooley and Turnbull (1998) that most people moved for work related reasons but it is not intended that it be related to macro changes in the business cycle (Baines 1985) although it is suggested, for example by Thompson (1990), that these cycles affected the social and cultural conditions such as to have a bearing upon migration behaviour. This is a micro study of migration behaviour over a short ten year period in a neighbourhood of the Mid Borderland at a time when, nationally the countryside was experiencing depopulation.

Social class has long been regarded as a major discriminator of attitudes and behaviour and hence of the underlying value systems which produce them. In Chapter 5 the major occupation categories were discussed and in particular the work of Hobsbawm and Rude (1969) which proposed three major classes in the 19th century countryside, landowner, farmer and labourer. This was taken as the basis for the construction of an Employment Index using conditions of the 19th century. To this was added the obvious category of skilled workers or craftsmen. This was not entirely satisfactory since because of the need for sufficient data in each category to be meaningful some were difficult to classify. For example, where should self employed blacksmiths or millers be placed? They appear of a different order from gardeners or coachmen but there are not sufficient numbers to make meaningful categories. The category of agricultural labourers was not subdivided because the sub categories did not always appear to be consistently recorded in CEBs. Landowners, Clerics and School Teachers formed such a small element that they were consigned to category 'Others' although their exact status was maintained on the database. The results for the whole neighbourhood are summarised in Figure 7.9 and in greater detail in Table 7.14.

Nearly half of the out migrant families were those of agricultural labourers, implying that it was the poorest elements that moved. Additionally, 26% of migrating families were those of craftsmen. Although these were men with skill they were more closely allied to labourers than to farmers although it is true that some of them also came to own small areas of land (Hobsbawm and Rude 1969). There was greater identification between craftsmen and labourers than there was between either group with farmers. Southall (1991) though has shown that skilled people or artisans as he called them, tended to move relatively longer distances and this is confirmed by Pooley and Turnbull (1998) who also demonstrated the enormous complexity in migration movement for work. Labourer and skilled accounted for 75% of family movers. However, it must be borne in mind that these groups had greater numbers anyway but despite this, the magnitude of movement is demonstrated. Precisely how the movement is related directly to work, whether it was impelled, forced by circumstance of employment or whether there were individual decisions underlying this is difficult to determine but in either event it is unlikely that there was much choice involved in the situation.

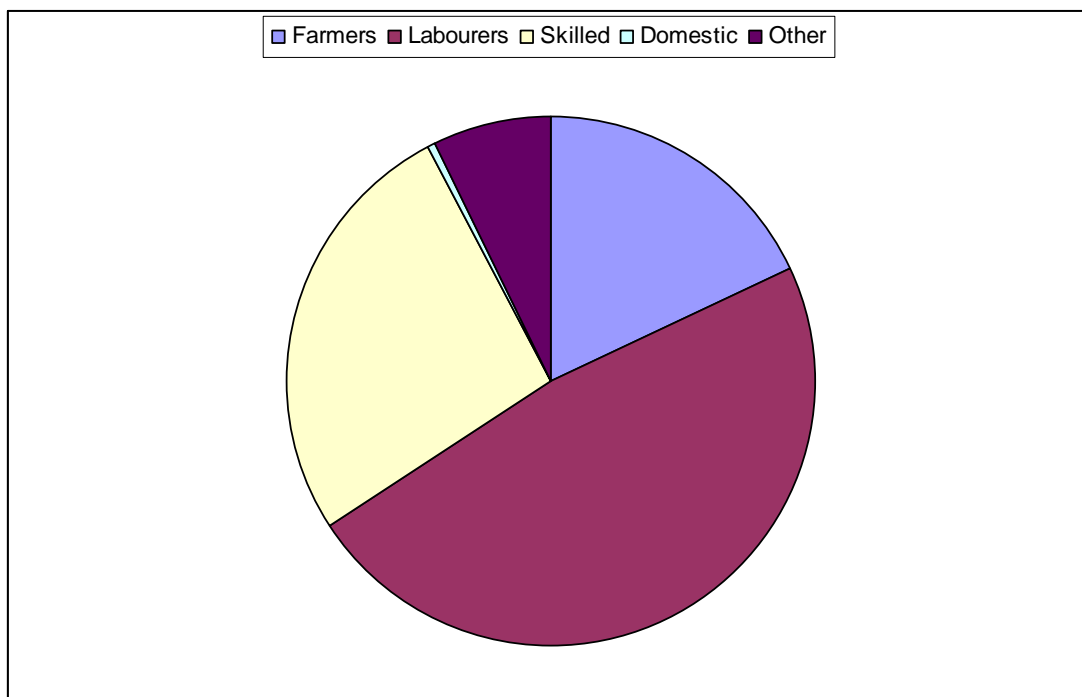


Figure 7.9 Occupations of Head of Households of Out Migrants, Neighbourhood of Little Hereford, 1871

There is no evidence that there was movement to ‘better’ themselves for, although there was social mobility, it took place largely among individuals rather than families. None for example moved to become farmers. Where there was a change of occupation it was invariably from one form of labouring to another. Clearly the system of tied cottages had a role to play but because of the lack of records it is difficult to determine the extent of this process. However, the very small number of domestics identified in the analysis merely reflected the fact that women were infrequently Heads of Household. It may be that particular skills moved to the town for example, shoemaking and tailoring. Yet, nearly one fifth of the movement was of farmers but the system of tenancy may have encouraged this by offering opportunities to better themselves with advantageous rents, more and land and the chance to accrue capital with which to buy their own farms. This is an area that would reward further detailed investigation at the level of the individual farmer¹.

¹ For example David Maund, ‘Mon’ who figures in Chapters 8 and 9 moved 4 times between about 1918 and 1938, each time for a bigger and better farm.

Parish	Total No. Families	1. Farmers		2.Labourers		3. Skilled		4.Domestic		5. Others	
			%		%		%		%		%
A.Bowdler	9	3	33	2	22	4	44	0	0	0	0
A.Carbonell	27	4	15	10	37	10	37	0	0	3	11
Bockleton	35	8	23	17	49	9	26	0	0	1	3
Brimfield	46	6	13	17	37	16	35	0	0	7	15
Burford	30	1	3	15	50	12	40	0	0	1	3
Caynham	66	5	8	41	62	17	26	0	0	2	3
Greete	22	3	14	11	50	6	27	0	0	2	9
Eye	30	6	20	12	40	9	30	1	3	2	7
Kimbolton	57	14	25	26	46	7	12	1	2	3	5
Laysters	26	5	19	12	46	8	31	0	0	1	4
L. Hereford	21	3	14	8	38	5	24	1	5	2	10
Ludford	29	5	17	10	34	11	38	0	0	3	10
M.o.H	41	11	27	24	59	5	12	0	0	1	2
Orleton	48	7	15	24	50	11	23	0	0	6	13
Pudleston	37	9	24	15	41	7	19	1	3	5	14
R.Castle	39	8	21	17	44	11	28	0	0	3	8
Tenrural	69	14	20	37	54	15	22	0	0	3	4
Total	632	112	18	298	47	163	26	4	1	45	7
Mean	37.1765										
Median	35										
Mode	30										
Range	9-69										

Table 7.14 Occupations of Head of Household of Out Migrants, Neighbourhood of Little Hereford, 1871

The more detailed information contained in Table 7.14 once more shows variability between parishes even for the biggest single category, the labourer. Those out migrating vary from 22% in Ashford Bowdler to 62% in Caynham. The out movement of 14 farmers or 25% in Kimbolton, when taken with observations made previously about this parish, suggest particular, but unknown, circumstances here which could merit more detailed investigation. In Little Hereford only three farmers moved and it must be born in mind that this was during the period when farming was going into long term decline nationally (Chapter 5).

There was variation in the numbers of skilled people moving out too. It is true that some village populations were too low to support particular skills such as tailors anyway but on the other hand every village appeared to have a shoemaker and a blacksmith. But, as was established in Chapter 5, many skilled occupations migrated

from the villages to the town in the late 19th century. Brimfield, at an important rail junction (Chapter 5) has 16 households of skilled workers move out. A speculation could be here that the establishing of this important rail junction had attracted skilled occupations which, when the work was done, subsequently migrated. However, the important feature for this investigation is the continued observation of variability as the scale of the enquiry reduces.

7.6 The Spatial Patterns of Families Moving-On

The literature from the time of Ravenstein (1876; 1885; 1889) has claimed that migration over time has a number of distinct spatial features including a tendency for migrants to move only short distances, and urbanward, in a step-like fashion in the direction of a large city (Lewis 1982). In order to determine the validity of these claims in the late 19th century neighbourhood of Little Hereford, calculations were made of the distance between the 1871 residence and the one in 1881 of each of the migrating families as well as the places involved. The resultant data has been summarised in Table 7.15.

7.6.1 Distance Moved

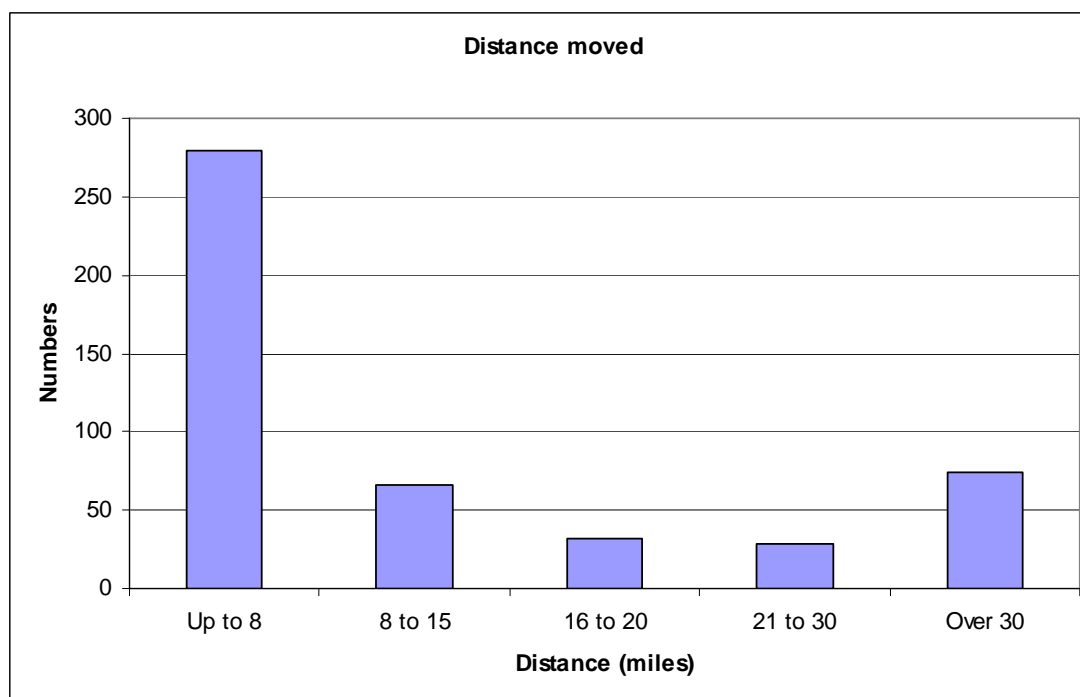
Because of the difficulty in determining the precise location of a family within a parish, distances used here are those between the centre of the leaving parish and the receiving one. This may have produced some marginal underestimation, or indeed over estimation, of distance but it has the benefit of being a uniform method. The results in Table 7.15 show quite significant variation both between parishes and also between the different forms of average. Thus the mean distance moved is over 17 miles but between parishes it varies from about 5 miles for Little Hereford to about 32 miles for Richards Castle. Almost every parish had at least one family that moved over a hundred miles and there is one of 250 miles. The smallest movement was generally one or two miles. So there was significant variation in movement. The median and mode calculations though are revealing. They suggest that whilst there was a large range between short and long distances the dominant form of migration was over short distances, thus confirming long held knowledge about distances moved.

Parish	Total Families	Total Miles	Mean	Median	Mode	Range
A.Bowdler	9	250	31.3	13.5	3	1 – 120
A.Carbonell	27	326	16.3	6	3	2 – 90
Bockleton	35	436	13.6	5	5	2 – 120
Brimfield	46	518	16.2	7.5	2	2 – 108
Burford	30	269	10.3	3.5	1	1 – 44
Caynham	66	980	18.1	5	3	2 – 250
Eye	30	682	27.3	12	2	1 – 135
Greete	22	158	9.9	5	2	1 – 66
Kimbolton	57	463	11.9	5	2	1 – 150
Laysters	26	485	22.1	13.5	1	1 – 150
L. Hereford	21	71	5.1	2	2	1 – 24
Ludford	29	414	18.0	6	4	1 – 120
M.o.H	41	278	9.3	5	5	1 – 35
Orleton	48	561	18.7	7	2	2 – 100
Pudleston	37	737	25.4	6	5	2 – 150
R.Castle	39	965	32.2	16	3	2 – 150
Tenrural	69	784	14.8	5	3	2 – 120
N'hood Area	632	8377	17.7	6	2	1 - 250

**Table 7.15 Distances Moved by Out Migrating Families
Parishes of Neighbourhood of Little Hereford 1881**

Thus the overall median or mid point is 6 miles whilst the most frequently occurring distance is only 2 miles for the neighbourhood as a whole. Indeed no parish has a mode greater than 5 miles. Such calculations tend to counteract the distortions wrought by extremes and to reinforce the notion of a neighbourhood as an area of immediate interaction.

In order to provide some meaning to these crude distances Figure 7.10 and Table 7.15 categorise them based upon the dimensions of the concept of neighbourhood. The area up to seven miles was designated as the neighbourhood of each parish. This is consistent with calculations made earlier that noted an inner and, at a distance of 7 miles, an outer neighbourhood area. It is this which forms the first category of movement and the remaining distance categories reflect the rate of fall off in places of birth locations (See Chapter 4). It was assumed that each parish has its own neighbourhood or locality similarly arranged to that of the prime parish of Little Hereford and that the distances involved are the same as for the prime parish. Therefore a system of interlocking neighbourhood areas is envisaged.



**Figure 7.10 Distances Moved by Out Migrating Families
Parishes of Little Hereford Neighbourhood 1881**

From Figure 7.10 44% of migrating families had moved within 7 miles of their leaving parish, that is, within the broader neighbourhood. In effect, the migration was truly localised with over 50% moving less than 15 miles.

However these figures were in all probability an underestimation of the real situation because 144 families in the neighbourhood could not be traced² and the calculations were based on the total that moved not just those which could be traced. In other words all the evidence indicated that much family migration was within the neighbourhood. Further, in Table 7.16 there is a dominance of short distance movement. The distance decay feature, as the proportions decline from 44% at seven miles to 12% at over 30 miles, is clearly evident. However, there is also variability between parishes underlying this general observation.

² There is a whole range of possible reasons for this. Although some may have emigrated it is likely that a number of transcription errors producing untraceable spelling is the major reason. There are also inconsistencies in the recording of P.o.B and age data. Allied to this are the problems of literacy and the phonetic spelling of local accents.

Parish	Total families	Up to 7 miles		8 – 15 miles		16 – 20 miles		21 – 30 miles		Over 30 miles		Not Known	
			%		%		%		%		%		%
Ashford	9	4	44	0	0	0	0	2	22	2	22	1	11
Bowdler													
Ashford	27	12	44	4	15	1	4	0	0	3	11	7	26
Carbonel													
Bockleton	35	23	66	4	11	1	3	1	3	3	9	3	9
Brimfield	46	16	35	5	11	3	7	2	4	6	13	14	30
Burford	30	17	57	2	7	3	10	1	3	3	10	3	10
Caynham	66	36	55	6	9	0	0	7	11	5	8	12	18
Greete	22	12	55	1	5	0	0	2	9	1	5	6	27
Eye	30	10	33	5	17	2	7	1	3	7	23	5	17
Kimbolton	57	24	42	7	12	5	9	1	2	2	4	18	32
Laysters	26	7	27	5	19	4	15	0	0	6	23	0	0
L. Hereford	21	11	52	2	10	0	0	1	5	0	0	7	33
Ludford	29	12	41	3	10	0	0	2	7	6	21	6	21
M.o.H	41	19	46	5	12	1	2	3	7	2	5	11	27
Orleton	48	15	31	8	17	1	2	1	2	5	10	18	38
Pudleston	37	16	43	2	5	2	5	1	3	8	22	8	22
Richards	39	14	36	0	0	4	10	3	8	9	23	9	23
Castle													
Tenbury	69	31	45	7	10	5	7	0	0	6	9	16	23
Rural													
Total	632	279	44	66	10	32	5	28	4	74	12	144	23
Mean	37.17												
Median	35												
Mode	30												
Range	9-69												

Table 7.16 Categories of Distance Moved by Out Migrants, Parishes of Neighbourhood of Little Hereford, 1881

Thus, although the distance decay feature is clear for each of the parishes its magnitude is variable. For example, in Laysters 27% moved within seven miles compared with 66% for Bockleton. The greatest proportion moving over 30 miles is 23% in both Eye and Laysters. In total 74 families moved more than 30 miles. On this index there is both clear pattern but also a degree of variability.

Unfortunately the analysis tells us little about the distances moved by different categories of families. As was revealed in the previous section, the largest group of migrating families in the neighbourhood between 1871 and 1881 was that of labourers. Therefore in order to investigate whether they had a distinctive spatial pattern they were separated and analysed separately (Table 7.17). It has often been claimed that the nature of a farm labourer's employment and their dependency upon

tied cottages for accommodation made their migrations even more localised than the rest of the population during the 19th century (Newby 1977). Further it might be expected that any decision to move would be pre-empted by termination of contract rather than a rational, thought out decision from a range of options. In such circumstances there might have been rather more constraint than choice involved in the process. Indeed it might be that labourers expected to move and it may have been what they had to do. This is returned to in Chapter 8 when a more individualised analysis is undertaken.

Table 7.17, perhaps surprisingly, does not indicate that the migratory behaviour of labouring families varied greatly from the generality of families, although labourers constituted 42% of moving families. It was true that the mean distance moved was

Parish	Total Families	Total Families	Lab	Not traced	Mean Distance Moved	No. Over 30 miles
A.Bowdler	9	1		0	1.0	0
A.Carbonell	27	9		1	16.2	1
Bockleton	35	17		2	6.0	0
Brimfield	46	17		4	9.7	1
Burford	30	16		1	7.4	0
Caynham	66	19		1	11.5	1
Eye	30	12		2	22.6	2
Greete	22	11		3	11.2	1
Kimbolton	57	25		5	6.5	0
Laysters	26	14		1	15.0	2
L.Hereford	21	8		1	3.4	0
Ludford	29	10		3	4.4	0
M.o.H	41	24		4	16.0	0
Orleton	48	23		4	12.3	2
Pudleston	37	15		4	21.2	2
R.Castle	39	12		2	12.5	1
Tenrural	69	35		5	7.2	1
N'hood Area	632	268		43	9.0	14

Table 7.17 Movement of Labouring Families, Parishes of Little Hereford neighbourhood, 1881

further than the extended neighbourhood at 9 miles and less than the mean distance for the general movement. There were also families who moved out of the Mid Borderland. In some parishes the mean figure is low. So, although there was a tendency for labouring families to move shorter distances than other families, only

2% moved more than 30 miles, there was still a deal of variability which suggests that the migratory habits of labourers are rather more complex and varied than might have been thought.

There was also the possibility that there was a dynamic within very localised communities that explained variability. If there was a cultural factor in the decision to move then its effects did not distinguish between social classes and occupations. From the evidence it was apparent that during the second half of the 19th century the movement of labourers was not determined entirely by their employment since it was so similar to that of the rest of the migrating families.

The investigation of direction moved was inconclusive with similar proportions moving in different directions. Therefore the analysis is omitted here as being inappropriate. Indeed, since the majority of movement was local, this may be an expected outcome.

7.6.2 Destination of Families Moving-On

The enormous growth of medium and large towns and the shift in occupations to the industrial area might indicate, despite the evidence that the majority of moves were local, that some families, albeit a minority, moved to urban areas. To what extent this was true for the families of the neighbourhood of Little Hereford was analysed directly through the data derived from the 632 families. The 1881 location of each of the traced families was categorised according to a simple classification of places (Figure 7.11 and Table 7.18) . These places are intended to represent a number of different possible locations for migrating families, including a division into types of urban centres and are derived completely empirically from the list of places noted on the spreadsheet of results. It should also be noted that Rural implies a similar parish to those in the neighbourhood whilst Industrial Village was one where the main activity is industrial or extractive such as the villages of Clee or Pensax. Similarly, Kidderminster is an example of an Industrial Town.

Significantly there was no evidence of mass movement from the neighbourhood of Little Hereford to the industrial areas by families between 1871 and 1881 (Figure 7.11 and Table 7.18).

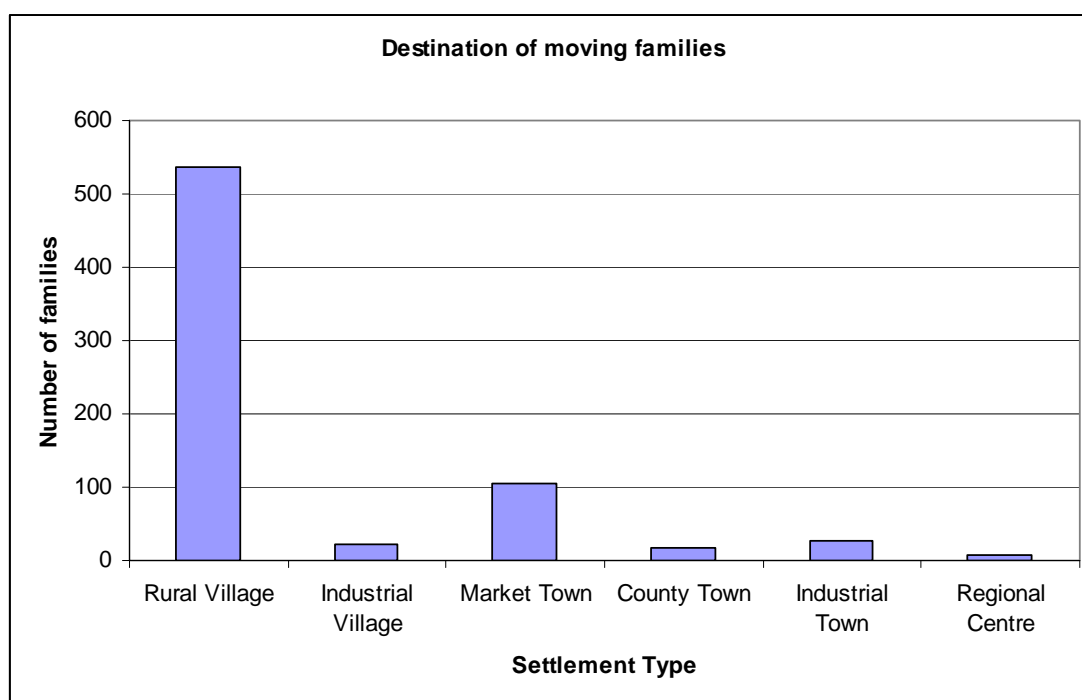


Figure 7.11 Destination of Families Out Migrating, Parishes of Little Hereford Neighbourhood, 1881

For example, those families that left for industrial villages, industrial towns and the Regional Centre, Birmingham, amounted to only 6% of the moving families and of course this does not mean that they all necessarily took up industrial occupations. In fact the biggest single group went to other rural locations (55%), and this again confirms the localised nature of the migration between 1871 and 1881. This provides some support for Pooley and Turnbull’s (1998) conclusion that after moves within the same settlement, “...removal to another settlement in the same size category was the next most frequent occurrence”.

Of greater significance as destinations, for migrating families between 1871 and 1881 for the residents of the neighbourhood of Little Hereford, were the market and county towns (Table 7.18). 14% of movers went to the market towns of Tenbury, Ludlow and Leominster which were the most significant destinations in contrast to the three county towns which were of little attraction. The majority of movement was clearly within the countryside especially when market towns are allied to rural areas.

Finally, it must be said that these localised and rural movements between 1871 and 1881 should be seen in the perspective that over the same period 40 families moved long distances and/or to large industrial towns (Table 7.18). This is not a great number

Destination	Numbers of Families
Birmingham & Black Country	21
London	5
South Wales	5
Over 100 Miles	9

Table 7.18 Families from the Neighbourhood of Little Hereford Moving Long Distances

but it does serve to illustrate that families behave individualistically ; their decisions may be conditioned to an extent by external factors but in the end they are made by individuals.

Some of the truth of the realisation of individual decisions may explain the variability between parishes (Table 7.19). In Ashford Bowdler, admittedly from a low base population, 77% of out migrating families went to towns of various orders. On the other hand from Ashford Carbonel, the immediately adjacent village, only 4% went to the town. Only from Ashford Bowdler and Leysters did any significant proportions go to county towns. The fact that no more than a total of three families, from any one village, went to industrial towns does not support the view of an exodus in that direction. Richards Castle has the smallest proportion moving to a similar rural area, (31%) but the highest proportion (33%) went to a market town. Thus, this index also demonstrates variability and this feature is the most marked throughout the analysis in this section.

Parish	Total No. Families	1. Rural		2. Industrial Village		3. Market Town		4. County Town		5. Industrial Town		6. Regional Centre	
			%		%		%		%		%		%
Ashford	9	1	11	0	0	4	44	2	22	1	11	0	0
Bowdler													
Ashford Carbonel	27	16	59	0	0	4	15	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bockleton	35	26	74	0	0	3	9	0	0	3	9	0	0
Brimfield	46	20	43	1	2	8	17	0	0	3	7	0	0
Burford	30	17	57	0	0	5	17	2	7	1	3	1	3
Caynham	66	41	62	3	5	6	9	1	2	3	5	0	0
Eye	30	20	67	2	7	2	7	1	3	0	0	0	0
Greete	22	12	55	0	0	3	14	0	0	1	5	0	0
Kimbolton	57	31	54	0	0	6	11	0	0	0	0	2	4
Laysters	26	14	54	1	4	2	8	5	19	0	0	0	0
L. Hereford	21	10	48	0	0	4	19	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ludford	29	18	62	0	0	2	7	1	3	2	7	0	0
M.o.H	41	26	63	1	2	3	7	0	0	0	0	0	0
Orleton	48	26	54	2	4	2	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pudleston	37	15	41	0	0	8	22	3	8	2	5	1	3
Richards Castle	39	12	31	1	3	13	33	0	0	2	5	2	5
Tenbury Rural	69	44	64	2	3	3	4	0	0	2	3	0	0
Total	632	349	55	13	2	78	12	15	2	20	3	6	1
Mean	37.1765												
Median	35												
Mode	30												
Range	9-69												

Table 7.19 Destination of Out Migrating Families, Neighbourhood Parish, Little Hereford, 1981.

7.7 Summary and Implications of the Characteristics of Out Migrating Families

In the context of a small scale enquiry covering 17 rural parishes it should not, perhaps, be expected that the patterns revealed would necessarily be strong and marked and that is the case. However, some patterns have reinforced those from previous research, for example, migration was over short distances. On the other hand there were some surprising findings. The gross numbers of families moving was very considerable. There was no very significant movement to towns between 1871 and 1881. In contrast generally the Mid Borderland was experiencing an absolute

decline in population at this time. This leads to the strong possibility that the neighbourhood was a distinctive area. Thus, there is some factor related to scale operating in this instance. The locality does not entirely reflect the region.

The variability in the behaviour patterns between villages, noted on most indices, suggests yet another difference related to the scale of the enquiry. At the scale of the individual village, behaviour can not be explained by general causes such as industrialisation since there are marked differences in behaviour between villages. Although there is some suggestion, as noted, of the relationship to village population size and accessibility this is by no means clear cut. Clearly there are other factors at work not revealed at the scale of enquiry pursued to this point. Therefore in order to begin to clarify this point a brief study will be made of the characteristics of the behaviour in the Prime Parish of Little Hereford.

7.8 The Case of Little Hereford

Before beginning this final section of this chapter it is important to set the context for this aspect of the enquiry. Little Hereford is the Prime Parish because it is the parish in which the core families, which provide data for the analysis in Chapters 8 and 9, resided during the 19th century. For this reason it became the place from which its neighbourhood area was calculated (Chapter 4). Secondly, the data on which the previous analysis was based was those for the families within the neighbourhood who left their parish of residence after 1871. It did not include those who moved in for the reasons argued above. This section will include an examination in so far as is possible of arrivals and stayers as well as leavers and not only of families but individuals also. In other words it is a more comprehensive examination of a single parish than was possible for the other parishes by reason of the difficulty of generating and processing the very large quantity of data that that would have involved. It is an enquiry, a case study, at a smaller scale and therefore offering more detailed data.

Saville (1957) maintained that the depopulation of the countryside was associated with a decline in numbers working on the land. Between 1861 and 1881 there was a decline nationally in the agricultural workforce of 20%. But in Little Hereford,

between 1851 and 1901, the population actually increased by 5%, from 391 in 1851 to 411 in 1901, whilst agricultural labourers went from 44% of the employed population in 1851 to 48% in 1891. At the same time the number of farmers increased from 11% to 13% (Table 7.20).

Occupation	No. 1851	%	No. 1901	%
Farmer	19	11	21	13
Labourer	78	44	77	48
Skilled	35	20	20	13
Domestic	40	23	24	15
White Collar	5	3	10	6
Shop Worker	0	0	7	4
(Living-In Labs)	(16)	(3)	(6)	(4)

Table 7.20 Occupational Change in Little Hereford: 1851 –1901

Though the statistics reveal only marginal changes they do confirm the continued vibrancy of Little Hereford’s agricultural economy during the second half of the 19th century, a further illustration of the distinctive economy (Chapters 5 and 6) and its relative isolation from the effects of industrialisation and urbanisation.

Access to appropriate data is a major problem for migration studies. For the second half of the 19th century the release of CEBs showing data collected at the individual level and classified in households gives some opportunity for both parish reconstruction and the potential for individual and whole family moves to be tracked. Using these data the occupants of each dwelling can be identified for each census year and a whole enumeration district reconstructed from 1851 up to 1901. Thus over the period 1841 – 1901 the incomers, stayers and leavers can be identified and recorded for any area. In this manner an entire district or any part of it can be reconstructed over this sixty-year period residence by residence.

One benefit of this approach is that it uses gross data and, therefore, all movement may be detected. A problem is that with the exception of 1881 it is very difficult to trace those who have left and to identify where those who come in have come from. With few exceptions the occupants of each dwelling at each census year is known. These data form the source for this section. In Little Hereford the trend of total population in the parish from 1801 to 1871 had been one of a gentle rise but thereafter to 1911 it levelled out. All this whilst England and Wales and urban areas were

growing at a fast rate (Chapter 6). So, if Little Hereford is typical of the remote countryside as a whole, then it was stagnating and relatively declining.

7.8.1 The Movers

The total movement for the period 1871 to 1881 is given in Figure 7.21. The apparent confusion between Households and Families simply reflects the manner in which the data were collected³ and does not detract from their value. Firstly, there was considerable movement of people over the ten-year period both in and out of the parish and this reinforces Ravenstein's (1885) position on streams and counter streams of migration.

	1871	Movers	1881
Pop Total	400		421
H'hold Total	85		87
Leavers, Individual.		109	
Leavers, Families		21	
Incomers, Individual.		34	
Incomers, Families		33	

**Table 7.21 In and Out Migration 1871-81:
Parish of Little Hereford**

Despite there being significantly more individual leavers (109) than individual incomers (34) over the period the total population grew rather than declined. The increased number of families may have compensated for this in 1881 though differential births and deaths may have also played a part. Significantly these data do show the extent of gross movement even though the net change was only a gain of two households but the gross movement, both in and out, was 143 individuals and 54 families. What this turnover meant in terms of community cohesion can only be speculated upon but it may well reinforce the importance of the role of core families in providing stability to the local community.

In addition it was possible to locate the 1881 residence of all those living in the UK who had been born in Little Hereford. This calculation was achieved using the search mechanism in the 1881 census as explained previously.

³ The census enumerators books classify by household but the precise location of them is not always identifiable. The reconstruction was done on the basis of families in 1995.

Distance from Little Hereford	%
Up to 5 Miles	26
6 – 10 Miles	8
11 – 15 Miles	5
16 – 20 Miles	3
Over 20 Miles	16
Remained in Little Hereford	40

Table 7.22 Location in 1881 of those born in Parish of Little Hereford

Table 7.22 shows the distance from the parish that the movers had gone. In 1881 there were 391 people living in the UK who had been born in Little Hereford. Of these 157 (40%) were still living in the parish so more had left than remained. Table 7.21 shows the distance the remaining 234, or 60% of those born in the parish, had moved. This suggests that leavers either went a short distance of less than 5 miles, roughly the neighbourhood area, or they went a significant distance of over 20 miles. Of course, these data do not take account of those who had left the country entirely as emigrants. The characteristics of the movers or precisely what sort of location they went to was not revealed. There may also be differences between the characteristics of individual movers and family movers. For an individual to migrate is a normal matter since people leave home, to release space in a crowded household, to gain employment or to get married. People live in households and they usually live in a nuclear family but for a whole family to move is a matter affecting all in the household.

7.8.2 Incomers

Comparison of the CEBs for 1871 and 1881 yielded information on individual and family movers and provided the data summarised in Table 7.23. Not surprisingly the major difference between individual movers and family movers was their age; individuals were overwhelmingly young, and they were inclined to move over a longer distance and 85% were either labourers or domestics. Incomers, both individuals and families, tended to have moved from another rural area. A significant minority had moved from small market towns but, as noted in Chapter 6, since these towns tended to behave similarly to the countryside the distinction may not be a real one. The figure of 12% incoming farming families confirms the view that there was mobility among tenant farmers.

INCOMERS 1871 - 1881	Individuals	Families
Number	34	33
Mean Age	26.2	41 (Head of HH)
Employment		
Labourer	50%	55%
Skilled	21%	27%
Farmer	-	12%
Professional	-	6%
Domestic	35%	-
Distance Moved		
Neighbourhood Area	38%	36%
Up to 20 Miles	32%	45%
Over 20 Miles	24%	15%
Previous Residence		
Rural	62%	67%
Urban	21%	30%
N/K	18%	3%
Mean HH Size		4.6 persons
Range		2 – 13 persons

Table 7.23 Incomers 1871 –1881, Parish of Little Hereford

There is though a problem with these data on in-migration because they were based on place of birth information and this may be misleading since there may have been several moves since birth. For families with young children it was possible to have slightly more confidence since the place of birth of the youngest child may give a reasonable expectation of where the family last lived. Indeed for families with several children it is possible to track the family movements. Not all families have children at home though so some of the data were not entirely reliable and consistent but none the less probably give the best estimate of the movement of people.

7.8.3 Leavers

For an analysis of the leavers, both individuals and families that left Little Hereford between 1871 and 1881 were identified. Determination of their precise location in 1881 was possible due to the search mechanism built into the CD Rom version by the Mormons. However, it was difficult to tell precisely, in the ten-year interval, when the movement actually took place, and how often movement took place during the intercensal period. The same reservations about this form of tracking apply here as with incomers.

After 1871, 119 left Little Hereford as individuals.⁴ The location in 1881 of 63 of these was traced and it is likely that at least a further 10 were deceased by 1881. This leaves 46 or 39% unaccounted for, a very high proportion. It is difficult to know why but it is almost certainly to do with difficulties with the census material. Some people will have died, some will, for whatever reason, not have been enumerated, some will have married and where there was a change of surname it is very difficult to trace them unless they have an uncommon first name. Some, of course, will have left the country because the late 19th century was a time of high emigration (Baines 1985). There is always the problem of incorrect or ambiguous information having been recorded and, of course, the perennial issue of deciphering the handwriting. Finally, it is the case that families are easier to trace than individuals, because the numbers of people in a family provide more clues and, therefore, the success rate in tracing them is rather better.

LEAVERS 1871-1881	Rural	Urban	Total
Neighbourhood Area	29%	11%	40%
Up to 20 Miles	19%	14%	33%
Over 20 Miles	5%	22%	27%
Total	52%	48%	

**Table 7.24 Distribution of Individual Leavers,
Parish of Little Hereford, 1871 - 1881**

Table 7.24 shows the location and distance moved of those individuals who were traceable. Consistent with previous findings the largest group, 40%, moved within the Neighbourhood so, perhaps slightly surprisingly in view of previous evidence, only 52% of leavers remained in this rural area whilst 48% went to a town. Those who travelled farthest tended to go to towns. The mean age in 1871 of those leavers who could be traced was young, 21 years. In turn 21% of individual leavers formed new households, 33% joined different households but 34% remained unidentified. This detail of individuals migration confirms much that is already known about movement in the countryside during the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Saville 1957; Pooley and Turnbull 1998).

⁴ It should be noted that in addition there were also 113 persons contained in migrating families so in the ten-year period 232, out of a total 1871 population of 400, moved.

In order to illustrate at the micro scale the complexity of the migration process during the 19th century some examples of individuals, identified in the census, from Little Hereford will now be briefly discussed.

There are different types of household that movers may join. Some join households headed by one of their children, as is the case of Mary Bloom, aged 71 in 1871, but in 1881 lived with her son in adjacent Ashford Carbonel. Some lived in as employees because this system still prevailed in the area. So, Henry Hill, aged 8 in 1871 by 1881 was living-in at Leysters and Thomas Maund, 16 in 1881, was in Greete. Distinct from living-in was lodging and Joseph Maund, a groom, was a lodger in far away County Durham. The young wage earner from a labouring family had to leave home because of cramped conditions in a situation where the workers still had large families. For example, Thomas Maund was one of ten children born in a one up and one down dwelling (See Chapter 8). There was however, a slightly different pattern to female living-in probably due to the fact they were mainly employed as domestics. For example, Catherine Brown, a daughter of a blacksmith and 22 years of age, was a cook in Hampstead and Elizabeth and Mary Rowbury were servants at a boarding school in Sale. Interestingly eleven of the 14 women domestics moved to a town whereas only 6 of 14 males went to towns.

7.8.3 Families leaving after 1871

Table 7.24 is an edited extract from the Excel data base described in Section 7.2. This shows some of the data which went towards the calculations of the characteristics of moving families in Table 7.2. There are clearly omissions of some data and classifications and those shown are particularly suitable for the detailed descriptions attempted here. Thus two columns not included in the analysis earlier are those relating to the precise occupation of the Head of Household and the precise location in 1881. The 'previous moves' column is speculative since it was based upon the birthplace of children recorded in the census of 1871. These data not only yield more detailed information but also illustrate some of the difficulties with using the 1881 census so, for example, the final row contains a Sarah Goldmark who in 1871 was the 37 year old widowed school teacher living with her 14 year old son, Arthur J. Despite the distinctive name neither of them could be traced in 1881.

Family	Occupation, Age, Head of Household	Head of Household	Number in Household	Number of Dependent Children	Distance Moved	Location	Previous Moves
Mary Bloom	Lau	71	4	0	2	Ash. Carb.	1
Ed Cadmore	Lab	48	2	0	3	Whitton	3
Wm Moss	Lab	44	8	6	2	Tenbury	1
J.Johnson	Lab	43	3	1	8	H.Child	2
C.Corbett	Lab	51	6	4	nk	NK	4
Rich Faulkener	Lab	28	6	1	6	Milsom	3
Sav Bradford	Lab	55	4	0	1	Upton	3
Thos Pritchard	Wheelwr	64	6	4	2	Tenbury	3
John Jones	Farmer	72	6	0	nk	NK	nk
Thos Jones	Farmer	43	3	1	12	Diddlebury	3
Wm Hotchkiss	Gardener	40	2	0	4	Ludlow	2
Chas Child	Waggoner	38	6	2	2	M.o.H	3
Wm Bayliss	Carp	50	4	2	1	Burford	3
Rich Millichap	Lab	30	6	4	2	Tenbury	3
John Griffiths	Gkeeper	50	10	3	24	Condover	3
Martha Maund	Lab	51	2	0	2	Ash. Carb.	4
R.Price	nk	42	2	0	nk	NK	1
Froggatt	Farmer	31	2	0	nk	NK	1
Geo Hackett	L.Agent	58	5	0	nk	NK	3
E.Stephens	nk	68	2	0	nk	NK	1
Goldmark	Teacher	37	2	1	nk	NK	1

Table 7.25 Summary of Families leaving Little Hereford, 1871-1881

There are three possibilities; they had emigrated, they had not been enumerated or they had both died. The latter is possible because the next year, 1872, there was an outbreak of diphtheria in the parish and several young children died.

William Bayliss was a son of Thomas Bayliss, a tenant farmer and one of the core families to be discussed in Chapter 8. He had become a carpenter and appears to have returned to his birthplace in Brimfield to marry and his son was born there. But in the CEB the birthplace is given as Wyson. Only someone who knew the area would know that Wyson is part of Brimfield.

Charles Child, a farm labourer, was born along with his wife in Middleton on the Hill, a neighbouring parish. His eldest son was born in Leominster and his next three children in Bromley, given in the CEB as Herefordshire, in fact it was Shropshire near to Bridgenorth. The youngest child was 10 months when the 1871 census was taken and she had been born in Little Hereford. The youngest son was 4 and born in

Bromley so between 1867 and 1871 they had moved to Little Hereford. By 1881 they were in Middleton on the Hill, returning to their birthplace. There is clearly a migration story in this family which is far more than a number in a census. But it is by this type of examination that the data in the 'previous moves' column of Figure 7.25 has been obtained.

John Griffiths was a 50 year old game keeper in 1871. He could not be traced. Eventually, via the names and ages of his sons, his wife was found and it became clear that John had died and that his wife had remarried and in 1881 was living in Condover which is about six miles south of Shrewsbury. Much more difficult was the case of John Jones, aged 72 years, a tenant farmer of 196 acres and, therefore, quite well to do. In 1871 he had a household of six none of whom was related to him. By 1881 he would have been 82. Moreover his birth place was simply recorded as Herefordshire. Alas he proved impossible to trace and, therefore, had to be assumed deceased.

7.9 Summary and Conclusion

The neighbourhood of Little Hereford is not seen as a microcosm or sample of the countryside: it is an area defined by the interactions of the people of Little Hereford. None the less there is no reason to suppose that the findings are unique or that they are substantially different from what might be found generally in the Mid Borderland. This is based upon the view that each parish had a neighbourhood and that a mosaic of these made up a region.

It is certainly clear that a high proportion of families moved in the neighbourhood of Little Hereford in the latter part of the 19th century. But among these and despite the absolute loss of population in the two counties there is no evidence to support a major move from the countryside and certainly not to the town. It is now known that towns grew much more from natural increase (Wrigley and Schofield,1981) than from migration and the relationship of migration to transport development is uncertain, especially the railways since they were used to carry goods in the main and it was later, around the turn of the century, before the cheap trains made an impact in terms of passenger movement (Reeves c1970).

There is certainly evidence in support of Saville (1957) who maintained that gross movement was very much greater than net movement and this is supported from both the Little Hereford study and the analysis of the migrating families. There does appear to be a relationship with parish size and migration where large parishes lost proportionately fewer migrants but may be compensated for by in-migration as the Little Hereford study tended to show. Significantly much of the movement was short distance and was to places that were similar to the ones that were left. This has implications for the maintenance of local culture. This seems consistent with some of the evidence in Chapter 5 about the culture in the Mid Borderland and generally that if there was change then it was slow. It is tempting to conclude that family migration did not contribute significantly to population loss in the countryside

The short distance movement supports a similar finding by Ravenstein but it does seem also to conform to the type of rural circulation described by Pooley and Turnbull (1998). They found that many moves were over short distances; indeed more than 50% of them were less than 10 kilometres. This is roughly an extended Neighbourhood in the terms used here and the largest single group moved less than 1 kilometre. This is entirely consistent with the findings outlined above. The repeated evidence for the distance moved seems compelling. Because of the size of their database Pooley and Turnbull (1998) were able to distinguish these distance data on age and occupation criteria. So, for example, the age group 40 to 59 moved shorter distances and farmers moved further than farm workers. Interestingly these too had a higher mean than the mode showing a similar variability to those found in this study. It also suggests that movement within a five-mile radius may lend some further substance to the notion of a locality around each parish. The neighbourhood may be quite a dominant social feature for the meeting of three counties and their boundaries appear to have no significance at all in family migration.

People moving within or near to the locality may suggest the power or at least influence of place upon decisions. It does raise the point as to whether this very short distance move is migration at all. Perhaps migration could be defined as more than a mere change of residence but rather as one out of an area, out of the cultural space, to a different way of life. This would raise a different set of questions and sharply focuses on decision, motivation and knowledge similar to those raised by Baines

(1985) in his study of emigration. It also raises questions about core families for it appears perfectly possible for a core family to move residence but not way of life or social contacts. Thus a core family could be one associated with the particular Neighbourhood rather than a single parish.

This enquiry is more specific than that of Pooley and Turnbull (1998) and in consequence the findings are much less clear cut. Even where there appears to be a pattern to migrating families there are many which do not follow that pattern suggesting a different dynamic at work which may be lost in larger scale enquiries. More generally it can be seen that a whole range of people migrated, from labourers to land agents and of a variety of ages.

The above brief commentary gives some insight into the detail which attaches to migration of individual families. It can not be known what motivation existed or why certain places were chosen, if indeed they were chosen. What contacts were there? What information was held? These questions may only be addressed through an enquiry at a different scale and this will be the substance of the next two chapters.

Chapter 8

The Decision to Move

8.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter it was established that the pattern of movement in the Neighbourhood of Little Hereford was far from clear in 1881. Although these movements took place in the context of national population trends (Chapter 6) and significant associated social change, this was not obvious at this local scale. Saville (1957) had assumed major economic forces, of both a push and a pull form, for the depopulation of the countryside during the second half of the 19th century. On the one hand, he saw the pull of major urban centres with their demand for labour, generated by the developing industries and, on the other, the general dissatisfaction with conditions in the countryside both in terms of income and housing. These macro urban-industrial factors can only provide the context within which decisions are made; there must be other processes at work at an individual level providing a motive for the movements which were made. To apply general causes to particular events or circumstances is to commit the ecological fallacy (Robinson 1950; Walmsley and Lewis 1997). Because of the difficulty in offering explanation for the findings in Chapter 7 the investigation now moves quite specifically, in this chapter and the succeeding one, to an examination of the influences bearing upon individual family decision.

So far a number of propositions have been raised which are important in informing the remainder of this enquiry.

1. Within a region particular ways of life emerge from the interaction between agency and structure.
2. Inhabitants of such an area may develop a personal, emotional, identification and attachment to that place and its ways of life.
3. Only at the micro level, even individual level, can the processes of migration decision-making be identified.

The purpose of this chapter is to trace the movement of three families, resident in Little Hereford in 19th century, from their earliest record to the present. This is a longitudinal analysis to give a view of longer term movement. The first section is devoted to a more detailed exposition of the approach and this will be followed by an

account of the three core families from which the source material for the later analysis arises.

8.2 Sources and Methods

The general approach, methods and sources for this chapter were discussed in Chapter 3 (See Figure 3.4) and the sequencing of it is indicated in Figure 3.5. The major sources are the family trees of three core families. The sources for the construction of family trees have been discussed elsewhere in this study but it is important to make a distinction between genealogy which can produce a family tree from these sources and family history which is a much broader concept. Unfortunately these two concepts, in common use, appear to be used interchangeably but true family history is the interface between genealogy and local history. A family tree is constructed from the basic data of birth, marriage and death together with the recorded names of parents, employment and place and date at which the event took place (Pelling 1995). Family history on the other hand, will give not only the historical context in which the event took place but also detail about the personal lives of those involved (Camp 1996). This chapter, following three families, is essentially based in genealogy but set against the background of the Mid Borderland as described in Chapter 5 and its main population trends (Chapter 6). Some of the historical context of Little Hereford in 19th century will be included where appropriate.

Using these data to trace the location and movement of three families for the entirety of their record constitutes a form of longitudinal study of migration. There have been calls for such an approach notably from Champion and Fielding (1992) and Grundy (1992). Later Pryce (2000) linked this call to the suggestion of the use of life histories and biographical information. This call was not new for it had been made earlier by Hagerstrand (1982). Pooley and Turnbull (1998) exploited the potential of what they termed family history in their large scale study of migration since the 18th century. The data they used, from family history societies, amounted to over 16,000 individuals and the statistical manipulation resulted in a contribution to the understanding of changing regional patterns of migration at an aggregated level. Inevitably in such a study there was a significant loss of individual and local detail and an absence of evidence on decision and the process of migration. Therefore, this

chapter differs markedly from the study of Pooley and Turnbull (1998) in that the focus is upon the individual migrant families and their decision-making context over time. However the notion of a longitudinal study used here needs a degree of qualification. The data from the three families do not constitute a continuous flow, rather they are points in time when an event took place for which there is a record of location and time.

There are very few studies which employ a longitudinal approach to individual data despite its undoubted advantages in a study of migration process and decision making (Lewis 1982, Glasser 2002). Shyrock and Larnmon (1965) offered five advantages stemming from such an approach, namely; study of development over time, identification of different areas moved to, identification of the extent of circular and return migration, identification of the proportion who stay and the study of frequency of moves by individuals. Clearly, these advantages are generalisations and based upon the assumption of an aggregated rather than individualised study.

Longitudinal studies do offer an opportunity to develop an important additional concept to the understanding of migration, namely life cycle. Thus Rossi (1955) suggested reasons for mobility; formation of a new household, mortality, household dissolution and work. Something of this idea was utilised in the previous chapter where the notion of a family cycle was introduced in an attempt to identify pattern. The results there were not altogether clear since a majority of families movements did not conform to a simple life cycle pattern. However, this has to be seen against a longitudinal scale of only ten years and a relatively small data base. More recently Boyle et al. (1998) used the idea to identify phases of movement which they maintain have remained stable over time, namely, high mobility after birth, a trough between 3 and 13 years, peak movement between 17 and 30 years followed by declining movement to the mid 50s. Once again such conclusions imply the use of data at the macro level. Warnes (1992) on the other hand urged that life cycle be replaced by studies of life courses arguing that life cycle was static and tended to predetermine outcomes. Life course on the other hand offered the opportunity to study individuals rather than attempt to classify them. After all it may well be the case that several families move to similar places at similar times and at similar points in the family cycle but underlying this may be very different decision processes, choices and

constraints. This seems an approach well suited to the purposes of a longitudinal micro study but requiring quite focussed data. It is one used extensively in the next chapter and introduced where data permits here.

A recent investigation by Glasser (2002) adopted a longitudinal approach allied to the concept of life course rather than life cycle and offered a quite extensive review of the available literature and pointed to the paucity of data for such approaches. This chapter utilises the concepts of longitudinal, life cycle and, to a lesser extent, life course as a framework. Within this framework the use of the three families attempts to redress the problem of the paucity of data. Clearly this is subject to the qualifications and reservations expressed above but never the less is attempted as a possible way forward in the understanding of migration process.

Data from three families, all resident in Little Hereford in 19th century, are used to plot their movements from the point at which data are available, and certainly from the end of the 18th century, to the present. Each of these data sources arose from the different motivations of the compilers and therefore involved different perspectives. This does not inhibit their use in any way although there are disadvantages of this form of longitudinal approach. It is certainly the case that the linear progression is intermittent, that is, each location is dependent upon a recordable event such as place of birth. If moves are made between events then their precise moment can not be determined and it is possible for more than one move to be made which was not recorded and therefore unknown. It is only when there is direct evidence in the form of individual testimony that this disadvantage can be overcome. Of course, with only documentary sources available, the reasons behind a particular move can only be speculated upon but the pattern of movement made by the three families can be compared with each other and also with known patterns of movement. Fielding (1992 p201) proposed that, “moving is a statement of an individuals view and values”. This chapter offers some test of this proposition, here the type of evidence available may be too fragmentary but in Chapter 9 it will be an essential consideration.

8.3 Core Families

From the discussion in Chapter 4 it can be seen that there is no clearly agreed definition of a core family but any definition certainly involves length of residence over at least three generations. In Little Hereford, from 1841 to 1901, seven families were identified that were present throughout the entire 60-year period of the available CEBs. Of these there were three well-worked family trees available which provided an indication of the location of these families both before and after these dates and these were used for the analysis that follows. This was the work of Polly Rubery in her One Name Study of the Rowburys; Chris Davies's research into his immediate family of Bennetts and Gary Maund who contributed to the Maund family tree.

Core families may not have stayed as long as many have thought, for example, it is perhaps significant that families that appeared in the Little Hereford Church Kneeling Register of 1722 had all left the Parish by the census of 1841 (H.C.R.O. AB24/3). Even core families therefore appear to be essentially temporary but on a longer time scale. But, of course, they may have stayed within the neighbourhood. Table 8.1 summarises basic information about the seven Little Hereford core families.

Family	Arrival LH	Previous Residence	Place of Birth of Marriage Partners
Froggett	C1831	Ashford Bowdler	Stanton Lacy/Cleobury Mortimer
Bayliss	C1833	Eye	Orleton /Wigmore
Arnett	C1835	Middlesex	Richards Castle/Brimfield
Maund, J.	C1828	Family formed	Brimfield/Little Hereford
Maund, W.	C1783	Brimfield	Brimfield/Brimfield
Rowbury	C1809	Family formed	Thornbury/Little Hereford
Bennett	C1786	Ashford Carbonel	N/K

Table 8.1 Core Families of Little Hereford.

A number of points arise from Table 8.1 which reinforces the findings in Chapter 7. With the exception of the Arnetts, movement was local, indeed within the inner parishes of the Neighbourhood. But even the Arnetts, who moved from Middlesex, originated locally. The places of birth were either in the neighbourhood or close to the extended neighbourhood. This reinforces the idea that core families were more identified as locality specific rather than parish specific. The origins of Gregory

Bennett and his wife, who moved to Little Hereford from Ashford Carbonel, remain unknown and illustrate a gap in family genealogical data. Another problem is the uncertainty of arrival dates that have to be estimated from the date and place of birth of children and, in the case of John Maund and John Rowbury, from the marriage date although both may have been resident in the parish at the time.

Of the seven core families the shortest period of residence was the sixty-six years of the Arnetts. Three of the families were farmers, tenants of the Lord of the Manor. The first of these farmers to arrive were the Froggetts, around 1831, from the adjacent parish of Ashford Bowdler although the married couple had been born in Stanton Lacy and Cleobury Mortimer (just beyond the neighbourhood). They took up residence at a farm, large for the area at 280 acres, Upper House, Middleton. A few years later Thomas Bayliss arrived at the 160-acre Middleton Farm from nearby Eye. Thomas was born in Orleton, in the neighbourhood, and his wife in Wigmore adjacent and to the west of the neighbourhood. Finally, the Arnetts arrived in about 1835, surprisingly from Middlesex although they had been born in Richards Castle and Brimfield respectively. They took up Temple Farm of 110 acres. All three families came at a time when national farming conditions were difficult and, locally, before the drainage of the heavy soils of the Middleton district of the parish had begun, and a few years before the sale of Easton Court estate to the Baileys.

The other core families were all labourers or of labouring origin. These families were the Bennetts, the Rowburys and the two families of Maunds. For the family of John and Mary Maund there are no extensive family trees available save some knowledge that the next generation moved west to Leintwardine and that some of their ancestors now live in Texas, U.S.A. For the other three families there is extensive but not entirely directly comparable information.

The three families to be investigated in detail were chosen solely because the data from their family history are available. Much of family history tends to follow the male line and, because of this, some of the story of core families may be lost. For example, John Maund of Brimfield, in 1828 married Mary Roberts of Little Hereford and the Roberts family had been long time resident there, certainly since the late 18th century. Elizabeth Rowbury too was a Roberts and she was born in Little Hereford in

1782 and was probably the Aunt of Mary Maund. As well as illustrating the problem of the use of the male line in defining core families this also shows the complexity of core families and indicates something of the power of the interrelationships and kinship networks that existed at the time. So, in terms of social cohesion and the development of ways of life and culture, it may be that labouring classes had an influence in addition to that of the few powerful dynastic families which are better recorded. Certainly there was movement but it was local and may not have affected cohesion; indeed it could have been an element which bound the locality together. This is an area which may well repay investigation even to modern times. Housing availability may have been a key element in migration since labourers in particular were dependent upon the availability of accommodation (Chapter 5). It may have determined, to an extent, the date of marriage and, almost certainly, the jobs that were taken frequently depended upon the availability of tied cottages (Laslett 1968; Mingay 1976).

All three families examined here, and that of John and Mary Maund, lived in the same row of houses and these, unusually, were not tied. This is discussed in some detail because of its possible significance as a factor in the decision to stay or migrate. To re-emphasise, no other labouring family stayed in Little Hereford for as much as three generations and it therefore seems reasonable to consider the characteristics of this location as a factor in the migration process.

8.3.1 Bedlam – A Privileged Location?

The location of Bedlam Row is labelled in Figure 8.1. Until 1800 it was on the edge of the then Bleathwood Common and the farms of the three core farming families are shown in red to the west of Bedlam Row. Bedlam Row was a rectangular shaped piece of land of little less than two acres and designated as “Poor Land” in the 1846 Tithe Survey. Moir (1990) maintained that it housed squatters’ cottages but the truth is rather more complex. It was land given in 1748 by the then Lord of the Manor, William Dansey, “ to the Minister, Church Warden and Overseer , in order for the parishioners to erect houses upon for the use of the Poor of the aforesaid parish, or to make use of as they think proper” (H.C.R.O., OS 367).

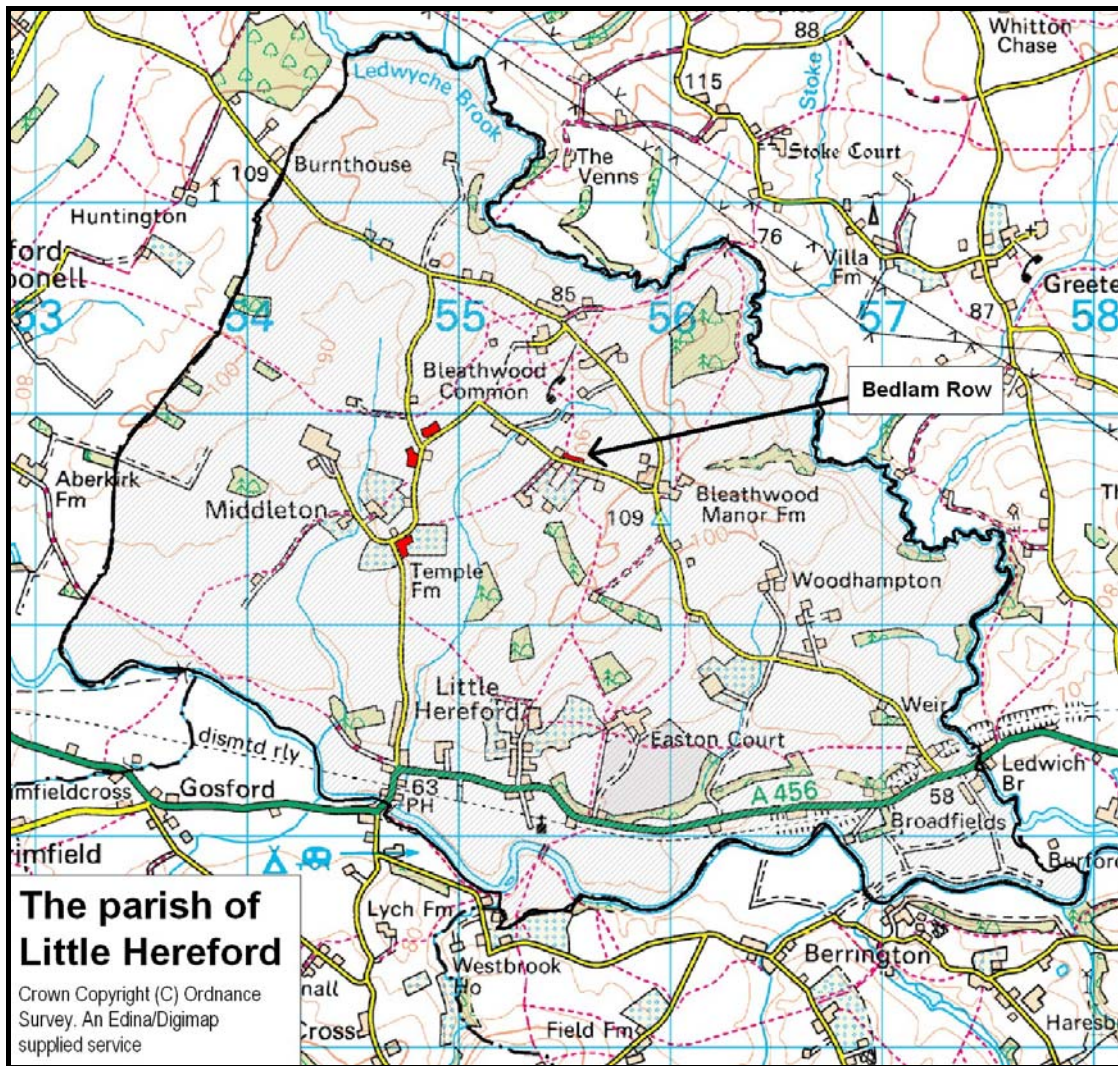


Figure 8.1 Parish of Little Hereford – Location of Core Families

This was not quite the act of benevolence that it appears for in fact it was a deal by Dansey to exchange land controlled by the Vestry for what was to be Bedlam Row. The name Bedlam came from a charity set up by an unknown donor for the relief of the poor. The Little Hereford Manor had come into the hands of the Dansey family in the late 16th century through marriage into the Delamere family (H.C.R.O. A95/18). They came permanently to Little Hereford when they sold their main estate, Brinsop Court, just to the north of Hereford for £4,000 in order to pay off debts in 1743. Dansey sponsored the Bill to enclose Bleathwood Common (H.C.R.O AB 24/3) that went ahead despite appeals in 1799. This of course was at a time of high wheat prices associated with the Napoleonic Wars. In 1799 the price of Herefordshire wheat reached 98% of the national price (Parker 1979). Dansey also embarked on the layout of the Park and the building of Easton Court. By 1841 they had sold the entire

Manor to Sir Richard Bailey, a family of South Wales iron masters, and moved to a smaller property some six miles away.

This brief reference to the Danseys is given for two reasons. Firstly, it illustrates the point made in Chapter 5 about the demise of some of the older landed families and the take over by the new ‘moneys’ of commerce and industry. This was to have an effect, eventually, on the inhabitants of the Poor Land. Secondly, the maintenance of

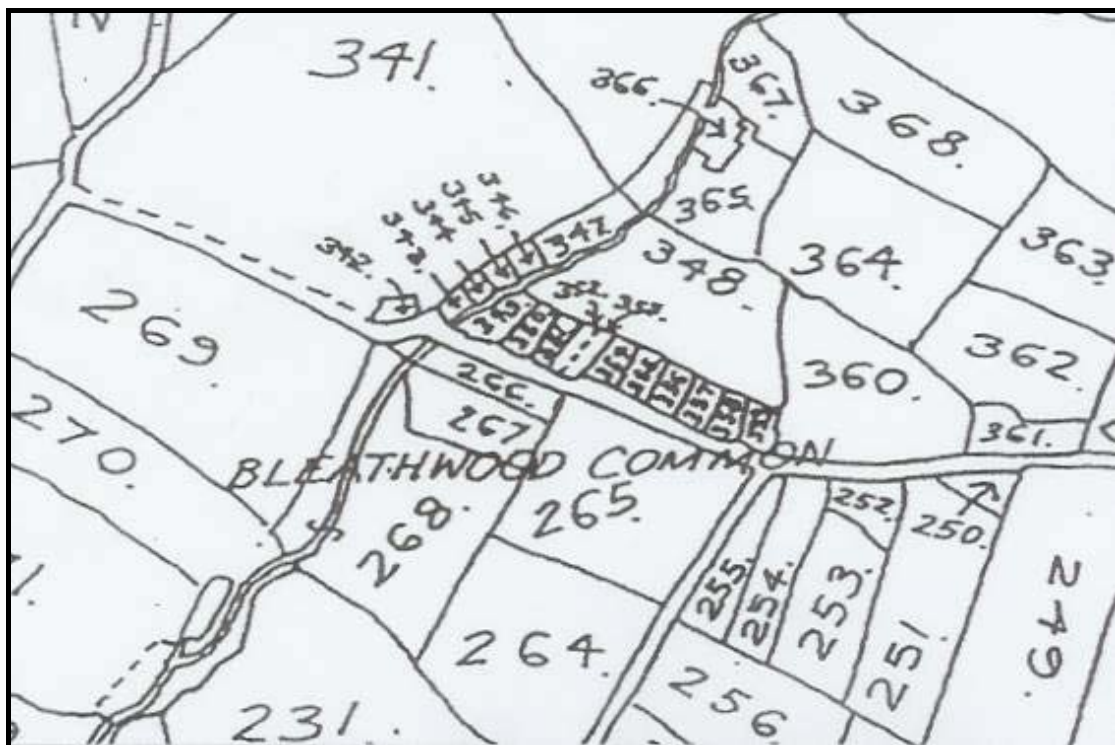


Figure 8.2 Bedlam Row (from 1846 Tithe Map)

the Bedlam Row houses, up to sixteen at one point, for the Poor Land may well have acted as a draw for some families to move to Bedlam Row. It may therefore be an explanation for the occurrence of Core Families of labourers located here but nowhere else in the parish.

Figure 8.2 is an enlargement of a part of the Tithe Map and shows the immediate location and layout of Bedlam Row (H.C.R.O., OS 367). It can be seen that the Row was originally on the northern edge of the Common; hence Moir’s (1990) assumption of squatters’ cottages. Immediately to the west were five small plots or gardens that went with the houses. Such plots would be a significant advantage in terms of the standard

of living of the people maintaining them and it is perhaps significant that the three core families each had a garden plot in addition to their cottage and garden. Accommodation for married labourers was normally in the form of cottages, tied to their employment on a farm, thus, if their employment ended so did their occupancy of the cottage.

Figure 8.3 shows Emma Maund outside her cottage in Bedlam, perhaps at the turn of the 20th century (she was mother of Thomas to be discussed later). The style of the



Figure 8.3 A Bedlam Row Cottage

cottage can readily be seen and the others, very similar, were ranged on either side. The cottages were clearly of simple design a wooden frame house, stone built chimneys, thatched roof with, probably, two rooms upstairs and a single room downstairs with a scullery. The cottage had a cobbled path up to the front door with garden on both sides and at the back was the scullery with a small window in it.¹ Three of the plots contained double dwellings and each had a good size garden and probably Common rights up to 1800. The four families, with additional separate gardens, would have been close to self-sufficiency in food.

¹ Oral evidence, in 1999, from Bill Maund grandson of Emma.

Housing policy is an important factor in the range of factors that interact with the migration decision. The late 19th century was a major period of economic restructuring not unlike, in some respects, the late 20th century. For example, Munro (1992) has pointed out that the housing system is a key barrier to the mobility of labour. However, Forest and Murie (1992) have argued that the influence of housing on migration can be overemphasised, it being normally of secondary importance, certainly in the late 20th century which may imply a decision with more choice than constraint. Comparisons between the late 19th century and the late 20th century can be taken too far as Green (1992 p105) has pointed out, "... migration is a dynamic process which changes through time as it responds to evolving economic, social and political environments in which it occurs."

But the inhabitants of Bedlam Row were embedded in the culture and ways of life of their place and time. To make judgements about their attitudes and behaviour based in a value system of a different place and time would be misleading and probably erroneous. At best it can be said that to have the opportunity to live in secure accommodation, however poor, was itself a major advantage not to be given up lightly. Moreover there was also the opportunity for succeeding generations to occupy the same property something that otherwise only ownership might bring.

This arrangement of houses for the Poor came to an end in 1876 when Sir Joseph Bailey of Easton Court bought the entire row of houses from the Bedlam Charity for £152 as well as all of the legal costs. The sum was then invested and to be used in support of the Poor where the Poor Law arrangement would not otherwise help. There was protest from some occupiers of the properties, "from not having paid rent appear to hold an opinion of their own right to continue possession" (H.C.R.O. T19 33). There was a court case, inspired by the residents, it was lost and so they had no alternative but to pay rent for the first time. This was to be 6d per year and 5/- per year for garden rent. Thus, the entire basis upon which the residents occupied Bedlam was changed as illustrated in Figure 8.4. The symbolism of the legalistic language is clear and carried with it all the rights of the landlord leading to an entirely different set of circumstances for the residents. They were no longer in a significantly better position than any other tenant and this after 100 years or more of 'free' occupancy.

To Mr John Knamm
Bedlam Row
Little Hereford.

I hereby give you Notice to quit and deliver
up to me on the first day of September next the
possession of the cottage and garden situate at
Bedlam Row in the parish of Little Hereford
in the County of Hereford which you now hold
of me.

Dated this 10th day of August 1877.
J.C. Bailey

Figure 8.4 Bedlam Row: Notice to Quit

The foregoing has given some of the direct circumstances of the residents of Bedlam Row. They enjoyed a degree of independence and they were not subservient; John Watts threw his notice to quit at the feet of the bailiff who served it (H.C.R.O., T19 33). It also provides some evidence of social cohesion and interrelationship in that they acted together in protest. Perhaps residence in such property bred confidence and a form of mini culture. Precisely what influence this had upon decisions to move or stay though can only be speculative. It may be reasonable though to suppose that the changed terms of the housing contract would have an influence upon the decision to stay or not, certainly for the next generation of the core families. To what extent such change was related to the changed circumstances of the tenancy and to what extent it was related to other, broader, societal changes is impossible to determine but it is illustrative of the very complex factors surrounding the decision to migrate. The next section of this analysis will look in some detail at the movements of each of the three core families.

8.4 The Movements of the Core Families

8.4.1 Introduction

Because of the detailed genealogy of the core families it is possible to trace each of them before they came to Little Hereford and indeed, in the case of the Rowburys they have been traced back to 1550. Thus there is a long time scale to the study of the movement of these families. They were all local families too so there is a case to state that they were core families of the locality for up to 400 years. This differs from the core families identified by local historians, (Hey 1974; Metson 1993) who tended to be better off families for whom written records existed. By contrast, this study using family history data, shows a localisation of poorer people, labourers. If this localisation is taken together with evidence for a rural circulation (Pooley and Turnbull 1998) then it may well be that the poorer people had a bigger impact on the locality, an understated and unheralded culture and ways of life hitherto unconsidered. Certainly, in Little Hereford it appears that there was a localisation of poor people who were involved in short distance moves in families and it was not until the 20th century that these core families moved significantly away from their area of origin.

Genealogical trees are complex and not always easy to interpret. They show, where this has been possible to trace, place of birth, marriage and death and the migration paths described below are based on these data. If, in each generation, as a family disperses each branch were to be followed then it would very rapidly become so complex as to be unmanageable. Therefore only one branch of a family will be followed.

It is important at this point to make clear some of the decisions which have been made with regard to the use of the family trees of the three core families and the manner in which the resultant data have been presented. Firstly, the trees were constructed by different people at different times for different purposes. The Bennett tree was devised by a member of that family from curiosity about his origins and relates only to the very narrow branch of the family to which he belongs. The Rowburys, on the other hand, are a part of a vast data collection about all who bear that name and conducted by a person with great knowledge and skill of family genealogy. Finally, the work on the Maunds, particularly in the 19th and 20th centuries, was conducted by

the researcher as a project to satisfy family curiosity surrounding stories which had been handed down. Thus, although there are major similarities in the structure of the trees there are also differences in the amount of information they contain, particularly in regard to their breadth at any one generation. The Rowburys have great breadth and so the paths of all those from Little Hereford in the 19th century are known but this is not the case with either the Bennetts or the Maunds. However, because of oral evidence the knowledge of the branch of the Maunds in the 20th century is virtually complete. This raises at least two issues, the question of definition of core family and also of comparability. For the former, residence of at least part of the family in Little Hereford from before the CEB of 1841 and present in that of 1901 is taken as the definition. This amounts to a minimum of three generations although this does not necessarily include the branch tracked. For example, as will be shown, Thomas Maund left Little Hereford around 1889 and Joseph Bennett as early as 1850 but their families remained. Clearly this is an issue arising from family dispersal for even core families disperse.

The great complexity of family trees and their interpretation for purpose of migration studies gives rise to some difficulty of comparability, particularly with presentation of data. For the purposes of this study the decision of which branch to follow was, in the case of the Bennetts, pre-empted by the availability of data and for the Rowburys by that branch which had survived to the present. For the Maunds, because of the focus in the next chapter, Chapter 9, the whole of the family of Thomas E. Maund was followed throughout the 20th century. In these circumstances presentation poses some problems with regard to sequencing and chronology but more particularly with the use of life cycle as a framework. A difficulty is to find a balance between clarity of description and repetition and here, in the interests of clarity the decision was taken to tolerate a degree of overlap. So, similar diagrams were constructed, for each family, but which contained a degree of overlap in order to manage the data necessary for the analysis. These diagrams are explained as part of the analysis.

Each family is examined in turn and, in so far as it is possible, the same procedures are adopted for each. First, the analysis begins with an overview of the time scale and historical context of all three families up to the end of the 19th century. This arises from the detail provided in Chapters 5 and 6. Thereafter, for each family the study

begins with a discrete generation by generation analysis to give some indication of the significance of life cycle effects. This is followed by an examination of the directly longitudinal features of each branch from each generation through to the present and using the data already identified and described. Much of the detail of this longitudinal description relies upon diagrammatic representation in order to reduce the complexity and hopefully, enhance understanding.

8.4.2 The Core Families in Context

Table 8.2 attempts to show the three core families in the context of their location and time and the conditions, both macro and micro, within which they lived. The location and approximate time of movement of each family up to the end of the 19th century is shown. Such a Table serves to illustrate problems with the use of family trees for migration studies. As has already been indicated the time of migration was taken from place of birth of children and, although frequently a good guide, it is none the less imprecise and in the case of a couple without children only very approximate. This Table is intended to give some indication of the location of the families in relation to the demographic and historical events detailed in Chapters 5 and 6. Two main points emerge from this. Firstly, for the two families where data go back to the 16th and 17th centuries there appears to be very little movement in that time, although Clark (1987) maintains that in the early 17th century three quarters of rural population moved at least once in their lifetime.

There were at least five generations of Rowburys in Thornbury extending well in excess of two hundred years, apparently stemming from a single couple who were married in 1575. However, since Richard Rowbury was born in 1550 it is reasonable to suppose they were there before that date. The branch of the Maunds too go back as far as the Parish Register in Brimfield will allow i.e. 1654. There were Maunds in that parish before that date but they cannot be connected to the branch discussed here because the record is so fragmented. In the Borderlands there were Maunds as far back as records go, certainly to 1540 (chapter 9). In Brimfield this family too goes back for at least five generations in that parish so they may be viewed as a core family of the Region as well as the locality.

The 17th and 18th centuries was a period of successful farming with increased commercialisation and prosperity (Reeve 1970). It was also a period of steadily, but not rapidly, growing population as the countryside recovered from the 14th century Black Death. In the bad times the Poor Law was generous. So, generally, the need to move was less obvious. Although there was movement nationally Clark (1987) emphasised the dangers of suggesting macro level explanation for local events and pointed to the regional variations that existed. He noted that, even in the 17th century, six out of ten males had moved but a lesser proportion of them in the west. Most was short distance, less than 10 miles. However, there was less movement in the 100 years between 1650 and 1750 and there was a slight drop in population. Marriage was delayed and the system of living-in was in full swing. Vagrancy in Herefordshire was minimal being only 16 in the period 1598 to 1664 compared with over 300 for some counties (Slack, 1987 p187). The evidence of Defoe (1971) quoted previously suggests, in 1725, a vigorous and prosperous area of commercial farming suggesting that amicable relationships and successful farming were conditions for developing a relatively stable society in the Mid Borderland.

The second feature of note in Table 8.2 is that the three core families had only migrated a short distance to Little Hereford. They had merely crossed the parish boundary although the Rowburys had had a previous move from Thornbury. In fact, the Rowburys came from just outside the extended neighbourhood of Little Hereford. It is tempting to think that they came because of the availability of housing in Bedlam Row. They all arrived around the turn of the 19th century, the Maunds about 1783, John Rowbury joined Elizabeth Roberts in 1809, but her family was already there and had been from at least 1782. The last to arrive was Richard Bennett but precisely when is unknown, although he married Mary Uncles in Little Hereford in 1804.

Figure 8.5 shows the spatial dimension of the early migration to Little Hereford. The inner circle denotes the neighbourhood, defined earlier, and the remnant of the outer circle is the enhanced neighbourhood at seven miles. Certainly this early movement

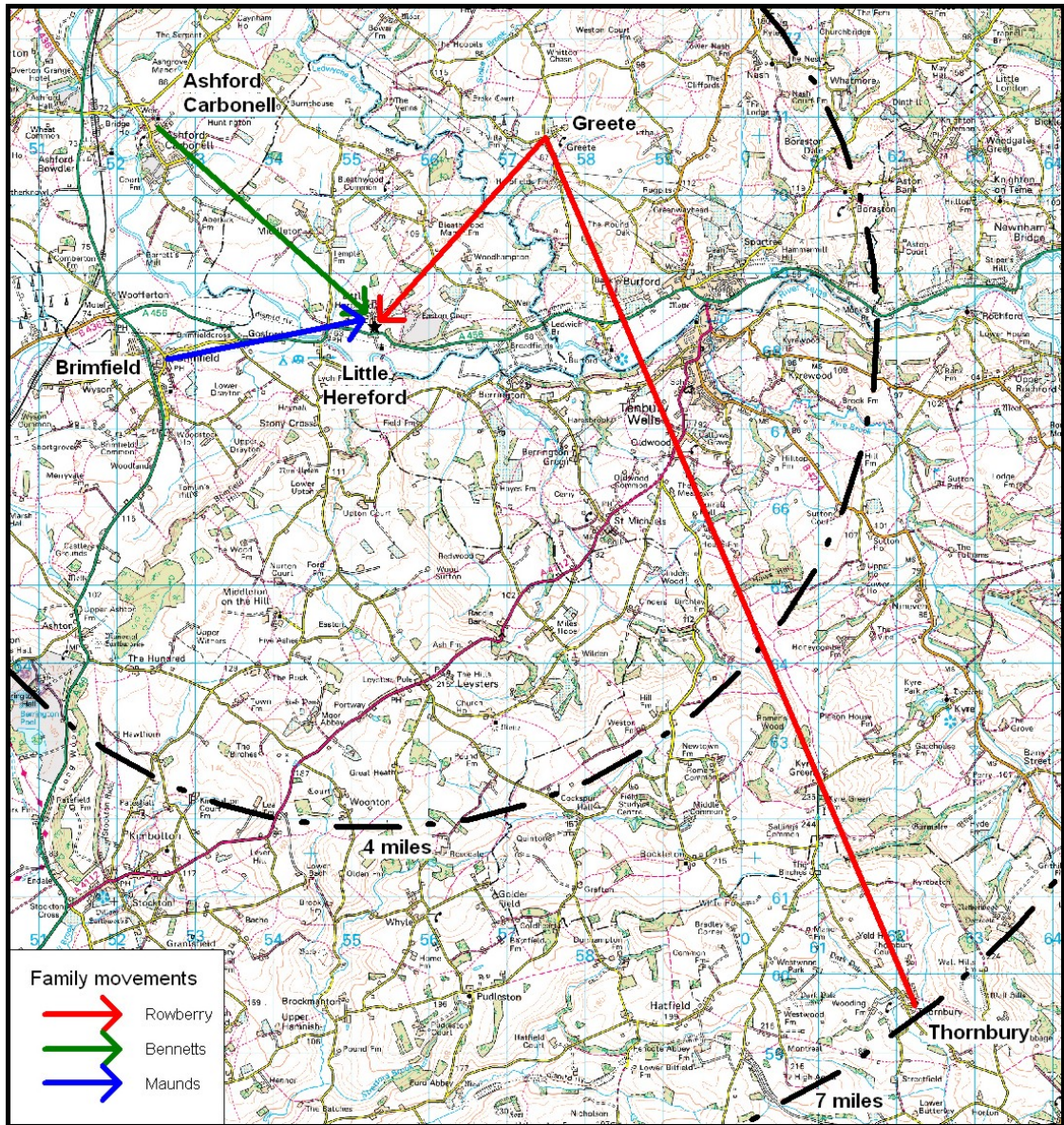


Figure 8.5 Migration Routes of Core Families to 19th Century

of the families tends to confirm the definition of the neighbourhood made in Chapter 4. The analysis now turns to the detail of the movement of each core family. It has to be acknowledged that the three trees are not strictly parallel because they do not all begin at the same time.

8.4.3 The Bennetts

The data for the Bennett family go back to the 18th century and, as will be seen later, are not so informative about early movement as that of the Rowburys and the Maunds. However, the successive generations displayed in Table 8.3 illustrates the essence of the existing data. Such life cycle factors that can be gained from the first

generation headed by Gregory showed that he married at the age of 32 and remained in his home parish for six more years. He had three children in Ashford Carbonel (not shown), one of whom died. He moved to Bedlam Row in the neighbouring parish where he had nine more children and remained there for the rest of his life. Whether he moved around in his earlier life can not be detected from the family tree but there is the clear suggestion that this branch of the Bennetts had eleven children over a long time scale, was localised and the head of the family married comparatively late to a woman twelve years his junior.

The next generation remained in the locality but moved three times. Richard also married young, at twenty two years, to a woman two years older who came from a parish just outside the neighbourhood of Little Hereford to the east. Richard moved from Ashford Carbonel to marry in Little Hereford where he remained for two years having no children there. His first child was born when he was 24 and living in the adjacent parish of Burford. He returned to Little Hereford ten years later at the age of thirty four with four children where he lived for another forty one years. This is a different pattern from the life cycle of his father since the events occurred at a younger age, but the attraction of Little Hereford was clear and perhaps supports the notion that Bedlam Row was important as a factor in migration.

Generation	Date	1748	38 yrs.....	1786	48 Yrs.....	1833
1	Place	Ashford Carbonel		Little Hereford		
Gregory	Age	32 yrs	38 yrs	85 yrs		
	Event	m. 1780	Moved	Deceased		

Generation	Date	1783 ...	22 yrs...	1805 ..	2 yrs..	1807 ..	10 yrs..	1817	41 yrs....	1858
2	Place	Ashford Carbonel		L.H.		Burford		L.H.		
Richard	Age	22 yrs	22 yrs	23 yrs	33 yrs	75 yrs				
	Event	m.1805	Moved (1)	Moved (2)	Moved (3)	Deceased				

Generation	Date	1820	37 yrs.....	1857 ...	5 yrs...	1862	21 yrs.....	1883
3	Place	Little Hereford		Leintwardine L.H.		Ashford Carbonel		
Joseph	Age	32 yrs	37 yrs	42 yrs		63 yrs		
	Event	Married (1)		Married (2)		Moved		Deceased

Generation	Date	1872 32 yrs.... 1904 c 12 yrs.... 1916 C 36 yrs..... 1952
4	Place	Ashford Carbonel Weston Rhyn Selattyn
Mary Jane	Age	32 yrs c 44 yrs 80 yrs
	Event	Married/Moved (1) Moved (2) Deceased

Generation	Date	1916 ...22 yrs... 1938 ..4yrs.. 1942 ..6yrs. 1950/1952 48yrs..... 2004
5	Place	Selattyn Oundle Oswestry Shrewsbury Market Drayton Birmingham Colwyn Bay
Enid	Age	22 yrs 26 yrs 34-36 yrs 88 yrs
	Event	Moved(1) Moved (2) Moves(3+) Deceased

Generation	Date	1950 ..2 yrs .. 1952 17 yrs 1969 1978to date
6	Place	Shrewsbury etc Market Drayton Hitchen Bristol
Christopher	Age	2 yrs 19 yrs 28 yrs
	Event	Moves by Mother Education Move Work

Table 8.3 The Bennett Family: Generation by Generation

The third generation shows yet a different pattern. Joseph married later at age thirty two years in Little Hereford but this marriage lasted only two years when his wife died. He appeared to remarry almost immediately, in 1857, in Leintwardine the parish of his new wife. They lived in Little Hereford where the first two children were born. Joseph was forty two when the family moved to Ashford Carbonel, the birthplace of his father and grandfather, a type of return migration. Here he had five more children. The last of these was Mary Jane who was born when Joseph was fifty two years of age and his wife forty five. Joseph died in 1883 at a time of significant change. His life had straddled the period of high farming and into the period of competition, the coming of the railway and the beginning of population loss.

The fourth generation of Bennetts is represented by the seventh and last child of Joseph, a daughter, Mary Jane known as ‘Polly’, and so the life cycle moves here through the female line. Polly was thirty two years old when she married John Lloyd in Ashford Carbonel. He was from Denbighshire and how they came to meet is unknown but their first child was born in the year of their marriage in Weston Rhyn, about 25 miles north west of Shrewsbury. They had six children over a twelve year period and in about 1916 they had moved to Selattyn, about two miles south of Weston Rhyn. They both died in Selattyn in the early 1950s. Their lifetime had cut

across the great urbanisation movement of the late 19th and early 20th centuries but it appeared not to have changed their lives. Polly exchanged one rural environment for another. Their last child was Enid, born in Selattyn in 1916 and it is through her that the branch continued.


According to her son, Christopher Davies, Enid worked in hotels as a young person, and so this evidence does not entirely rely on family trees and in consequence there is more evidence available than for previous generations. At the age of twenty two, Enid was working in Oundle and four years later, in 1942, was in Oswestry nearer to home. This confirms other findings about the longer distance moves made by single females in the early part of their working lives (Pooley and Turnbull 1998). Although Enid married during the Second World War this marriage broke up but in 1950 she had an illegitimate son, Christopher, in Shrewsbury at the age of 34 years. In an effort to support her son and also find accommodation she moved first to Birmingham and then to Colwyn Bay before settling in Market Drayton in 1952. Market Drayton is a market town some 25 miles north east of Shrewsbury so Enid was returning essentially to the same region, though not neighbourhood, as her parents. There is evidence too that her older sister and brother-in-law had also lived there and Christopher completed his schooling in Market Drayton and Enid remained there until she died in Telford Hospital in 2004, aged 78. In 1969 Christopher at the age of nineteen went into higher education and moved to Hitchin in Hertfordshire. He married in 1975 and three years later moved to work in Bristol at the age of 28. He remains in Bristol.

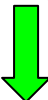
The evidence of the relationship between migration and family life cycle as presented in the previous chapter is not strong. In Chapter 7 the conclusion was that families moved when the head of household was between thirty and sixty years of age and that the movement was mainly local. The description above simply bears out criticisms of family life cycle models as being too inflexible (Warnes 1992). Of course the data here, certainly before the 20th century, show nothing of the pre marriage movements. Thereafter there is some relationship to the time of marriage but there was also movements when there are young children. This at least is consistent with previous findings where it was shown that the majority of families moving were nuclear with young children.

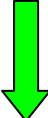
During the 20th century other factors, for example, movement after marriage to a partners home area and, thereafter, the establishment as another core family in an alternative location. There is also the movement of a single woman and later a single parent and finally the introduction of movement for education. It may be that the most potent factor is that of scale where the life cycle concept fails to offer understanding both at the meso level and certainly at the micro level. It may be a concept best suited to macro analyses with large data sets aimed at general understanding of pattern.

Thus far the analysis of the migratory behaviour of the Bennetts has been episodic based upon generations, it now looks at the spatial movement from a longitudinal perspective. This inevitably involves a degree of repetition since the same family is under investigation but this time with movement as the main focus.

In Table 8.4 the chronology of the moves of the Bennett family is indicated together with the dates of birth and death of the head of household.

<p><u>BENNETT FAMILY</u></p> 	<p>Unlike the Maunds and Rowburys who were core families from at least the 18th century nothing is known of the Bennett family before the birth of Gregory in 1748 in Ashford Carbonel. He died in LH and his fourth child John was born there in 1786. The line goes through first son Richard, below.</p>
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<p>Richard & Mary C1783 1856</p> 	<p>Richard was born in Ashford Carbonel and went to Burford by 1807 where 4 children were born, then to LH between 1816 and 1820 where his fifth child Joseph was born. Subsequently 2 others were born there. Richard died in LH in 1858.</p>
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<p>Joseph & Elizabeth 1820 1883</p> 	<p>They were married in Leintwardine where Elizabeth was born. Their first 2 children born in LH. Then 5 more in Ashford Carbonel from 1862. The last, Mary Jane, in 1872 through whom the line now goes. Others of the family remained in Bedlam Row and were still there in 1901.</p>
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<p>Mary Jane (Polly) & John Lloyd 1872 1952</p> <p style="text-align: center;">↓</p>	<p>The line now passes through the female line. 'Polly' married and moved to the Wrexham area. She had 6 children variously at Weston Rhyn, Shrewsbury and Telford where in 1916 Enid was born.</p>
--	--

<p>Enid 1916 2004</p> <p style="text-align: center;">↓</p>	<p>Although Enid married during the war there were no children but after a marriage break up she had a son, Christopher, in 1950. Enid prior to this had moved between the Borders, Birmingham and Oundle working. After the birth they settled in Market Drayton.</p>
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<p>Christopher Davies & Wendy 1950</p> <p style="text-align: center;">↓</p>	<p>Christopher moved to Hitchen where he married in 1975. Then to Bristol where in 1984 the first of 2 children were born. They currently live there.</p>
--	---

Table 8.4 The Bennett Branch

The early family tree, Figure 8.6, shows something of the problem of using such data. Certainly Gregory and Mary Bennett died in Little Hereford in Bedlam Row. This information will have been obtained from the Burial Register but when did they arrive there? Their first three children were born in Ashford Carbonel but the fourth, John, in Little Hereford, so somewhere between the birth of Margaret in 1785 and John in 1786 they arrived in Little Hereford. There were three other children born later than 1796 not shown here. In total, they had 12 children born between 1781 and 1804.

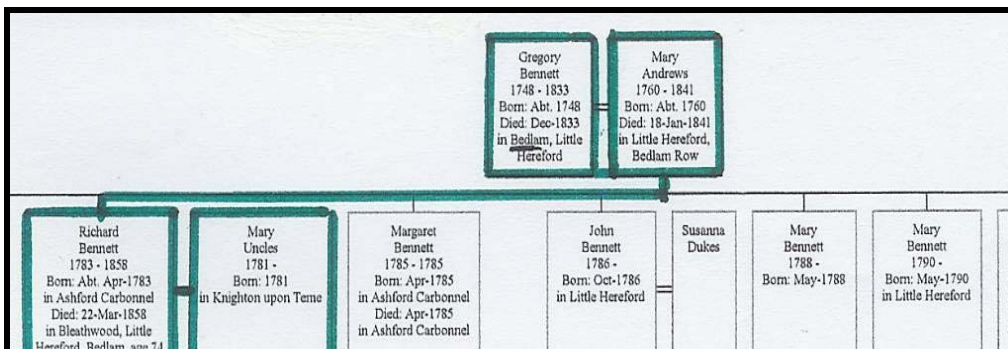


Figure 8.6 Bennett Family Tree (1)

This size of family was not unusual for the late 18th, early 19th century and they will not all have lived at home simultaneously as discussed in Chapter 5.

Richard Bennett, son of Gregory and Mary, shown in Figure 8.7, although born in Ashford Carbonel raised his children and died in Little Hereford. One of his seven children, born in Little Hereford between 1807 and 1826, was Joseph Bennett who also had seven children between 1858 and 1872 (Figure 8.8).

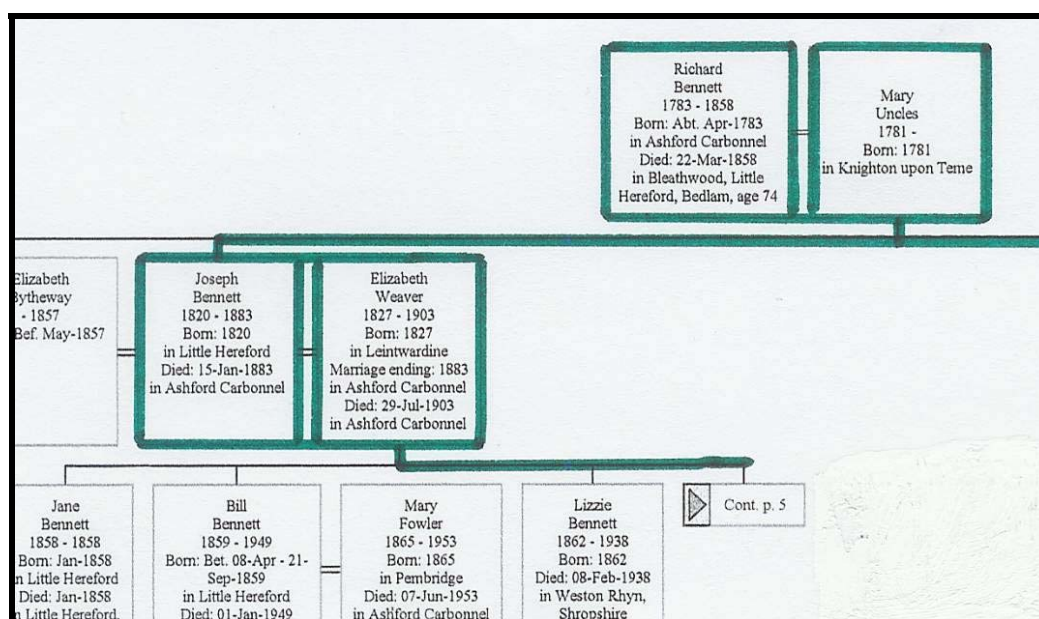


Figure 8.7 Bennett Family Tree (2)

These fragments of family tree show this line of descent but also show from the birthplace of Joseph's children the uncertainty of when this branch moved from Little Hereford back to Ashford Carbonel.

Certainly Jane and Bill were born in Little Hereford (Figure 8.7) and from other sources it is known that Lizzie was born in Ashford Carbonel in 1862. The family moved sometime between the birth of Bill, 1859, and Lizzie 1862. The line followed for this study is through Polly, born in Ashford Carbonel in 1872 (Figure 8.8). She was a direct ancestor of Chris Davies, the source of these data, and she died in 1952 in North Wales. This of course is only one branch of the descendents of Gregory and generally they remained in the neighbourhood. Three died outside the area, Lizzie in Weston Rhyn near the northwest Shropshire border with Wales, George in Llandeilo and Jim in Pontypridd.

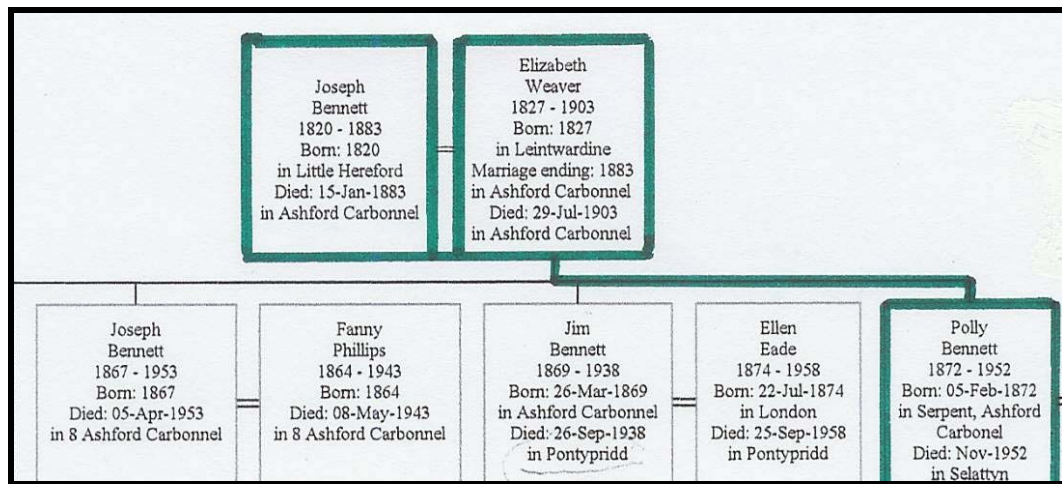


Figure 8.8 Bennett Family Tree(3)

Lizzie was ten years older than Polly but they both died in the same locality, Lizzie in 1938 and Polly in 1952. There may well be family reasons why they both lived in this locality, in north Shropshire, so far from their place of origin presumably quite close to the neighbourhood from which John Lloyd came. Certainly their first and last children, John and Enid, were born there.

This level of detail has been given to illustrate the dispersal of families and also the immense complexity of family trees and the difficulties with using them as a device for tracking movement. Thus far in the analysis Polly is the fourth generation from Gregory. She married John Lloyd of Denbighshire in Ashford Carbonel in 1904. How she came to meet him is not known. They had six children all born in north Shropshire as far as the information is able to go,

The migration path of the branch followed is a complex one and an attempt to show this is given in Figure 8.9. This is an adaptation of an idea by Knowles (1995) and is intended to show the migration path and to illustrate both the time and spatial dimension of the movements of the core families. This takes the form of a graph with place on the vertical axis and time on the horizontal axis. Thus the vertical axis shows a variety of locations each and increasing distance from the Prime Parish, Little Hereford. The neighbourhood area (NA) is shown followed by an area immediately adjacent to it. The study area is the Region of the Mid Borderland.

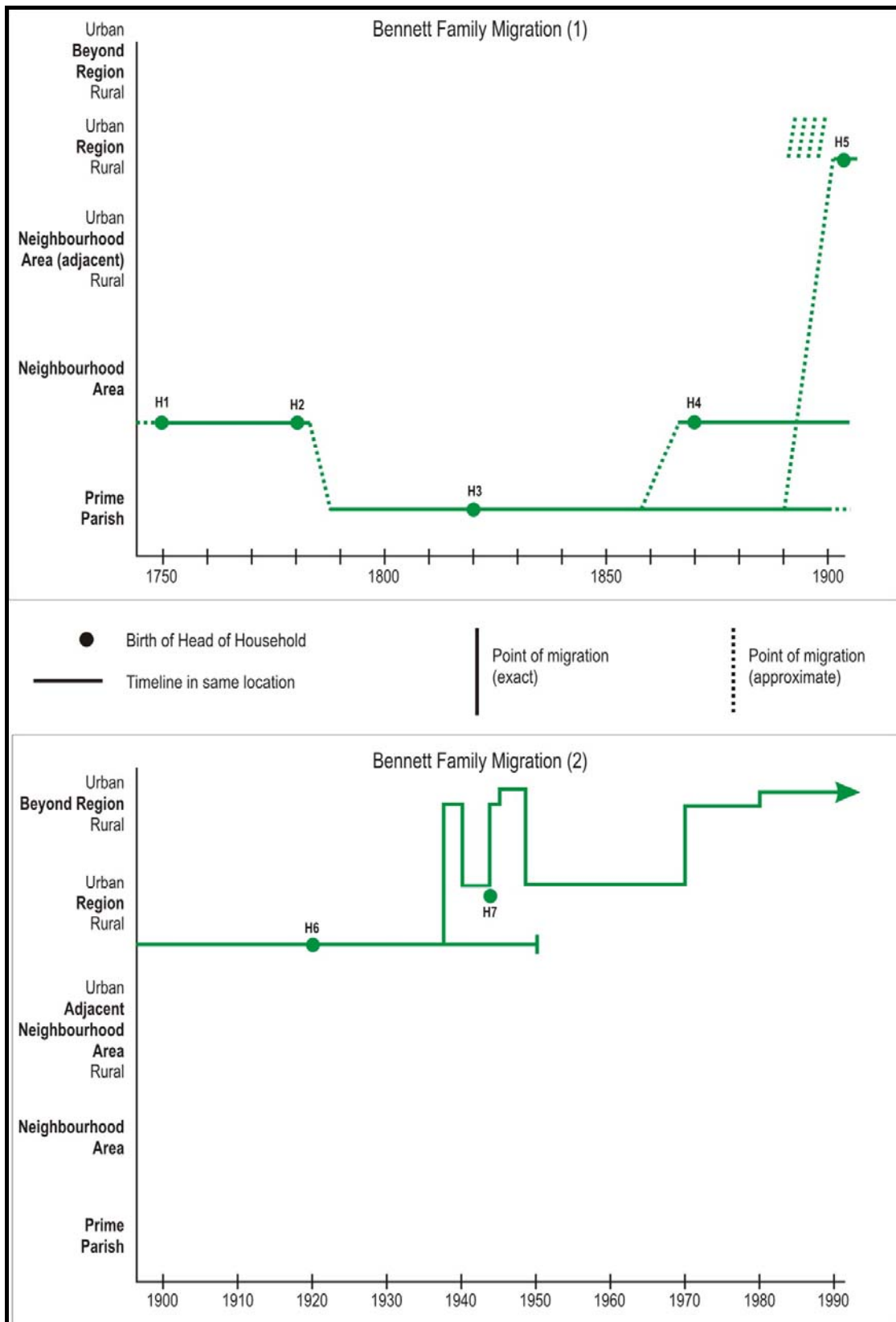


Figure 8.9 The Migration Path of the Bennett Family

These can be read in conjunction with family trees from which they are devised. Each is colour coded according to family but the essential information is given in the key and text below.



For each core family a plot is made showing their location at any one time and the point of migration, when it can be determined. The dashed line indicates an approximate date of removal. Bennett (1) shows the point of leaving Little Hereford for the adjacent Ashford Carbonel about 1850. They thus remained in the neighbourhood. Bennett (2) shows the point of leaving the neighbourhood around 1890 for a rural area also in the Mid Borderland and a branch going off to South Wales, eventually to Pontypool and to Pontypridd at some point in the late 19th century. This fits the general pattern of national migration in that it is a move to an urban industrial area and at the time of rural depopulation and urban growth. However, this is to fall into the trap of offering general process to explain particular cases. Chris Davies has a rather different, though speculative, explanation. He maintains that Lizzie, his great aunt, was a person of some forcefulness and presence with a determination that influenced others. At one point she went to the Swansea area in service and it was likely that it was from here that she influenced her brother George to go to Llandeilo and Jim to Pontypridd. This cannot now be substantiated but it will have been part of the family lore. Polly, grandmother to Chris Davies, will certainly have known her Aunt Lizzie since they died in the same area, and such a story was no doubt passed down. This is not to argue however that individual decisions conflict with macro forces indeed it suggests that they were influenced by them. It also fits with an aspect of migration process that maintains that people migrate to places where there is not only information but also family contact. This suggests a form of chain migration where there is information feed back from previous migrants. This feature is discussed by Baines (1985) in the context of migration to North America and reiterated by Pooley and Turnbull (1998). So, there appears to be a distinctive pattern to these moves but informed by personal decision.

Moves to form a new household and for work fit one of the categories of migration identified by Rossi (1955). These though are generalised reasons and little can be seen of the individual decision in terms of either choice or constraint.

For Enid Lloyd, as a single parent family, needed to support her son and this would certainly have informed her choices. In their work on classification of families used in this study as the basis for the data retrieval schedule in Chapter 7, Coleman and Salt (1992) make the point about the changing nature of the family unit. The life course of the single parent, Enid Lloyd, illustrates the consequences for spatial patterns that such changes may bring. But in terms of the general pattern of movement her return to the region has to be noted and indeed the earlier return of her ancestors to the home parish of Ashford Carbonel and the possible influence of family contact. There were moves to urban locations for work and a settled period in a market town. A move to a major urban location does not occur till 1979. Above all they were clearly a core family in relation to the Region. However the migration characteristics shown by this family are returned to later as part of the summary of the movements of core families.

8.4.3 The Rowburys

In order to bring the movement of the Rowbury family up to the present the branch to be traced needed careful selection because so many branches died out without issue. There is also the matter of the need to simplify a highly complex and detailed family tree. The data comes from Polly Rubery who collects data on all who bear the name Rowbury or its derivatives. It is a major one name study which now bears only marginal relationship to her own family. The motives for collection then are different from a desire to seek ones immediate origins.

The origins of the name is of some interest for according to Polly Rubery's discussion with Margaret Gelling it derives from the Celtic, 'Rough Hill'² and is related to the farm, Rowbury Court, which is in the parish of Bodenham (Chapter 5). The interest is furthered by the fact that this area is in the territory of Maund (from the Celtic 'Magene') to be discussed later in connection with the Maund family (chapter 9). The two names therefore, according to this reasoning, derive from the same locality to the

² Report of conversation held between Margaret Gelling and Polly Rubery. Some of the problems with place name evidence are discussed in Chapter 9.

south of the neighbourhood of Little Hereford. How they came to be ascribed to people as surnames is another issue which is discussed later but it does indicate that ancient names of places also have a role in the investigation of migration.

The Rowbury family, as indicated earlier, have been traced back to Thornbury, immediately outside the extended neighbourhood (Figure 8.2) in 1550. Because of the availability of such early records the Rowburys have thirteen generations whose movements can be traced, a period of about 450 years (Table 8.5). A similar procedure to that of the Bennetts is now followed with, first, an examination of the thirteen generations. Unlike the family trees of the Bennetts and the Maunds, the level of detail in the Rowbury tree diminishes in the last two generations (Table 8.5). Here there is no first hand oral evidence available and reliance is placed entirely upon the data provided. This is perhaps another variable to be considered when using family trees as research data.

Generation	Date	1550..... 5 Generations... at least 230 yrs..... c1791
1 - 5	Place	Thornbury
	Age	
	Event	One branch in 3 rd Gen Bockleton c1615; One branch 4 th Gen to Tenbury c1650

Generation	Date	1759..... 1791..... .1813.....1819.....1826
6	Place	Thornbury Greet Burford LH
John	Age	25 yrs 67 yrs
	Event	m1784 Moved(1) Moved(2) Moved(3) D'ceased

Generation	Date	1787.....1791.....1809.....1837
7	Place	Thornbury Greet Little Hereford
John	Age	21 yrs 50 yrs
	Event	m1809 Moved 7 Children Deceased

Generation	Date	1826.....1899
8	Place	Little Hereford
Edward	Age	25 yrs 73 yrs
	Event	m 1851 7 Children Deceased

Generation	Date	1866.....1890.....1935?.....1942
9	Place	Little Hereford Tenbury Ludlow
James	Age	23 yrs Moved(1) 76 yrs
	Event	m1889 6 Children Deceased

Generation	Date	1890.....1913....1915..... ?
10	Place	Tenbury Cleo Mort. Aston RD
Ada	Age	23 yrs 25 yrs
	Event	b.son m1915

Generation	Date	1913.....1940.....1970
11	Place	Cleobury Mortimer Kidderminster
Stanley	Age	27 yrs 57 yrs
	Event	M1940 Deceased

Generation	Date	1945.....to date
12	Place	Kidderminster
Margaret	Age	24 yrs
	Event	Son born 1969

Generation	Date	1969.....1992.....to date
13	Place	Kidderminster
Stewart	Age	23 yrs
	Event	m1992

Table 8.5 The Rowbury Family Generation by Generation

The Rowburys were resident in Thornbury, on the edge of the neighbourhood of Little Hereford, for at least 230 years from 1540 and probably longer (Figure 8.5). Anything that can be said about their residence there can only be conjecture from known national circumstance but it was certainly an era of low migration. Two branches of Rowburys moved during this period but only short distance to Bockleton in about 1616 and the other to Tenbury around 1660. Both of these are in the neighbourhood of Thornbury.

The Bockleton movement seems to have been permanent because second generation William married a woman from Bockleton and their three children were born there. The Tenbury move was temporary for one child in the third generation was born there before the family returned to have six more children in Thornbury. This is effectively rural circulation within a neighbourhood.

Sixth generation, John and Mary, were married in Tenbury and had three children in Thornbury before they moved some seven miles to Greete, in about 1791, a parish adjacent to Little Hereford. At the time of the move the three children were young: aged six, three and two years. In Greete six more children were born, the last in 1806 when John was 47 years old.

There was no clear record after this date but other sources from Polly Rubery's documented evidence indicated that John moved around 1813, to Burford, adjacent to Greete and then in 1819 to Little Hereford, possibly to live in Bedlam Row with the family of his son, John. He died in Bedlam Row in 1826 aged 67 years. This profile suggests an interesting life cycle.


Age	Date	Event	Location	Children's Ages
	1759	Birth	Thornbury	
25	1784	Marriage	Thornbury	
26	1785	Birth	Thornbury	Died
28	1787	Birth	Thornbury	
30	1789	Birth	Thornbury	2;
33	1792	Birth	Greete	5;3
35	1794	Birth	Greete	7;5;2
39	1798	Birth	Greete	11;9;6;4
41	1800	Birth	Greete	13;11;8;6;2
44	1803	Birth	Greete	16;14;12;9;5
47	1806	Birth	Greete	19;17;15;12;8. Died.
54	1813	Moved	Burford	26;24;22;19;15
60	1819	Moved	L. Hereford	32;30;28;25;21
67	1826	Death	L. Hereford	39;37;35;32;28


Table 8.6 Life Cycle: John Rowbury Senior

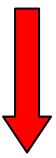
Table 8.6 together with the colour coding is an attempt to show the life cycle utilising information about way of life detailed in Chapter 5 and also the structure of the schedule used in Chapter 7. Thus for John and Mary Rowbury there was a short period after marriage where both partners may have been working and, therefore, the family income was relatively good; at this point John was a young man in his mid thirties. This was followed by the birth of five children over the next seven years and, since one of these died, leaving four dependent children in the household. The family

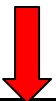
remained in Thornbury until after the birth of the third child. By the birth of the fourth child they had moved to Greete, but by now two of the children were more than nine years old and may well have been living-in on a farm. If these assumptions are correct then it would mean that about three children were at home at any one time. The period between about 1790 and 1806 may well have been the period of greatest financial stress. Just one move was made at this period. The move to Burford in about 1813 was probably at a time when all the children had left home but why this move was undertaken can only be imagined. However, the move to Little Hereford about 1819 may well have been to do with age and infirmity because John moved to live with his eldest son John who was now married and living in Bedlam Row.

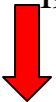
John Rowbury (Generation 7) moved with his parents to Greet before he was five (Table 8.5). How long he stayed there is not known; he would have been eleven in 1798 and almost certainly would have left home by then. Sometime between then and 1809 he met and married Elizabeth Roberts of Bedlam Row, Little Hereford. Of course Greete and Little Hereford were adjacent parishes so such a meeting was perhaps inevitable. Elizabeth's family had almost certainly been resident in Bedlam since the cottages were erected in the second half of the 18th century and, according to the 1846 Tithe Survey, she and John occupied the cottage at the extreme western end of the row nearest to the detached gardens. They had eight children there although John died aged 50 in 1837 four years before the 1841 CEB. It is from these children that the family disperses and almost dies out. The line from the eldest son, William moves to Uttoxeter and dies out there in 1896. The sequence of the line followed is shown in Table 8.7.

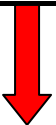
<p>ROWBURY FAMILY</p> 	<p>The Rowburys have been traced from c1550 in Thornbury, just beyond the extended Neighbourhood to the south east. There were at least 6 generations there. John was born here in 1759 and married in 1784.</p>
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<p>John & Mary 1759 ??</p> 	<p>John and Mary had 3 children whilst still in Thornbury. One of these was John in 1787. By 1792 they were in Greete immediately east of LH where 6 more children were born</p>
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<p>John & Elizabeth 1787 1837</p> 	<p>John married Elizabeth Roberts whose family were already in LH probably in Bedlam Row. They had 8 children there. William married and brought up a family in LH. His line dies out in next generation but it reaches Uttoxeter. Richard too has children and his line is currently in Leicestershire. Youngest son Edward marries Ann Mound and has 6 children in LH.</p>
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<p>Edward & Ann 1826 1899</p> 	<p>Edward became a stone mason and was responsible for the building of two houses in LH one of which he lived in. Only James of the 6 children had offspring.</p>
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<p>James & Mary 1866 1942</p> 	<p>James was a successful carpenter and wheelwright who lived in a 'good' house in LH. He had 6 children and the line through Vincent died out in Ludlow. Ada continues the line.</p>
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<p>Ada 1890</p> 	<p>Ada marries in 1915 but 2 years before she gave birth to an illegitimate son, Stanley. This was in Cleobury Mortimer. Ada's marriage produces no children.</p>
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<p>Stanley & Alice 1913 1970</p> 	<p>Stanley marries Alice in Kidderminster when he is 27. His 2 children are born there and he is buried there too.</p>
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<p>1941 Bernard 1945 Margaret</p> 	<p>Bernard only has step children, born in Bromsgrove. Margaret has 3 illegitimate children born in Kidderminster. Two of them marry and have children born in Bromsgrove Stourbridge.</p>
---	--

Table 8.7 The Rowbury Branch

The line through John dies in Ludlow in 1896; that of Hannah in 1842 in Little Hereford; Richard had two wives which produced three further generations one of which died out in Leicestershire in 1879 and the other two in Ludlow in 1895. It was

the last child of John and Elizabeth, Edward, who carried the line forward to the present (Figure 8.10).

The generation (8) (Table 8.5) produced by John and Elizabeth is interesting, not so much because of life cycle, but because of a break in the way of life despite the poverty of their parents. In 1851 Elizabeth was still living in Bedlam Row but on parish relief. In 1841 she was 60 years old and a widow of four years living in Bedlam Row with a daughter and youngest son Edward. Her life had been a familiar one up to this point. Married at the age of 27 and five years older than her husband, she had eight children and was then widowed. She stayed in Bedlam until after 1851 but in 1861 she lived with Edward, her youngest son, who was a mason and lived in Stoke Row. Interestingly, two of the four houses in this row were built by Edward. Thus, the son of a labourer becomes a skilled craftsman and a property owner illustrating that even in the quite strict social-economic hierarchy of the day some upward social mobility was possible and with a rather different way of life. The life cycle is changed by a change in way of life. Edward had six children, two of whom became skilled men and property owners. One of these was James, the youngest, and it is he, out of nineteen in that generation, who is the only one to carry the line forward (Generation 9).

The level of information about Generations 11, 12 and 13 is not so great as for some of the previous ones but they are the generations which move to urban areas. It is from this point that a family which had inhabited the neighbourhood for 10 generations over 450 years begins to move significantly away. What they do and how they came to make the moves is obscure. These generations descend from Ada (Generation 10). Her father, James (Generation 9), had six children between 1890 and 1898 two of whom died at birth or shortly afterwards. One other child, Vincent, married and had three children for whom there is no record after 1950. Ada was James oldest child, born 1890, and she had an illegitimate son, Stanley, in 1913 who continued the line (Generation 11). It is from Ada that the family line begins to move away from the neighbourhood of Little Hereford which they had inhabited for at least ten generations (Table 8.5).

Something of the complexity of this tree is shown in Figure 8.10. This shows, Edward (Generation 8), the last child of John junior and Elizabeth to have had six children and it is from the last of these, James, that the line through Ada continues. As

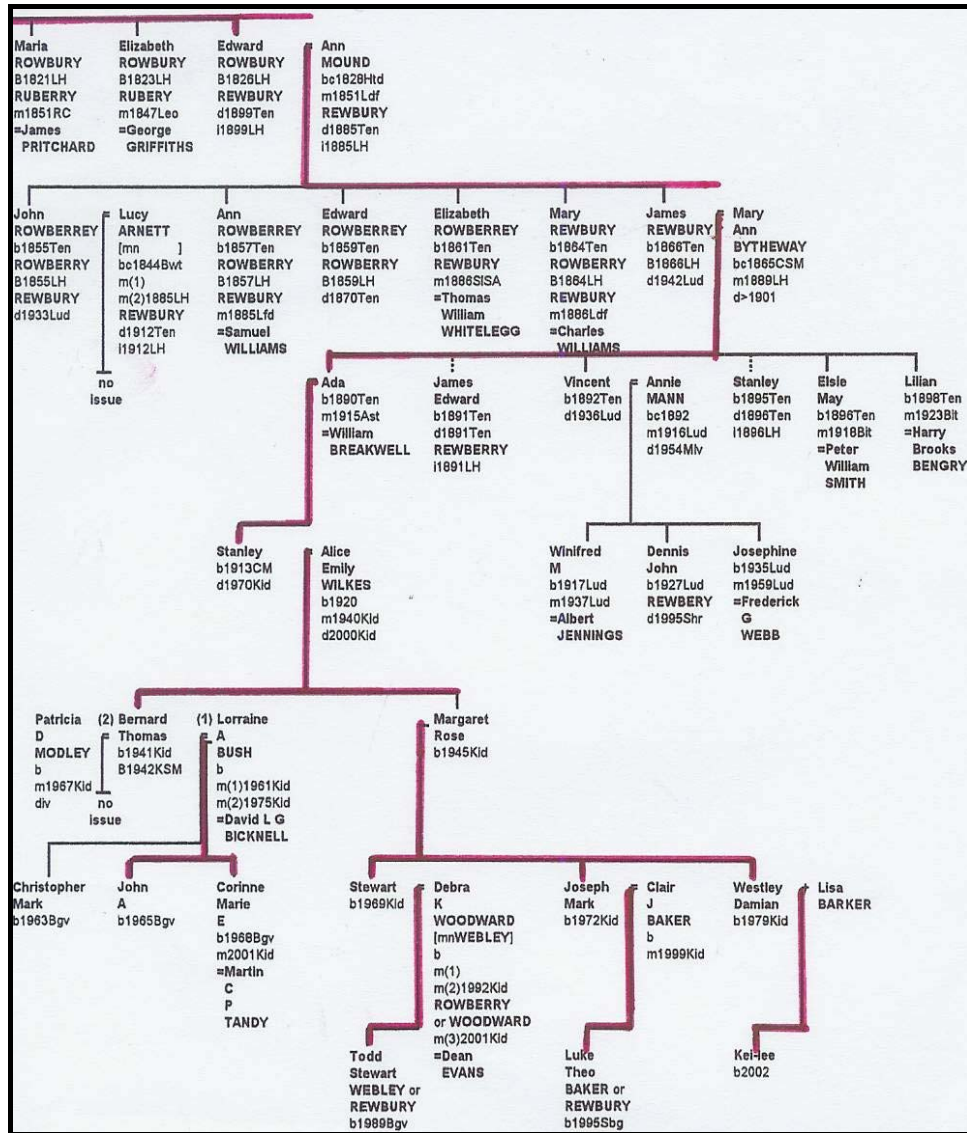


Figure 8.10 The Family of John Rowbury (2)

Figure 8.10 indicates Ada's son Stanley was born out of wedlock in Cleobury Mortimer in 1913. He married in Kidderminster in 1940 and died there in 1970. It is not known when he moved to Kidderminster but it was sometime between 1913 and 1940. His two children were born in Kidderminster as were three of his grandchildren, three others were born in nearby Bromsgrove and two great grandchildren in Stourbridge. So, a family which came from Thornbury in the 16th century, moved in stages to Greete, to Little Hereford, to Cleobury Mortimer, Kidderminster,

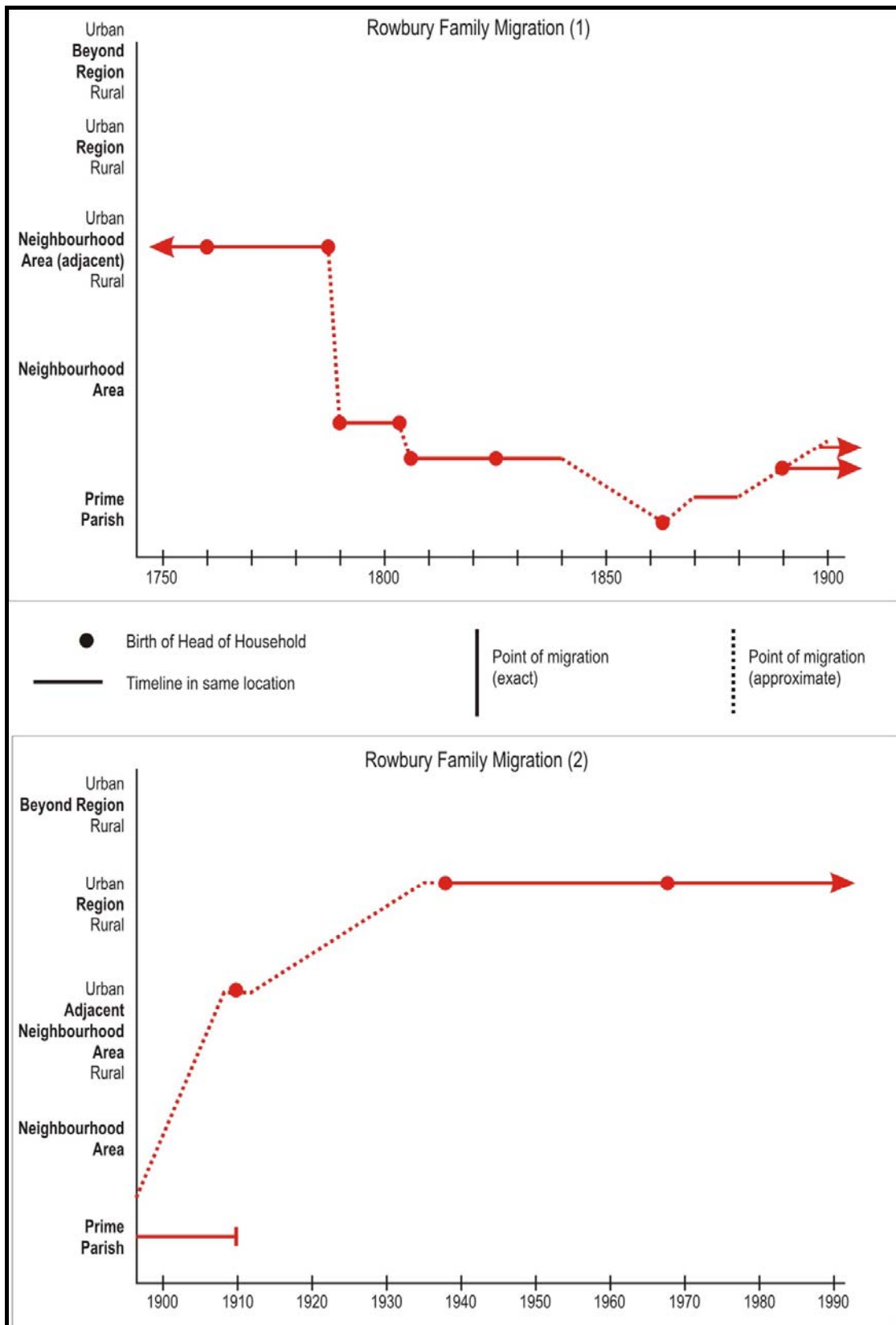


Figure 8.11 Migration Path of the Rowbury Family

Bromsgrove and Stourbridge. In the process all other lines died out and the name Rowbury was lost. But this family did not move far from the Region in contrast to the Bennetts. These latter generations show moves up the urban hierarchy. Stanley was born in a small market town and then moved to the larger industrial town of Kidderminster, itself a part of the Black Country conurbation. Thus, in contrast to the Bennetts, evidence of moves to the town came earlier among the Rowburys.

The moves are illustrated in Figure 8.11. The upper graph shows the moves from adjacent neighbourhood (Thornbury) to Greete but the precise date is unknown so an approximation was indicated by means of the dotted line. The large dots indicate the birth of the head of household because the study is centred on nuclear family migration. The two parallel lines to the right of the graph indicate both the family that remained in Little Hereford and the one that left to carry the family forward. On the lower graph the family moved away from the Neighbourhood to an adjacent urban area (Cleobury Mortimer) and then to an urban area still in the region (Kidderminster). It should perhaps be mentioned that the Rowbury family appear to fulfil the pattern of a move from the countryside to the town and in their case from a small town to larger industrial town in a step like sequence and broadly in the direction of the regional centre.

What is not known is the motives and imperatives which underpin these movements. Pooley and Turnbull (1998 p98) maintain that most moves were made to similar places and movement up or down the hierarchy was the exception. Equally there is evidence both with the Bennetts and the Rowburys of the urbanisation process but none of counterurbanisation. This analysis, although showing some conformity with macro forces at the micro level still lacks the detail that might develop the understanding of migration; it can show the movement and the approximate time but not the process that underpins it. It also, like the Bennett family, shows only the movement of one branch of the family.

8.4.5 The Maunds

The third family to be investigated is the Maunds. For this family there is some direct oral evidence available which helps to explain some of the 20th century movement, and, therefore, a greater level of detail exists, much of which is used in the next

Chapter. Here, for the most part, a similar approach to that of the other two families is followed. In terms of life cycle one of the more interesting ones is that of Thomas Maund and this will be examined at the appropriate point in the sequence.

Generation	Date	C1640..... 4 Generations... at least 140 yrs..... c1783
1 - 4	Place	Brimfield
	Age	
	Event	

Generation	Date	1757..... 1783.....1838
5	Place	Brimfield Little Hereford
William	Age	22 yrs 26 years 81 yrs
	Event	m1779 Moved1783 Deceased

Generation	Date	1802.....18??
6	Place	Little Hereford
George	Age	21 yrs
	Event	8 Children Deceased

Generation	Date	1827.....1902
7	Place	Little Hereford
John	Age	28 yrs 73 yrs
	Event	m 1855 10 Children Deceased

Generation	Date	1865.....1887.....c1906....1954
8	Place	L.Hereford A.Carb Kings Norton many moves across Borderland. Settled B'ham
Thomas	Age	22 yrs 41 yrs 89 yrs
	Event	Birth m.1887 Move (1)1889 x many 9 Children D'ceased

Generation	Date	1890.....1911.....1931.....1945.....1966
9	Place	Kings Norton Harborne B.Green Herefordshire
Thomas E.	Age	Born 21 yrs 41 yrs 56 yrs 76 yrs
	Event	Many moves across Borderland married 5 children Move Died

Generation	Date	1913/1915/1917/1919/.....1936
10	Place	Birmingham return to Herefordshire see Ch 9.
Brenda/Ken/Fred/Bob/David	Age	
	Event	

Generation	Date	1940.....to date
11	Place	Various See Chapter 9
	Age	
	Event	

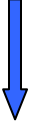
Generation	Date	From c 1962.....to date
12	Place	Widespread
	Age	
	Event	

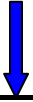
Table 8.8 The Maund Family Generation by Generation

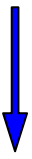
Table 8.8 follows broadly the same pattern as for the other two families but for the later generations the detail is omitted and dealt with differently later in this section. This is because this form of diagram is unsuited to the amount of detail available from oral and biographical sources. However it can be seen that the first record of the family is in Brimfield an adjacent parish to Little Hereford (Generation 1-4). About 1783 William and Hannah Maund (Generation 5) moved to Bedlam Row from Brimfield with their three children and five more were to be born in Bedlam, the last of whom was George in 1802. Previous to William and Hannah there were at least four generations of this family of Maunds resident in Brimfield. Before the original family of Richard, born in 1654, the records are fragmentary and assumed to be destroyed during or in the aftermath of the Civil War.

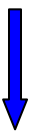
It is not known precisely where the Maund family lived in Brimfield or why they moved to Little Hereford. The distance from Brimfield is slight, perhaps a mile. What contacts there were which led them to Bedlam can not be known, Bleathwood Common was seventeen years away from enclosure so it could not have been a demand for labour. It is conceivable that they built their own house and they certainly had an additional detached garden, an extremely valuable asset. The sequence of the generations is shown in Tables 8.8 and 8.9 but their youngest child George took over the house and is recorded as the Head of Household in the CEB for 1841, married to Fanny and with five children, including John then aged 13. George's mother, Hannah, had died the previous year and father William in 1838. Fanny came from Diddlebury about 10 miles to the north. George was a drainer so he may well have met her in the course of his work. In all George and Fanny had eight children and the

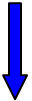
eldest son, John, appears to have inherited the house. John Maund married Emma Gwynn in 1855 and they had ten children in total, all in the cottage in Bedlam Row. Emma recorded all their births in the family bible³. In Figure 8.3 it is Emma at the gate of their cottage. John, also a drainer, died in 1902 from pneumonia and Emma in 1917 aged 88. She was the last of this family to live in Little Hereford.

<p>MAUND FAMILY C1640</p> 	<p>At least five generations of the family in Brimfield which is adjacent to LH and to the southwest. Precisely where they lived in the parish is unknown.</p>
--	---

<p>William & Hannah C1757 1838</p> 	<p>Married in Brimfield, had 3 children there. Moved c1783 to Bedlam Row. Here they had 5 more children, including George in 1802.</p>
--	---

<p>George & Fanny 1802 C1870</p> 	<p>George became a drainer and that may be how he met Fanny who was from Diddlebury about 10 miles to the north. They lived in Bedlam Row all their lives and had 8 children. The oldest boy was John who as a young person lived-in in the Parish.</p>
--	--

<p>John & Emma 1827 1902</p> 	<p>Emma came from Ross but worked in 1851 in Tenbury district. Married 1855 and lived entirely in Bedlam Row. 10 children including Thomas, in 1865, and the last in 1880, David, 'Mon'. Emma died in 1917 the last Maund in Bedlam Row.</p>
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<p>Thomas & Jane 1865 1954</p> 	<p>Thomas worked locally at first, married Jane in Ashford Carbonel in 1885. Went to Kings Norton where Thomas E. born. Traversed Borderland to Birmingham until finally settling in Birmingham c1908.</p>
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³ Now in the possession of the grandchildren of their youngest son, David Gwynn Maund.

Thomas E. 1890	& Hephzibah 1966	Married 1912, lived in High St., Harborne. 4 children born here. Moved c1932 to Bartley Green where last child born. In 1938 Fred instigated move to Herefordshire.
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1913	Brenda & Graham		First move to Herefordshire in 1946 then again in 1990.
1915	Ken & Beryl	2006	Move to Worcester 1940, Herefordshire 1950 and 1985.
1917	Fred & Kathleen	2002	Move to Herefordshire 1938.
1919	Bob & Mary	1989	Move to Herefordshire 1942.
1936	David & Irene		First move to Herefordshire 1938 then 1999.

Table 8.9 The Maund Branch

Of the children of John and Emma (Generation 7) the eldest, William, a labourer, went to nearby Leysters, in the neighbourhood of Little Hereford and about two miles away. Alice stayed at home for a long time and Peter moved to nearby Bockleton. Ernest and Frederick went to the USA, possibly in the 1890s, and were part of the great emigration described by Baines (1985) and covered in Chapter 5. (They are not in the list of Ellis Island landings so the family legend of them jumping ship in San Francisco may bear some truth. Louisa died in her teens, Clara married and went to Willenhall in Staffordshire and Rosa also married and went to Ludlow. The presence of Clara in Willenhall may explain one of the later moves of Thomas.

The last child, David, known as 'Mon', was born in 1880. He is very important in the later migration of the family of his brother Thomas (Generation 8) and this is part of the substance of Chapter 9. He was a man of enterprise and adventure. He lied about his age to go to the Boer War and after it was over he went to the US and met up with his brothers. He did well as a cowboy and breaker of horses, sent for his fiancée, Louise, and married her in Boston. His first child, Hazel, was born there and he intended to stay in the USA. Contact was maintained with his mother via letter and as she grew old and alone in the cottage in Bedlam it put more and more pressure on her youngest son to come home and sometime after 1909 he did so and bought a farm at Bircher Common just outside the neighbourhood.⁴

⁴ Oral evidence from Bill Maund, elder son of David, on audio tape 1995.

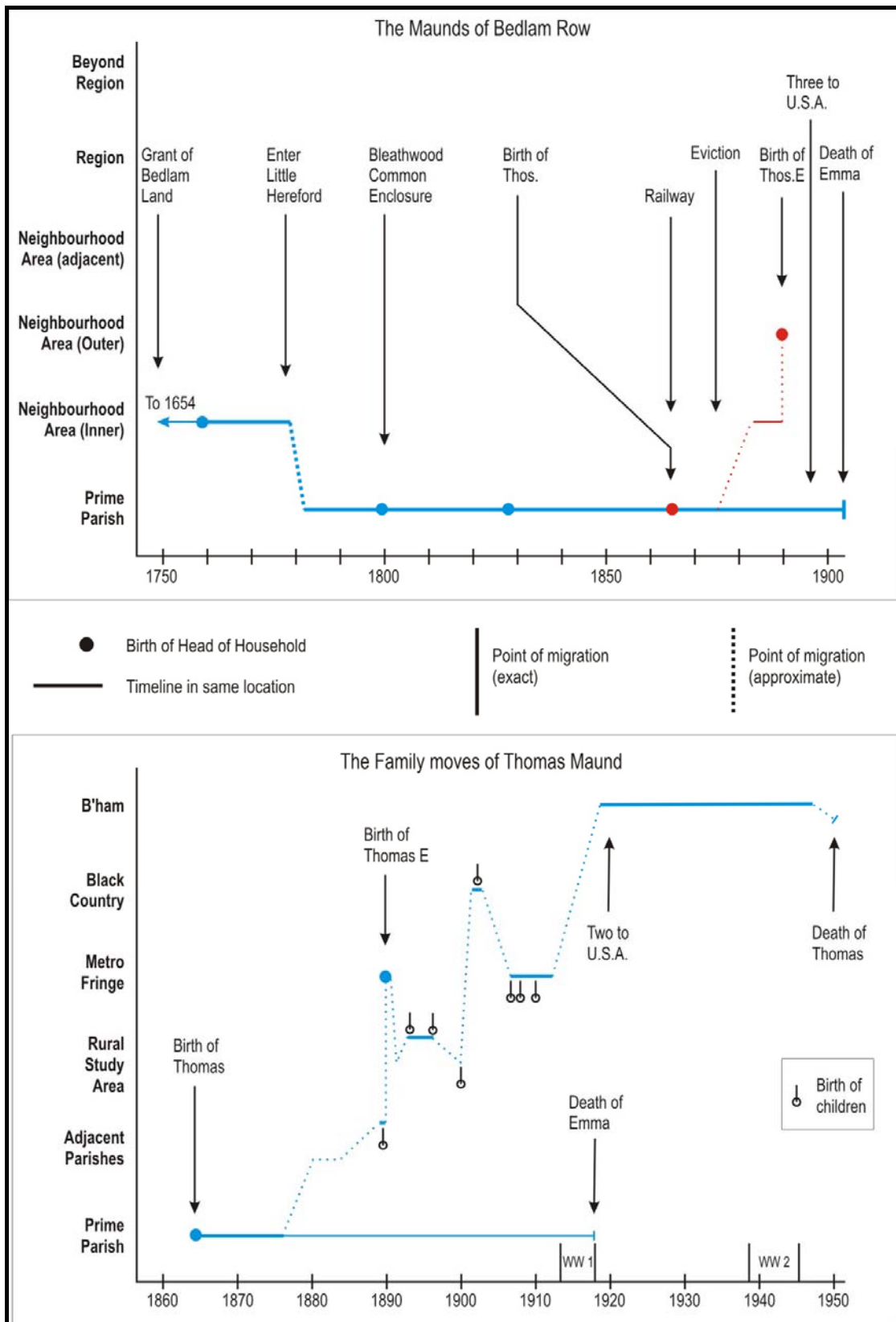


Figure 8.12 The Migration Path of the Maund Family

These circumstances had important repercussions for the family of Thomas Ernest, his nephew, which will be taken up in the next chapter.

The third son of John and Emma was Thomas born in 1865 (Generation 8). It is his migration path that makes the extraordinary pattern in Figure 8.12. Although this figure shows something of the moves that traverse between the Borderland and the Greater Birmingham area they are more easily demonstrated in Table 8.10. On the face of it this does seem a quite extraordinary traversing of the West Midlands and Borderland. Between about 1890 and 1901 the family appears to move three times eastward and twice westward so the permanent move took over 10 years. This will be returned to below. In some ways this is similar to the moves of the Bennetts but in that instance the moves came sixty years later and were made by a person on her own, for work. A more settled existence came when the child was born and of age to attend school. Fifty years previously no such inhibition appears to influence the family of Thomas Maund.

Thomas Maund started work as a farm labourer. He is identified in the 1881 CEB as living-in on a farm in neighbouring Greet. He would almost certainly have left school in Little Hereford at the age of nine, the then school leaving age at around 1874. Evidence in Chapter 5 has suggested that education was not valued highly in this area at this time so attendance may well have been spasmodic with time out for casual farm work. Under these circumstances it is doubtful whether more than the most basic rudiments of literacy and numeracy were mastered. He signed the marriage certificate with a cross as did his bride, Jane Deakin. They were married in Ashford Carbonel where their first child, Alice, was born in 1887. Thomas specialised in some of the skills of the farm worker, he became a horseman and later deployed these rural skills in an urban environment as a coachman. This suggests a degree of ambition, enterprise and adaptability.

Why he moved, around 1889, to Kings Norton is unknown but subsequent moves may in part be explained by his temperament. He was a man prone to anger and with a quick temper who treated his wife and children selfishly. More over he was wont to leave his job if he disagreed with his employer. According to some of his grandchildren he would down tools and go, leaving wife and children behind.

If this is plausible for the time when coachmen and grooms were in demand up to and beyond the turn of the century then why did the family go where they did? Llanbadarn is in the then Radnorshire about six miles west of the Shropshire border. On the border is the village of Beguildy, birthplace of Jane Deakin his wife. In the circumstances described above this may have been the place Jane went to with her two children, Alice and Thomas Ernest, when the family left Kings Norton around 1891. From here Thomas got a job as a groom, a lowering of status, but with it went accommodation at Breezy Corner. This is speculative and inferential, but as with much family history, it is the best that can be contrived in the absence of documentary or oral evidence. It may though illustrate a feature of migration studies, the importance of relatives and contacts in the process of migration.

The precise date of Thomas's move to Knowle, or whether there were intervening moves, is not known, nor indeed the reason why they went there. Knowle and Kings Norton are a maximum of eight miles apart; it was certainly a return to a familiar area. What is certain is that Thomas Ernest, by his own testimony, went to school in Knowle.

In 1899 Frederick was born in Aston Munslow in Shropshire some twelve miles north of Little Hereford. It is also adjacent to Diddlebury where the 14-year-old Jane Deakin had lived with her Family in 1881 and where her father was a shepherd. Perhaps made homeless by another walkout she returned home to have her fifth child. The move to Willenhall in Staffordshire may have been because the sister of Thomas had married and was living there.

One further factor needs to be added to this argument about motives and influences upon the migration process. By 1910 Thomas, the horseman, was an insurance agent probably a door-to-door collector of weekly contributions. The age of the horse and carriage was over; hay had given way to oil. Of course there was no longer tied accommodation so normal rented accommodation had to be found. This was in Harborne near the centre of Birmingham. In the Great War Thomas served in

France, where he met, by coincidence, his son Thomas Ernest also serving there⁵. Thomas was a driver,⁶ the rural skills had become redundant. The technological changes as well as the depression in agriculture had caught up with Thomas at some point in his early 40s. There was one further family move to a rented house, also in Harborne, near to his son Thomas E, who paid the rent for him⁷. He became an arranger of newspaper deliveries and his unmarried daughters supported the household.

There may be a number of reasons for the pattern of migration of Thomas's family (Figure 8.12). Table 8.10 attempts through colour coding some indication of a life cycle from the early days in the neighbourhood, through the criss crossing of the Borders for about fifteen years with a young family.

DATE	EVENT	LOCATION	SOURCE	OCCUPATION
1865	Birth	Bedlam Row	Parish Register	Son, Drainer
1881	Living-In	Greete	CEB	Farm Servant
1887	Marriage	Ashford Carbonel	Marriage Cert	
1888	Birth Alice	Ashford Carbonel	Birth Cert	Coachman
1890	Birth Thomas E.	Kings Norton	Birth Cert	Coachman
1891		Llanbadarn Fynydd	CEB	Groom
1894	Birth Harold	Knowle, Warks	St Caths House	Coachman
1896	Birth Maggie	Knowle, Warks	St. Caths House	Coachman
1899	Birth Frederick	Aston Munslow, Salop	Calculation, CEB	
1901		Willenhall, Staffs	CEB	Coachman
1902	Birth 'Jack'	Willenhall, Staffs	St. Caths House	Coachman
1905	Birth Annie	Harborne, Birmingham	St. Caths House	
1907	Birth Florence	Harborne Birmingham	St Caths House	
1910	Birth Pauline	Harborne Birmingham	Birth Cert	Insurance Agent
1920's	Change address	Harborne Birmingham	Oral	Newspaper delivery
1936	Death Jane	Harborne Birmingham	Oral	
1954	Death	Bearwood Birmingham	Oral	

Table 8.10 The Life Path of Thomas Maund

⁵ Testimony of Thomas Ernest.

⁶ From a family photograph.

⁷ Testimony of his grandchildren.

He settled in Harborne around 1905 and although he lived in two different houses they were essentially in the same community. He lived there until age forced him to live with his daughter three miles away.

The moves of the next two generations of the Maund family (Generations 9 and 10) are the subject of the detailed analysis in Chapter 9. Here for the sake of completeness and comparability a brief description of these moves is made. As Table 8.10 shows Thomas E was born in 1890 and was part of the moves of Thomas in his early years. At 19 years old, Thomas Ernest went to Brussels to work as a waiter having taught himself the rudiments of French from a book⁸. He married around 1911 and went to work in Paris. On arrival home his first four children were born in Birmingham and he served in France during the Great War. They moved once within Birmingham in 1932 and then, in 1938, the first of the family returned to Herefordshire. Others followed at intervals as the family split up into separate marriages and families. The move to Birmingham lasted less than two generations and the return came before the population turnaround of the late 20th century.

Thomas Maund had nine children between 1888 and 1910, and if Thomas is counted as first generation urban migrant his descendents have spread, at the fifth generation, across a broad area. Table 8.11 gives an indication of this spread. The fifth generation is now so widespread that there is little interconnection or even knowledge between them and so the family of Thomas Maund is effectively dispersed.

Generation 8 Thomas Maund	Generation 9 Thomas E. Maund	Generation 10 The Researcher	Generation 11	Generation 12	Generation 13
5 Birmingham	2 Birmingham	2 Herefordshire*	7 Herefordshire	8 Herefordshire	Herefordshire
1 Birkenhead	1 Birkenhead	2 Herefordshire	3 Berks/Wilts	3 Berks/ Wilts	Berks/ Wilts
1 Herefordshire	3 Herefordshire	1 Berks/Wilts	1 Birkenhead	2 Durham	
2 California	2 California	1 Birkenhead	1 Cambridge	2 Aberdeen	Aberdeen
		2 Devon	4 Devon	3 Somerset	Somerset
		1 South Africa	1 Somerset	2 London	
			1 France	1 Cumbria	Cumbria
			1 Hull	1 Glasgow	
			1 Portugal	1 Tanzania	Sweden
				1 France	

* Deceased

Table 8.11 Location of Descendents of Thomas Maund

⁸ Direct communication with his youngest son. Even aged 65, in retirement, he could speak French sufficiently well to act as interpreter for a group of French tourists.

This is an illustration of the issue surrounding the classification of families referred to briefly in Chapter 7. But a core of the family remains in Herefordshire. The investigation now turns to an attempt to draw together some of the features and issues arrived at through the above analysis of individual family migration.

8.4.6 Summary of the Movements of Core Families

This study is fundamentally focussed on the process of migration but in the course of the investigation in this chapter there are some other important features that will be addressed before drawing out the implications for the process of migration.

The concept of neighbourhood or locality was seen as important in defining an area of study that was not solely dictated by arbitrary boundaries. But, in the course of the investigation, the neighbourhood, as defined in Chapter 4, also appears to be increasingly important in relation to countryside migration, at least in the 19th century. Thus it has been shown to be an area within which much migration takes place and also much important social contact, especially as a source of marriage partners (See Figures 8.7; 8.9; 8.11). Because of its territorial restriction marriage leads to a number of inter family relations that must have had significance for social relationships and cultural development and cohesion. There appears to be some evidence to support the notion of an inner neighbourhood of quite intense interaction set in an outer neighbourhood of lesser but none the less significant interaction. This of course applies particularly to the countryside of the 19th century and no claims are made for large urban areas or other times.

There was frequent movement in the 19th century countryside as Chapter 7 has shown and there is further evidence here that even members of so called core families also moved. Prior to the 19th century there was some evidence though of more stable migratory behaviour as illustrated by the two core families that go back to 16th and 17th centuries. If the evidence from the Little Hereford Register of Kneeling and the 1841 census can be accepted there does appear to have been a quickening of the migratory turnover between the mid 18th and the mid 19th centuries. The latter part of the 19th century was the time at which the three core labouring families appeared in Little Hereford.

The concept of core family is important to this study. This concept is ill defined in the literature but the evidence presented here suggests a residence in the same place of at least three generations. Significantly the three core families used here are all from labouring stock and all living in the same locality in similar dwellings with the same tenure. They preceded the three core farming families in the parish although the area of origin of the marriage partners was similarly within the extended neighbourhood.

Why these three labouring families should stay for such a long time, longer than any other labouring family, is an interesting question. It is even more interesting when it is noted that other labouring families moved on in this era of rural circulation (Pooley and Turnbull 1998). The answer must lie in the type of tenure that attached to the dwellings they occupied at Bedlam Row and that within about twenty-five years of a change in tenure they had all left. Clearly this provides support for the argument that accommodation and its type are an important factor in the decision to migrate.

There must have been quite a community built up among the residents of Bedlam Row and possibly the three houses on the other side of the lane. Firstly, there were others who stayed in the Row for lengthy periods of time such as the Passeys and the Cookes; secondly, they were all local people who were born in the locality or close to it, and, thirdly, they were interrelated, at least two households were married into the Roberts family who also had lived in Bedlam Row. Also, as mentioned earlier there was in 1876 the legal challenge by the residents to the change in ownership of the land whilst in the great diphtheria outbreak of 1870 Emma Maund was in attendance at the death of the young Bennett son⁹. All point to a high degree of interrelationship and interdependence amongst the residents who lived in accommodation independent of their employers. Finally, as has been pointed out earlier, there was a degree of subsistence available from the large gardens and the detached gardens in Bedlam Row; a small community within the broader community with some of its own values and ways of life and a degree of social cohesion based on shared experiences and interests.

Paradoxically, it would appear that, the poor of Bedlam Row were privileged compared with other labourers in the parish but, even they, as core families were

⁹ From research undertaken by Chris Davies.

essentially temporary on any long time scale. Of course various individual members moved away in every generation and this has been demonstrated above, but eventually the family ceased to reside in the parish. This is because the family moved or dispersed. There seems to be a good case to identify a core family with the neighbourhood area which appears to define the locality; in other words they occupy and define a territory. But in this case they are poor families unlike those analysed by Hey (1976).

The core family had important implications for the territory and its social cohesion and culture. If families stay in an area over several generations and at the same time marry into other similar families then it suggests a development of coherence and similarity of value contributing to the distinctiveness of culture. This could be particularly powerful where the movement is typically short distance. It would imply an importance to the influence of quite apparently low status people with little manifest power but significant latent influence. Whether this has a positive or negative effect on the area is a value judgement. It was certainly a factor in continuity but whether it assisted change is another question. When influential people migrate they may well influence others to do so also. There is some minor evidence for this as possibly in the case of the Bennett family's move to South Wales and the move of some Maunds to the USA and the moves of Thomas Maund between the Borderland and the Birmingham area. In other words, the role of significant 'others' may be important in the process of migration.

In Chapter 3 the essential distinction was made between the concepts of pattern and process. It was argued that the search for process required a quite different methodological approach from that used to identify pattern. This chapter has identified and described the migration paths of three core families. This is still, largely, a pattern but it is also a spatial sequence, a spatial manifestation of a process.

The longitudinal approach adopted has to an extent illustrated the factors identified by Shyrock and Larnmon (1965) in showing the different areas the families moved to, the extent of circular and return migration and frequency of movement. The paths of the three families representing the core families are shown partially schematically in Figure 8.13. This is shown in order to give the impression of the longitudinal

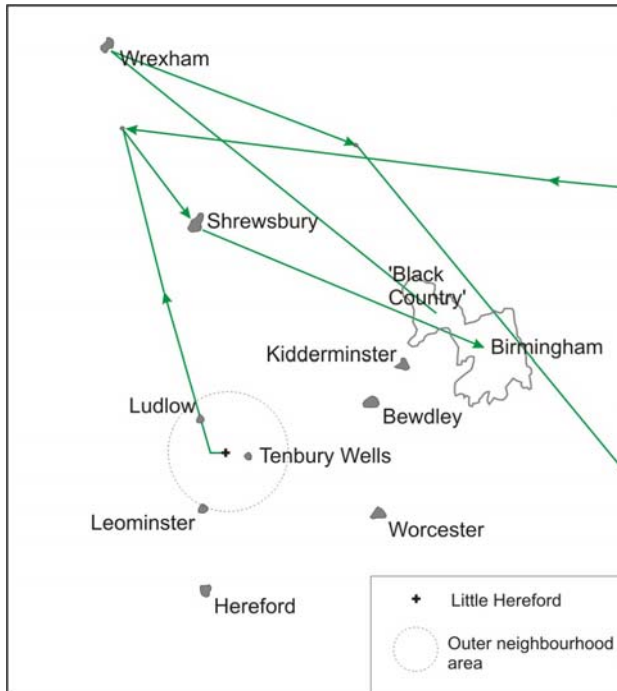
movement and also to show that three families that originated in a single row of houses all went very separate ways. It needs to be emphasised however that these moves are constructed from intermittent data rather than from continuous information.

Figure 8.13 illustrates, of course, pattern rather than process but the very differences illustrated suggests different processes at work in similar families. The decisions made were based upon individual circumstance rather than some external, irresistible imperative albeit in the context of macro circumstances. Thus, for example, Polly Bennett moved as a result of her marriage to a man from Selattyn on the Shropshire-Welsh border. How she met him or why she moved rather than him is not known but they would provide the answer to her migration path. Even the reason that first took Thomas Maund to Kings Norton is not known although the reasons for his return can be tentatively explained. However it has to be said that Thomas moved towards Birmingham at a time of rural depopulation and urbanisation and his career shows a move from rural skills to urban occupations.

The attempt to use the life cycle approach has not yielded consistent results so, although the formation of a household can be shown and also the death of the head of household, these do not consistently result in movement and it is not at all certain which moves are provoked by the need for work. This suggests that the life cycle approach is not appropriate at least at this scale; in other words it is more suited to aggregated data.

There are some similarities in the migration paths shown in Figures 8.13 but there are also differences. Thus two families move east and one north then south. The association with the national population trends is not clear either. It is true that in the pre 20th century there is evidence of rural migration and eventually a move to urban areas but these are not clear cut moves suggesting the influence of individual factors rather than general ones. The family though does seem to be a consistent factor in influencing decisions and this is examined further in the next chapter. There were others originating in the families who went in other directions and over different

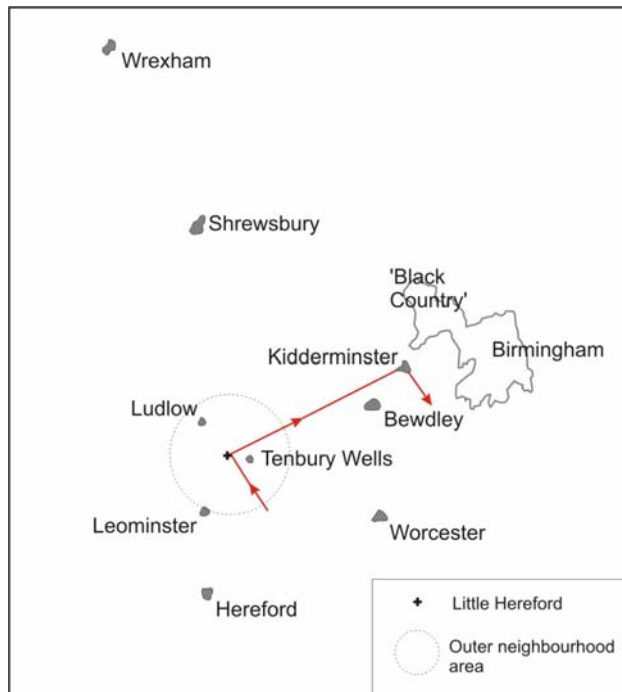
Figure 8.13.1 The Bennetts

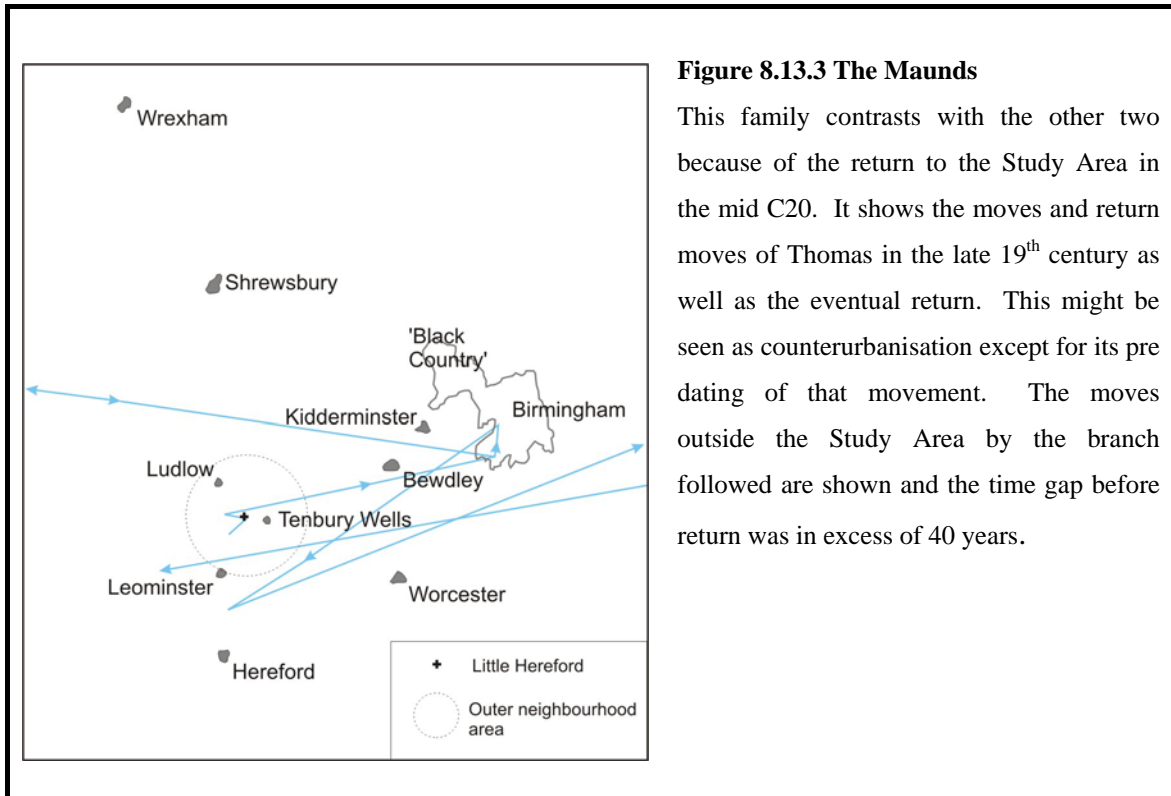


This figure shows the moves of the branch of the family from C1750 to 2000. The later moves are off the map as a move was made first to Hitchen and later to Bristol. The northwest, southeast moves in the 20th century were made by a single woman and then a single parent family. These do not represent any of the established and generalised patterns of movement and thus reflect more the circumstances of the individuals concerned. It is though a family which has dispersed.

Figure 8.13.2 The Rowburys

This shows the branch of the Rowburys followed here from C1550 to the present. This is now the only branch still surviving. Although some of the extinct branches went beyond the study area, to Uttoxeter and Leicestershire, this one has remained within the study area. It follows a pattern of rural to rural town to industrial town and therefore reflects more the 'typical' migration profile. It is not known though what decisions underlie these movements. The family has been in the sub Birmingham fringe for over 50 years now. Is it a new form of core family?





distances. Figures 8.13.1-3 illustrate a branch of a nuclear family over the time period from their residence in 19th century Bedlam Row.

It is clear that a series of moves plotted from documentary evidence can be neither precise nor offer an explanation of motivation. They show a spatial progression but not a spatial process. For some there may be family anecdote, as in the case of the Bennetts and the Maunds quoted previously, that offer some possibility of insight into process. It seems certain that, in the context of the circumstances of the day, there were very personal reasons for moving. The apparent similarity between the Bennett and Maund traversing of the Midlands and Borderland is not similar at all. Edith Lloyd moved as a single person for work and later as a single mother. Thomas Maund was married with at least two children and moved apparently driven by his temperament. Whether there was choice and the weighing of options cannot be known. In terms of core families it appears that these too disperse like most other families, but over a longer time scale. There is too the factors of time and social change and the impact they may have on the structure of the family and its behaviour.

8.5 Conclusions

In the course of the analysis in this chapter a number of well known features of migratory behaviour have been identified. These features in the main stem from macro studies of the migratory behaviour of large populations. It is therefore not surprising that in a micro study such as this some of these macro features can be identified. These include short distance movement, chain migration, the influence of significant others, and the significance of work and accommodation. But these features do not apply in all generations or to all families and the influence of life cycle factors are not instantly observable in all families. This would suggest, at least at the micro level, that there are other factors at work in the decision and motivation to move. In some ways this conclusion is reinforced by the attempt to use the life cycle as an explanation for migration. This has proved at best to be inconclusive at this scale. Such a device is tried and tested on large populations but here, apart from two exceptions, it fails to offer much insight. The criticism of the life cycle approach as a static, inflexible and constraining device is certainly justified (Warnes 1992; Glasser 2002).

There have been calls for the use of individual biographies (Pryce, 2000) as a method of gaining insight into individual migratory behaviour and this chapter has made a limited attempt at this. Such a method requires a longitudinal approach but although this chapter has revealed spatial progression over time the events used to describe it are precisely that, events. In a sense the progression is an assumed line, spatial and temporal, between these events and, therefore, possibly not a true longitudinal study. For example, from the birth of Stanley Rowbury to his marriage in Kidderminster there is no continuity. Was that the only move he made? The public record is insufficient to provide an answer and certainly incapable of yielding insight into decision except by recourse to general reasons.

Despite these issues it has been revealed that there needs to be a convergence between some form of life cycle approach and the data which yield a greater level of detail to enable insight into the space-time progression. Such a convergence may be possible through an examination of the notion of life course and the use of oral

testimony from those who actually moved. This is explored and presented in the next chapter.

This chapter has shown a way forward for this enquiry, but a number of other insights have been gained as a consequence of the analysis. It can be seen that movement is not always completely coincident with the great macro changes in population trend and socio-economic structure, there are time lags. Such an observation is entirely consistent with the more general findings of the previous chapter where the analysis of migration coincided with the point of absolute loss of population in the Borderland at the height of the period of urban growth and industrial change. What may appear as general trends exhibit great variability at the local level.

The spatial dispersion of families has been demonstrated despite the emphasis upon the nuclear family but this has to be reconciled with the undoubted importance of place. It certainly seems to be the case that the concept of a neighbourhood is more than a mere territory; it is an area of social and economic interaction which carries with it a degree of meaning for those who inhabit it. The core families certainly offer substance to this idea.

Although this chapter has revealed more about migratory patterns it has also shown that the separation of pattern and process is arbitrary and false. Underlying every pattern there is a process. Pattern may be seen as a moment in time in an on-going process. This chapter has provided a link between the, admittedly not entirely clear, pattern of chapter 7 and the concentration on process and decision in the next chapter.

Chapter 9

There and Back – How Far Was It?

9.1 Introduction

In Chapter 7 the general migration characteristics of the locality of Little Hereford in the late 19th century were demonstrated. The migration pattern was by no means clear and factors other than general economic ones had been operating. The subsequent examination of the life paths of the three core families showed that over at least a two hundred year time scale there were differences even between similar families suggesting that migration had resulted from individual family circumstance and decision. The purpose of this chapter is, at an even more reduced scale, to examine the decisions and influences behind a single family movement. Thus, the scale of the enquiry has been reduced successively from the meso to the micro and now to what may be termed the mini-micro in order to focus more sharply upon the processes of individual migration decision making over time. In other words, it focuses on one of the aims expressed in Chapter 1, “to elucidate the nature and significance of local culture and place in the decision making of migrating families at different stages of their lives.”

Recent reviews have urged that such investigation is necessary if further progress is to be made with the understanding of migration processes. The evidence here comes from the testimony of individuals of a single family (Pooley 2000) of which the researcher is a member of that family (Hagerstrand 1982). Such an undertaking requires a difference in approach to a more ethnographic one employing a form of participant observation and personal interviews (Chapter 3).

Before embarking upon the analysis of the 20th century family migrations something of the historical background to the name Maund will be given. This dimension of family history adds to the discussion of core families through the exploration of the relationship between place and family names. It also emphasises the longitudinal nature of the migration process and sets a context. Thus there are three main sections to the investigation in this chapter; firstly, a discussion of methodology including sources and methods; next an examination of the origins and significance of the name

Maund and finally an analysis of the 20th century movement of one branch of the family and the decision making processes involved.

9.2 Methods and Sources

The examination of the history of the name Maund was developed from secondary sources and in the first instance related to the interpretation of place names. The study of their distribution from 16th century relies upon data originally recorded in parish registers.

The substance of the examination of process relies upon an approach that could be termed ethnographic which “involves the ethnographer in participating overtly or covertly in peoples daily lives for an extended period of time” (Hoggart et al. 2002 p256). The essential data for the analysis of migration process come from the life paths of the children of Thomas E. Maund, shown in Chapter 8 as generation 10 (Table 8.9). In the context of this project the researcher, David Maund, as a member of the researched family is a distinctive feature and, therefore, is in the position of life long participant and observer. This is a contrast to the more normal participant observation mode where the observer stays with the observed for a finite period and always knows that there is a point at which they will leave. “Interpersonal knowing is predicated upon a deepening friendship between participant and researcher, a relationship which takes time to establish and in which otherwise hidden or suppressed aspects of personal understanding become knowable” (Ley 1978 p355).

In these very unusual circumstances the need to behave reflexively is paramount where interpretations of behaviour and actions are made. In a sense the very act of conducting structured research is itself a form of reflection. As the youngest in the family the researcher has a powerful and privileged position. This allowed the relationship to be that of protected young person among adults and the bond that developed was based upon this foundation of support, mutual regard, trust and empathy.

To explore the process more formally the notion of residential histories and life course was employed in contrast to the more static life cycle framework used in the

previous chapter (Glasser 2002). The arguments surrounding this were again discussed in Chapter 3 but an essential aspect of the concept is the idea of transition. This is employed as a very important element of the analysis as it clearly relates to the personal histories of individuals of the Maund family. However, it is not such an easy concept as at first appears. For example when Thomas Maund (Chapter 8) set out in the late 1880s for Kings Norton can this be claimed as a transition? In the previous chapter it was shown that the Maund family repeatedly traversed the region and it was not until after the turn of the century that they finally settled in Birmingham. This raises the question as to whether a transition is itself a process over time or a point in time. The idea of transition as applied to an individual is not dissimilar to that of “Time of Decision” employed by Kirk (1963 p369) in relation to whole societies. This was perhaps, at least in part, to remove deterministic thinking from the analysis of behaviour but it applies equally well to the life course concept. Kirk’s model (Figure 9.1) shows how the same time of decision can produce different outcomes.

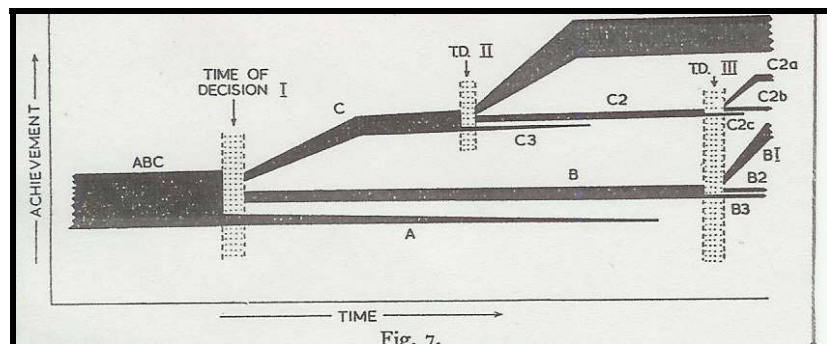


Figure 9.1 Time of Decision (Kirk 1963 p369).

In the context of this study such a conceptualisation aids the idea of transitions as applied to a family and shows how individuals may take differing paths from the same starting point. Certainly, for the purposes of this study, transition is regarded as a first order event relating directly to a single family or individual which initiates a process of change for that individual or family.

This interpretation, as discussed in Chapter 3, differs somewhat from that of Warnes (1992). He argued that the lifecycle framework for migration study should be replaced by the more flexible and individual oriented life course. However in his examples he shows a list of transitions associated with migration more nearly like those of a life cycle as he moves from leaving parents home through to retirement. In

this study a different perspective is taken where, after a change in direction or behaviour, the reasons behind the decision are sought. This may well be an illustration of the difference between research aimed at generalisation and pattern and that concerned with process and individual response.

The researcher is very definitely an “insider” and as such able to recall, contribute and interpret events and feelings over at least a sixty-five year time span. Coupled with this was the great confidence that existed between the researcher and his siblings which enabled easy and open dialogue over even the most sensitive areas. At one point each of the three surviving siblings said during a semi formal interview and quite independently, “*Now, I’ve never told anyone this...*” Because of the age gap the researcher did not share the earlier experiences of his siblings although he was generally aware of them from family conversations and reminiscences. At the formal stage of the research the siblings became the sources and a family history was constructed over about a four-year period with constant reference to the memories of the three living siblings (Bob had died in 1989). Part of this was semi formal taped interviews, firstly, with the three living siblings, then on an excursion to the place in Birmingham where they were brought up and finally with Bill Maund (cousin of the researcher) about the farm at Bircher.

Clearly these discussions were informed by the researcher’s memories which provided background to the type of questions asked. These discussions provided an opportunity for the memories to be cross checked and triangulated and there was for some time continuous discussion and checking of perceptions. The dialogue during the early days of this project was one of almost continuous, checking and cross checking different interpretations and memories with siblings all in their eighties but also with Roger Maund the grandson of David Maund (see below, ‘Uncle Dave’) and the granddaughter of Thomas senior, Margaret Hayes.

In order to identify more clearly the family members involved and their relationships both to each other and to the analysis which follows a summary is produced in Table 9.1.

GENERATION 7	John and Emma Maund of Bedlam Row Little Hereford (See Table 8.9). Parents of Thomas and ‘Uncle Dave’
GENERATION 8	Thomas born in Bedlam row 1864, Grandfather to Generation 10. Older brother of David Gwynn (Uncle Dave or ‘Mon’) significant because of his residence at Yew Tree Farm, Bircher Common
GENERATION 9	THOMAS ERNEST , born 1890 in Kings Norton, eldest son of Thomas, husband to Hephzibah (nee Jones) produced the 5 children who are the subjects in the investigation.
GENERATION 10	BRENDA (1913-); KEN (1915-2006); FRED(1917-2002); BOB (1919-1989); DAVID (1936-) the Researcher. Children of Thomas E. and Hephzibah.
OTHERS	Bill, Hazel, ‘Jack’ children of Uncle Dave. Margaret Hayes , cousin to generation 10 and granddaughter of Thomas. Roger Maund , grandson of Uncle Dave. Aunt , wife of Uncle Dave. Dickie , illegitimate son to Hazel. Auntie ‘Cissie’ , sister of mother, Hephzibah Maund. Graham Danks , first husband to Brenda. ‘Bumper’ Bill Williams, later husband to Hazel. Gary Maund , provider of data on Brimfield Maunds, not known to be related.

Table 9.1 The Relationships of People mentioned in Chapter 9.

There was also some documentary evidence, particularly the diary of Fred Maund for the year 1934. Diaries are potentially very useful not only in gaining insight into local cultures and ways of life, for example, Kilvert’s account of life in the Borderland during the 19th century (Kilvert 1987) and thus, Hey’s (1975) use of the diaries of Richard Gough (1834) which provided the basis for the formulation of ideas on core families. Unfortunately Fred’s diary is not so extensive as these two but it is complete for 1934 and gives insight into the life of the Maund family in the context of Birmingham. In later life Fred wrote poems about his life and interests which were collected together in an unpublished form.

There was also available a memoir written in the form of a book by Ken Maund (1999) which offers some information about the history of the family and, in particular, values and interests. Of course this source has only limited potential and does not bear comparison with autobiographies and biographies such as those of Ashby (1961), Sanders (1989) and Sage (2000).

The accounts of family members of their early experiences and subsequent movements is intended to give insights into in the context of place. Much of the dialogue with the siblings was around their perception of place on their movements.

*“Young experiences taught us much,
Quiet woodlands, murmuring stream, natures touch,
That diminished memory of foul factory and smoke,
And grime and rush for rail and bus”* (Fred Maund c1997).

The structure of this phase of the investigation is as a narrative, based on the interviews with each respondent, but structured around the notion of life course and transition. The spatial biography of each of the children will be given in turn with an interpretation of their decisions against an outline of their experiences. This is not dissimilar to an account given by Hagerstrand (1982) but it does not pursue the graphical representation he uses because of the much more individualised focus of this study.

9.3 Historical Context of Maund

The name Maund appears to come from the Celtic, Magene (Gelling 1984).¹ This is to be found in the place names of an area covering six parishes to the east of the River Lugg in North Herefordshire (Figure 9.2.), which formed a territory, possibly a Celtic/Welsh unit. Today the area includes the parishes of Bodenham, Marden, Withington, Sutton, Preston Wynne and Felton. Working on the findings from the interpretation of Celtic place names Coplestone-Crow (1989) traced the evolution of the name from the Celtic to its English version, thus, Magana c675; Magane 1179; Mawen 1303; Maune 1373.

Shepherd (1979), from a 1725 map surveying the Conningsby estate (later to be owned by John Arkwright referred to in Chapter 5.) and the excavation report of Sutton Walls (Kenyon 1954), reconstructed the territory following field patterns and boundaries to demonstrate the command of the territory from Sutton Walls from the time of the establishment of the Iron Age Fort there in 1st century B.C. (Kenyon 1954) (Figure 9.3).

¹ From her book and private communication by letter.

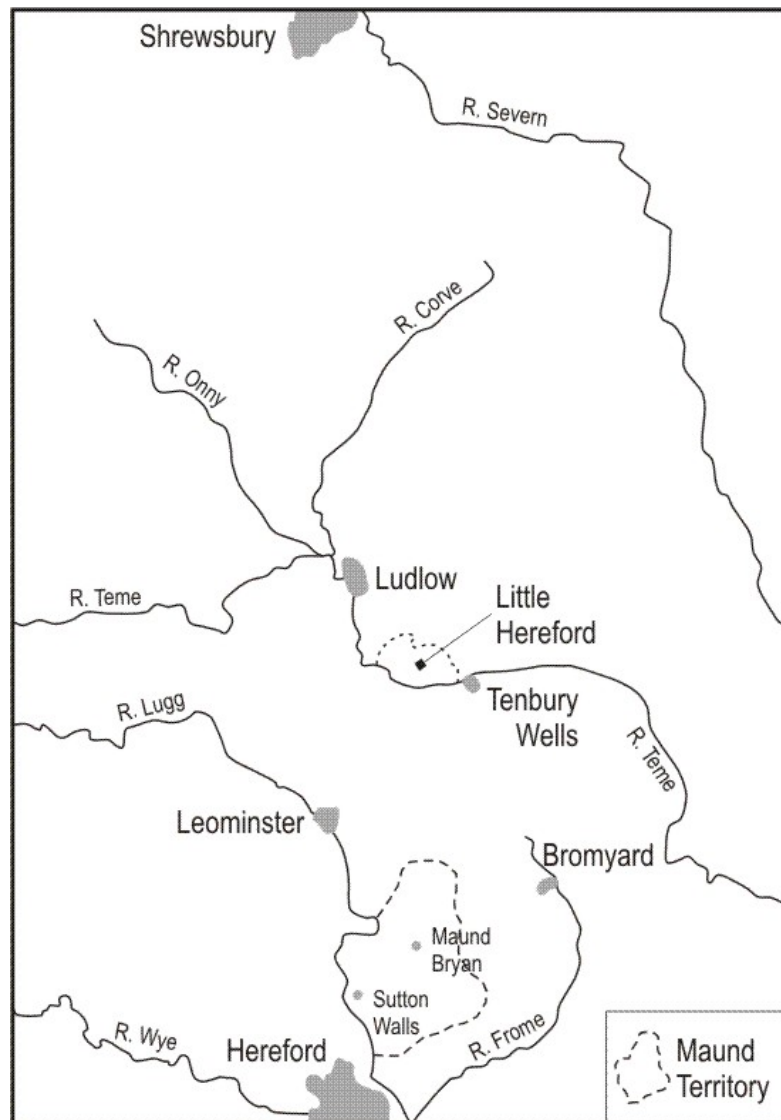


Figure 9.2 The Position of Magene

Hey (1997) in his classification of family names typifies those that stem from particular places as ‘Locative’ and maintained that Maund is one such name.² How such a name became designated to a family is a matter of some speculation but probably arose from attempts to distinguish between those of similar Christian name, thus John from Maund becomes John Maund. Certainly the name was well established as a surname by the mid 16th century.

² Private communication by letter.

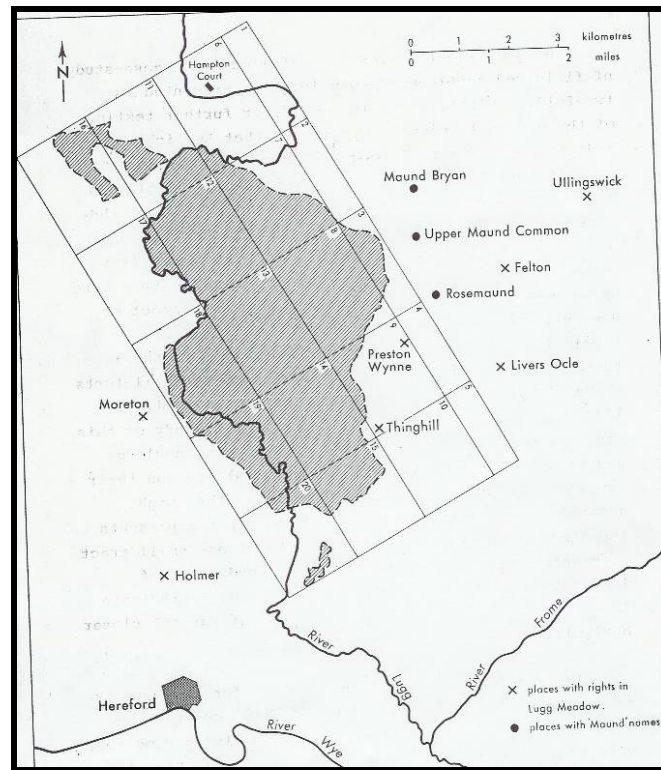


Figure 9.3 The Maund Territory (Shepherd 1979 P2).

It should be pointed out that this very brief account of the origin of a name and in the context of the Borderland is itself speculative. The use of Celtic place names as evidence, on their own, is insecure since there is debate and uncertainty over translation. In this case, to ascribe Magene to a definite territory would need further documentary support but it is at least a tenable position to adopt. The occurrence of elements of the same name in a relatively defined area is suggestive of this. The reconstruction adopted by Shepherd (1979) is a well known and reliable method of research and the use of place names as surnames is a well known occurrence.³

How the name Maund arrived first in Brimfield and then in Little Hereford is not known although Hey (1997) maintained that locative names almost invariably stem from a single couple so, on this basis, all Maunds are related though this is open to dispute without supporting evidence (Redmonds 1973). Of course, such evidence might be forthcoming by means of DNA analysis particularly that of the Y-chromosome (Sykes 2001).

³ From extensive discussion with the Medieval Historian and 11th Century Wales and Borderland specialist, Dr K.L.Maund.

For an earlier project the earliest parish registers, in the form of the IGI were used to identify all entries named Maund and were plotted to reveal a spatial distribution as shown in Figures 9.4 – 9.6. A fifty year interval was used to yield sufficient numbers to differentiate the places and then mapped by proportional circles as shown. The last part of the 19th century was not plotted because the decline in church attendance and the popularity of direct Civil Registration resulted in reduced use of baptism as a route to registration and, therefore, the results could be a significant under estimate of the real numbers.

The product of this earlier research is shown in Figure 9.4 where Sutton Walls and Maund Bryan are shown as an indication of the place of origin of the Maund name. Interestingly there were no Maund surnames in the registers of the six

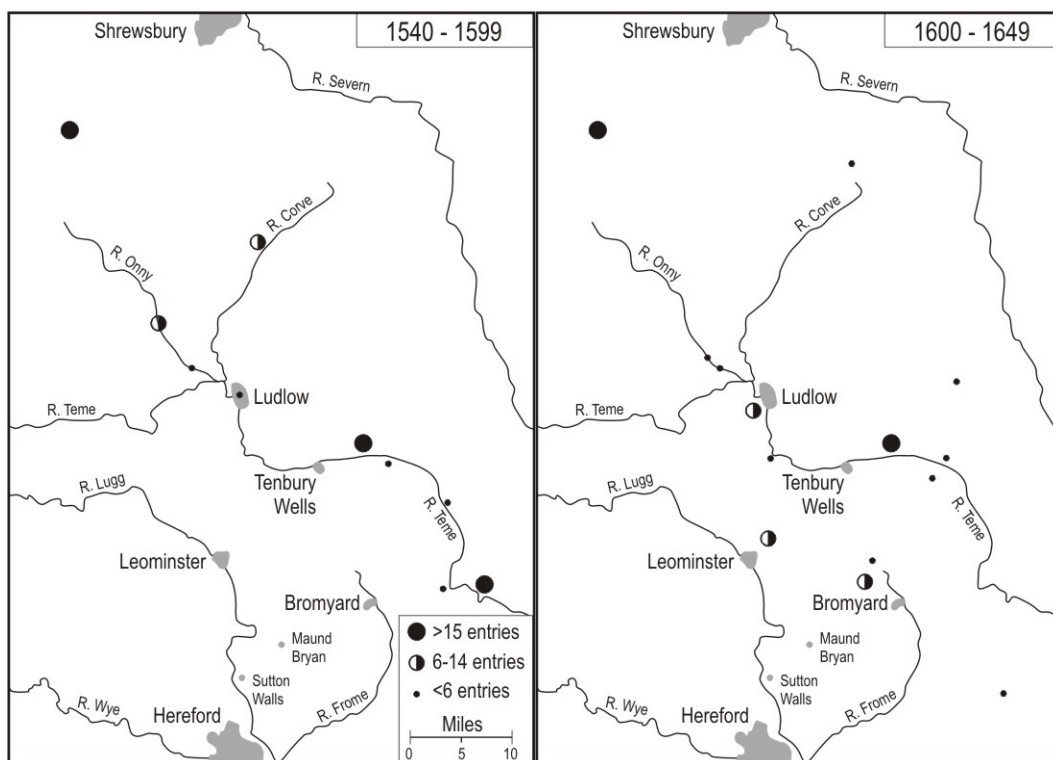


Figure 9.4 Distribution of Maund Names 1.

parishes which made up Magene until one occurs in Bodenham in the 1880s. During the late 16th and early 17th century maps, the names were clearly to be found in the Teme basin and during the late 16th century none occurred in Herefordshire. The surname was well established by 1540. Before the 15th century records that can be found relating to Maunds all contained 'de' indicating 'of' Maund rather than a

surname. Thus, in 1247 Mathew de Mauntz, Lord of Humbere, granted a land and buildings to his Steward. (H.C.R.O). These were people of some significant social position but the Maunds that form this enquiry were of a much more humble origin and, therefore, left no record.

By the mid 17th century, however, the distribution had begun to change. For the first time there were Maunds in Brimfield at the elbow of the Teme and also in Richards Castle, south of Ludlow. But two occurrences persist from 16th century; one south west of Shrewsbury and the other east of Tenbury. The occurrence of the Maunds near Shrewsbury was in the parish of Worthen but the name disappeared from the register by 1700. There may be an explanation for this. In 1571 the Lord of the Manor, Edward, Lord Stafford was in debt to Richard Powell an opulent mercer of Shrewsbury. Unable to pay he offered land with the words, “You are welcome, if you like, to take yonder morass in exchange” (Unascribed, SRO 6000/6432). The offer was taken up and Powell drained the land and improved it. He also built Worthen Hall, and died in 1626. It is perfectly plausible to imagine that such works over a period of time resulted in movement of people into the parish. It was indeed, according to Hey (1976), a period of woodland clearance and settlement renewal in Shropshire. At this time there were only about three generations of Maunds in Worthen and they seemed to disappear from the records as quickly as they arrived. During the second half of the 17th century the Maunds were diminishing in number in Worthen and by the early 18th century had disappeared completely (Figure 9.5). The connection between the development of Worthen and the movement of the Maunds cannot, of course, be demonstrated. However some plausibility is offered by Gary Maund who has provided some genealogical data for this investigation. He is currently pursuing a possible connection between his family in Brimfield in the 18th century and the Worthen Maunds. Such a discussion gives an insight into the very tentative nature of genealogical investigation but also the possible relationship to local history. It also shows how easy it might be to place too much reliance on tenuous evidence.

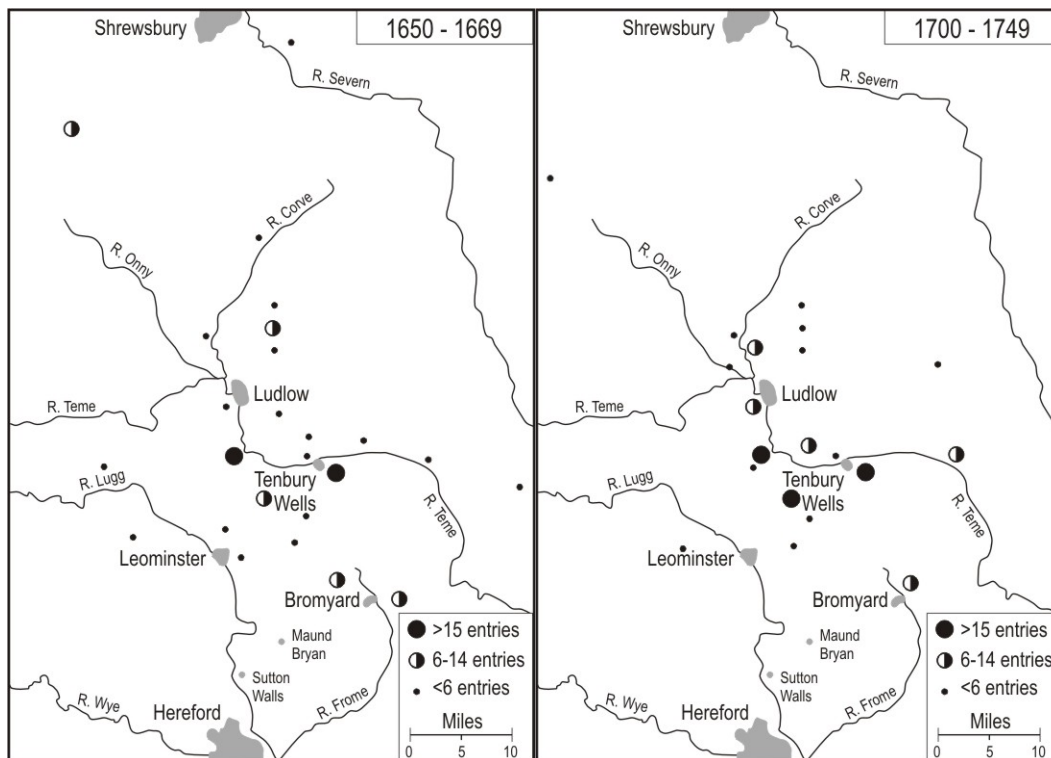


Figure 9.5 Distribution of Maund Names 2.

Interestingly the high concentration of surnames within a particular area has been referred to by Hey (1997) as “Country”. So the high incidence of the Maund name in the basin of the Teme might well be regarded as Maund Country. It is another form of territory, within the region but including the neighbourhood of Little Hereford. What the relationship between the three might be is difficult to say but it is suggestive of the role of core families engendering the social and cultural cohesion of interrelated territories. This would be especially true if those with the same name were related by blood and becomes even more coherent when those brought into the name by marriage are considered.

Of course such a territory both persists and changes over time. By the late 17th century there was a movement of the Maund name both south and east (Figure 9.5). Indeed by the early 18th century there was a definite concentration around and south of Ludlow and then east along the Teme, in Brimfield, Leysters and Tenbury itself. This concentration around the elbow of the Teme became even more pronounced in the late 18th century and into the early 19th century with a scattering of small outliers (Figure 9.6). This shift was also coincident with the extended neighbourhood of Little Hereford although it did not become a major concentration itself until the early 19th

century (Figure 9.6). This was the time of course when the Maund family moved from Brimfield to Little Hereford as described in the previous chapter. The concentration of Maunds near the great bend in the Teme was coincident with the population transition of the late 18th century and also is at the entrance to one of the few good west to east routes in the area and at the point where agricultural products were in great demand from the growing urban areas to the east.

These changes in the distribution of the Maund name suggests migration and was probably an illustration of rural circulation which over time shifts the area of concentration. There was a movement east which raises the question as to whether Thomas Maund and others moved, step like over time rather than directly to the metropolitan area of Birmingham.

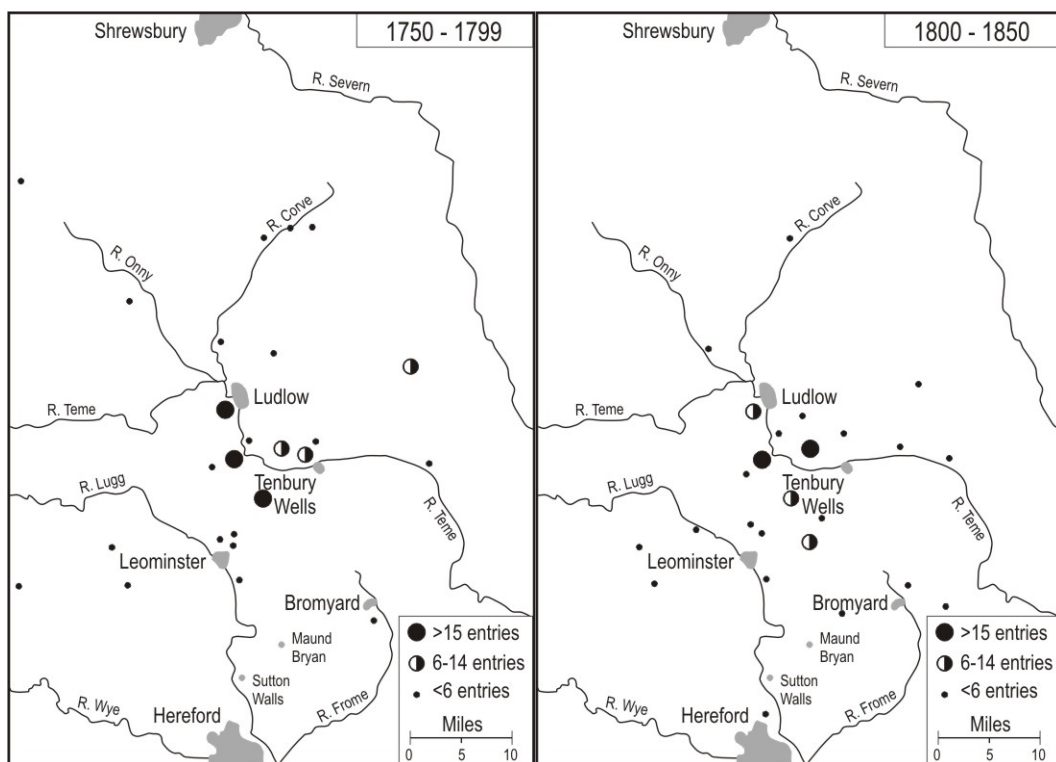


Figure 9.6 Distribution of Maund Names 3.

As indicated earlier, because of the increase in civil registration, data from parish registers after 1850 are not sufficiently reliable to identify the incidence of surnames within an area. Irrespective of this an analysis of the family names on the registers between 1800 and 1850 did show some evidence of a growing shift eastwards and to urban centres particularly Birmingham and Worcester (figure 9.7). In this figure the

Maund names in the registers between 1800 and 1850 are recorded and plotted on the schematic map, Figure 9.7. Thus, following the key for Figure 9.6, the largest concentrations are in Worcester and Birmingham. Thus, if there was a movement it was a slow and gradual one over a long period of time.

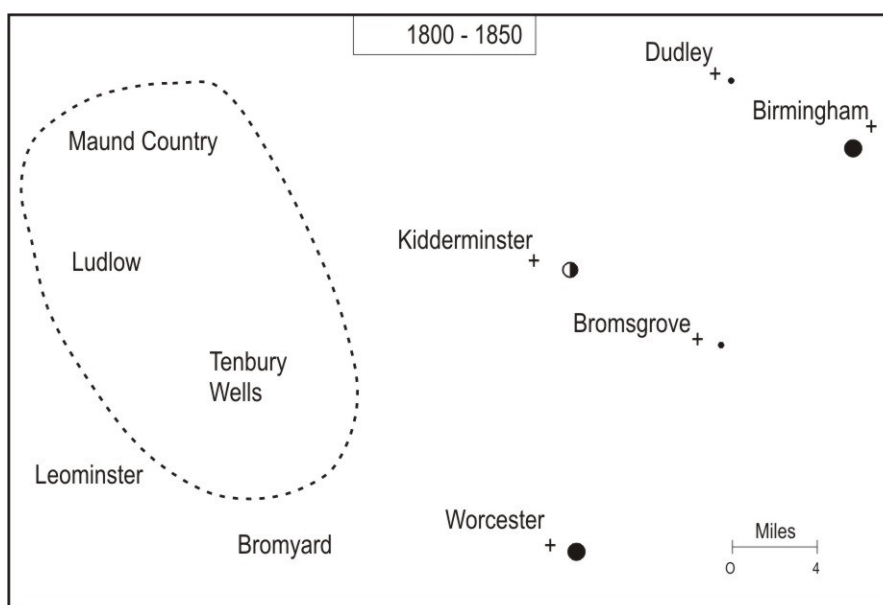


Figure 9.7 The Maund Country: Schematic Representation 1800-1850.

Finally, it might be observed that if small numbers moved towards urban areas in the early 19th century, at a time of population growth in the Borderland, it may have been the unidentified beginning to the rural depopulation process which had its roots further back in time. This is only clearly observable in the late 19th century from national gross population trends. Yet at the same time, as Chapter 7 has shown, the neighbourhood of Little Hereford continued to grow, albeit slowly. Perhaps two diverging processes may be present simultaneously and only when one begins to dominate is it a trend.

This section has developed further the idea of core families and the places they were associated with and in doing so has added to the longitudinal nature of the enquiry. Perhaps more importantly it has attempted to give a context for the analysis of the 20th century movement of a single family. It also shows the essential interrelationship between local history, family history and genealogy and suggests some of the difficulties involved in identifying evidence. There is a further important question raised by the patterns demonstrated. If feelings about place are an important factor in

migration is there some form of cultural memory which draws people back to that place? This is probably an unanswerable question certainly from the evidence that can be produced here but unanswerable questions should not be dismissed. This will be returned to later.

The analysis now moves to an examination of the life paths of the members of a single Maund family. The basis for this was laid in the move of Thomas Maund, the eighth generation, ultimately to Birmingham at the turn of the century and outlined in the previous chapter. As discussed above the approach, methodology and methods are rather different in that it uses personal accounts from individual family members.

9.4 The Life Course and Migration Decisions of the Maund Family

In this final phase of the study the enquiry focuses upon the migration decisions of the families of the children of Thomas E. Maund during the 20th century.

9.4.1 Introduction

This section is presented broadly as a chronological narrative placed within the local and national socio-economic conditions of the time. In particular, and arising from these contexts, transitions will be identified which affected the course of the lives of the Maunds.

Essential to the analysis in this chapter is the idea that distinctive ways of life develop in particular places and this underpins the argument about personal identity and the role of culture in migration decision-making as discussed in Chapter 5. The accounts of family members of their early experiences and subsequent movements is intended to give insights into process and this in the context of the concept of place as identified by neighbourhood area and core family. Much of the dialogue with the siblings was informed by the idea of the influence of place on their movements and motivations and the source of these motivations.

9.4.2 The Socio-economic Context

Phases	National and Local Conditions	Life Course of the Maunds
1913-1940 Inter war period	Nationally this was a period of difficult economic conditions but despite the decline of 'old' industry Birmingham and the west midlands had a developing economy based in the mass production of motor vehicles and their engineering suppliers. The large scale unemployment was not reflected in Birmingham and area and there were significant opportunities for employment. Those of the working class experiencing Grammar School education found developing white collar work. In Herefordshire farming stagnated and there was much subsistence farming from small farms although trade continued with the developing urban area. Sugar beet was introduced as an important new crop. Birmingham continued to expand at the fringes, suburbanisation.	Brought up in Birmingham though the contact with Herefordshire was established. Boys attended Grammar school and obtained white collar jobs with training. Thomas E. in constant employment in this period. Move out of Harborne to the outer suburbs from early 1930s.
1940 to 1960	War gave impetus to economy especially agriculture. This presented opportunities for initiative in this field. Farming prospered until towards the end of the period with further competition from overseas, advances in real incomes and growth of consumer society and consumer lead booms. Great growth in consumer goods like TV's, fridges, washing machines lead to demand and the growth of credit as a means of living. More owner occupiers and increased demand for quality. "You've never had it so good" Farming boomed at first, especially milk production but then fell back and the trend moved to larger farms and agri-businesses.	The Maunds took advantage of the farming conditions and moved away from Birmingham to transform their lives in the country. To an extent they diverged.
1960 to 1980's	Continued consumer boom but further decline in industry beginnings of significant challenge to agriculture from cheaper overseas products. European Union and subsidies distorts market. Diversification but significant population return to countryside.	Maunds in mid to late career. Eventually all but David back in Herefordshire and still involved with 'country' interests even in retirement. Later their children establish families, only one to do with agriculture.
Late 1980's to Date	Need for diversification in farming very marked, unresolved problems of agricultural production but dramatic decline in milk production and crises with BSE and Foot and Mouth.	Death of Bob, late 80s. All settle in Herefordshire and continued interest through sporadic involvement in farming.

Table 9.2 Socio-Economic Phases of 20th Century. (Adapted from Wise 1950; Evans et al 2001)

This section of the study extends from the birth of the young Maunds over the period 1913 to the present. During that time in addition to changes in population trends detailed in Chapter 6 there were also considerable socio-economic changes both locally and nationally. It is certainly not the contention that these circumstances

determined the lives and decision of the family but they certainly provided the context in which decisions were made (Table 9.2). For the purpose of analysis the period is divided into three long periods of time, namely growing up to about 1940; the War years and immediate aftermath to the mid 1950s, and a period in mid career of the Maund family leading to retirement in the mid 1980s. These are not entirely arbitrary categories since they represent phases in the lives of the Maund family during the 20th century as well as indicators of changing socio-economic conditions in England and Wales.

9.4.2 Cultural Context and Influences

According to Champion and Fielding (1992) the cultural background within which an individual is embedded is an essential consideration when examining the migration process. Here in the case of the Maund family this will be considered under two broad headings: parental and environmental.

Parental

For this part of the study the focus is upon the five children of Thomas E Maund and his wife Hephzibah. Thomas E was 9th generation in the Maund family (Table 8.8) and the first to be born away from Herefordshire, in Kings Norton in 1890. His migration path was traced in the previous Chapter along with that of his father, Thomas (Table 9.1). What follows here are selective items chosen to make up a profile of family influences but they were achieved after reflection and consultation with family members in order to show the early influences, particularly the clash of values, upon the children that may go some way to explain some of their subsequent decisions. It is offered here to give insight into motivation.

One of the major conduits for the transmission of culture and the developments of attitudes and values is the family itself. Thomas E. Maund's early life was spent moving backwards and forwards from the Birmingham area to the Borderland (Chapter 8). He was born in Kings Norton in 1890 and died in Bredenbury, Herefordshire, in 1966 aged 76 years. He spent much of his school years in Knowle, Warwickshire, and despite his disrupted life he was allowed to leave a year early at 13 because he had reached the required academic standards. His early adult life was spent in Birmingham where, apart from a spell with an aircraft company, he was a

waiter. This brought him into contact with a range of people, life styles and vicarious experiences that informed the rest of his life. He was an enquiring man and an adventurous man with a great capacity for learning. Aged 19 years he taught himself the rudiments of French and went to Brussels to work as a waiter. By his own account, dismounting from the train in Brussels, he wondered at the strange accents, "*French is not spoken like people from Birmingham*".⁴ He married around 1911 and the couple went to Paris where he worked as a waiter in the city centre. In 1955, aged 65 and on a trip to Dublin, he was still sufficiently proficient in French to act as interpreter for a group going round the Guinness Brewery. He went to the US and Canada for a year in 1921 financed out the £1,200 proceeds from a treble on the November Handicap; he also lost his job for betting on the premises. In 1939 he was taken on by the Ministry of Aircraft Production as an Aeronautical Inspector and led a department of 26 engineering graduates.

He was a man of many interests with a great reverence for learning, for example, he read the entirety of Gibbon's 'Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire', took evening classes at Reading University in his 50s and passed the first year maths course there. He had interests that lasted years and then moved on to others, breeding greyhounds, making radio sets, golf and beekeeping. Thomas had strong but unselfconscious views about his place in society, he believed in class and breeding but was not personally diminished by it. He could converse with anyone, was highly sociable and skilled and entirely without personal ambition or interest in material possessions.

He did though come from what could be said to be a working class family with experience and attitudes of service and some of his attitudes might be traced back to this. His father, as shown earlier, had been a farm worker, a groom, a coachman and then latterly an insurance collector and a distributor of newspapers. His mother, the daughter of a shepherd had been a domestic servant. They always lived in rented accommodation and never aspired to own their own house, perhaps never believing it was possible. His eldest sister was also a domestic servant and three other sisters worked on the line at Cadbury's chocolate factory. Two brothers went to the US and

⁴ Recounted to the researcher, his youngest son, David, possibly in 1950s.

prospered, another became a chef and travelled the world. In other words, a family of service and adventure but without social ambition.

Thomas married, by contrast, Hephzibah Jones, the last child of a small shopkeeper and newsagent brought up in Wallheath on the rural fringe of the Black Country. Hers was a narrow non-conformist upbringing, she sang contralto in the Chapel Choir and was taught to play the piano. Her siblings, all older, were all worldly and successful; one sister managed a large hotel in Blackpool, another married a stock broker, two brothers owned butchers shops and in the 1930s her mother owned a car. Hephzibah's family thought she had married beneath her status. She had narrow attitudes and standards, was critical of people and had scarcely any social skills but had an abiding love of the countryside.

This volatile clash of attitudes and values, of aspiration and ways of life, produced a daughter and four sons, all born in Birmingham between 1913 and 1936. Hephzibah was ambitious for, and fiercely protective of, her children and asserted the superiority particularly of her sons, and had strong views on behaviour and public presentation. She was thrifty and careful - she had to be because of Thomas E's attitudes of profligacy and live for the moment.

Environment (1)

The first four children were brought up in cramped, rented accommodation above a shop in the High Street of an inner Birmingham suburb (Figure 9.8). This suburb was in marked contrast to the rural conditions of Bedlam Row (Figure 8.3). They were different worlds separated by about 40 miles and incalculable cultural difference. In Little Hereford men went to work in the fields on foot, they grew a good deal of their own food in their gardens and children walked to school to be taught by teachers with quite different sets of values, they worked on the land when they were needed and visited the town infrequently and they walked everywhere. There was no electricity, no gas and no water closets. When they left school they worked on the land or were apprenticed to a skilled man – or they left for the town.

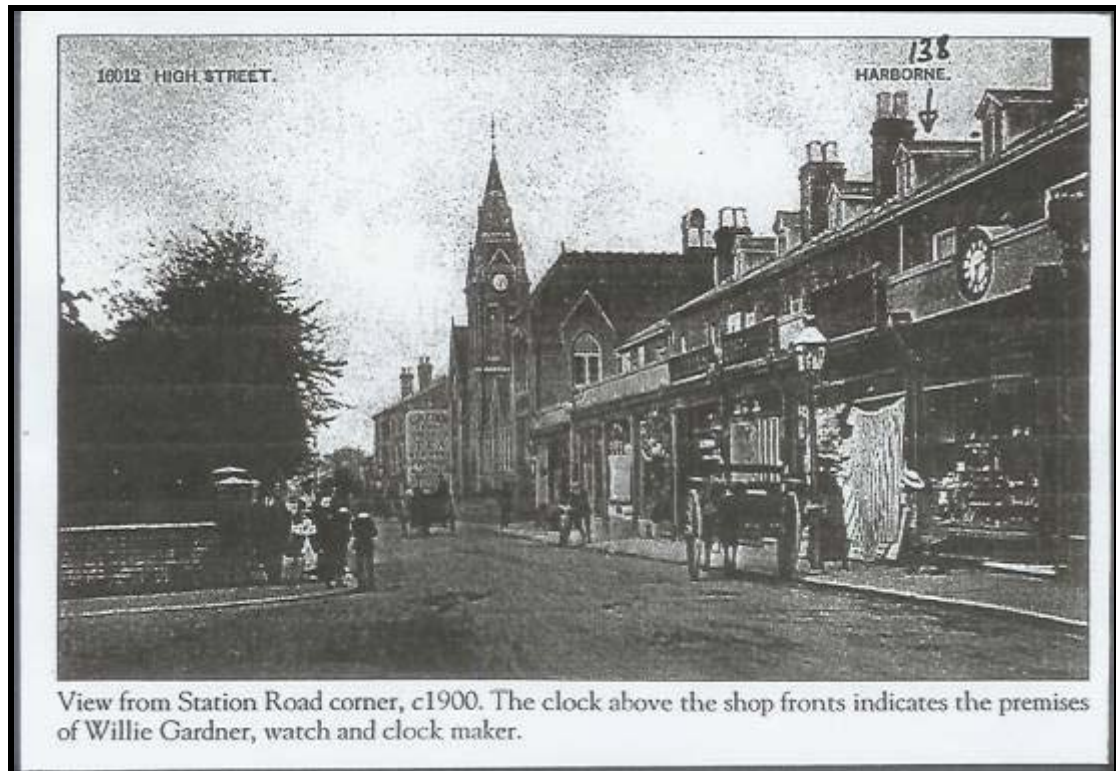


Figure 9.8 High Street, Harborne (Clarke 1994)

In Birmingham work in the restaurant or factory, the Austin or Cadbury's, was accessed by public transport. School was regularly attended, there were only a few gardens and food came from shops and milk from a churn brought to the door. Major shopping was regularly accessible, whilst in Herefordshire it was probably only once per week.

The first child, Brenda, left school aged 14 years in 1927 and trained as a comptometer operator and then worked in the Water Department of Birmingham City Council. The three boys passed the 'scholarship' and went to an elite boys grammar school. They left school at 16 years of age and went into white-collar jobs, two at the Austin Longbridge factory and one in the Treasurer's Department of Birmingham City Council. They were socially upwardly mobile. They married respectively a typist and a telephonist who both went to grammar schools and a comptometer operator who went to a private school. This was against a background of a developing economy in Birmingham and, in the 1930s, a developing opportunity for those from

the working classes who used a grammar school education as a means of social and economic improvement.

The Environment (2)

Fred was born in 1917 with a cleft pallet. His father, Thomas E., paid 200 guineas for him to have a pioneering operation to correct this. Thomas E. was financially very well off indeed, to secure his job as a waiter in the exclusive Exchange Restaurant, Birmingham, he had to pay a premium of £5 per week to be allowed to work there. The operation was a great success but Fred remained sickly. So, in 1923, in order to help his recovery Thomas E. had a caravan built and towed by horse to Bircher Common, Herefordshire, to Yew Tree farm owned by his uncle David Maund, ('Uncle Dave' or 'Mon'). The family took up residence there at Easter 1923 to stay for the duration of the summer whilst Thomas E remained at work in Birmingham. The children enrolled at the local school along with their second cousins Hazel, Bill and Jack. They went back to Birmingham in September but the experiences of the previous five months stayed with them for life. They returned the following year for the summer. This was, it later transpired, the first step in the eventually permanent return of the family to Herefordshire.

Although it was only a temporary migration at this stage it shows some of the known features of migration. For example, the visit to an area before the decision to migrate permanently. In more detail it indicates some of the essential phases in the process of migration.

- Motive or trigger to migrate – the perceived health need of Fred.
- Enabling resource to move – the income of Thomas E.
- A destination to move to – the facility and location provided by 'Uncle Dave'.

These points are not suggested as an inevitable sequence; the knowledge of a destination may become the motive to move. This is a not unfamiliar feature of migration over a long period of time. For example, Baines (1985) noted the role of knowledge as an essential ingredient in the 19th century emigrations to the USA,

whilst Pryce (2000, p69) has referred to it as a 'Migration Feedback Loop'. However, recent research has shown the very great complexity in the decision to migrate particularly between marriage partners (Seavers 1999). In the case of the young Maunds the temporary move to Bircher Common began a process of, at least partial, acculturation. This process of assimilating and adapting to the rural culture or at least admiration for its way of life possibly provided an additional stimulus to move to Herefordshire more permanently.

As indicated previously the notion of life course has to an extent superseded the life cycle as a means of describing migration process. Here the view is taken that life course relates to the sequence through life of an individual or family which may or may not show similarity to others but which is marked by turning points or transitions some of which may relate to migration. Indeed it may be perfectly possible to go through a transition without recognising it rather like the time of decision alluded to by Kirk (1963). A transition too is here regarded as more of a process than an event. Thus, the visit to Bircher by the Maunds in 1923 may be viewed as a transition point but in reality it may be seen more as the beginning of a process. The acquaintance with Bircher was, in terms of life course, an important transition for the whole family. Different individuals responded to this in slightly different ways but for the whole family it was an essential point in a process. It transformed the life course of the entire family.

It also seems clear, although there is no direct evidence, that there must have been previous contact between the Birmingham Maunds and the Herefordshire Maunds. It seems safe to assume that when Emma Maund died in Little Hereford in 1917 that Thomas would have attended the funeral perhaps accompanied by his son Thomas E. In fact Thomas E., when passing Little Hereford church, referred to it as the place where his grandmother was buried. Uncle Dave would have been at the funeral too so some communication would have been established. After the Great War Thomas E. had a powerful motorbike (1000cc Ariel, OH 6973) and may well have visited Bircher to set up the siting of the caravan. So another phase of the process was established:

- Prior contact with Destination
- Identification with ways of life as a stage to Acculturation.

Bircher Common is immediately adjacent to the neighbourhood of Little Hereford, to the west in the parish of Yarpole, which is on the western edge of Richards Castle and Orleton. Figure 9.9 gives an indication of the layout of the 345-acre common, one of the largest in Herefordshire. Yew Tree Farm is at the south-eastern edge with Cock Gate School due south. To the west is the Iron Age fort of Croft Ambrey and Croft Castle whilst Bircher Hall is to the southeast. The common itself lies on the south facing flanks of an east-west ridge and rises to 280 metres. There is woodland towards the summit and the rest is grass, fern and gorse. The holdings on its southern and eastern edge had grazing rights so there were sheep and semi wild horses.

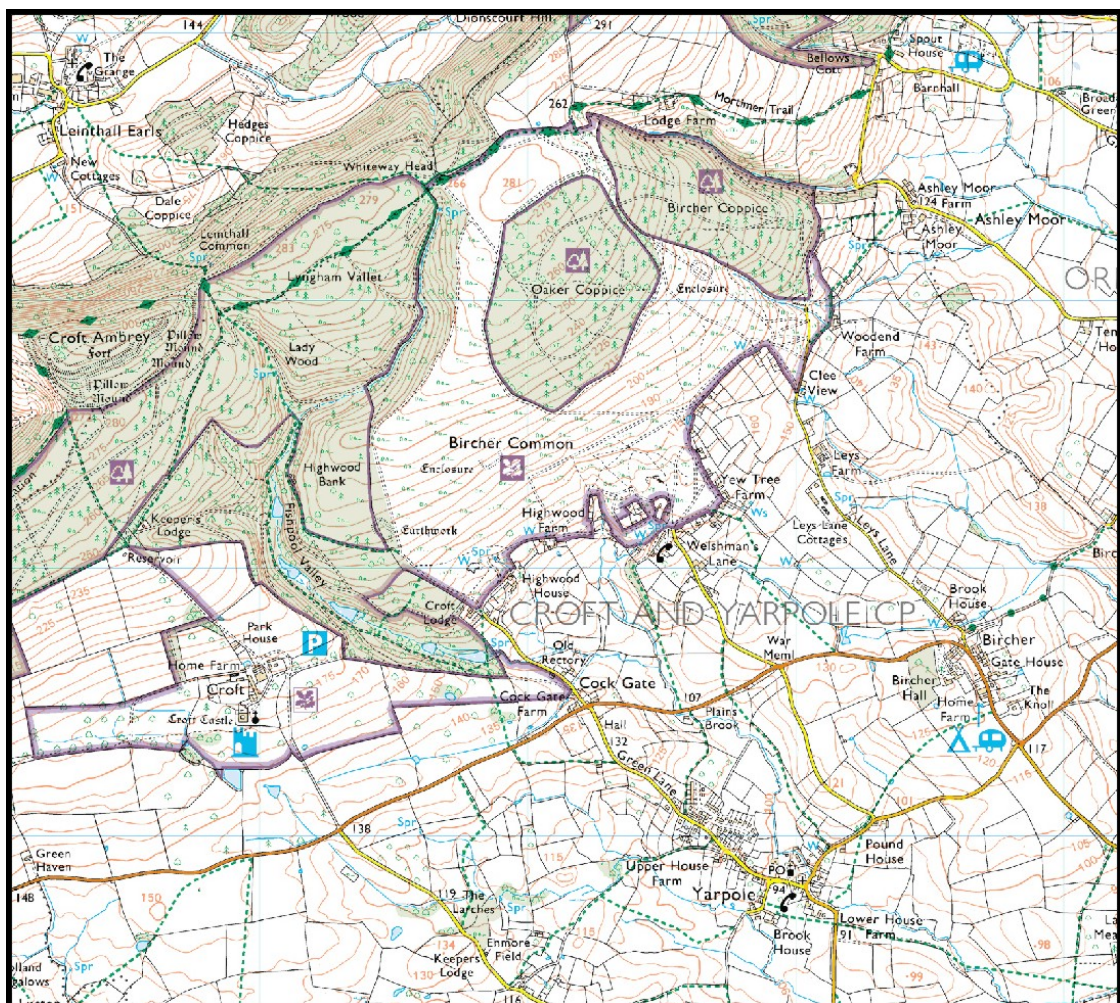


Figure 9.9 Bircher Common

As noted in Chapter 8 Uncle Dave returned from the USA in May 1912, just avoiding being a passenger on the Titanic. He bought Yew Tree Farm for £800. This farm was

only 40 acres⁵ but crucially it had grazing rights on the Common. For the Birmingham Maunds it was an entirely new world, quite different from that experienced in central Birmingham in the 1920s. At this time the regime on the farm was not unlike that described by Dodd (1979). It was a small mixed farm but supporting much more than its acreage due to the grazing rights. The Common was used for sheep that were commercially reared for the market in Leominster. The ponies were caught by Uncle Dave using his American saddle and a lasso and then broken to be sold in South Wales as pit ponies. Milk and butter were sold at the door, both full cream and skim, the skim derived from separating the cream that was used for the churning of the butter. This was made by Aunt who sang “*Keep the Home Fires Burning*” as she churned. All this provided income. Each member of the family, adult or child, worked the farm, and each had a specialised role. Bill was the sheepman and his brother Jack the horseman; this from an early age for it was both work and leisure, a way of life. Aunt looked after the house, the poultry and essentially the farm accounts. In fact it would be true to say that life did not consist of a separation between home, work and leisure, it was all one – a genuine way of life.

“Flower” the horse provided the means of cultivating the land and the crops included beet, mangolds, swedes and potatoes. Additionally oats, beans and wheat were grown similarly for fodder. Of course apples were grown for cider. So it was essentially a pastoral farm but with significant arable support. On Fridays, those not at school, went to market in Leominster. The pony and trap carried butter, eggs and sometimes chicks and other fowl. Animals to be sold, sheep or cattle or calves, were driven the six miles on the hoof. The pony and trap was left for the day at the Golden Lion for a small fee. The farm was self-supporting in many ways, certainly for most foods, but any other necessary items were bought on the weekly trip to Leominster because it was also an opportunity for some leisure to be looked forward to.

There were no public services on Bircher Common until the 1950s. Water was carried in buckets using a yoke and oil lamps or candles provided light. In the winter evenings the family gathered together around the kitchen table and read or played

⁵ The material in this section is drawn from recorded conversations with Bill Maund son of Uncle Dave, Roger his grandson and with Ken, Fred, Brenda, sons and daughter of Thomas E.

cards or did sewing repairs, all by the light of a single candle. They lived in a desperately frugal manner.

The children of Uncle Dave, and the contrast in their way of life, had a profound influence upon the young Maunds which remained with them for ever. For example, they caught and trapped animals and birds, some of which they tamed and kept in homemade cages and runs. They rode the horses on the Common, but never with a saddle for fear of being caught in a stirrup as Uncle Dave had seen many times in America. It was a complete contrast to the way of life of the Birmingham Maunds. They walked across the Common to the village school and because of the nature of the activities and way of life they developed a bond that remained with them for life.

Bill was the leading figure in this, he was a skilled and intelligent man whom the others admired and saw as a model. He passed the 'Scholarship' as did his sister Hazel, but neither of them took up their places. They felt that extended school could do little to support or enhance their way of life. This fits entirely with the view expressed in Chapter 5 that part of the culture was an undervaluing of the potential of education.

(1399)	1444			16	6	24	Maund Brenda May	26	5	13	Yew Tree Farm Bir C	
(1400)	1445						" Kenneth Arthur	6	3	15	"	
(1419)	1446						" Frederick Gordon	8	7	17	"	
	1447	16	6	24			" Robert	15	4	19	"	
	1448	14	7	24			M. Hanlon Gertrude Ellen	13	5	19	Lucton	
	1449	22	9	24	28	14	30	Davies Thomas Edward	28	1	19	Stanley Road B. Co
	1450	8	12	24				Jukes Esther	26	7	19	Rowan Cottage B. Co
	1451	6	1	25				Haines Winifred Elin	18	11	19	Gorben Bircher
	1452	16	1	25				Hackett Reineci	4	3	20	Chapel House Garpol
	1453	2	3	25				Buften Harold Mon	1	7	18	Hill Farm Lucton
20-477	1454	30	3	25				Francis W. Edward	19	1	20	Bircher
	1455	1	4	25				Pugh Eva	11	2	20	Lake House Farm Bir
	1456	1	2	25				Postans Harold W	3	2	20	Bircher
	1457	12	3	25				Saunders Michael Tom	15	9	15	"
	1458	19	3	25				Phillips Mary Eileen	16	10	20	Brick Cottage Warble
	1459	19	5	25				Lesson Joseph Thomas	5	5	20	Chapel Cottage Lucton
	1460	18	5	25				Hennell Susan Agnes	2	7	19	Cockpole Farm
1433	1461			5	6	25		Haines Edward W	28	7	15	Gorben Bircher

Hambledon Bucks				1	7	24	Left
"							
Hartman G.B. Bham				18	7	24	Left for Birmingham
" Bgs "				18	7	24	"
" " "				18	7	24	"
" Rf "				18	7	24	"
none							
none				18	8	30	Left district
Dorington Selph				5	8	27	Terminated fr. School
none				12	7	27	Left
none				25	7	27	Returned
Seven Sisters & Heath							
none				14	4	27	Left Birmingham
none				3	4	28	Left for Madingley Centre
none				26	7	32	Returned Grammar School
none				3	6	27	Left school
none				13	12	25	None in Birmingham
Stoke Newington				30	11	27	Returned
none				19	10	32	Removed to Kingsland
Hordford							

Figure 9.10 Extract, Admissions Register, Cock Gate School, 1924 (H.C.R.O. J17/4)

Figure 9.10 shows an extract from the Admissions Register of Cock Gate School. The four young Maunds are shown entered there with Robert starting at the school for the first time. The previous year, 1923, he was too young to go when the others started there. The lower part of the extract shows the leaving of the school date for the return to Birmingham for the Autumn of 1924. A previous page in the Register shows the admission of the three Maund Cousins, Hazel Gwynn, William David, and John Wilfred, 'Jack'.

Something of the way the young Maunds lived in their caravan is given in an extract from a letter sent to the researcher by his brother, Fred, together with the drawing below it (Figures 9.11 and 9.12). In the extract something of the feeling for the place comes through. This extract makes clear the preference for this experience on Bircher Common rather than the one in the City.

To the Birmingham Maunds it may have seemed like a rural idyll and certainly it remained in their memory as such for the rest of their lives. They were impressionably young, in the company of their mother who was in many ways 'rural' and with a new and exciting peer group; they were also there in the summer.

"The caravan was parked in an orchard some 200 yards behind the farm house. On the far side or rear were two bunk beds. Under the rear of the caravan and attached to was a large wooden box the full width, with a hinged lid. Mother used to keep utensils in it, a sort of locker.

This could have been about 1925. At the time we lived in Harborne in a small house behind and over a shop. It consisted of a small living room and what we called scullery, with two small bedrooms and an attic. So we were glad to go to the caravan.

Life in the caravan was obviously primitive, no flush toilet. All water carried from the farm and therefore rationed. Springs and streams were reasonably clean, fertilisers were not used extensively then, so we drank from these sources"

Figure 9.11 Letter from Fred Maund 11th Nov 1996.



Figure 9.12 The caravan.
A sketch made by Fred in November 1996 when he was 79 years old.

They enjoyed freedom to roam, the excitement of the farm and its regime, the company of cousins with whom they identified and with whom they forged a lasting bond, the affection and admiration for Uncle Dave. Above all it was a life style and way of life and witnessed in exciting and unusual circumstances.

In Chapter 5 the importance of culture in the decision to migrate or at least the ways of life associated with it was emphasised. A culture may contain a variety of interdependent ways of life and the one played out here was both similar and greatly different from that of the agricultural labourer. This was another reality to the situation. The Maunds of Bircher were independent farmers who owned their farm; therefore the farming decisions were theirs. It was, despite the vestiges of subsistence, a commercial enterprise designed to make money so it was another aspect of the culture of the area. The 1920s and 1930s was a period of depression in farming but for those with the insight, as always, there was money to be made. Uncle Dave was a travelled man, his wife was from the neighbouring village and was a hard working business woman. The way of life, though attractive, was geared to the business of farming. Uncle Dave made three other moves by 1939, to farms each one better than the last, in Newton, Preston Wynn and finally Sutton, all within 12 miles of Bircher. In 1939 he bought, for £3,000, the 87 acre farm, Amberley in the parish of Sutton St Nicholas between Hereford and Leominster, in the territory of Maund.

The experiences on Bircher Common in the early 1920s made a formative and lasting impression upon the young Birmingham Maunds such as to give direction to the rest of their lives. This, by their own testimony, was an essential component in their decisions to migrate.

The argument above leads to the conclusion that an aspect of the migration process is an image of the desired way of life in the receiving area.

- Perceived way of life is important in the decision to migrate.
- The properties of the receiving area are important in the decision to migrate.
- There may be a personal fulfilment/ambition component in the decision to migrate.

- Ambition led migration requires energy and drive.

This though is not the whole of the matter. There may be an impression of the receiving way of life but in practice this has to mesh with what is brought by the migrant. Thus the attitudes and values previously learned have to mesh with those of the receiving community. This part of the process is an essential consideration for acculturation which is an aspect of the success of the migration process. Previous experience is not expunged by the new one, they both have to be brought together into some form of relationship and different people will do so in different ways. In this manner there is no deterministic, inevitable outcome to the process.

The contention here is that the Maunds, in addition to the Bircher experiences, brought something from their parents, for example, their mother's desire for material improvement and something from their urban experiences of a grammar school education and early beginnings in white-collar jobs. All this informed their later movements and judgements.

- An aspect of the decision to migrate is the previous life experiences of the potential migrant.
- For successful migration there needs to be an accommodation between the incoming migrant and the receiving community.

The remainder of this chapter traces the migration paths of each of the Maund children together with their stated motives for each move.

9.4.3 The Inter-War Period: The Early Migrations

This section examines the first moves made by the Maund family all within the inter war period and then as they married and the family dispersed. Much of the analysis is based on the personal evidence of those concerned.⁶ Much of this evidence is in the form of recorded conversations, both one to one and also together, on Bircher Common and in Harborne. It is not a formal interview situation because this would have been inappropriate but it rested around the need to understand the answers to three fundamental questions. Where? When? Why? This methodology, a form of participant observation, is a familiar one (Hoggart et al 2002; Cloke et al 2004).

⁶ The exception is Bob who predeceased this study, so much will be based on evidence from his elder daughter and the researcher.

“It was a better House”

The Maunds made one move within Birmingham. In 1932 they moved further out of the City to a three bed roomed, semi-detached rented property with a bathroom, in the rural-urban fringe, with a very large garden. This was part of the suburbanisation process then affecting large urban areas as they continued to expand (Wise 1950). Bartley Green was on the edge of the then built up area and there was a farm at the end of the lane where a chicken could be bought for 2/6. Contrast Figure 9.13 with Figure 9.6, they were three miles apart but ages in terms of standards of living. The decision to move was taken by Mother with the active urging and support of her children. She took the initiative and found the house and moved. It was much more like the location of her childhood. And, of course at least three of the children were earning. Fred said,

“Well, it was a better house wasn’t it?”

Brenda said,

“We were older by then and could put pressure on”

This suggests that Thomas E. merely acceded. This was not a move conditioned by some predetermined life cycle stage but more initiated by the children to meet their life style aspirations. It was a transition.



Figure 9.13 “A Better House”

In the 1920s and 1930s unlike their counterparts in the countryside, a grammar school education was seen as an opportunity to improve life chances. The young Maunds had this opportunity and seized upon it. By 1932 Brenda and Ken were working in white-collar jobs with prospects and Fred was about to join them. Their mother had aspirations from her childhood experiences.

There was much in the conversations and references to the extreme dislike that Mother and the children had for the Harborne accommodation. They certainly felt disadvantaged by it and resentful that they lived in such circumstances when the income existed for better accommodation. By 1932 all but Bob were earning and could contribute to the support of the household so, it looked as though the move was made irrespective of the views of Thomas E.; he was not part of this decision for there was no thought on his part for this type of material improvement.

The circumstances may reveal another aspect of the migration process and in some way relate to previous notions discussed in Chapter 7 about the possible significance of accommodation in the process.

- Improving accommodation and environment may be a factor in the process of migration decision.

“Nearly a Poultry Farm”

In January 1934 Fred started a diary that he filled for the whole year with remarkable consistency. All but December is complete for that year. He had his 17th birthday during that year and the diary tells of his work, some happenings in the family, and gives an insight into the continued interest in rural affairs as learned in Herefordshire. It would be possible to do a form of content analysis upon the diary but this section takes a more open approach to illustrate themes to do with the desire for a country way of life. Thomas E. worked on the assembly line at the Austin Motor Company and the three older children had white-collar jobs. Although they had what might be called urban employment they maintained a rural interest. In the diary three significant themes emerge: considerable discussion concerning contacts with Herefordshire, the emergence of interest in horticulture, and the development of

commercial interests. In many ways these were quite different interests to those of their father, Thomas E., and the other children of Thomas Maund (Generation 9).

The family had a large garden and an allotment that was supplemented by two other allotments in the course of the year. In addition to growing produce for the house there was also the production of eggs and the rearing of poultry.

“Mother is thinking about putting wire netting round the allotment and keeping fowl (White Leghorns), sitting broody hens and rearing chicks”
(Friday Jan 5th.)

Then the next month he records,

“I got home and hurried my dinner, had a wash and went to Harborne. I then went to the Bank where I got 15/- out. Afterwards I went to Collins & Wells, the ironmongers, and asked the price of the wire netting. They said 17/- for a roll fifty yards long by five feet high and two-inch mesh. I thought that was too much and went to Whistles where I got it for 15/6. It was British made and guaranteed. I also bought a nice little galvanised bucket, 6d.” (Friday 2nd February).

There are many references to the fowls, each day the number of eggs they layed and also to their sale, plucked and dressed. In March he goes to the Bull Ring,

“I walked round about five times & finally bought 8 white Aylesbury ducklings for just under 6/-. The fellow wanted 8/- for them but I knocked him down to that price.” (Friday 23rd June).

Even these brief extracts show money saved for future use and the interest in best prices and bargains, a business approach to a hobby.

There are also references to the cultivated plants and the involvement of the other members of the family. With the exception of Thomas E., they all joined in.

“Ken has got the broad bean and peas and tomato seeds from Northfield and we all dug the garden in the afternoon” (Saturday 11th February)

There are also many references to the planting, watering and finally harvesting of these crops. Prices are frequently quoted also. It is a mine of information about the family interest in growing and rearing things and to buying and reading the weekly “Small Holder” and the collecting of a number of editions to qualify for their encyclopaedia.

There are many references to visits to the local farm,

“I stopped in, in the morning, and went to Davies’s in the afternoon. I milked a cow.” (Sunday 6th May)

But Fred, however, turns down an opportunity to work on the farm.

“... went up to Davies’s farm and Mrs Lucas asked me, or rather told me, that I could have a job there but I would rather stick to the one that I have as I can save more money” (Wednesday 2nd May)

He was constantly visiting this farm and buying items from them such as straw but the interest here is his desire to save money, gained from his Mother and her thrift but also suggesting some future aim or ambition, which was addressed later.

“I often wish I was far away from Austin in the country some where. I have this feeling lots of times. The noise and chatter of factory people doesn’t suit me” (Wednesday 13th June).

This reinforces the idea of delayed gratification for some later achievement. The next day some of this dream is expressed when he records,

“I sold a cockerel at work, 1 to Mr Bentley and 1 to Mr Amphlett, that is six orders for cockerels so far. I have only 8. I have 21 chickens and chicks and hens etc amount to 44 head of stock. Nearly a poultry farm”. (Thursday 14th June).

Certainly all this was driven by interest but it was not a mere hobby, it was also commercial. There was an attempt to make money from the enterprises and there was an intellectual component, a desire to learn, in the reading of appropriate literature.

The emotional attachment to the countryside is best summed up in two late entries,

“Read Lorna Doone or rather a few pages out of the book. It describes the country on Exmoor marvellously. Also farm life is described” (Thurs 1st November).

and then a few days later,

“I took the book Lorna Doone to work with me and read it during the dinner hour. The scenes are on Exmoor far out in the country round about the year 1680. I hope to save up and have a farm sometime far out, as Shakespeare (sic) says ‘Far from the madding crowd’” (Monday 5th November).

So, the ambition is stated clearly.

In the diary there is also evidence of continued contact with Yew Tree Farm in Herefordshire and this some 10 years after the last summer stay in the caravan in 1924. Thus,

“I wrote to Jack and Bill today” (Tuesday 28th February).

“I had a letter from Jack at the farm yesterday and mother had one from Aunt. Flower is dead, a bit of bad luck. I wrote to him and Bill and then after that I wrote a bit in my diary.” (Wednesday 28th March).

“We had a letter from the farm. Aunt sat 48 eggs and got 9 chicks” (Saturday 5th May).

“They may come from the farm on Sunday” (Friday 13th July).

“Bill, Jack, Aunt, Uncle, Hazel, Dickie and Bumper came in a four seater Standard. I moved the fowl run onto the grass. What a job it was too. Jack has grown a bit and Dickie. I think I shall go for my holidays.” (Sunday 22nd July).

“I was thinking, a fortnight today ahead I hope to be at the farm” (Tuesday 24th July).

In fact Fred did not visit the farm but rather went to stay with his Auntie Cissie in Rhyl. Here he had a good time with her children and the excitement of the entertainments, the fair ground and the cinema. These interests, urban based, contrast with his countryside interests, a duality he maintained throughout his life. At this time

despite his desire to be in Herefordshire, he went to the seaside instead. But on the other hand members of the family did go to Herefordshire.

“Mother is going to the Farm on Saturday” (Wednesday 29th August).

“Winkle(Ken) is bad having felt sick all last night and today. However, if all goes well Bobbie and he will cycle to the farm tomorrow for a week, while mother goes on the Midland Red.” (Friday 31st August).

“Mother and Bob and Ken went to the farm this morning for a week” (Saturday 1st September).

So there are persistent themes in the diary relating to growing and rearing things, about the ultimate commercial nature of this and a willingness to learn more. The continued contact with the farm and the friendship and bond between them is also a feature. Of course this is a partial selection of the diary, there are many references to work at the Austin factory, to attending evening classes, the activities of the household and to some world events. But what emerges from the selection are two further features of the migration process;

- As an aspect of the migration process the significance of the concept of way of life.
- Continuous contact with the reception area is important in the migration process.

Whether these interests and experiences can be seen to constitute a real understanding and appreciation of the rural way of life is difficult to determine. It could equally be that it was an idealised view based as it was on two exciting summers spent with a peer group away from a drab home environment. On the other hand, it emphasised that the Maund boys were all immensely proud, not so much of their grammar school education but that they had been to King Edward VI Grammar School, Five Ways. They spoke of it, could recite the register of names of their class and wore the Old Boys tie. These were important formative experiences which assisted their lives later.

9.4.4 The Moves away from Birmingham.

In the terminology of Coleman and Salt (1992) the family of Thomas E. dispersed, effectively from 1938, when the move back to Herefordshire began. It was on the initiative of Fred with the active encouragement, support and participation of Mother which resulted in finding a cottage for rent. He moved there with his mother and two year old brother, David, (present author and born in 1936) and maternal grandmother, Xantepe Jones. For the moment the other members of the family stayed in Birmingham and, over the next four years married, and as will be shown below, moved to Herefordshire as individual families. This came at the second phase of the socio-economic context which came as the war created a resurgence in farming and brought it out of the stagnation which it had suffered since the 1870s (Table 9.1). Although this move to Herefordshire was important in the lives of the family it could be argued that it was a continuation of a phase initiated by the transition of the early 1920s and preparatory to the next transition. It was more than a change of location but not yet a transition.

There is no doubt that Fred was the leader and catalyst for the moves. In 1932 he left school early and after a short period at the Technical College responded to an advert in the "Farmers Weekly" and went as a live-in farm worker to a farm in Sussex. The whole tone of his 1934 diary, written after his return, strongly suggests that it was he and his mother who were responsible, in the main, for the cultivation of the garden, the allotments and the production and sale of poultry and eggs. The others were interested followers. Thomas E. never took part in these activities nor did he ever initiate a move of house. But wherever he was he found things to interest him and they always had an intellectual component.

Another characteristic of the migration process suggests itself from the role of Fred.

- Leadership or initiative taking is an important aspect of the migration process.

The first move was to a cottage on a common, by coincidence, Maund Cottage on Maund Common in the hamlet of Maund Bryan. The origin and significance of this name has been described in detail above. Because of the significance of Fred in

leading the family migration his moves are charted first in what follows. The data used comes from recorded conversations in 1998 that predate the structure of this project. They were recorded at this point because of the age and health of the respondents. The sequences are accurate but the dates not always entirely precise. Bob had predeceased this work and, therefore, his sequence of moves comes from his children and the researcher.

The moves are shown in the form of a chart together with some commentary. For example, Table 9.3 a colour-coded chart that plots these moves. The **brown** shows countryside locations and the **green** locations in Market Towns. Immediately a number of patterns can be identified.

For example, the vast majority of the moves were within the countryside and there was only one short period away from Herefordshire, more specifically from North Herefordshire. But there were other important features. For the years up to the mid 1950s Fred pursued his ambition to be a farmer. To achieve this he gradually built up his resources. At the rented Lion Inn during the War he farmed 15 acres, mostly dairy farming, as well as running the Inn. In three years he made £1,000, which provided the capital for his first farm in Carmarthenshire.

He left Herefordshire for Wales in 1946,

“... because farms were cheap there, I paid £1,200 for Pantygweinth and then £6,000 for Blaencynlleth which was better land”

This move to a farm may be called a transition in the life course of Fred, it was the culmination of a set of endeavours all aimed at owning a farm. In the act of doing this he changed his entire life style. He was by then married and had three children but these events were not so significant as the change to the ownership of a farm.

The move to Wales was a means to an end, the return to Herefordshire to buy a farm. He achieved this ambition in 1950 when he bought a farm in Herefordshire, aged 33 years. He acquired two farms in quick succession. But this was the end of his seeking the way of life of the farmer. Thereafter making of money in a less long term manner and the ownership of property became Fred's goal. To an extent material

things and life style took over. Whether he realised that the way of life of the farmer was not for him or whether there was more money to be gained from farming related activities is difficult to gauge but perhaps the words,.

“All of us were imbued with the town”

give the clue. It may be that the ambition to be a farmer was based on early idealised experiences. In any event he changed his life again and it was a transition from farmer to livestock dealer.

The war years and the fifties were good for farming (Figure 9.8). Produce was in demand and land was cheap after the Depression in farming that had begun as far back as the 1870s. There were opportunities relating to farming that presented an even better return and a more exciting life style. The consumer economy was booming, people were buying houses, there was full employment and ‘we’d never had it so good’.

There was a major drive by Government to see that all dairy herds were free from bovine TB. To this end herds were required to be tested and then Attested. Carmarthenshire was, in the 1950s, one such Attested area and a source of calves. This gave Fred the impetus to develop a business which was to grow hugely, initially supplying calves to Herefordshire farmers and subsequently all over the U.K., particularly Scotland and then later to the near Continent. Allied to this was the sale of biscuit meal as animal feed manufactured by Huntley and Palmers from Reading (where, by this time, both Brenda and Ken now lived). Allied to these changes were a series of residential changes (Table 9.3), thus reinforcing Fred’s claim that he,

“Made money to buy something better.”

These were successively The Garden House, Humber Grange and Bircher Hall, all with buildings, land and fine gardens and all were improved and sold on at a profit. Fred had become an entrepreneur and businessman using the sales skills first begun with the allotment produce in Birmingham. A house was not merely a place to live it was a commodity for sale and moving a means to an end.

- In favourable circumstances migration can be used to generate a livelihood.

Date	Location Herefordshire	Location elsewhere	Employment
1938	Bodenham - Maund Cottage		R.O. Factory
1940	„ - Moor Croft		
1941	„ -Pigeon Hse Cott		Lorry Driver & Small Holder
1942	Ullingwick – Wood Hill		Publican & Small Farmer
1943	Amley – Lion Inn		
1946		Pantygweinth – Carms	Dairy Farmer
1948		Blaencynlleth – Carms	„ „
1950	Nine Wells Farm – Marden		Dairy farmer
1954	Middlewood Farm – Clifford		„ „
1956	Yarkhill		Calf Dealer & Smallholder
1958	Garden House - Shobden		Calf Dealer & Land Owner
1961	Humber Grange		Calf Dealer
1966	Bircher Hall		Calf Dealer
1972	Falcons Roost – Newton		Calf Dealer & Land owner
1975	Kingsley House – Dinmore		Calf & Car Dealer
1978	Light House – Leominster		Renting Flats
1979	Old Hall – Hatfield		Dealer
1981	Livestock Centre – Stoke Prior		Dealer, livestock, cars, rented property, land.
1996	Leominster		Retired
2000	Wigmore		Retired –Died 2002.

Table 9.3 The Moves of Fred Maund.

Thus, for example, Humber Grange was bought for £3k and sold for £9k. Bircher Hall was bought with 15 acres for £10k and sold for £12.5k. Some of the land was sold separately for £10k so in total the deal amounted to £22.5k.

The sixties began a new era in the economy which gathered pace into the seventies when even the newer industries came under pressure from overseas competition. Historically the 1970s began to see farming under pressure again and there was inflation in property prices and land. Fred took advantage of this, but always lived in

the countryside. Cattle dealing is hard work and there is an inevitable routine, just as much routine as farming, buying in some markets, selling in others and supplying customers over long distances. A thousand calves have to be housed, fed and moved every week. This was perhaps another transition where his business became less farming related and more to do with land and motor vehicles, a definite move away from farming

Because of personal circumstance and divorce leading to family break up, Fred diversified his dealing into a less labour intensive operation. He continued to move, bought and sold land and then settled for the longest period of his life at Stoke Prior, near Leominster. He had buildings that he rented, dealt locally in calf sales and bought and sold cars and caravans. The final two moves were to do with retirement and the realisation of equity.

- Personal and family circumstance may produce the need to move.

This brief biography, in part autobiography, has revealed above all that it is certainly possible to desire a way of life but actually to take it up is more difficult. The life path of Fred shows three broad phases; the early years in Birmingham touched by the countryside and farming; the drive to own a farm in Herefordshire; and finally the developing business and the establishment of a life style.

It does seem that it is possible to seek a way of life, to live in its context but not ultimately to be of it. Fred sought to live in a particular countryside but once there deploying skills learned in an urban setting. The transition which marked his life course started with the experience of Bircher Common in the 1920s and developed from this as summarised in Table 9.4.

Date	Event	Socio-Economic Phase(Fig 9.5)	Age
Early 1920s	Summers on Bircher Common.	Inter War Years.	6 + Years
1930s	Move to Suburbs.	Inter War Years	c 14
Early '40s	Herefordshire.	War and Aftermath	c 20+
Late '40s	Farming	War and Aftermath	Late 20's
Early '60s	Live Stock Dealing.	1960s to '80s	45+
Mid '80s	General Dealing.	From 1980s.	70+

Table 9.4 Life Course Transitions of Fred Maund.

Elder brother Ken had similar early life experiences to that of Fred, initially clerical work after school before eventually at the Austin Motor Company as a progress chaser which by the outbreak of the Second World War put him in a senior position on the night shift at £6 per week. But, significantly, he lived in Herefordshire briefly in 1938,

“I was fed up with Austin, with all the noise, and the country life beckoned”

But then a series of events took him back to Birmingham, imminent marriage and the threat of war. This time he went to the part of Austin now designated for the war effort, Aeroparts, which was a reserved occupation.

In 1939 he succeeded in obtaining the tenancy of a County Council Small Holding on the outskirts of Worcester. He did this by persuading the Council Committee of his experience of farming on Bircher Common. The rent was 9/6 per week and the ‘in-going’ £50. It came about from his initiative to place an advert in the Worcester Journal. Throughout the war he cultivated the holding as a market garden, selling the produce to shops and the remainder on the market.

Date	Location Herefordshire	Location elsewhere	Employment
1939		Dines Green - Worcester	Min of Aircraft Prod/ Smallholder
1947		Clynfelin - Carms	Dairy Farmer
1948		Blaenavon - Carms	” ”
1949		Tally - Carms	” ”
1950	Star Pit Farm Herefordshire		” ”
1952		Reading – Emmer Green	Company Sec./Small Holder
1960		Reading - Caversham	Company Director
1966		Berkshire – Pangborne	CD/ Small Farmer
1972	Thornbury		Small Farmer
1974	Pudleston		Jewellery Dealer
1996	Leominster		Retired
2004		Wiltshire	Retired to children

Table 9.5 The Moves of Ken Maund.

At the same time he worked at Aeroparts. It was a time of war and shortages and, therefore, a good time for growing and selling produce.

At the end of the war he gave up his job and worked full time on his plot and sold through a shop, rented in the town. Eventually this became two shops when he went into partnership with a returning army officer. In 1947 he sold the good will on the smallholding for £2,500 and moved to Wales.

Table 9.5 shows the moves made by Ken which is again colour coded similarly to that for Fred but with the addition of a **rural/urban fringe** in green and **town** in red. There are clear differences with the chart of Fred but also distinct similarities, the farms in Wales to increase equity rather than to farm and the desire for a farm in Herefordshire which was achieved in 1950. He also had the drive to succeed by making money. Of his period in Wales Ken says,

“I made a mistake with Clynfelin, I paid £1,700 for 80 acres and moved there in the May only to find that I could have got a 200 acre farm for £1,200. So I sold it for a profit and moved on the next September”

Fred’s influence is apparent here as he was already in Wales at this time so in a sense Ken followed him and received information from him. It was a time when outsiders were beginning to move to this area, a number of Polish war veterans came and the price of farms rose. The Maund brothers were in at the beginning before the prices began to rise significantly and so reaped the rewards.

- Some migration is a stepping-stone to later migration.

The move back to Herefordshire was short lived. An offer came through from his immediate boss at Aeroparts to join a new venture in the 1950s Hire Purchase boom. A Company had been established in Reading and he was invited to be Company Secretary at a starting salary of £1,000 per annum. This was an opportunity to set his family up which farming on the scale he had achieved could never do. He moved to the Oxfordshire fringe of Reading, to a smallholding with greenhouses.

- The role of significant others is important in the migration process.

The later move into the town was to a large house capable of accommodating, more comfortably, his three teen age daughters. The success of the business meant he could once more follow his interests. He bought a small farm on the outskirts of Reading and farmed it as well as being a Company Director and chairman of the Commercial Bankers Association.

Thus, both brothers could see an opportunity and were capable of taking a risk to pursue it. This and their interest in the countryside and in farming explains many of their moves.

- The identification of opportunity and willingness to take risks is a factor in migration.

The return to Herefordshire was facilitated by retirement where in quick succession he bought two smallholdings, staying in the last one for 22 years, part of which was spent dealing in jewellery (which he bought in the Jewellery Quarter of Birmingham) with jewellers up and down the Borderland. It was the longest stay anywhere. The move into Leominster was because the work on the smallholding became too much – he was 81 years old. From here he went daily to Bircher Common to walk. In 2004, aged 89, he moved, with great reluctance, to Wiltshire to be close to his daughters. He died there in 2006 and his ashes were scattered, at his request, on Bircher Common. Clearly there are parallels to the lifecourse of Fred - the achievement of an ambition to farm and a subsequent change in direction. As indicated in Table 9.6

Date	Event	Socio-economic phase	Age
Early 1920s	Summers on Bircher Common.	Inter War Years	C8
1930s	Move to Suburbs.	Inter war years	C16
Early '40s	Worcester Market Garden	War and Aftermath	C25
Late '40s	Farming	War and Aftermath.	C30
Early '50s	Company Secretary/Director	Aftermath ; 60s /70s	C37
Mid '70s	Retired, Jewellery	From '80s	C60
2004	Move Wiltshire	From '80s	89
2006	Died		91

Table 9.6 Life Course Transitions of Ken Maund.

Ken also experienced a series of distinct transitions, some different from those of Fred but the broad pattern is not dissimilar with the same broad influences producing

similar responses. However, the change in the 1950s back to what might be termed an urban occupation is a distinctive feature. Clearly there was a continuing interest in agriculture but not its way of life.

The third son of Thomas E. was Bob.⁷ Bob was part of the ‘Bircher experience’ but because of his age did not, during the first year, attend the school. He too went to the Grammar School in Birmingham, worked on the allotment and worked in white-collar occupations, specifically as a trainee accountant in the Treasurer’s Department of Birmingham City Council. Of this he said,

“I can’t imagine myself going through those swing doors for the rest of my life”

He also did military service from 1939, saw action at Dunkirk and was invalided out in 1942. He then married and moved to Herefordshire. The reconstruction of his moves is shown as Table 9.7. The contrast with the two brothers is immediately apparent. There are fewer moves; once in Herefordshire he stays there and his long stays come relatively early rather than towards the end of his life.

Bob was motivated in a different way from his brothers; in many ways he was a driven man, to work and to do things well rather than just to make money. He was a Church attender and offered service to the community. He was less of a risk taker.

Date	Location Herefordshire	Location elsewhere	Employment
1942	Ullingswick - Woodhill		Smallholder
1943	Much Marcle		Secretary
1944	Bodenham		Farm Secretary
1948	Much Cowarne		Farmer
1969	M. Cowarne – Burley Gate		Post Master
1975	Hereford		Investor
1976	Burghill		Retired
1978	Bodenham		Retired
1980	Yarpole		Small Holder

Table 9.7 The Moves of Bob Maund

⁷ Bob died in 1989, aged 70. The description here is based on data provided by his daughters and David, the researcher. It is not therefore his actual account.

His memories of Bircher were not as powerful or as compelling as they were for his brothers, his attachment to the sons of Uncle Dave not as strong, he was possibly too young for them to be his peer group. Bob, by contrast with his brothers, did not have an obvious nostalgia for his youth but he did have a commitment to a community of which he wished to be a part.

He came to Herefordshire because of Fred and his mother and the need to recuperate after his war experience. Fred found him and his new bride a place to live, but he was not ready for farming. He moved to Much Marcle in eastern Herefordshire where he worked in the offices of the Weston Cider Company, so his skills learned in an urban area served well in a rural environment. There was a bungalow that went with the job.

Herefordshire is an area of large landowners as well as small farms. One such was Captain Norman Edwards who had five farms that he ran through farm bailiffs in each case. Such an enterprise requires organisation and a bureaucracy and Bob became Secretary to the estate and moved to a tied house in Bodenham, Maund Court. The estate office was in nearby Preston Wynn at the main farm, Rosemaund. When Norman Edwards died prematurely Bob went to work for his father Major Edwards who also had farms. He remained also as accountant to Norman Edwards' widow.

In 1948 he moved to Panks Bridge Farm, in Much Cowarne, first of all as tenant and then as owner, sold to him as sitting tenant by his then employer, Major Edwards. He had been interested in farming, just like his brothers but his early experience was not successful. Working as a farm secretary and mixing with the farm bailiffs was a learning experience so when the opportunity arose to become a farmer he seized it.

Once more the influence of contacts and significant others is important in moving-on. Bob farmed at Panks Bridge Farm successfully until 1969. During the 1960s farming was under pressure, because the government was encouraging the amalgamation of farms in order to achieve economies of scale, the Common Market was well established, and farm labour was difficult to hire. Dairy farming is a 365-day commitment and Bob was driven to work continually and for long hours. He successfully diversified into beef, soft fruit and eggs. The next move was precipitated

by ill health; he had a heart attack and on medical advice gave up the heavy work of the farm. So, he bought the village post office at Burley Gate in the same parish and built it up from a very small village shop to a local mini market with grocery and paper rounds. It was sheer chance that the post office became available when he needed it but the development was down to his business skills, imagination and relentless drive.

The next move was because the business had grown and was too much for him to handle, so he looked for somewhere to invest his money and bought a large property in Hereford that was divided into flats. He lived there for a while, taking rents but moved to a new bungalow in a village near Hereford. Whilst here he maintained the Hereford property and gradually sold off each apartment as a separate entity.

The next investment was in an old cottage in Bodenham, again part of the Maund territory, where he was well known having lived there before, where he had friends, sang in the choir and felt part of the community. He improved the property significantly and then bought again this time in Yarpole, in the parish of Bircher Common. This last property was also a smallholding so he reared and fattened bullocks. At the same time he worked providing bookkeeping and accountancy services for his nephew (son of Fred) and then to a local garage and car sales business.

Date	Event	Socio-economic phase	Age
Early 1920s	Summers on Bircher Common.	Inter War Years	C8
1930s	Move to Suburbs.	Inter war years	C16
Early '40s	Herefordshire, Farm Sec.	War and Aftermath	C23
Late '40s	Farming	War and Aftermath.	C30
Early '70s	Property, part time clerical	70s	C50+

Table 9.8 The Life Course Transitions of Bob Maund

It was only in the last fifteen years of his life that Bob moved frequently and this, like his brothers, was for investment purposes. This was forced on him by his health rather than an early drive to increase equity. His moves were short distance and he remained in touch with his community, the friends, the 'local' and the choir in which

he sang for thirty years. In his farming days he served on the Rural District Council, took part in and organised events and supported the local professional football team.

In 1953, being one of the few villagers to own a television (there was no mains electricity then) he invited those who wished to come and view the Coronation on his 12" set. He had a sense of community and a commitment to its people. As summarised in Table 9.8 the transitions of Bob's life course were more localised than those of Fred and Ken but yet were equally driven and distinctive.

It could be argued that the remaining two children of Thomas E. had slightly different experiences and life chances, Brenda born in 1913, because she was the eldest and a female and David because he was the youngest and over half a generation after the other four. Brenda said of the experience of going to Bircher Common,

"Going to Bircher Common and to school there ruined my education."

Then later she observed, speaking of the 1920s and 1930s,

"Where there were children of both sexes in those times the boys were sent to the Grammar school but not the girls."

So there was sex discrimination,

"But we just got on with it, took it for granted"

Brenda did not go to the Grammar School but instead went to a comptometer school when she was 14 years old and worked in the Water Department of Birmingham City Council. Here she was one of the better paid at 25/- per week, better than the typists and, as she commented,

"A lot of the girls were from well to do families."

In terms of the society of the day she, like her brothers, was enjoying a form of upward social mobility indicating aspiration and probably explaining the pressure to

move from Harborne to Bartley Green to a better house. But it was different for a woman. In a sense the work they got, however prestigious, was to service functions organised by men. Never-the-less certain jobs represented, for some, upward social mobility, they could join the lower middle classes, mostly through their expertise.

- Upward social mobility may be a factor in the migration process

One other factor needs to be noted. It was frequently the case that the work needs of the husband dictated much of the family movement, so if the husband's job moved then so did the family. It would therefore be expected that Brenda's husband (Graham), whom she married in 1938, would have determined the moves of the family. Graham was a Birmingham man who had been well educated and, pushed by his parents, became a skilful and well qualified pianist. He too worked originally in the Water Department; he was popular, humorous and took part in the social life, tennis parties, concerts and holidays abroad. He was not though, unlike the Maunds, an initiative taker; he was reactive rather than proactive. Graham imagined himself serving in the Council House until retirement. In the case of Brenda it was she, from the 1940s, who held the 'orchestration power' (Seavers 1999).

Table 9.9 shows the moves that the family made. One item not shown is the temporary move made by Brenda in 1940. Because of a difficulty she had had in carrying a pregnancy to full term, on the advice of her Doctor, she joined the Land Army. She did her three months training at Nantwich in Cheshire and went to work on a farm in Herefordshire, near to Ross-on-Wye. She was here for about two years and fully contributed to the work on the farm, living-in. This was not the case with all her contemporaries,

"A lot of the girls couldn't cope on the farms, especially with the cows."

It would appear that the experience at Bircher had only partly ruined her education. In early 1943 she was pregnant and went to live temporarily with her mother and youngest brother at Maund Cottage in Bodenham. She was required by the Doctor to rest throughout the last seven months of her pregnancy. David was 7 years old and his mother 50. Brenda and David were to form a very strong bond.

Date	Location Herefordshire	Location elsewhere	Employment
1938		Northfield, Birmingham	B'ham City Council.
1946	Pembridge		Shop Keeper
1950		Stourbridge	Publican
1952	Bodenham		School Secretary
1954		Reading	Clerk, Hire Purchase
1975		Goring, Berks.	Widow
1978		London	Housekeeper
1990	Leominster		Annuitant
1992		Berkshire	Annuitant
1994	Leominster		Annuitant

Table 9.9 The Moves of Brenda Maund

It seems on the basis of this evidence that Brenda felt the attraction to Herefordshire too. Her husband Graham visited from Birmingham and began his acquaintance with the area. After the successful birth of their child the couple resumed life in their house in Birmingham. This was a suburban house costing, in 1938, £800, a very expensive property in its time. The difference now was that there was only one wage earner and Graham was not used to this state of affairs,

“He was used only to keeping himself.”

In this situation Brenda felt that she needed to take an initiative if she was to successfully feed and clothe herself and her child. She persuaded Graham that they should sell up and buy a shop. This would enable her both to work and to look after her child. They sold the house for £1,200 and bought the Stores in Pembridge, Herefordshire for the same price. It had been viewed for them by Thomas E. who by 1946 was resident in Bodenham having finished his wartime service with the Ministry of Aircraft Production.

The narrative so far reinforces the pull of Herefordshire and the importance of the support of family but also adds the dimension of the role of spouse. The wives of Ken, Fred, and Bob were all born and brought up in a town; were well educated and had jobs that were available to such woman in those times, typists, telephonists and comptometer operators. However they all came with their husbands to Herefordshire

to take part in a life that was completely alien to them. In the case of Brenda it was the other way round and the new life was alien to Graham. So,

- The role of spouse is important in successful family migration.

Seavers (1999) has shown quite powerfully the significance of this either positively or negatively in contemporary family migration.

Unfortunately, Graham did not adapt.

“He didn’t like the shop so I sold it and then we had no where to go so I had to do something”

The family moved to Stourbridge to a rented public house and the tenancy of the pub was taken from the couple that bought the shop. It was a chance affair and not a conscious decision to go to Stourbridge.

- The location for some migrations can be based on chance factors.

Once more this was an unsuccessful venture and the family returned to Herefordshire, to Bodenham and a rented cottage found by Brenda. She said of her husband:

“All he wanted was to be looked after, I was the man and he was the woman.”

Graham took a job as clerical assistant in a school and later with a firm of builders and Brenda with a branch of Aeroparts in Hereford. By this time Ken was well established in his new role with the developing Hire Purchase Company in Reading. This was expanding rapidly with the consumer boom from the mid fifties. Graham was offered the position of heading up the section of the firm to deal with failed agreements and Brenda as a comptometer operator. Accommodation was provided in an apartment in the large Victorian house that was the offices of the Company. This reinforces the point that,

- Family connections facilitate the process of migration

In 1975 Graham died and Brenda, in rented accommodation, had little or no income so went to live with her daughter in Goring-on-Thames.

At the time of her marriage in 1938, Brenda had formed a friendship with a similar couple and remained close friends from then on. Through this couple Brenda went as housekeeper to a widower in London. She married him and when he died used the funds he carefully left for her use to return to Herefordshire and she moved to Leominster in 1990. She returned to Berkshire in 1992 when she became ill and went into sheltered accommodation. When she recovered a little the pull of Herefordshire exerted itself again and she returned to the same street in Leominster where she had previously resided. The new house proved uncomfortable and inconvenient for her so she moved over the road to a larger house. Finance was no longer an issue.

- Contacts can be an important factor in the migration process.
- Some moves can be made for convenience.

In 2002, aged 89, she moved again, this time to a large bungalow because she could no longer manage stairs. It is an excellent, large, bungalow but her complaint was:

“I don’t have a view, I can’t see the countryside”

Date	Event	Socio-economic phase	Age
Early 1920’s	Summers on Bircher Common.	Inter War Years	C8
1930’s	Move to Suburbs.	Inter war years	C16
1947	Move to Herefordshire	War and Aftermath	C34
1978	Move to London	‘60’s to ‘80s.	C65
1990	Back to Herefordshire	Post ‘80s	C80

Table 9.10 Life Course Transitions of Brenda Maund.

This was to Brenda an unsatisfactory life course which took a number of twists and turns as she sought to find a satisfactory way of life for herself. The key turns are shown by the transitions in Table 9.10.

David was the youngest of the children of Thomas E. He was born in Birmingham in 1936 and moved to Herefordshire in 1938 where he spent his school years. He did not have the Bircher experience nor did he have the peer group of siblings to grow up with. Moreover in the wartime Thomas E. was away so he was brought up largely alone with his mother in Maund Cottage. He did not know the family in Birmingham, the grandparents, uncles, aunts and cousins as well as neighbours. His siblings were adults and married but formed a huge support group and from them he learned the stories of their childhood in Birmingham but also on the farm at Bircher. By contrast he had no desire to farm, he turned down the offer from Bob to work the farm and from Ken to go to Reading and join the new Company. He stayed on at school and, influenced by his sister with views about security and a pension, trained as a teacher. The moves are shown in Table 9.11 and the coding **blue** is for another category, **Suburban Village**.

Date	Location Herefordshire	Location elsewhere	Employment
1956		Coventry	School Teacher
1959		Reading	” ”
1960		Coventry	” ”
1969		Nottinghamshire	HE Lecturer
1974		Leicestershire	Education Adviser
1999	Pembridge		Retired

Table 9.11 The Moves of David Maund.

The move to Coventry was for no other reason than the availability of work. In 1956 the explosion in education, particularly secondary schools, had not yet begun and there was no work in Herefordshire the place of choice. The home area carried with it an attraction but not the farming way of life. There were certain criteria employed in the search for work. Large metropolitan areas were excluded from consideration but anywhere in the Midlands within range of Herefordshire were considered.

The move to Reading, after marriage, was entirely due to the availability of accommodation that was offered there by Brenda. The move back to Coventry, one year later, was due to the apparent impossibility of ever buying a house in the Reading area and being passed over for promotion. In the early 1960s two significant national trends occurred. There was great house price inflation, especially in southeast

England, but additionally there was a major shortage of teachers and great demand in expanding towns such as Coventry. Two further factors facilitated the move back to Coventry. Firstly, there was the record that David and his wife had gained as teachers with the Authority and then there was the policy of the City Council to build and to offer for sale on 100% mortgages houses for what were called key personnel. So, as touched upon in Chapter 8,

- Availability of housing is a factor in the migration process.
- Housing policy can be used to attract migrants.

The move to Nottingham in 1969 was in order to achieve a particular ambition, to teach in Higher Education and to train teachers. There were three options available at the time, in Newcastle, in Eastbourne and in Nottingham. This time most areas of the country, outside London, would have been acceptable.

- Migration can be triggered by ambition and perceived job satisfaction.

In some senses this is not unlike the move of the brothers to Herefordshire for a perceived way of life. Rather like the move of Ken to Reading it was not related to place but it was of the same order of ambition. Sometimes perceptions do not work out and the move does not produce satisfaction, rather like the first move of Brenda to Herefordshire and then to Stourbridge. But additionally the teacher-training boom had begun to decline and there was danger of oversupply, therefore, opportunities for promotion had dried up as colleges began to close.

- A mixture of motives and circumstances can trigger migration.
- Other forms of ambition may supersede the attraction of place.

The second return to Coventry was facilitated by qualifications and experience but also previous reputation there. The employment was with the Coventry Local Education Authority but the residence was in Lutterworth. This was determined by the needs and wishes of David's daughter, Karen. It was thought undesirable for her to attend a school in an Education Authority where David had some influence and interest. Beyond Coventry the nearest Authority was that of Warwickshire but during the 1970s it still maintained a selective system of secondary education and also single

sex schools, both of which were considered undesirable by the family. An alternative with reasonable access to Coventry was Leicestershire which had the perceived advantage of a respected comprehensive system of secondary education. Effectively then the possible choice of residence was Hinckley or Lutterworth and since the latter had suitable and affordable housing David and his family moved there in 1974.

- Educational needs of children and ideology may determine the place of migration.
- Where there is choice precise location of migrants may be determined by availability and taste in housing.

The last move, delayed after retirement by seven years, was the always-intended return to Herefordshire. It was delayed because of the unwillingness on the part of David's wife, Irene, to relinquish the contacts and ties that she had built up in the area and her concern about establishing similar ones in a new area. This was resolved partly by the relocation of their son and his family to Herefordshire and by reassurances about the maintenance of friendships, interests and contacts with the Leicestershire area. It was a negotiated move.

- Where there are family and community considerations moves may have to be negotiated within the family.

As illustrated in Table 9.12 the transitions in David's life course are very different from those of the siblings.

Date	Event	Socio-economic phase	Age
1938	Family move to Herefordshire.	War and aftermath	2
1954	Education Career..	Aftermath to 1960s	18
1966-69	Undergraduate Education	'60s to '80s	30
1992	Retirement - research	Late '80s onward	56
1999	Back to Herefordshire	„ '90s „	62

Table 9.12 The Life Course Transitions of David Maund.

9.5 Commentary

The interpretation of the moves of the Maund Family during the 20th century has produced a number of insights into the migration process. This has been facilitated by

the use of the concept of life course and the associated use of transition has proved an invaluable framework for the analysis. It has indeed given form to the content and enabled comparability between the decisions of the members of the family. The life course idea has reinforced the essential longitudinal nature of the enquiry and the concept of transition emphasised the major turning points in the life course. Clearly this is a different interpretation of this framework from that which was offered by, for example, Warnes (1992) but it is fit for the purpose of this study. The insights into migration process are highlighted in the text and will be brought together in the Summary below. The purpose of this Section is to draw out certain features, implications and indeed speculations arising from the analysis.

The most regularly occurring feature, emphasised by all respondents, was the pull of Herefordshire. There was a most marked sense of place amongst all the family members. The influence of the early experiences on Bircher Common condition most of the moves. In fact, the only one not apparently dominated by this was Thomas E. himself. Even David had the idea of Herefordshire implanted in him from an early age and eventually returned there despite not having the same early experiences. It is not merely place but its association with particular relationships and ways of life which really made up its attraction. To what extent this also relates to the origin of the name and the territory of Maund can only be a matter for speculation and is certainly beyond the scope of this study.

The pull of place was consistently held at one level but it was also, at times, in conflict with the desire for personal success and fulfilment which could not be achieved in Herefordshire. These conditions appeared to have been brought about by a number of factors, the home influences upon ambition, the reinforcement of the peer group of which the family was a part and the early and formative experience in Herefordshire. These factors displayed themselves in different ways in different members of the family such that the direction of their life courses were different. After the point of family dispersal the transitions were at different times and with some times different motivations. Always though these transitions are made against a background of particular circumstance within a national trend or framework.

This raises a number of interesting features. Interestingly, the beginnings of the move to Herefordshire in 1938 began before the conventionally agreed point of the counterurbanisation phase in contemporary national population trends. Of course, Pahl (1965) and Lewis (2002) have argued that this trend started significantly before it became statistically noticeable in the 1970s. This reinforces the view that each move has its own origins and individual motivation but together they become a trend or tendency. Thus the macro trend is the product of many different individual, micro, decisions.

The gradual move east of the Maund Country noted in the earlier part of this chapter may too be an illustration of the beginnings of another trend, in this case the movement in the direction of dominant urban areas. If this were the case then, at least for this branch of the Maunds, Thomas's move in the late 19th century was at the point when the countryside of the Borderland showed an absolute loss of population. Further, in the case of this Thomas, he used skills developed in a rural environment and adapted for urban living. He became a coachman. It was only when these skills became redundant with the increased popularity of the motor car that he was forced to change to an unrelated form of employment and became an insurance collector.

In all the Maunds spent only about a generation and a half in Birmingham, less than 40 years. On his return to the countryside Bob used 'urban' skills as an entrée to the world of agriculture. This appears to have been quite an effective mechanism for the ultimate development of a farming way of life. Bob was the most successful in developing this way of life and only severe ill health forced him to abandon it. Ken and Fred on the other hand spent a relatively small amount of time as farmers. Ken seized opportunities created by the war to embark upon an agricultural career but within ten years, and the ownership of three farms in succession, he had abandoned it. Similarly Fred lasted only about ten years as a farmer and in that time owned four farms. So despite the apparent desire for a farming way of life the reality proved unsatisfactory. But the pull of Herefordshire remained. Brenda too felt this though she never showed an interest in farming apart from her spell in the Land Army. So it is the attraction of place which is the common element in the Maund's migratory behaviour rather than farming as a way of life.

There are further interesting implications for the role of macro processes in the development of these migratory histories. Undoubtedly, by the 1940s when all members of the family were in Herefordshire, conditions that had prevailed in the 1920s had changed and these changes continued through the 1950s and 1960s. Firstly, farming was not the same in the 1950s and 1960s as it had been in the 1920s when it was largely depressed and was largely subsistence with an element of commercialism. During the '50s and '60s farming began to become an agribusiness with the complete removal of subsistence resulting in a different way of life. The early buying of farms by the Maund brothers took place before land prices began to rise and in particular dairy farming had the advantage of yielding a regular monthly income on a rising market of demand. In turn the sale of farms took place against a background of accelerating rising land prices and high food prices.

The move out of farming by Ken and Fred was again consistent with more general economic processes, for example, the need for Attested cattle and the consumer boom which led to the rise of purchase by credit. Then there was the inflationary rise in property prices that could be used as a source of income and consequently drive migration. Bob adapted in a different way, initially he changed his farming practise from dairying to beef and soft fruits, and stayed in farming until ill health forced him to move. So the Maunds adapted, perhaps because of their urban experiences, they were imbued with the town and in the country but were not entirely of the country. David was brought up in the country but left it and became part of an urban-based culture with widely dispersed networks. His career sat astride national movements in education. He benefited by entering it just as the education system was expanding and developing, later he was frustrated by the contraction in teacher training colleges in the 1970s. But migration was a necessary concomitant of upward mobility. These themes could be developed further but it is important to stress that although the family benefited from macro changes they did not actually plan for it but by their action contributed to those changes. They saw opportunities and took the necessary risks.

It seems fairly clear that there are different routes to the same ambition and at least part of these routes will be determined by individual decision within a national framework. To what extent this is consciously undertaken by the individual is difficult to determine but in the process certain features were clearly apparent. Among

the members of the Maund family the pull of Herefordshire was felt by all, as was the drive and will to do well in some way or another. All, except David, felt the attraction of agriculture, of growing plants and rearing animals. Within this framework their life paths were determined by their own decisions and within the context of wider socio-economic changes.

How should the distance travelled in Maund migration be measured? In terms of the spatial and temporal distance they returned fifty years after the family migrated to broadly the same area, very different from the one left fifty years earlier. It was 40 miles and a cultural gulf mediated by temporary contact in the 1920s. This gulf cannot be measured but it was part of the process.

9.6 Summary and Conclusions

The previous section looked at some of the broader implications of the analysis. This section lists the insights which have been identified during the analysis. These are the product of the aim to investigate the migration process. They are not intended to be generalisations but some insights from the behaviour of one family and based in the assumption that generalisations and tendencies are made up from individual decision based in individual values and circumstance. These insights are drawn from those highlighted in the text and presented in groupings or categories but they are not intended to be discrete. From the analysis it should be clear that they are an interrelated set of conditions.

Necessary Conditions

- A motive or trigger to migrate.
- An enabling resource to move
- A destination to move to
- Prior contact with a destination
- Leadership or initiative taking was an important aspect of the migration.

Motivation

- There may be a personal fulfilment/ambition component in the decision to migrate.
- Ambition led migration required energy and drive.
- Migration was triggered by perceived job satisfaction.
- An aspect of the decision to migrate was the previous life experiences of the potential migrant.

- Improving accommodation and environment may be a factor in the process of migration decision.
- Availability of housing was a factor in the migration process.
- Personal and family circumstance may have produced the need to move.
- Educational needs of children and ideology could determine the place to migrate to.
- The role of significant 'others' is important in the migration process.
- The decision to migrate often involved a mixture of motives and particular circumstances.

Qualities for successful Migration

- A sustained interest in a particular way of life, Farming in the case of the Maund family was a significant aspect of the migration process.
- Continuous contact with the reception area is important in the migration process.
- In favourable circumstances migration could be used as a means of improving a family's livelihood.
- The identification of opportunity and willingness to take risks is a factor in migration.
- The role of spouse was important in any successful family migration.
- Family connections could facilitate the process of migration

Acculturation

- A perceived way of life was important in the decision to migrate.
- The character of the receiving area was important in the decision to migrate.
- For a successful change of residence there was a need for an accommodation between the incoming migrant and the receiving community.
- Housing policy was used as a means to attract migrants.

Other Features

- Often one move would be a stepping-stone to later migrations.
- Some moves were made for convenience.
- Where there was choice, the location of migrants may be determined by availability and taste in housing.
- Where there were family and community considerations moves had to be negotiated within the family.

The list of insights categorised above does not itself represent a process of migration. Derived as they were from the decisions and moves of the family of Thomas E. they offer, tentatively, an opportunity to carry the analysis further, to the level of the individual family and to explore similarities and differences between them.

In Table 9.13 the insights are shown in the first column and in the succeeding columns the position of each family on each insight is indicated. Thus, for example, housing policy was not a factor behind the move of any of the families to Herefordshire. The Table refers to the decision to make the initial move, as an adult, for a permanent residence in Herefordshire. It does not cover any other move or return. Where characteristics arise from A subsequent move they may not have an indicator in that row.

CHARACTERISTICS	BRENDA	KEN	FRED	BOB	DAVID	HM	TEM
Necessary Conditions							
Motive	•	•	•	•	•	•	
Enabling resource	•	•			•		•
Destination	•	•		•	•	•	•
Prior Contact	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
Leadership/Initiative	•		•			•	
Motivation							
Personal fulfilment/Ambition	•	•	•		•	•	
Job Satisfaction							
Previous Life Experiences	•	•	•	•	•	•	
Improved Accommodation.							
Housing Availability						•	
Personal circumstances	•						
Significant 'Others'	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
Qualities, successful migration							
Interest in Way of Life		•	•	•		•	
Contact with receiving area	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
Improved Livelihood							
Risk taking		•	•				
Role of Spouse	•				•		
Family connections	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
Acculturation							
Perceived way of Life		•	•			•	
Character of receiving area	•	•	•	•	•	•	
Accommodate to receiving area			•	•		•	
Housing Policy							
Other Features							
Stepping Stone							
Convenience							•
Housing taste							
Family negotiation	•				•	•	•
Year of Arrival	1946	1950	1938	1942	1999	1938	1945
Age at Arrival	33 Years	35 Years	21 Years	23 Years	63 Years	46 Years	55 Years
Break in Residence	•	•			•		

Table 9.13 Maund Family: Individual Motives for First Migration to Herefordshire.

In these circumstances the decision was made when the family of Thomas E had dispersed or was dispersing into separate families and therefore responsible for their own individual family decisions. Generation 10 and also Thomas E. and Hephzibah are shown in the Table.

The dates of the first move vary from 1938 for Fred and Hephzibah to 1999 for David (he was not involved in the decision to move in 1938). In these circumstances the ages also vary considerably from Fred at 21 years to David at 63 years. It needs to be emphasised that each member of the family attested to attachment to place being the main factor behind their decision to move to Herefordshire. The variable ages suggests that other factors overrode this attachment but that these applied differently to different family members. Certainly the leadership of Fred (and of Hephzibah initially) would mean that others followed later because of intervening considerations. For example, in the case of David lack of suitable employment opportunities ameliorated the effectiveness of attachment and for Ken his desire to be a successful businessman.

Comparison of the columns shows both similarities and differences but most marked is the power of prior contact; significant 'others'; contact with receiving area and family contact in the process of decision making at whatever point in the life course. Interestingly, as the previous analysis has shown, each of these was interrelated rather than discrete factors. On the other hand only for Brenda and David did the role of the spouse play a significant part and in each case that role was different.

The considerations raised by the data in Table 9.13 take the analysis down to the level of the individual and their particular characteristics and raise, albeit tentatively, the possibility that ultimately migration decision rests upon quite personal factors within an individual and their particular circumstance.

The insights do not necessarily all apply to all migrants but they were evident among the members of the Maund family. However, it should be emphasised that they are merely a list of attributes identified from the migration decisions of one family. The question therefore arises that if these are attributes then what is the essence of the migration process? It does seem, from this analysis, that central to the process is the

concept of transition and in the context of life course this appears to be a passage of time rather than a point in time. It is argued that the transition is a process of value and attitude formation which leads to a decision. This does not necessarily involve all individuals and families and, rather like Kirk's (1963) suggestion in relation to societies, some individuals may not perceive a need for action. An example might be Thomas Maund who, when his skills became redundant in the early 20th century, essentially relied upon his family to support him. He did not anticipate such a situation but even if he had he probably lacked personal resources to overcome it. On the other hand, there were those who were pro-active such as Fred Maund who saw the need for attested cattle and took action in advance. Certainly the interaction between national and local conditions, the macro and micro was perceived differently by individual members of the family. For example, the national conditions of war and local conditions of the availability of land led Ken Maund to take employment with the Ministry of Aircraft Production and also obtain a market garden in advance of the demand for fruit and vegetables.

There appear from this to be three broad elements in the transition, the national, the local and the individual and central to this is the individual. In the early part of this chapter an attempt was made to describe the influences which played upon the young Maund family, the influences which made them the personalities and characters which they were. Thus the early experience in Birmingham may have conditioned their positive response to Herefordshire. In other words the pull of place is determined to an extent by previous experience. But, critically, it has been shown that each individual makes their own, conscious or unconscious, assessment of these experiences and follows their own unique life course. It does seem clear that there is a sequential link between transitions and that one transition leads to another albeit with the possibility for retrieving dormant pre-transition experiences such as Ken Maund's change from farming to commerce. Whether the argument can be stretched to claim that experiences over several generations also has an influential effect is much more problematical and certainly can not be demonstrated although, the recurrence of the name Maund in relation to place is a tantalising coincidence.

Chapter 10

Outcomes and Prospects

The broad aim of this study was to identify the paths and character of individual family migration since the 1870s and to explore the role of culture and place in the decision making of those families. The approaches and methods were chosen as appropriate for a micro study based on individual families and as such it was intended to produce insights rather than generalisations. This final chapter summarises the findings and then offers some general considerations related to the approach taken. It also addresses the insights gained into migration decisions and the role of place. These insights pertain to individual perceptions of structural processes, formative experiences and the role of significant others, sense of place, and personal characteristics. In the course of this some observations about ways forward are proposed.

The study identified the prime parish of Little Hereford and its attendant neighbourhood area in the late 19th century. This Mid Borderland area was a relatively rich agricultural area characterised by commercial farming and considerable social and economic interaction. It was an area of change and adaptation to broader trends, though this change may have been slow and imperceptible. While there is evidence of inventiveness and innovation, there was also a degree of social stability and continuity. Nevertheless, broader structural changes (associated with industrialisation, urbanisation and agricultural change) in the late 19th and early 20th centuries were accompanied by demographic change which displayed considerable spatial variation. Within the neighbourhood area there was substantial population movement across the age and social ranges. There is no evidence of an overwhelming migration to towns and cities. Indeed, there was considerable short distance movement that seems to suggest a form of rural circulation within what might be seen as the same cultural space. Three core families, those who have resided in the same place for a long period of time, were identified. The Bennett, Rowbury and Maund families had been resident in Little Hereford over at least three generations and an investigation of the movements of family members reveals that short distance movements, chain migration, the influence of family connections and work and accommodation requirements were identifiable elements in the migration process. While movement

might be seen within the context of broader structural changes, these do not of themselves operate in a deterministic manner. Such changes are perceived differently by different people. Oral evidence from one core family provides deeper insights into decision making and suggests a range of conditions, motivations and circumstances influences the decision to move and plays a role in the success (or otherwise) of a move. The available evidence further suggests that life course transitions play a key role in migration decision making.

Reflecting more broadly on the research, there are a number of assumptions underlying the analysis of migration decision. Human action is a result of human decision and does not solely result from inexorable forces outside individual control. Related to this is the observation that each person creates their own reality rather than there being an objective reality to be discovered. Accordingly, it follows that decisions are made in the light of the manner in which each person or group perceives their circumstances or their behavioural environment. This follows directly from the work of William Kirk (1951;1963) which sought to give a non-deterministic approach to explanation in human geography (See also Chapter 9, Figure 9.1). Immediately juxtaposed to this is the closely related idea that decisions to move take place in the context of macro processes which may influence and guide, but not determine entirely these decisions. This tension between agency and structure is not, therefore, seen as a dichotomous pairing but rather a continuum where influence upon any particular decision may vary, from person to person, along the scale. Finally, it has to be emphasised that the behavioural environment or the manner in which people see their circumstance is a function of their values, attitudes and, importantly, their experiences. These assumptions inform the analysis conducted at different, but interrelated, scales in Chapters 7, 8 and 9.

The different scales of analysis introduce a challenge to the interpretation of the balance between structure and agency. In Chapter 7, migrating families from the neighbourhood of Little Hereford, some 17 parishes, were examined. At this meso scale a positivist methodology was used aimed at identifying patterns among migrating families. It was assumed that the patterns revealed would relate to known structural processes of rural depopulation, industrialisation and urbanisation in the late 19th century countryside. In the event such evidence was not forthcoming, there was

little evidence of depopulation, occupational change and certainly no significant moves to the town. Such findings not only reinforce the distinctiveness of the neighbourhood of Little Hereford but suggest the likelihood that there were other factors behind the decision to move. Whilst, in the absence of direct evidence, it is impossible to identify precisely the process of individual agency and its relationship to structural factors it is possible to make some headway through the behavioural approach. For example, an understanding of the context involving ways of life exhibiting elements of both continuity and change associated with farming, social relationships and technological developments is essential (Chapters 5 and 6). This gives at least the opportunity for inferences to be drawn from known behaviours. Thus, for example, the minimal movement to the town and short distance moves suggest a rural circulation. This is consistent with the assumption of an essential role for human agency and could be explored further through some use of the historians concept of empathy defined as “the capacity to understand another persons behaviour on the basis of one’s own experience and behaviour and on the basis of information about the others situation” (Blythe et al 1976 p119). This suggests the potential importance of participant observation as a means of shedding light on the factors influencing migration decisions (Chapters 3 and 9).

The study of the three migrating families revealed familiar, but different, migration paths and provides many examples of the tension between structure and agency (Chapter 8). For example, the move of Mary Bennett, upon marriage, is interesting. Why did she go to Weston Rhyn, her husband’s home area, rather than him moving to Ashford Carbonel? Is this linked to issues of gender, work or accommodation or some combination of these? The answers are unlikely ever to be known but there is the suggestion of choice and decision here implying human agency. Elsewhere, Thomas Maund’s move to Birmingham, at the time of rural depopulation and urbanisation displays several false starts. The interruptions appear to have been the result of human agency but the overall permanent move the result of structural process. There are other examples, indeed some from direct testimony such as Ken Maund’s use of the war to initiate not only a change of occupation but also of life style and life course (Chapter 9). The precise moves resulted from his decisions, but they were facilitated by war and later the onset of a national credit boom. Even though the Maunds moved in different ways and due to individually different decisions (Table 9.13) most of their

moves appeared to coincide with national patterns such as those produced by urbanisation, counterurbanisation and the war. There is an inevitable interrelationship between structure and agency such that even individual family movements can be seen to have some relationship with broader trends (Chapter 8).

It should be clear that no one subject area embraces all of the ideas, concepts and knowledge which contribute to an understanding of migration decision. This is a multidisciplinary study which offers opportunities to identify and use concepts from other disciplines, for example, local history. The local historians notion of core family has been particularly helpful since it is directly related to place and can therefore be used for investigating social stability and change in the 19th century countryside. Critically, it also leads to an examination of attachment to place in the migration decision process. In consequence this enquiry has shown practical advances in the implementation of the concepts of core family and neighbourhood area. These interrelated concepts are at the heart of the definition of territory in the 19th century countryside. The family historians' use of family trees provides data, though it can not claim to be anything other than partially applied through the male line. It is important in the identification of core families and equally important for the tracking of their migration paths. The interrelationships of these concepts and skills have been of major importance for this study and especially to the definition of place or locality (Chapter 4). The complexities involved in endeavouring to define the concept of culture (Chapter 5) and, hence in relating it directly to place, suggest that an exploration of ways of life in a neighbourhood area and a consideration of attachment to place displayed by members of core families may be more fruitful ways to cast light on migration decisions (Chapter 9).

Over a ten year period at the end of the 19th century the neighbourhood of Little Hereford displays particular migration patterns. For example, 40% of all the families resident in the neighbourhood had moved and the majority of the movements were over short distances. Not surprisingly, therefore, unlike much of the countryside during the late 19th century, Little Hereford neighbourhood did not lose population and even when depopulation did set in at the turn of the century it was relatively insignificant. The migration experience of the neighbourhood area thus exhibits a degree of distinctiveness relative to broader national trends. Given the nature of these

movements, core families, those resident in the neighbourhood for at least three generations, were probably instrumental in maintaining community social cohesion. This was possibly an element contributing to a form of place distinctiveness and is an area for further investigation. There seems little doubt that place played an important role in the migratory behaviour of at least some families right up to the present. However the role of the more specific neighbourhood in contemporary times is an open question which deserves some consideration as does its relationship to neighbourhood areas of the past.

It is not only the definition of neighbourhood area and the identification of its characteristics which formed part of the objectives of this study but, centrally, the role of place in the migration process. It was clear that the attraction of north Herefordshire dominated the movements of a generation of the Maund family. However, the nature and origin of that attraction and identification with place was more difficult to determine. It was shown that the difficulties associated with operationalising the concept of culture meant it was not especially useful in this context. Instead attention was paid to the ways in which individuals may identify with the attributes and experiences of a place. It would seem that social networks within place are rather more important than the physical characteristics of that place. If this is the case then, for the Maunds, migration decisions appeared to be connected with early experiences of a farming way of life and the influences of significant role models within the family. However, for some members of family, once a farming way of life had been attained, other factors seemed to determine subsequent migration behaviour. These later factors of course may well have been also due to different early experiences and even to individual personal characteristics, indeed two of the family never had farming aspirations. Overall, this points to the complexity of human experience.

Although place had a central role in the migratory decisions of the Maund family it may not have the same centrality for other families. There is no evidence from this analysis that place held the same attraction for the other two core families, the Bennetts and the Rowburys. Indeed, until the research into respective family histories was undertaken in the late 1990s and at the outset of the work, contemporary members of these two families had no idea that their family had previously lived in

Little Hereford or indeed in Herefordshire. However, it needs to be borne in mind that the information used to reconstruct the movements of members of the three families is derived from different sources designed for different purposes and it is not strictly comparable. Despite this, attachment to place is an idea which deserves further examination in order to cast light on why it seems more important for some than others.

The different methodologies employed in this study were devised for the purpose of investigating the different objectives of this study. The core data for the research relied upon those derived from family history, essentially genealogy but more specifically family trees. Family history does not have the conceptual framework to be a true discipline, it is rather a field of knowledge and skills which generates data and is used here for the study of aspects of migration. The need for detailed and individualised data has for some time been an issue for migration studies and data generated by family historians were seen as at least a partial solution to this problem. While the information for the three core families is derived from different sources, the availability of family trees for all of them and personal biographies for one of them opened up a route for a genuine longitudinal study over many generations. The opportunity therefore existed for an identification and analysis of the factors governing personal decisions in a long time frame and of a nature not available solely from documentary sources. This significantly extended the approach to migration research into increasingly detailed studies of motivation and decision and suggested opportunities for future work, for example, a monitored longitudinal study. Such studies may well require a team approach and contributions from a range of subject disciplines. In an increasingly globalised world this could make a major contribution to an understanding of migration issues currently emerging and provide advice and guidance on policy issues.

There is an essential interrelationship between time, in the form of a longitudinal study; of life course, in the form of individual migration biographies and the concept of transition as a decision point in a life course. These three factors offer a framework within which to study migration and it has been shown to be powerful in the development of an understanding of the migratory decisions of the Maund family and of course could be applied to other, perhaps contrasting, family migrations.

Additionally such a framework may offer a rationale for those pursuing their family history since currently many such studies concentrate only on genealogy and therefore lack a structure and are only of interest to the family concerned.

The use of oral sources potentially overcomes the problems of intermittent data (Chapter 9). For this a form of participant observation was the method used. The great strength of this method is that it enables the construction of a complete life course or courses, the identification of transitions and vitally casts light on the reasons for any moves made. Investigation of attachment to place requires and investigation of emotional rather than cognitive issues. This though relies upon the openness and veracity of the respondent and the insight of the researcher. Such a method is open to mistrust and manipulation by the respondent and the offering of answers which may be untrue or simply those which it is thought were desired. Participant observation appears to be a generic term covering different forms devised for particular circumstances and the period of participation appears to vary in extent and contact time. In the case of this research the researcher, as a member of the family, was able to interpret the responses based on more than sixty years 'insider' experience. The strengths and weaknesses of this method and also the unique position of the researcher here are discussed extensively in Chapter 3. The essential elements are the life time scale of the participation and the confidence generated as the youngest in the family which enables strong empathetic relationships. It yielded data and insights which could not have been available through any other method, indeed data which could be matched to contemporary structural processes. Such a situation might be considered to suffer from shared values and lack objectivity. While there are potential limitations in the approach, it yields important insights which would have been impossible to reveal otherwise. In these circumstances it does require reflection and constant cross referencing with other sources but the method is aimed at revealing the subjective views of those concerned.

The research has, consistent with its purpose, gained some insight into the migration process. It has demonstrated clearly the immense complexity of individual motivation and suggested that the process of migration is still only partially understood, and at the most detailed level may, to an extent, lie in the individual psyche. However, such a position would deny the possibility of there ever being an overall understanding

from which to describe and explain the migration analysed here. From an interpretation of the various insights gained in the course of this enquiry there do appear to be four major factors involved;

1. Individual perception of structural processes;
2. The formative experiences and the role of significant others;
3. The sense of place;
4. Individual and personal characteristics.

Each of these four factors interacts with the others and the varying interactions between them would condition the nature of the migration decisions.

In conclusion it would seem from this research that the tendency among certain authorities in the literature to argue for a greater emphasis to be placed upon the role of culture, at the expense of structural processes, in explaining migratory behaviour is a little misplaced. The relationship between culture and place remains unresolved. On the other hand attachment to place may be an idea which would benefit from further detailed research, particularly among core families in rural areas. The evidence from this study suggests the need for greater awareness of the role of place in the migratory process and adds weight to Smith's (2002 p16) view that "everyman has a map in his heart of his own country and the heart will never allow you to forget this map."

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>T.W.N.F.C.</i>	Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists Field Club.
<i>Trans I.B.G.</i>	Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers.
<i>T.V.S.G.</i>	Tijdschrift voor Econ. En Soc. Geografie.
<i>A.A.A.G.</i>	Annals of the Association of American Geographers