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**Understanding Rural Migration in Late Nineteenth-Century England:
Taking Parish Research to a New Level**

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Master of Philosophy

University of Sussex

June 2016

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been, and will not be, submitted in whole or in part to another University for the award of any other degree.

Signature:

University of Sussex

Mathew Homewood, MPhil Thesis

Understanding Rural Migration in Late Nineteenth-Century England:
Taking Parish Research to a New Level

Summary

This thesis is an investigation into patterns of migration in England in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The research uses a unique dataset of 2,845 individual males and females from 36 carefully selected villages across a variety of English counties, traced through the census returns from 1851 to 1901. By observing the characteristics of each village, and following the migration patterns of the inhabitants, this thesis argues that migration patterns were dependant on a wide range of factors, which can only be appreciated by observing individual-level data.

The first analysis chapter investigates the migratory habits of individuals from villages in Sussex, Norfolk and Northumberland. It compares the different patterns from coastal villages, remote villages, and those situated near a major town or city. It finds that individuals did not always conform to particular patterns of behaviour, and that many combined factors were involved in influencing patterns of migration.

The second analysis chapter focusses on villages in the industrial north. It argues that being surrounded by a large number of urban locations did not result in a high rate of urban migration. It also shows the effect local industries had on the migratory habits of young men and women.

The final analysis chapter looks at five villages in Bedfordshire, and investigates the effects of domestic industry on migration. It finds that domestic industry not only kept females local, but also had a significant effect on the men of the villages.

A few studies have attempted migration research at the parish level, but most of these have tended to focus on singular villages or areas. By using a large dataset of individuals from a range of counties, and placing them in a geographical and social context, this thesis attempts to push the study of migration to a new level.

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'The peasant of the Dunwich district differs in nearly every respect from the Westleton peasant, although but a little more than a league separates the two villages.'

P.H. Emerson, 1888.¹

¹ P. H. Emerson, *Pictures of East Anglian Life* (London, 1849) p.1. Quoted in B. Reay, *Rural England* (Basingstoke, 2004) p.204.

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Introduction

‘...the macro-scale analysis of migration tells us little or nothing about the process of population movement or the causes and effects of migration.’¹

(Colin Pooley and Ian Whyte)

Since the latter part of the nineteenth century, studies on migration have produced many varied and contrasting findings and conclusions. The causes of migration, distances travelled, the gender divide, the extent of rural-urban migration, the pull of the towns and the push of the countryside, have all been studied and debated over many years. However, the great majority of these studies have relied on broad county statistics, where entire counties or regions were often divided simply into ‘rural’ or ‘urban’ locations. In the introduction to their 1991 collection of essays on migration, Colin Pooley and Ian Whyte noted that despite a wealth of literature on migration, research had ‘progressed little since the work of Ravenstein in the 1880s,’² and they saw a need for significant changes in the approach to the study of migration, claiming that,

Heavy quantitative studies using large data sets tend to produce an impersonal, dehumanized approach in which flows replace individual people, and the motives for migration are assumed rather than proven, often being interpreted in a simplistic and generalized way to a point where they have little meaning.³

The process of migration was often a very personal and life-changing decision, and studies of migration need to reflect this.

Pooley and Whyte identified five main problems with existing research on migration. First, there is too much research based on extremely large datasets, resulting in only broad trends. Although valuable in revealing overall patterns of migration, the results of these investigations are often broad and overly simplistic. Second, too much analysis of migration is based on one point in time. This is particularly true of research based on the information given on one particular census return, where historians simply compare birthplace with the location recorded at the time of the census. This, claimed Pooley and

¹ C. G. Pooley and I. D. Whyte (eds.), *Migrants, Emigrants and Immigrants: A social history of migration* (London, 1991) p.5.

² *Ibid.*, p.4.

³ *Ibid.*

Whyte, completely ignores the sequence of events that led to this situation. Third, any investigations at the local level tend to focus on small, individual communities. Therefore, a great deal can be discovered about an individual parish, but ‘very few studies have made a genuine attempt to compare different places and time periods.’⁴ The studies therefore not only lack comparison, but also fail to place the situation into a wider context. This greatly reduces the value of the knowledge obtained from the study. Fourth, motivations for migration are often based on a very limited number of sources. For example, the rare diary or anecdote can be used, but these alone cannot be relied on as necessarily indicative of the community as a whole. Lastly, historians tend to focus on periods of history where sources are rich. For example, largely due to the census returns, a great deal is known about migration between 1851 and 1881, but little about population movement between 1780 and 1830, when perhaps, due to the speed of urban expansion, this would be a very interesting period in which to investigate migration.

Pooley and Whyte highlighted three main ways of improving future research on migration. First, they suggested studying individual migrants over place and time, claiming that ‘the historical study of migration can be most effectively tackled through a behavioural approach using individual level data.’⁵ Second, the historian needs to utilise the available sources and seek to discover the actual moves migrants made over their lifetime. And third, studies should take into account the social context in which the individual migrant’s decisions are made, including geographic location, wage rates, employment opportunities, transport networks, family connections, and many other potentially influential variables.

The essays included in Pooley and Whyte’s book sought to address some of these issues in short studies, and many subsequent investigations into migration patterns have attempted to produce more intimate research. However, many studies have continued to focus on single locations, therefore failing to acknowledge the necessity of vital comparative analysis. Others have merged large sets of individual level data in order to ascertain an overall pattern of migration, therefore being unable to appreciate the social context of within which each individual found themselves. As Pooley and Whyte stressed, in the process of aggregating the data within heavily quantitative studies, ‘individuals, with their hopes, fears and aspirations, become lost’.⁶ Additionally, many

⁴ *Ibid.*, p.4.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p.11.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p.5.

studies have continued to focus on the location of a migrant on one particular census, often ignoring a period of thirty years where a multitude of moves could have taken place.

This thesis aims to address the problems and solutions put forward by Pooley and Whyte, which have still yet to be fully realised within the study of migration. First, this thesis will analyse the movements of individuals from a carefully selected set of rural villages, spread across several counties of England. By studying each village, and its surrounding area, the lives of the potential migrants can be placed in a social and geographical context. By noting the different patterns of migration from and within different types of locations, a vital comparative study can be made. Second, rather than simply noting the location of an individual at the time of one particular census, their location will be noted on a range of census returns, therefore noting movements over time. Third, additional records will be exploited in order to trace further locations of an individual. Children's birthplaces, marriage records, and burial records can reveal much that is missed by the census location. Fourthly, the information gleaned from all these sources will be enhanced by case studies from within the dataset, as well as first-hand accounts using diaries and autobiographies.⁷

By using these techniques this thesis will examine the diverse rates of migration between different types of communities. By appreciating the unique characteristics of each village, and placing them in a geographic and social context, it will not only show that migration patterns could differ from parish to parish, but will attempt to explain *why* such patterns existed.

Although some of the research examines various moves made by individuals, this thesis is not a longitudinal study. Colin Pooley's extensive work with Jean Turnbull has produced significantly detailed research of this kind.⁸ This study is guilty of predominantly focussing on the census returns between 1851 and 1881. However, by exploiting to a great depth the wealth of information held on the four census returns, as well as other sources within this period, it is hoped the reader will find that this period of study is justified.

⁷ First-hand accounts were found in abundance in some areas, but not at all in others. However, this was often simply unavoidable.

⁸ See C. G. Pooley and J. Turnbull, 'Counterurbanization: The Nineteenth Century Origins of a Late-Twentieth Century Phenomenon', *Area*, Vol.28, No.4, (Dec., 1996), pp.514-524, and C. G. Pooley and J. Turnbull, *Migration and mobility in Britain since the 18th century*. (London, 1998).

The historian of the twenty-first century is in a greater position to exploit the information available on the census returns. Pooley and Whyte had highlighted the problems involved with using the census as the sole resource for assessing migratory habits. However, at the time the authors were writing, the computerisation of the census was in its formative stage, and various methods of electronic data searches available to today's historian were unavailable in the 1990s.⁹ An individual could be noted on a given census return, and the comparison of his location and his place of birth would be the only guide to his migration habits, revealing little or nothing about the timing of the move, or of any intermediate moves. Linking individuals on successive censuses would prove more fruitful, but as Pooley and Whyte stated, 'the amount of effort involved in establishing linkages between successive censuses is considerable',¹⁰ and the only way to attempt this with any success would be to note the rate of 'movers' and 'stayers' within small communities. However, new comprehensive online search facilities now enable the historian to trace individuals from one census to another with far more ease and efficiency. It has therefore become significantly more feasible to trace an individual from childhood to old age, noting changes of location across their lifetime. Nevertheless, subsequent studies have generally failed to utilise this new, immensely valuable research tool to its full potential, continuing to simply produce further broad studies.

Placing societies within their social context is particularly important in the understanding of human behaviour in general, and this has been stressed by many rural historians. Observing the vastly different landscapes within individual counties, such as Northumberland and Sussex, Alun Howkins noted that 'These local divisions retained an enormous importance in how people viewed their world and how they lived their lives...'¹¹ Barry Reay also saw the absolute necessity of appreciating the varied nature of rural life, stressing that 'it is impossible to understand society and culture without examining local contexts.'¹² This is also vital for the study of migration. Understanding where a potential migrant was from, where they grew up, and the unique characteristics of their village and surrounding area, provides a great insight as to why certain

⁹ The England and Wales census returns became available to search online in 2002.

¹⁰ C. G. Pooley and I. D. Whyte (eds.), *Migrants, Emigrants and Immigrants... op. cit.*, p.10.

¹¹ A. Howkins, *Reshaping Rural England: A social history 1850-1925* (London, 1991).

¹² B. Reay, *Microhistories: demography, society and culture in rural England, 1800-1930* (Cambridge, 1996) p.262.

migration patterns existed. The study of migration is not just about movement. The prevalence of which people remained in their villages is just as important to understanding rates of migration. This, along with a comparison with other villages with equally unique characteristics, enables the historian to make a far more informed opinion of the factors which caused varied patterns of migration between selected areas.

Alan MacFarlane had seen the advantage of comparing individual parishes in his 1970 publication *Witchcraft in Tudor England*, where he compared three Essex villages and their rates of accusations of witchcraft, noting that ‘Even in three neighbouring villages witches were accused in different years.’¹³ The merits of comparative research at the parish level were also appreciated by Margaret Spufford, as seen in her 1974 publication, *Contrasting Communities. English Villagers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*.¹⁴ In order to investigate four major issues; economy, social structure, schooling and religious beliefs, she first studied the available resources on these subjects for the county of Cambridgeshire, but then took her research down a more localised level by looking at records for three separate villages within the county in order to test the general county trends. Spufford found that there was a variety of local differences within one given county. Her research showed that areas with different land types (clayland, fenland, and chalkland parishes) displayed different trends, and she was then able to attempt to analyse why these land uses yielded such contrasting results.

In his 1975 review article entitled ‘Villages, Villagers and Village Studies’, Keith Wrightson discussed and analysed Margaret Spufford’s recent work, (along with that of David Hey). Wrightson saw that historians were starting to appreciate the diverse nature of rural society as opposed to viewing it simply as one homogeneous world. ‘At a time when an understanding of the nature of English rural society is in its infancy,’¹⁵ he declared that research should make use of the many untapped local archives available to the historian.

Wrightson termed the methods employed by Spufford (and also MacFarlane) as ‘village sampling’. This is ‘the isolation of a particular problem which is carefully delimited, studied in broad context and then followed down into a variety of intimate

¹³ A. MacFarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England* (London, 1970) p.95.

¹⁴ M. Spufford, *Contrasting Communities: English Villagers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 1974).

¹⁵ K. Wrightson, ‘Villages, Villagers and Village Studies’, *The Historical Journal*, XVIII, 3, (1975) p.633.

local studies...'¹⁶ He declared that it is the comparative element that makes 'village sampling' essential in challenging existing ideas about the rural population. Wrightson indicated certain flaws in Spufford's use of 'village sampling', in particular her failure to pursue various findings further, using available archives. Nevertheless, this was not a failure of the method of 'village sampling' itself. He stressed that this method should not replace established methods of historical research, and that intimate local studies must serve to enrich the existing broader studies.

The method used within this study is very much based on this 'village sampling' technique, in that it is taking the subject of migration, analysing it at the parish level, and comparing the varied patterns of behaviour. However, as many individuals migrated away from the villages, this study also steps outside the confines of 'village sampling'.

The aim of this thesis is as much to demonstrate the value of its methodologies and to recognise the diversity of migration habits, as to challenge any overall theories on migration. However, it does seek to address one largely-unchallenged belief. The 1881 census report inferred that those who remained in their rural locations were 'comparatively feeble ... mentally and physically'¹⁷, and sweeping statements such as this were common-place during the late nineteenth century. Contemporary investigators of migration patterns, such as Francis Galton and William Ogle, also saw those who stayed in their rural environments as inferior to those who left for the towns, with Galton claiming that those who remained rural were the weak, idle and unambitious.¹⁸

Social commentators too made clear their views on the rural worker. Richard Jefferies, for instance, saw the rural labourer as 'dull' and clumsy',¹⁹ claiming that 'It is the lack of poetical feeling that makes the English peasantry so uninteresting a study.'²⁰ Whereas, those in the urban areas were generally intelligent and well-read, with better morals.²¹ Augustus Jessopp, vicar of Scarning, Norfolk, noted that even the 'intellectuals' in the village were not particularly clever, and 'their absolute ignorance of history amounts to an incapacity of conceiving the reality of anything that may have

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Census of England and Wales 1881, Volume IV, General Report*, p.71.

¹⁸ F. Galton, 'The Relative Supplies from Town and Country Families, to the Population of Future Generations', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, Vol.36, No.1 (March 1873) p.19.

¹⁹ R. Jefferies, *The Toilers of the Field*. (New edition) (London, 1901) p.97.

²⁰ *Ibid.* p.100.

²¹ See M. Freeman, 'The agricultural labourer and the 'Hodge' stereotype, c1850-1914', *Agricultural History Review*, 49 (2) (2001) p.178.

happened in past time.’²² This was “Hodge”, a term generally used for the southern labourer, and one which became ‘totally synonymous with backwardness and lack of sophistication.’²³

By observing significantly low rates of outmigration from certain villages, and noting the unique characteristics of these villages, this thesis will attempt to show that there were many reasons why a rural labourer might not have felt the urge to leave his rural environment.

There is much evidence of the intelligence and shrewdness of the rural labourer. Reverend John Coker Egerton was the rector of Burwash in East Sussex from 1857 to 1888, and he took a keen interest in the residents of his parish. Like most rural villages in the Sussex Weald, Burwash was dominated by agriculture, and in between accounts of poverty and illness, Egerton provides hints of his respect for the intelligence of many of his fellow villagers: ‘On my way home [talked] politics [with] young J. Russell. He remarkably intelligent...’²⁴ Egerton also wrote of a discussion he had with one young agricultural labourer in the village; ‘The shrewdness & clear sense of some of our uneducated men is to me remarkable.’²⁵ On investigation, the census revealed that this young labourer, Stephen Fielder, chose not to migrate to the town. And although dying at the relatively young age of 37, he continued to live in Burwash until his death. This rural labourer remained in his village all his life, but was nevertheless clear thinking and shrewd.

Nathaniel Blaker was born in rural Sussex in 1835, and became a surgeon, working in Brighton. However, on recalling a return to his childhood village of Fulking in the 1850s, he described the meticulous work of an old herdsman.

Could the most accomplished physician devise a better system than this? He could, in addition to this, do all ordinary agricultural work in an intelligent manner, and was in all respects a fair example of ordinary farm labourers, who are often looked on as ignorant and stupid.²⁶

²² A. Jessopp, *The Trials of a Country Parson* (London, 1894) pp.40-41.

²³ A. Howkins, ‘From Hob to Lob: reconstructing the English farm labourer, 1870-1914’ in M. Chase and I. Dyck, (eds.), *Living and Learning* (Aldershot, 1996) p.218.

²⁴ R. Wells (ed.), *Victorian Village: The Diaries of the Reverend John Coker Egerton* (Stroud, 1992) p.98.

²⁵ *Ibid.* p.71.

²⁶ N. P. Blaker, *Sussex in Bygone Days* (New edition) (Hove, 1919) pp.136-7.

Historians such as Keith Snell and Mark Freeman have done much to defend the rural labourer from the description of “Hodge”.²⁷ Clearly it is impossible to establish the characteristics of individual migrants. Nevertheless, it is hoped that by revealing a great range of migration habits across many villages, this thesis will go some way to showing that the decision to remain rural was not necessarily an indication of a lack of ambition, intelligence and fortitude, and that many other factors played a far more important role in the migration decision process.

Chapter 1 of this thesis gives a brief background, followed by a historiography highlighting many of the major studies of migration since the late nineteenth century, and discussing the merits of the various methodologies used by different historians. Chapter 2 discusses the methodology behind this study, detailing the process of selecting the villages, and the way in which the data from these villages has been used. Chapters 3 to 5 consist of three separate sets of analysis, each focussing on particular issues within the subject of migration. Chapter 3 investigates a selection of villages from Sussex, Norfolk and Northumberland, comparing the migratory habits of individuals within and between each of the geographically diverse counties. Chapter 4 is a study of villages in the industrial north, and attempts to establish the effects of large industrial towns on the surrounding rural communities. Finally, Chapter 5 investigates the effects of domestic industry on migratory habits, by analysing two sets of communities in rural Bedfordshire, heavily involved in straw-plaiting and lace-making. This study will hopefully go a long way to addressing the shortcomings of migration studies highlighted by Colin Pooley and Ian Whyte.

²⁷ See for example K. D. M. Snell, *Annals of the Labouring Poor* (Cambridge, 1985) and M. Freeman, ‘The agricultural labourer and the ‘Hodge’ stereotype, c1850-1914’, *Agricultural History Review*, 49 (2) (2001).

Chapter One

A Historiography of the Studies of

Rural-Urban Migration in the late 19th Century

‘It is not that previous studies of migration have been done badly ...
but they all represent the problems involved in working on migration.’¹
(Colin Pooley and Ian Whyte)

Background

Until the 1960s most historians regarded the population of pre-industrial England as rather static in nature.² However, later research has revealed that migration has long been a significant feature in the history of English society. Ian Whyte noted that ‘High levels of mobility were not a new feature of rural society in sixteenth-century Britain’³, with migration a common feature of peasant life in medieval England. Mark Bailey’s research of manorial court records has identified a very mobile male and female population in south-east England as far back as the fourteenth century, increasing after the Black Death.⁴ Individuals and families would move from village to village, town to town, in order to look for work. Apprentices were attracted in great numbers, and from great distances, to towns and cities,⁵ and hiring fairs and the demand for servants would have resulted in many men and women moving from their family homes.

The Industrial Revolution exacerbated this existing trend, with rural-urban migration increasing rapidly, and many towns and cities expanded dramatically from the eighteenth century. The second quarter of the nineteenth century proved to be a difficult time for much of the rural population. In the wake of the Napoleonic Wars, wheat prices had been hit hard, especially in the south and east of England,⁶ resulting in a lowering of wages. The mechanisation of agricultural work increased the unrest among many areas of rural England, resulting in the infamous Swing Riots of 1830-1, which spread

¹ C. G. Pooley and I. D. Whyte (eds.), *Migrants, Emigrants and Immigrants... op. cit.*, p.7.

² I. D. Whyte, *Migration and Society in Britain, 1550-1830* (Basingstoke, 2000) p. 5.

³ *Ibid.*, p.23.

⁴ Paper, entitled ‘Patterns of rural migration in south-east England c.1300 to 1500: the evidence of servile incidents recorded in manorial court records’, given at the British Agricultural History Society, Winter Conference, on 6th December 2014.

⁵ See, for example, J. Patten, ‘Patterns of migration and movement of labour to three pre-industrial East Anglian towns.’ *Journal of Historical Geography*, 2, 2 (1976) pp.111-129.

⁶ A. Armstrong, *Farmworkers* (London, 1988) p.62.

across Kent and Sussex. As the nineteenth century wore on, the towns continued to increase at the expense of the rural districts.

The coming of the railways made migration easier. Initially, thousands of men were required in the construction of the railways, allowing them to turn their back on the plough and turn their hand to plate-laying. Once built, the railways provided an easier chance of migration to further locations, and many men and women took advantage of the fact their villages were no longer so isolated from the outside world.

The 1851 Census Report was published in 1854, and sparked much debate on the movement of the population. *The Times* newspaper was quick to report the findings. In an article entitled 'Movement of the Population', published in October 1854, the writers were 'struck with the extent of the infusion of the rural population in the metropolitan community',⁷ pointing out that, in London, net immigration increases between 1841 and 1851 were almost double that of the natural increase (the rate of births over deaths) in the city. It was common knowledge that many people sought their fortunes in the towns and cities, but it seems this new report surprised many by the great extent of rural-urban migration. The article noted that 90,000 natives of the predominantly rural county of Norfolk no longer lived in their home county, and one third of those who had left were now resident in London.⁸ The significantly large increase in the population of county towns, seaports, and manufacturing and mining towns were also noted, revealing the 'astonishing facts' relating to 212 of the country's largest towns. While the population of Great Britain had increased by 67 per cent since 1801, the overall population of these towns had increased by a staggering 176 per cent.⁹ With each new decennial census came new fears and concerns for the future of the rural population, and it was this concern which sparked the first studies of migration patterns in England.

Early studies (1870s-1950s)

In 1873 Francis Galton, an anthropologist, geographer and statistician, used details from the census returns to produce a paper entitled 'The Relative Supplies from Town and Country Families, to the Population of Future Generations.' This was one of the first papers to question the differences in quality of those who chose to migrate to the towns, and those who remained rural. Galton predicted that as migration to the towns

⁷ *The Times*, 26 October 1854, p.8.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*

accelerated ‘the most valuable to our nation’ would very soon be replaced by ‘the weak, the idle, and the improvident’ who stayed in the countryside.¹⁰ Galton appeared genuinely concerned for the future generations of England, as by the mid-1800s it was widely accepted that health conditions in the towns were inferior to those of the countryside. Galton proposed the notion that only the brightest men and women from the rural areas migrated to the towns. Their presence would benefit the towns initially, however, the unhealthy state of urban life would cause many early deaths, leading to the deterioration of these ‘energetic’ members of the human race, and leave only those of inferior quality to thrive in the countryside.

Using the 1871 census data, Galton took 1,000 factory working families from urban Coventry, and 1,000 labouring families from small agricultural parishes in rural Warwickshire, all with mothers between the age of 24 and 40, and compared the fertility rates of the two groups. He discovered that the urban mothers had 8 per cent fewer children in total than the rural mothers. Using existing statistics available for mortality rates in Manchester, and the ‘Healthy Districts Life Table’ by Dr Farr in 1859, Galton then proceeded to use these figures to ascertain what percentage of these children would survive to the age of 25 (representing the age of maturity). Galton calculated that for every 100 rural children that would grow to produce their own children, only 77 urban children would reach this stage. Going on to the next generation, the ratio would be as high as 100:59. Although Galton admitted certain inaccuracies in his calculations, he made it clear that, as the inferior rural workers had a better survival rate, the nation should be concerned about the steady deterioration of the quality of its people.

Writing a few years after Galton, Dr William Ogle voiced similar concerns about the deterioration of the nation. In his 1889 paper ‘The Alleged Depopulation of the Rural Districts of England’, Ogle claimed that those who left their rural lives to find a better life in the city would ‘on the whole be the more energetic and the more vigorous in body or in mind’¹¹. This ‘skimming of the cream’ he claimed resulted in ‘the obvious weakening and deterioration of the residue that remains at home.’¹² These conclusions were based solely on his findings on the 1881 census return, which showed greater

¹⁰ F. Galton, ‘The Relative Supplies from Town and Country Families, to the Population of Future Generations’, *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, Vol.36, No.1 (March 1873) p.19.

¹¹ W. Ogle, ‘The Alleged Depopulation of the Rural Districts of England’, *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, Vol.52, No.2, (June 1889) p.207.

¹² *Ibid.*

incidences of ‘idiotcy’ and ‘deaf-mutism’ in the natives of agricultural counties compared to those of manufacturing counties. He claimed ‘I can see no other mode of explaining this strange fact ... excepting by admitting ... that the most stalwart of the natives of the country are dispatched annually to the towns and manufacturing districts...’¹³

Ogle also noted that ‘...the towns are growing at the expense of the rural districts ...’¹⁴ with regards to population size, and the vast majority of his paper was concerned with this side of the rural-urban migration debate. Using the census data from 1851 and 1881, he sought to compare the size of the population of the fifteen most rural counties in each census year. Although some of Ogle’s methods have since been challenged, his calculations and findings are nevertheless interesting, as he was one of the first to compare census report findings for specific areas and in such detail, and these findings are extremely similar to many subsequent studies on the population decline of rural England. In his fifteen chosen counties, Ogle decided to exclude all towns which had a population of over 10,000, deeming these towns too large to be considered part of the rural community. His investigations showed that the remaining population of these counties totalled 2,381,104 in 1851, and 2,358,303 in 1881. In a country whose population had increased by 45 per cent in those 30 years, Ogle’s calculations showed virtual stagnation of the fifteen rural counties. Although the population of some of these counties showed a small increase, nine showed a decrease, including Huntingdonshire, which experienced a decrease of 11.8 per cent in those 30 years.¹⁵ Ogle then, reluctantly, made a separate calculation reducing the limit of ‘rural’ locations to 5,000, claiming that ‘country towns of from 5,000 to 10,000 inhabitants are to all intents and purposes parts of the rural organisation.’¹⁶ The results showed that these country towns increased by 15 per cent, indicating a ‘growth of small towns at the expense of villages and hamlets’.¹⁷

By taking Huntingdonshire as a case study, Ogle also sought to establish in which occupations the migrants were employed. Perhaps unsurprisingly, he found that those engaged in agriculture had decreased greatly in Huntingdonshire. In the group consisting of agricultural labourers, general labourers, shepherds and cottagers, there

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp.207-8.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.205.

¹⁵ Huntingdonshire has since been incorporated into Northamptonshire and Cambridgeshire.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.210.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.211.

was a decline of 21 per cent between 1851 and 1881. Ogle found a similar pattern with farmers, with a 9.3 per cent decrease between 1851 and 1881.¹⁸ However, he noticed a higher rate of decline Huntingdonshire's tradesmen, and this he believed was due to the speed and efficiency of the new railways, which often meant the local tradesman was in heavy competition with outside business. Declines in occupations between 1851 and 1881 included brickmakers, 26 per cent; shoemakers, 49 per cent; tailors, 42 per cent; and sawyers, 51 per cent. The prominence of the local craftsman was clearly threatened during this period.

As well as showing that the rural county of Huntingdonshire suffered a great loss of agricultural labourers, and a more significant number of rural craftsmen, Ogle's investigations indicated that men were more migratory than women, most were aged 15-25, and most either migrated to neighbouring counties, or long-distance to London, Lancashire or Yorkshire. He clearly saw the pull of the towns as well as the push from the rural districts, claiming that 'the varied life of towns has always acted as a powerful magnet upon those numerous persons to whom the comparative monotony of rural life is distasteful.'¹⁹

Ogle's research provided a great insight into rural-urban migration. By separating counties into 'rural' and 'urban', he was able to show reveal the true extent to which the rural districts were affected by migration. However, his limit of 10,000 inhabitants for a rural community was simply too high. Even his reluctant decision to reduce the figure to 5,000 still results in the inclusion of many locations one might confidently term as 'urban'.

P. A. Graham, writing in the 1890s, also saw both the pull of the town and the push of the countryside. By taking Northumberland as a classic example of a county with extremely good rural wages, he noted that 'it makes no difference whether the district has a good or an evil reputation for its treatment of its labourers.'²⁰ Those of the high-waged agricultural districts of Northumberland sought life in the towns with the same intensity as those from the poorly paid Norfolk countryside. This, Graham suggested, was due to the poor state of agriculture, as free trade had seen the mass importation of foreign goods, causing local produce to drop in price, and many landowners had rented

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 222 & 219.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.205.

²⁰ P. A. Graham, *The Rural Exodus* (London, 1892) p.7, in M. Freeman, (ed.), *The English Rural Poor, 1850-1914*, (Volume 3). (London, 2005) p.7.

out their farms and laid off many a labourer. Although many districts continued to do well, employers were only employing the men and women they actually needed. From this, Graham stated that ‘it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that in some way or other the rural exodus is connected with the state of agriculture.’²¹ He talked of the lack of pride in working in agriculture at the time. For both men and women the calling of the fields no longer held their attention, and they silently laid down their tools and headed for the promising future of the town.

During these early years of research, the subject of migration was generally split into two separate categories. First, the physical movement of people and their reasons, and second, the ‘condition’ of those who migrated. The geographer E. G. Ravenstein was interested solely in the former. He was (and still is) perhaps the most respected of those nineteenth century writers to study migratory habits. Rather than writing about the apparent state of decay of the rural population, Ravenstein simply set out to trace the extent of migration, and to determine some rule or law by which it was governed. His paper entitled ‘The Laws of Migration’, was presented to the Royal Statistical Society in 1885, and is still seen by many as a leading example of statistical analysis on migratory patterns. Using the place of birth tables for the censuses of 1871 and 1881 – what has been termed the ‘nativity method’ – Ravenstein compared the place of birth of an individual with that of their location on the census. Using this method, he was able to look at the “national element” of England & Wales, Scotland and Ireland, showing what percentage of each nation was made up of people born in that country. He was also able to investigate the “native county element”, noting the percentage people still remaining in their county of birth. In 1871, 77 per cent of the United Kingdom were still living in the county of their birth. In 1881 the figure had dropped to 74.6 per cent, indicating a rise in county-to-county migration during the 1870s. By investigating the “border element”, Ravenstein was also able to show that a large percentage of county-to-county migrants moved only as far as a county that bordered their own.

Ravenstein noted there were five types of migrant; the local migrant, who simply went from one local parish to another in search of work; the short-journey migrant, (which was the bulk of the migrants), who migrated to counties bordering their own; migration by stages, where a migrant took a long time to get to London from Ireland,

²¹ *Ibid.*, p.10.

for example, but worked on his way there; the long-journey migrant, who would make a one-off purposeful journey; and the temporary migrant, which included sailors, soldiers, prisoners, hotel guests, and such like. The movement of these variations of migrant formed what Ravenstein described as ‘currents’ and ‘counter-currents’ of migration, stressing that these constant to-ing and fro-ing of movements affected the entire country, as even the most rural of counties had *in-migration* as well as *outmigration*, with no county in England having more than 90 per cent of its inhabitants native to that county. Conversely, for every one hundred migrants into London, fifty Londoners *left* the city, highlighting the fact that even the most urban of cities had a great deal of outward migration. Ravenstein noted there were counties of absorption and those of dispersion. Those of absorption were counties where the increase in population was higher than the natural increase of its population, and vice versa for those of dispersion. He noted that of the counties of absorption, almost all were ‘the chief seats of commerce and industry’.²²

Looking at the dispersion of migrants, Ravenstein concluded that *proximity* was an overriding factor. For example, a higher percentage of Somerset residents were from Cornwall and Devon than any other county, including London. Long-distance migration did make its way to London from distant counties, but deposited migrants on the way. Taking thirteen counties, Ravenstein found that all bar three of these showed fewer and fewer migrants the closer they got to London. Therefore, for example, there were more Norfolk migrants in Suffolk and Cambridge than in London or Middlesex. However, this rule tended to change with regards to very long distance migration, showing that most who travelled south from Yorkshire did not settle until they reached at least Hertfordshire or Middlesex.

With regards to female migration, Ravenstein concluded that females migrated more than males. However, many of these migrants included those travelling from Ireland to England with their husbands who were seeking better employment opportunities. Within England, there tended to be shorter-distance county migration within the female population, and much of this was related to lack of employment opportunities in their own counties.

Ravenstein concluded there were seven general rules of migration: 1. Most migrants move short-distance, producing ‘currents of migration’ in the direction of commerce

²² E. G. Ravenstein, ‘The Laws of Migration’, *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, XLVIII (June 1885) p.186.

and industry; 2. The rural population flock to the nearby towns, and the even more rural then flock to fill in the gap left; 3. The process of dispersion is the inverse of absorption, with the same features; 4. Each main current of migration produces a compensatory counter-current; 5. Long-distance migrants tend to head towards centres of commerce and industry; 6. Townsfolk are less migratory than rural folk; 7. Females are more migratory than males.

Ravenstein's pioneering research has been extremely valuable to anyone researching the subject of migration, and is a great example of the value of the census returns. His use of the nativity method was, for many decades, the most detailed to be carried out. However, this method can be unreliable, as simply comparing the place of birth and a location many years later, gives no indication of age at the time of migration. The migrant could have left their county of birth as an infant with their parents, or could have made an informed decision to move as an adult. Additionally, this method does not reveal any previous moves made by the migrant. A person could be located in their county of birth at the time of the census, but may have moved to any number of counties in the intervening years. Nevertheless, Ravenstein's hypotheses have been tested in many subsequent studies, and have rarely been contested, leading D. B. Grigg, in 1977, to declare that Ravenstein's work on migration, 'although greatly elaborated by later writers, has not been superseded.'²³

A. W. Flux saw the limitations of the nativity method, and in his 1900 paper 'Internal Migration in England and Wales 1881-91' suggested 'the desirability of trying to trace the course of the movement somewhat more minutely than the records of birthplaces in the census reports permit.'²⁴ Flux sought to determine both the extent of migration, and the comparison between male and female migration, by examining the individual registration districts of England and Wales, and comparing their compositions between the 1881 and 1891 censuses. Firstly, by noting the increase/decrease in the population of each district between the 1881 and 1891 censuses, and offsetting this figure with the rate of births over deaths for that period, he determined which districts were those of dispersion or absorption. He then used these figures to determine the prevalence of both male and female migration. His figures showed that of the sixteen highest districts for

²³ D. B. Grigg, 'E. G. Ravenstein and the "laws of migration"', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 3, 1 (1977) p.54.

²⁴ A. W. Flux, 'Internal Migration in England and Wales, 1881-91', *The Economic Journal*, Vol.10, No.38 (June 1900) p.141.

emigration, all bar one showed males more migratory than females.²⁵ However, when he looked at the districts showing the highest *in-migration*, he discovered all bar three of the highest thirteen districts showed an influx of females over males. Females had often been seen to be more migratory than males (as Ravenstein had determined), but the in-migration and out-migration data Flux found had shown an interesting contradiction. With further investigation, he found that out of the 632 districts of England and Wales, only 217 showed a percentage of female in-migration exceeding that of males between 1881 and 1891, therefore females were migrating less than males. Previous studies using birthplace records had only been concerned with county-to-county migration, and not migration *within* a county. When this latter movement was separated, (609,000 males to 699,000 females), Flux found that migration of females to places outside a county were even less. Flux therefore concluded the greater mobility of female migrants by previous studies as ‘merely apparent’.²⁶

By noting the specific districts where either males or females were clearly dominating the in-migration figures, Flux was able to determine (although he admits ‘tentatively’)²⁷ that males were drawn towards districts with industrial development, and females towards more residential areas. For example, with reference to the thirteen highest districts of in-migration, the only three where males exceeded females were Cardiff, Pontypridd and Orsett; two of which were a hive of industry. Of the ten which attracted more females, Hampstead, Hendon, Edmonton, Eastbourne and Christchurch were among the almost exclusively residential districts.

Flux’s work was of great value, and his questioning of the established rules of tracing migrants, particularly the county-to-county nativity method, appears to have been justified. By simply comparing one census with the next, using the 632 individual districts of England and Wales, and the movements between each within those ten years, he highlighted the need to look at migration at a more localised level, and from more than one viewpoint.

Studies of migration continued during the early 1900s, with general focus on county-county migration, by men such as H. C. Darby, and C. T. Smith, who used the Census

²⁵ Flux’s figures were based on the percentage of each male and female mean population for each district.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p.146.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

Notes to explain various patterns of migration from certain areas of the county.²⁸ However, John Saville's 1957 publication *Rural Depopulation in England and Wales 1851-1951* was a much-needed, comprehensive study of rural-urban migration, which sought to both discuss previous studies on migration, and to conduct new investigations into the patterns and causes of rural depopulation. Saville saw the immense value of recognising the many regional differences with regards to migration. On studying migration trends from 1851 to 1951, like others before him, he was able to divide the counties of England and Wales into two broad categories: those of attraction (to which people are drawn), and those of dispersion (from which people were leaving). Using this method, Saville determined that the counties with the highest rate of outward migration were Huntingdonshire, Rutland and Cornwall, with the counties with the greatest inward migration including North Riding, East Riding, Derbyshire and Worcestershire.²⁹ From this data, Saville concluded that the highest outward migration had indeed been from those counties with the highest proportion of rural workers.

However, Saville was acutely aware of the problems with the definition of 'rural' and urban'. He was critical of William Ogle's definition of rural, claiming that

'The majority of rural parishes in England and Wales are below 500 in population and to include all rural areas below 5000 in one category was to mask the significant changes which were taking place over the greater part of England and Wales.'³⁰

As Ogle had done with Huntingdonshire, Saville centred on the county of Rutland, stating it to be '...almost wholly rural in its occupational structure'³¹. He found that the number of rural craftsmen in Rutland indeed declined rapidly during the second half of the nineteenth century. Additionally, he separated the 58 parishes of the county into categories of population size. 56 of these had a population of under 1,000, and of these, only 4 did not show a decrease in population by 1931. For the remaining 52 parishes, although in general the population declines were severe, the declines appeared to have been lower in the smaller parishes.

²⁸ See H. C. Darby, 'The Movement of Population to and from Cambridgeshire between 1851 and 1861', *The Geographic Journal*, Vol.101, No.3 (Mar., 1943), and C. T. Smith, 'The Movement of Population in England and Wales in 1851 and 1861', *The Geographic Journal*, Vol.117, No.2 (Jun., 1951).

²⁹ J. Saville, *Rural Depopulation in England and Wales 1851-1951* (London, 1957) p.49. (Table IV(a)).

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p.65.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p.73.

As a contrast to Rutland, Saville also carried out the same investigation on the rural parishes of Warwickshire, which represented a typical urbanised county. Separating all parishes which adjoined a rapidly growing industrial centre, and once again categorising them by population size, he was able to show that while proximity to urban areas influenced population decline, the more rural areas of Warwickshire saw declines at a similar rate to Rutland.³²

In the final chapter of his book, Saville took a collection of 18 Devonshire parishes, splitting them into four groups of population size. By placing the villages in their geographical context, and analysing such factors as farm sizes, trades, industry and transport facilities, he was able to establish reasons for declines in the rural population. The focus here was more on solving the existing ‘problems of the rural areas’³³ rather than historical trends of migration. Nevertheless, he again highlighted the importance of research at this local level.

Saville argued that ‘It must always be appreciated that the English countryside includes such a variety of geological and economic structure...’³⁴, and his appreciation of recognising rural life as a diverse and complicated collection of parishes was a great step forward in the field of migration studies. Saville stated that parish level research was the only way to truly understand the effects of rural migration. This would set a challenge to future historians of migration.

A new approach – enriching the broader studies

There were few significant studies on migration patterns for some years after Saville’s publication, but when they arrived, many were focussing at a more local level. One of these was *Victorians on the Move*, edited by Dennis Mills in 1984. Using the census enumerators’ books from 1851 to 1881, research was carried out on various individual parishes in order to determine the occupations, places of birth, gender divides, etc, for certain villages. Mills found generally only short-distance migration, noting that it was the professional workers who were the more mobile section of the individuals studied. He also found that farm workers in the north were more likely to leave their parishes than those in the south, concluding that this was due to the pull of the industrial towns. Additionally, whilst conducting the research, Mills learned to appreciate the fact that we

³² *Ibid.*, p.87.

³³ *Ibid.*, p.171.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p.87.

must look at individual parishes as unique locations. For instance, he saw that with regards to migration distance, ‘five miles does not have the same significance in every locality...’³⁵ Although of some interest, the research was extremely small-scale and restricted, as Mills readily admitted. Nevertheless, it was clearly an attempt to not only take research down to a parish level, but also to include some comparative research.

In his investigation into the role of the family in the process of migration, Kevin Schurer selected two groups of four Essex villages for study.³⁶ He took four villages from the far west of the county and four similar-sized villages from the far east, noting the different land use for each set of villages. Like Flux had done many years before, Schurer discussed the ‘serious limitations’³⁷ of the nativity method, and set about tracing his villagers using the 1861, 1871 and 1881 censuses, and also the parish marriage and burial records. This way he could discover who migrated, and approximately at what age. He found that it was not just the young who migrated, and during child-rearing age, outmigration of both the men and women stagnated, but increased again towards middle age. He also found that, as a general rule, the larger the family, the higher the likelihood members would migrate. This, Schurer noted, contradicted previous research which had suggested childless families exhibited a low level of persistence.

Schurer’s study was specifically concerned with migration patterns and their relation to age and family size, which is only relevant to a very small part of this thesis. However, what is important here is that Schurer noted different patterns of migration behaviour between the two separate sets of villages, and thus highlighting the importance of comparative history at the local level.

In his 1992 paper, Dov Friedlander sought to clarify the link between migration and socio-economic differences. He wanted to test the theories in earlier works that suggested migration could be greatly explained by socioeconomic differences between regions. Using sociodemographic data published on the 600 districts of England and Wales for 1851 to 1911, he attempted to establish which industries attracted migrants, and whether high wages and distance had an effect on migration patterns. Friedlander

³⁵ D. Mills, *Victorians on the Move* (Oxford, 1984) p.iv.

³⁶ K. Schurer, ‘The role of the family in the process of migration’, in C. G. Pooley and I. D. Whyte (eds.), *Migrants, Emigrants and Immigrants... op. cit.*, pp.106-142.

³⁷ C. G. Pooley and I. D. Whyte (eds.), *Migrants, Emigrants and Immigrants... op. cit.*, p.110.

divided the districts into six categories; purely agricultural, agricultural-textile, agricultural-industrial, industrial, mining, and urban-commercial. He then set about collating various data indexes and variables using sociodemographic data already published on these 600 districts, plus data available from the census reports on occupational distributions, population density and growth, distance from migrants' origins to their destination towns, and finally wage levels (using figures previously produced by E. H. Hunt).³⁸

His findings revealed that his three agricultural districts all showed significant outmigration (for both males and females) up to the 1870s when the outmigration continued, but at a slower rate.³⁹ However, within these three agricultural districts it was clear those with textile and industrial elements showed the least outmigration, with the agricultural-industrial districts experiencing only around half the outmigration as the purely agricultural districts. Males were more likely to migrate from the agricultural districts, reflecting the decline in availability of agricultural work, yet net in-migration of females was higher than males into the industrial and urban-commercial districts, where there were jobs in the domestic and service industries, as well as the textile industry.⁴⁰

However, overall, migration into the three types of industrial districts was low, indicating that a high presence of industry was not necessarily an indicator of high in-migration. Friedlander sought to test this, and found that districts with high or medium levels of industrial occupations, but low rates of tertiary occupations, showed low in-migration. However, those with high rates of both types of occupation displayed high rates of in-migration. The presence of tertiary occupations was therefore key to the prevalence of migration in the second half of the nineteenth century. Along with high rates of tertiary industry, Friedlander found that wage levels and proximity of agricultural districts to significant urban locations were both highly influential variables with regards to positive net migration.⁴¹

Meanwhile, other industries had less effect individually. The textile industry, for example, 'was not a powerful pull for migration' during this period, having peaked by

³⁸ See E. H. Hunt, *Regional Wage Variations in Britain 1850-1914* (Oxford, 1973).

³⁹ D. Friedlander, 'Occupational Structure, Wages, and Migration in Late Nineteenth-Century England and Wales', *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol.40, No.2 (Jan 1992) pp.300-301.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p.303-4.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp.305.

the mid-nineteenth century.⁴² Additionally, it did not lead to low rates of out-migration.⁴³ These results imply that the textile industry had little effect on migration patterns.

Examining the great exodus from the agricultural sector during the period 1861-70, Friedlander's regression model, using counties with at least 45 per cent of working males in agriculture, revealed that 'the most important explanatory variable in its effect on the intensity of migration streams was the distance to county of destination.'⁴⁴ This tallied with Ravenstein's theory. However, Friedlander disagreed with Ravenstein's belief that long-distance migration was made by a small minority. His research showed that for the decade 1861-70, '60% of all nonadjacent intercounty migrations were to destinations greater than 250 miles of distance, and nearly 40% were over 350 miles.'⁴⁵ Therefore, despite distance being a restrictive factor, the figures reveal high rates of long-distance migration by mid-nineteenth century migrants.

This research conducted by Friedlander presents an interesting analysis of migration patterns with regards to socioeconomic structure, by taking research down to a district level. Also, by categorising the districts into socioeconomic types, his research provides a better understanding of the reasons behind migrations rates. Friedlander had found that many previous studies had failed to appreciate 'the associations of migration patterns with specific socioeconomic characteristics analysed for homogenous groups of relatively small areas.'⁴⁶ Nevertheless, many regional and geographic variations would have been present within his amalgamated regions types. Additionally, his analysis of the effects of distance on migration is at the *county* level. Although managing to challenge Ravenstein's theories on distance migration, the methodology employed in this latter investigation of Friedlander's is not a significant variant on Ravenstein's work of the 1880s.

Like Friedlander, George Boyer and Timothy Hatton sought to test Ravenstein's theory of short-distance migration being far more prevalent than long-distance migration. Taking the birthplaces of those resident in four major English cities (Birmingham, Manchester, London and Glamorgan) at the time of the 1911 census, they sought to

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp.307-8.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp.311.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p.312.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p.314.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p.297.

show the effect of distance on migration. The figures show that these cities recruited a large number of migrants from nearby counties. For instance, 53 per cent of migrants to Manchester were from the north of England, and 54.4 per cent of migrants to Birmingham were from the Midlands.⁴⁷ Boyer and Hatton found that ‘the majority of migrants to Birmingham and Manchester came from their respective hinterlands...’⁴⁸ However, there was still a significant number of migrants from elsewhere, implying that (as Friedlander had concluded) distance was not necessarily the obstacle Ravenstein and others had perceived.

Boyer and Hatton’s methods can be called into question here. Again, the nativity method was used, and by simply looking at the birthplace of those in these cities in the 1911 census, there is no indication whether these men and women moved had recently moved to the city for work, or whether they had moved many years before as children with their parents. It is therefore impossible to conclude with any certainty that these were migrants looking for work outside their place of birth, especially in an era which clearly displayed high rates of mobility.

Boyer and Hatton also discussed the importance of various cities for both male and female migrants, looking at the net gains and losses of the cities, towns and rural districts between 1841 and 1911. London was clearly a magnet for migrants, attracting a net migration during this period 40 per cent larger than the net migration into the eight largest northern and midlands cities combined.⁴⁹ However, there was a clear gender divide for many cities. Those of Lancashire and Cheshire were home to cotton factories which attracted a great deal of female migration, and colliery cities such as Durham attracted the men. Boyer and Hatton had come to the same conclusion as P. A. Graham had many decades before, in that ‘rural outmigration was not driven simply by agricultural decline.’⁵⁰ The ‘golden-age’ of agriculture occurred in the 1860s and 70s, yet rural-urban migration was extremely high, especially in the south, and it started to tail off as the country entered its period of agricultural depression. Of course, one argument would be that rural-urban migration had reached its natural peak by this time. However, the fact rural workers were laying down their tools at the time agriculture was

⁴⁷ G. R. Boyer & T. J. Hatton, ‘Migration and Labour Market Integration in Late Nineteenth-Century England and Wales’, *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol.50, No.4 (Nov 1997) p.705.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p.704.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p.706.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p.707.

prospering tends to point to the great pull of the towns and cities rather than a push effect from the land.

Boyer and Hatton note the lack of empirical analyses of the determinants of late-nineteenth century migration, and most of those who did seek to investigate this area used county level data. Therefore they commended Friedlander for his analysis at the district level, who, like many before him had concluded that wage levels had a positive effect on the decision to migrate, with distance having a negative effect. However, Boyer and Hatton note that none of these studies consider the effect of *past* migration, known as the ‘friends and relatives’ effect, leading to an overstatement of the effects of other variables on the decisions to migrate. They claimed that ‘friends and relatives reduce the psychic costs of migration, and might lower the costs of job search by supporting new migrants financially until they find employment.’⁵¹ Boyer and Hatton produced and analysed a set of data in which they incorporated the variable of previous migrant stock, using counties of birth taken from the census. They observed male migration flows from 19 southern and eastern counties to 6 major areas of industry, and concluded that the ‘existence of previous migrants had a strong positive effect on migration rates’⁵², and that high migration cannot be explained simply by distance and wage rates.

This is an interesting and refreshing addition to previous analysis on migration. However, there are issues with the methods employed here. Firstly, once again the nativity method has been used. Therefore, (although Boyer and Hatton do acknowledge this), there is a certain degree of error associated with their method of intercounty migration flows, as migrants often moved from place to place. A migrant from Sussex, for example, may have migrated to London in 1865, but then could later have moved on to Yorkshire in 1875. He would therefore be correctly counted as a migrant from Sussex to London in the 1860s, but would register as a migrant from Sussex to Yorkshire in the 1870s. And secondly, it is simply too assumptive to suggest that a rural worker had been encouraged to leave his place of birth in favour of a large industrial area because other people from his county had previously made the same journey, especially when only using entire counties as evidence of place of birth. This is one of the many drawbacks with intercounty research. The results are simply too vague and assumptive with regards to concluding the determinants which led people to migrate.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p.711.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p.715.

As noted by previous historians, there were indeed patterns of migration (or migratory flows) from certain areas to others. Previous personal research, for example, revealed that large numbers of people from the mining communities in the Carmarthen area migrated to Merthyr Tydfil during the 1850s and 60s as the Dowlais Ironworks in the north of the town expanded rapidly, and there is no doubt that many men followed their colleagues and neighbours in search of better work; a classic example of the ‘friends and relatives’ effect. But historians are making great assumptions and generalisations by simply using county of birth data to determine this effect.

There are two ways of improving the effectiveness and accuracy of this research. Firstly, one could look at an industrial town or area and see if there is a prevalence of people born in certain villages or rural districts. For example, if there were many people from the Sussex village of Ringmer living in the town of Brighton, it may be concluded there was an element of the ‘friends and relatives’ effect. But claiming this simply because there were many people who were born in Sussex and living in London and the Home Counties, as Boyer and Hatton had done, is not convincing evidence. The second way would be to reverse the nativity method of research. By investigating the people of a rural parish and following their migratory habits, it would be possible to ascertain common destinations, or perhaps distant locations where a small number of villagers may have migrated.

Jason Long’s 2005 article entitled ‘Rural-Urban Migration and Socioeconomic Mobility in Victorian Britain’ was both ground-breaking and long overdue. Long traced individual migrants, using new electronic search methods available for the census returns, making it one of the first major studies of rural-urban migration to have attempted this. His aim was to use the information on occupations of each individual in order to determine whether rural-urban migrants were positively selected. This work sought to test the long-held theories, started by men like Francis Galton and William Ogle, that migrants were the ‘cream’ of the rural population.

Long used very similar methods to which previous historians had employed, attempting to trace rural migrants from one census to another. However, while appreciating previous valuable studies at the county level, he notes ‘...a lack of nationally representative micro-level panel data with which to observe changes over

time in the lives of individuals'.⁵³ Long saw that county level studies simply do not represent a true picture of the extent of migration, nor the factors that may have driven people to move. Like Ogle had done over a century before, Long compared the 1851 and the 1881 censuses of England and Wales in order to determine patterns of migration. However, rather than seeking to record occupation changes within each county, he used the data to trace the changes in the locations and occupations of individuals, enabling him to obtain a far greater understanding of what may have motivated people to migrate, and who were more likely to make the move into the towns.

Long took a sample of 168,130 rural and urban males from the 1851 census of the Population of England and Wales, and attempted to link them with their entries on the census of 1881. He had a 17 per cent success rate, managing to link 28,474 individuals. Those with identical or very similar names and birthplaces had to be ignored. Additionally, Long estimated that 85,000 of his sample males (or 51 per cent) would have died between the two censuses, and a further 13,500 (8 per cent) would have emigrated from England and Wales. He was aware that the details entered on the census are far from infallible, and mistakes made at the time of enumeration, or on being transcribed for electronic searches, would have made a certain percentage of the individuals effectively 'disappear' from the census. In order to examine the process of rural-urban migration, Long then took from the 28,474 subjects of 1851 all those who were listed as both in a rural district, and as 'sons' aged between 9 and 29, a total of 3,774. By choosing males still in their parental home, he was able to note the occupation of the father of each individual. He would then be able to compare the occupations of the sons with that of their fathers, in order to examine inter-generational improvement. In order to grade the occupations, Long used the widely accepted ranking scheme proposed by W. A. Armstrong. The five occupational classes of Armstrong's scheme were: 1 – Professional, 2 – Intermediate, 3 – Skilled, 4 – Semi-skilled, and 5 – Unskilled.⁵⁴ He was then able to examine migratory patterns and the influence on occupation.

The results revealed that a high class occupation in 1851, or having a father in a high class occupation almost always resulted in attaining a higher class in 1881. Comparing

⁵³ J. Long, 'Rural-Urban Migration and Socioeconomic Mobility in Victorian Britain', *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol.65, No.1, (March 2005) p.3.

⁵⁴ See *Nineteenth Century Society* by E. A. Wrigley (ed.), Chapter 6: 'The use of information about occupation'.

urban migrants with those who remained rural, he found that the urban migrants were more likely to improve on their father's occupation, whilst those who remained rural were more influenced by their father's occupation.⁵⁵

Long then set out to determine who the urban migrants were. He found that 896 of the sons (24 per cent) migrated from a rural to an urban area between 1851 and 1881.⁵⁶ On the characteristics of these individuals Long found that 'the migrants were not those at the bottom of the economic and social ladder, desperate for any sort of a change.'⁵⁷ Those of Class 3 occupations in 1851, or who had fathers in Class 3 occupations, were more likely to migrate than those of Class 4 and 5 occupations. Long found that it was 'the middle classes being somewhat overrepresented and the lowest classes being underrepresented'⁵⁸ Sons from families in lower class occupations were not pouring into the urban areas with any great haste. Looking at additional variables, Long also discovered that distance to nearby cities, and 'friends-and-family' exerted only a small effect on migration. Long found this surprising, considering previous findings in studies such as that of Boyer and Hatton, but concedes his analysis was perhaps not the best method for revealing these effects.⁵⁹

Long found that 'many people who chose to remain in rural areas, especially sons of Class 3 and 4 fathers, could have realized substantial labor market gains had they chosen to move.'⁶⁰ He concluded that the migrants were therefore positively selected, and those who stayed rural were negatively selected. Long's final analysis was clear; agreeing with the conclusions of William Ogle, he stated that these migrants were indeed the 'the best of the rural labour pool.'⁶¹ In other words, they were the "cream of the crop".

The magnitude of Long's research certainly deserves much appreciation. It is a remarkable and valuable collection of data, which replaces intercounty and district migration patterns, and uses the information from individual people in order to obtain results of a less generalised nature. However, there are certain issues with some of his methods and reasoning. First, there is the large gap between the two comparative censuses. A great deal can occur within 30 years of an individual's life, and this

⁵⁵ J. Long, *op. cit.*, p.23.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p.24.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p.26.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p.29.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p.30.

undoubtedly would result in missing a significant amount of valuable data. Occupational statuses could often change over the course of the decades. Second, Long's definition of 'rural' was a location with less than 20,000 inhabitants. This is surely far too high to be used for an accurate analysis of 'rural-urban' migration. John Saville had restricted his rural population to just 500, and even William Ogle set a maximum of 10,000. Long's urban locations would have excluded many major towns whose populations numbered well below 20,000, including, for instance, the county towns of Chelmsford, Aylesbury and Lewes.⁶² And third, by using a random selection of migrants from across the country, Long yet again is dealing with general trends. This obscures much regional variation, and offers no comparative data analysis. Long set out to find if it was indeed the best of the rural labour pool who migrated. However, by ignoring the many different types of communities across the country, his conclusions reveal little of the diversity of migratory habits. He talks of establishing 'the individual-level forces that drove the migrants'⁶³, but by looking solely at their socio-economic status, and failing to appreciate a potential migrant's specific geographical location, is to gloss over vitally important factors in the decision to migrate.

Long's research, matching individuals from the census, represents a new direction for research methods used for understanding reasons for rural-urban migration. Nevertheless, there are certain changes in his methodology which could have improved the research. First, his research would have benefited from taking fewer subjects, but tracing them on each census (i.e. 1851, 1861, 1871 and 1881). This would have enabled him to follow the individual with a far higher degree of accuracy. Personal research using the census has revealed that many individuals changed their occupation more than once, and their location many times, over a period of 30 years. These (obtainable) facts are ones that should not be by-passed. Second, in order to research at a micro-level, one needs to look at individual parishes. The benefits of Keith Wrightson's method of 'village sampling' could be used in the research into patterns of migration, especially in examining the rates of rural persistence. By focussing on a selection of small, individual communities, a greater understanding can be gained of the village lives of the individuals within a dataset. In this way, it would also be possible to examine the individual experiences of both men and women, looking at their prospects in the village, and thereby their incentives to migrate.

⁶² Digitised census enumerators' books.

⁶³ J. Long, *op. cit.*, p.3.

A year after Long's article, Gwyneth Nair and David Poyner published an article entitled 'The Flight from the Land? Rural Migration in South-East Shropshire in the Late Nineteenth Century.' Using the 1881 census they tracked 1,172 individuals who were born in four villages in the south-eastern corner of Shropshire in order to investigate the destinations and motivations of rural migrants. This seemed a promising advance towards taking research down to a parish level.

Taking advantage of the increasing availability of the transcribed census material, and the advantages of online search facilities within the census data, Nair and Poyner were able to find the location of migrants born in these Shropshire villages. As they pointed out, 'Until recently, we have not been able to look at rural migration in terms of the sending, rather than the receiving, communities.'⁶⁴ They sought to discover the prevalence of urban migration, and like Jason Long, noted occupation holders were more likely to migrate to the towns and cities in an attempt to establish increases in occupational status.

Nair and Poyner simply performed a search of the 1881 census for individuals who had stated their place of birth as one of the four Shropshire villages. The results indicated that over half of their migrants had could still be located in rural locations, and not in the towns, with many others found in local market towns rather than fully urbanised areas. With regards to distance travelled, the authors found that by looking at the census data from 1861, 1881 and 1901, distances travelled (by both male and female migrants) appeared to increase over the 40-year period, indicating perhaps better modes of available transport.

As with Long, they also took Armstrong's five-class occupation system as a suitable guide to assess the economic benefits of migration.⁶⁵ They discovered that those with higher class occupations were far more likely to migrate long distances, and that for those of the labouring classes, there seemed to be little incentive to move long distance. In fact, when including agricultural-related occupations, (such as gardeners, grooms, etc), 50 per cent of those who migrated remained in agricultural occupations, whether in the country or the town. As Nair and Poyner stated, 'Far from flying from the land, these men were sticking with what they (or their fathers) knew best.'⁶⁶

⁶⁴ G. Nair & D. Poyner, 'The Flight from the Land? Rural Migration in South-East Shropshire in the Late Nineteenth Century', *Rural History*, (2006) Vol.17, No.2. p.168.

⁶⁵ However, they modified Armstrong's classifications slightly into a *four*-class system, in order to treat both agricultural labourers and general labourers as the same economic class.

⁶⁶ G. Nair & D. Poyner, *op. cit.*, p.181.

By amalgamating occupational class types 4 and 5, they had found that occupational improvement was extremely uncommon for the average labourer, which somewhat contradicted Long's conclusions. They also noted that most migrants were not flooding into the urban areas, implying that 'the disadvantages outweighed the advantages in the minds of the majority of country-dwellers.'⁶⁷ Nair and Poyner, however, agreed with Long in that it appeared 'it was the most skilled and ambitious rural dwellers who moved to towns.'⁶⁸ They claimed that the urban areas were full of promise for the minority that was the ambitious tradesman, but that the agricultural labourer was reluctant to move due to a realisation of lack of opportunity to better themselves in the town.

This study provides another good example of the research methods available using the computerised census data, giving a new and interesting insight into the migratory habits of individual communities. However, as with Long's methods, there is room for constructive criticism. Yet again, the nativity method has been applied, and consequently without tracing the individual migrants through each census, the age of the migrant when he or she left their village is uncertain. Although Nair and Poyner note the ages of the migrants found in 1861, 1881 and 1901, and compare these ages with distances travelled, it is still unclear whether many of the younger villagers left as adults searching for work, or as children with their parents. As noted above, A. L. Flux was aware of this drawback over a century earlier, and it makes it hard to class an individual as a migrant looking for occupational improvement if their age at migration is unknown.

In addition to this, Nair and Poyner took four villages closely linked together in one small area of Shropshire. By doing this they limited their potential findings to only relate to a very small set of individuals in a very specific area of the country. One might find that these results were completely unlike those which might be found in other parts of the country, or even within other areas of Shropshire itself. Without a comparative element in which to observe the habits of individual communities, nothing about migration is learnt, except the habits of these four villages.

Also, as with Long's work, socio-economic status was used as the standard gauge for determining whether a migrant had indeed escaped the country for a better life, and also

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p.183.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

as an assumption of ambition; 'For tradesmen, the well-educated or the ambitious, urban areas were full of promise.'⁶⁹

Women's migratory habits are also often overlooked or under-represented. There appears to be two main reasons for this. First, migration is often investigated in connection with earnings. Data on female wages are not only scarce, but also difficult to fully determine, and as such male migration with relation to socioeconomic status can allow far more reliable and fruitful research. Secondly, with regards to tracing individuals across decennial census returns, males are far easier to trace, as most females would have married at some point, resulting in a change of surname.

However, the migratory habits of females can reveal a great deal about the decisions to migrate with regards to age, class, and occupation, and also with changing attitudes to work. Nicola Verdon, for example, has noted how by the 1880s women were becoming more unwilling to be hired into yearly rural service. Concentrating on East Yorkshire she found that 'Census figures indicate that the movement from farm to domestic service was drastic,'⁷⁰ finding that female farm servants in the county reduced by around 80 per cent between 1851 and 1871, whilst those recorded as in domestic service increased by 95 per cent between 1861 and 1891.⁷¹ In 1880, Richard Jefferies noted the change in attitude of young rural females, finding that 'The girls are not nearly so tractable as formerly – they are fully aware of their own value and put it extremely high.... Most of them that are worth anything never rest until they reach the towns...'⁷²

Women did not just migrate in order to work in service. There were many areas of industry which attracted rural females. Boyer and Hatton, for instance, had noted that the cotton industries of Lancashire and Cheshire proved to be a huge pull for the female migrant. Also, there were many domestic industries such as straw-plaiting, lace-making and glove-making which could serve to either keep women in their rural surroundings where they were often earning more than their male counterparts, or would take them into their nearest market town where these trades were also flourishing. In her article entitled 'The Women's Harvest: Straw-Plaiting and the Representation of Labouring Women's Employment, c.1793-1885', Pamela Sharpe noted that in some areas of the

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p.184.

⁷⁰ N. Verdon, *Rural Women Workers in Nineteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge, 2002) p.96.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² R. Jefferies, *Hodge and His Masters*, 1st edition 1880 (Stroud, 1992) p.185. Quoted in *ibid.*

country, domestic servants were in short supply, as so many young women were earning good livings from domestic industry.⁷³

Bridget Hill's short paper, 'Rural-Urban Migration of Women and their Employment in Towns', sought to establish who female migrants were, and why they left the countryside, noting that the great wealth of studies on migration 'either fails to distinguish between male and female migrants ... or focusses exclusively on male migrants.'⁷⁴ Hill compared women's migration in eighteenth and nineteenth-century Europe with that of the modern-day Third World, finding many parallels. These included the evidence of migration in stages, with several individual moves towards centres of industry, and the fact that female migration was not specific to young, single women. Evidence showed that many widows in their later years were (and are) forced to look for work in the towns as a survival strategy. This led Hill to discuss the 'push' and 'pull' factors of female migration, noting previous arguments about whether female rural-urban migration was simply the lure of the town or, as Saville and Snell believed, a move of necessity due the decline of the rural industries; 'betterment' migration or 'subsistence' migration.

Women's migratory habits can reveal as much about the decisions to migrate as those of the men, and this is something that should be addressed in the research into migration patterns.

Kathryn J. Cooper's 2011 publication, *Exodus From Cardiganshire; Rural-Urban Migration in Victorian Britain*, sought to address many of the failings within previous research into migration that had been highlighted by Pooley and Turnbull. Cooper studied the Welsh county of Cardiganshire in detail, noting that Wales has been significantly overlooked in previous studies. She examined the different migration trends from the county, and its seven registration districts, and attempted to decipher why those differing trends existed. These investigations were backed-up by case studies gleaned from the census returned, and (where possible) first-hand accounts.

Like many before her, Cooper used the nativity method in order to locate Cardiganshire natives in various parts of England and Wales, specifically South Wales,

⁷³ P. Sharpe, 'The Women's Harvest: Straw-Plaiting and the Representation of Labouring Women's Employment, c.1793-1885', *Rural History*, 1994 5(2). p.132.

⁷⁴ B. Hill, 'Rural-Urban Migration of Women and their Employment in Towns', *Rural History*, 1994 5 (2). p.186.

London, Liverpool and the north-west. Using the online census material, she took random samples of Cardiganshire natives resident in these various areas, predominantly from the 1881 census, and noted their occupations, age, gender and children's places of birth, in order to understand different migration habits, and the attractions to each area. For example, using a sample of 1,750 men and women on the 1881 census, Cooper was able to note the birthplaces of those Cardiganshire migrants who were found in the region of Glamorgan, South Wales. She found that these migrants were from across all parts of Cardiganshire,⁷⁵ with the coalfield areas predominantly attracting young males, and coastal Glamorgan attracting more females. Another random sample of migrants (278 males and females) from four districts of London, revealed the prominence of domestic service for females, with the males drawn to the building, dairy and drapery trades.⁷⁶ Cooper was able to note significant evidence of the 'friends and relatives' effect. For instance, she found that Cardiganshire natives in Islington district increased from 46 to 141 between 1851 and 1861, indicating it 'was increasingly becoming a focus for Cardiganshire people moving to London.'⁷⁷

By describing life in the major destination areas, in particular with regards to the Welsh communities, Cooper was able to put the migrants' lives in perspective. For example, she discussed the Welsh links to the London dairy business, and talked of the cattle drovers who took their cattle to London to the livestock markets. With these additions to the analysis, plus a myriad of case studies, Cooper was able to bring to life many of the situations she described, providing far more than simple statistics in order to understand the processes and motivations behind patterns of migration.

By taking into account birthplaces of children, Cooper was able to assess migration at a far greater depth, agreeing with Pooley and Turnbull that 'the shift of the Victorian population from countryside to town was more complex than many scholars had previously presumed...'⁷⁸. This again highlights the largely untapped information available within the census returns, showing that historians should note more than simply the location and occupation held by an individual at a given census date.

Cooper noted that there were many factors which led to migration from Cardiganshire. Like many scholars before, she concluded that 'economic motives did

⁷⁵ K. J. Cooper, *Exodus From Cardiganshire; Rural-Urban Migration in Victorian Britain* (Cardiff, 2011) p.120.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p.143.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p.138.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p.167.

play a significant part in the decision to move from Cardiganshire.’⁷⁹ However, by studying this county and its unique situation with regards to factors such as town sizes, employment opportunities and housing, she was also able to conclude that the battle for small land holdings played a part in the incentives to migrate, as did the collapse of the lead-mining industry within the county. Additionally, Cooper was able to find many contemporary reports of the particularly dire living conditions within rural Cardiganshire in order to strengthen her arguments. Her work is a fine example of the necessity to place migration patterns in a social, geographical and economic context, and goes a long way to work towards Pooley and Whyte’s idea of a less ‘impersonal, dehumanized approach’⁸⁰ to the studies of migration.

Nevertheless, the census can still be used to a greater advantage. Cooper noted the significant problems with using the birthplace noted on the census, especially for the Welsh living in England. Often only the county of birth was noted for Welsh migrants. In looking at a sample of Cardiganshire natives living in four London boroughs in 1881, (Islington, Lambeth, Kensington and Westminster), she found that for almost one-third of the sample ‘only the county of birth was recorded, and where villages/parishes were given they were often misspelt or ambiguous, making identification problematical.’⁸¹ This is a perfect example of the short-comings of the nativity method. However, by tracing individuals through each census, one by one, it is possible to negotiate these sticking points to a significant degree.

Additionally, with Cooper’s method of taking one particular census, and noting the places of birth, like others before her she is ignoring the possibility that many of the individuals could have migrated as children with their parents. Cooper provides many case studies, which compliment her findings, and many of these showed the migrants having children in Wales before moving. However, these are isolated studies, and the large majority of ages at the time of migration from Cardiganshire go undetected.

Acknowledging that ‘County-wide statistics conceal significant local variations...’⁸², she therefore divides Cardiganshire into its seven registration districts, appreciating their diverse characteristics. This indeed provides a far greater understanding of the varied migration habits between each district. Much evidence is also given of migration to specific towns and districts outside the county, such as the four London boroughs

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p.215.

⁸⁰ C. G. Pooley and I. D. Whyte (eds.), *Migrants, Emigrants and Immigrants... op. cit.*, p.4.

⁸¹ K. J. Cooper, *op. cit.*, p.139.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p.88.

(noted above) and Liverpool and the Manchester area. The greater proportion of the analysis, however, is at the county, or region level. Nevertheless this study provides a great insight into the migratory habits of the people of nineteenth-century Cardiganshire, and by using case studies and personal accounts, highlights the complex nature and human stories involved in the process of migration.

In conclusion, these studies reveal how the study of migration has evolved over the decades. Recent advances in electronic searches have enabled later historians to conduct research simply not possible before the very end of the twentieth century. Earlier studies of migration were wholly reliant on manual searches, and many of these studies must be commended for their dogged determination to extract information from the census reports. Even by the end of the twentieth century, many of these earlier works remained at the forefront of migration research, and as Pooley and Whyte noted in 1991, few works had improved much on E. G. Ravenstein.⁸³

The new advances in technology have made it significantly easier to investigate migration patterns at the local level, allowing the historian a far greater ability to trace the movement of individuals throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. Rather than being restricted to simply noting the birthplaces of individuals in any one location, the facilities are now available with which to attempt to trace any individual on the England and Wales census from 1841 to 1911 (or their death). In other words, studies can now observe migration in terms of the sending communities as well as the receiving communities, as pointed out by Gwyneth Nair and David Poyner.

Somewhat frustratingly, many of the later studies have continued to use the nativity method in order to trace the location of migrants at a single census year. Nair and Poyner, as well as Kathryn Cooper, persevered with this method, using the 1881 census returns. Their datasets could have been significantly increased in size, and improved in detail, by a more in-depth search, using all the decennial census returns from 1851. Likewise, Jason Long's dataset would have benefited from the additional information to be gained by this method. Furthermore, a persistent concentration on migration from single locations, or amalgamating the information found in widespread sample datasets, has led to very few comparative studies. This has succeeded only to provide either a

⁸³ C. G. Pooley and I. D. Whyte (eds.), *Migrants, Emigrants and Immigrants... op. cit.*, p.4.

great understanding of the migrants from one specific area, or yet more broad generalisations.

The method of tracing individuals across numerous census returns is incredibly time-consuming, and requires a great deal of patience, skill and determination. However, the benefits of such research can be immensely fruitful. In order to move migration studies forward, the historian needs to exploit the electronic census searches to their full potential, and to spend the time gathering large, detailed, comparative datasets. As Keith Wrightson warned of research at the parish level, ‘the mental and physical labour in the gathering and analysis of material will continue to be immense ... requiring faith, grit and a capacity to take hard knocks.’⁸⁴

This thesis takes up the challenge. A collection of 36 villages are studied, covering a range of English counties. An initial total of 3,534 individual males and females from these villages make up the overall dataset, with a large percentage successfully traced across each decennial census from 1851 to 1901, noting locations, occupations, and other details in the process. Each of the 36 villages are described in detail, and their individual characteristics noted, allowing a greater understanding of the extent of outmigration by the villagers. The information to be gained from the resulting dataset has the potential to reveal a far greater understanding of migration patterns in the late nineteenth century.

⁸⁴ K. Wrightson, ‘Villages, Villagers and Village Studies’, *The Historical Journal*, XVIII, 3, (1975) p.639.

Chapter Two

Methodology

‘If we are to get to a real measure of the effects of the rural exodus, we must take the discussion down to a regional, and in the end, to the parish level.’¹

(John Saville)

Selecting the villages

The locations for this study needed to have the potential to provide as much useful and relevant information as possible. Therefore a great deal of thought was given in selecting suitable villages. An earlier study, using the sons and daughters of three separate Sussex villages in three contrasting geographic locations, had proved extremely enlightening, revealing a great diversity of migratory habits between the three villages.² However, this study needed to be expanded to include other regions of the country, which would provide the vital comparative element to this particular study of migration.

The three Sussex villages used in the earlier study were Falmer, Sedlescombe and West Wittering, representing a village close to a town, one in a relatively remote location, and a village on the coast. The potential for more conclusive results would be achieved by expanding the dataset.³ Therefore, Stanmer was included with Falmer, Sedlescombe was paired with neighbouring Whatlington, and to West Wittering the villages of both East Wittering and West Itchenor were added.

In contrast to Sussex, the county of Northumberland, being one of the highest waged counties for agricultural labourers in England,⁴ was used to represent the rural north. As with Sussex, a small collection of Northumberland villages were chosen from the coast, to compare to the West Wittering area, and two villages a few miles from the city of Newcastle. Unlike Falmer, which had few employment opportunities other than agricultural labour work, these northern equivalents boasted many tradesmen, and the predominance of trade could well have had a negative effect on the migratory habits of

¹ J. Saville, *Rural Depopulation in England and Wales 1851-1951* (London, 1957) p.69.

² M. Homewood, ‘The Causes and Effects of Rural-Urban Migration in Victorian England.’ (Unpublished Masters dissertation, 2009).

³ The three villages used for this study totalled 1,830 individuals, leading to a useable dataset of 251 sons and daughters.

⁴ See A. L. Bowley, *Wages in the United Kingdom in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1900) End table.

the young men to the rapidly expanding city nearby. Also selected were a group of villages from a very isolated part of Northumberland, many miles from any significant town. By comparing the migration patterns from these villages with those of other areas in closer proximity to towns and cities, the study has sought to establish whether such isolation from urban areas deterred young men and women from migrating. Boyer and Hatton noted that just a small extra distance could deter a person from migrating, unless there was a significant chance of better wages in the destination area.⁵ Perhaps the high-paid, but isolated, northern labourer would therefore be more likely to stay in his village.

In comparison with Sussex and Northumberland, a selection of villages from the East Anglian county of Norfolk have been analysed. By the 1870s the wages for agricultural labourers in this county were some of the lowest in England, and stagnated while those of its neighbouring counties (with the exception of Suffolk) began to rise.⁶ As with Sussex and Northumberland, a collection of coastal villages, isolated villages, and those lying close to a large area of commerce and industry (in this case, Norwich), were taken. By comparing the migratory habits of the Norfolk rural workers with those of Sussex and their higher-paid counterparts in Northumberland, it should be possible to go some way to understanding how much wage levels affected the decision to migrate. P. A. Graham had noted that Norfolk labourers were some of the least well treated in England, but claimed their rural-urban migration rate matched those of the north. This again can be tested.

The remaining collection of counties and villages are predominantly concerned with the effects of industry (both urban and domestic) on migratory habits. A selection of villages in the north-western county of Lancashire has been used. Towns and cities such as Manchester, Bolton, Oldham, Blackburn and Preston were great centres of cotton production, and the cotton mills would potentially have attracted many rural workers, especially women, to the rapidly increasing urban sprawl. Two fairly isolated villages around fifteen miles north of Preston were chosen, and also two villages next to the small cotton town of Clitheroe, around ten miles from both Blackburn and Burnley.⁷

⁵ G. R. Boyer & T. J. Hatton, 'Migration and Labour Market Integration in Late Nineteenth-Century England and Wales', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol.50, No.4 (Nov 1997) p.715.

⁶ See A. L. Bowley, *op. cit.*, End table.

⁷ It was originally planned to have Manchester as the closest industrial area to the selected villages. However, as the area was already so built-up by the mid-nineteenth century, and the fact there were dozens of large towns surrounding the city, finding truly rural locations here proved impossible.

Dov Friedlander saw the textile industry as having little effect on migration in the late nineteenth century. Using these villages the effect of the cotton industry on these rural communities will be investigated. By comparing the two sets of villages it may be possible to ascertain whether such close proximity to Clitheroe had any negative effect on the decision to migrate to the major centres of industry.

Additionally, two villages were selected from a relatively remote area of the industrial north, fifteen miles south-east of Sheffield, on the western edge of Nottinghamshire. As a comparison, another two villages, also fifteen miles from the city, were chosen. However, these villages lie very close to the town of Doncaster. This chapter will investigate the pull of Sheffield, and whether the proximity of Doncaster affected migration. Unlike the villages in Sussex, Norfolk and Northumberland, these villages were in close proximity to a vast range of urban locations. Potential migrants from these villages would have had a far greater choice of towns and cities, especially for young women seeking work in domestic service or a service industry occupation, and this may well have resulted in low rates of rural migration. The density of towns and cities in the industrial north may also have dissuaded long-distance migration or negated the need to travel far, and this will also be discussed.

Boyer and Hatton noted that ‘The direction of migration flows for males and females was somewhat different’⁸, and that women were attracted to the cotton factories of Lancashire and Cheshire, whereas employment opportunities for women in cities such as Sheffield were scarce.⁹ To help test these theories, the migratory habits of a large village in Derbyshire were analysed. This village (Monyash) is equidistant from both Manchester and Sheffield (around 20 miles south of both cities). An investigation will be made to discover whether the sons were pulled towards Sheffield, and the daughters towards the major centres of the cotton industry, or whether its isolation was such that migration was hindered.

Finally, in order to assess the effects of domestic industry on migration, the county of Bedfordshire was selected. Both straw-plaiting and lace-making were extremely prolific within this, and other surrounding counties, and undoubtedly would have had a significant effect on the decision to migrate. Five villages in Bedfordshire were used for this study. Meppershall and Campton are approximately 10 miles south-east of Bedford,

Therefore it was decided to locate the villages further towards the north of the county, using Preston and Blackburn (also great cotton producers) as the main attractions of industry.

⁸ G. R. Boyer & T. J. Hatton, *op. cit.*, p.706.

⁹ *Ibid.*

and in 1851 just under two out of every three females aged between 10 and 50 were employed in the straw-plaiting industry.¹⁰ In contrast, Pavenham, Felmersham and Radwell, around eight miles north-west of Bedford, were heavily involve in lace-making, with almost half of their female residents between the ages of 10 and 70 engaged in this industry in 1851.¹¹ The effect these thriving rural industries had on female migratory habits could potentially reveal a great deal about the extent of the ‘pull’ effect of domestic industry on young women in rural England. One might expect the migration rates of young men to be affected by this high presence of female industry. Additionally, the contrast between the straw-plaiting and lace-making villages will be examined.

In addition to testing the specific situations mentioned above, the resulting data will also be used to observe certain trends at the parish level, and to analyse many factors which could influence migration.

Overcoming issues encountered in data gathering

Gathering appropriate data presented several issues to overcome. One of these was the problem of village population size. The earlier study, using the county of Sussex, had focussed on three villages. The plan to greatly increase the dataset involved not only expanding the research geographically, but also increasing the size of the dataset within each area. With much debate on what constitutes a ‘rural’ environment,¹² the natural conclusion was to avoid simply choosing larger villages, but to use small groups of two or three villages for each of the geographic areas. By setting a limit of 750 inhabitants, the risk of using villages that could be in any way classed as ‘urban’, could be avoided. Remote, rural Northumberland proved to be an incredibly difficult area in which to find a collection of two or three moderately sized villages, as much of this county consisted of many small villages owned by big estates. In this instance it was necessary to use a collection of ten small villages and hamlets, ranging from 251 residents to just 21, in order to make up a decent-sized dataset for the remote Northumberland area. These were separated into three different village areas, classing each small collection as one

¹⁰ 201 out of 316 females (64%).

¹¹ 161 out of 369 females (44%).

¹² See especially L. Bellamy, K. D. M. Snell & T. Williamson, ‘Defining the Rural’, *Rural History*, New Series, Vol.1, No.2 (1990) pp.143-145.

village.¹³ Additionally, although village sizes tended to decrease slowly over the latter half of the nineteenth century, several villages initially considered had expanded rapidly during the course of the late 1800s, resulting in becoming what one could comfortably describe as a ‘town’ by 1901. Hunstanton in Norfolk was one of these villages which were selected as a prospective village, but had to be disregarded.¹⁴

The original census returns themselves occasionally proved problematic. The responsibility for the completion of these forms was down to the individual enumerator, and both handwriting and detail could vary greatly. For instance, Paston was an ideal village to use for coastal Norfolk. However, on checking the census returns it was discovered that the enumerator had simply noted the initial of the first name for the majority of the residents. This would have proved far too difficult to trace them through subsequent censuses.

A further problem encountered was the duplication of place names. There are certain village names that occur more than once in a county. For instance, there are four Carltons in Yorkshire alone. The Lancashire villages of Cloughton and Bilsborrow, situated between Garstang and Preston, had initially been selected for study. However, there was another Cloughton in the county, just north of Lancaster. This meant another pair of villages had to be found to replace them.

Gathering and ordering the data

The initial gathering of data simply involved transcribing the 1851 census returns for the 36 villages, consisting of 14,788 individuals. Name, relation to head of household, marital status, age, gender, occupation and place of birth, were all noted, plus additional observations, such as number of people employed (which usually related to farmers or craftsmen). Whilst transcribing the census, the observations of repetition of surnames, the regularity of certain places of birth from outside the village, occupational trends, etc, resulted in achieving a familiarity of each of the individual communities to be studied. The process of transcribing therefore became a valuable part of the process.

Anyone described as a ‘visitor’ on the census, was then removed, as it could not be certain these were normal residents of the parish. However, these usually amounted to a maximum of just four or five persons in each village census. There were also the

¹³ Overall, 43 villages and hamlets were used. However, by merging the ten remote Northumberland locations into three, the number of ‘villages’ totalled 36.

¹⁴ Hunstanton’s population in 1851 was 466; ideal for this study. However, from the 1860s the village grew rapidly, and by 1901 its population was over 2,400, making it too large to qualify for this research.

occasional group of residents who were disregarded. For example, one of the villages was the location of the district workhouse, and it was decided not include its inmates as part of the village community. One of the Sussex villages clearly was in the midst of having the Hastings to London railway built through it, and as a consequence there were 89 railway labourers from all across the country lodging in the village. These were ignored for statistical purposes, although the significance of their presence is noted in the village description. There were also a total of 40 boarding school pupils in two of the villages, and these were also disregarded for this study. This left an overall total of 14,347 residents within the 36 villages.

In order to analyse the occupational structure of each village, all non-occupation holders were removed, and each occupation type was coded. This would allow an examination of the occupational structure of each village. The grading of each occupation was also possible using the five-class ranking scheme proposed by W. A. Armstrong, which he based on the 'Classification of Occupations' volume for the 1951 census.¹⁵ These ranked the highest occupations, such as solicitor, vicar and surgeon as Class I, down to hawkers, pedlars and general labourers, at Class V. Jason Long had used this scheme, as had Nair and Poyner, and although Armstrong's system still has some critics,¹⁶ there seemed no reason to depart from it.

Long made just one amendment to Armstrong's scheme, and this was along the line of Stephen Royle's suggestion regarding servants in the household.¹⁷ Armstrong had mentioned employees, but not domestic servants. Royle suggested that any household with at least one servant per household member should be placed in Class I, and any household containing at least one servant per three household members should be placed into Class II. Any other household containing servants would be placed in Class III.

However, Royle's system must be questioned. The census is a snapshot of a day in the life of a family. For example, on the night of the census a blacksmith may be living with his wife and a child, and have a domestic servant. He would therefore be placed in Class II. However, if his wife was to give birth to a second child a week later, this blacksmith would be downgraded to Class III, as there would be one servant to more

¹⁵ See Chapter 6, 'The use of information about occupation' in E.A. Wrigley, (ed.), *Nineteenth Century Society*. (Cambridge, 1972).

¹⁶ See for instance S. A. Royle, 'Social Stratification from Early Census Returns: A New Approach', *Area*, Vol.9, No.3, (1977).

¹⁷ S. A. Royle, *op. cit.*, pp.216-7.

than three members of the household. Conversely, the death of a child could have the effect of bumping a person up a class. This changing of the occupational class of a father seemed just as dependant on the number of children he had as it did the number of servants he employed. On these grounds it was decided not to employ this method.

Nair and Poyner also made one modification to Armstrong's scheme, and that was to merge Classes IV and V to create a four-class system. Their issue with the five-class system concerned both agricultural labourers, who were Class IV, and general labourers, in Class V. Nair and Poyner argued that urban general labourers would earn more than agricultural labourers. Although agricultural labourers would have the advantage of a cottage and a garden, and therefore could grow much of their own food. However, it can be argued that *all* 'general labourers', and 'labourers' (i.e. ones with no specifically named description), should be treated as Class V, regardless of whether they were rural or urban. 'General' labourer implies they had no regular employment, whereas for instance 'bricklayer's labourer', 'ironworks labourer' or 'coal pit labourer' at least implies some kind of regular/structured employment. Again, it was decided to remain with Armstrong's scheme.¹⁸

Although the modifications made by either Long or Nair and Poyner were not adopted, some changes were made to Armstrong's scheme. First, with regards to servants, any householder in Classes III, IV or V who had at least one domestic servant in the household, were upgraded.¹⁹ Second, all 'master' tradesmen were placed under Class II (most of whom were employers anyway), with the exception of master fishermen, who were upgraded from Class IV to Class III.

A change to the grading of farmers was also made. Armstrong suggested all farmers should be Class II, and perhaps then sub-divided into subdivisions with regards to acreage held. The initial classing of a farmer with 20 acres in the same category as a farmer with say 500 acres seemed most unsatisfactory. Therefore, for this study, farmers were split into three; 1,000 acres or more, or employing 25 or more people, would be Class I; farmers of over 50 acres, or those either employing 5-25 people or having more

¹⁸ Occasionally the census enumerator in a village would simply write 'lab' for all village labourers instead of 'ag lab'. The villages affected were Pavenham and Campton (both Bedfordshire) on the 1851 census, and Gooderstone (Norfolk) on the 1871 census. In these instances 'lab' was taken to mean 'ag lab'.

¹⁹ This is specifically domestic servants, which included indoor farm servants, but not outdoor servants. Also not included were widowed men who had a housekeeper lodging with them, as this was usually a mutually beneficial arrangement rather than a head of household doing well enough to employ a servant.

than one servant, would be Class II; and all other farmers would be Class III (still one class higher than an agricultural labourer).

Naturally, using such a system where individuals are simply slotted into a certain class, based solely on their job title, is a rather simplistic way of determining a person's socio-economic status. One shoemaker, for instance, could have been widowed and bringing up small children on his own, with barely any work coming in. Whereas another could obtain plenty of work and have grown-up sons and daughters in the household, bringing in further income. Or as Armstrong rather wittily put it '...railway man *C* had happened to marry a virtuous wife devoted to 'keeping up appearances' while railway man *D* had married a slattern.'²⁰ Nevertheless, this system has been tried and tested, and with certain modifications should be more than adequate to give an overall picture of occupation status, especially when using large datasets. In addition to the occupation of the householder, a note was made of any occupation held by a married man's wife. This was especially important for those in the Bedfordshire villages engaged in domestic industry, and also for those in the cotton districts of the industrial north.

In order to examine the nature of rural migrants, Jason Long had chosen to take all those described as 'sons' on the 1851 census, in the age range of 9 to 29; 9 being the minimum legal working age. Long does acknowledge the limitations of using the occupational status of those so young and comparing it with that of 1881.²¹ However, as this study traces individuals through every ten year census, it was decided that a minimum age of 5 would be acceptable, as by the 1861 census they would be 15 and almost certainly settled in some sort of employment. The maximum age was set at 25, simply because there were very few 'sons' over this age, and it was deemed a reasonable cut-off point. Any 'sons' who were married by the time of the 1851 census were also disregarded (although again these were few). Exactly the same system was applied to the 'daughters' of the 1851 census; age 5 to 25, and unmarried. The dataset revealed 2,253 sons and 1,994 daughters who fitted into these requirements.

Using an online search engine, each of these 4,247 individuals were systematically traced through each ten-year census up to 1901, with a note being made of their

²⁰ E.A. Wrigley, (ed.), *Nineteenth Century Society*. (Cambridge, 1972). p.213.

²¹ See J. Long, 'Rural-Urban Migration and Socioeconomic Mobility in Victorian Britain', *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol.65, No.1, (March 2005) p.8 (footnote).

occupation, marital status, occupation of any spouse, and more importantly the location of the individual. Places of birth of the individuals' children listed on the census were also noted, as well as locations of marriage. These too would give an indication of the migratory habits of the family.

Any son or daughter who had migrated away from the village (or its immediate surroundings) with their parents was disregarded.²² It was important to remove these children who had clearly not migrated under their own steam. This has been a major flaw in many migration studies, as discussed earlier. Also disregarded were those who had only moved to the village, from outside the immediate area, with their parents at the age of at least fifteen. For example, a son who grew up in Norwich, and moved with his parents to the village of Oxborough aged sixteen, was deemed not to be a true Oxborough son. All sons and daughters who were found to have died before the age of seventeen were disregarded.²³ Additionally, the 9 sons and daughters noted as a 'cripple' on the 1851 census were also disregarded. This left a total dataset of 3,534 potentially usable individuals, (1,914 sons and 1,620 daughters).

In the process of tracing individuals on the census returns, one is at the mercy of the information provided by the head of the household, the spellings used by the enumerators, and the transcriptions made by those who have digitised the census. Naturally, sons and daughters could not always be traced. Also, if there was any doubt as to the matching of a particular individual on consecutive censuses, (e.g. if there was more than one person with the same name born in the same village, and they could not be differentiated), they would also be disregarded. Only a definitive match would be acceptable for this study, and no guess work would be undertaken. Through this process enough information was gained on 1,571 sons and 1,274 daughters in order to make up the final usable dataset; a total of 2,845 individuals.²⁴

²² This is an example of how research at the parish level works well. Looking at each migrant individually, it was possible to make a personal judgement on each son or daughter's unique situation. For example, if a daughter was aged eighteen and in no occupation when she left the area with her parents, she was deemed to have migrated with them. However, if an eighteen-year-old son, working as a shoemaker, left the area with his parents, he was deemed to be a migrant in his own right; as a working man he was far more likely to have been able to make an informed choice as to whether to join his parents in the move or to remain in his village.

²³ These totalled 85 sons and daughters, (just 2 per cent of the original dataset).

²⁴ For many of these individuals, not all census returns were located from 1861 until 1901 (or their death). However, enough locations were found in order for the information to be used.

Information was sufficient to place 2,474 of these sons and daughters into one of four categories of migration. ‘Village stayers’ represent those who were still living in their 1851 village in 1881. These were the sons and daughters who had either remained in the village well into their adult life, or who had moved away for a time, but had ultimately returned to their childhood village.²⁵ Nevertheless, intermediate moves by these village stayers have not been ignored, and are taken into account in some of the investigations into migration patterns. The analysis for village stayers uses data from all the sons and daughters where there is no confirmed death before 1881.²⁶

The remaining sons and daughters are classed as ‘migrants’, and have been treated separately from the village stayers. Whereas the village staying analysis uses only the location of the individual as at the time of the 1881 census, the analysis of the migrants will be able to make greater use of the available sources. The three categories of migrant consist of ‘short-distance migrants’; those found within 5 miles of their village of 1851, ‘middle-distance migrants’; those found 5-30 miles from their village, and ‘long-distance migrants’; those found over 30 miles from their village. These categories were determined by the last known location of an individual, up to and including the 1881 census return. For example, if an individual had died by the time of the 1881 census, their census location for 1871, (or 1861 if they had died by 1871), has been used.²⁷ Where an individual was known to be alive in 1881, but a location was simply not found on the 1881 census, again the last known location has been used. Additionally, where a place of death or burial was noted after a last known census location, but before 1881, that place has been used as the last known location. For example, John Dawson of Whatlington, in Sussex, had died by the time of the 1871 census, and there was no trace of him on the 1861 census. However, his death record shows he died in the Durham area in 1862. Consequently, his last known location can be classed as the county of Durham, and was therefore a long-distance migrant.

By noting locations of individuals at other periods of time besides the 1881 census, far more information can be gleaned from the dataset. The research carried out by Jason Long, for example, would have been greatly improved if data had been obtained for the intervening years. Those who died before 1881 were disregarded in Long’s research, as were those who migrated to urban areas, and then returned. Long acknowledges this

²⁵ The village stayers totalled 371 sons and 248 daughters.

²⁶ If there is no confirmed death for a son or daughter, but they are not resident in their village, it is assumed they were alive and living elsewhere.

²⁷ Unless their last known location was within his or her own village.

second pitfall, noting ‘It is impossible to fully address this shortcoming with the data at hand; indeed, the issue of return migration is present in virtually all empirical migration studies’.²⁸ This does not have to be the case. Records available to the historian allow this detailed research, and should be exploited to their full potential. The location of an individual on the census returns for 1861 and 1871 can provide further evidence of migration, as well as the birthplaces of any children. For example, George Bland of Campton, Bedfordshire was living in nearby Shefford in 1881. However, the 1871 census shows him living in Newington, Surrey. Robert Mee of Norton, near Sheffield, was working in the coal mines of South Anston, Yorkshire, in 1881, yet the 1871 census reveals his daughter Sarah was born on the Isle of Wight, indicating a temporary move there.²⁹

Using this method, it has been possible to increase the dataset for this study by 33 per cent for the sons, and 45 per cent for the daughters,³⁰ highlighting the fact that by simply comparing the 1851 census location with that of 1881, results in a great deal of vital, and easily obtainable, information being ignored. Jason Long’s initial matching process yielded a success rate of 17 per cent.³¹ Just noting those found on the 1881 census, the method used for this study resulted in 49 per cent of the individuals being traced,³² not including those being deemed unusable. The results of this method speak for themselves.

Finally, urban migration rates have been noted using similar methods. Every individual within the dataset was studied, noting location on the census returns, birthplaces of children, and locations at death. One of three categories was then assigned: ‘urban migrant’, ‘rural persister’ or ‘returner’. If an individual’s last known census location up to 1901 was urban, and (in the case of the sons) they were still engaged in employment, they would be deemed an ‘urban migrant’. If they had shown any sign of living in an urban location, but later returned to a rural location before any form of retirement, they were classed as a ‘returner’. And if there was no sign at all of an urban location, they would be designated a ‘rural persister’.

²⁸ J. Long, *op. cit.*, p.10.

²⁹ Children’s birthplace were used to great effect by R. Lawton in his 1955 article on the population of Liverpool. See R. Lawton, ‘The Population of Liverpool in the Mid-Nineteenth Century’, *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, Vol, 107 (1955) pp.89-120.

³⁰ The total individuals traced on the 1881 census were 1,180 sons and 881 daughters. However, this was increased to 1,571 sons and 1,274 daughters.

³¹ J. Long, *op. cit.*, p.4.

³² 2,061 usable sons and daughters out of the total 4,247 potential dataset were traced on the 1881 census.

Any sons or daughters who died before the age of 30, and were still in a rural area, were disregarded for this particular analysis, as they were deemed to have died too young for a judgement to be made on whether they would have remained rural persisters.³³ Additionally, it was inevitable that many census entries would not be found, and if a census return was missing, it was not always possible to confidently determine within which category an individual would fall. Of the 2,845 sons and daughters, 2,274 could be placed in one of the three categories.

As previously noted, there has been much debate on what constitutes a 'rural' or 'urban' environment. William Ogle had classed any town with a population of under 10,000 as rural. Even when he adjusted some of his calculations to include only towns of less than 5,000, this figure seems far too high. As John Saville stated of Ogle's definition: 'The majority of rural parishes in England and Wales are below 500 in population and to include all rural areas below 5,000 in one category was to mask the significant changes which were taking place over the greater part of England and Wales.'³⁴ Jason Long used the United Nations' figure of 20,000 despite noting that the 1851 population census of England and Wales classed towns as those with a population over 2,500, and that the U.S. census also uses this latter figure as the cut-off between 'rural' and 'urban'.³⁵

The cut-off figure used for this study is 2,000. Almost all the villages surrounding the Sussex villages, for example, had significantly less than 2,000 inhabitants, and every small town migrated to (such as Battle, Lewes, Chichester and Hastings) had well in excess of 2,000 inhabitants, so the dividing line seemed quite clear for this particular study. Certain locations did fall on the cusp of 'urban' and 'rural'. One of these was Ore, near Hastings. It grew rapidly during the mid-nineteenth century, and consequently fell into the 'rural' category until 1871, when it then changed to 'urban'. Barry Reay highlighted the fact that many villages lay close enough to a town to be considered part of urban society where trading would be done between village and town,³⁶ This may be true of many villages where a migrant has been located. However, for this study, generally only those who moved into the town itself will be classed as 'urban'.

³³ Most of the individuals who died before the age of 30 had not even reached adulthood. The age of 30 seemed a reasonable limit to set for this task.

³⁴ J. Saville, *op. cit.*, p.65.

³⁵ See J. Long, *op. cit.*, pp.2 and 7 (footnotes).

³⁶ B. Reay, *Rural England* (Basingstoke, 2004) p.17.

Marriage and burial records can also provide vital evidence of urban migration. Henry Butters of Gooderstone, for example, was resident in a rural location on every census up to 1901. However, he was married in London, and his marriage certificate reveals he was resident at 40 Jewin Street, Cripplegate in 1867. Henry could therefore be classed as a ‘returner’. Consequently, it is vital to use as much evidence as is available to the historian, resulting in a far more accurate picture of the migration habits of young men and women during the nineteenth century. The following three chapters do just that, and reveal a far more complex set of migration patterns that could ever be gained from a basic method of investigation.

Observing the broad statistics

Before this data is analysed at a more local level, the migratory habits of the sons and daughters within this study shall be observed as a whole. This will represent a broad set of statistics at the county level, and will give a general picture of the variations found across the counties used in this study. Figures 2.1 and 2.2 shows the rates of village staying, and the distances of migration, for the total dataset.

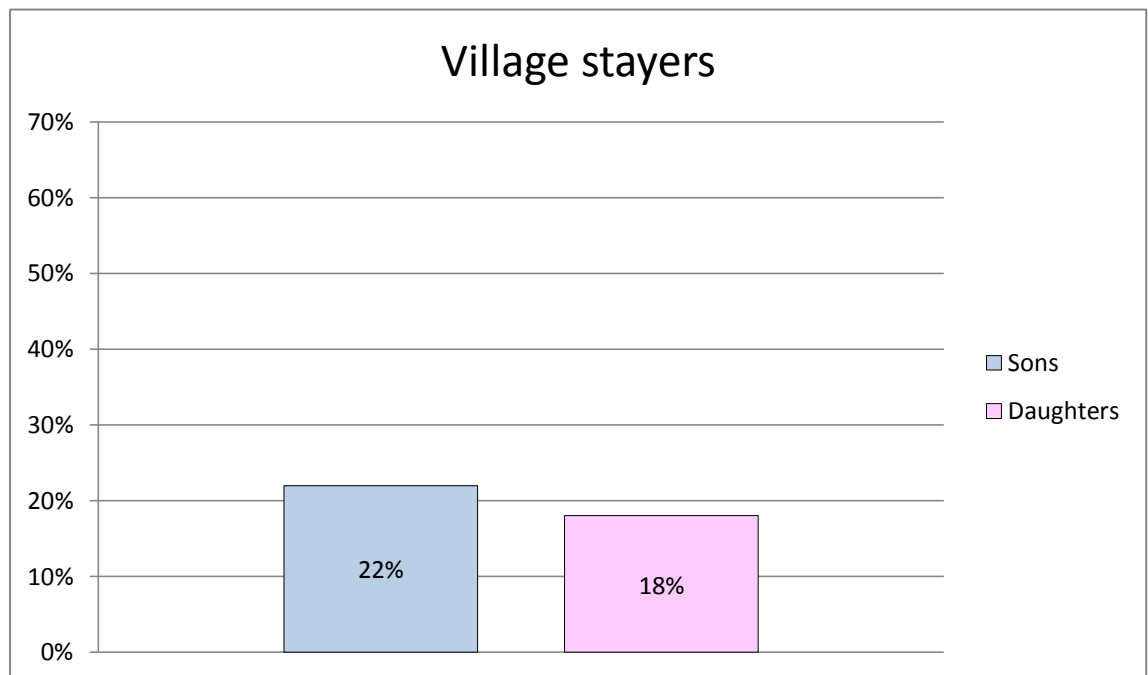


Figure 2.1: Village stayer rates at 1881, for the total dataset (sons and daughters).

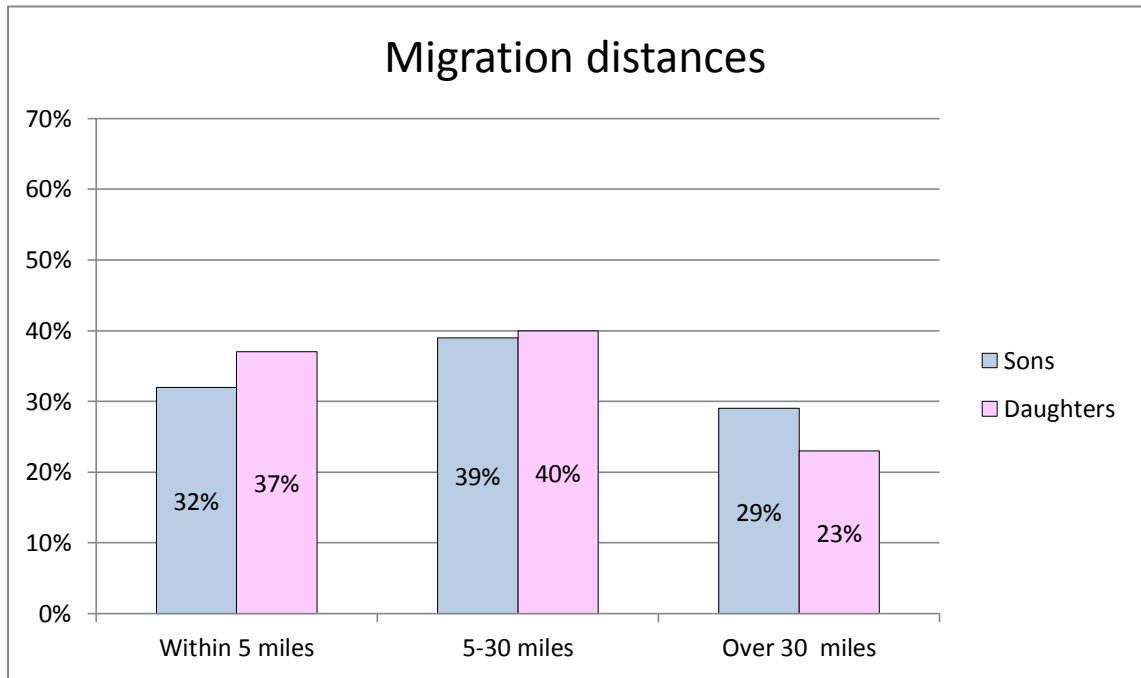


Figure 2.2: Distances of migration by 1881, for the total dataset (sons and daughters).

These statistics do not reveal any significant differences between the migratory habits of the sons and the daughters. The daughters appear to have been less likely to remain in their village of 1851. It might be surmised that this was due to the large number of girls and young women who left their villages to go into service. Additionally, the sons appear to have been more likely to migrate over thirty miles, perhaps being more influenced by the need to travel for employment. However, there is little advantage in trying to analyse statistics at this broad level. Therefore, figures 2.3 to 2.6 show these same statistics broken down to reveal the results at the county level.

What is immediately obvious is that for almost every set of statistics, there is a significant variation between the six counties. For example, both the sons and daughters of Bedfordshire far exceeded any other county with regards to remaining in their villages, but also displayed an equally significant rate of long-distance migration. Norfolk sons and daughters also showed a great tendency to migrate long-distance, whereas those of Lancashire and Sheffield tended to migrate short distances, but rarely over thirty miles.

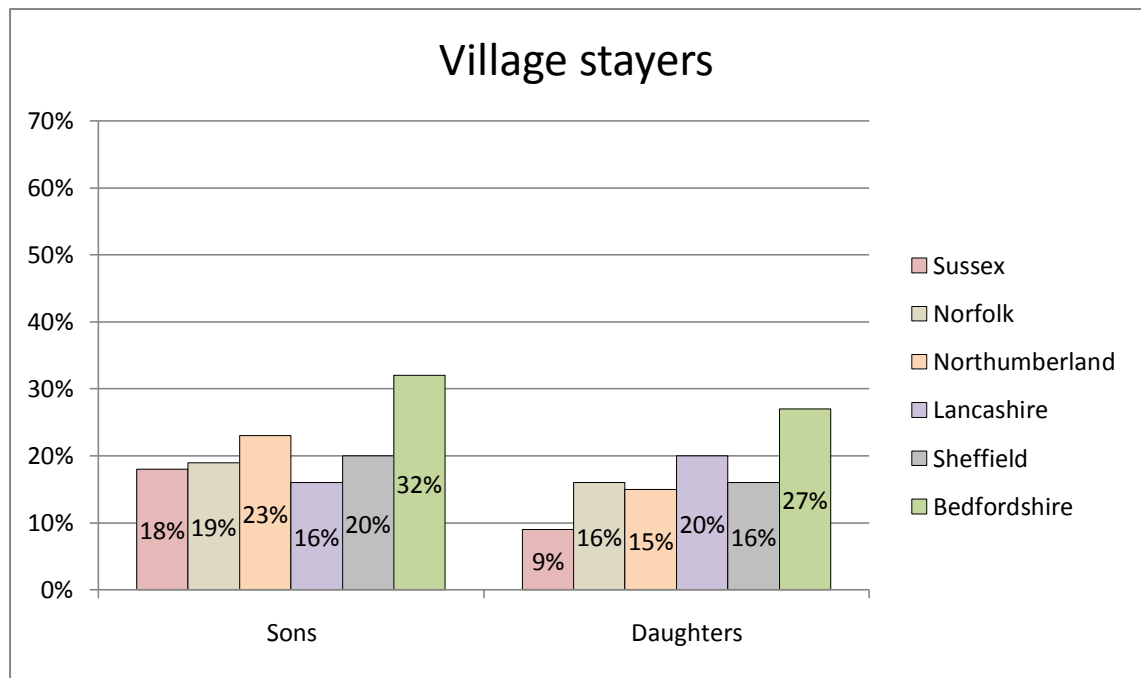


Figure 2.3: Percentage of sons and daughters still living in their village in 1881.

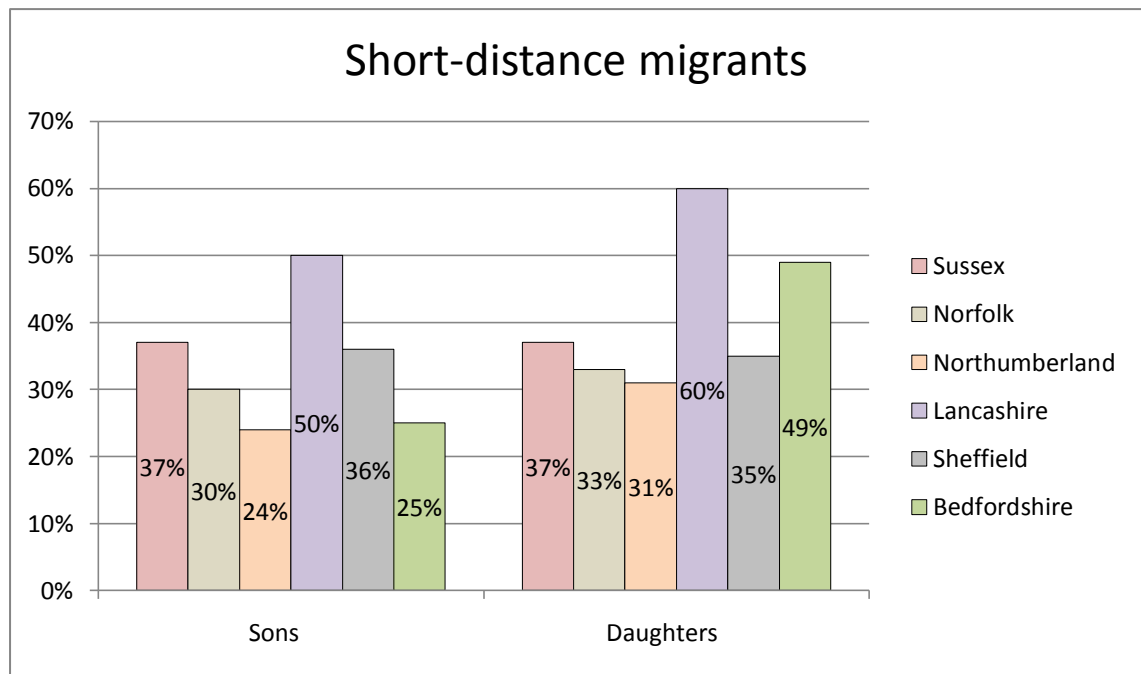


Figure 2.4: Percentage of migrant sons and daughters still living within 5 miles of their village by 1881.

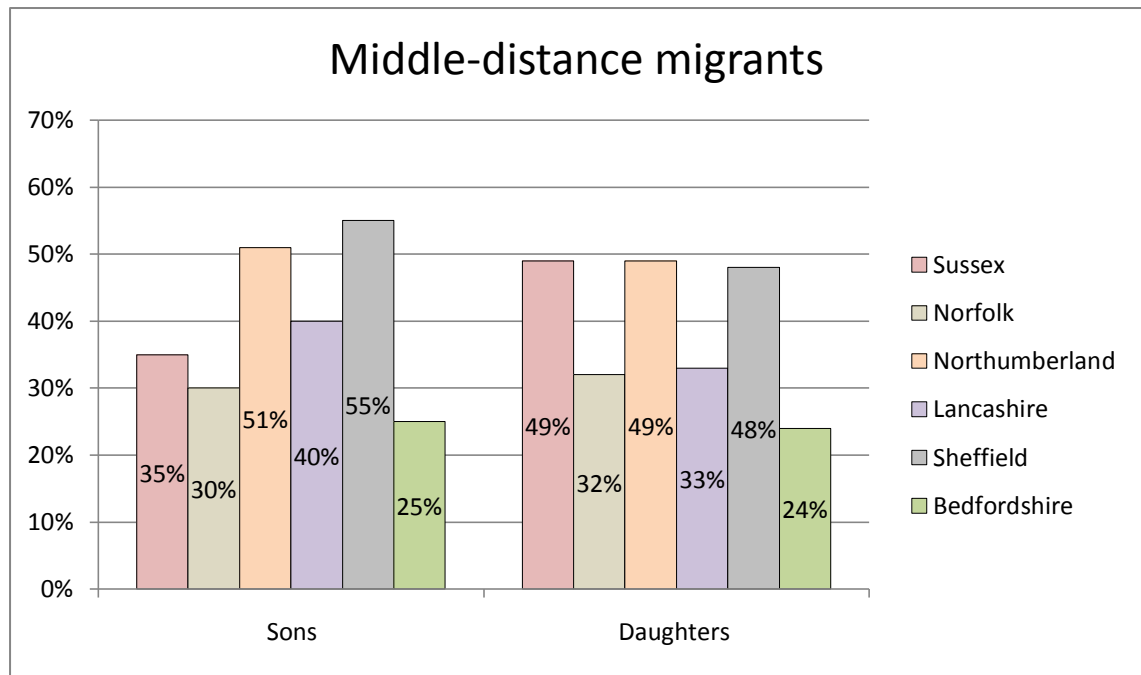


Figure 2.5: Percentage of migrant sons and daughters living between 5 and 30 miles from their village by 1881.

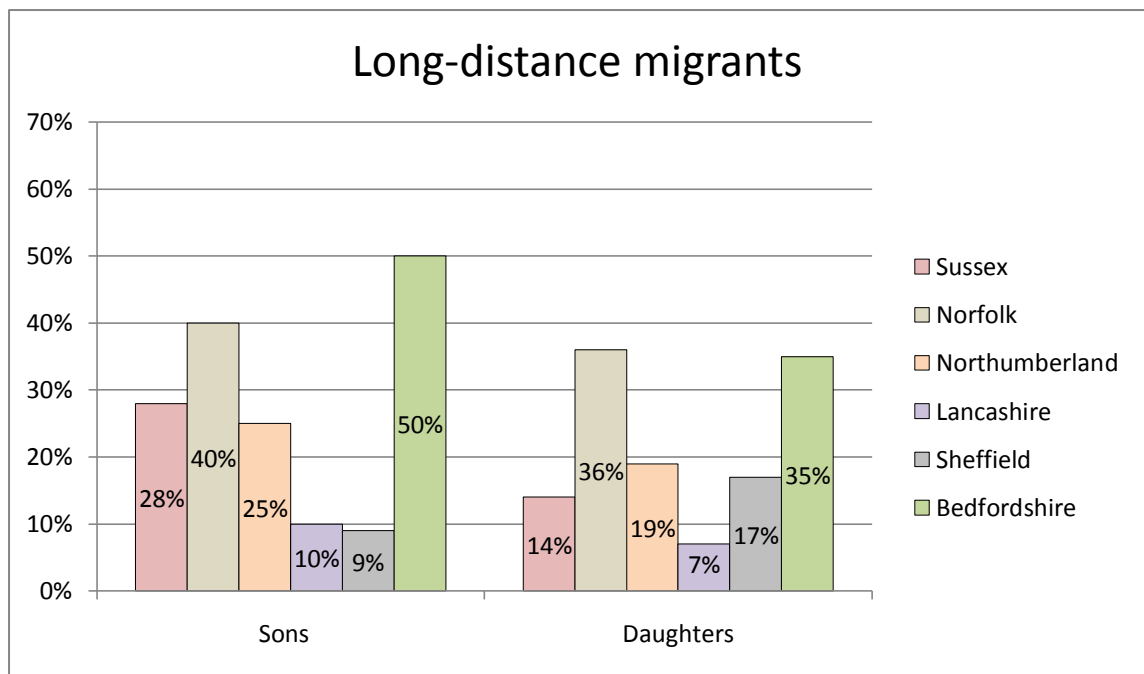


Figure 2.6: Percentage of migrant sons and daughters living over 30 miles from their village by 1881.

It is possible to make many educated guesses as to why these patterns existed. Bedfordshire was noted for its expansive domestic industry, particularly in lacemaking and straw plaiting, and Dennis Mills had noted that domestic industry ‘retained women nearer their birthplaces’.³⁷ The Bedfordshire daughters in this study certainly exhibited a great tendency to remain within five miles of their village. However, the sons also showed similar tendencies, in fact almost a third of all Bedfordshire sons were still living in their 1851 village thirty years later. Perhaps this too was connected with domestic industry. Nevertheless, for those Bedfordshire sons and daughters who left the area, a great percentage migrated long distance. In fact one in two Bedfordshire migrant sons could be found over thirty miles away by 1881. Norfolk showed similarly high patterns of long-distance migration. Perhaps the relative isolation and low wages of Bedfordshire and Norfolk meant that migrating far afield was the only option to escape a similar lifestyle to that from which they came.

With regards to the sons and daughters from the Lancashire and Sheffield villages, it is perceivable that the great range of centres of commerce and industry within thirty miles negated the need for them to migrate any further. Cotton mills were scattered in great numbers across Lancashire, and this may well have been part of the reason both sons and daughters of this county were far less likely to be long-distance migrants. Their cohorts in the villages around Sheffield may well have been kept from migrating long-distance by the availability of work in the cities of Leeds, Nottingham, Derby, and indeed Sheffield itself. However, these are only county-level statistics, and while they display significant variations, further differences may well be present within each county, and these will need to be investigated.

Lastly, the overall figures for rural and urban migration are noted. In order to highlight the advantages gained by the methodology used within this thesis, figure 2.7 shows the results of two methods of obtaining urban migration rates. The first figures show the result of simply comparing the 1881 census with the 1851 census. The second show all those sons and daughters where there was any evidence of urban migration up to 1901. This therefore includes the ‘returners’, so often missed in migration studies.

The sons and daughters within this study appear to have migrated to urban locations at an equal rate, regardless of which method has been used. However, the advantages of

³⁷ D. Mills (ed.), *Victorians on the Move*. (Oxford, 1984) p.vi.

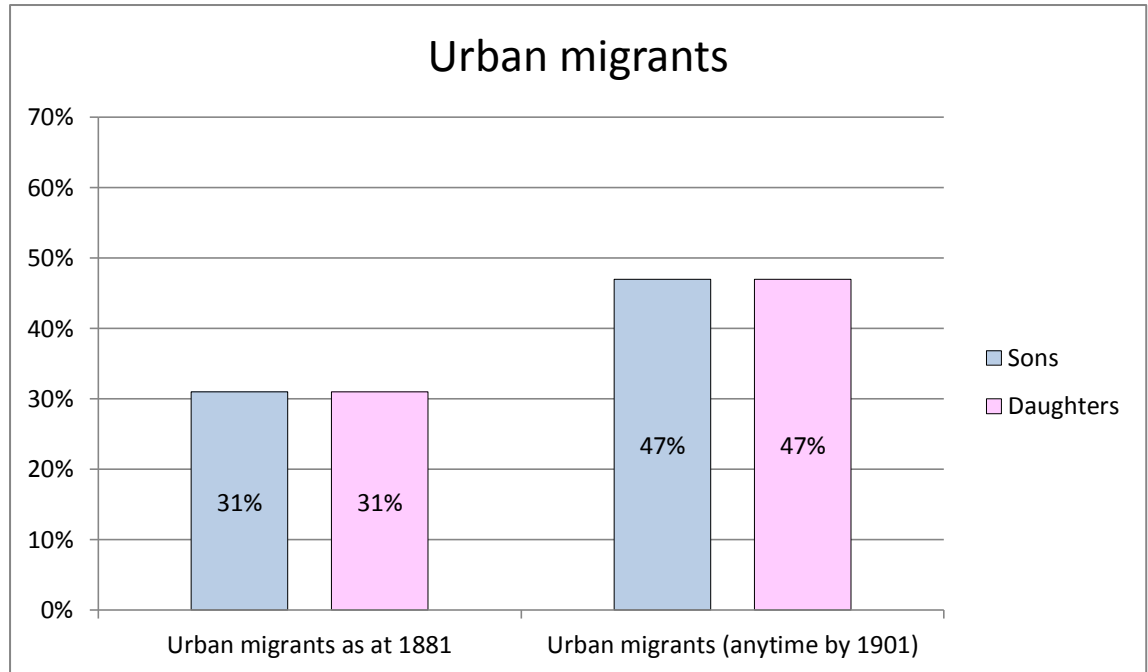


Figure 2.7: Urban migration rates for the entire dataset (sons and daughters), comparing two methods of data collection.

observing lifetime migration habits, rather than simply comparing two census returns thirty years apart, are clearly evident. Not only were many additional sons and daughters located using this method, but 9 per cent of the sons, and 11 per cent of the daughters within these second figures were ‘returners’. Lifetime migration allows a far greater appreciation of the migration habits of each individual.

Once again these figures are broken down, and figure 2.8 reveals these statistics at the county level. As with distance migration, many variations of urban migration can be observed. Sussex displayed significantly higher rates of urban migration than both sons and daughters of Norfolk and Northumberland. This could have been affected by their relatively close proximity to London. Bedfordshire’s low rates of urban migration, especially by the daughters, could possibly be explained by the high rates of village staying and short-distance migration due to domestic industry. However, at the county level, this is mere speculation.

There appears to have been no significant differences between the sons and daughters of each county. However, perhaps surprising, is that the sons of Lancashire,

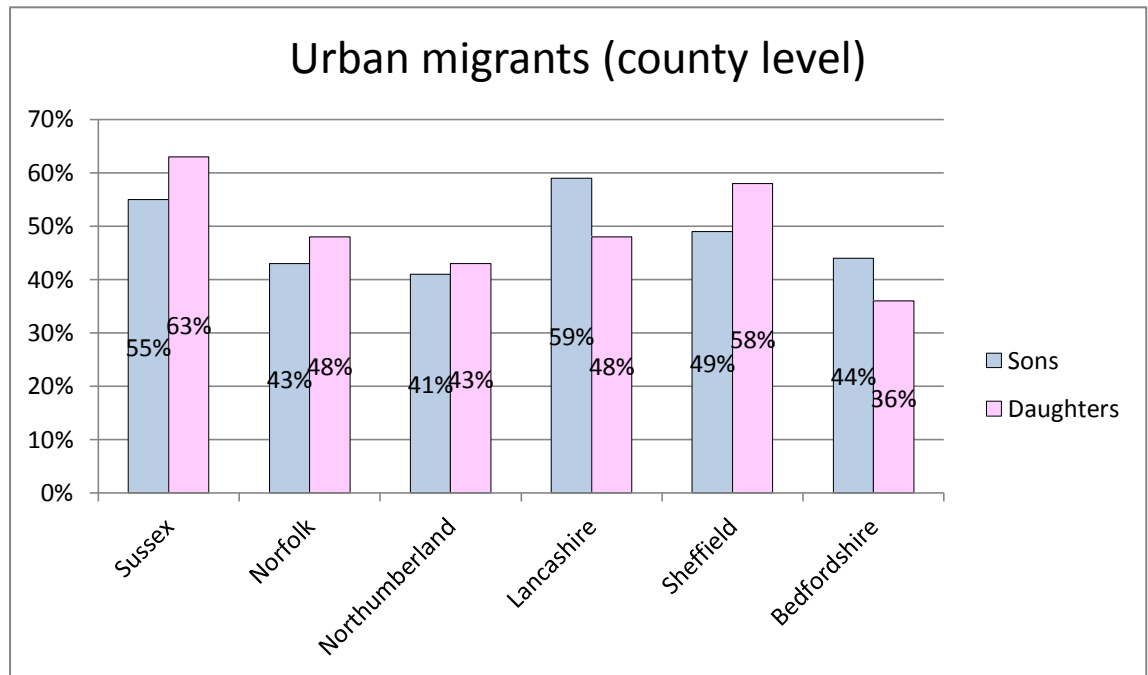


Figure 2.8: Lifetime urban migration rates for each county (sons and daughters).

with its huge scattering of cotton mills, outweighed the daughters in terms of urban migration, and the daughters of the highly industrial Sheffield clearly area outweighed the sons.

These broad figures show a great diversity of migration patterns across all six counties, highlighting the necessity of comparative studies. A great many past studies of migration have concentrated on one county or area, from the early studies by historians such as William Ogle and E. G. Ravenstein, to the more recent works by Kevin Schurer and Kathryn Cooper. With many historians recognising the great variations present amongst rural communities, it would be reasonable to assume that different areas and parishes within these counties would also display varied patterns of migration. The 36 selected villages cover 16 separate areas, and the results of the research in these areas could each tell a unique story of migratory habits. By analysing these migration patterns in relation to their geographic location, and the characteristics of the individual village, it should be possible to obtain a greater understanding migration in late nineteenth century England. Not only will the 16 groups of villages be compared, but also differences at the parish level will be investigated. Two villages may be situated not more than five miles apart, but they may display completely different patterns of

migration. This cannot be ignored. And by comparing each individual parish with its neighbour this study truly takes investigation down to the parish level.

Similar studies to this thesis have been made in recent years, selecting certain villages, or collections of villages, in order to ascertain the variables affecting migratory habits.³⁸ However, rarely, if ever, have they focussed on more than one small geographical area, and consequently they lack any sort of comparative element. Alternatively, studies have been made by taking many individuals from various areas of the country, but simply merging them together in order to find average national or regional patterns of migration. By taking many contrasting types of villages from different locations across the country, and comparing the findings, this study will seek to provide a clearer understanding of the forces which drove rural men and women away from their villages, or kept them in their familiar, rural environments. It will attempt to prove that it is a reliable and fruitful way of testing existing theories on migration with regards to factors such as distance, wages, gender and occupation.

³⁸ See for example, D. Mills, *Victorians on the Move* (Oxford, 1984), B. Reay, *Microhistories: demography, society and culture in rural England, 1800-1930* (Cambridge, 1996) and G. Nair & D. Poyner, 'The Flight from the Land? Rural Migration in South-East Shropshire in the Late Nineteenth Century', *Rural History*, (2006) Vol.17, No.2.

Chapter 3

Sussex, Norfolk and Northumberland: a comparison of migration patterns

This first analysis chapter will examine the migration patterns for a collection of villages within Sussex, Norfolk and Northumberland, representing a good cross-section of the counties within England. This chapter will seek to establish the unique patterns of migration both between and within each county, and attempt to suggest why these patterns may have existed.

This is a particularly long chapter, and as such will be split into four sub-chapters. Chapter 3a will describe the villages used within this particular analysis. Chapter 3b will examine the rates of village staying for both sons and daughters. An attempt will be made to establish particularly high rates of staying by analysing the unique characteristics of the villages, highlighting the necessity of taking research down to the parish level. Chapter 3c will analyse migration by the sons of the villages, noting the variations in degrees of distance migration, and focussing on the effects of neighbouring towns and cities. Finally, Chapter 4c will investigate the migratory habits of the unmarried daughters, firstly observing distance, then followed by a comparison of urban migration rates with that of the unmarried sons.

In relation to this particular study, Sussex represents the rural south, Northumberland the rural north, and Norfolk the isolated rural east. Besides their geographic location, these counties also represent three very different areas within mid-nineteenth century England in many other ways.

Sussex, in the far south-east, is separated from London by a short distance through either Surrey or Kent. It is formed of ten agrarian regions, such as the High Weald, the Low Weald, the South Downs, and the Coastal Plain.¹ This great variation in agricultural regions allowed many different types of farming, including sheep farming and cattle rearing. With regards to ‘open’ and ‘close’ parishes, the county is almost divided in two.² The Wealden areas, in the north and east of the county, consisted

¹ K. Leslie and B. Short, (eds.), *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (Chichester, 1999) p.96.

² ‘Open’ parishes were those where the land was generally divided up between small occupiers, whereas ‘close’ parishes would be made up of one or two large estates. ‘Open’ parishes would, as a consequence,

predominantly of 'open' parishes, and the South Downs and Coastal regions in the south and east tended to fall into the category of 'close' parishes. J. M. Wilson's *The Imperial Gazetteer of England and Wales*, published between 1870 and 1872, indicated that 90 per cent of the Coastal Plain parishes were 'essentially 'close'', and 69 per cent of the Wealden parishes were 'essentially 'open''.³ The late eighteenth century saw the development of coastal spa towns in Sussex, such as Brighton, Worthing, Eastbourne and Hastings, and these became increasingly popular into the nineteenth century. Brighton in particular became an increasing attraction, a popular leisure resort, thriving with trade, with the arrival of the railway in the 1840s helping to rapidly increase the size of this once small fishing town. Its population rose from just 7,514 in 1801 to 65,569 in 1851. And by 1901 it had risen to 123,478.⁴

Although the long established and booming iron production industry in Wealden Sussex had all but disappeared by the turn of the nineteenth century, foundries casting both iron and brass could be found all across the county, such as the Regency Foundry in Brighton, and Every's in Lewes. Brick, tile and pottery manufacturing were thriving industries, particularly in the Wealden areas, increasing rapidly from the 1840s with the coming of the railways and the boom in housing requirements in the coastal towns.⁵ Away from the Weald, the central and western parts of Sussex were heavily involved in the malting and brewing industry during the nineteenth century, with Brighton Chichester, Worthing and Lewes heaving with breweries.

Norfolk is situated three times as far from London as Sussex, and in the nineteenth century was a rather isolated county, bordered by the equally rural counties of Suffolk and Cambridgeshire. Like Sussex, it has a variety of landscapes, and as Thomas Fuller wrote in 1676, 'all England may be carved out of Norfolk ... so grateful is this shire with the variety thereof.'⁶ The Brecklands, for instance, in the south-west of the county, consist of poor, but easily worked soil, and in the nineteenth century the majority of this area was sparsely populated, consisting of nucleated villages.⁷ The bulk of central Norfolk is dominated by fertile claylands, with turnip-growing of huge importance,

be more independent, and tended to have larger populations. The smaller communities within 'close' parishes were usually dominated in all aspects of their lives by the great landowner(s). There would be less in-migration, keeping poor rates at a minimum. A benevolent landlord, in a parish with good housing and steady occupations, could provide a sense of great security for his tenants.

³ See K. Leslie and B. Short, (eds.), *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (Chichester, 1999) p.99.

⁴ R. Collis, *The New Encyclopaedia of Brighton* (Brighton, 2010) p.247.

⁵ K. Leslie and B. Short, (eds.), *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (Chichester, 1999) p.106.

⁶ D. Dymond, *The Norfolk Landscape* (London, 1985) p.28.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p32.

especially in the northern clayland region, and the Rich Loam District in the north-east of the county was a great provider of wheat, barley and oats.

Nineteenth-century Norfolk lacked great centres of commerce and industry. By 1880 over half of the county was owned by landowners with more than one thousand acres.⁸ However, the county's great estates (Holkham, Raynham and Houghton) were almost exclusively in the north-west corner of the county. Around 50 per cent of Norfolk's parishes were 'open', and consequently these were to be found more in the east, south and far west of the county. The county's only city, Norwich, was at the peak of its prosperity back in the eighteenth century,⁹ with its involvement in worsted cloth manufacture, as well as the leather and shoemaking industries. The population of Norwich trebled during the nineteenth century, with 37,000 in 1801,¹⁰ to almost 112,000 in 1901.¹¹ However, in contrast with Brighton's sixteen-fold increase during the same period, this pales in significance. As the nineteenth century wore on, Norwich's tendency to fail to invest in machinery led its textile industry to lose out to the northern factory towns and cities.¹² However, despite this, the shoemaking industry continued to prosper, with the Norwich shoe trade 'enjoying something in the nature of a boom'¹³ during the 1870s.

The county of Northumberland again has many natural regions, although many of these have always been sparsely populated. In the mid-nineteenth century, the moorlands and the Cheviot hills in the west of the county were particularly sparse, with acid soils, poor drainage and, in the Cheviots, steep slopes, which made crop production or sheep grazing problematic.¹⁴ However, the land to the north, the entire coastal area, and the south-east comprises of much fertile land. Coal mining had been established in the Tyneside area to the south of the county centuries before, and the industry continued to grow well into the twentieth century. However, despite the prevalence of the coal mines, the south-eastern corner of Northumberland continued to remain largely rural during the nineteenth century, farming on good quality soil.¹⁵ Northumberland's landscape is very much a landlord-created landscape.¹⁶ The eighteenth century had seen

⁸ T. Ashwin and A. Davison, (eds.), *An Historical Atlas of Norfolk (3rd edition)* (Chichester, 2005) p.128.

⁹ C. Reeve, *Norwich: The Biography* (Stroud, 2011) p.114.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.147.

¹¹ Census of England and Wales, 1901. Index to the Population tables. (1903).

¹² C. Reeve, *Norwich: The Biography* (Stroud, 2011) p.174.

¹³ W. L. Sparks, *The Story of Shoemaking in Norwich* (Norwich, 1949) p.42.

¹⁴ H. C. Pawson, *A Survey of the Agriculture of Northumberland* (London, 1961) p.22.

¹⁵ R. Newton, *The Northumberland Landscape* (London, 1972) p.42.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.35.

much enclosure within the county, and by the nineteenth century it was littered with small villages owned by large estates. Agricultural workers would often live in rent-free cottages around a farm, receiving pasturage for a cow, grain and wool, plus cheap coal.¹⁷ Landlords in Northumberland were great improvers of land, and many residents in these estates saw better agriculture, housing and roads.

Despite its lengthy coastline, Northumberland had no good natural harbours between the Tyne to the far south and the Tweed to the far north, although Blyth coped fairly well as a port for the export of coal.¹⁸ By far the largest centre of industry in Northumberland was Newcastle. This city had established itself as a place of commerce and prosperity back in the sixteenth century, and writing in the 1720s, Daniel Defoe remarked that Newcastle was ‘a spacious, extended, infinitely populous place’.¹⁹ By 1851, 54 per cent of Newcastle’s population had been born outside of the city, including a significant number of natives of Scotland, Ireland and London.²⁰ Although not a great producer of coal, the city generated its wealth as a dealer and exporter of coal using the River Tyne. By the turn of the nineteenth century the city had taken advantage of the large amounts of coal along the riverside, and this was utilised to form many industries, such as glass making, brick and tile making, metal smelting and a range of chemical industries. Additionally, shipbuilding and heavy manufacturing were central to the financial success of the city. The great increase of industry in this already industrialised city during the nineteenth century was accompanied by a substantial population increase, which rose from 28,294 in 1801 to 215,328 in 1901,²¹ making it almost twice the size of both Brighton and Norwich.

Extensive research into wage rates by historians such as A. L. Bowley, at the turn of the twentieth century, and E. H. Hunt, writing at the end of the twentieth century, give a great insight into the variations of income experienced by agricultural labourers across the country. E. H. Hunt noted that farm labour was an extremely common occupation, and the wages earned by these men acted as a reference point for other occupations.²² Looking the earnings of agricultural labourers noted by A. L. Bowley for the 1860s and

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.138.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.181.

¹⁹ Quoted in M. Barke and R. J. Buswell (eds.), *Historical Atlas of Newcastle upon Tyne* (Newcastle, 1980) p.19.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p.28-9.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p.23.

²² E. H. Hunt, *Regional Wage Variations in Britain, 1850-1914* (Oxford, 1973) p.4.

1890s, there were clear differences between the counties of Sussex, Norfolk and Northumberland.

Table 3.1 shows not only the comparatively low wages experienced by Norfolk agricultural labourers, but also the stagnation of these wages over the latter third of the nineteenth century. Sussex labourers were clearly better off compared to their Norfolk counterparts during the 1860s, but these wages had dropped by the 1890s. However, the wages of the agricultural labourers of Northumberland were consistently higher than either Sussex or Norfolk, increasing throughout the latter part of the nineteenth century, and in 1892 were the highest in the country. As P. A. Graham had noted in the 1890s, ‘Norfolk is generally accounted the exact opposite of Northumberland in all that regards the well-being of the peasant...’²³ There is much written about labouring life in Norfolk, and the county is often used to illustrate poor living and working conditions in this period. A *Norfolk News* enquiry in 1863 reported on the terrible conditions the county’s rural areas, and ‘wretched and desolate’ conditions were found.²⁴ Writing of life in rural Norfolk around the 1880s, Frederick Rolfe stated that ‘men had to tramp to work hours sooner than to day, and they got a mere pittance, nine shilling a week to bring up a family.’²⁵ It would appear that rural life in Norfolk, and to a certain extent Sussex, was far tougher than that in Northumberland.

County	1867-70	1892
Sussex	16s. 6d.	15s. 0d.
Norfolk	14s. 9d.	15s. 0d.
Northumberland	17s. 6d.	20s. 9s.

Table 3.1 Agricultural Labourers’ Weekly Earnings.

Source: A. L. Bowley, *Wages in the United Kingdom in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1900) End table.

²³ P. A. Graham, *The Rural Exodus* (London, 1892) p.7.

²⁴ L. M. Springall, *Labouring Life in Norfolk Villages, 1834-1914* (London, 1936) p.52.

²⁵ L. Rider Haggard, (ed.), *I Walked by Night* (Woodbridge, 1986) p.88.

A selection of villages across each of the three counties have been chosen in order to analyse the migration habits of young men and women across different types of geographical location: villages in coastal regions, remote regions, and those situated close to a centre of commerce and industry.

Chapter 3a

Village Descriptions

Sussex: Falmer and Stanmer

These two villages are situated together in the middle of the South Downs region. Stanmer was by far the smaller of the two villages in 1851, with around a quarter of the population of Falmer. They are situated four miles from Brighton to the south-west, and four miles from the county town Lewes to the north-east. Until the mid-nineteenth century Falmer and Stanmer were rather isolated villages, which for centuries had been a good area for sheep farming.²⁶ To highlight the remoteness of Falmer, and its insular society, Falmer historian, Doris Williams, noted that the first bridegroom to be married at Falmer who was not a Falmer resident, was as late as 1839, when a young farmer from neighbouring Pyecombe married a local girl.²⁷ However, the railway came to Falmer in 1841. This included its own station, and was the start of a new and easy link to both Brighton and Lewes, which would have had a dramatic effect on the lives of the residents of Falmer and Stanmer. Brighton was also linked to London, making the capital within relatively easy reach for villages around Brighton.

The manor house at Stanmer was bought by Henry Pelham of Lewes in 1712,²⁸ and by the mid-1800s the Pelham family owned vast areas of Falmer parish. The Pelhams were generally a benevolent family, especially Henry's great great grandson, Henry Thomas, 3rd Earl of Chichester, who often assisted his poorer neighbours financially. He built the village school at Falmer in 1837, as well as designing and building a water pump to improve health conditions in 1871.²⁹

In 1851 the two villages were dominated by agricultural labour. 77 per cent of Falmer's male workforce, and 84 per cent of Stanmer's, worked on the land, including 5 farmers at Falmer.³⁰ Falmer was also home to many craftsmen, including 4 blacksmiths, 3 shoemakers, 3 wheelwrights, and 2 carpenters, plus 4 men working for the railways. However, the domination of agricultural occupations is marked, with 152 of its 198 working men either farmers or farm workers of some kind. Stanmer's male

²⁶ D. Williams, *Falmer Parish: Reflections* (Sussex, 1985) p.10.

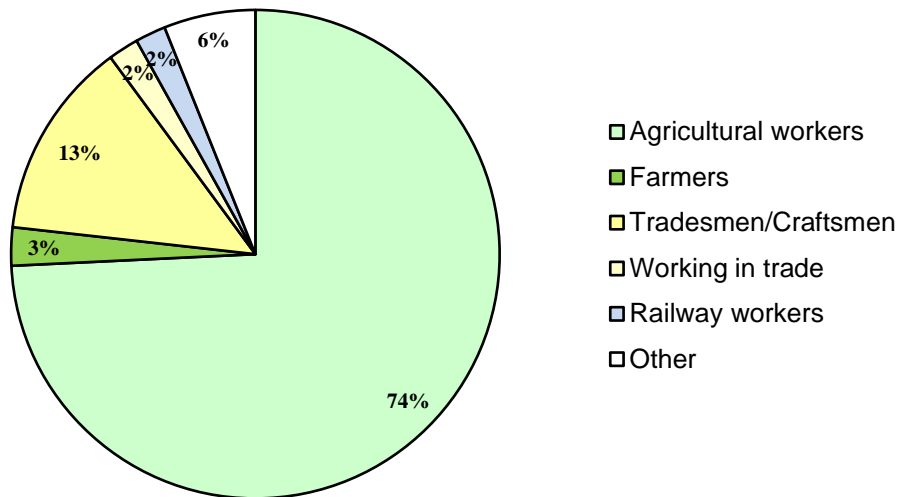
²⁷ *Ibid.*, p.32.

²⁸ J. Goodfield and P. Robinson, *Stanmer & The Pelham Family* (Brighton, 2007) p.19.

²⁹ D. Williams, *Falmer Parish: Reflections* (Sussex, 1985) pp.52 & 86.

³⁰ Farm workers are always difficult to categorise. For the purposes of this study, farm workers include agricultural labourers, farmer's sons, gardeners, shepherds, woodcutters, gamekeepers, plus the farm bailiffs, and anyone else who was involved with work on the land. Farmers are categorised separately.

Falmer



Stanmer

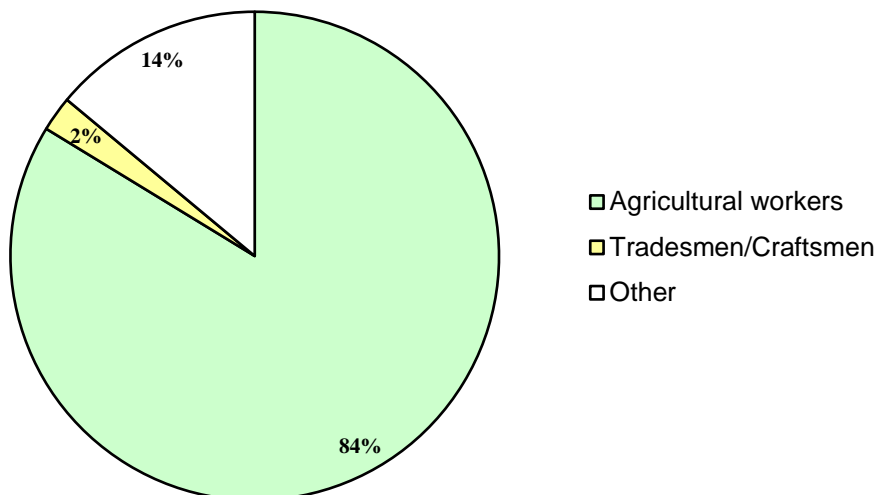


Figure 3.1: Distribution of occupation types for all male residents of Falmer and Stanmer at the time of the 1851 census.

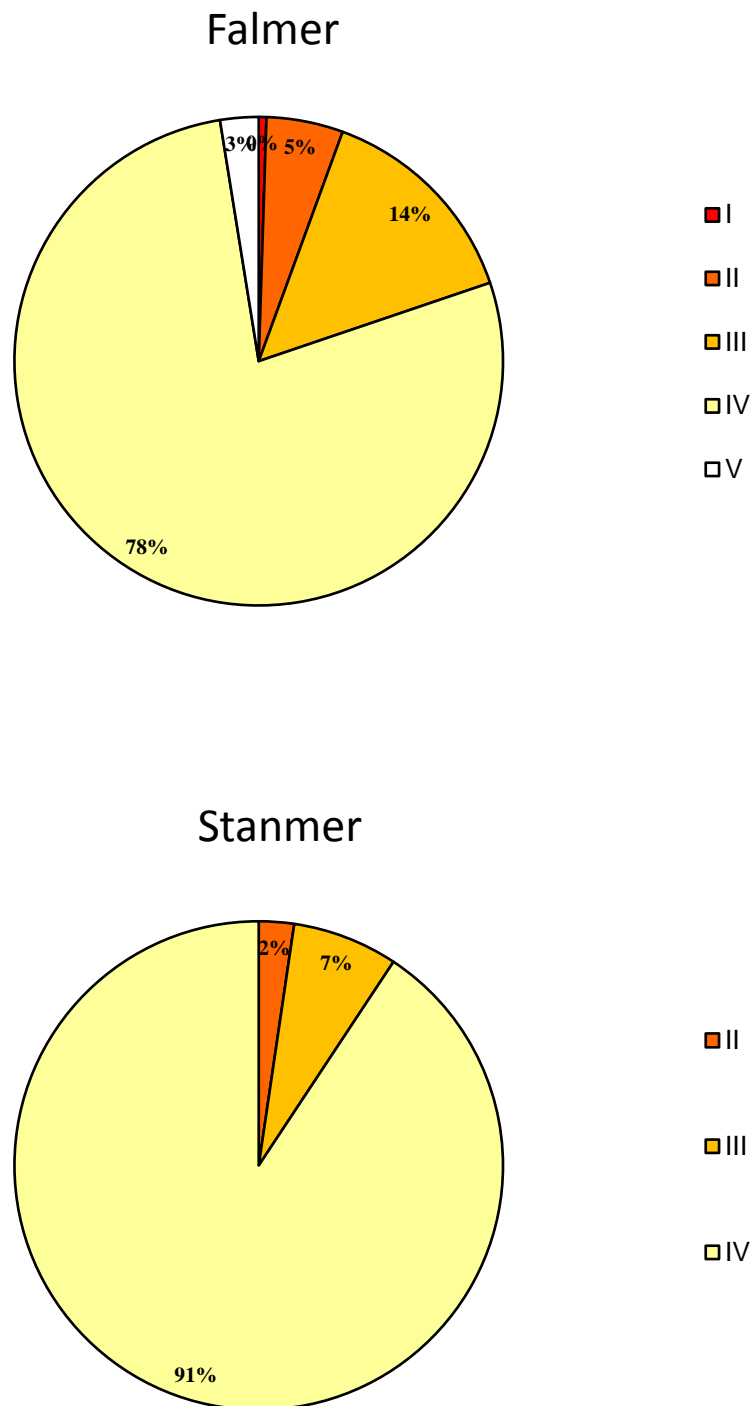


Figure 3.2: Distribution of occupational classes for working males in Falmer and Stanmer at the time of the 1851 census.

workforce, however, mainly found themselves working on the land of the Pelham estate, in the gardens, or in Stanmer House itself. Carpenter, Thomas Jones, was the only craftsman here in 1851. Just 9 per cent of the working male population had a Class III or higher occupation, compared to 20 per cent in Falmer.

Children were often affected by the dominance of field work. The Falmer School log book is full of entries such as: 'W Sheppherd has leave for one week to help his father with the sheep.'³¹ Additionally, the parish included many isolated farms, and in inclement weather many children were forced to remain at home. Again, the school log book often shows low attendance during wet or cold weather, and also lack of attendance due to long distances, including one stating; 'Henry Gander left school, the distance from Bevendean being too great for his tender years,'³²

It is therefore unsurprising that the 1851 census for the two villages shows 30 boys under the age of 14 in employment; 27 of these as agricultural labourers. For the large majority of the male population in these years, their lives were to be dominated by the call of the plough. However, with the rapidly expanding town of Brighton on their doorstep, by the 1850s this may have been slowly replaced by the temptation of urban life. The young women of the two villages were certainly noticeable by their absence. In 1851 there were 37 unmarried 'sons' between the ages of 15 and 25 in the two villages, compared to just 12 unmarried 'daughters' in the same age range. Although agricultural occupations for women were not noted on the 1851 census returns for Falmer, many would undoubtedly have been working intermittently in the fields, and the call to the town may well have been a tempting alternative.

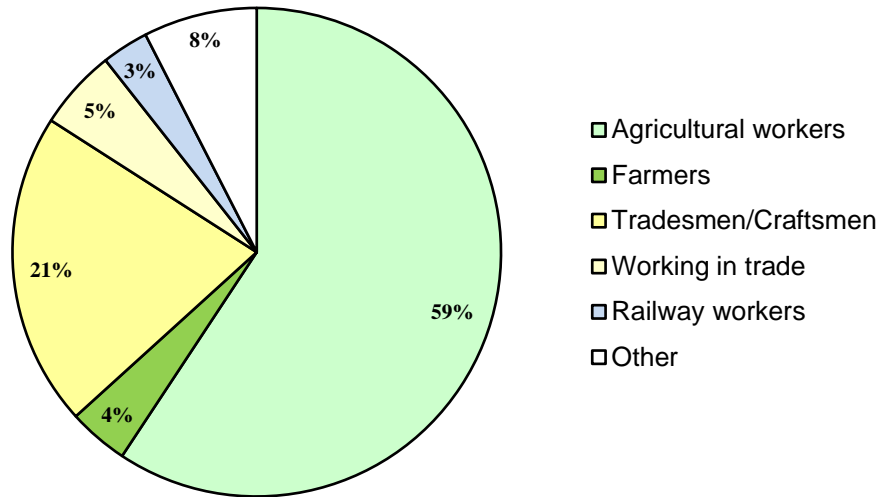
Sedlescombe and Whatlington

Sedlescombe and Whatlington are three miles north-east of the town of Battle, and situated deep in the High Weald. Sedlescombe also lay on the Hastings to Hawkhurst road, one greatly used during the nineteenth century, which must have brought much potential trade through the village. Like most places within the High Weald, Sedlescombe had greatly prospered during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries due to the iron industry, with more than thirty forges and furnaces located within a five-mile

³¹ ESRO (East Sussex Record Office) ESC 68/1, Falmer School Log Book, p.4.

³² *Ibid.*, p.26.

Sedlescombe



Whatlington

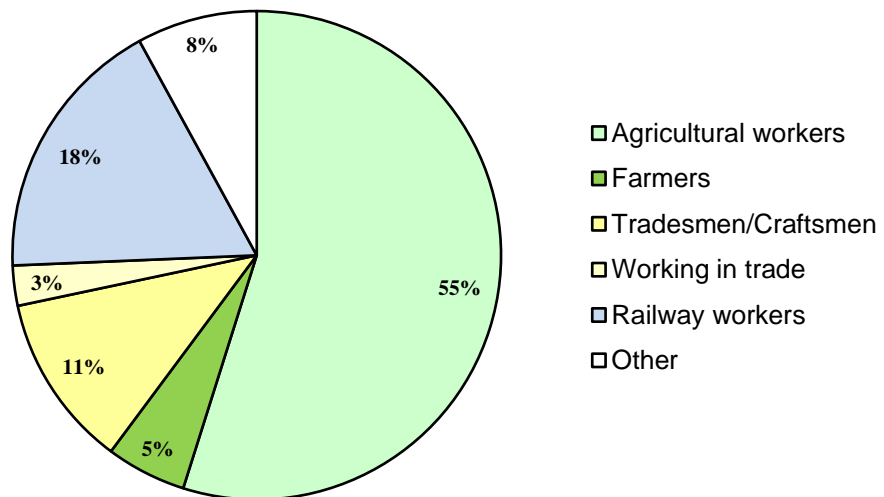


Figure 3.3: Distribution of occupation types for all male residents of Sedlescombe and Whatlington at the time of the 1851 census.

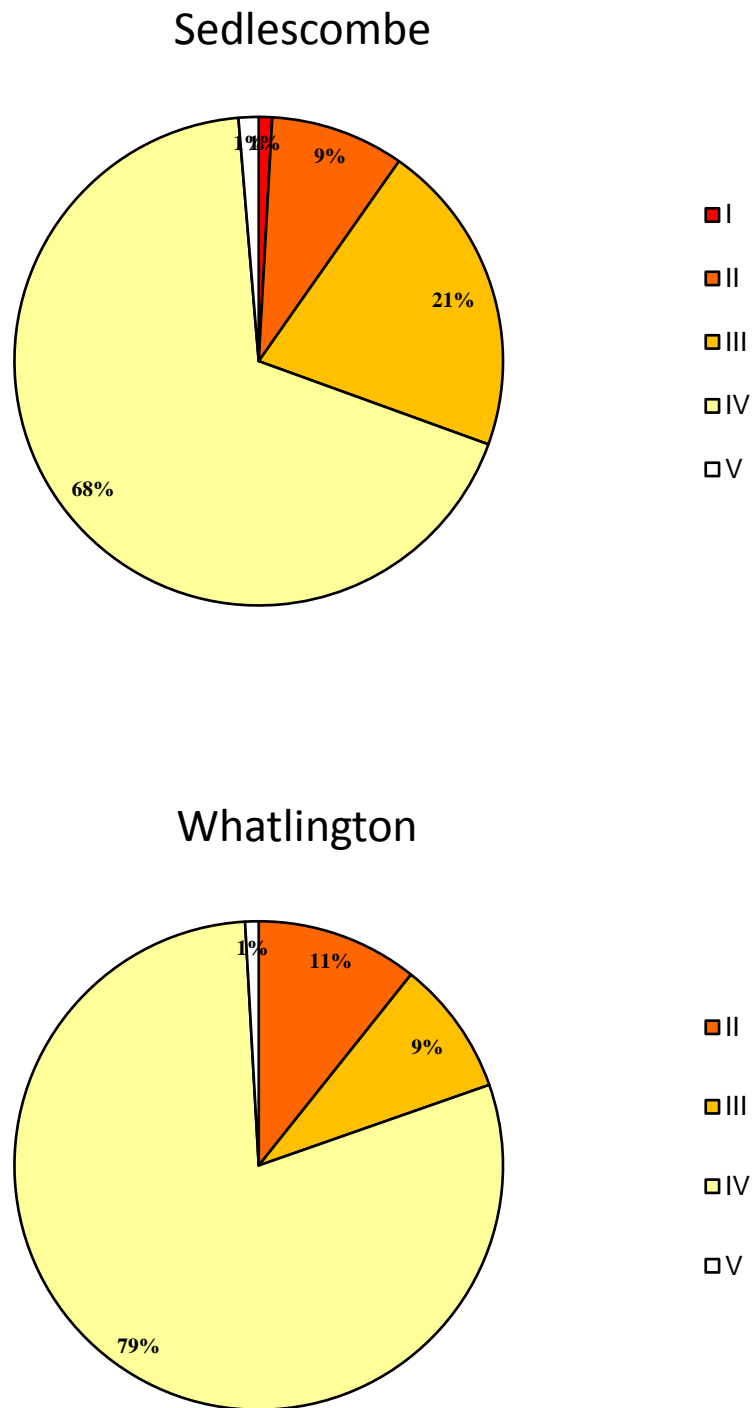


Figure 3.4: Distribution of occupational classes for working males in Sedlescombe and Whatlington at the time of the 1851 census.

radius of Sedlescombe Green.³³ When the Weald had been depleted of the bulk of its oak trees in which to fuel the great furnaces, the iron industry in Sussex declined, and the people of this area returned to traditional occupations.

The main street of Sedlescombe was rich in tradesmen, where blacksmiths, carpenters, shoemakers and grocers all kept their businesses, typifying an open parish, with a large non-agricultural population.³⁴ In 1851, with a total population of 714, a sizeable 26 per cent of the working men in the village were engaged in trades and crafts,³⁵ far outweighing that of Falmer and Stanmer. In 1851 there were 6 shoemakers and 4 blacksmiths, and with still much woodland remaining after the decline of the iron industry, there were many men working in the wood trades, including 12 carpenters. Consequently, the village's reliance on farm workers was far lower than that of Falmer and Stanmer, with 59 per cent of the working male population working as agricultural labourers. Also, with a new rail network linking Hastings to London passing two miles away through the nearby village of Whatlington, this affected Sedlescombe to a certain extent, with 6 railway labourers and a rail porter resident in the village in 1851.

Whatlington itself was consequently affected far more by the coming of the railway. At the time of the 1851 census there were 100 lodgers in the village. 84 of these were working on the construction of the railway. However, only 16 of these 84 were born in Sussex, the others originated from 23 different counties of England, and 3 from Ireland. This highlights the effect the construction of the railways had on a mobile workforce, who were clearly following the work wherever it went. Disregarding the 'lodgers' on the census, 18 per cent of the village were employed on the railways. 54 per cent of the population were engaged in agricultural labour; similar to that of Sedlescombe, but only 14 per cent were working in trade; barely half that of Sedlescombe. This is reflected in the occupation classes of the two villages, with 31 per cent of the working males of Sedlescombe in a Class III occupation or higher, compared to just 20 per cent of those of Whatlington.

In Sedlescombe, only 18 per cent of the women were noted as being in employment, and the bulk of these were in domestic service or dressmaking. Whatlington had a

³³ B. Lucey, *Twenty Centuries of Sedlescombe* (London, 1978) p.138.

³⁴ G. E. Mingay, *Rural Life in Victorian England* (London, 1977) p.18.

³⁵ Digitised census enumerators' books.

similar percentage of females with a noted occupation. However, these were almost all young girls in service, including Margaret Guy, aged just ten.

As busy and thriving as Sedlescombe's main street may have been, the town of Battle, with a population of 3,850 in 1851,³⁶ only three miles away, must have served as a temptation for those craftsmen and tradesmen, from both villages, wishing to expand their custom, or simply as a way out for those in farm work. Additionally, the vast sea-side town of Hastings, just six miles to the south of the village, must have also proved a tempting possibility. This town would also have provided much work for young girls seeking work in domestic service.

West Wittering, East Wittering and West Itchenor

These three villages are situated on the far west of the Sussex coast. Although the beaches of East and West Wittering are now popular destinations for tourists, in the nineteenth century these were small, quite villages, consisting of populations of just under 250 and 600 respectively. With the English Channel to the south of the three villages, and Chichester Harbour to the north-west, these were somewhat isolated communities. A very flat landscape, with rich soil and productive arable farming,³⁷ the villages are approximately seven miles south-west of Chichester, with the small town of Selsey six miles to the south-east.

The account book for Courts Farm in West Wittering reveals much evidence of casual labour. Many entries show men, women and children being contracted for usually twelve days' work at a time, quite often employing a small group of men and their sons at regular intervals.³⁸

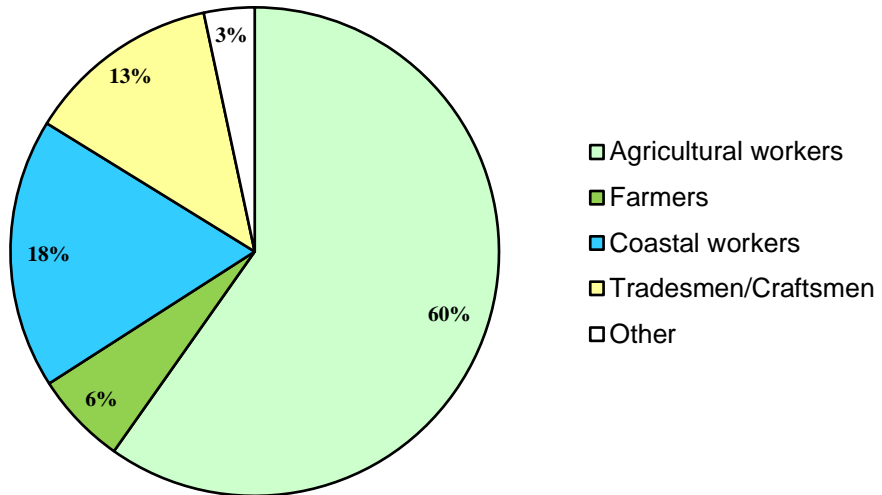
Naturally, a large percentage of villagers were employed on the coast and at sea. 21 per cent of the male workforce across the three villages were coastal workers, clearly contributing to the reason for the lower percentage of male workforce in trades and crafts in this area compared to the Falmer and Sedlescombe areas. West Wittering area still had as many blacksmiths, carpenters, grocers, and bakers as the Sedlescombe area. However, it simply did not have the *range* of trades and crafts, with Sedlescombe containing bricklayers, brickmakers, builders, sawyers, leather dressers, a fellmonger

³⁶ *Ibid.*

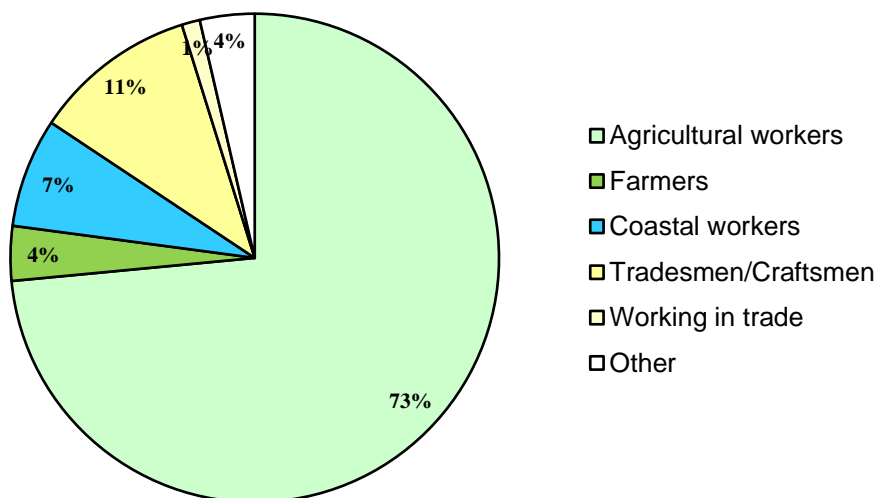
³⁷ K. Smith, and J. Smith, *Witterings, Then & Now* (East Wittering, 1985) p.7.

³⁸ West Sussex Record Office (WSRO) Add Mss 1876.

West Wittering



East Wittering



West Itchenor

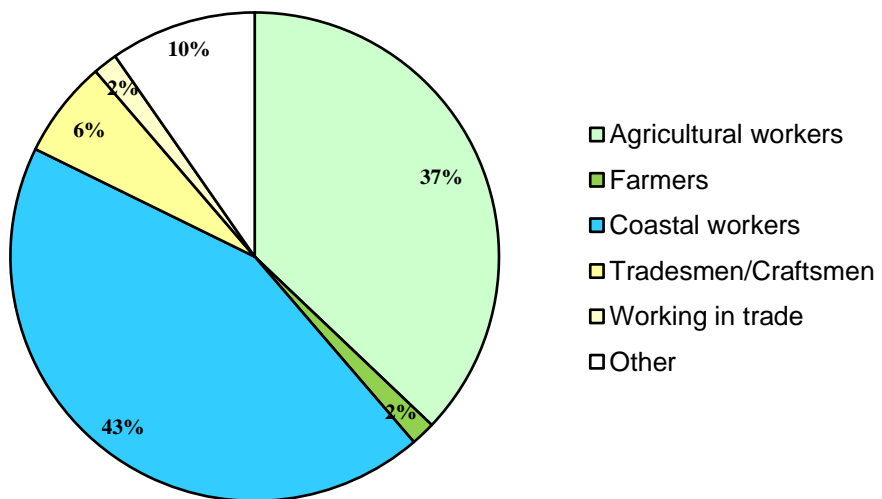
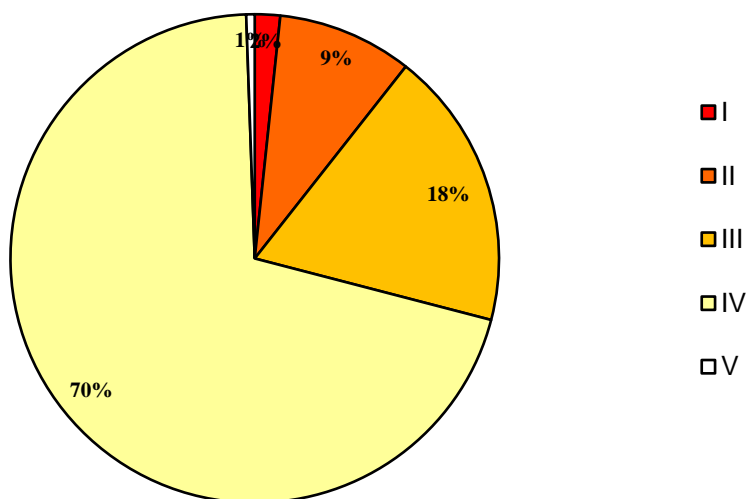
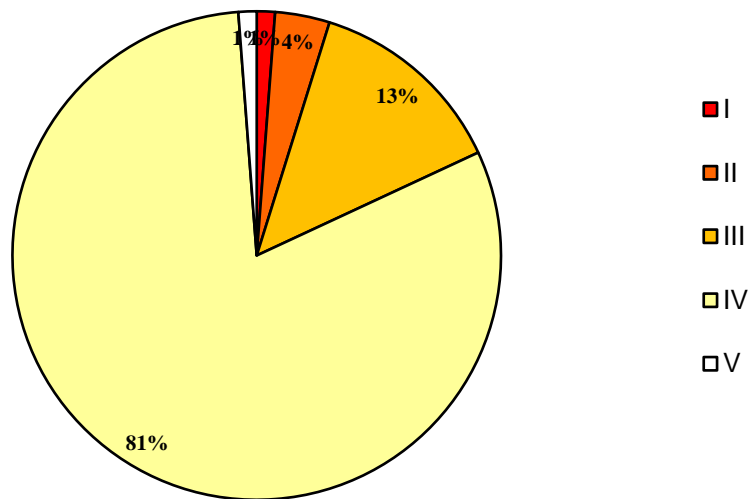


Figure 3.5: Distribution of occupation types for all male residents of West Wittering, East Wittering and West Itchenor at the time of the 1851 census.

West Wittering



East Wittering



West Itchenor

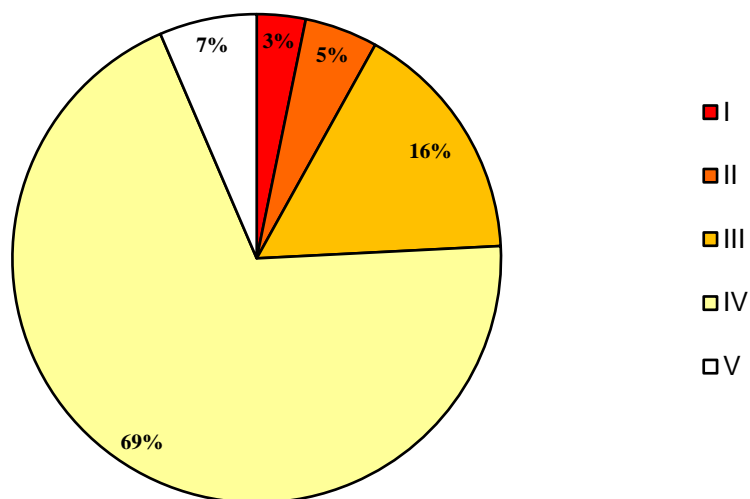


Figure 3.6: Distribution of occupational classes for working males in West Wittering, East Wittering and West Itchenor at the time of the 1851 census.

and a powder maker. Additionally, with many farmers employing workers on large acres of land, 29 per cent of West Wittering's working male population had a Class III or above occupation, almost as high as that of Sedlescombe. Both East Wittering and West Itchenor had a lower range of trades and crafts, and few farmers.

Most of those working on the coast at West Wittering were employed as coastguards. However, this was not an enviable occupation. Being a coastguard could be a dangerous profession, and men were known to have been injured and even killed by smugglers on the Sussex coast.³⁹ Smuggling was still rife in the mid-nineteenth century, and was often quietly supported by many locals who would profit from the smugglers. Consequently, the authorities generally employed outsiders with no attachment to the village, to lessen any chance of liaisons with the local smugglers. Also, many of the sons from this area could be found on Royal Navy vessels anywhere from Malta to the Caribbean at the time of the 1861 and 1871 censuses, and a great many of them were never to return to British shores. The pull of the sea was clearly as much danger for the future of these villages as the pull of the towns.

Occupations were noted for many of the women of West Wittering and West Itchenor on the 1851 census, which was predominantly in domestic service. There were 26 domestic servants in West Wittering, with 10 born in the village, and many others from the local area. At a time when domestic service was often brought in from outside the village, this perhaps highlights the remoteness of the West Wittering area. With the nearest railway eight miles away at Chichester, this may well have been instrumental in keeping many young girls from moving out of the area in search of domestic service work.

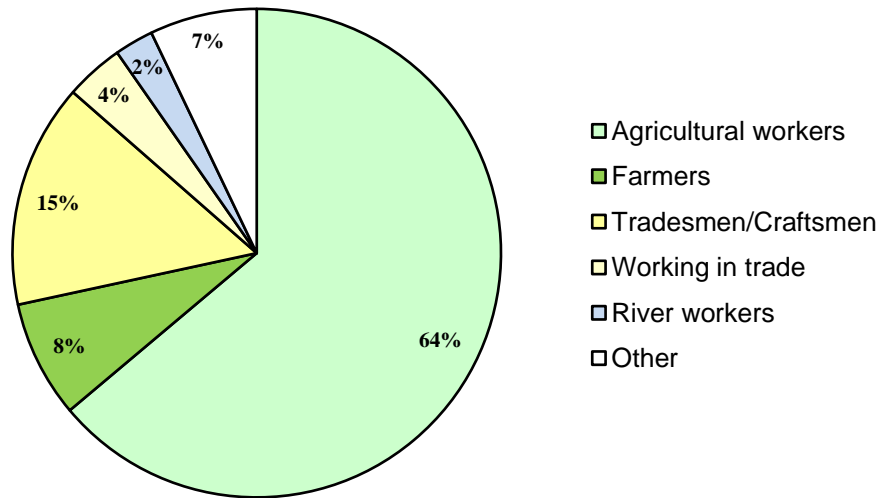
Norfolk: Surlingham, Postwick and Bramerton

These three villages are situated around five miles to the east of Norwich. Surlingham was by far the largest of the three villages, with a population of 466 at the time of the 1851 census.⁴⁰ 71 per cent of its male workforce were engaged in agricultural work (including farmers), and 15 per cent were trades and craftsmen. Almost a third of these tradesmen were boot and shoemakers. Although Norwich's weaving industry was in decline, due to increasing competition from northern manufacturing towns, the

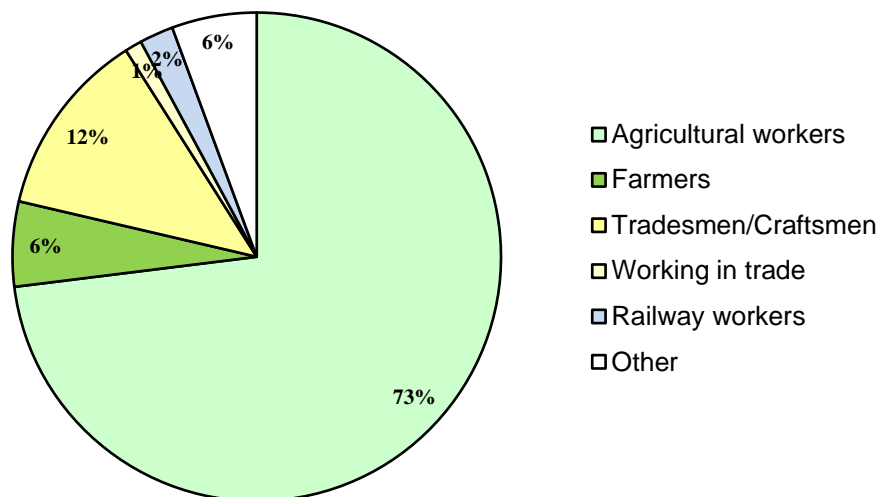
³⁹ R. Philp, *The Coast Blockade* (Horsham, 1999) p.177 et al.

⁴⁰ Digitised census enumerators' books.

Surlingham



Postwick



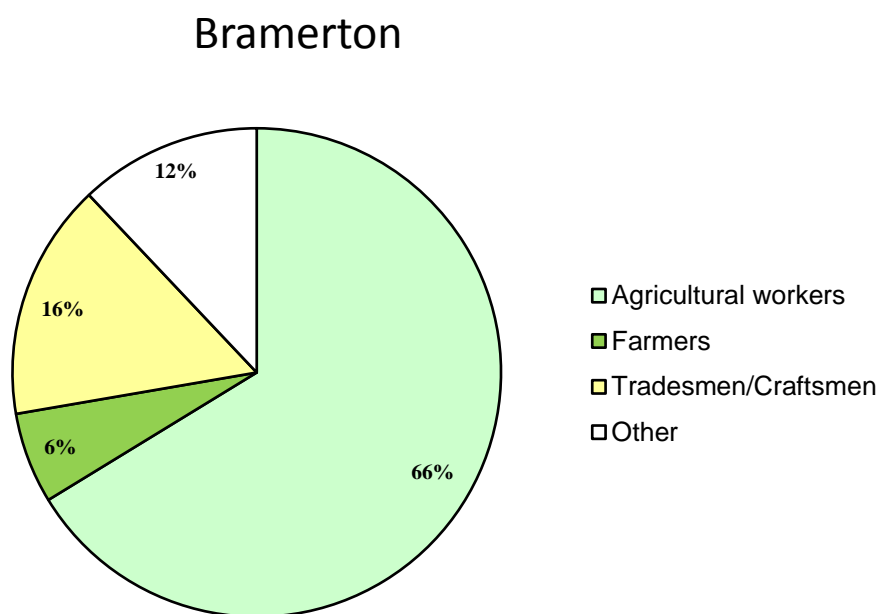
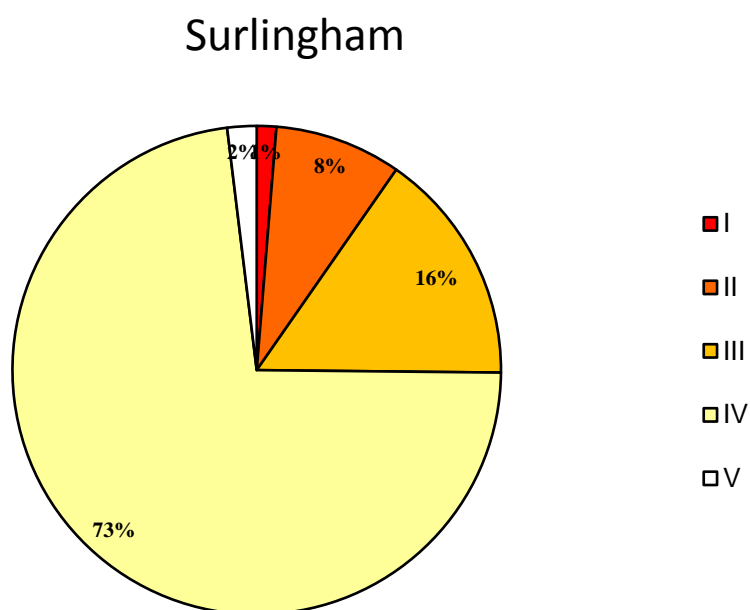
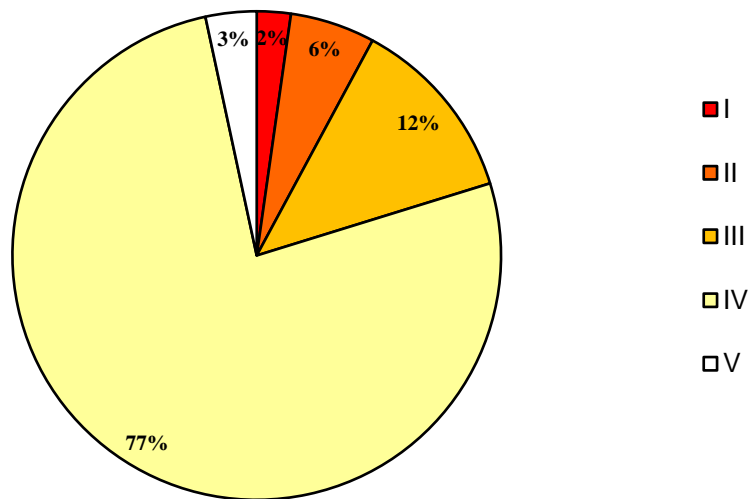


Figure 3.7: Distribution of occupation types for all male residents of Surlingham, Postwick and Bramerton at the time of the 1851 census.



Postwick



Bramerton

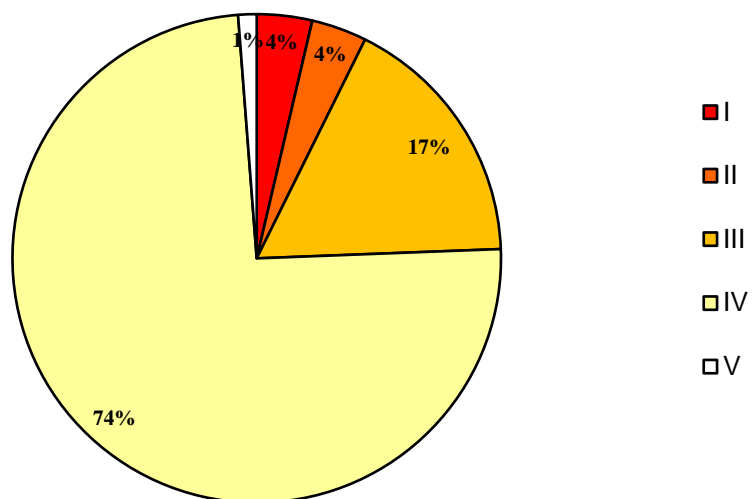


Figure 3.8: Distribution of occupational classes for working males in Surlingham, Postwick and Bramerton at the time of the 1851 census.

shoemaking industry was still thriving in city at this time,⁴¹ and Surlingham's predominance of shoemakers perhaps highlights this fact.

At Postwick, the principal landowner was the Lord Roseberry, and could very much be regarded as a 'close' parish. Roseberry assisted in the opening of a school in the village as early as 1814; one of the first National schools in rural Norfolk.⁴² As with many rural schools across the country, the log books are littered with absences, as boys were needed to help in the fields, and girls were frequently needed to nurse a baby or look after an ill parent.⁴³ Postwick was similar to Surlingham with regards to its occupational structure. However, with 73 per cent of its male workforce working as agricultural labourers, the men of Postwick were slightly more tied to the land.

Bramerton was the smallest of the three villages, had a very similar occupational structure to that of Surlingham, and at 16 per cent had a good rate of tradesmen. However, many young Bramerton boys were working in the fields rather than attending school in 1851. In fact, all three of these villages had many boys under the age of fourteen registered on the 1851 census as 'ag labs'; the youngest being Robert Plow of Surlingham, who just eight years old.⁴⁴

Female occupations in these villages tended to be dominated by domestic service. 16 per cent of the female inhabitants of Bramerton were household servants.⁴⁵ This village also had the highest percentage of Class I occupation holders, and 50 per cent of the female servants were employed in these households. It is very noticeable that, like with Falmer and Stanmer in Sussex, young women were few and far between in these villages. There was a total of 54 unmarried 'sons' between the ages of 15 and 25 over the three villages in 1851, compared to just 24 unmarried 'daughters'.

In April 1844 the railway came to the area, cutting Postwick village in two, just as it had done with Falmer in Sussex.⁴⁶ This line linked Norwich with the coastal town of Great Yarmouth, and allowed far greater access to the coast for those living in the Norwich area, and Thorpe station was just a stone's throw from these three villages. A year later, the Eastern Counties Railway reached Norwich, allowing easy travel from Norwich to London.

⁴¹ C. Reeve, *Norwich; The Biography* (Stroud, 2011) p.174.

⁴² A. Carter, *Postwick; the story of a Norfolk village* (Norwich, 1987) p.40-1.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p.43.

⁴⁴ Robert's father was a boot maker, employing two men, so it is unlikely that it was poverty that led to Robert (senior) to send his son out into the fields.

⁴⁵ 18 females out of 113 female inhabitants.

⁴⁶ A. Carter, *Postwick; the story of a Norfolk village* (Norwich, 1987) p.36.

Gooderstone and Oxborough

These two villages are situated deep in the Brecklands region of rural Norfolk. Over 30 miles west of Norwich, their nearest large town is King's Lynn, around 15 miles away. The small market town of Swaffham lies six miles to the north-east of the villages. To illustrate the remoteness of these villages, 66 per cent of those living in Gooderstone in 1851 were born in the village, and 62 per cent of those in Oxborough were born in theirs. Gooderstone was by far the larger of the two villages in 1851, with a population of 613, compared to Oxborough's 293.⁴⁷ It had a large number of tradesmen, with 25 per cent of the working men engaged in trade of some kind. Butchers and shoemakers were commonplace in this village, which also contained many millers, bricklayers, carpenters, wheelwrights, and other tradesmen. As a consequence of this, almost 32 per cent of the heads of the household in Gooderstone had a Class III occupation or above. However, this was still predominantly an agricultural area, and along with many of the men, 19 of the women of the village were described on the 1851 census as 'ag labs'.

With its land and property much subdivided, Gooderstone was very much an 'open' parish. However, Oxborough's entire 2,317 acres of land, and 58 houses, was owned by Sir H. R. P. Bedingfield of Oxborough Hall.⁴⁸ Money from the estate was used to build a school in the village in 1850 for free education of the children.⁴⁹ Oxborough had a far lower percentage of tradesmen than Gooderstone in 1851, with 75 per cent of working males engaged in agricultural labour. This led to a far lower percentage of Class III or higher occupations than that of Gooderstone. Few occupations for women were noted on the 1851 census.

In the 1840s, a railway was built from nearby Swaffham to King's Lynn. From there, journeys to Cambridge and London could be made. However, these remote Norfolk villages were by all accounts very insular, and the thought of leaving one's local area was far from many minds. Frederick Rolfe, writing of nearby Pentney residents in the 1870s stated that 'Then there were hundreds of old People that were never in all there lives ten mile from home from there cradle to there grave. ...and for hundreds of years no famlys married out of there own people.'⁵⁰ It would appear the railways had little effect on many of these remote Norfolk villagers.

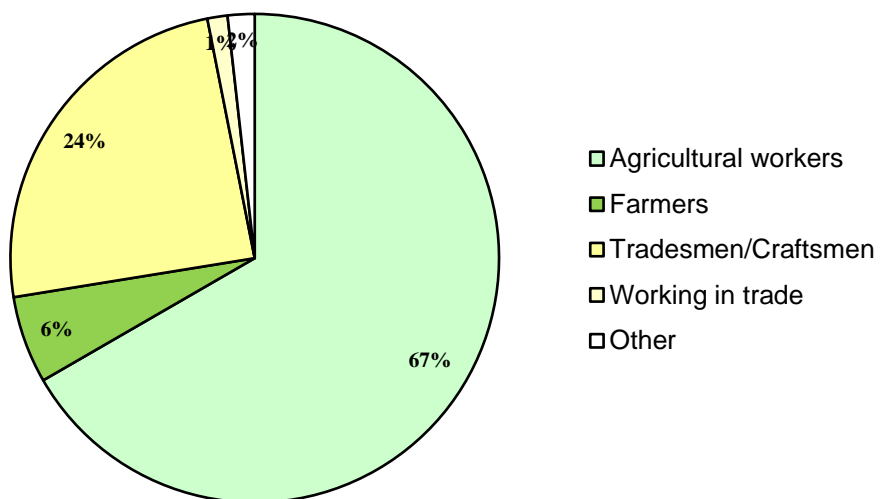
⁴⁷ Digitised census enumerators' books.

⁴⁸ *White's Directory of Norfolk*, 1854.

⁴⁹ *White's Directory of Norfolk*, 1854.

⁵⁰ L. Rider Haggard (ed.), *I Walked by Night* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1939) p.31.

Gooderstone



Oxborough

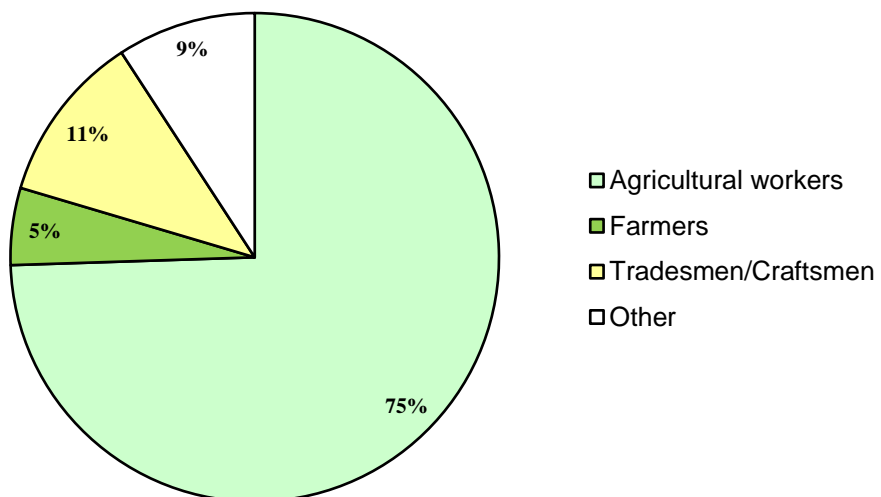


Figure 3.9: Distribution of occupation types for all male residents of Gooderstone and Oxborough at the time of the 1851 census.

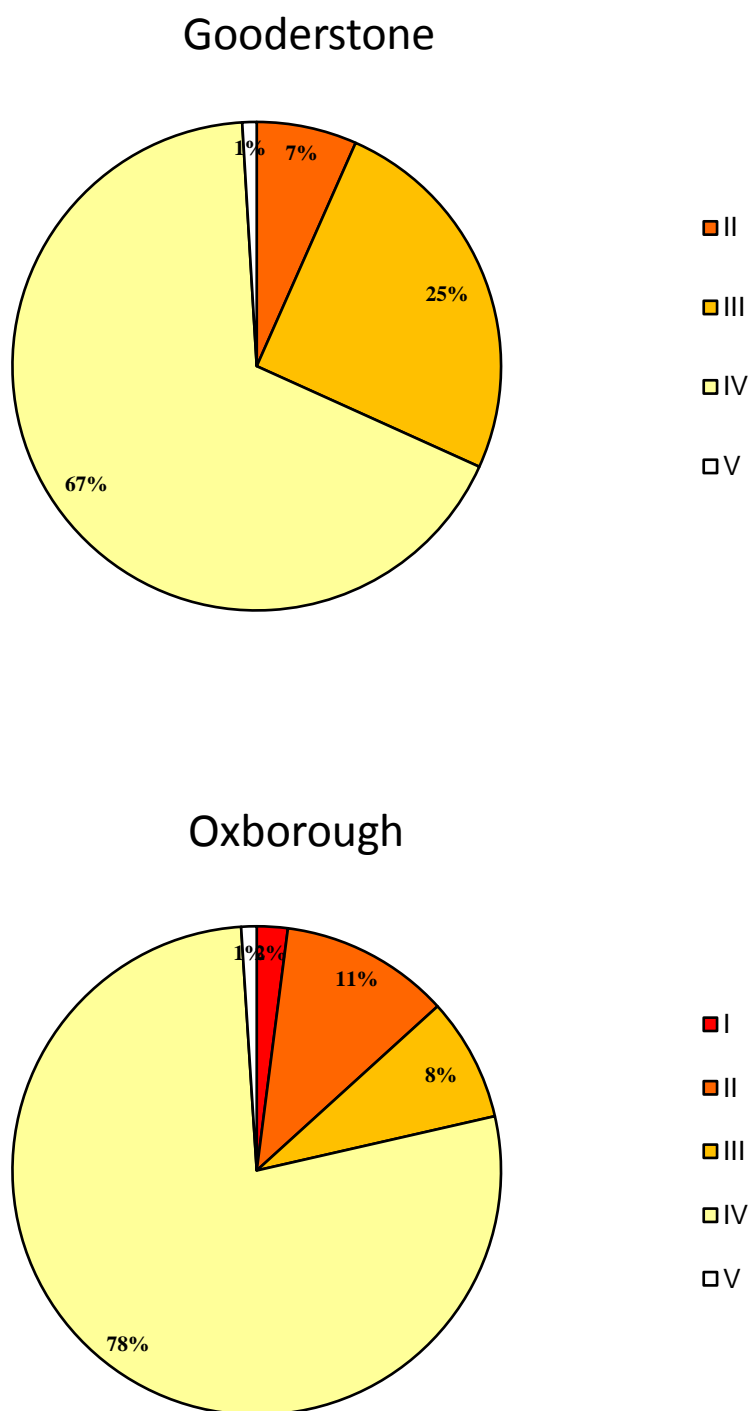


Figure 3.10: Distribution of occupational classes for working males in Gooderstone and Oxborough at the time of the 1851 census.

Happisburgh and Bacton

These two similar-sized villages are located on the remote north-east coast of the county. The small town of North Walsham is situated around seven miles to the west, with Norwich almost twenty miles away. Happisburgh, with 621 residents in 1851, had a good spread of occupations, with 58 per cent of the working males employed as agricultural workers, 9 per cent farmers, 17 per cent working in trades, and 12 per cent coastal workers. There were a great many small farmers in the village, and a wide range of tradesmen, including 7 shoemakers. High class occupations within the village were prolific, with 32 per cent of the male occupation holders with a Class III occupation or higher. Fishing was naturally an important part of the Happisburgh community, and in 1851 there were 13 fishermen. The coastguard also employed 10 men in the village.

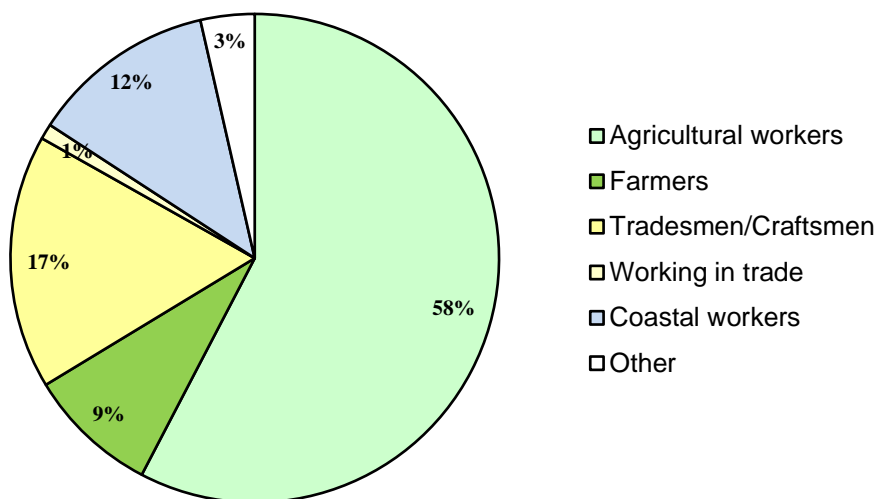
Bacton, three miles along the coast, had a very similar occupational structure. There were 13 farmers here in 1851, all bar 2 employing local villagers. Bricklayers and shoemakers were commonplace trades here. Again, like Happisburgh, there were many small farmers in Bacton, with 7 of the 13 farming less than 70 acres. The village had its own school by the 1860s. Nevertheless, the early 1860s does not seem to have been a prosperous time, with entries such as 'No School. Sale of Master's furniture', and 'Bad Attendance ... unaccountable', commonplace in the school log book.⁵¹ As with villages such as Falmer, low school attendance could well have been a result of help needed on the farms, and additionally for Happisburgh and Bacton, work in the fishing trade.

Women appear to have had much employment in both villages. 56 women in Happisburgh, and 52 in Bacton, had an occupation noted on the 1851 census. 28 of these in Happisburgh were house servants and charwomen, and 12 were dressmakers. Additionally, 6 were tradeswomen, with two shopkeepers, two tailors, a baker, and a glove maker. Bacton had 5 tradeswomen and 5 dressmakers, with a postmistress, postwoman, and 2 school mistresses. Women were clearly an important part of the working community in these two villages.

Like Gooderstone and Oxborough, these two coastal villages were fairly isolated from much of the county, and the railway only came to that part of Norfolk in 1873, situated seven miles away at North Walsham. However, travel along the coast was always an option for those seeking to migrate.

⁵¹ Norfolk Record Office (NRO) PD62/72(W).

Happisburgh



Bacton

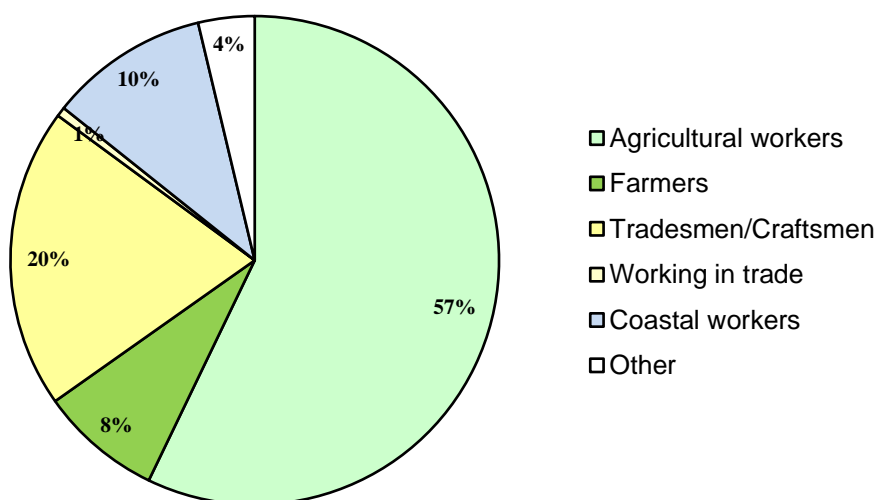


Figure 3.11: Distribution of occupation types for all male residents of Happisburgh and Bacton at the time of the 1851 census.

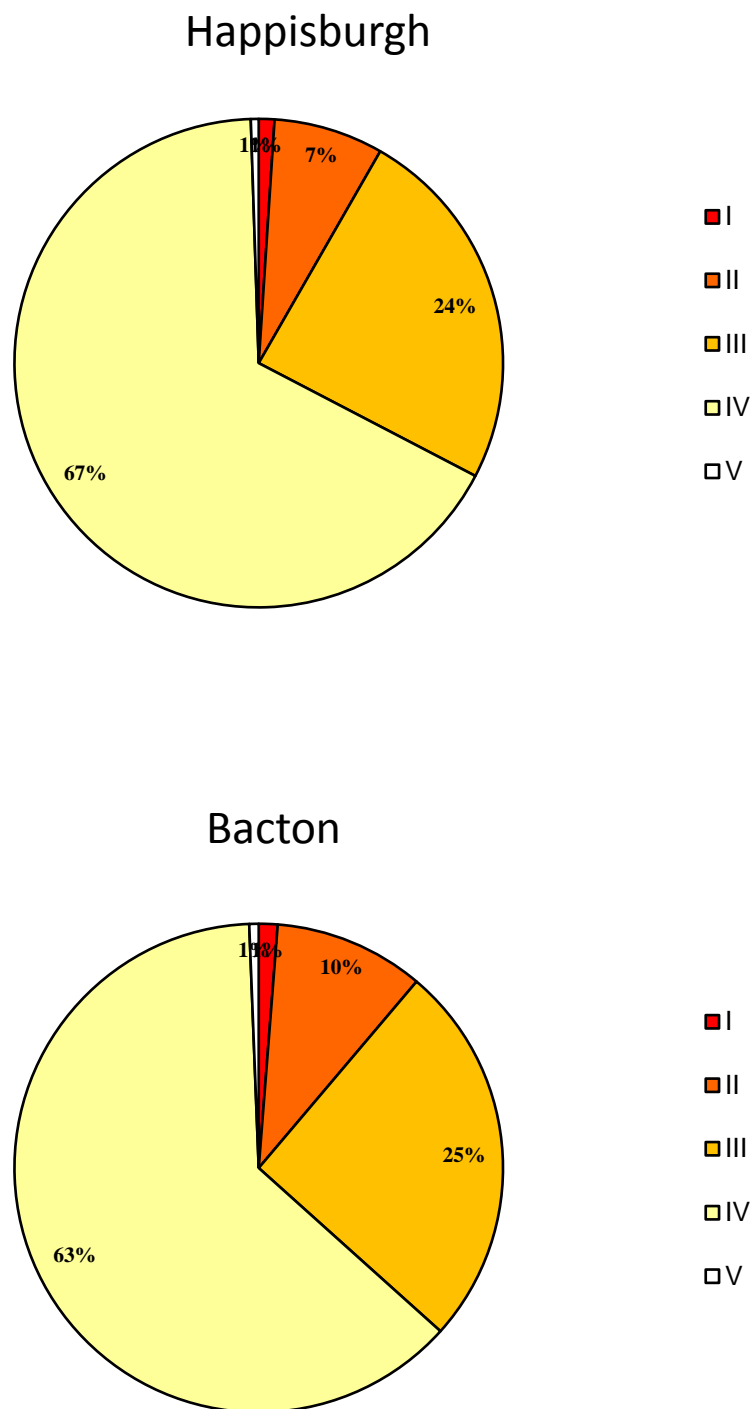


Figure 3.12: Distribution of occupational classes for working males in Happisburgh and Bacton at the time of the 1851 census.

Northumberland: Ponteland and Dinnington

These two villages lay just seven miles from the centre of Newcastle. Ponteland was the larger of the two villages in 1851, with a population of 495, although 71 of these included the paupers in the district workhouse. The village was the property of six land owners. In comparison with the Sussex and Norfolk villages, Ponteland was not an agricultural village; 49 per cent of the working males of the village were working in trade, with just 39 per cent in agriculture, including 12 farmers. 10 cordwainers, 9 tailors and 8 masons were resident in the village in 1851, including master mason, John Donkin, who employed 9 people. Many of these men were master tradesmen or employers. There was also a range of other high class occupations, with 2 clerks, 2 surgeons and 2 veterinary surgeons. Consequently, Ponteland had very high occupational classes, with 30 per cent holding a Class I or II occupation, and 64 per cent with a Class III or above.

Dinnington, with a population of 385 in 1851, was the property of Matthew Bell, Esq. and Clayton de Windt, Esq.⁵² Like its neighbour, Dinnington had an abundance of tradesmen, including 30 shoemakers and cordwainers, and 8 tailors. There were also many farmers in this small village, and 11 of these were farming over 100 acres. Both villages were home to many apprentices, and it appears there was much work for tradesmen, almost certainly supplying the city of Newcastle with their products.

Female occupations noted here in 1851 were few, with the exception of domestic servants. Over a quarter of the female residents of Ponteland, aged between 14 and 65, were working as household servants or charwomen. The number of domestic servants perhaps highlights how prosperous this village was at this time.

Despite being situated only a few miles from Newcastle and Gateshead, Ponteland and Dinnington were relatively isolated. Even into the latter part of the nineteenth century roads were poor, and the railway had bypassed this area until 1905.⁵³ These two villages lay just outside of the expansive range of coalfields of Northumberland. However, Dinnington Colliery was opened two miles east of the village in 1867, in a place called Wide Open.⁵⁴ This could have exerted a pull on the men of Dinnington village.

⁵² Whellan's Directory, 1855, p.531.

⁵³ L. Almond, *Ponteland; One Thousand Years of History* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1984) p.30-35.

⁵⁴ Durham Mining Museum website - <http://www.dmm.org.uk/colliery/d008.htm>.



Figure 3.13: Distribution of occupation types for all male residents of Ponteland and Dinnington at the time of the 1851 census.

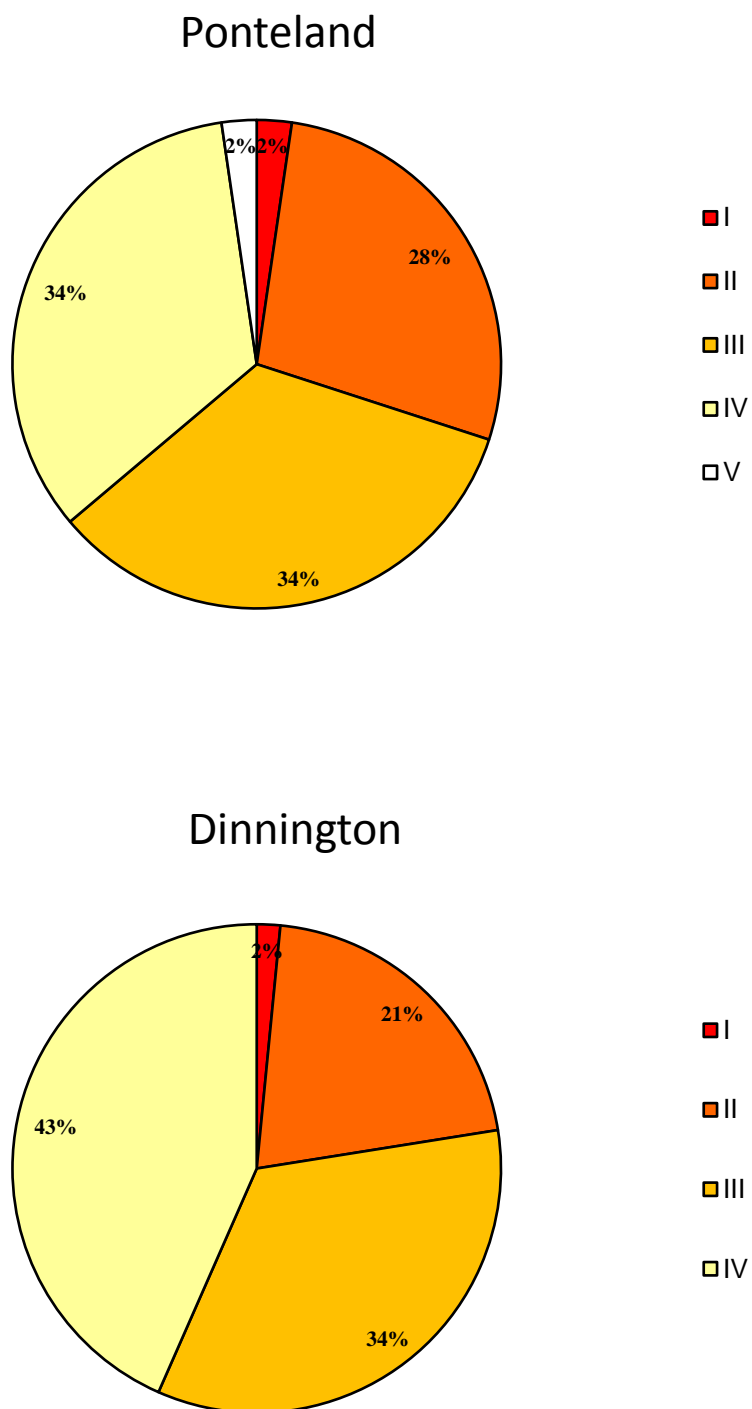


Figure 3.14: Distribution of occupational classes for working males in Ponteland and Dinnington at the time of the 1851 census.

Thropton, Great Tosson and Hepple

These villages lie just to the west of the small market town of Rothbury in remote, central Northumberland. They are around 15 miles north-west of Morpeth, and over 25 miles from Newcastle. These villages are part of a small cluster of small villages and hamlets, and the full list used for this study are, (with 1851 population in brackets), Thropton (251) and Snitter (173), Great Tosson (138) and Newtown (51), and Hepple (88), Flotterton (77), Warton (59), Castron (51), Little Tosson (30) and Bickerton (26). These are all situated in a 4 mile by 2 mile area.

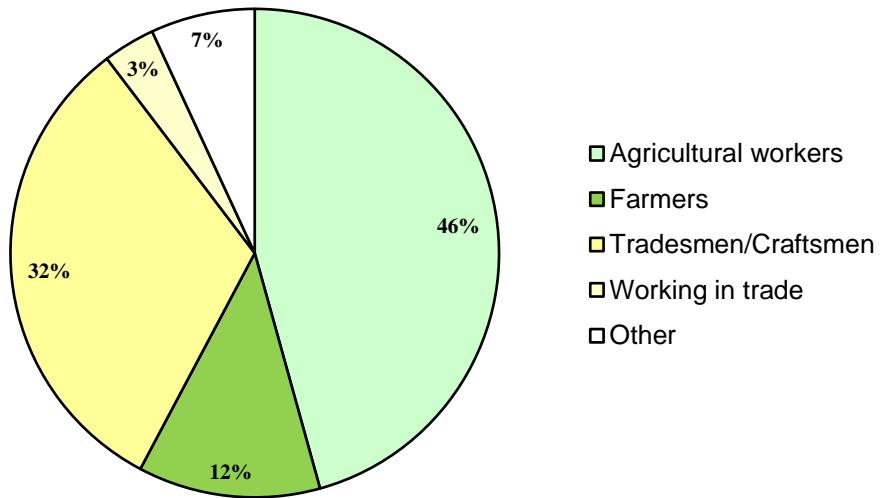
Thropton and Snitter are located just two miles from Rothbury. Thropton was owned largely by the Duke of Northumberland and three other landowners, but also had a few freeholders. There were 13 farmers within these two villages, with many farming less than 50 acres. 35 per cent of the male working population were working in trade, especially in milling and tailoring. As a consequence, 50 per cent of the male workforce had a Class III occupation or higher.

A substantial number of women were also involved in trade. Along with the 40 tradesmen within the two villages, 16 women were also working in trade. These included 6 grocers. It is interesting to note that many of the tradeswomen were not single or widowed, as one often finds, but wives of working men. For instance, Isabella Weatherspoon was the wife of a shepherd, but was working as a baker. And Elizabeth Moore, who was the wife of an agricultural labourer, was described as a merchant. Many wives and daughters were also working as agricultural labourers and day labourers, as well as dressmakers.

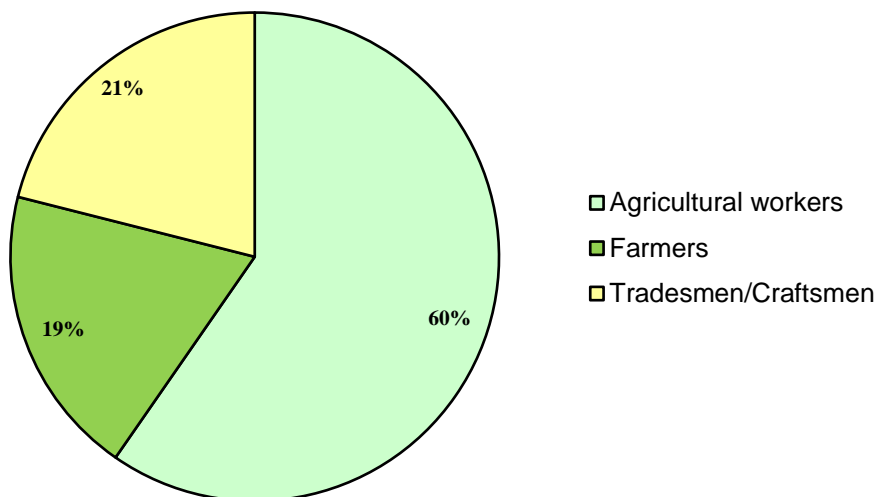
Great Tosson and Newtown were different in their occupational structure, with 79 per cent of the working male population working in agriculture. However, 19 per cent were made up of farmers, and all bar 3 of these 10 farmed well over 100 acres, with the combined farms employing 40 men. Consequently, 41 per cent of the male workforce had a Class III occupation or higher. Like Thropton and Snitter, there was plenty of female labour on the land, with 10 of the 20 females with an occupation noted in 1851 working as agricultural labourers.

The residents of the hamlets of Hepple, Flotterton, Warton, Castron, Little Tosson and Bickerton were almost exclusively tied to the land. 79 per cent of the working male population were engaged in agricultural labour. Consequently, 77 per cent of the working male population had a Class IV or V occupation. Additionally, 38 women

Thropton and Snitter



Great Tosson and Newtown



Hepple, Flotterton, etc

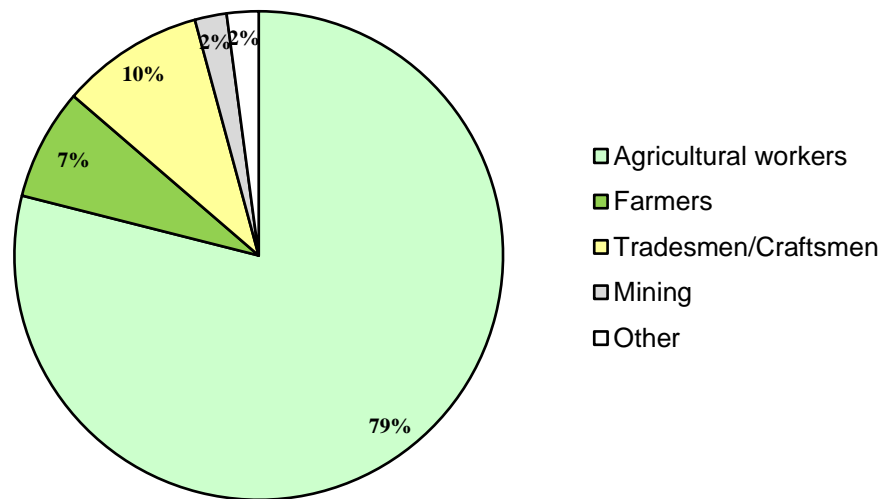
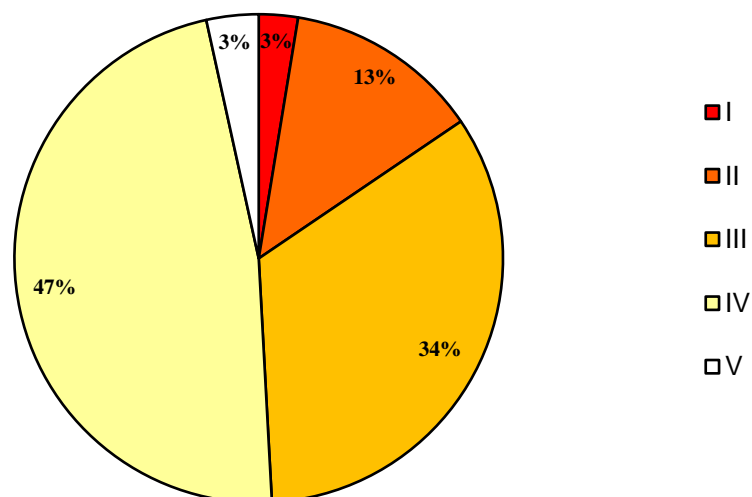
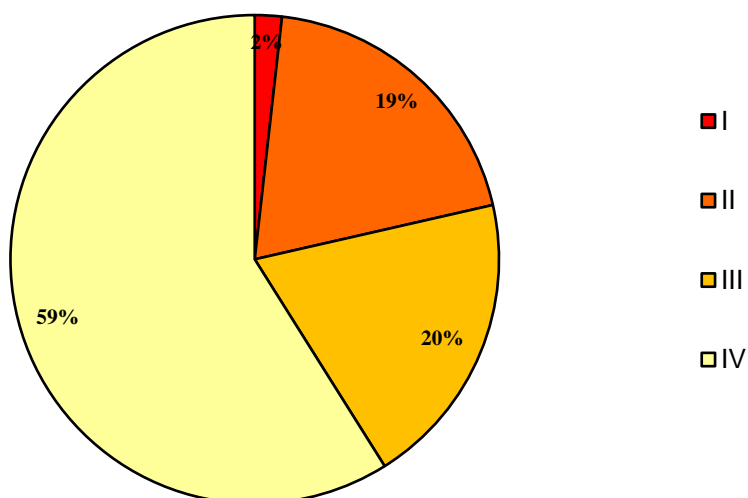


Figure 3.15: Distribution of occupation types for all male residents of Thropton and the surrounding villages at the time of the 1851 census.

Thropton and Snitter



Great Tosson and Newtown



Hepple, Flotterton, etc

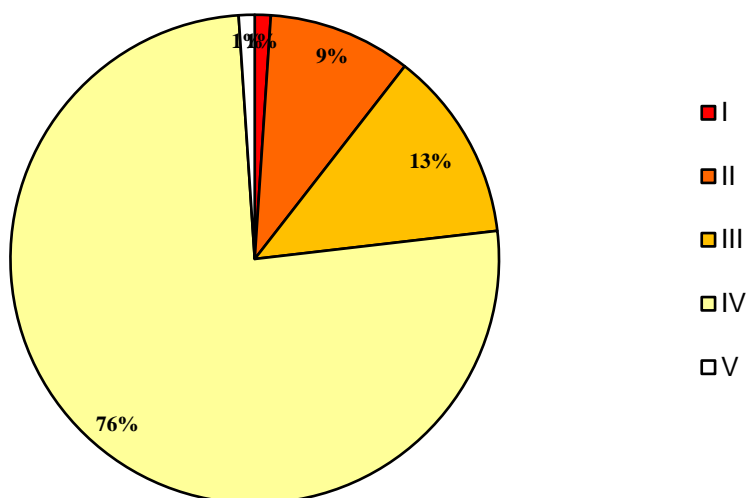


Figure 3.16: Distribution of occupational classes for working males in Thropton and the surrounding villages at the time of the 1851 census.

across the six hamlets were described as agricultural labourers or farm labourers in 1851, including Grace Ogle of Warton, and Elizabeth Johnson of Hepple, who were both just eleven years old.

Each of these six hamlets were the property of either one or two landowners,⁵⁵ and as such were all very much 'close' parishes, and greatly isolated. However, in 1870, Rothbury became the railway terminus for a line south to Scots' Gap, Morpeth and Newcastle.⁵⁶ This would give the residents of the nearby villages a far closer link to the world outside the confines of their gentry-dominated parishes.

Howick, Dunstan and Craster

These three villages lie on the Northumberland coast, about seven miles north-west of the small town of Alnwick, and around 35 miles from Tynemouth and Newcastle. They were all of a similar size in 1851; Howick with 315 inhabitants, Dunstan with 256, and Craster with 222. According to *Whellan's Directory* of 1855, Howick was 'principally inhabited by the families of the servants of Earl Grey,⁵⁷ and would very much be described as a 'close' parish. The village had a school, and the interest of £100 bequeathed in 1749 by Sir Henry Grey, was annually distributed amongst the poor.⁵⁸

Situated just a mile from the coast, Howick was not a fishing village. In fact there were no residents with coastal occupations at all in 1851. This was predominantly a farming community, with 74 per cent of its working men employed in agriculture. The village had a modest range of tradesmen, with 8 out of the 13 either carpenters or masons. Many young women of the village were also employed in agriculture, with 12 women described as either an 'outdoor labourer' or 'outdoor servant' on the 1851 census. Almost bar one of these were unmarried and under 25.

Dunstan lies two miles further up the coast. Its 1,663 acres were the property of the Earl of Tankerville and T. W. Craster. Although still primarily an agricultural community, Dunstan had 5 fishermen, as well as a good range of tradesmen, including 5 joiners and carpenters, and 3 blacksmiths. This is reflected in the occupational class, with 36 per cent of working males holding a Class III occupation or above. As with Howick, many women were involved in agriculture, and in 1851, 33 per cent of women

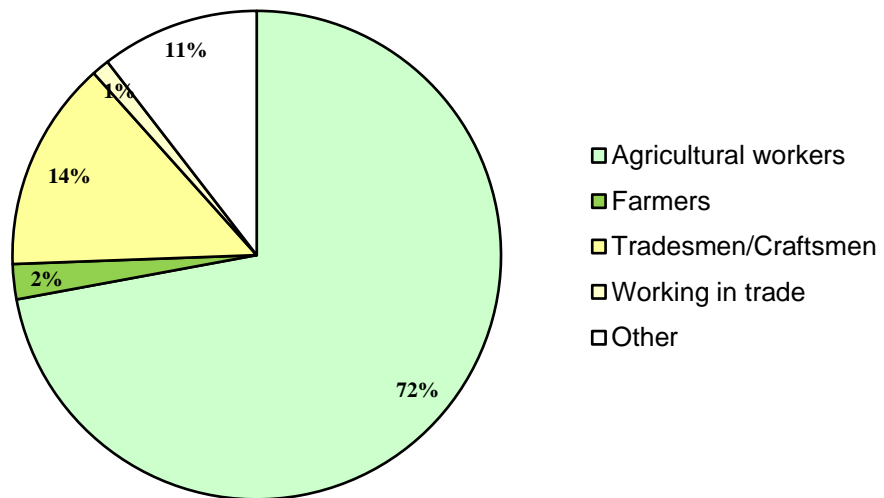
⁵⁵ *Whellan's Directory*, 1855.

⁵⁶ The Disused Railway Stations website - <http://www.disused-stations.org.uk/r/rothbury> (online).

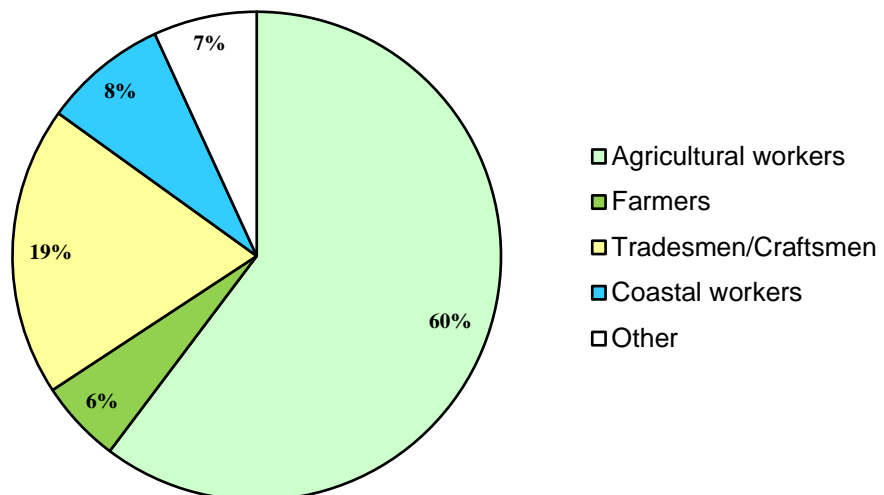
⁵⁷ *Whellan's Directory*, 1855.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

Howick



Dunstan



Craster

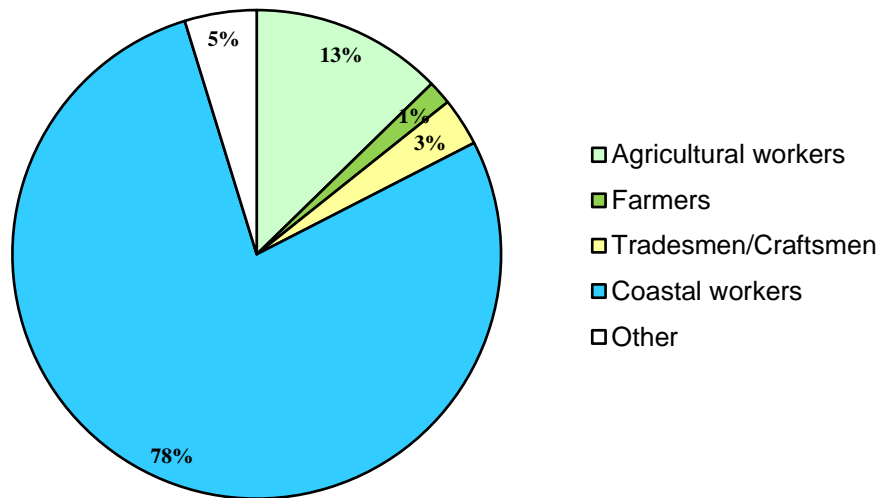
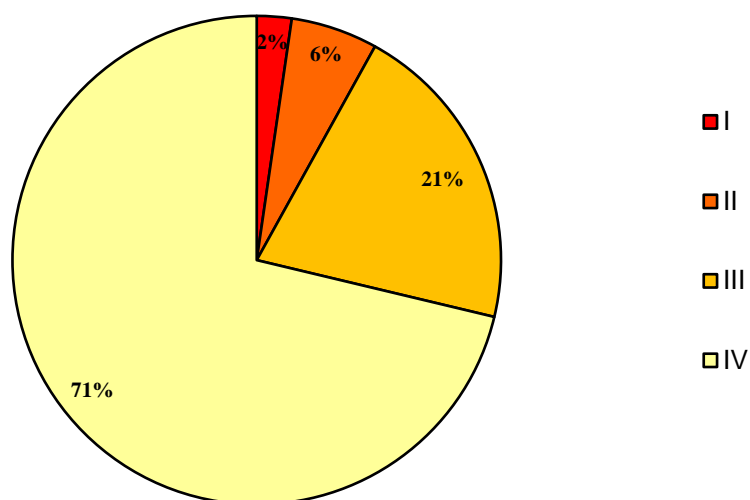


Figure 3.17: Distribution of occupation types for all male residents of Howick, Dunstan and Craster at the time of the 1851 census.

Howick



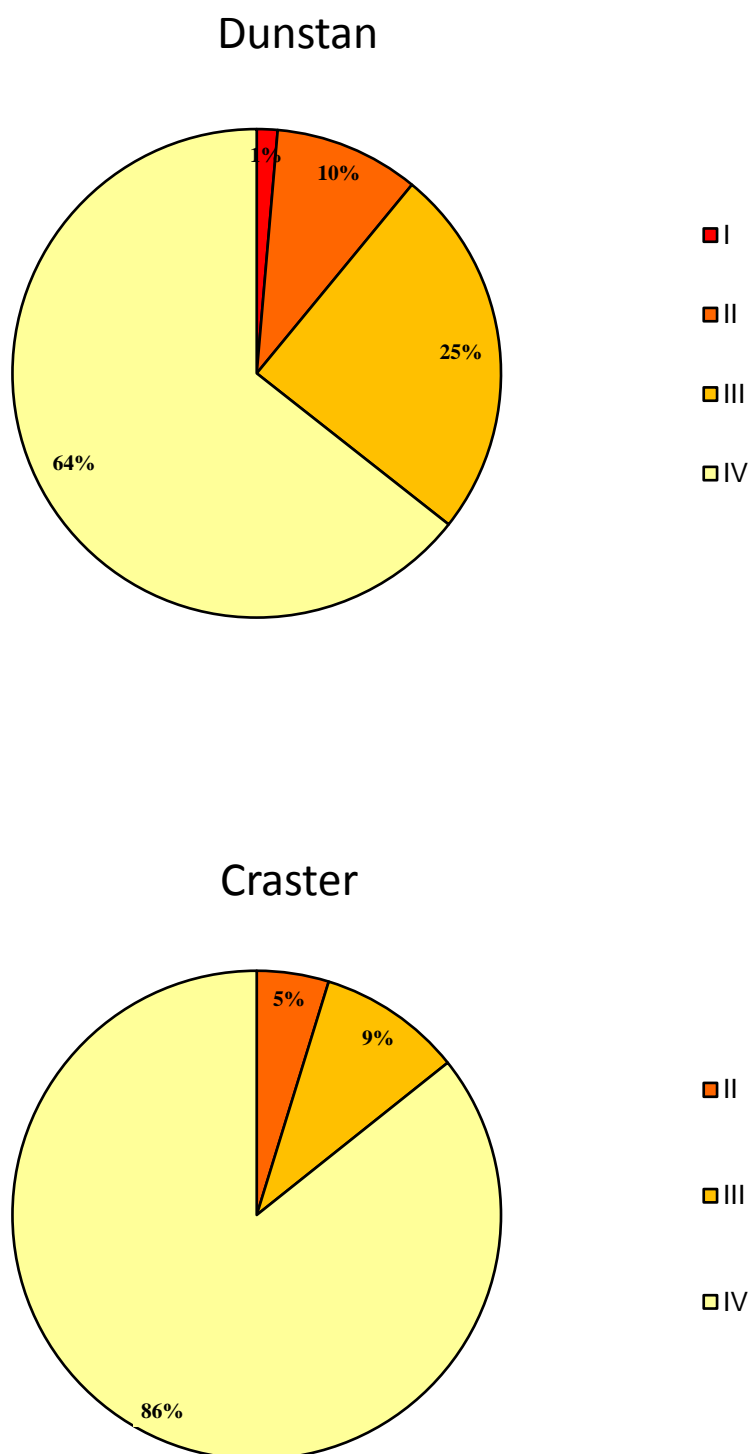


Figure 3.18: Distribution of occupational classes for working males in Howick, Dunstan and Craster at the time of the 1851 census.

aged between 15 and 50 were noted as ‘agricultural labourers’. Despite the predominance of agriculture, it appears the herring season affected many in the village. Dunstan’s school admissions register for 1874-79 shows many absences due to the herring season. The boys were usually going to sea, and the girls minding the house or working at herring curing.⁵⁹

The village of Craster had been held by the Craster family since the thirteenth century, and the family were still the landowners in 1851, along with Major Clutterbuck.⁶⁰ The occupational structure of this village was vastly different from both Dunstan and Howick. 78 per cent of the working men of this village were engaged in coastal work, and 90 per cent of those were fishermen. There were only two tradesmen in the village, these being a brewer and a cooper. The bulk of the remaining workers were agricultural labourers, but these only numbered 7. Almost the entire village was involved in the herring fishing industry. None of the women on the 1851 census were noted with an occupation in the fishing industry, (just a small range of household servants, agricultural labourers and dressmakers). However, as Paul Thompson noted, fishing ‘is an occupation peculiarly dependent on the work of women’⁶¹, and it is very likely many of the women of Craster would have been involved somehow in coastal work.

As work in the fishing industry would have been reliant of a great proportion of the men and women of the village, this implies Craster would have been a particularly close community. This is highlighted by the fact that 2 out of every 5 residents in this village in 1851 had the surname Archbold or Simpson, indicating that many would have been somehow related, and that generations of these families had been reluctant to move from the village. Nevertheless, the North Eastern Railway⁶² ran within a couple of miles of Howick, Dunstan and Craster, with the nearest station just five or six miles south, Bilton (later renamed Almouth Station).⁶³ This would have provided a direct link to Newcastle, and then on to London.

⁵⁹ Northumberland Record Office, CES/108/2/1.

⁶⁰ *Whellan’s Directory*, 1855.

⁶¹ Thompson, P., Wailey, T., and Lummis, T., *Living the Fishing* (London, 1983) p.167.

⁶² Until 1854 this was the York, Newcastle and Berwick Railway.

⁶³ See North British Railways map in J. Holland & D. Spaven, *Mapping the Railways* (Glasgow, 2013) p.120.

Chapter 3b

The Village Stayers

This study is concerned with patterns of migration. However, an analysis of those who remained within their village can reveal much about the decision to migrate. By taking into account characteristics of villages with high rates of village staying, it is possible to ascertain why such rates existed, and will go some way to dismissing the long-held belief that those who remained in their village were the dull and the unambitious. With this analysis, particularly high rates of village staying will be noted, along with any significant disparity between neighbouring villages. Additionally, the migration rates between sons and daughters will be noted in order to test the theory that females were more migratory than males.



Figure 3.19: Percentage of sons and daughters still living in their village in 1881. (Sussex, Norfolk and Northumberland).⁶⁴

Figure 3.19 reveals that the sons were more likely to remain in their village than the daughters, and this was consistent across all three counties. In fact the daughters of

⁶⁴ The overall dataset from which these percentages are derived are as follows: Sussex – 317 sons and 220 daughters. Norfolk – 372 sons and 322 daughters. Northumberland – 244 sons and 239 daughters.

Sussex were twice as likely to leave their village than the sons.⁶⁵ Ernst Ravenstein had concluded that females were more migratory than males, an opinion which has been echoed by almost all migration studies since. The figures here concur with this long-established opinion, at least with regards to migration rates from the village.

Overall, Sussex daughters were less likely to remain in their villages than any other section of this dataset. Assumptions could be made at this stage as to why these patterns existed. The county's relatively close proximity to London may have meant the capital was a greater attraction for the daughters of that county. Maybe it was simply the pull of Brighton, Hastings and Chichester and the domestic work required in those nearby towns and city. It could also be possible that the remoteness of some of the Norfolk and Northumberland villages meant many sons and daughters did not have the means or the temptation to travel large distances in order to reach a centre of commerce and industry, so were dissuaded from leaving their village.

Only broad assumptions can be made at this stage, and many of these questions cannot be answered until an analysis of the locations of the migrants who left their village is made. However, by breaking the figures down to individual area levels, it may be possible to obtain a better understanding of the various patterns of behaviour in village staying. Figures 3.20 to 3.22 show each county split into their three individual area levels; villages near a town, remote villages, and coastal villages respectively.

Although the three Sussex areas show very similar patterns for village staying, those within Norfolk and Northumberland were extremely varied. Sussex sons and daughters displayed a regular pattern of village staying, where the sons were twice as likely to remain in their village as the daughters, who were consistently leaving their villages in great numbers. Norfolk's situation was quite different, with three contrasting patterns of behaviour over the three geographic areas. Notably, the Gooderstone area daughters had far higher rates of village staying than the Norfolk average, and were the only ones across the three counties to 'out-stay' their male counterparts. In Northumberland overall, sons outweighed those of Sussex and Norfolk in village staying. However, this was not true of the Thropton area, where the daughters were the lowest of all the village

⁶⁵ Of course, it must be appreciated that many of these daughters would have been married by 1881. For the analysis of village stayers, both unmarried and married daughters are used. It was deemed that for a daughter marrying someone within the village they had firstly therefore chosen to remain within their village (at least initially), and secondly, were most likely to have been living in the village at the time of the marriage, and therefore a 'village stayer'. For distance migration, only unmarried daughters will be investigated.

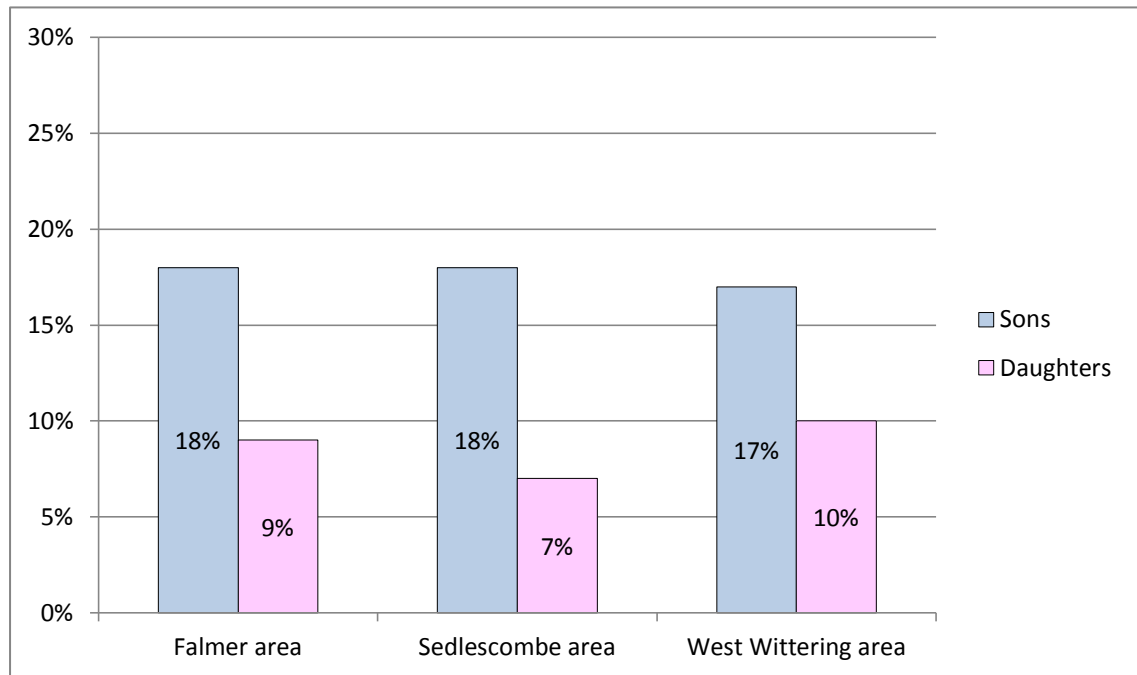


Figure 3.20: Sons and daughters still living in their village in 1881. (Sussex areas).

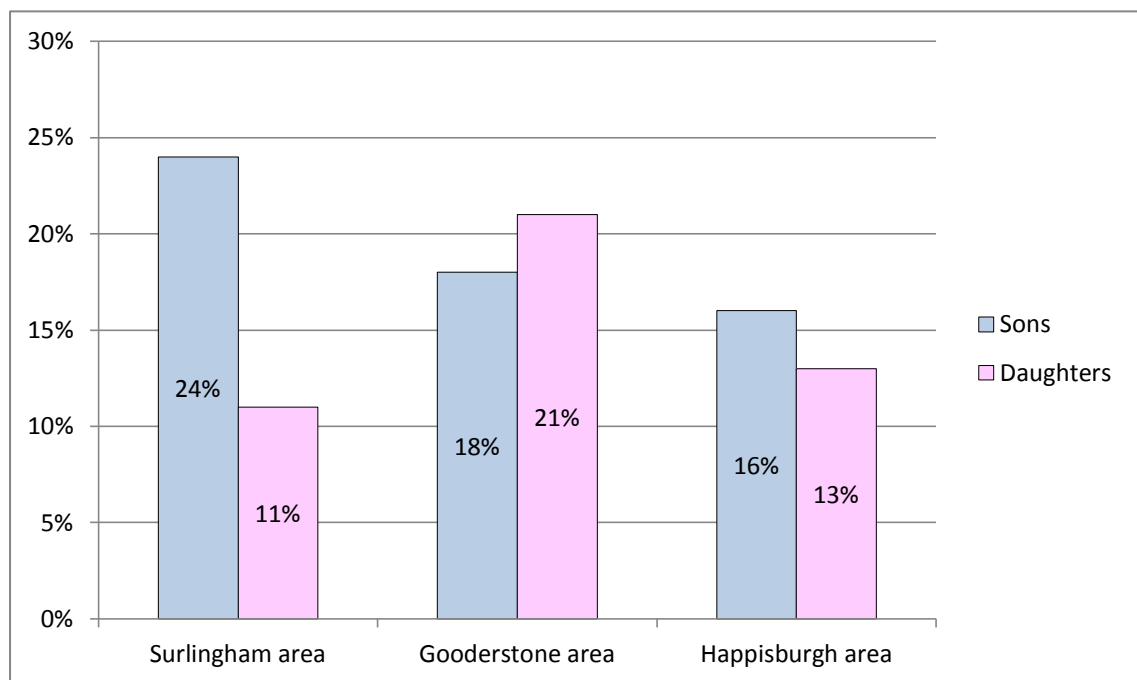


Figure 3.21: Sons and daughters still living in their village in 1881. (Norfolk areas).

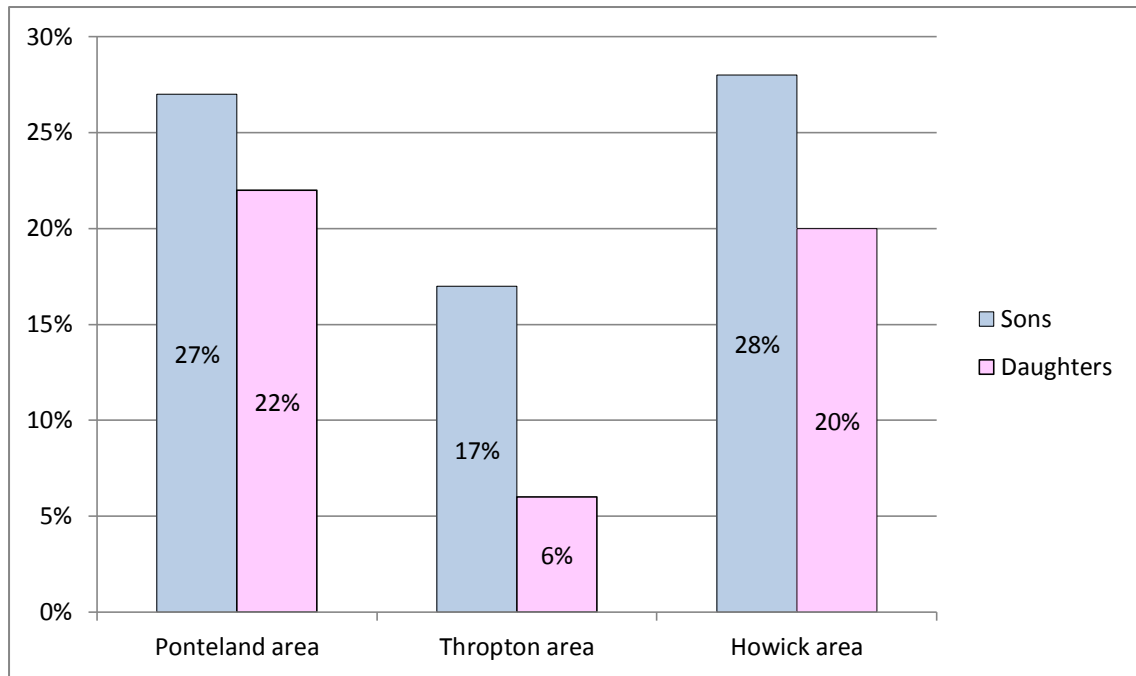


Figure 3.22: Sons and daughters still living in their village in 1881. (Northumberland areas).

persists across all three counties. The Thropton area consists of several very small villages, and the low rate of village staying could be due to sons and daughters simply moving to any of the surrounding small villages and hamlets. Naturally, the smaller the village, the more likely one might find the need to leave.

These statistics from the area level are useful, as they generally consist of just two or three villages, so can still be seen as a type of village sampling. However, by taking these figures down to the parish level, it should be possible to establish more concisely where particular differences existed between neighbouring villages. This, coupled with knowledge of the unique structure of each of the villages, may help explain why these different patterns existed.

Figures 3.23 to 3.25 show many varied results of village staying within each area, showing far greater variations than any of those at the area or county levels. By looking at village staying statistics at the parish level, it is possible to identify significant differences between individual villages. The overall village stayer sons for the three counties totalled 20 per cent (184 out of 933), and for the daughters it was 14 per cent (106 out of 781), and some of these villages strayed greatly from this average, and indeed the individual county average. The figures used at this parish level are fairly low,

with an average of 42 sons and 36 daughters used for each village, and consequently an extra one or two sons or daughters remaining in a village could increase the percentage of village stayers significantly. Therefore the focus shall be on those villages which differed dramatically from the rest.

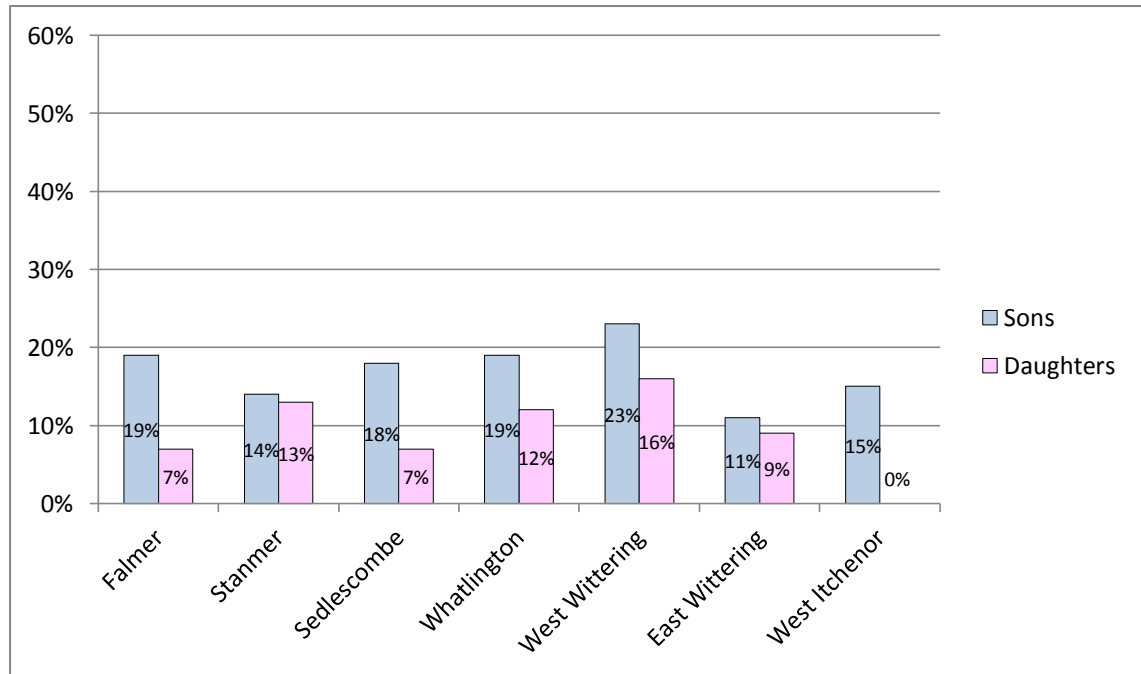


Figure 3.23: Sons and daughters still living in their village in 1881. (Sussex villages).

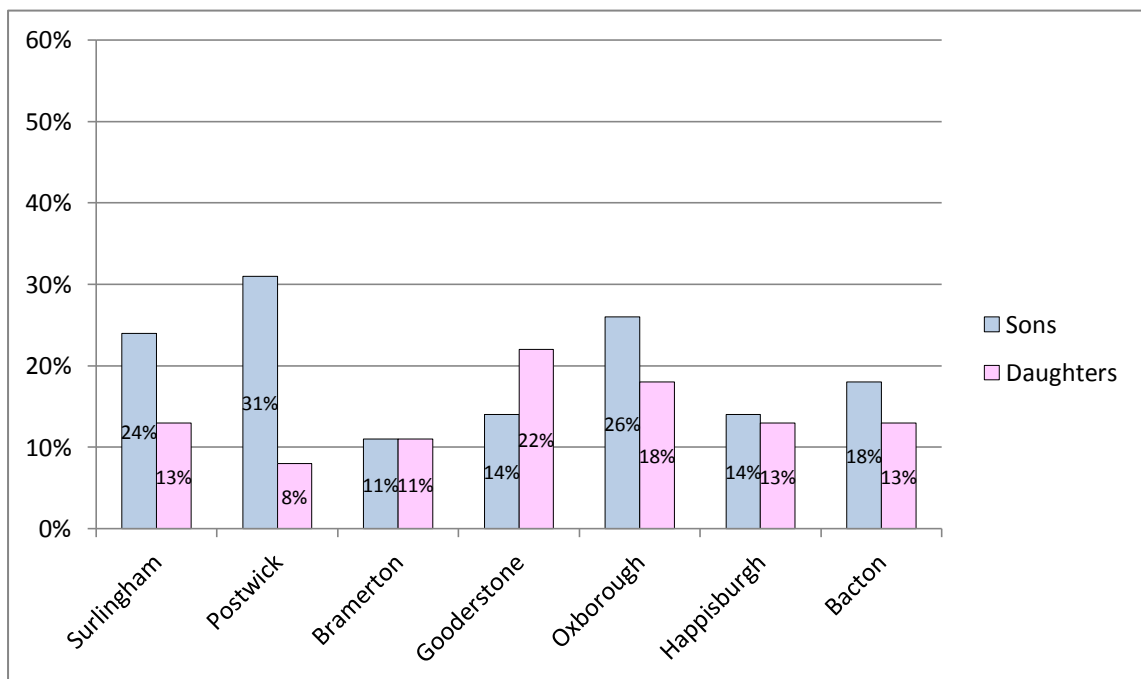


Figure 3.24: Sons and daughters still living in their village in 1881. (Norfolk villages).

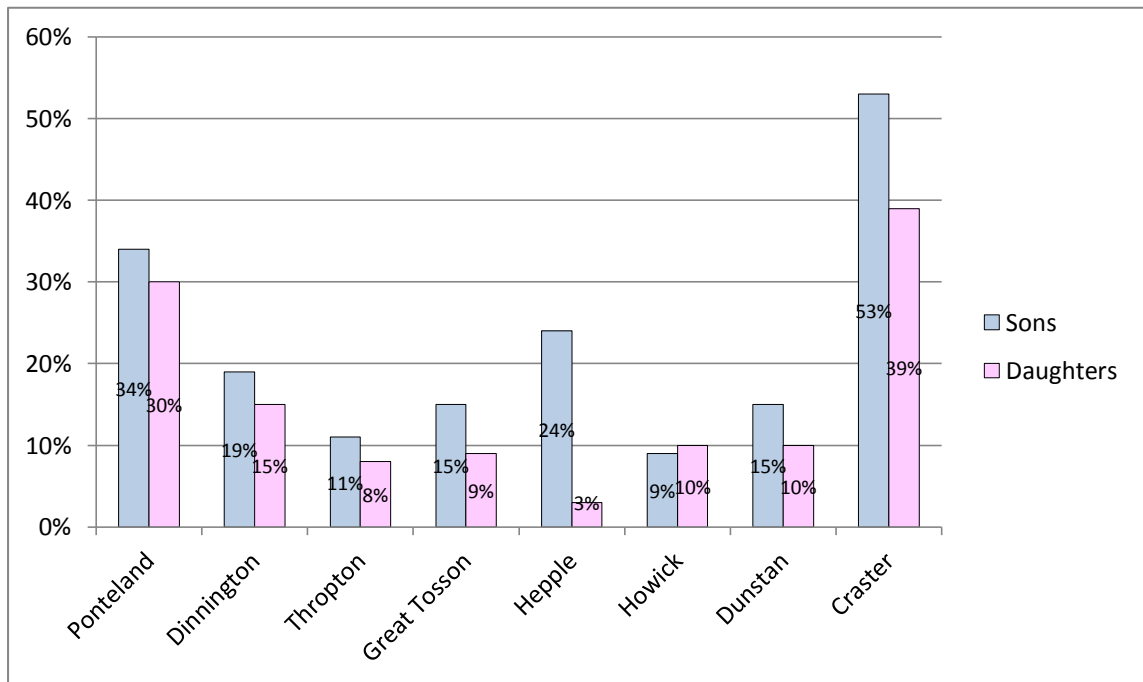


Figure 3.25: Sons and daughters still living in their village in 1881. (Northumberland villages).

Taking the sons first, with an average village staying rate of 18 per cent (56 out of 317), Sussex villages were, in general, lower than the overall average across the three counties. There were no significant variations from the average. West Wittering displayed the highest rate of village staying in Sussex, at 23 per cent (12 out of 53), and East Wittering the lowest, at 11 per cent (4 out of 35). There is no obvious reason for this disparity between two neighbouring villages. As noted in the description of the village, West Wittering had a great deal of casual labour, and also frequent admissions to the local workhouse. However, Conrade Combes, who was born at Court Farm in 1852, remembers a happy and prosperous community at West Wittering in the 1860s and 1870s:

These were good times, when all the farmers and their men worked well and pleasantly together ... Practically all the labourers were really good men, who wanted little or no looking after, and the various farm hands competed with one another as to which did the best work.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ WSRO Add Mss 29707 – Taken from the *West Sussex Gazette*, 11th May 1939.

This could easily have been true of other villages in the area, but it makes the point that when hard-working agricultural workers were well looked after and respected by their employers, there would have perhaps been less inclination to seek employment elsewhere.

The village staying figures for the Norfolk villages were slightly more diverse than Sussex, with a low of 11 per cent to a high of 31 per cent. The two villages with the highest rate of village staying were Postwick and Oxborough. These were the two 'close' parishes within the Norfolk villages, and both exhibited the highest percentage of males working in agricultural labour. These observations are noteworthy, but do not in themselves lead to any firm conclusions about reasons for village staying.

However, the figures for Northumberland reveal some significantly high variations. The two highest locations for village staying Craster, at 53 per cent (18 out of 34), and Ponteland, at 34 per cent (11 out of 32), and both these villages had characteristics which set them apart from the other 22 villages across the three counties. These numbers may not appear particularly high, but half of the Northumberland villages saw less than five sons remaining in their village by 1881.

First, the village of Craster will be analysed. This village is one of three Northumberland coastal villages used in this study, along with Howick and Dunstan. With village staying for sons at 9 per cent (3 out of 32) and 15 per cent (3 out of 20) respectively, Howick and Dunstan were clearly unable to hold on to their sons between 1851 and 1881. Looking at the structure of Craster village, it had an average household size of 6.5 persons; the highest in any of the villages in this study. It also had an unusual ratio of men to women, at 46:54, with 11 per cent of the male population unmarried and between the ages of 15 and 25, compared to just 7 per cent of the women. Neither of these statistics would imply a great reason for the young men of Craster to remain in the village. Both Howick and Dunstan had a significant number and range of tradesmen in 1851, such as blacksmiths, carpenters and masons. Craster had none of these, and boasted simply a cooper and a brewer in the trades, and using the figures based on Armstrong's occupational grading system, Craster displayed the second lowest overall occupational class of all the Sussex, Norfolk and Northumberland villages.

However, this village did boast a huge fishing industry, with 49 of its 63 working men (78 per cent) involved in coastal work; 44 of them fishermen. Despite being just a mile from Dunstan and two miles from Howick, Craster's occupational structure was entirely different. In addition to its fishing industry, investigation into the families of

Craster showed that the surname Archbold was extremely common in the village. The most common name in Howick was Taylor at 8 per cent of the village population. In Dunstan, it was Bohills, again at 8 per cent. But in Craster, 29 per cent of the inhabitants in 1851 had the surname Archbold, and a further 11 per cent had the name Simpson.⁶⁷ Two out of every five residents would have had the surname Archbold or Simpson. This not only implies perhaps quite a close-knit community, but also strongly suggests many generations of village staying. However, the 1861 census⁶⁸ shows 102 of the 216 Craster residents (47 per cent) as born in the village, compared with Howick's 32 per cent, and Dunstan's 37 per cent. This was clearly a community that had been working together for decades, if not centuries. With the fishing industry so prolific, and so ingrained in village life, there appears to have been little need to move.

Research into migration patterns at the county level, and even the area level, masked this significant range of migration habits between Howick, Dunstan and Craster. Only by taking research to the parish level has it been possible to single out Craster as having an unusual pattern of migration within young men, and appreciate the complexities of village staying within Northumberland coastal communities.

Turning to the village of Ponteland, this village displayed the second highest rate of village staying at 34 per cent. Ponteland sons were almost twice as likely to remain in their village than the median average. The statistics for this village stand out among all the other villages in Northumberland, Sussex and Norfolk. Ponteland contained the highest percentage of tradesmen, and those working in trade across all three counties. Whereas the median average was 15 per cent, 45 per cent of working men on Ponteland in 1851 were trades and craftsmen, with a further 5 per cent being employed by tradesmen. Using the figures based on Armstrong's classification scheme, this village also had by far the highest overall occupational class, with 30 per cent of the working men with a Class I or II occupation, where the median average was just 10 per cent. The prevalence of Class II occupations was largely due to the number of tradesmen either being employers, or having household servants. Master mason, John Donkin, for example, was in a position to employ 9 men, and also a household servant. And tailor and draper, Robert Reay, was able to employ 2 men and a house servant, despite there

⁶⁷ 64 of the 220 village inhabitants of 1851 were Archbolds, and 24 were Simpsons.

⁶⁸ Unfortunately, the 1851 census returns consistently show 'Embleton' for those born in this area, hence using the 1861 statistics. This was probably due the fact that the nearest church was at nearby Embleton, and that was where most children were baptised.

being 2 other master tailors in the village. This is a sign of a village of thriving trade. With 10 cordwainers, 8 stone masons and 8 tailors working in the village, many of these tradesmen were clearly doing good business, despite heavy competition within the village. It is highly likely many of their goods would have been sent to the nearby city of Newcastle for an almost insatiable market for shoes, clothes, furnishings, and (for the stone masons) gravestones. Grocers and blacksmiths were also prevalent in Ponteland. Blacksmith, Henry Moorhead, had originally been working in Newcastle, but by 1851 had set up shop in a smithy in Ponteland. By the end of the nineteenth century the Moorhead smithy was not only still in business in the village, but had 3 blacksmiths, and remained an active business until 1974.⁶⁹

Despite its proximity to Newcastle, the Ponteland sons did not leave their village in large numbers for city life and the promising world of commerce and industry. Tradesmen have often been regarded by historians of migration as more likely to migrate than agricultural workers. In 1851, 49 per cent of the Ponteland's male workforce were either tradesmen, or employed in trade. 85 per cent (11 out of 13) of the sons remaining in the village in 1881 were tradesmen. Therefore, it would imply that although some tradesmen did leave the village, it was predominantly those in other occupations who were more likely to leave Ponteland.

Craster and Ponteland displayed specific characteristics which set them apart from the other villages, and as such showed the highest rates of village staying amongst the sons. This strongly suggests it was often the situation within each village which determined the decision to move, and not a general pattern of migration from each county, or even from each area. By simply taking the area level data, the huge variation of village staying within each individual parish was hidden, and as such, without investigation at the parish level, the motives for remaining within the village during this period cannot be appreciated. The village staying rate for the sons of the three coastal villages of Northumberland, for example, were the highest in the county at 28 per cent. However, breaking the figures down to the parish level showed that two of those three villages had very low village staying rates, and the area figure was simply boosted by the village of Craster. This village was the perfect example of a community that did not need to seek employment elsewhere.

⁶⁹ W. Hellens, 'Ponteland Smithy: The Moorhead connection', *Pont Island News*, (2001) pp.20-22.

These figures clearly show the vast differences found between neighbouring villages, and as such show that there was no common pattern within certain types of location. All coastal villages did not display similar patterns of village staying, neither did the remote villages, or those situated near to a town. As such, each village must be treated and assessed as a separate community in its own right.

The investigation into Craster and Ponteland also provides evidence that rural persistence was not necessarily a result of a lack of intelligence and ambition. The situations in these two villages did not necessitate a move. Craster was home to a thriving fishing industry, where work was plenty, and Ponteland saw a significantly high percentage of trades and crafts, where master craftsmen were in a position to employ men, and business was clearly good enough for many men of the same trade to exist within the same village.

The accounts of Conrade Combes of West Wittering also provide evidence of why high rates of village staying might have existed in certain communities. With good working relations and a healthy attitude to agricultural work, migration from the village could easily have been a move for the worse. With ‘a general feeling of comfort and prosperity’⁷⁰ in West Wittering in the 1860s and 1870s, the high rate of village staying is perhaps unsurprising.

The village stayer daughters

E. G. Ravenstein had concluded that females were more migratory than males, an opinion which has been echoed by almost all migration studies since. The statistics for these villages concur with this long-established opinion in the sense that more daughters left their village than sons. Overall, 14 per cent of daughters (106 out of 781) could still be found in their village by 1881, as opposed to 20 per cent of sons (184 out of 933), and this pattern is constant across almost all areas and villages. Village staying was virtually non-existent, especially in the Sussex villages. Falmer for instance, saw just 2 of its 27 daughters remaining in the village by 1881, Sedlescombe just 4 out of 58, and in West Itchenor, not one of the 25 daughters of 1851 could be found within the village 30 years later. This highlights the significant rate of migration by the daughters in this study. As such, the figures here are extremely small, and there was a great effect on percentages as investigations are drawn down to the area and parish levels. It is

⁷⁰ WSRO Add Mss 29707 – Taken from the *West Sussex Gazette*, 11th May 1939.

therefore important to treat these variations with caution. Nevertheless, certain parishes showed significant enough variations in which to be useful.

The most outstanding figure is that of Craster, in Northumberland. At 10 per cent each, neighbouring Howick and Dunstan held on to just 6 of their 61 daughters. Therefore, the figure of 39 per cent (12 out of 31) for Craster is significantly high. The fact this village also exhibited by far the highest rate of village stayer sons cannot be coincidental, and must surely be related to the thriving fishing trade within this coastal community. Besides 4 agricultural labourers and a handful of domestic servants, there were few occupations for women noted on the 1851 census. Nevertheless, many occupations held by women were not recorded on the census returns. Paul Thompson's oral history research revealed that 'women's labour in mending drift nets, gutting and kippering, and again in selling fresh fish locally, was ... vital to the herring fishery.'⁷¹ This was not simply carried out by the wives of fishermen, but by many women and girls of the village, who were relied on heavily.⁷² It is therefore highly likely that many of the Craster women and girls would have been very much involved in the village's fishing industry. Additionally, growing up in such a tight community would perhaps have led to more endogamy, with many sons and daughters from Craster intermarrying. 11 out of the 23 marriages noted for Craster daughters (48 per cent) were to Craster men. This does not sound particularly remarkable, but compared to the average village, such as Dinnington at 10 per cent (2 out of 20), and Happisburgh, in coastal Norfolk, at 18 per cent (6 out of 33), this figure is significantly high. It would appear that, as with the sons, the fishing industry (both directly and indirectly) was instrumental in keeping daughters within the village.

It is interesting to note that the daughters of Ponteland exhibited the second highest rate of village staying across the three counties, and the daughters of West Wittering showed the highest rates of the Sussex villages. This would tentatively suggest there was a link between high rates of village staying for sons with that of the daughters.

The village of Gooderstone in Norfolk also stands out, with 22 per cent (19 out of 86) of its daughters remaining in the village. This was 6 per cent above the Norfolk average, and the third highest across the three counties. Gooderstone appears to have had no particular qualities which would result in keeping hold of its daughters. However, the daughters of neighbouring Oxborough also displayed an above average

⁷¹ Thompson, P., Wailey, T., and Lummis, T., *Living the Fishing* (London, 1983) p.168.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p.167.

rate of village staying, at 18 per cent, and the sons from that village a high rate at 26 per cent. It is likely that the remote location of Gooderstone and Oxborough resulted in a high rate of village staying. Frederick Rolfe grew up in nearby Pentney around this time, and remarked that ‘the Norfolk villiges are some of the **lony** in the country...’⁷³ and that

Some of the young men fifty and sixty year ago even [1870s-1880s] were contented enough if they could go to a fair once a year, or Lynn Mart. Never thought of any thing else but what there bed and there work and there food could give them.⁷⁴

It would therefore seem that within these two remote Norfolk communities, it was the sons of Gooderstone which displayed an unusual trend, with just 14 per cent remaining within the village.

This examination of the sons and daughters who remained in their village has revealed a great range of patterns across the three counties, highlighting the advantage of taking this type of research down to the parish level. The high rates of village staying from communities such as Ponteland, Craster and West Wittering seem to have been a result of circumstances unique (within this study) to their particular village. Prevalence of work in high class occupations, local industry, and a close-knit community, all appear to have been instrumental in dissuading these sons to remain within their villages. This in turn seems to have had a positive effect on village staying for the daughters. The figures here are small, but nevertheless significant. Many villages had lost almost all their daughters by 1881. Therefore, villages such as Craster, Ponteland, West Wittering and Gooderstone were unusual.

These variations also challenge the sweeping statements describing the rural worker as weak and without initiative. Rowntree and Kendall had noted that ‘It is the dull boy or anaemic girl, the mature worker without talent or without initiative, who remains in the village...’⁷⁵ However, those of Craster, Ponteland and West Wittering had good reason to remain within their village. The unique circumstances within each village appear to have played a great part in the rate of migration of its young men and women. These young men and women were not necessarily therefore the idle and unambitious,

⁷³ L. Rider-Haggard, (ed.), *I Walked by Night* (Woodbridge, 1935) p.31.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ B. S. Rowntree & M. Kendall, *How the Labourer Lives* (London, 1913) pp.324.

but individuals for whom migration would very possibly have been a move away from good, regular employment in a productive and tight community.

These investigations of village staying have revealed a great deal about the forces which kept many young people from migrating from their childhood homes. Nevertheless, almost all the villages displayed high rates of out-migration, and the destinations of these migrants may provide a greater understanding of the variations between many of the village staying figures, and also the disparity between the sons and the daughters.

Chapter 3c

The Migrant Sons

This section will analyse the migration habits of those who left their villages. It will investigate the different patterns of migration across the three counties, and will attempt to explain why some of these patterns existed. The data from these villages will also be used to test whether proximity to a town was an influence on migration for sons and daughters. It will examine the occupations of migrants in order to discover whether the urban migrants and long-distance migrants were more likely to be tradesmen than agricultural workers. It will also seek to discover whether high agricultural earnings in the north resulted in less urban migration.

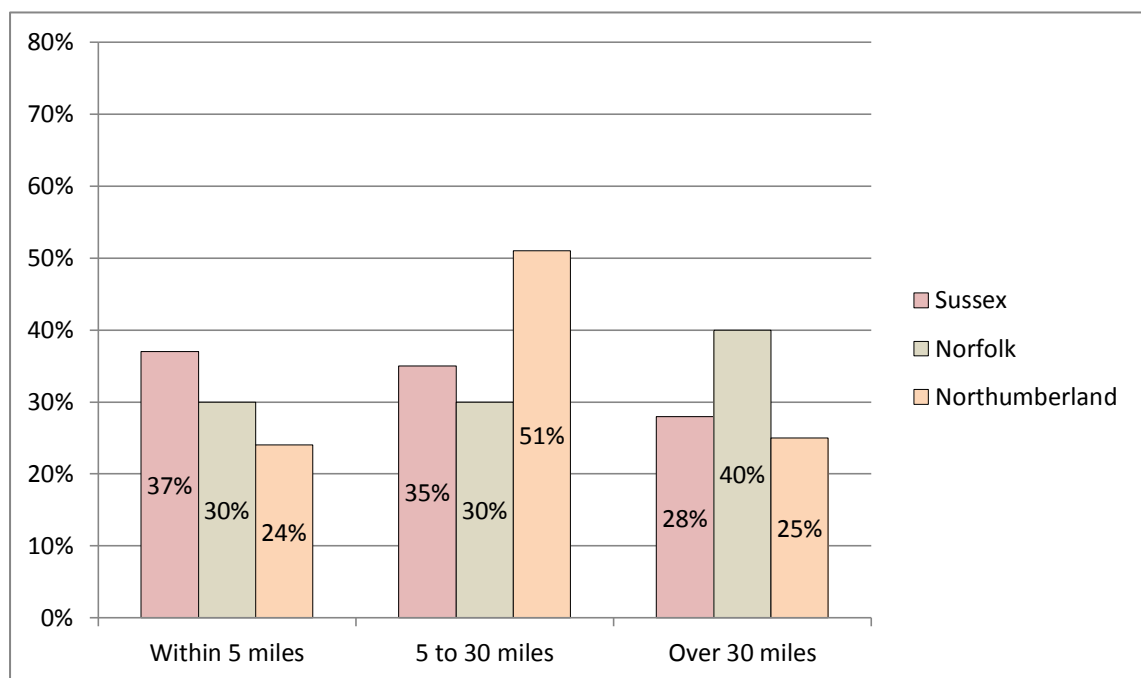


Figure 3.26: Distance travelled by migrant sons by 1881. (Sussex, Norfolk & Northumberland).

As the villages within these areas are situated very close to each other, and only in groups of twos or threes, the area statistics should be enough to attempt to ascertain why certain distance migration trends existed. Figure 3.26 shows the distance travelled by all migrant sons from their village, using their last known location up to 1881. There is little that can be gained from attempting to analyse this broad set of statistics. Nevertheless, it can be noted that, overall, Northumberland sons were far more likely to

migrate between 5 and 30 miles than any other county, and displayed very low short and long-distance migration rates. Additionally, Norfolk sons were the most prolific long-distance migrants. However, by taking these figures down to the village area level, it is possible to obtain a far more useful set of statistics in which to analyse.

Figures 3.27 to 3.29 reveal far greater variations at the area level. For instance, the high middle-distance migration rate by the Northumberland sons appears to have been predominantly from the Ponteland and Thropton areas, with the Howick area far below the average rate for this type of migration. Ponteland's extremely high rate of middle-distance migration at 78 per cent (31 out of 57) makes it clearly the highest rate for this distance across the three counties, and contrasts wildly to its long-distance migration rate of just 5 per cent (2 out of 57), the lowest across all three counties. Additionally, despite Northumberland sons featuring below the average rate for long-distance migration, those of the Howick area were incredibly prolific long-distance migrants. Other significant variations have appeared, with Falmer area sons clearly ahead of their Sussex cohorts in short-distance migration, and Sedlescombe area sons far higher middle-distance migrants than all but the Ponteland area sons.

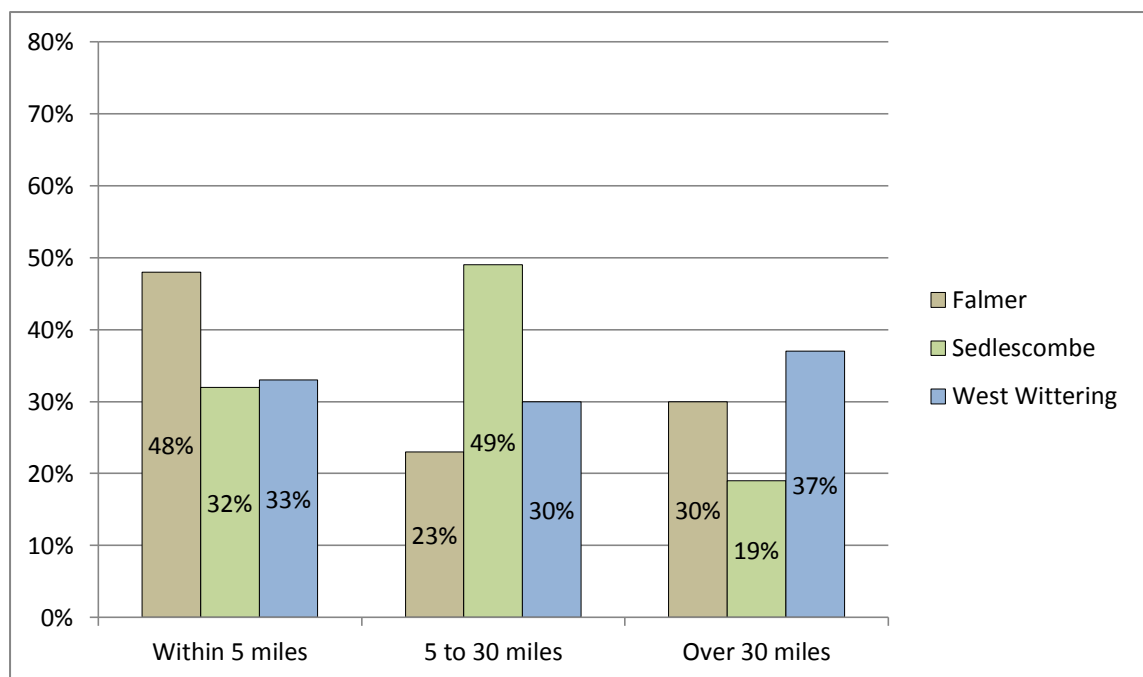


Figure 3.27: Distance travelled by migrant sons by 1881. (Sussex areas).

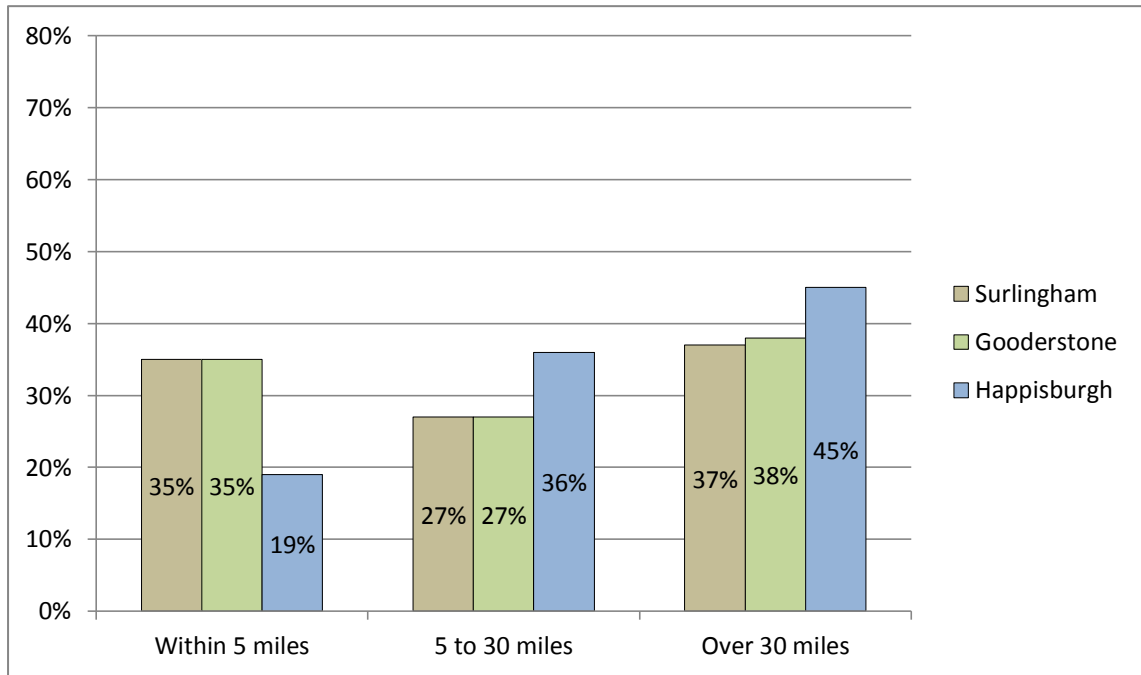


Figure 3.28: Distance travelled by migrant sons by 1881. (Norfolk areas).

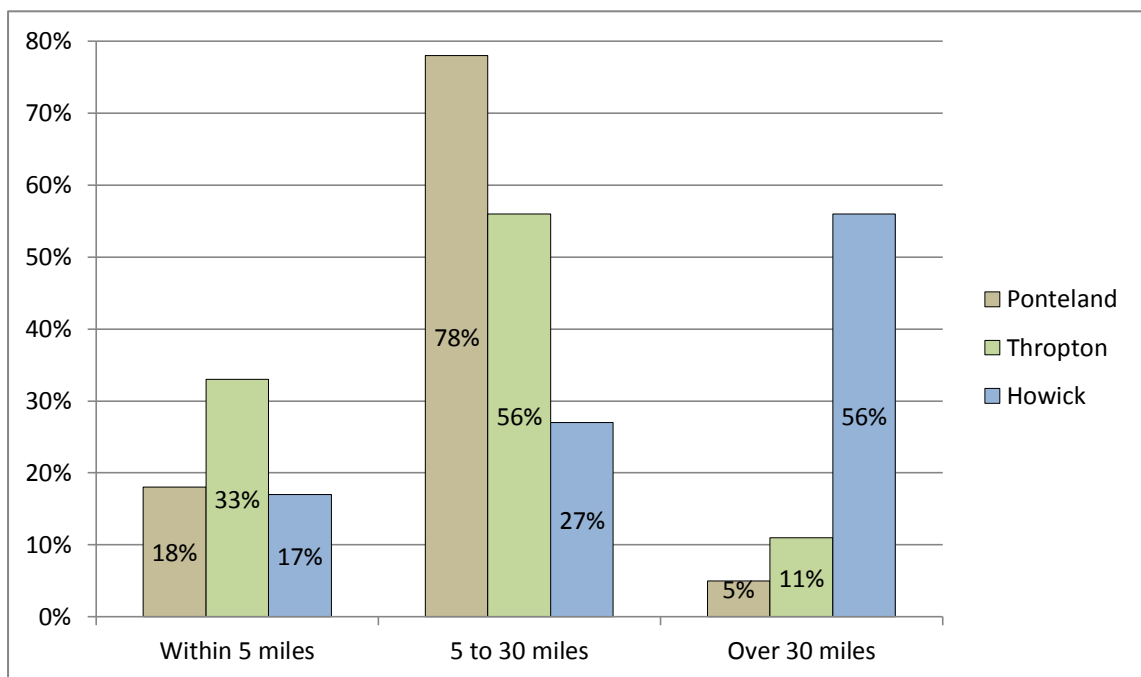


Figure 3.29: Distance travelled by migrant sons by 1881. (Northumberland areas).

Observing the locations of the migrants of each county, an attempt will be made to establish why these different patterns of migration existed between each set of villages. The reasons why such variations occurred between areas with geographically similar characteristics will also be investigated.

Sussex sons

The highest rate across all three counties for short-distance migration was from the Falmer area, with 48 per cent of the migrants (29 out of 61) remaining within five miles of their village. This was at least 15 per cent higher than the other two Sussex areas, and 13 per cent higher than any other village across the three counties. Notably, within five miles of Falmer and Stanmer was the town of Brighton. Of the 29 short-distance migrant sons from Falmer and Stanmer, 20 (69 per cent) migrated to this rapidly expanding commercial town. The Sedlescombe area had no equivalent town within five miles, and although a handful of sons left for the small town of Battle, most short-distance migrants were spread across neighbouring villages. West Wittering area also lacked a large town within its immediate area. The city of Chichester was just within five miles of the village of West Itchenor, yet only two sons from this village, William Bunday and Richard Hopkins, migrated there. Chichester was not the booming, commercial resort that Brighton was, and subsequently seemed to hold little attraction for those wanting to escape rural life. Conrade Combes noted of Chichester around the 1870s, that ‘On Sundays the streets were practically deserted...’⁷⁶ Brighton, with its abundant trades, and direct link by rail, must have held far more appeal to those of the surrounding villages.

With regards to middle-distance migration, however, Falmer area displayed the lowest rate of all across the three counties, with Sedlescombe area over double that of Falmer, at 49 per cent. A 30-mile radius from Sedlescombe and Whatlington provided the towns of Tunbridge Wells, Brighton, Eastbourne, and perhaps more significantly, the thriving seaside town of Hastings, just 6 miles away. This was a large town, rapidly increasing in size, from 17,618 in 1851, to 45,530 by 1881,⁷⁷ easily accessible by rail.

⁷⁶ WSRO Add Mss 29707 – Taken from the *West Sussex Gazette*, 11th May 1939.

⁷⁷ Digitised census enumerators’ books.



Figure 3.30: The last known location of the Falmer area migrant sons up to 1881.



Figure 3.31: The last known location of the Sedlescombe area migrant sons up to 1881.



Figure 3.32: The last known location of the West Wittering area migrant sons up to 1881.

14 of the 36 middle-distance migrants (39 per cent) were found in Hastings.⁷⁸ However, 17 of the remaining 22 were scattered over many rural locations. For the West Wittering area, middle-distance migration was quite different. Being situated on the coast, many of the sons were involved in coastal work, and subsequently tended to travel along the coast in search of employment. Within 10 miles of the villages was Portsea Island, where Portsmouth and Southsea were located. The former, with its busy port and major naval dockyard would have provided much work for incomers, and those of the West Wittering area appeared to have taken full advantage of this. Of the 20 middle-distance migrants, 8 made their way to Portsea, and all were employed in the coastal industry. The remaining 12 middle-distance migrants from this area could be found in 12 separate locations, highlighting that apart from Portsea, there was no particular location which attracted these young men. Only one son, William Cole of West Wittering, moved to Chichester, who worked for many years there as a rail porter. The West Wittering area did not have a rail network, with the closest station located in Chichester itself.

⁷⁸ This includes St-Leonards-on-Sea, which was then one town with Hastings, both administratively and geographically. See S. Peak, *Fishermen of Hastings* (St Leonards-on-Sea, 1985) p.33.

Therefore, the easiest method of travel for these coastal residents would have been by boat, and subsequently it is no surprise that a great deal of middle-distance migration was along the coast.

With an overall average across the three counties of 28 per cent, the West Wittering area sons, at 37 per cent (25 out of 67) can very much be seen as prolific long-distance migrants. The map in figure 3.32 highlights the importance of the coast for these migrants. In addition to the locations marked on the map, many of the sons had joined the Royal Navy, and as such were to be found in locations scattered across the globe. For example, Charles Robinson, West Wittering son of an agricultural labourer, was in Corfu in 1861, aged just 17. James Willis of East Wittering was a ship's corporal in Syria by the age of 21. And William Steer of West Wittering could be found in the Caribbean in 1871. Growing up on the West Sussex coast, within a stone's throw of the Royal Navy dockyard of Portsmouth had provided a great incentive to migrate, or at least to travel, abroad. Many of these sons did not appear on another British census return, implying they either settled overseas, or died at sea. Of the 25 long-distance migrants, 8 (32 per cent) were on vessels abroad or at sea, and a further 8 were to be found in coastal locations in England, from Ramsgate to Liverpool. A coastal upbringing clearly led to coastal migration, which in turn led to long-distance migration. And, as with middle-distance migration, these sons appear to have been spread over many different areas, with the 16 long-distance migrant sons, who remained within British shores, located in 10 separate counties. Many sons of Falmer and Stanmer migrated over 30 miles, but not in such numbers, or to such distances. Only 2 could be found north of London, with 7 of the 18 long-distance migrants (39 per cent) found in London, and another 4 in Surrey. Unlike their cohorts from the coast, distance migration was lower, and far more centralised.

Observing the distances of migration across these three sets of villages within Sussex, has revealed three contrasting patterns. By taking research down to this parish level, not only have significant variations within one county been identified, but it has also been possible to go some way to discovering why these variations might have existed. The bustling town of Brighton on the doorstep of Falmer and Stanmer was clearly responsible for keeping the sons within the local area, and with a railway station running through the village, they appear to have focussed on life in Brighton and London. Conversely, growing up on the coast, and laying within easy reach of the

dockyards of Portsea Island, the migrant sons from the West Wittering area were drawn to life at sea, naturally taking them to distant locations along the British coast, and often beyond.

The generalisations made by previous studies on migration are already being called into question here. Studies at the county or regional level, have dealt solely with general patterns of behaviour, and as such have failed to appreciate the complex nature of migration existent within a county's boundaries. Geographic location appears to have influenced migration patterns within Sussex. The migrant sons of the coastal villages were not only likely to remain in coastal locations, but those that did move were far more likely to migrate long-distance. The sons of Falmer and Stanmer were less likely to migrate over five miles than their counterparts, and this was due to the proximity of Brighton. Despite a railway station at Falmer, long-distance migration was not prolific. This tallies with the findings of Gwyneth Nair and David Poyner, who found that the coming of the railways did not reduce migration to the nearest market town.⁷⁹ However, with 81 per cent of migrants located over five miles from their village, those of the West Wittering area, with no easy access to a rail network, were far more likely to migrate longer distance. Clearly, for Sussex at least, growing up in a coastal village, and far from a rail network, was not a hindrance to distance migration.

Norfolk sons

Short-distance migrant sons from the Norfolk villages displayed a very different pattern to those from Sussex. Whereas Falmer and Stanmer migrant sons were by far the most prolific short-distance migrants in Sussex, their counterparts in the Surlingham area were less likely to remain within five miles of their village. 35 per cent of Surlingham area migrant sons (22 out of 62) remained within five miles compared to 48 per cent of Falmer area sons. As with Brighton, the city of Norwich proved to be an attraction for the outlying villages. Both Postwick and Bramerton lay within five miles of Norwich, and although Surlingham was just outside that range, it was within five miles of the village of Thorpe-next-Norwich,⁸⁰ which attracted as many sons as Norwich itself.

⁷⁹ G. Nair & D. Poyner, 'The Flight from the Land? Rural Migration in South-East Shropshire in the Late Nineteenth Century', *Rural History*, (2006) Vol.17, No.2. p.175.

⁸⁰ Thorpe-next-Norwich is now known as Thorpe St Andrew.



Figure 3.33: The last known location of the Surlingham area migrant sons up to 1881.



Figure 3.34: The last known location of the Gooderstone area migrant sons up to 1881.



Figure 3.35: The last known location of the Happisburgh area migrant sons up to 1881.

Thorpe railway station had opened in 1844, allowing easy access to the city.⁸¹ 11 of the 22 migrants who were still within five miles of their village in 1881 were either in Norwich or Thorpe-next-Norwich. This was noticeably lower than the attraction to Brighton. Taking migrants as a whole from these two sets of villages, 33 per cent of the Sussex sons left for Brighton, compared to just 13 per cent of Norfolk sons who left for Norwich, or 23 per cent if one includes Thorpe-next-Norwich. Clearly Norwich was less of an attraction to young men than Brighton.

Happisburgh and Bacton displayed a very low rate of short-distance migration at just 19 per cent (11 out of 58). Like Gooderstone and Oxborough, these two coastal villages also lacked a nearby railway, with the closest station not being built until the 1870s, and even then it was located 7 miles away at North Walsham. Despite this, the migrant sons from these two villages were clearly prolific longer distance migrants. Gooderstone and Oxborough sons were remaining local to their villages at the same rate as those near

⁸¹ C. Reeve, *Norwich: The Biography* (Stroud, 2011) p.147.

Norwich, and a higher rate than those from their Sussex equivalents in Sedlescombe and Whatlington. Yet Gooderstone and Oxborough were far more remote, and not one town could be found within five miles of either village. With over a third of the migrants sons remaining local to their villages, despite the lack of anything resembling more than a small village in the area, this highlights the isolation felt by those living in rural Norfolk, as had been noted by Frederick Rolfe. The lack of a nearby town had not helped to push sons from the area.

Surlingham and Gooderstone areas were both well under the 38 per cent average for middle-distance migration across the three counties, with both at 27 per cent. From the Surlingham area, apart from 3 Surlingham sons making their way into Norwich, there was no particular destination to which these sons were drawn. The remaining 14 sons were drawn to 9 separate locations. The same pattern can be observed with the sons of Gooderstone and Oxborough, with 20 middle-distance migrant sons located across 18 separate destinations by 1881. Such was their remote location, just two sons were found in an urban location, with Edward Mears in King's Lynn, Stephen Hemson almost 30 miles away in Norwich. There was clearly no significant pull for either of these areas within the 5 to 30 mile range. Happisburgh and Bacton sons were more likely to migrate middle-distance. Situated on the north-east coast, with nothing but sea to the north and east of them, Norwich perhaps seemed more of an option, and almost one in four of the middle-distance migrants made their way to this city. Others made their way along the coast to Great Yarmouth and Sea Palling. However, the most prolific migration for all three of the Norfolk areas was long-distance migration.

The long-distance migrant sons of Norfolk outweighed their counterparts in Sussex across all three areas. Whereas Falmer area sons were drawn to Brighton in their droves, leaving less than one in three migrants to travel over 30 miles, Surlingham area sons, with far less of a pull from Norwich, appear to have found long-distance migration more appealing. Unlike the Falmer area, London was not the main attraction for long-distance migrants, with James Farrow of Postwick, and Ernest Blake of Bramerton the only two to move into London itself. The other 15 were spread over 9 different counties, with another 5 to be found abroad. It seems clear (at least for Surlingham, Postwick and Bramerton migrants) that leaving Norfolk was the aim, rather than any particular area attracting them.

A very different story can be found with the long-distance migrant sons of Gooderstone and Oxborough, however. Although they showed a similar rate of long-

distance migration to the Surlingham area, a sizeable 43 per cent (12 out of 28) left for London, compared to just 9 per cent (2 out of 23) from Surlingham area. Gooderstone and Oxborough sons could be found in Chelsea, Islington, Tottenham, Shoreditch, and many other boroughs within the capital. London was clearly a pull for these young men. Additionally 10 of the remaining 16 sons headed for Durham, Yorkshire or Warwickshire. Unlike the Surlingham area sons, it is clear the long-distance migrant sons from these two villages experienced more of a pull to certain areas, rather than a push from rural Norfolk itself. It is conceivable that due to the remoteness of Gooderstone and Oxborough, migrants were more likely to be aware of previous migrants and follow them once they knew the move could prove beneficial. Fredrick Rolfe note that ‘...work in the North of England was good, and hundreds of young men took there famleys and went up there...’⁸² In 1871, John Brown and Thomas Smith were agricultural labourers living in Gooderstone, within a few doors from each other. In 1881 they were both residents of Durham, over 200 miles away from their native village, and living within 3 miles of each other in their new location. This is most likely a classic example of the ‘friends and relatives’ effect noted in later studies of migration, rather than simply a coincidence. This of course can turn into a snowball effect, with more and more people migrating to the same area, and will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

Perhaps this is what happened with the Happisburgh and Bacton sons, as 9 out of 26 of their long-distance migrants (38 per cent) could be found in Yorkshire. These men may have been scattered across different parts of the county, but nevertheless had clearly seen Yorkshire as the place to go, despite London being far closer, and also that they would have had to have travelled through Cambridgeshire, Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire to reach their destination of choice. A further 4 sons, Robert Armes, William Wiseman, Robert Bargewell and Robert Miles migrated as far as Durham. More evidence of the ‘friends and relatives’ effect can noted here. Robert Armes and Robert Miles grew up just two doors away from each other in the village of Bacton. In 1881 they could both be found in the township of Stranton, Hartlepool, over 200 miles away. Although London was a great pull for those of Gooderstone and Oxborough, it proved to have very little effect on those migrants from Happisburgh and Bacton, despite being almost identical distances from the capital. The map in figure 3.35

⁸² L. Rider-Haggard, (ed.), *I Walked by Night* (Woodbridge, 1935) p.100.

highlights the fact that the majority of the northern long-distance destinations were along the coast, indicating once again that growing up in a coastal location had a significant effect on migration.

Across all three areas, Norfolk sons displayed different migration habits to those of Sussex. For the Surlingham area, Norwich did not prove as big a pull as Brighton had for Falmer area residents, and consequently its short-distance migrants were spread across many parts for the county. Unlike remote Sedlescombe and Whatlington, who were prolific middle-distance migrants, those of Gooderstone and Oxborough did not did not have the same range of towns nearby, with the only significant urban location within 20 miles being King's Lynn. Despite these villages being located far from a railway network, whereas the railway line to London ran straight through Whatlington, the sons of these Norfolk villages migrated to London in significant numbers, and were twice as likely to migrate long-distance as their Sussex cohorts. It would appear that the remote location succeeded in either keeping sons local, or driving them far from Norfolk. As with Sussex, the highest long-distance migrants were from the coastal villages. And as with the West Wittering area, the lack of a nearby railway station did not restrict long-distance migration, with many of the migrants clearly travelling by sea.

Northumberland sons

Yet again, significant differences can be found in the patterns of migration with Northumberland. The migration habits with regards to distance for the sons of this county were far more varied than any that could be seen in Sussex or Norfolk. Two of the three areas were far below the average for short-distance migration. Just 7 of the migrants 40 from Ponteland and Dinnington remained within five miles of their village. Most of this area consisted of small villages, and apart from Thomas Wardle, who moved to Dudley Colliery, the other few short-distance migrants left for rural locations. Howick area had nothing but a few remote villages within five miles, and subsequently just 10 of its 59 migrants remained local. The Thropton area was different however, with one in three of its migrants (24 out of 73) remaining within five miles. Although, with regards to the county as a whole, this area was very remote, the town of Rothbury lay within five miles, and 7 of the short-distance migrants were attracted to this town. Additionally, as has been previously mentioned, the Thropton area consisted of many

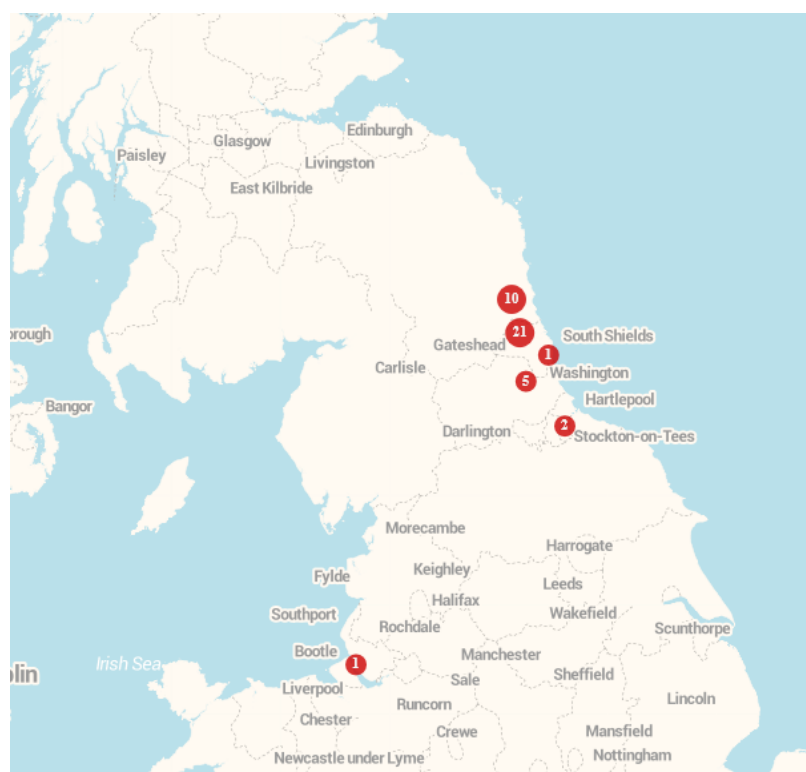


Figure 3.36: The last known location of the Ponteland area migrant sons up to 1881.

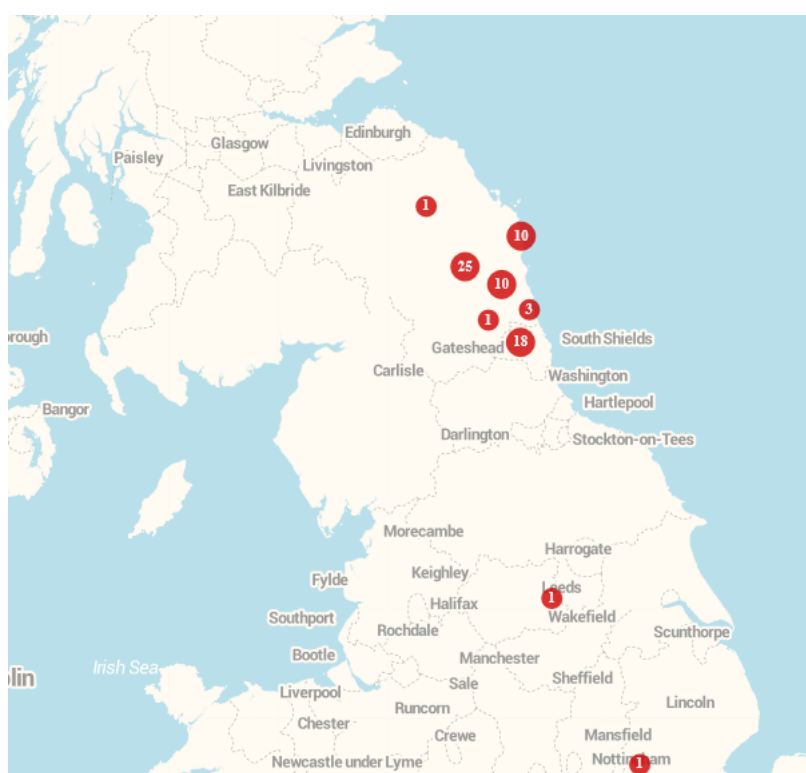


Figure 3.37: The last known location of the Thropton area migrant sons up to 1881.

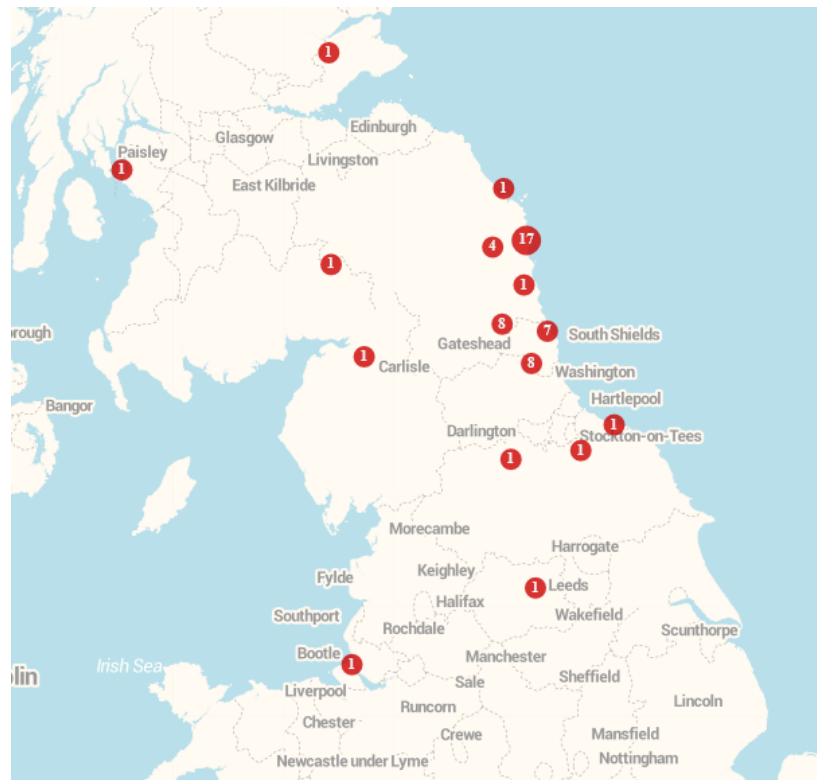


Figure 3.38: The last known location of the Howick area migrant sons up to 1881.⁸³

small villages and hamlets, and as such someone moving from the small hamlet of Castron, with just 30 inhabitants, to the neighbouring hamlet, could be classed as a migrant. This scenario applied to 59 per cent of the short-distance sons who did not move to Rothbury. It is therefore implied that the high rate of short-distance migration was partly due to the restrictive size of the villages within this area.

With regards to middle-distance migration, Ponteland and Dinnington stood head and shoulders above any other statistic within this dataset. At 78 per cent, this had by far the highest set of migrants across all three counties. The city of Newcastle fell into this geographical area, and one might expect that fact to be the reason for such a high statistic. However, just 7 of the 31 sons (23 per cent) moved to Newcastle. The remaining 24 were spread over 22 separate, predominantly rural, locations. Therefore, despite Ponteland and Dinnington lying within 10 miles of this thriving centre of industry, it did not prove a significant pull. Unlike their counterparts in Sussex (Falmer

⁸³ Due to the shorter distance migration from the Northumberland villages, a larger scale map has been used. Consequently, these maps do not show the two London migrants from the Thropton area, and the one from the Howick area.

and Stanmer), the sons who migrated from Ponteland and Dinnington were simply drawn away from their immediate area to seemingly random locations, rather than to their nearest centre of commerce and industry. In fact, the migrant sons of the very remote villages of the Thropton area were almost as likely to end up in Newcastle even though the city was over 25 miles away from these villages. Additionally, although a train station was built at nearby Rothbury, this was not until 1870, when the vast majority of migrants to Newcastle had already left their village. The lack of rail travel clearly did not have a negative effect on distance migration. The 30 miles surrounding the Howick area did not contain many significant towns. Alnwick (a largely rural town), and Morpeth, with just 4,487 residents in 1851,⁸⁴ were the main potential attractions on the route to Newcastle, nearly 40 miles away. However, with the exception of just 3 sons from this area moving to Alnwick, all the middle-distance migrants could be found in rural locations. Even the rapidly expanding shipping port of Blyth appeared to hold no attraction for these men. However, they were far more inclined to migrate long-distance.

With 56 per cent of the Howick area migrants found over 30 miles, they were by far the most prolific long-distance migrants across all the three counties. One in three of these migrant sons made their way along the coast to Newcastle, with half of the rest spread over other parts of Northumberland, Durham and Yorkshire. Newcastle proved a more popular destination for the Howick area sons than for those of Thropton or Ponteland areas, despite the long distance. Just two sons from the Ponteland area migrated over 30 miles; George Weddle of Ponteland was found in Liverpool, and his neighbour Thomas Clipson settled in Middlesbrough. Thropton area figures were almost equally as low, with just 8 of the 73 migrant sons found over 30 miles away, spanning 6 counties.

As with Sussex and Norfolk, the differing areas of Northumberland showed many diverse patterns of migration. The effects of the pull of Newcastle is perhaps somewhat surprising, as those from distant villages more likely to migrate to this city than those in close proximity. One might conclude that Newcastle was close enough to Ponteland and Dinnington for tradesmen and shopkeepers to conduct business with the city from their village. However, Ponteland area migrants were the most prolific middle-distance

⁸⁴ Digitised census enumerators' books.

migrants, and many sons simply headed for a range of alternative rural locations, rather than favouring Newcastle. A large percentage of the Thropton and Howick area migrants could also be found in rural locations, indicating perhaps a contentment with rural life. Thropton area's counterparts in Norfolk grew up in equally remote locations, yet many had made their way to London, or to the counties in the north. This again suggests less of a desire for Northumberland sons to make their way into the town.

The pull of nearby urban locations

These investigations into the sons of Sussex, Norfolk and Northumberland, have produced three major findings about their migration habits. First, each county displayed very different patterns of distance migration. Second, migration varied greatly between different areas within each county. And third, migration habits in certain *types* of location did not always conform to a particular pattern. The findings for the three sets of villages in close proximity to a large town or city, for instance, revealed that this did not always result in a significant pull effect to that location.

To place the findings in context, table 3.2 reveals the comparisons between the pull of Brighton, Norwich and Newcastle for the Falmer, Surlingham and Ponteland area sons respectively. Each of these urban locations was within 4 to 8 miles of the villages, and therefore their potential pull can be classed as reasonably similar. The table uses three sets of figures. The first set of figures use the last known location of each migrant up to 1881, as used in the analysis above. The second set includes the village stayers, revealing a stronger indication of the pull of the town on all villagers. The third calculation reveals 'lifetime' migration. This shows the figures for sons who were found living in the urban location on any census up to 1901 (unless found in retirement). It also includes those where any other indication of residence in the location was evident, including birthplaces of children, and marriage and burial locations.⁸⁵ By observing all the available evidence up to 1901, a further 42 sons were found, more than doubling the dataset.

⁸⁵ The quarterly marriage register for England and Wales only noted the *district* where a marriage took place. The Brighton and Newcastle districts solely covered the town and city area. However, the Norwich district also covered much of the rural surroundings of the city, and as such marriages for the Surlingham area sons in Norwich could not be identified. However, it is estimated that these would only have totalled around 3 or 4 at the most.

	Last known location up to 1881 (migrants from their village)	Last known location up to 1881 (all sons)	Lifetime migration
Brighton	20/61 (33%)	20/75 (27%)	37/82 (45%)
Norwich	14/62 (23%)	14/89 (16%)	24/104 (23%)
Newcastle	7/40 (18%)	7/57 (12%)	22/65 (34%)

Table 3.2: The number of Falmer, Surlingham and Ponteland area sons who moved to Brighton, Norwich and Newcastle respectively.⁸⁶

The results in Table 3.2 show Brighton as consistently by far the most popular destination of the three urban locations. Including the village stayers in the last known location up to 1881, the percentage of sons who migrated to these three locations naturally reduces. Nevertheless, more than one in four Falmer area sons were still found in Brighton, far more than Surlingham or Ponteland sons to Norwich and Newcastle respectively.

Observing all the available evidence up to 1901, Brighton still proved the highest attraction with almost one out of every two sons residing in the town at some point by 1901. This clearly highlights that there was an initial attraction to the town for many who did not remain there.⁸⁷ For example, John Leppard was a labourer from Stanmer. In 1861, he was living with his widowed mother in the village. By 1870 he had moved to Brighton, and in 1871 was living in Park Crescent, working as a domestic coachman. However, sometime between 1875 and 1878 John, along with his wife and children, returned to the Falmer area, and in 1881 was back living in Stanmer village.

Aside from this case study of John Leppard, it appears that most Falmer area sons who temporarily moved to Brighton did not return to rural life, but moved on to other urban locations. John Carter of Falmer, for instance, was still living with his parents in the village in 1861, working as an agricultural labourer. He moved to Brighton by 1869, and two years later was living in Robert Street with his new wife Harriet, working as a porter. However, by 1874 they had moved to Camberwell, London, where John worked

⁸⁶ Brighton includes the neighbouring suburb of Hove, and Norwich includes Thorpe-next-Norwich.

⁸⁷ The lifetime migration figures include evidence of migration after 1881. However, these sons were extremely small in number, with 2 being found for Brighton, 3 for Norwich, and just 1 for Newcastle.

as a railway plate layer. They remained in London for the rest of their lives. Likewise, Alfred Reed was still living with his parents in Falmer in 1861, working as an agricultural labourer. The 1871 census shows he was a police constable living in Islington, London, with his wife and three children. However, the census also indicates all three children were born in Brighton, with the youngest being Laura, aged 3. Alfred had married his wife Julia in Brighton in 1863. This information reveals that he would have spent from at least 1863 until at least 1867 living in Brighton.

The figures also reveal that Newcastle was lower than Norwich with regards to the 1881 figures, but higher for lifetime migration, indicating that Ponteland area sons were far more likely to treat migration to Newcastle as a temporary move, than Surlingham area sons did with Norwich. Observing the last known location up to 1881 of the 13 known temporary migrants, just one was found to have returned to the Ponteland area. As a young man, William Laidman left his parents' home in Ponteland, and in 1861 was lodging in a house in Newcastle, working as a mason. He was only in the city briefly, and by 1867 he had returned to Ponteland, and then later moved to the nearby hamlet of Kirkley. However, by 1875 he had returned to Newcastle, and then moved to the other side of the River Tyne to Gateshead. Of the remaining 12 sons, 6 could be found in either Gateshead, or Gosforth, just north of the city, implying that a move to Newcastle was just a stepping stone to another nearby location. This pattern was very similar to that shown by the sons who migrated to Brighton.

Surlingham area sons who were attracted to Norwich tended to be more likely to remain there. Of the 21 sons who had migrated to Norwich by 1881, 12 were still there in 1881, and a further 2 had died there. Just 7 had moved to the city and subsequently left, and of these, 5 of these had returned to their home village. Benjamin Jordan of Surlingham, for example, worked as an agricultural labourer. He and his wife, Harriet, had many children born in the village. However, two of them, Harriet and Ellen, born in 1860 and 1862 respectively, were born in Norwich, indicating a short spell in the city. Only two Norwich migrants could be found subsequently moving either to another urban location, or out of Norfolk by 1881. William Sharman of Surlingham moved to Norwich in the mid-1850s as a labourer. Ten years later he moved to Tottenham, London, and worked as an engine driver. However, by 1881 he had returned to rural Norfolk. James Farrow moved to Norwich, working as an ostler. However, he soon made his way to North London, remaining in Bethnal Green until his death in 1903.

Brighton was clearly a more popular destination than either Newcastle or Norwich. It has already been noted that the dominance of agriculture may well have been responsible for pushing the sons of Falmer and Stanmer into Brighton. The sons of Ponteland and Dinnington who remained in the village were predominantly tradesmen, and many of those who left their village favoured alternative rural occupations. This situation would have had an effect on the migration into Newcastle. Additionally, apart from Worthing, further along the coast, Brighton had no nearby urban rivals, whereas Newcastle lay on Tyneside, where alternative urban locations would have provided plenty of work for those who had already moved south to Newcastle.

Norwich was not expanding at the same rate as Brighton or Newcastle, and certainly held less attraction for the Surlingham area sons. However, the low rate of migration to this city was perhaps not simply a lack of attraction. The sons of Norfolk were prolific long-distance migrants, and it has been found that the priority for migrants appears to have been to leave the county, rather than experiencing a pull to any particular location. Gooderstone area sons were pulled to London and the northern counties, with Happisburgh area sons migrating along the coast. For those seeking to migrate from their villages, there was little to keep them in Norfolk, and thus Norwich was bypassed by many migrants for alternative locations outside the county.

Proximity to urban locations has often been used as an influential variable affecting patterns of migration. Studies by Dov Friedlander and Jason Long included this as a potential factor influencing migration, and many early investigations into the causes of migration have discussed proximity of urban areas (albeit at a county or region level). However, although this may be true, the figures above indicate that proximity to a large town or city could produce different effects on the local villages, and that this was dependent on the characteristics of both the urban, and the rural location. Friedlander had noted that urban locations attracted people from nearby rural districts at different rates, depending on the type of occupations available to the migrant. He found that towns and cities failed to attract high rates of rural migrants where the proportions of tertiary occupations were low.⁸⁸ This tallies with the diverse migration patterns for Brighton and Newcastle. With its predominance of metal and chemical industries, its shipbuilding and heavy industry, Newcastle was very much an industrial city. Brighton,

⁸⁸ D. Friedlander, 'Occupational Structure, Wages, and Migration in Late Nineteenth-Century England and Wales', *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol.40, No.2 (Jan 1992) p.299.

however, was far less involved in heavy industry, providing much work in tertiary occupations, such as transport, retail, hotels, and the leisure industry.⁸⁹

The investigation above also reveals that distance did not necessarily have a negative effect on migration to a major town or city. Migration to Newcastle, for instance, proved higher from the most distant of the three Northumberland areas within this study. Table 3.3 shows the migration figures to Newcastle for the three separate areas.

	Last known location up to 1881 (migrants from their village)	Last known location up to 1881 (all sons)	Lifetime migration	Lifetime migration (including all of Tyneside)
Ponteland area	7/40 (18%)	7/57 (12%)	22/65 (34%)	27/65 (42%)
Thropton area	9/73 (12%)	9/89 (10%)	20/96 (21%)	25/96 (26%)
Howick area	11/59 (19%)	11/83 (13%)	27/95 (28%)	35/95 (37%)

Table 3.3: The number of Ponteland, Thropton and Howick area sons found in Newcastle.

The figures reveal that a higher percentage of sons from the Howick area were found in Newcastle in 1881 than the Ponteland area sons, despite Howick being located 40 miles from the city. Looking at lifetime migration, the Howick area shows a lower percentage, but still competitive with the Ponteland rate. If one includes the whole of urban Tyneside as the destination, the Howick area sons have narrowed the gap once again. With 37 per cent migration compared to 42 per cent, Howick area sons were almost on a par with Ponteland, despite the villages lying at least 5 times more distant. Like the sons of Norfolk, those of remote Howick, Dunstan and Craster may have regarded their choices as either remaining within their local area, or escaping to a large urban location, regardless of the distance.

⁸⁹ For a good example of the definition of tertiary occupations, see E. A. Wrigley, 'The PST system of classifying occupations', published by the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, available online at www.geog.cam.ac.uk.

Urban migration as a whole

Urban migration patterns clearly did not conform to set rules with regards to proximity. However, the following investigation will observe urban migration as a whole, and will note the movement to the towns and cities by each area, and attempt to establish reasons for significant variations. The initial investigation will look at the contrast between rural persisters and urban migrants, noting any significant patterns. Following this, the occupations and grades of the urban migrants will be analysed. Previous studies have indicated that those with higher occupations were more likely to migrate to urban areas. This analysis will test this theory, and seek to establish whether tradesmen were more likely to migrate to urban areas in order to take advantage of the mass markets within the towns and cities, or whether the agricultural workers as likely to leave their rural surroundings, laying down the plough and the scythe in return for working life in the commercial and industrial centres of the country.

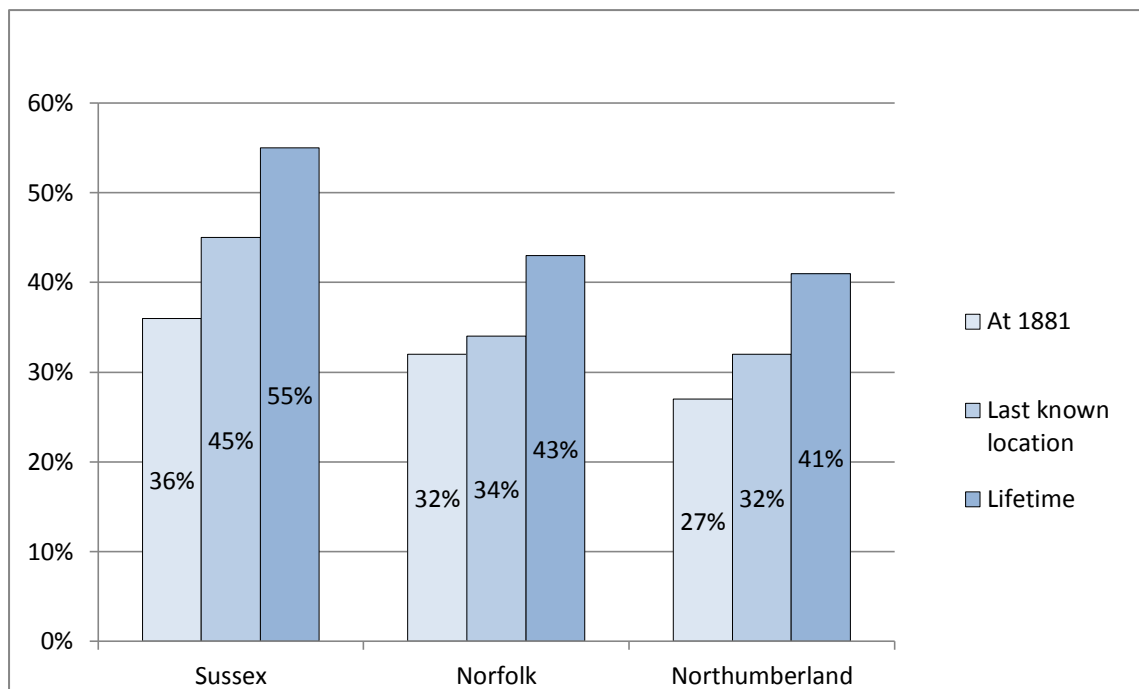


Figure 3.39: Statistics for urban migration by sons, showing a comparison between three separate methods of measurement.

Figure 3.39 shows the results at the county level for the sons of Sussex, Norfolk and Northumberland, using figures from three separate methods of investigation into urban

migration: those obtained when simply using the 1881 census, the figures using the last known census locations up to 1901, and those using additional sources (such as children's birthplaces) in order to determine an urban location at any time during a migrant's working life. The three sets of statistics show that simply by taking the location at 1881, a significant amount of urban migration is missed. Across all three counties, last known urban migration figures outweigh those simply found living in urban locations at the time of the 1881 census.⁹⁰ Additionally, including temporary migration to an urban area reveals even higher percentages. Simply taking the 1881 figure ignores those who may have spent many years in an urban environment.

Figures 3.40 to 3.42 show the breakdown for the sons of the areas within each county. Once again, significantly different patterns are observable between, and within, each county. In every instance, although in varying degrees, the highest rate of urban migration was from the village areas close to a town or a city, and the lowest rate of urban migration was from the remote village areas. However, care must be taken when analysing these statistics, as the high rate of urban migration for the Falmer sons, for example, does not necessarily equate to large numbers moving to Brighton. Likewise, as already observed, the high rate of urban migration from the Ponteland area did not

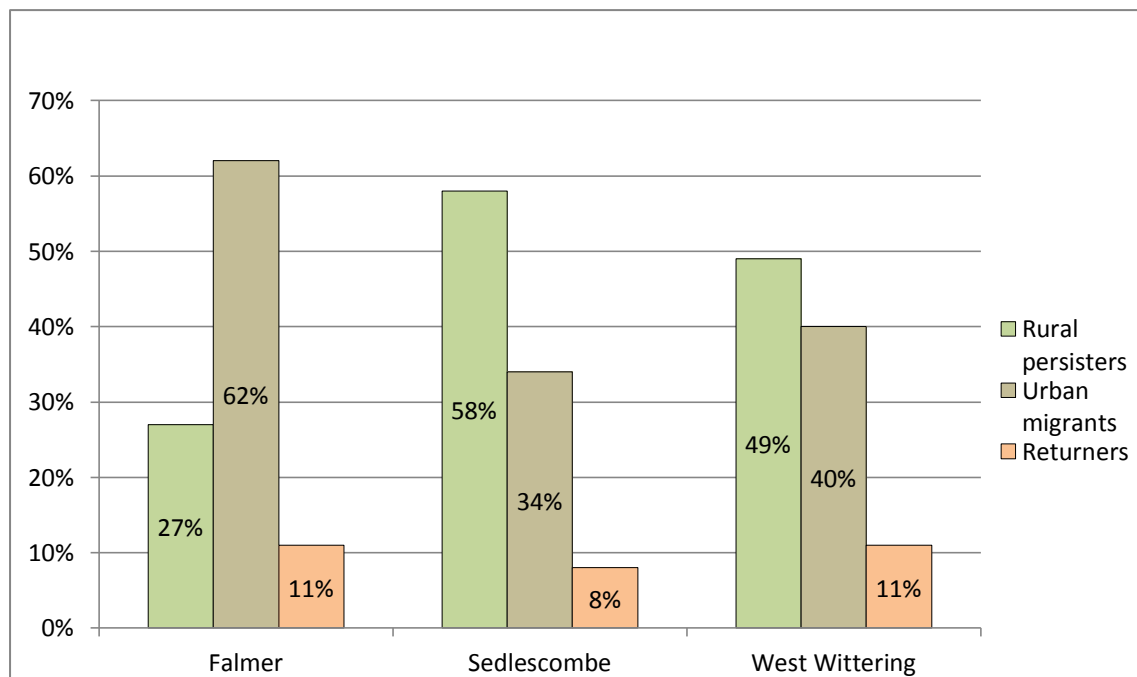


Figure 3.40: Rural persisters, urban migrants and returners (Sussex sons).

⁹⁰ For example, many sons and daughters who could not be traced on the 1881 census, could be found on the 1861 or 1871 census in an urban location.

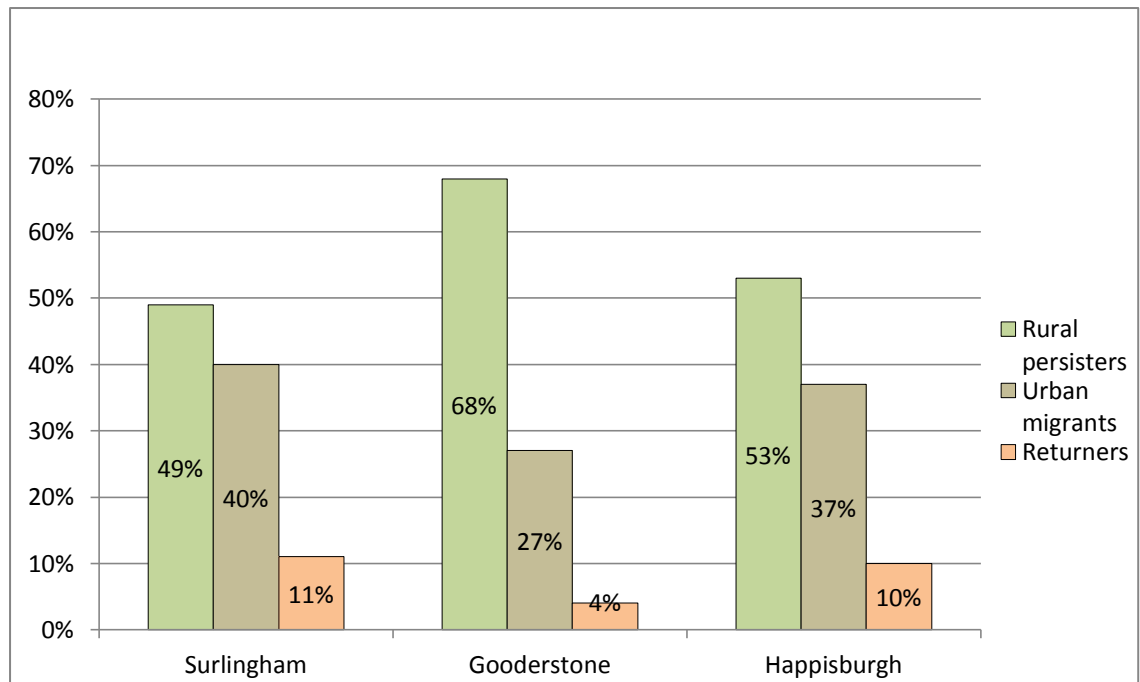


Figure 3.41: Rural persisters, urban migrants and returners (Norfolk sons).

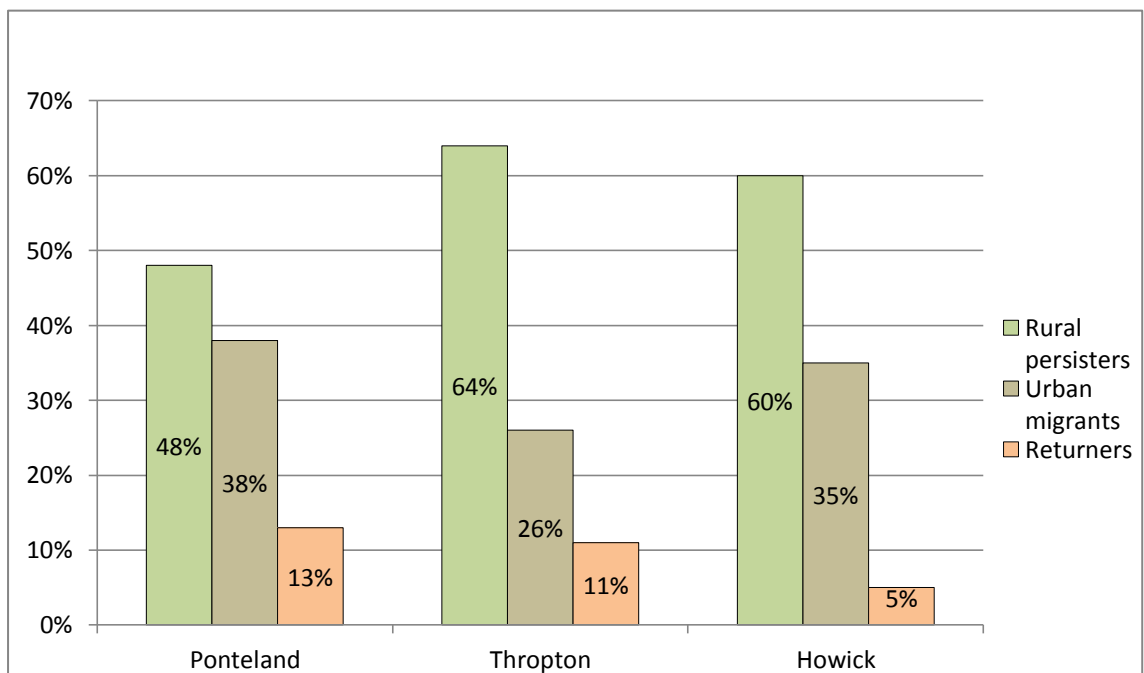


Figure 3.42: Rural persisters, urban migrants and returners (Northumberland sons).

therefore mean sons were migrating to Newcastle. Nevertheless, the consistent patterns are worth noting.

The returner figures are largely static across all nine areas. However, the lowest rate was from the Gooderstone area, where just 4 of the 92 sons were found to have migrated to a town or city and then returned. Josiah Lambert had moved briefly to Bermondsey, London, with his wife and children, where he worked as a warehouseman. However, within a few years he was back in rural Norfolk, widowed, and working as a game keeper. The census returns for Henry Butters show him in rural Yorkshire in 1861, and in rural Sussex from 1871. However, his marriage certificate reveals that in 1867 his place of residence was 40 Irwin Street, Cripplegate, London. Although being noted as living in rural Norfolk on every census return, the 1871 census noted William Johnson as a 'visitor' in West Dereham, and his occupation as 'steelworker unemployed (ill)'. There were certainly no steelworks in rural Norfolk, and thus William most likely spent some time in the industrial north or the Midlands. Lastly, Alfred Hudson spent time in Birmingham, before returning to rural Norfolk in the 1870s. Norfolk's remote location has already been discussed, with very few sons being attracted to the few urban areas of Norfolk. Gooderstone and Oxborough were exceptionally remote, and it would appear that, despite a few exceptions, once a move had been made to an urban location, a return was not a common occurrence. The Howick area sons had showed a similar pattern of migration behaviour where there was a great deal of long-distance urban migration. With just 4 of its 70 sons marked as returners, there was again a very low rural return rate.

For the following investigation into the locations of the urban migrants, the last known urban location has been noted for each urban migrant or returner;⁹¹ returners being classed as urban migrants. Within the Sussex sons, it has been seen that Brighton proved a significant pull for Falmer area migrants, and that Norwich and Newcastle did not have the same effect on their nearby rural villagers. Urban migration from the Falmer area was by far the highest across all the areas within the three counties. 25 of the 53 urban migrants from this area (47 per cent) migrated to Brighton, with just 8 (15 per cent) moving to London. 5 sons did move to the market town of Lewes, just 4 miles away, but it was clearly the attraction of Brighton which caused the high urban

⁹¹ As many sons moved to various urban locations throughout their lifetime, it would be too complex (for this particular analysis) to note multi-urban locations for these individuals. Therefore the last known urban location only has been used in order to allocate a single town or city to each individual.

migration rate from the Falmer area. Over 60 per cent of the urban migrants from the Sedlescombe area (20 out of 33) migrated to nearby Hastings, with just two sons, Edward Barber and Robert Turner, leaving for London. From the West Wittering area 9 out of the 42 (21 per cent) migrated to Chichester. However, 12 (29 per cent) left for the more distant Portsea, which clearly provided more employment, as 9 of these 12 sons were engaged directly with work on the docks or on the sea. It is notable that the remaining 21 urban migrant sons were spread across 9 counties.

The most prolific urban migrant sons from Norfolk were from the Surlingham area. As with the Falmer sons to Brighton, the Surlingham urban migrants were far more likely to move to Norwich than anywhere else. 20 out of the 43 (47 per cent) moved to this city, or to Thorpe-next-Norwich. 6 (14 per cent) could be found in London, with the rest spread over 9 separate counties. Once again the 'push' effect within Norfolk can be observed, with no particular common destination to aim for, but a need it seems to leave the county. Despite a fair percentage of sons migrating long-distance from the Gooderstone area, these villages provided the lowest rate of urban migrants across the three counties, at just 32 per cent (29 out of 92). Of these 29 sons, just 2 remained in Norfolk; Stephen Hemson in Norwich, and Edward Mears in King's Lynn. 14 sons (48 per cent), far more than any from the other areas, moved to London. The capital was not the only other magnet for Gooderstone sons, and 5 left for Birmingham, and another 5 to Durham County. It seems those who sought an urban lifestyle were willing to travel long distances to achieve their aim. Likewise from the Happisburgh area, just 9 out of 33 (27 per cent) remained in Norfolk, with 7 (21 per cent) moving down to London, and 13 (39 per cent) heading north to Yorkshire, Durham and Lancashire, despite Norwich laying just 20 miles away. Across all three areas of Norfolk, more urban migrant sons moved to Yorkshire, Durham, Warwickshire, Cheshire and Lancashire than moved to either London or Norwich.

The sons of Northumberland were the least prolific of the urban migrants. The highest rate was from the Ponteland area. Newcastle provided a pull, but only to a certain extent. Just 9 out of 27 urban migrant sons from the Ponteland area (33 per cent) could be found in Newcastle. Others could be found in places such as Morpeth and Seaton Burn, with the county of Durham attracting all bar 2 of the 13 urban migrants who left Northumberland. It has already been observed that Howick area sons were frequent long-distance migrants, and Newcastle provided a suitable destination for many. Just 2 of the Thropton area urban migrants went outside Northumberland or

Durham, with John Evans and James Clark both migrating to London. 5 of those from the Howick area left the county; 2 to London and one each to Yorkshire, Cumberland and Cheshire.

As with distances of migration, each area within the three counties showed individual patterns of behaviour with regards to urban migration. Nevertheless, certain regular patterns can be observed. Within each county, the highest rate of urban migration was consistently from the villages lying close to a town or city. And regardless of how popular a destination that town or city was with the sons as a whole, it was nevertheless the most popular urban destination by far. Brighton, Norwich and Newcastle were then main attractions for the urban migrants of Falmer, Surlingham and Ponteland areas respectively. The coastal villages tended to exhibit urban migration across many counties. West Wittering area sons covered 9 counties, Happisburgh also 9, and although Howick area sons migrated to just 6 counties, Ponteland and Thropton area sons migrated to just 4 and 3 different counties respectively. All areas had sons who migrated over 100 miles to an urban area, but it was those from the coastal villages which spread the furthest. This implies that working, or life in general, on the coast encouraged long-distance urban migration.

Certain urban destinations proved great attractions for specific villages. For example, across all three counties, just 8 sons could be found in Birmingham at any time. However, 5 were from Norfolk, with 4 of these from Gooderstone and Oxborough. William Rushbrook of Gooderstone left work as an agricultural labourer in the village, and moved to Birmingham where he became a metal worker. Arthur Lambert was working as an agricultural labourer in Oxborough before down his tools and moving to Birmingham to work as a bootmaker. His younger brother Edward soon went to join him. Alfred Hudson moved to Cambridgeshire as draper, but spent some time during the 1870s in Birmingham. William Rushbrook grew up in the house next door to the Lamberts. A fruitful first move to Birmingham from either William or his neighbour Arthur may have been the reason for the other two sons to follow. This is a classic example of the ‘friends and relatives’ effect, and can only be observed by looking at migration patterns at the parish level.

Another good example of this effect also involves sons from Norfolk. Only 3 sons across the three counties migrated to Scarborough, and all three were from the village of Bacton. Fisherman, Charles Cole, was the first to move there in the 1850s, where he ran the *Victoria Inn*. James Woodhouse, who had initially moved to the nearby village of

Snainton, then joined Charles in Scarborough, working as a labourer. Finally, fellow Bacton fisherman, Robert Banyer, then moved to Scarborough where he continued to work as a fisherman right into the twentieth century. These three men all grew up in the same small Norfolk village, but were all living 170 miles away in the town of Scarborough by 1871. It cannot of course be suggested that every move by sons or daughters to an identical destination was a result of the 'friends and relatives' effect. Moves to Jarrow by Ponteland area sons, for example, or moves to London by Sussex or Norfolk sons, would have been unsurprising choices of destination, and many similar choices of location would have been purely coincidental. Nevertheless, by looking into the lives of certain individuals, the 'friends and relatives' effect becomes more reasonable an assumption. John Carter and Alfred Reed grew up together in Falmer village, just a few doors apart. In 1861 they were both working as agricultural labourers in the village. John moved to Brighton to work as a railway porter, and Alfred moved to Islington where he joined the police force. By 1881 John was in Camberwell and Alfred in Tottenham. However, in 1891 they were both living in Bermondsey, just two streets away from each other, in Rolls Road and Lynton Road. This may well have been a coincidence, but it is also very possible that they had kept in touch.

William Ogle and John Saville had seen the decline of craftsmen as being linked to the attractions of the town. This was an observation also made by Gwyneth Nair and David Poyner, who concluded that for the tradesmen of their Shropshire villages, 'urban areas were full of promise', and that agricultural labourers 'were reluctant to move.'⁹² In order to determine what type of occupation holders migrated to urban areas, the last known occupation and class were noted prior to an individual being found in an urban location. This last known rural location was taken from various sources, including the location on the census returns, a child of the individual born in an urban area, or from a marriage, burial or will noting an urban location. These figures were compared with the occupation and class of all the rural persisters as at the 1861 census, which are used to represent the type of occupation and class held by an individual who remained rural. Table 3.4 reveals the results of this investigation.

⁹² G. Nair & D. Poyner, 'The Flight from the Land? Rural Migration in South-East Shropshire in the Late Nineteenth Century', *Rural History*, (2006) Vol.17, No.2. p.184.

	<u>OCCUPATION</u>	<u>OCCUPATIONS OF RURAL PERSISTERS IN 1861</u>	<u>LAST KNOWN RURAL OCCUPATION OF URBAN MIGRANTS</u>	<u>+/-</u>
SUSSEX	Ag workers	63%	59% (61/104)	-4
	Tradesmen	17%	18% (19/104)	+1
NORFOLK	Ag workers	68%	69% (59/86)	+1
	Tradesmen	19%	14% (12/86)	-5
NORTH'LAND	Ag workers	37%	48% (33/69)	+11
	Tradesmen	27%	25% (17/69)	-2
TOTAL	Ag workers	56%	59% (153/259)	+3
	Tradesmen	21%	19% (48/259)	-2

Table 3.4: Comparison of the percentage of those agricultural workers and tradesmen who migrated to urban areas with those who remained rural.

The figures reveal that, overall, there appears to have been little difference between agricultural workers and tradesmen with regards to prevalence of urban migration. If anything, the results show that tradesmen were slightly less likely to migrate to urban areas than agricultural workers. However, looking at each individual county, significant variations from the overall average are found. In Sussex, there was a slight favouring of tradesmen over agricultural workers migrating to urban areas. The opposite was true of Norfolk, with agricultural workers more likely to migrate to urban areas, showing a significant difference between the percentage of tradesmen for rural persisters and urban migrants, at 19 per cent and 14 per cent respectively. However, Northumberland showed the greatest disparity between occupations of rural persisters and urban migrants. With just 37 per cent of its rural persisters working as agricultural workers, 48 per cent made up the urban migrants, with tradesmen slightly less likely to be urban migrants than rural persisters.

The results reveal an interesting set of patterns. It is immediately evident that the higher-waged agricultural workers of the north were certainly not dissuaded from leaving their rural lives for the towns and cities. The agricultural workers from

Northumberland were by far the most likely to become urban migrants than any of the other agricultural workers or tradesmen across the three counties. It would therefore appear that the rural labourers of Northumberland did not regard their higher wages as a reason to resist searching for life in the towns and cities. This reflects the findings by P. A. Graham, who had noted that the high waged agricultural workers of the north migrated at the same intensity of those in the low-waged south.

Jason Long had looked at the occupations and classes of sons who migrated to urban areas, noting that ‘the migrants were not those at the bottom of the economic and social ladder...’⁹³ Table 3.5 reveals that, across the three counties, the higher class occupation holders were indeed more likely to migrate to urban areas than those with lower class occupations. This also tallies with previous studies.

	<u>CLASS</u>	<u>OCCUPATIONAL CLASSES OF RURAL PERSISTERS IN 1861</u>	<u>LAST KNOWN RURAL CLASS OF URBAN MIGRANTS</u>	<u>+/-</u>
SUSSEX	I-III	17%	28% (29/104)	+11
	IV-V	83%	72% (75/104)	-11
NORFOLK	I-III	22%	20% (17/86)	-2
	IV-V	78%	80% (69/86)	+2
NORTH'LAND	I-III	36%	43% (30/69)	+7
	IV-V	64%	57% (39/69)	-7
TOTAL	I-III	25%	29% (76/259)	+4
	IV-V	75%	71% (183/259)	-4

Table 3.5: Comparison of the percentage of those in Classes I-III and Classes IV-V occupations who migrated to urban areas with those who remained rural.

However, again, by looking at each county individually, different patterns emerge. Sussex had by far the largest disparity between higher and lower class occupations. Just

⁹³ J. Long, ‘Rural-Urban Migration and Socioeconomic Mobility in Victorian Britain’, *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol.65, No.1, (March 2005) p.23.

17 per cent of the rural persisters had higher class occupations, compared to 28 per cent of the urban migrants. Northumberland showed a similar trend, with higher class rural persisters at 36 per cent, compared with 43 per cent urban migrants. The figures for the Norfolk sons, however, show a higher number of *lower* class occupation holders migrating to urban areas than those who remained rural. With 78 per cent of rural persisters holding a lower class occupation, 80 per cent of the urban migrants from this county had lower class occupations. The 'push' effect from Norfolk yet again appears to be in evidence, with men of all grades of occupation opting for an urban location. It has been seen that few sons migrated to Norwich, and therefore the great majority of these migrants would have been found outside Norfolk. A lower class occupation did little to hinder urban migration from this county. These results show that the class of urban migrant could differ between certain parts of the country, and again, broad overall trends can mask geographic variations.

Overall, a significantly diverse set of results have been observed across the three counties with regards to distance migration. Similar types of geographical areas did not all conform to similar patterns of migration. It has been found that proximity to a large centre of commerce and industry did not necessarily result in prolific short-distance migration to that town or city. Those of Falmer and Stanmer flocked into nearby Brighton, whereas the Ponteland and Dinnington sons were far more inclined to spread themselves across all parts of Northumberland, rather than head for Newcastle, just a few miles away. Norwich too seemed to provide little attraction to villagers close-by. The sons of the remote area of the remote Gooderstone area proved to be prolific long-distance migrants, with a great number heading for London, whereas their counterparts from the Sedlescombe and Thropton areas were far less likely to migrate over 30 miles. And whereas the Sussex coastal sons of the West Wittering area were drawn to other coastal locations, especially Portsea, the coastal sons of Norfolk and Northumberland were significantly drawn to Yorkshire and Newcastle respectively.

The Happisburgh area sons' attraction to Yorkshire has indicated strong evidence of the 'friends and relatives' effect, as has the great attraction to London for the Gooderstone area sons. It is also clear that a lack of a railway network did not hinder longer-distance migration. 67 per cent of the migrant sons in the remote Thropton area, and 65 per cent from the equally remote Gooderstone area had migrated over 5 miles from their village by 1881, despite the lack of a nearby railway network.

These observations were simply not possible by observing each county as a whole. And when large collections of data from individuals are combined to treat rural society as one homogenous group, the findings and conclusions result in a misrepresentation of the diverse, and often erratic nature of migration habits. Therefore, when looking at Ravenstein's 'rules of migration', it is important to acknowledge these are only broad generalisations, and that from area to area these rules could often be broken.

Chapter 3d

The Migrant Daughters

Analysis of the daughters should be treated slightly differently. By simply taking all the daughters in the dataset and looking at their last known location up to 1881, naturally includes a great percentage of married women. In an age when the husband's wage was almost exclusively the most significant source of the household income, migration by a married couple would have been highly dependent on the wants and needs of the head of the household, or at least the family as a whole. Therefore, the only way to ascertain the true migratory habits of the individual daughters themselves, is to isolate those who migrated as unmarried women.

For this analysis, as with the sons, the last known census location up to 1881 was noted. Of the 898 Sussex, Norfolk and Northumberland daughters in this study, 514 had a location noted *and* were still unmarried on at least one of the census returns for 1861, 1871 or 1881. If the last known location showed a daughter still living with their parents, or with a close relative in the immediate vicinity of their childhood village, previous census returns were noted to establish whether they had previously been living

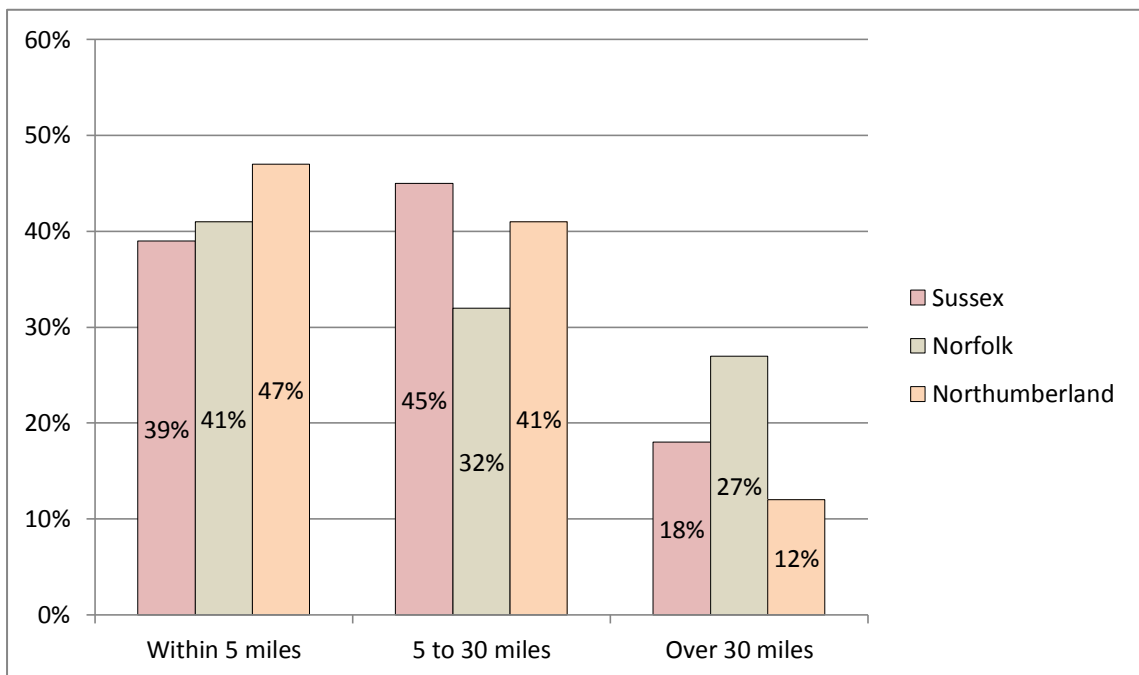


Figure 3.43: Distance travelled by daughters who left home, unmarried, by 1881. (Sussex, Norfolk and Northumberland).

away from home. A total of 290 daughters were found on at least one of these census returns, living away from their parents, or away from immediate family members in the same area.⁹⁴ This meant that each location signified where a daughter had migrated to, without their family, as an unmarried female. Figure 3.43 shows the results of distance migration for each of the three counties.

These figures show a fairly even spread of short and middle-distance female migrants across the three counties. The two clear stand-outs are the high rate of long-distance migration by Norfolk daughters at 27 per cent (31 out of 115), and the low rate by Northumberland daughters at 12 per cent (8 out of 66). The former mirrors the migration habits of the sons, who also migrated long-distance in large numbers. Nevertheless, breaking these down once again to the area level will provide a clearer understanding of the migratory habits of the unmarried female. Figures 3.44 to 3.46 show the results of this breakdown, displaying clear variations within each county.

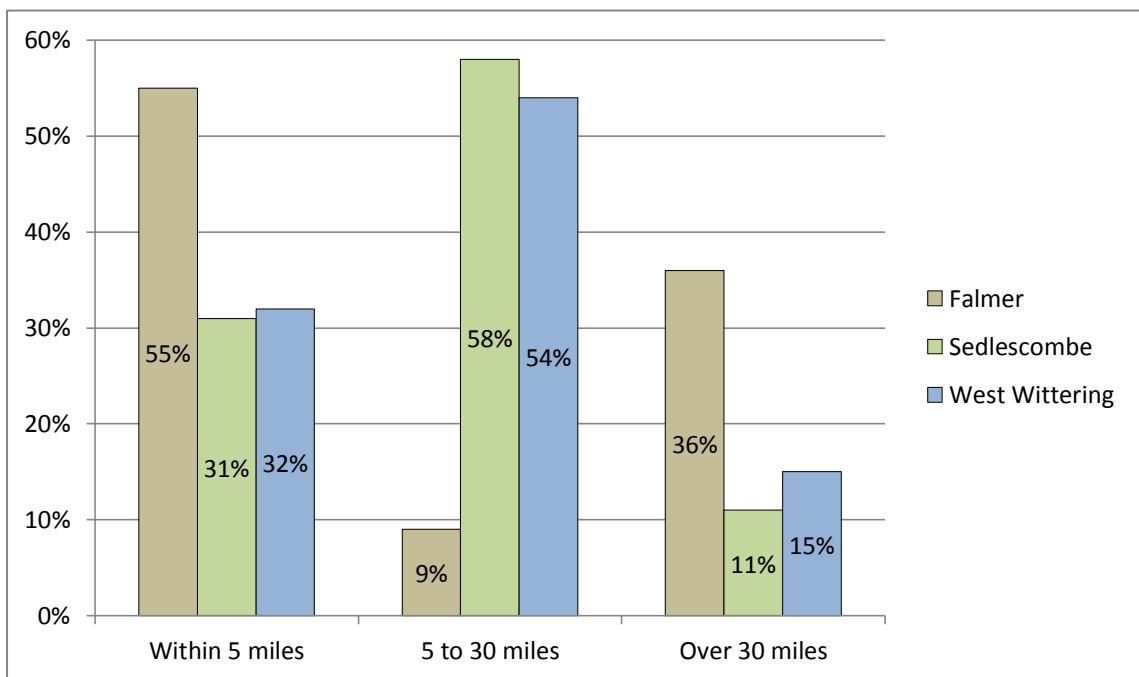


Figure 3.44: Distance travelled by daughters who left home, unmarried, by 1881. (Sussex areas).

⁹⁴ For this particular piece of analysis, unmarried daughters who had moved out of the family home, but were still resident in their childhood village, have been classed as short-distance migrants, as they had clearly left the parental home. And additionally, it is not always the case that the parents were still resident in the village themselves. This accounts for 35 out of the 290 daughters (12 per cent).

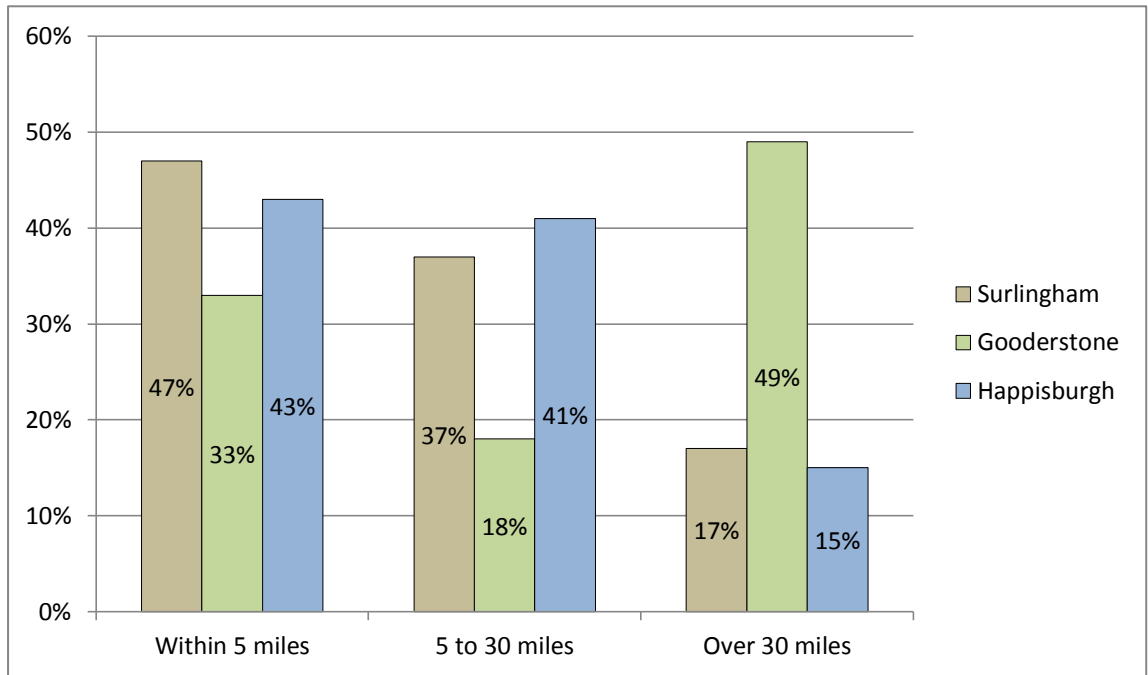


Figure 3.45: Distance travelled by daughters who left home, unmarried, by 1881. (Norfolk areas).

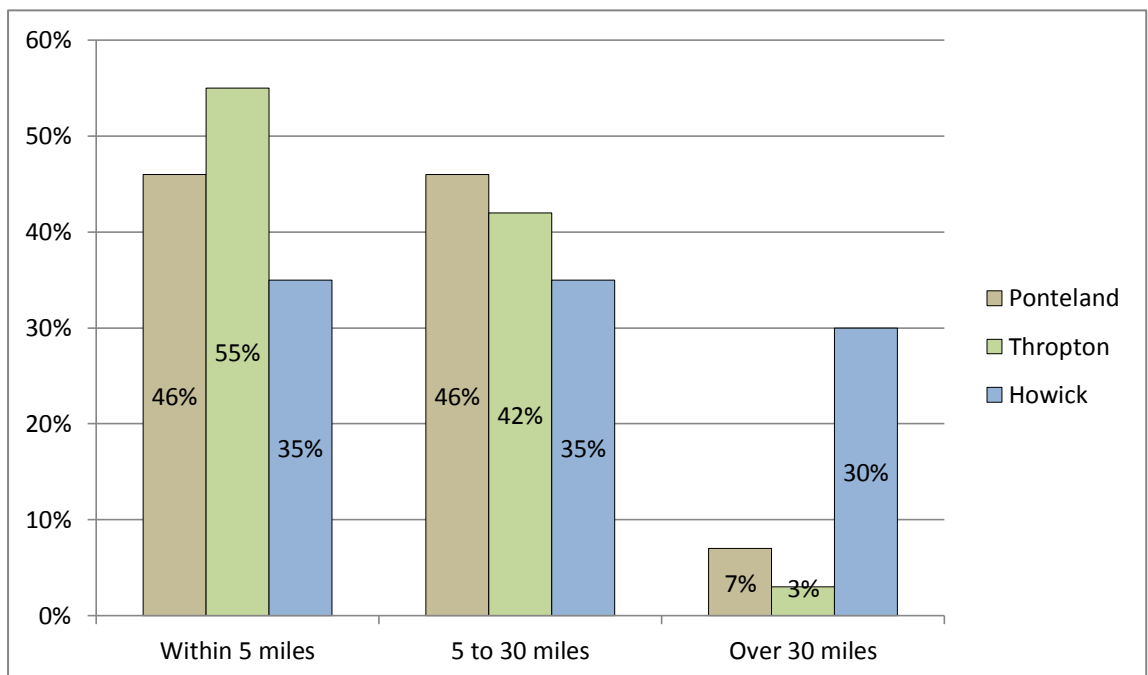


Figure 3.46: Distance travelled by daughters who left home, unmarried, by 1881. (Northumberland areas).

Sussex daughters

There is a clear difference between the daughters of the Falmer area and those of the Sedlescombe and West Wittering areas. The figures across the three areas were very similar to those of the sons, although the variations are exaggerated somewhat. The Falmer sons were the most predominant of the short-distance migrants, at 48 per cent, and the unmarried daughters of this area were also the far more likely to migrate short-distance, but to a much higher degree, at 55 per cent (12 out of 22). 9 out of these 12 short-distance migrant daughters had a last known location as Brighton, totalling 41 per cent of all unmarried daughters who left their family homes. As with the sons, the attraction of Brighton clearly exerted a major pull on the young females of Falmer and Stanmer.

The sons of the Sedlescombe area were more likely to show middle-distance migration, but did not seek out the bustling town of Hastings, instead being drawn to other rural villages in East Sussex and Kent. With the daughters, 19 out of the 25 middle-distance migrants left for Hastings, and almost half of all unmarried daughters who left their family home. Again, it would appear that, as with Brighton, the thriving town of Hastings proved a great pull for unmarried women. However, unlike Brighton, Hastings was more of an attraction for young women compared to young men.

Chichester attracted just two sons from West Itchenor, and only one from both West and East Wittering. However, 13 of the 36 daughters (36 per cent) unmarried daughters who migrated less than 30 miles could be found in Chichester. Once again, a close town or city was more of an attraction for daughters than sons. Many of the sons were found in Portsea, where work was to be found on the docks, or at sea. This was not a priority for the daughters, and Chichester was clearly the more suitable option, with not one daughter being found in Portsea.

The graphs reveal a significant difference between short and middle-distance migration rates across the three counties. This was predominantly due to the proximities of Brighton, Hastings and Chichester, with only Brighton lying within five miles of all the villages. This highlights the pull of these urban locations on the unmarried daughters.

Long-distance migration from the Sussex villages as a whole was limited, with just 19 of the 108 daughters (18 per cent) being found over 30 miles. It was noted that 39 per cent of the long-distance migrant sons left for London, with a further 28 per cent drawn to Middlesex or Surrey. Of the 8 daughters who migrated over 30 miles, 3

migrated to London, and another 2 to Surrey and Middlesex. However, 3 daughters made their way to Kent, all as house servants, with Fanny Heathfield migrating to Canterbury, Eliza Crowhurst to Hollingbourne, and Jane Finch to Cobham. The sons of Sedlescombe had shown little long-distance migration, with just 2 leaving for London. The unmarried daughters showed even less likelihood of migrating long-distance, and of those 5 who did, only one did not leave for London. Despite the railway which ran straight through Whatlington village to London, and the nearest station just three miles away at Battle, Jane French appears to have been the only daughter of Whatlington to have migrated to the capital, indicating that the close proximity of railway station did not result in large numbers leaving for London. West Wittering area sons tended to migrate far, but predominantly due to their connection with the Royal Navy. Consequently, very few unmarried daughters migrated long-distance from these coastal villages. Just 6 of the 41 daughters migrated over 30 miles, with 4 heading towards Brighton, and just one, Martha Palmer of East Wittering, making her way to London.

Norfolk daughters

As with the Sussex daughters, the proximity of a significant town or city was an attraction to many unmarried daughters. Norwich was the destination of 43 per cent (13 out of 30) of all the migrants from the Surlingham area. In contrast, Gooderstone area's unmarried daughters were far less likely to remain local, with little more than half remaining within 30 miles of their village. Several left their parental home, but worked in their own village as a domestic servant. As with the sons, there was no particular location the daughters were to be found, and even the market town of Swaffham attracted only small numbers, with Margaret Clarke and Elizabeth Cobbin, both of Gooderstone, being the only migrants there by 1881. The sons of the Happisburgh area were far more likely to migrate long-distance than short, yet the opposite was true for the unmarried daughters of this area. 85 per cent (39 out of 46) remained within 30 miles of their village, compared to just 55 per cent of the sons, perhaps highlighting the effect coastal life had on the young men rather than the women. The 20 who remained within 5 miles of their village were spread over 11 separate villages, and 7 out of the 19 middle-distance migrants (37 per cent) were drawn to Norwich.

Unlike the sons, where long-distance migration was the most prominent across all three areas, only the unmarried daughters of the Gooderstone area were high long-distance migrators. In fact, at 49 per cent, were not only far higher than any other area

across all three counties, but this area was the only one where long-distance migration was the most prolific distance. It was noted that London was the pull for the Gooderstone area sons, along with Durham, Yorkshire and Warwickshire. 6 of the 19 long-distance migrant daughters (32 per cent) left for London. However, unlike the non-London migrant sons, virtually none of the daughters migrated north. Just 4 of the daughters migrated north of Norfolk, and only 2 of those were to be found north of Leicestershire, with Eliza Reeve of Oxborough found in Great Boughton in Cheshire, working as a nursemaid, and Mary Tuddenham of Gooderstone in Liverpool, Lancashire, also in service. All the other long-distance migrant daughters were in Essex, Middlesex, Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Kent, Hampshire, and Norfolk. Both the sons and daughters of the Gooderstone area were clearly migrating in large numbers. However, the pull was different for the two sexes, with the industrial north the attraction for the sons, and the south the attraction for the daughters. Nevertheless, with the 19 daughters spread over 10 different counties, as found with the sons, it seemed escape from Norfolk was the primary aim. And again, the remoteness, and the lack of access to nearby railway station clearly did not hinder long-distance migration.

The 5 long-distance migrants of the Surlingham area were spread over 4 separate counties, these being London, Essex, Durham and Sussex. However, of the 7 Happisburgh area daughters who migrated over 30 miles, 5 moved to London, with the remaining 2 found in Surrey and Wales. Again, these show that unmarried daughters seemed very reluctant to move north.

Northumberland daughters

The most noticeable difference between the migrant sons and unmarried daughters of this county is that the daughters appear to have been far more likely to remain within five miles of their childhood village. There were very few Ponteland area daughters within the dataset who were recorded away from their parental home and unmarried. Of these 13, 4 remained in their childhood village, and 2 others were short-distance migrants. However, there were many more Thropton daughters recorded unmarried away from the parental home. 33 were found, with 18 (55 per cent) remaining within five miles of their village, and just one of them, Margaret Howey of Newton, remaining within their childhood village. As noted with the sons, the Thropton area consisted of many small villages and hamlets, and migration within these rural locations was rife. 4 daughters moved the short distance to the small town of Rothbury, and 10 of the

remaining 14 remained within the Thropton areas villages in this study. Twice as many Howick area daughters than sons remained within five miles, but as with the Ponteland area daughters, there were few in the dataset, and 3 of the 7 short-distance migrants stayed within their own village.

Middle-distance migration was fairly even across the three areas. Ponteland area sons had shown a great tendency to migrate between 5 and 30 miles of their village, although far less movement towards Newcastle than might have been expected. In fact, not one of the daughters of the Ponteland area were found in Newcastle unmarried. Unlike the daughters of the Falmer and Surlingham areas in Sussex and Norfolk respectively, those of the Ponteland area appear to have had been far less likely to move to their nearest significant town or city. Like the sons, the unmarried daughters of the Thropton area were more likely to be drawn to Newcastle, albeit only 3 of them. Grace Selby, Elizabeth Wintrip and Jane Logan, were all to be found in Newcastle by 1881, despite the greater distance to travel, and the lack of a railway network close-by. All bar 2 of the remaining 11 middle-distance migrants were to found scattered across rural Northumberland.

Newcastle was over 30 miles away from the Howick area, yet 3 of the 20 unmarried daughters were to be found in this city, again more than those of nearby Ponteland. In addition to the 3 Newcastle migrants, Isabella Grieves moved to Sunderland, Isabella Darling to Durham City, and Jane Scott to Barnard Castle, Durham. Howick area might only have shown just 6 daughters migrating long-distance migration, but migration over 30 miles was virtually non-existent from the Ponteland and Thropton areas. Mary Wardle of Dinnington moved to Swillington, Yorkshire, to work as a housemaid, and Ann Donkin of Flotterton left for Durham City, working as a nursemaid. These were the only daughters from these areas that showed evidence of long-distance migration. The numbers here may all be small, but this highlights the lack of migration by unmarried daughters from certain areas.

As with the sons, the patterns of distance migration varied greatly between counties, and between villages for the unmarried daughters. Perhaps one of the most noticeable differences between the sons and the unmarried daughters is the effects of life and employment on the coast. Sons from the coastal areas of all three counties could be found living along the coast. The sons of the West Wittering area were found in Portsea, living along the coast, or away at sea, whereas the daughters were more likely to be

found in Chichester. The difference is also notable in the Happisburgh area of coastal Norfolk, where long-distance migration was prolific amongst the sons, but very low amongst the unmarried daughters.

The daughters of the Gooderstone area were prolific long-distance migrants. However, whereas many of the sons migrated to the north, almost all the unmarried daughters scattered themselves across the south of the country, much of the locations rural. There was clearly a divide between the sons moving to the more industrial north, and the daughters remaining in the more commercial south.

The presence or absence of a nearby railway seemed to make little difference to the longer distance migration rates. Neither did the remoteness of a location. There was very little migration from the Sedlescombe area to London, despite being located next to the direct line to the capital. Yet many of those of the remote Gooderstone area were found not only in London, but scattered across the country. Likewise, daughters from the Thropton and Howick areas could be found in Newcastle. Yet, not one from the Ponteland area could be located there. If young women needed to travel long distance they would find a way.

Perhaps the most notable difference between the sons and the unmarried daughters was the pull to the nearest town or city. The daughters of the Falmer and Surlingham areas appear to have been pulled in greater numbers than the sons to Brighton and Norwich respectively. However, the city of Newcastle appeared to hold little if any attraction to the nearby unmarried daughters, with most settling for a rural location.

As with the sons, investigations will be made into the attractions of Brighton, Norwich and Newcastle for the unmarried daughters. Table 3.6 shows the results for the unmarried daughters. As with the sons, the sources are exploited to their full potential, with any trace of an unmarried daughter in these locations noted under 'lifetime migration'. Additionally, in order to correctly assess the pull of these urban locations, the figures also include those unmarried daughters who remained within the parental home.

These figures reveal that, across all three types of analysis, Brighton and Norwich were indeed popular locations with unmarried daughters, with Newcastle simply not an attraction. The major difference between the sons and the unmarried daughters is that Norwich proved as big a pull as Brighton, and that Newcastle simply did not attract the Ponteland area daughters. Just one daughter from that area can be noted as moving to

Newcastle unmarried. This was Margaret Jordan of Dinnington, who was working as a servant at Jesmond Grove House in 1861. She later moved to the small village of Humshaugh, near Hexham, and worked as a waiting maid.

	Last known location up to 1881 (migrants from their village)	Last known location up to 1881 (all unmarried daughters)	Lifetime migration
Brighton	9/22 (41%)	9/27 (33%)	10/27 (37%)
Norwich	14/30 (47%)	14/44 (32%)	15/44 (34%)
Newcastle	0/13 (0%)	0/26 (0%)	1/26 (4%)

Table 3.6: The number of Falmer, Surlingham and Ponteland area unmarried daughters who moved to Brighton, Norwich and Newcastle respectively.

As the census is of course decennial, the scope for missing daughters who migrated to Newcastle between census returns is fairly high. However, the fact remains that just one unmarried daughter was noted in Newcastle, yet 25 were noted in Brighton and Norwich combined, so the migration of Ponteland daughters to the city of Newcastle can be considered extremely small.

Newcastle was a highly industrial city, and as such may have seemed less appealing to the unmarried daughters than the more commercial cities of Brighton and Norwich. However, as can be seen from table 3.6, half of the unmarried Ponteland area daughters found on the census returns did not leave the parental home. Additionally, only 3 daughters could be found working in service. The high occupational classes in the Ponteland area have already been discussed, and this may have had an effect on the migration rates of the daughters. Of the 26 unmarried daughters of the Ponteland area, 22 (85 per cent) had a father with a Class III occupation or higher, with 15 holding a Class II occupation. A comparison with the Falmer and Surlingham area daughters, shows that just 6 out of 28 of the Falmer fathers (21 per cent) held a Class III occupation, with all the rest a Class IV, and 12 out of 44 of the Surlingham area fathers

(27 per cent) held a Class III occupation or higher. The high class occupations dominating the Ponteland area, and with just 3 daughters found working in service, it would appear that perhaps there was little need for the daughters to go into service, and therefore into the nearby urban locations.

Of the 3 daughters who were working in service, their fathers consisted of a gardener and a miller, and with Margaret Thompson's father deceased, she was being brought up by her widowed mother, who herself was working as a charwoman. 22 of the 28 unmarried daughters of the Falmer area (79 per cent), and 18 out of 44 of the unmarried daughters of the Surlingham area (41 per cent) were working in service. When this is compared to the 12 per cent from the Ponteland area, there appears to be a link between fathers' occupations and the rate of daughters going into service. The low rate of unmarried daughters found in Newcastle may therefore be partly due to the fact that the daughters were generally not required to seek employment in domestic service.

As with the sons, there was a great diversity in the patterns of migration by the unmarried daughters. However, these patterns did not necessarily conform to those of the sons. Growing up in a coastal village, for example, had a far greater effect on the sons' migratory habits than the daughters'. It has also been seen that the sons of Norfolk were often pulled towards the industrial northern counties, whereas the daughters were more likely to remain in the southern part of the country. However, perhaps most significant difference between the sons and unmarried daughters was the attraction to the nearest town or city. The sons had certainly shown a degree of variation with regards to this. However, for the daughters it would appear that the type of town or city in close proximity to the village could have a significant effect on their migration habits. Newcastle seems to have proved a far less popular location than either Brighton or Norwich for both sons and daughters. However, with its dominance of heavy industry, daughters particularly were very unlikely to be found migrating to this city at any time before a marriage. Conversely, Chichester held a great attraction for the daughters, yet not for the sons. This again highlights the necessity to treat each village as a separate community, each with a different range of influences on their migratory habits.

Urban migrant daughters

Finally in this chapter, overall urban migration by the unmarried daughters will be investigated. The county-level statistics indicated that sons and daughters were equally likely to migrate to an urban location. However, E. G. Ravenstein had concluded ‘that a migration of females has taken place into the towns in excess of that of males.’⁹⁵ This can be tested using this dataset.⁹⁶

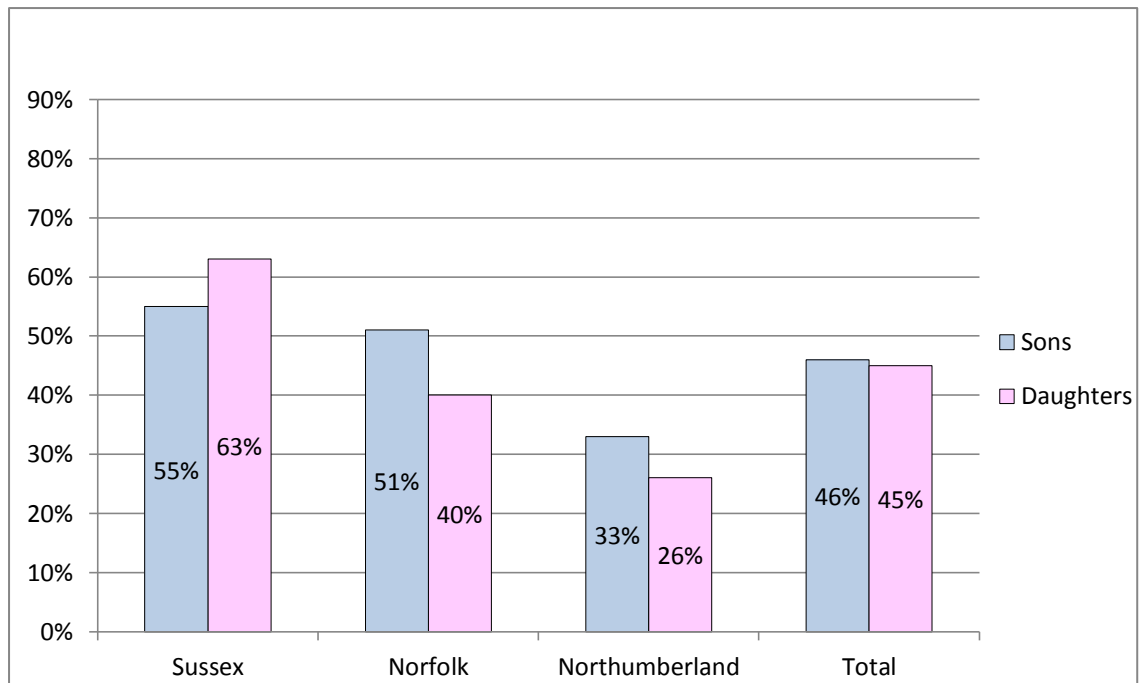


Figure 3.47: Urban migration by unmarried sons and daughters up to 1881 (migrants from the parental household only).

Widely different migration patterns have been found between the sons and unmarried daughters, especially concerning migration to nearby towns and cities. However, as only the unmarried daughters have been analysed, as a way of an accurate comparison it would seem sensible to impose the same restrictions on the sons in order

⁹⁵ E. G. Ravenstein, ‘The Laws of Migration’, *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, XLVIII (June 1885) p.197.

⁹⁶ Historians over the years have used many different figures to determine what constitutes an ‘urban’ location, and the figure of 2,000 used in this thesis may be significantly lower than in most previous investigations. However, the argument here is that locations with over 2,000 inhabitants are indeed ‘urban’. The great majority of the ‘urban’ locations were, however, well in excess of 2,000, and as the sons and daughters in this analysis are treated equally, the results should provide a fairly accurate comparison between the two.

to produce a more accurate comparison. Figure 3.47 shows the comparison between the urban migration rates of unmarried sons and daughters up to 1881. These figures were achieved by taking every son and daughter found unmarried and outside the parental home at any time by 1881, and noting how many were found in an urban location.

It is clear from these results that the unmarried sons and daughters were equally as likely to migrate to an urban location, with 104 of the 226 sons (46 per cent), and 131 of the 289 daughters (45 per cent). However, the unmarried daughters of Sussex were migrating into the towns and cities on a larger scale than the unmarried sons. It has been seen that these daughters were migrating at great rates into Brighton, Hastings and Chichester. Additionally, many Sussex sons were to be found 'at sea', and therefore were not in an urban location. Conversely, it has been noted that the Northumberland sons were far more likely to migrate to Newcastle and Tyneside, and this is perhaps reflected in the figures for Northumberland. Nevertheless, it is important to break these statistics down, and figures 3.48 to 3.50 show the results at the area level.

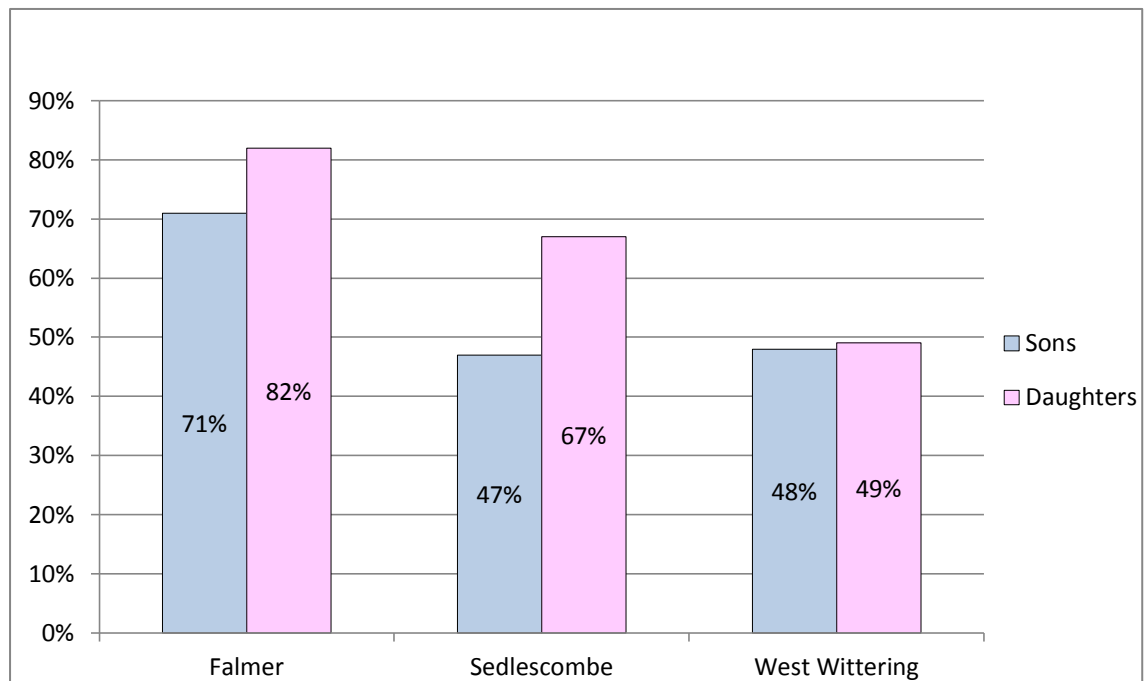


Figure 3.48: Urban migration by unmarried sons and daughters up to 1881 (migrants from the parental household only). (Sussex).

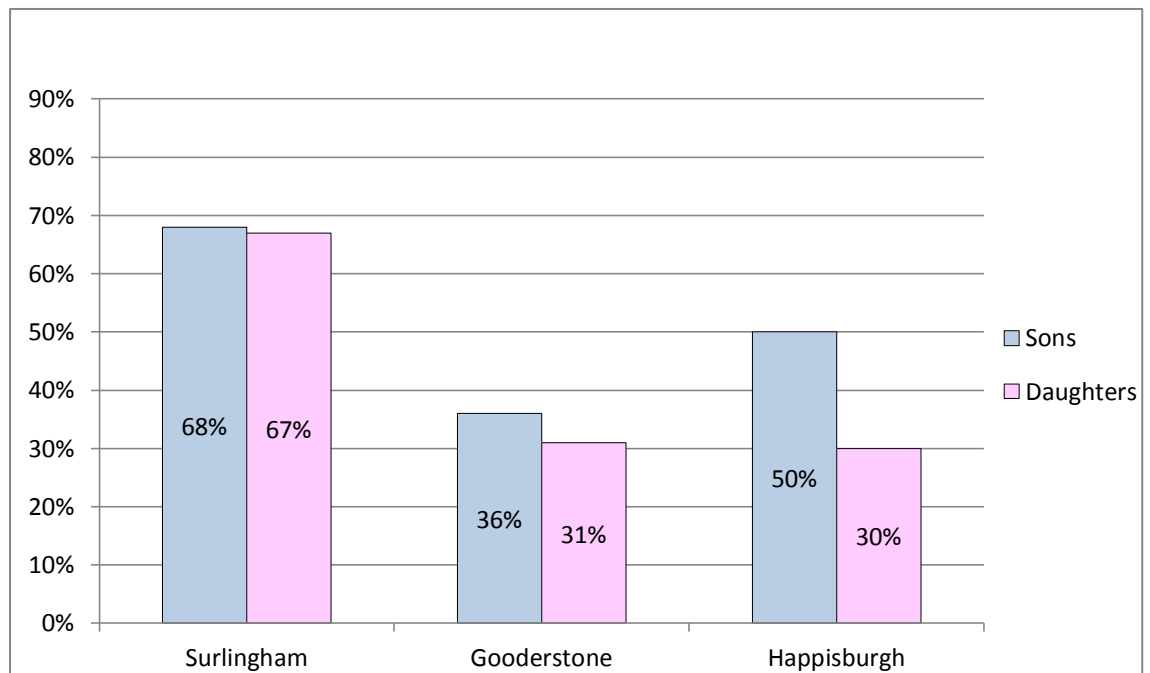


Figure 3.49: Urban migration by unmarried sons and daughters up to 1881 (migrants from the parental household only). (Norfolk).

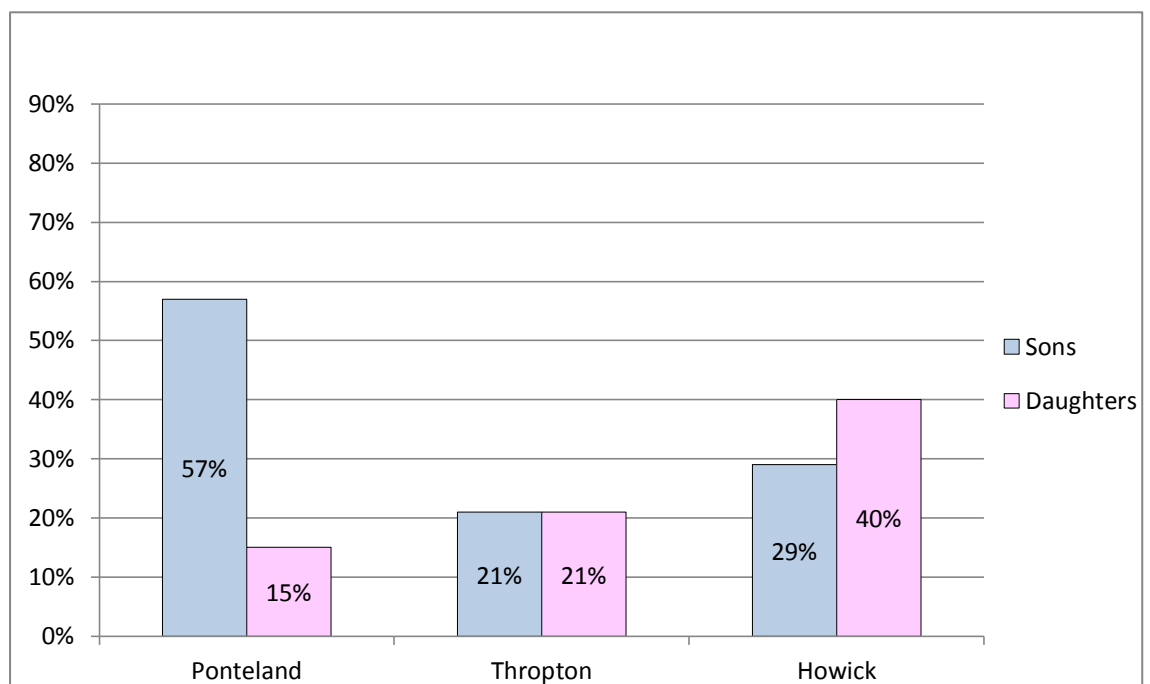


Figure 3.50: Urban migration by unmarried sons and daughters up to 1881 (migrants from the parental household only). (Northumberland).

These figures reveal that the Sussex daughters were consistently moving to urban locations at a greater rate than the sons. The daughters of Sedlescombe, for example, were significantly higher than the sons. A look at the locations found reveals that whereas 8 out of 32 unmarried sons were found in Hastings, 19 of the 45 unmarried daughters were found in that town, showing the pull of Hastings for the daughters, almost all of them working in domestic service.

The reverse trend was true of Norfolk, especially for the Happisburgh area, where the unmarried daughters were far more likely to seek out a rural location for work in service. Indeed, out of the 30 daughters engaged in domestic service, only 10 (33 per cent) were found in an urban location. Compared to their equivalents in coastal West Wittering area, for example, where 19 of the 40 (48 per cent) were working in an urban location. Additionally, 5 of the 32 Happisburgh area who remained rural were working as dairymaids, which also provided a rural occupation.

The higher rate of urban migration by the unmarried sons of Northumberland was predominantly due those of the Ponteland area. In comparison with just 2 out of the 13 daughters (15 per cent) found in an urban location, 12 of the 21 unmarried sons (57 per cent) were urban migrants, with Newcastle and Tyneside taking half of these young men. The Howick area rate shows a higher percentage than those of Ponteland and Thropton areas. However, this is solely due to the low rates of overall migration by the Northumberland daughters. 40 per cent of the daughters may have migrated to an urban area, but this equated to just 8 out of 20.

Although these figures show that, overall, unmarried sons were perhaps more likely to be urban migrants, this analysis only uses sons and daughters where evidence of a move from the parental household is found. However, if the figures include all unmarried sons and daughters, both migrants and non-migrants, the results reveal a very different pattern. Figure 3.51 shows the results of this second investigation.⁹⁷

Including the sons and daughters who were not found away from the parental household reduces the percentages significantly, as these are consequently counted as rural persisters. However, the most striking change is that the daughters now show far higher urban migration rates than the sons. This implies that far more sons were remaining in the parental household, and therefore remaining rural. Indeed if one

⁹⁷ These statistics comprised of 597 sons and 509 daughters.

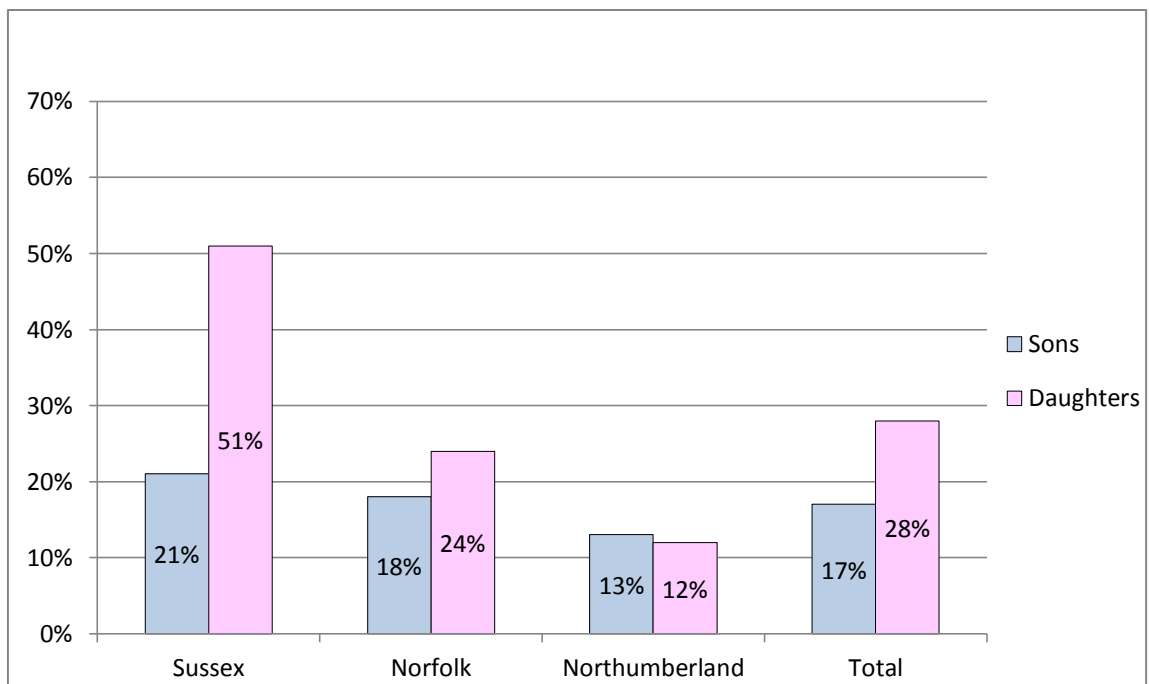


Figure 3.51: Urban migration by all unmarried sons and daughters up to 1881.

compares the raw figures, 597 unmarried sons were located on the census, with 226 (38 per cent) found outside the parental household. For the unmarried daughters, 509 were found on the census, with 289 (57 per cent) located away from the parental household. Therefore, if one includes all unmarried sons and daughters, it was the clearly the daughters who were the more likely to migrate to the towns and the cities, tallying with Ravenstein's theory.

Of the 509 unmarried daughters found on the census, 251 (49 per cent) were employed in domestic service. 110 (22 per cent) were found in an urban location, highlighting that domestic service was greatly responsible for the high rates of urban migration in unmarried daughters.

Conclusions

By taking investigations of migration down to the parish level, this chapter has revealed the significantly diverse patterns of migration which are simply missed at the county and regional level. The unusually high village staying rates of Craster, for example, could only be revealed by taking the research down to the parish level. Significant variations in migration habits have also been found, not only within individual counties,

but also between similar types of location. Coastal villages, for example, did not always conform to the same patterns of migration, and proximity to a large town or city did not always attract a high number of migrants. Much was dependant on both the characteristics of both the town, and the village of origin. This highlights the necessity of the placing each location in a social and geographical context, and applying a vital comparative element to migration studies, much stressed by Keith Wrightson, and Colin Pooley and Ian Whyte.

Additionally, the comparisons between the sons and unmarried daughters have also shown that young men and women were affected by different factors, and that their migration patterns were often greatly diverse. The wealth of evidence that can be gleaned from studies of female migration habits can enhance these studies, and is greatly lacking in the field of migration research.

By appreciating the diverse nature of individual communities, this study has also gone a long way to appreciating that the rural worker who remained within his rural village was not simply unintelligent or unambitious, but that a whole range of factors were influential on the decision to move from one's village. Intelligence and ambition would simply have been a very small factor in a range of far more significant factors involved in the decision to move.

This study is as much about the methodologies used as the results obtained. The analysis in this chapter has revealed the disadvantages of simply comparing the 1851 census with the 1881 census. By exploiting the information available on the intermediate census returns, as well as information found in other sources, a far larger and more fruitful dataset has been obtained, allowing a more accurate analysis of migration patterns over the late nineteenth century. Using individual level data has also provided a greater insight into habits of migration. By tracing individuals it has been possible, for example, to prove far more accurately evidence of the 'friends and relatives' effect, which at a county level, or even at a local level, can only be assumed. Additionally, the lives of the potential migrants are brought to life by using case studies and first-hand accounts, which succeed in revealing a far more human element to the reasons behind much of the migration.

Chapter 4

The Industrial North: the pull of the towns

The proximity of towns and cities has often been noted as having a great effect on migration habits. William Ogle, for instance, had stressed that ‘the varied life of towns had always acted as a powerful magnet upon those numerous persons to whom the comparative monotony of rural life is distasteful.’¹ Dov Friedlander too found that proximity of agricultural districts to highly urbanized towns and cities was one of several ‘significant variables, affecting district net migration rates positively.’² The broad analysis showed the sons and daughters within the Lancashire and Sheffield area datasets to be very reluctant long-distance migrants,³ and the idea was posed that an attraction to the great range of centres of commerce and industry within thirty miles negated the need for these young men and women to migrate any further. However, the figures indicated that the Sheffield area sons were no more likely to be urban migrants than those of Norfolk and Bedfordshire.

It was also suggested that the sons of the Sheffield area should have been pulled towards the highly industrial city of Sheffield, and the daughters of Lancashire to the great cotton centres across the county. It was therefore perhaps surprising to note that the broad statistics showed that the sons of the Sheffield area villages, and the daughters of the Lancashire villages, were no more migratory than those of the far more rural Sussex, Norfolk and Northumberland. Additionally, the daughters of the Sheffield area outweighed the sons with regards to urban migration, with the sons far outweighing their female counterparts in this regard in the Lancashire villages.

This chapter will investigate these findings in depth, and will seek to establish exactly the prevalence of migration from each village, the locations those sons and daughters who chose to migrate were attracted to, and the types of occupation each type of migrant was likely to hold. Dov Friedlander, for instance, found that in the second

¹ W. Ogle, ‘The Alleged Depopulation of the Rural Districts of England’, *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, Vol.52, No.2, (June 1889) p.205.

² D. Friedlander, ‘Occupational Structure, Wages, and Migration in Late Nineteenth-Century England and Wales’, *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol.40, No.2 (Jan 1992) p.305.

³ Two of the villages around Sheffield were situated in West Riding, Yorkshire, with the other two located across the border in Nottinghamshire. From here on these villages will be described as in ‘the Sheffield area’.

half of the nineteenth century the textile industry had little effect on either attracting migrants or dissuading out-migration. This chapter will also test this theory.

A final analysis will then be made using the Derbyshire village of Monyash, which lay equidistant from Manchester and Sheffield, and will establish whether the sons from this village pulled towards Sheffield, and the daughters towards Manchester, or whether the remote location of the village hindered migration.

Taking villages from around the industrial cities of the north provides an ideal contrast to those in the previous chapter. Sussex, Norfolk and Northumberland were predominantly rural counties, and as such had few centres of commerce and industry nearby. The sons and daughters of the Sussex villages had Brighton, Hastings and Chichester on their doorstep, and Norwich and Newcastle provided a chance of urban relocation for some of the Norfolk and Northumberland sons and daughters. However, the rural population of the industrial north – particularly Yorkshire, Lancashire and Nottinghamshire – were surrounded by thriving, and ever-expanding industrial towns and cities, from the great centres of cotton production, such as Manchester, Oldham, Blackburn and Whalley, to heavy industrial cities like Sheffield and Liverpool. Additionally, there were many smaller urban towns scattered across the region. The rural inhabitants of this area of the country would have had far more urban temptations than their counterparts in Sussex, Norfolk and Northumberland. Nevertheless, weekly agricultural earnings in Lancashire and West Yorkshire averaged 17s 9d and 17s 6s respectively in 1867-70,⁴ making them among the highest across all counties of England, at a time when the average was just 14s 6d.⁵ This could well have provided a strong influence against any decisions to move into the towns and cities.

Village descriptions

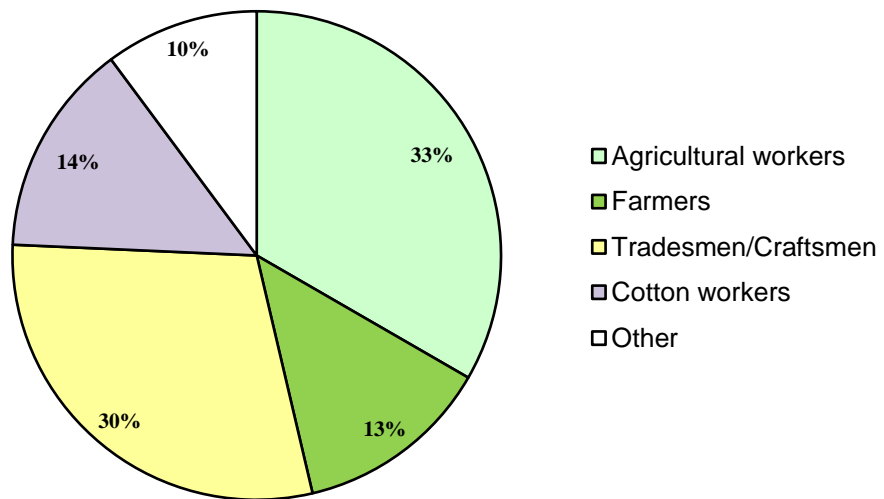
Lancashire: Waddington and West Bradford

These two villages are situated two miles west of the town of Clitheroe, and around twelve miles north of Blackburn and Burnley. Although now very much within the borders of modern-day Lancashire, in 1851 Waddington and West Bradford were located on the very edge of West Riding, Yorkshire, with neighbouring Clitheroe in

⁴ A. L. Bowley, *Wages in the United Kingdom in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1900) End table.

⁵ *Ibid.*

Waddington



West Bradford

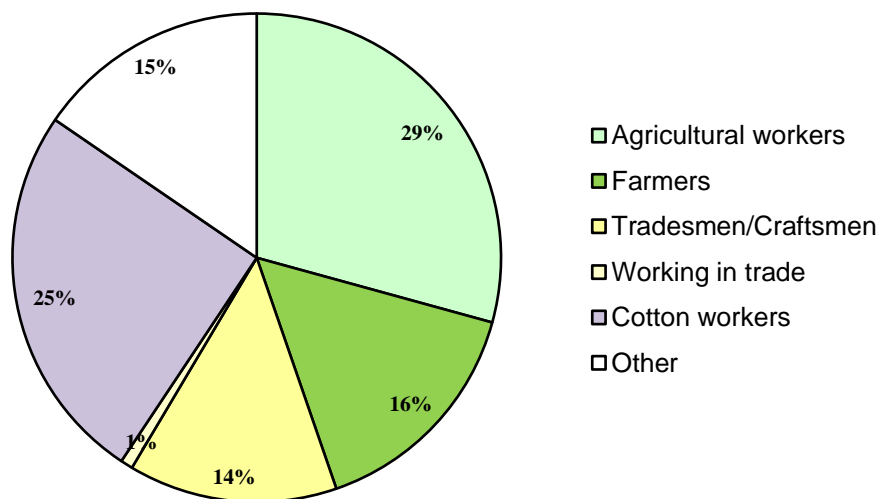
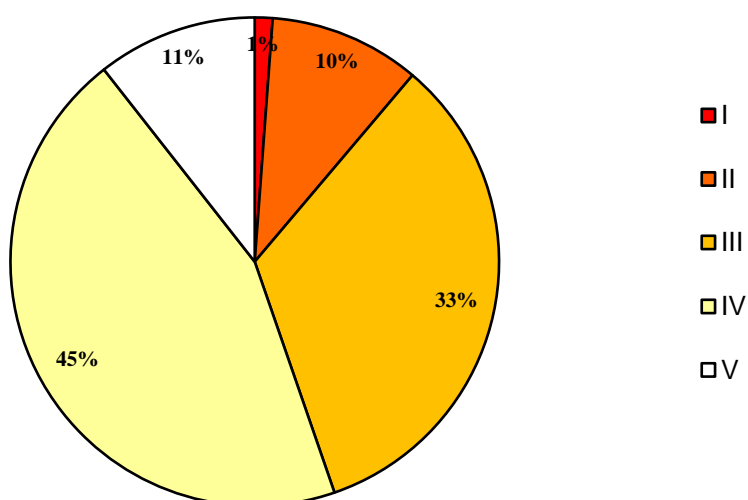


Figure 4.1: Distribution of occupation types for all male residents of Waddington and West Bradford at the time of the 1851 census.

Waddington



West Bradford

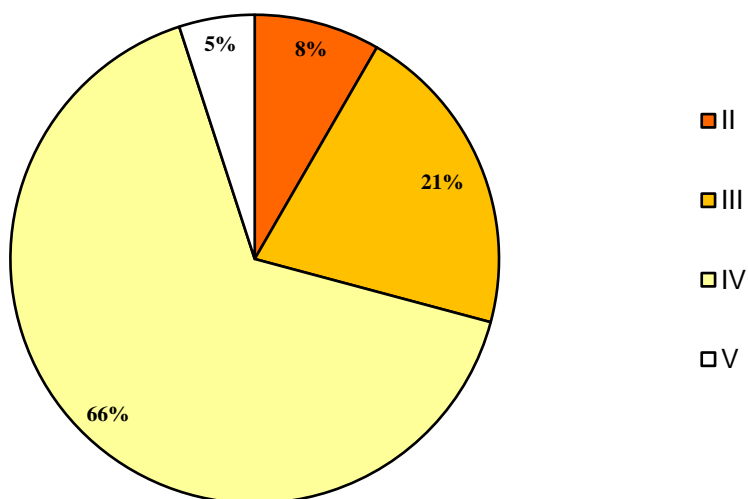


Figure 4.2: Distribution of occupational classes for working males in Waddington and West Bradford at the time of the 1851 census.

Lancashire.⁶ Waddington was the larger of the two villages in 1851, with a population of 580.⁷ Waddington had seen a decrease in its population since 1821, and this was largely due to the construction of a cotton mill at nearby Low Moor in 1824.⁸ By 1841, 65 people who had been born in Waddington were now living at Low Moor.⁹ With the depletion of the cotton workers, there was less demand for other occupations, such as grocers and clog makers. The census notes for 1851 also mentioned this change in the area; 'The decrease of population in the Townships of this Sub district [Clitheroe] (Clitheroe excepted) is attributed to want of employment having induced many families to remove into the manufacturing districts and others to emigrate.'¹⁰ Nevertheless, Waddington still had its own mill – Feazer Mill – and although it did not have the power looms of the mill at Low Moor, William Waring was able to employ five men, six boys and four girls there.¹¹ However, the mill was damaged irreparably after a fire in March 1863.¹² Waddington had a good range of occupations in 1851, with 30 per cent trades or craftsmen, and 14 per cent working in the cotton industry. There were nine stone masons and stone cutters, nine chair makers, and many working in the shoe and clog making industry. Due to the proliferation of farmers and tradesmen, a sizeable 43 per cent of the working male population had a Class III or above occupation class In Waddington.

West Bradford was a slightly smaller village, with a population of 355 in 1851. John and James Fenton, and Edward Hodgson, were the chief landowners.¹³ There was far less trade in this village, and the bulk of the occupations here were concerned with farming, cotton factory work and lime burning. Just 14 per cent of the male workforce were trade or craftsmen, compared with 25 per cent in the cotton industry; the opposite trend to neighbouring Waddington. In addition, there were 16 lime burners in West Bradford. Consequently, just 29 per cent of West Bradford's working men held a Class III or higher occupation, compared to Waddington's 43 per cent.

Naturally, the women of these two villages were very involved in the cotton industry. 37 per cent of Waddington females aged between 11 and 40 were cotton

⁶ For the purpose of simplicity, these villages will be noted as 'Lancashire' villages.

⁷ 32 of these 580 were boarders at the Belle Vue School, and a further 27 were inmates of the Waddington alms houses.

⁸ M. Bridge, *Waddington: Village Life in the 19th Century* (Preston, 1994) p.39.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p.43.

¹⁰ Census of Great Britain, 1851. Population tables I. Numbers of the Inhabitants. Vol. II. p.49.

¹¹ M. Bridge, *Waddington: Village Life in the 19th Century* (Preston, 1994) p.46.

¹² *Ibid.*, p.48.

¹³ *Post Office Directory of Yorkshire*, 1857, p. 476.

workers, and 55 per cent of West Bradford females. As there was no mill at West Bradford, and only the small Feazer Mill at Waddington, one can assume the bulk of these cotton workers were making the two mile walk to Low Moor each day.

These villages were very isolated. 'In the early part of the century most of the villages, if they left Waddington at all, did not go beyond Clitheroe...' ¹⁴ This is backed-up by the fact that 55 per cent of Waddington residents, and 58 per cent of West Bradford residents, in 1851 were born in the village. The vast expanse of the Forest of Bowland stretched north-west of the villages for almost 20 miles, and the Pennines to the north-east, severely restricted migration in those directions. However, the railway came to nearby Clitheroe in 1850, and soon there were eight trains a day leaving south of Clitheroe for Blackburn, Bolton, Darwen and Manchester. ¹⁵

Forton and Cabus

Forton and Cabus lie seven miles south of Lancaster, and twelve miles north of Preston. Just to the south of these villages is the small market town of Garstang, whose population in 1851 was 7,465. ¹⁶ Forton was by far the larger of the two villages, with a population of 582 in 1851. ¹⁷ This was very much a farming community, with 29 farmers in the village; almost all of them farming less than 50 acres. However, there was also a significant number of tradesmen in the village, with 29 per cent of the working men employed in trade. There were 8 joiners, 8 stone masons, 5 slaters and 6 tailors in this relatively small village. With so many small farmers and tradesmen, 52 per cent of the male heads of household workforce had an occupational class of III or above, and 47 per cent of the overall working male population. Many of the women of Forton were engaged in employment, but almost 80 per cent (34 out of 43) of these were in domestic service.

Cabus was far smaller, with a population of just 238 in 1851. Just two miles south of Forton, it was nevertheless a very different type of village. 67 per cent of its male workforce were agricultural workers, and a further 10 per cent were farmers. However, these farmers were, on the whole, farming much larger acreage than those in neighbouring Forton. At just 8 per cent of the male workforce, trade was very low;

¹⁴ M. Bridge, *Waddington: Village Life in the 19th Century* (Preston, 1994) p.71.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.74.

¹⁶ *Slater's Directory*, 1855, p.129.

¹⁷ Digitised census enumerators' books.

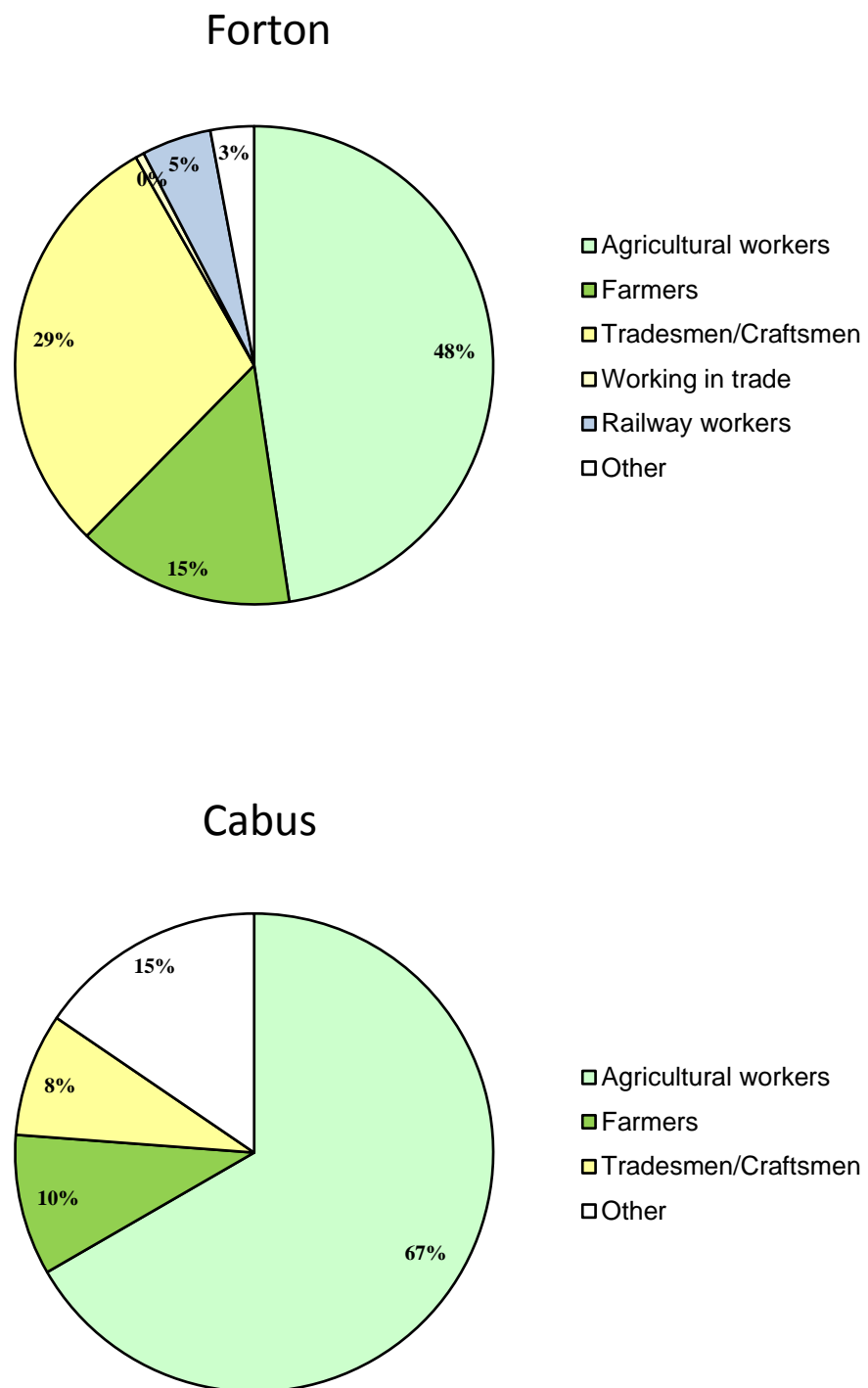
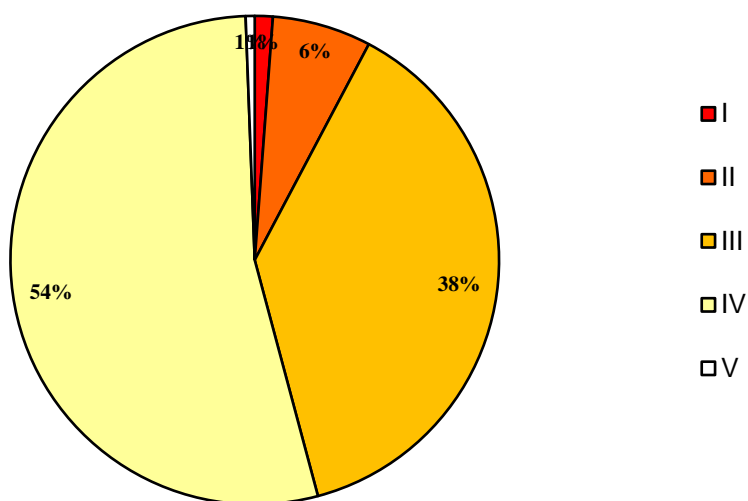


Figure 4.3: Distribution of occupation types for all male residents of Forton and Cabus at the time of the 1851 census.

Forton



Cabus

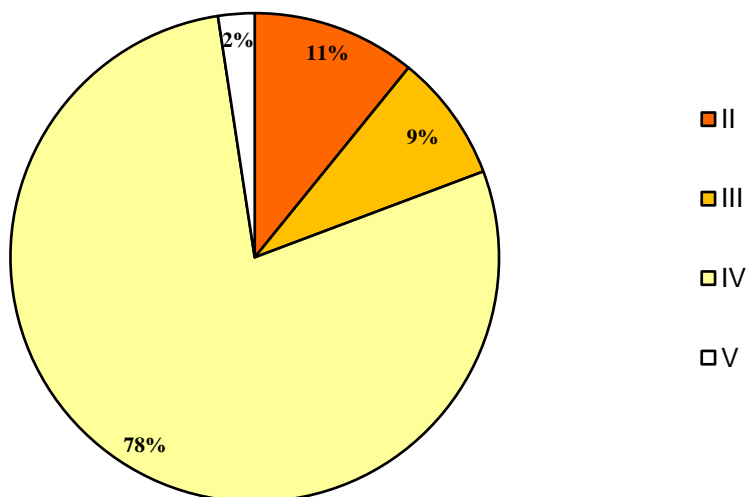


Figure 4.4: Distribution of occupational classes for working males in Forton and Cabus at the time of the 1851 census.

mainly in carpentry. There were also seven tile kiln labourers in the village. As a consequence, Cabus had a far lower average occupational class than Forton, with just 20 per cent of its working men in a Class III occupation or above. Unlike the dominance of domestic service in Forton, the women of Cabus were also involved in farming, with six women being described as farmers on the 1851 census. There were also three girls working as cotton mill hands, but these were all daughters within the same household.

As Waddington and West Bradford had the Forest of Bowland to the north-west, Forton and Cabus lay on the western edge of the forest, and as such migration to the east would have been severely hampered. Despite this barrier, the nearby railway station at Scorton would have provided a direct connection with Lancaster and Carlisle to the north, and Preston, Manchester, and many other industrial towns and cities to the south. Forton and Cabus represent the highest and lowest overall occupational gradings, respectively, across these northern villages.

Sheffield area: Wadworth and Loversall

These two villages are situated in the very south-west of West Riding, Yorkshire, close to the border of Nottinghamshire. They were only four miles south of the large town of Doncaster, ten miles from Rotherham, and just 16 miles from the thriving city of Sheffield. Wadworth was by far the larger of the two villages, with a population of 724 in 1851. The land belonged to five main landowners, including John Cooke, who owned the Alverley Hall estate.¹⁸ Wadworth was chiefly an agricultural community, with 18 farmers; many of them farming well in excess of 100 acres. However, 22 per cent of the working men in the village were trades or craftsmen, including ten blacksmiths and nine cordwainers. As a result, 36 per cent of the working males held a Class III occupation or above. There seemed little work in Wadworth for women. There was a great call for female servants in the village, but just four of the 31 servants in the village were born in Wadworth itself. There were two women in trade in Wadworth in 1851; Mary Marr, a coal dealer, and Amelia Moorehouse, a grocer. However, both were elderly widows.

Loversall was a very small village, with just 185 inhabitants in 1851. 70 per cent of the male workers were either agricultural workers or farmers, and in addition, there was much work for male servants within the homes of the local farmers. Trade was few and

¹⁸ *White's General Directory of Sheffield*, 1852, p.456.

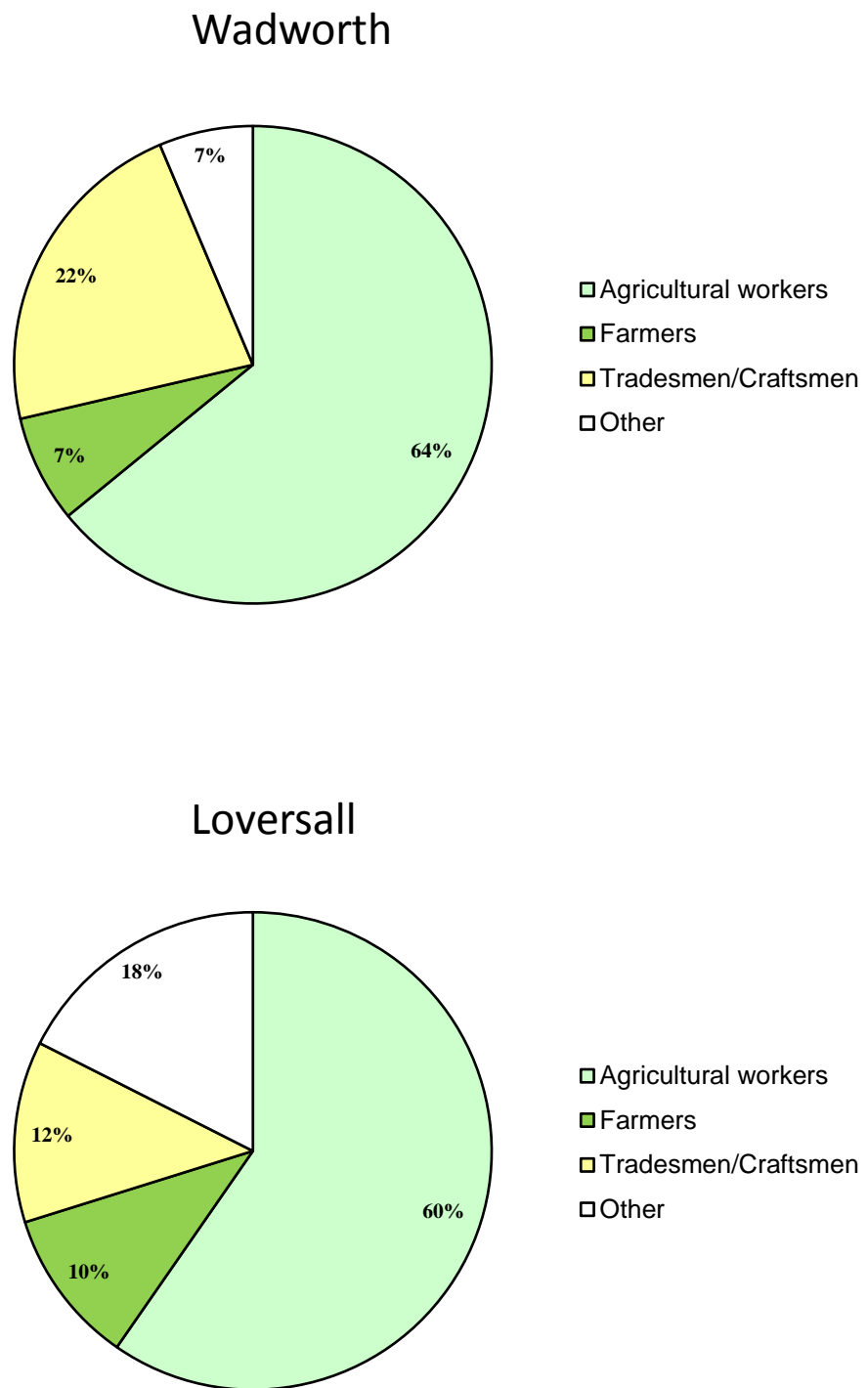


Figure 4.5: Distribution of occupation types for all male residents of Wadworth and Loversall at the time of the 1851 census.

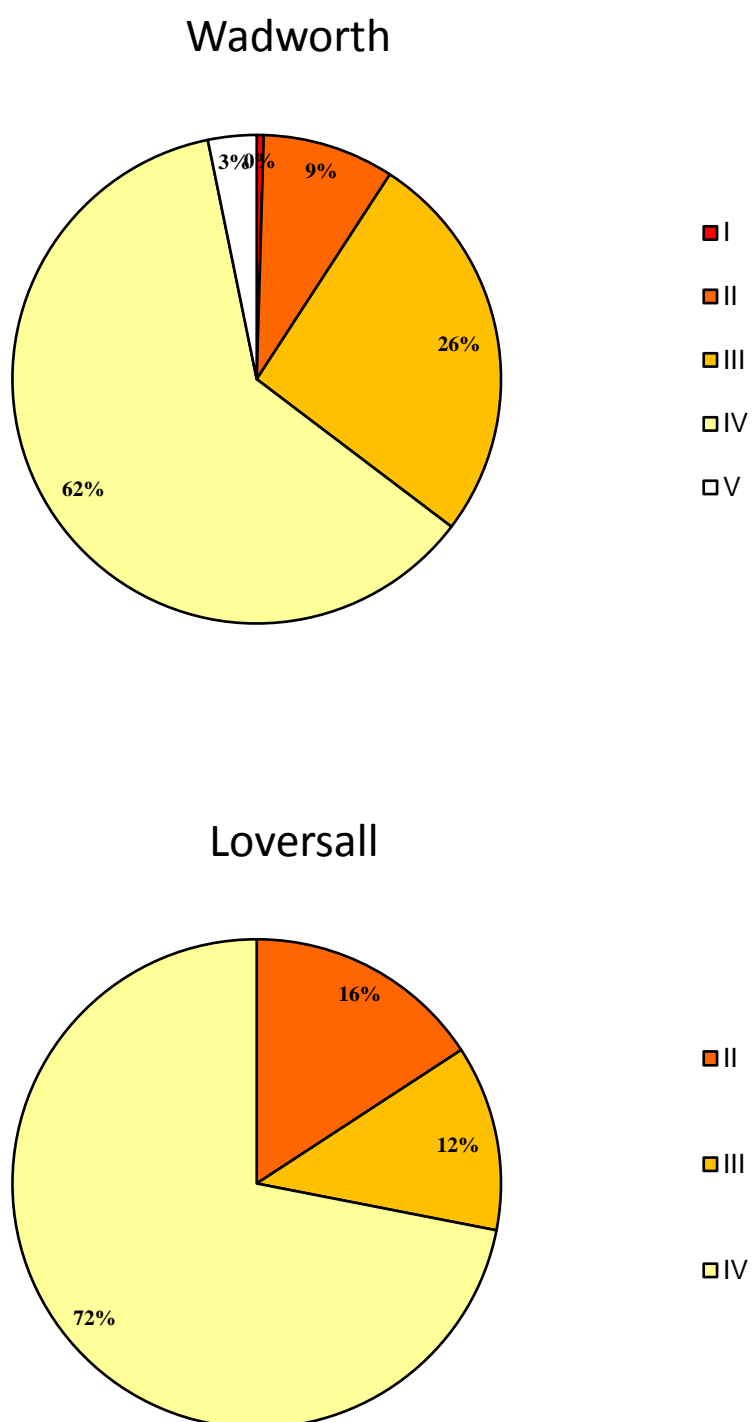


Figure 4.6: Distribution of occupational classes for working males in Wadworth and Loversall at the time of the 1851 census.

far between. Nevertheless, with many farmers farming well over 100 acres, and employing significant numbers of labourers, the village had a good number of Class II and III occupations. Three tradesmen were also employing either workers or servants, including steel manufacturer, Francis Huntsman, who employed six servants at his Loversall home. Again, employment for women in the village was almost entirely restricted to domestic service. 21 of the 48 women in the village, between the ages of 13 and 45, were working in service, although not one of these women had been born in Loversall.

Situated so close to Doncaster, the inhabitants of 1850s Wadworth and Loversall would not have been far from a railway network which provided a link to London, as well as other major towns and cities.

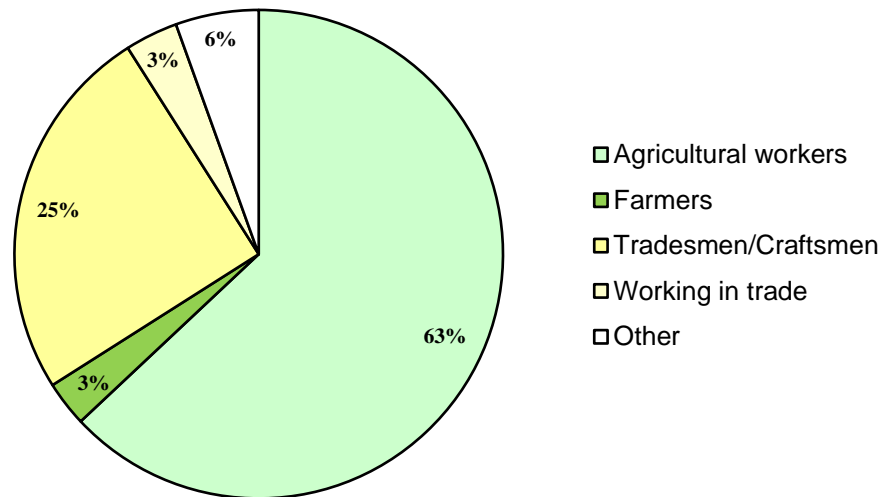
Cuckney and Norton

These are two fairly isolated villages lying near the western border of Nottinghamshire, just two or three miles from Yorkshire. The market town of Worksop lies five miles to the north, and Mansfield seven miles to the south, with Sheffield almost twenty miles away. Both villages were within the estate of the Duke of Portland, and therefore very much 'close' parishes. Cuckney was a fairly large village in 1851, with a population of 620. There was a sizeable cotton mill here until 1844, when it was closed down, leaving many families destitute.¹⁹ However, this was converted into a National school two years later, and in 1849 an infant school was also opened.²⁰ 28 per cent of the working Cuckney men were engaged in trade, including ten wheelwrights, nine tailors and nine cordwainers, implying a certain degree of affluence. However, a great proportion of these tradesmen were the journeyman sons of men in the same trade, and well under half of those in trade were actually heads of a household. Naturally, there were a great number of agricultural workers in this rather isolated rural village, and a large proportion were no more than children. Five agricultural labourers listed on the 1851 census; James Waterhouse, Daniel Newton, Thomas Martin, Edward Seaton and Hamor Marples were all just ten years old. And at the other end of the scale, 78-year-old John Mandeville and 79-year-old John Salmon were still working as agricultural labourers. Only five of the 133 men working in agriculture were farmers. The women of the

¹⁹ *White's General Directory of Sheffield*, 1852, p.617.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

Cuckney



Norton

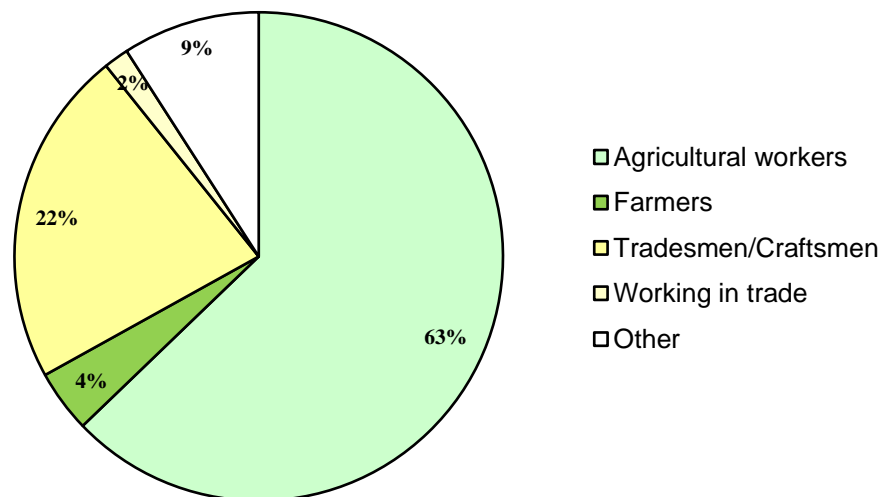


Figure 4.7: Distribution of occupation types for all male residents of Cuckney and Norton at the time of the 1851 census.

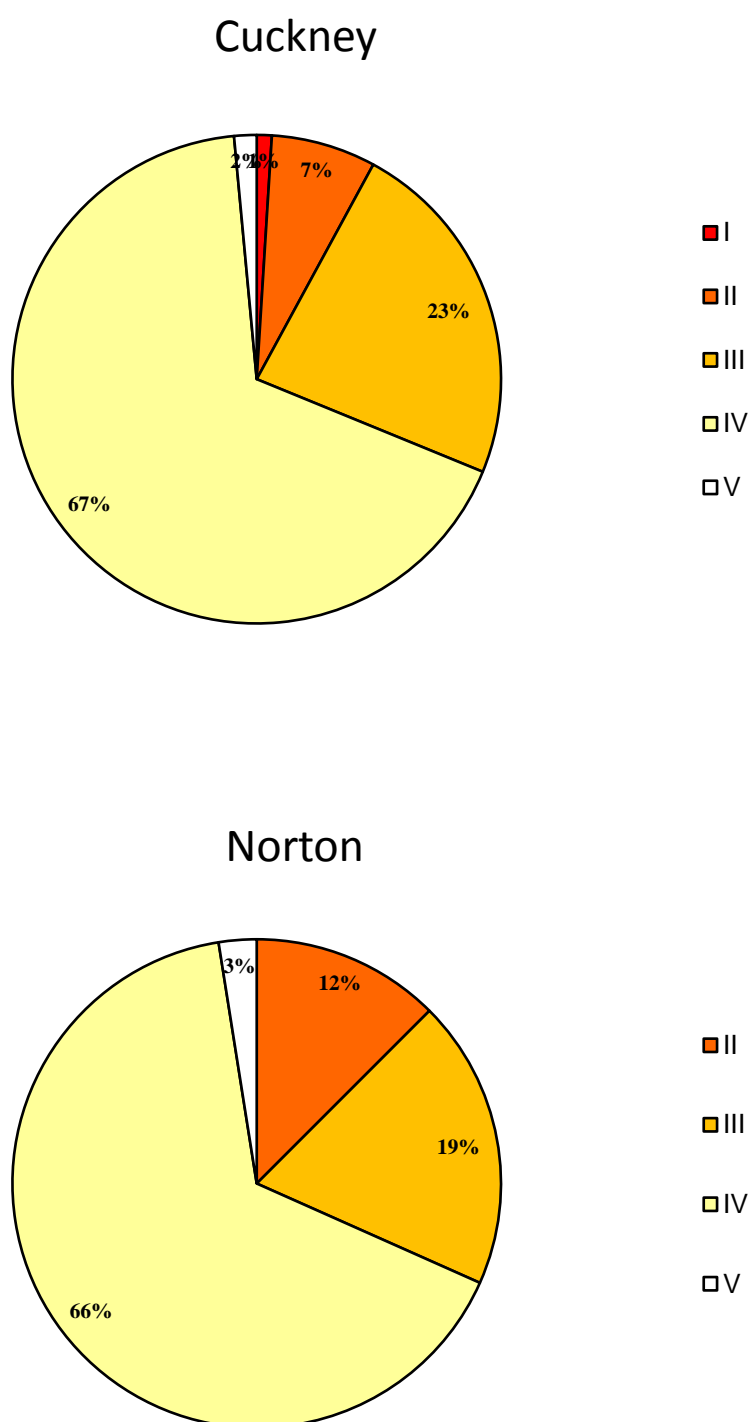


Figure 4.8: Distribution of occupational classes for male heads of households in Cuckney and Norton at the time of the 1851 census.

village did not appear to have found themselves working in the fields (at least this was not noted on the 1851 census), and those that did work tended to be either house servants or dressmakers. However, of the 31 female servants on the 1851 census, none were born in Cuckney itself, despite over one in three females between the ages of 15 and 30 being born in the village. Norton (also known at the time as 'Norton Cuckney') was a smaller village situated right on the doorstep of Cuckney. It had an almost identical occupational structure to its neighbour; very few farmers, and a wide range of ages working in the fields. Once again, women's work was predominantly in domestic service, with Sarah Kay of Mansfield being the youngest in 1851, aged just 13. However, two of the three publicans in the village were women.

The hard times experienced in these two villages are highlighted by the large amount of correspondence in the archives from residents to the Duke of Portland. In the 1840s a list was sent to the Duke, detailing the circumstances of eight people living within his estate. Two were from Norton; Richard Greaves, a tailor in his seventies who could find little work, and Charles Taylor, who had applied for soup for himself, his wife and five children.²¹ In December 1851 George Hind requested a loan of £4 for his wife Mary, in which he wrote, 'Sir I am sorrey that I have given you the troble to right to mee I wood bee gratley obliged to you to let my wife have £4 and to stop 10 [shillings] p munth.'²² The loan was granted. A letter of appeal from George Taylor of Norton in January 1852, for a £4 loan in order to buy a cow, also proved successful.²³ These are just two examples of many. Although poverty was clearly a problem in Cuckney and Norton, the benevolence of the local landowner would clearly have been of great appreciation to those in need. And in addition to monetary loans, appeals for work were also made. Around the 1860s, three widows wrote to the Duke requesting work:

My Lord Duke.

We the undersigned widows, who are at present working in the harvest fields under Mr John Field request your kindly order for us, work in the shrubberies during the winter. We are the widows of men formerly in your Grace's employ and are well able to work.

Mary Vernon

Sarah Fern

²¹ Nottinghamshire Archives, DD/P/6/9/81.

²² Nottinghamshire Archives, DD/P/6/7/10/860/88.

²³ Nottinghamshire Archives, DD/P/6/7/10/860/156.

Mary Ashforth²⁴

It seems that although the presence of one sole landowner in the parish may have hindered the proliferation of trade, farming or land ownership, the Duke's benevolence would certainly have made life a little less fraught for many who found themselves out of work or unable to cope.

Cuckney and Norton were fairly isolated communities. There was a railway station at Worksop, but this may not have proved an easy journey in the mid-1800s.

Analysis

The village stayers

Figure 4.9 shows the village stayer rates for each of the eight villages. Two clear statistics stand out. First, the rate of village staying among the Waddington and West Bradford daughters, close to Clitheroe, was significantly high. Almost one in three (18 out of 63) daughters of these two villages still remained within the village in 1881,

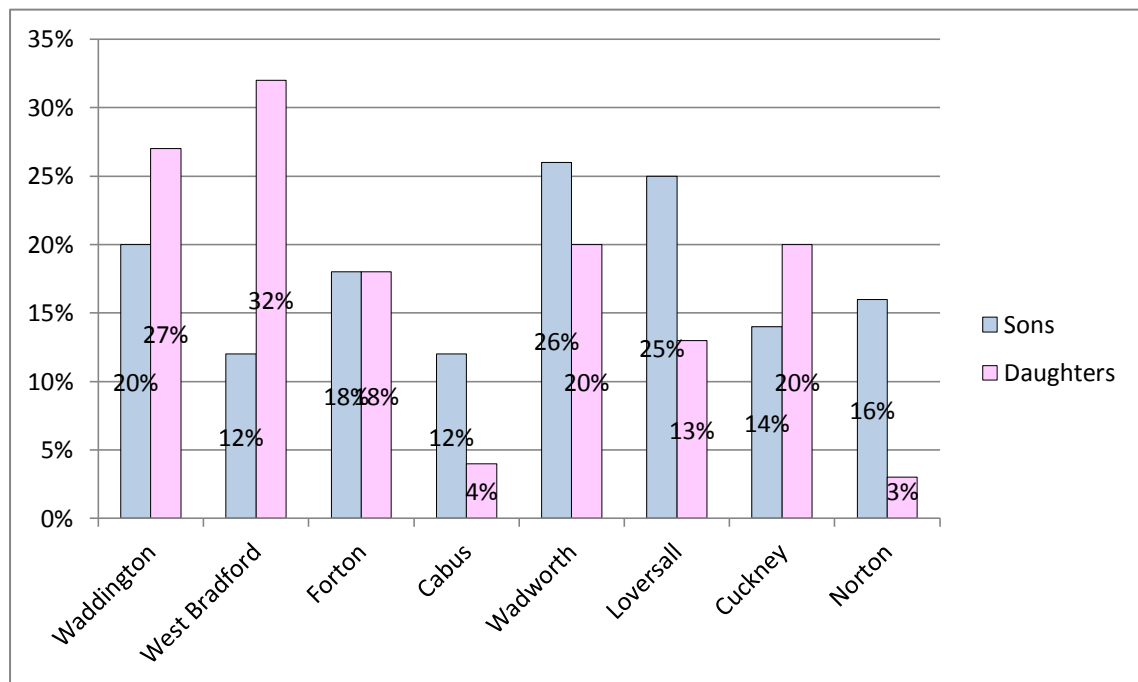


Figure 4.9. Sons and daughters still living in their village in 1881 (Lancashire and Sheffield area).

²⁴ Nottinghamshire Archives, DD/4P/62/106/65.

higher than any of the other daughters or sons.²⁵ Additionally, the sons of Wadworth and Loversall, near Doncaster, were more likely to remain in their village than anyone but the Waddington and West Bradford daughters. At an overall village staying rate of 22 per cent for sons and 18 per cent for daughters across all villages used in this thesis, the daughters of Waddington and West Bradford especially stand out as unusual.

Taking these two villages first, Waddington was described by the *Manchester Weekly Times* as late as 1890 as ‘an out of the way little Yorkshire village’,²⁶ and such was the terrain to the north of the village, a short journey out of Waddington was described by one nineteenth century vicar as akin to crossing the Alps.²⁷ The physical characteristics of a region could greatly affect the patterns of migration, and will be discussed in more detail below. Nevertheless, despite any geographical barriers, the population of the village declined from 580 in 1851 to 447 in 1881,²⁸ and this is reflected in the fact the sons managed to leave Waddington and West Bradford in great numbers, with just 15 out of 94 sons remaining in their village by 1881. However, it would appear the daughters were far less likely to leave their village.

<u>VILLAGE</u>	<u>Village stayers</u>	<u>In trade</u>	<u>Farmers</u>	<u>Ag work</u>	<u>Dom service</u>	<u>Cotton ind</u>	<u>Other work</u>	<u>Total in work</u>
W Bradford	32%	3%	4%	1%	4%	36%	0%	47%
Waddington	27%	5%	1%	0%	7%	20%	3%	38%
Wadworth	20%	2%	1%	0%	34%	0%	2%	37%
Cuckney	20%	4%	1%	0%	16%	0%	0%	24%
Forton	18%	2%	2%	0%	17%	0%	1%	22%
Loversall	13%	2%	0%	0%	34%	0%	2%	37%
Cabus	4%	7%	7%	3%	20%	4%	1%	45%
Norton	3%	3%	0%	6%	20%	0%	5%	34%

Table 4.1: Female occupations noted on the 1851 census return, as a percentage of all female residents aged 14 or over, (in order of persistence of village stayers).

²⁵ As with the previous chapter, the figure of 63 is the number of daughters where a death has not been located by 1881; therefore presumed still alive, but not within their childhood village.

²⁶ *Manchester Weekly Times*, 17 October 1891, quoted in M. Bridge, *Waddington: Village Life in the 19th Century* (Preston, 1994) p.1.

²⁷ M. Bridge, *Waddington: Village Life in the 19th Century* (Preston, 1994) p.1.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p.9.

For the three counties in the previous chapter, it was suggested that a prevalence of agricultural labour amongst the female population may have contributed to a push effect on the daughters. By observing the occupations noted in the industrial northern villages, a similar link to occupations and the prevalence of village staying can also be revealed. Table 4.1 shows the occupations held by women aged 14 or over in each of the eight villages, listed in order of the prevalence of village staying.

The figures show that female agricultural work was rarely noted on the census returns for these villages, and as such a correlation with village staying cannot be made. The 6 per cent in agricultural work in Norton consisted of 7 cottagers; 6 of whom were widows, plus Sarah Perks, who was noted as 'married' on the census, but was also classed as the head of the household.

However, perhaps more revealing is that the highest two villages for female village stayers were also the only two villages with a significant number of women involved in the cotton industry. This industry may not necessarily have been the cause of such a high rate of village staying, and it has already been noted that the building of a mill at nearby Low Moor did much to reduce the population of Waddington in the mid-nineteenth century. However, by observing the village stayers on subsequent censuses it is possible to test this theory. Table 4.2 shows the results of this investigation.

<u>1861</u>	<u>1871</u>	<u>1881</u>
31/49 (63%)	12/25 (48%)	5/18 (28%)

Table 4.2: Number of village stayer daughters in Waddington and West Bradford either working in the cotton industry, or married to someone working in the cotton industry, 1861-1881.

Although the figures clearly decreased over each ten year period, the total percentage for all women aged 14 or over working in, or married to someone working in the cotton industry in 1851 was 29 per cent, far lower than the village stayer daughters of 1861 and 1871. It would therefore seem plausible that work in the industry was highly instrumental in keeping many daughters within their village, at least for a time. Many villagers did indeed move to Low Moor, especially the sons, and this will be discussed below. However, many also walked the two miles each day to work from Waddington

and West Bradford.²⁹ Additionally, it must be remembered that Waddington did have its own cotton industry, albeit far smaller than that of Low Moor and Clitheroe, with Feazer mill in business until 1863. Power loom weaver at Low Moor, John O'Neill (also known as John Ward), noted in his diary on 29th April 1860;

...I had a walk round by Waddington to see a new shed that is building there for weaving, which as soon as it gets started will take a great number of weavers from our place [Low Moor], as neither Waddington nor [West] Bradford weavers will come to Low Moor when they can get work nearer hand.³⁰

Moving on to the high rate of village staying in the Wadworth and Loversall sons; these were neighbouring villages, situated just four miles from Doncaster, yet more than one in four sons (22 out of 86) remained in their respective village in 1881. The occupational structure of these villages may offer an explanation as to why these sons were less likely to move away. Table 4.3 shows the percentage of working men engaged in the major types of occupation in 1851, listed in order of prevalence of village staying. These figures show that, as with Sussex, Norfolk and Northumberland, there appears to be no clear link between prevalence of any particular occupation type and village

<u>VILLAGE</u>	<u>% OF VILLAGE STAYERS</u>	<u>% TRADESMEN</u>	<u>% FARMERS</u>	<u>% IN AG WORK</u>	<u>% IN COTTON</u>	<u>% IN OTHER WORK</u>
Wadworth	26	22	7	64	-	7
Loversall	24	12	10	60	-	18
Waddington	20	30	13	33	14	10
Forton	18	29	15	48	-	8
Norton	16	22	4	63	-	11
Cuckney	14	25	3	62	-	9
W Bradford	12	14	16	29	25	16
Cabus	12	8	10	67	-	15

Table 4.3: Percentage of working men engaged in the major types of occupation in 1851, listed in order of prevalence of village staying.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p.50.

³⁰ R. Sharpe, (ed.), 'The Diary of John Ward of Clitheroe, Weaver, 1860-64', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, Vol, 105 (1953) p.140.

staying. Those with high percentages of agricultural workers are scattered through the middle of the table, and the two villages with sons involved in the cotton trade displayed quite different rates of village staying. However, Cabus and West Bradford, with their low percentage of tradesmen, are firmly rooted at the bottom of the table, implying perhaps a positive link between the prevalence of trade and the rate of village staying.

There may have been a link between the occupational skill grading of a village and village staying rates. One might expect the villages with higher occupational classes to retain more of its working men. A calculation of the occupational standing of each village was made, based on their occupational classes in 1851. Figure 4.10 shows the village staying rates for each village, listed in order of their occupational standing, from highest to lowest.

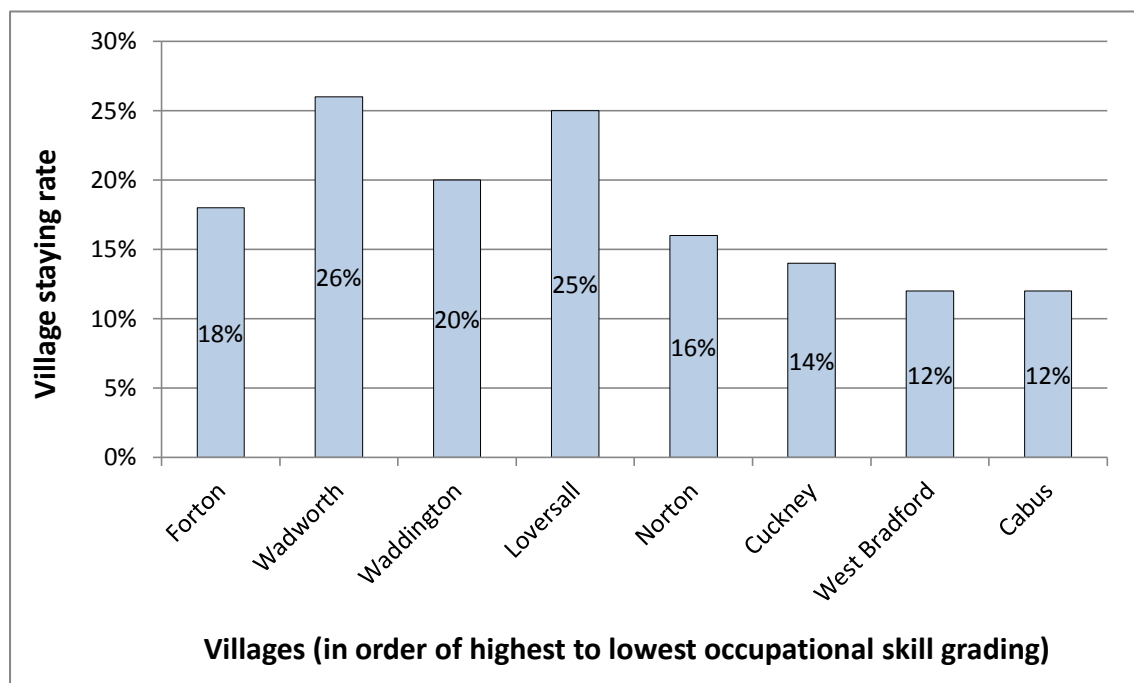


Figure 4.10: Sons still living in their village in 1881, in order of the occupational skill grading of the villages. (Lancashire and Sheffield area).

Unlike Sussex, Norfolk and Northumberland, the lowest skill grade villages were firmly in the bottom half of the village stayers figures, and all far below the 22 per cent average across the entire set of sons within the overall dataset. Forton and Cabus were neighbours, as were Waddington and West Bradford, yet they lay at different ends of

the scale with regards to their skill grading, and this appears to have been reflected in the rate of village staying.

Nevertheless, it is important to maintain a degree of scepticism here. 6 of the 8 villages displayed below the 22 per cent average, and in comparison with some of the villages of Norfolk and Northumberland, Wadworth and Loversall, at 26 per cent and 25 per cent respectively, did not display significantly high rates of village staying. Also, the ‘close’ parishes of Cuckney and Norton, situated within the estate of the benevolent Duke of Portland, showed far lower rates of village staying than their Norfolk counterparts, Postwick and Oxborough.

The fact these villages were situated close to a large number of urban locations could possibly have resulted in more of a ‘pull’ effect than a ‘push’ effect. In other words, the sons and daughters of the industrial north may have displayed differing patterns to those of the more rural Sussex, Norfolk and Northumberland due to the sheer variety of accessible towns and villages. By examining the migration habits of the sons and daughters who left their villages, it may be possible to establish certain popular locations which exerted a pull on these villagers, or particular types of occupation which may have led to higher migration rates.

The migrant sons

As with the previous chapter, the broad analysis, (showing distances of migration using solely the 1881 census), is replaced with data showing the last known location of an individual up to 1881. For this analysis, neighbouring villages will again be merged.³¹ Figures 4.11 and 4.12 show the varying distances travelled by these sons of the industrial north.

These graphs show three significant patterns of migration. First, short-distance migration was high from the Waddington and Forton areas. At 49 and 50 per cent respectively, the figures were higher than any of the areas of Sussex, Norfolk and Northumberland. Second, the sons of Wadworth and Loversall were low short-distant migrants, but prolific middle-distance migrants, which at 66 per cent was extremely high. And third, there was a clear reluctance by the sons of all four areas to migrate long distance. Just 11 of the 105 Lancashire migrants (10 per cent) were located over 30

³¹ The distance migration figures for each village within a pair were investigated and were found to be remarkably similar, hiding no significant variations in migration habits.

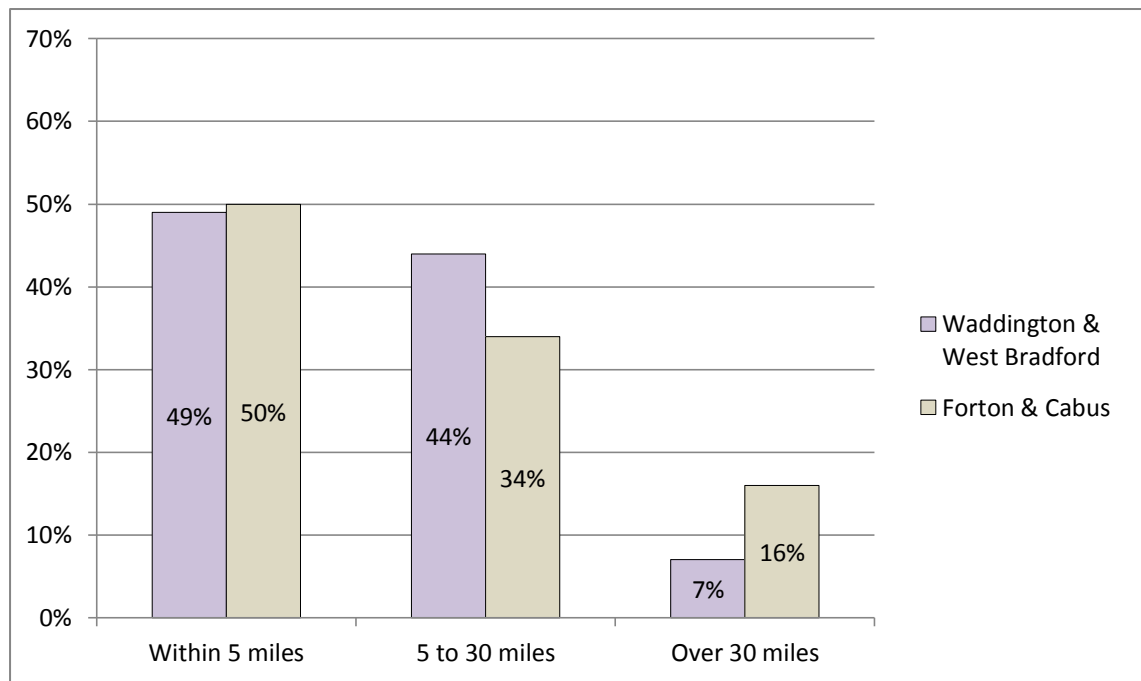


Figure 4.11: Distance travelled by migrant sons by 1881. (Lancashire).

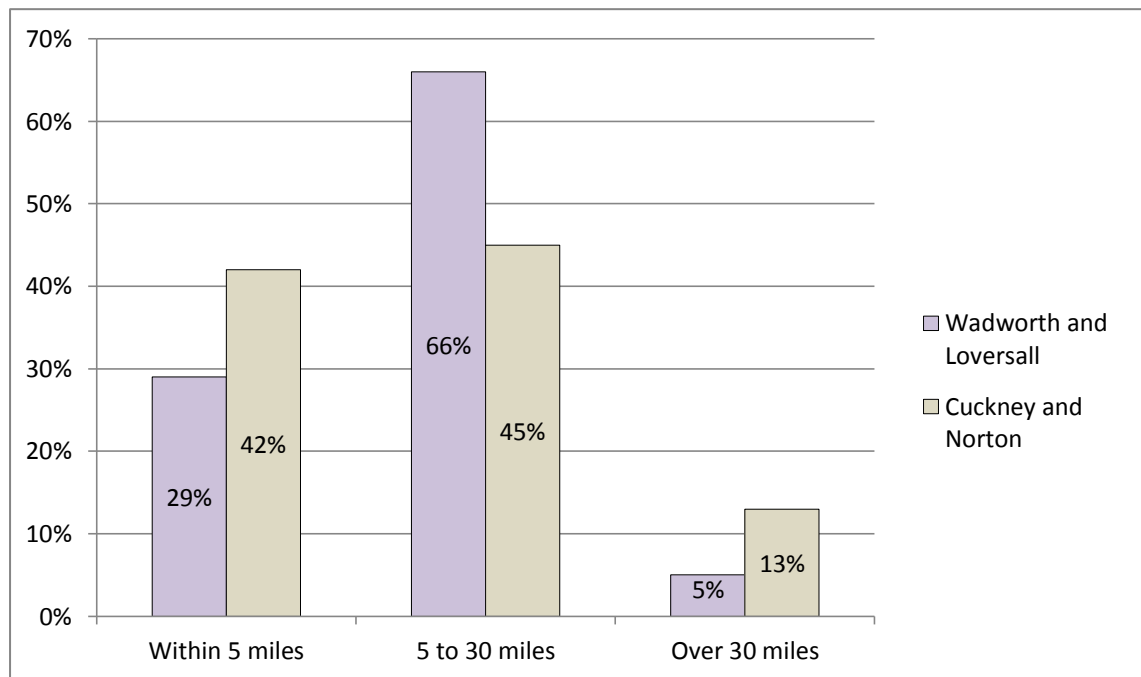


Figure 4.12: Distance travelled by migrant sons by 1881. (Sheffield area).

miles by 1881, and again only 11 of the 122 Sheffield area migrants (9 per cent). Compared to the long-distance migrant levels for Sussex, Norfolk and Northumberland (28 per cent, 40 per cent and 31 per cent respectively), it is evident that these particular villages in the industrial north fell far behind their more rural counterparts with regards to distance migration. In order to establish why these patterns occurred, an investigation into the precise locations these migrant sons moved to is required.

Almost half the migrants from Waddington and West Bradford were found less than five miles away from their village. The pull of the cotton mill at Low Moor, on the outskirts of Clitheroe, has already been noted, and Clitheroe town itself was home to other cotton mills. It is therefore highly possible that it was the attraction of this local industry which caused such high rates of short-distance migration by the sons of Waddington and West Bradford. Of the 30 migrant sons who remained within five miles of their village, 20 were to be found in Clitheroe (including Low Moor), and 9 of these were working in the cotton industry.³² One was James Windle of West Bradford, the son of a lime burner. He was working as a power loom weaver by the age of sixteen, and by 1881 had progressed to cotton mill manager. His younger brother James followed him to Clitheroe and worked as an overlooker of cotton weavers.³³ John Taylor, son of an unemployed widow, also made the move to Clitheroe and climbed to the position of overlooker. The cotton industry in Clitheroe was clearly responsible for a good proportion of short-distance migration, and could occasionally provide a high class of occupation. By looking at the 1861 and 1871 census returns, further evidence can be found of the pull of the cotton industry. For example, William Smalley of Waddington was working in Clitheroe as a baker in 1871. However, he had initially worked there as a cotton weaver. Likewise, William Cook of West Bradford was working as a grocer in Clitheroe by 1871, but again had started his working life there as a cotton weaver. There are other examples of initial moves to Clitheroe to work in the cotton industry. This is perhaps unsurprising when one reads the diary of the manager of Low Moor mill, who on 5th September 1859 declared, ‘...we now have plenty of hands, all of our mules and looms are running and we have piecers and weavers to spare.’³⁴

³² The 1861, 1871 and 1881 census returns for Low Moor were included in the returns for Clitheroe, and as such Low Moor was classed as a part of Clitheroe town. Therefore the figures used here for Clitheroe include Low Moor.

³³ What might be termed as ‘middle management’ nowadays.

³⁴ Quoted in O. Ashmore, ‘The Diary of James Garnett of Low Moor, Clitheroe 1858-65: Part 1’, *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, Vol. 121 (1969) p.81.

Looking at the census returns for the short-distance migrant sons, there were more working in the cotton industry than in agriculture for 1861, 1871 and 1881. This would imply that wages in the cotton factories were more favourable than those of agricultural labourers. As A. L. Bowley noted, wages in the cotton trade are among the most difficult to trace, as not only did wages in the industry change frequently, but they 'vary from man to man, mill to mill, and town to town...'³⁵ Therefore it is normally difficult to make a comparison with agricultural wages. However, the diary of James Garnett, manager of Low Moor mill, gives an insight into the wages earned at this particular mill. On 5th April 1860 he wrote, 'Our weaving was never so good. 11/6 and 12/- is commonly earned and in one instance 13/1½ off a pair of looms...'³⁶ Nominal weekly wages for agricultural labourers in both Lancashire and West Yorkshire at this time were 13s 6d.³⁷ The wages at Low Moor mill may have been lower than those earned by men in the fields, but not by much, and clearly not enough to persuade many of the sons to take up the plough. Additionally, it would appear wages in Clitheroe were good compared to other areas. John O'Neill had left his home town of Carlisle due to lack of work in the cotton industry.³⁸ In 1854 he left for North Yorkshire, and worked as a power loom weaver in the small town of Benthams. A year after leaving Benthams for Low Moor he declared, '...I think I am better off and so is my daughter than we would have been had we stayed in Benthams.'³⁹ And a few months later O'Neill wrote of his daughter; 'She has plenty of good clothes, more than ever she had in her life before...'⁴⁰ This also highlights the other advantage to the cotton industry, that men, wives and children from the same households could be employed in the local factories, all contributing to the family income.

The 1851 census returns reveal many examples of the children of Waddington and West Bradford working in the cotton industry. Christopher Mason of Waddington worked as a cotton spinner, while his two teenage sons worked as cotton piecers, and his 11-year-old son as a cotton carder. Henry Burgess was a stone mason, however, two of his daughters worked in the cotton factory, and his 10-year-old son worked there as a cotton feeder. And William Windle, a widower from West Bradford had four children

³⁵ A. L. Bowley, *Wages in the United Kingdom in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1900) p.116.

³⁶ Quoted in O. Ashmore, 'The Diary of James Garnett of Low Moor, Clitheroe 1858-65: Part 1', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, Vol, 121 (1969) p.88.

³⁷ A. L. Bowley, *Wages in the United Kingdom in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1900) End table.

³⁸ O. Ashmore, 'The Diary of James Garnett of Low Moor, Clitheroe 1858-65: Part 1', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, Vol, 121 (1969) p.90.

³⁹ Quoted in *ibid.*, p.97.

⁴⁰ Quoted in *ibid.*, p.98.

working as power loom weavers while he worked as a lime burner. Work in the cotton industry could clearly be lucrative, and must surely have been instrumental in dissuading many families from leaving the area, regardless of the type of occupation of the head of the household.⁴¹

Forton and Cabus showed very similar patterns of distance migration to those of Waddington and West Bradford, with half the migrant sons remaining within five miles of their village.⁴² However, there appears to have been no particular attraction for the short-distance migrants of Forton and Cabus. These villages were relatively remote, and the migrants simply spread themselves over many local villages. Garstang was the only town within five miles of either village, but at just 714 inhabitants in 1871 it could hardly be classed as 'urban'. This remoteness was exacerbated by two factors. First, the coast was just two miles to the west. It has been noted that living on the coast, often provided another opportunity to migrate. However, the area of coast near Forton and Cabus was largely uninhabited, with no villages for many miles. Second, to the west of the villages was the Forest of Bowland, an expanse of barren peat moorland, fells, and valleys stretching 20 miles. A geographical barrier on both sides may have severely restricted longer distance migration, and provided a greater feeling of isolation.

Waddington and West Bradford were also affected by the Forest of Bowland. It was noted above that travelling north from Waddington was akin to crossing the Alps, and with only the huge expanse of the Forest of Bowland for over 20 miles, moving north towards places such as Lancaster and Morecambe would have been far from easy. The maps in figures 4.13 and 4.14 highlight the effects geographic barriers could have on migration patterns, clearly revealing restrictions to the direction of the migration flows. Forton and Cabus saw only 3 migrant sons move to the east of the area, and the Forest seemed to serve no purpose but to restrict migration from Waddington and West Bradford to the south.

Proximity to areas of commerce and industry has often been discussed by historians as a significant variable in the rates and patterns of migration. Ernst Ravenstein saw migrants as generally moving towards areas of commerce and industry, and historians

⁴¹ There was little evidence of wives of the village stayer sons or short-distance migrant sons working in the cotton industry: 4 out of 13 in 1861, 4 out of 24 in 1871, and 3 out of 30 in 1881.

⁴² Due to the relatively small size of Cabus, the dataset for Forton and Cabus is quite small, at 44. However, this still provides significant evidence of the behaviour of migration from the villages.

such as George Boyer and Timothy Hatton, Dov Friedlander, and Jason Long all used the proximity of urban areas as a variable within their studies. These are all valuable studies. However, they may well have been improved had they also taken into account the barriers of physical geography, as it is evident that proximity to large expanses of open land, or landscapes that proved difficult or impossible to traverse, clearly had a significant effect on migration flows. One might argue that those in coastal villages would also have been restricted in their directions of migration. However, it has been noted that many of the coastal villagers saw the sea as an alternative means of escape, and migration from these villages was often high. The sea was not a physical barrier, whereas inland features such as barren moorland, marshes or hill ranges often were.

The two pairs of villages in Lancashire displayed similarly high rates of short-distance migration. The local cotton industry was clearly a significant contributory factor for the sons of Waddington and West Bradford. A combination of high numbers of employment opportunities, competitive wages, and work available for all members of the household, appear to have been instrumental in dissuading many sons from migrating any further than Clitheroe.

In an attempt to determine the changing attractions of certain industries, Dov Friedlander concluded that 'the textile industry was not a powerful pull for migration, at any rate not during the second half of the nineteenth century.'⁴⁴ This, he claims, was due to the fact the textile trade (particularly cotton) had reached its peak in employment by mid-century. However, Friedlander's research used 600 districts, which he split into six different categories; one of these being 'agricultural-textile', and as such his results represented simply a broad overview of migration habits. Migration into the Clitheroe area could well have been insignificant during (and before) the second half of the nineteenth century.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, the cotton industry in this town was certainly a powerful pull for the immediately local population. Friedlander may have been correct in concluding that 'textile districts were not likely to be attractive destinations for large

⁴⁴ D. Friedlander, 'Occupational Structure, Wages, and Migration in Late Nineteenth-Century England and Wales', *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol.40, No.2 (Jan 1992) p.308.

⁴⁵ The locations of Friedlander's districts are not listed, so it is uncertain whether Clitheroe would have fallen into his 'agricultural-textile' category.

volumes of net migration...’,⁴⁶ but that fact is, the textile industry could still have significant effects on migration patterns at the parish level.

Reasons for the high rate of short-distance migration by the sons of Forton and Cabus are less clear. However, there is not always a reason for certain patterns of migration. The remoteness of these villages, the lack of a nearby town, and high agricultural wage rates in Lancashire may have all influenced the low rate of distance migration.

Nevertheless, by observing the patterns of migration from these four Lancashire villages, it has been revealed that these sons were greatly affected by physical geography. Whether the Forest of Bowland was directly responsible for keeping migrant sons within their local area is unclear. However, it did have a great effect on the *direction* the migrants travelled. Forton and Cabus were also bounded by a largely uninhabited coastline, and migration was severely restricted to the east and west. Again, whether this was responsible for the low rates of distance migration is unknown, but it clearly left these villages with fewer easy options with regards to destination.

Unlike the Lancashire villages, those of the Sheffield area were surrounded by towns and cities. One would perhaps expect the patterns of migration to have been heavily affected by this large presence of urbanisation and industry. The long-distance migration rates for these villages were extremely low, and the prevalence of nearby towns and cities would surely have played a large part in keeping the sons closer to home. In order to investigate this, the locations of the migrants shall be examined for the two pairs of villages.

At 29 per cent, Wadworth and Loversall displayed by far the lowest rate of short-distance migration. Just 17 of the 58 migrant sons remained within 5 miles of their village, despite the presence within this area of the large town of Doncaster, where the population increased from 11,960 in 1851 to 22,290 by 1881.⁴⁷ Although 7 sons did migrate to Doncaster, this is perhaps a surprisingly small number considering its size and its proximity to Wadworth and Loversall. The remaining 10 short-distance migrants were spread over 7 separate rural locations.

⁴⁶ D. Friedlander, ‘Occupational Structure, Wages, and Migration in Late Nineteenth-Century England and Wales’, *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol.40, No.2 (Jan 1992) p.308.

⁴⁷ Digitised census enumerators’ books.



Table 4.15: Last known location of the sons of Wadworth and Loversall by 1881.⁴⁸

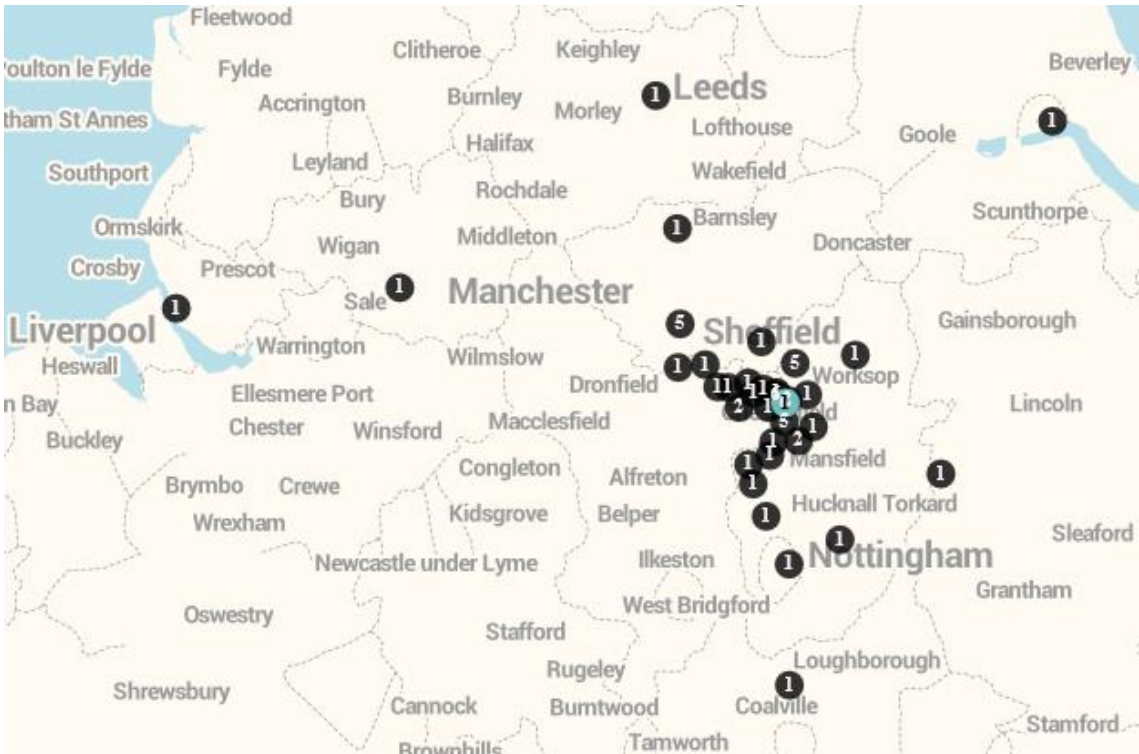


Table 4.16: Last known location of the sons of Cuckney and Norton by 1881.

⁴⁸ These maps are at a slightly larger scale than those showing the Lancashire migrants due to the more short-distance, and clustered, nature of the migration patterns.

Middle-distance migration by Wadworth and Loversall sons, however, was prolific. At 66 per cent (38 out of 58), this was by far the highest distance of all the sons of the industrial north. One would perhaps have expected Sheffield to have played a great part in this migration. However, just 9 of the 38 (less than 1 in 4) left for this huge and expanding industrial city. In fact only 50 per cent of the middle-distance sons migrated to an urban location. It appears towns and cities were not an attraction for many of the migrant sons from Wadworth and West Bradford. Rotherham was home to only two sons, and Leeds just one, with the rest of the urban migrants spread across smaller towns such as Rawmarsh, Mexborough and Wombwell. With the 19 rural migrants spread over 17 separate villages, there was clearly no common location for these middle-distance migrants.

The villages of Cuckney and Norton showed similar patterns to those of Lancashire. 42 per cent of the migrant sons (27 out of 64) remained within five miles of their village. The small town Warsop was a great pull, as was the village of Holbeck. Additionally, a few Norton sons move to Cuckney. With the town of Worksop just over five miles away, there were no urban locations within five miles of the two villages. However, as with Forton and Cabus, this did not stop many sons from remaining within this radius.

Worksop and Sheffield attracted a few of the middle-distance migrant sons. Nevertheless, with just 5 of these 29 sons found in Sheffield by 1881, this was again perhaps a surprisingly low attraction. More than one in three sons were pulled to rural areas, and yet again, like those from Wadworth and Loversall, these were found in a great range of locations, with 11 sons being located across 10 different villages.

The idea was proposed that the lack of long-distance migration was perhaps due to the plethora of urban towns and cities found within a 30-mile radius of these villages, and that cities such as Sheffield would have exerted a great pull on the sons who sought to leave their rural environment. However, this does not appear to have been the case. The sons of Wadworth and Loversall did not flock to the nearby town of Doncaster in great numbers, and the high rate of middle-distance migration by these sons was not the result of an influx into the towns and cities. Many sons from all four Sheffield area villages seem to have bypassed urban locations in favour of rural life. Elizabeth Cotton, wife of a Suffolk farmer, visited Yorkshire in 1855. Having had a pleasant stay in the countryside, noted that 'long before we reached Sheffield a dense cloud told us of its

direction.⁴⁹ From the surrounding villages, the city may not have seemed an appealing prospect.

In order to fully understand the effects towns and cities had on these migrants, table 4.4 shows the figures for rural/urban migration, comparing all four pairs of villages. For these calculations, all the migrants whose last known location up to 1881 was within 30 miles of their childhood village are placed in one category. There are two reasons for this. First, half of the villages (namely Forton and Cabus, and Cuckney and Norton) did not have an urban location within five miles, and therefore the figures for short-distance migration for these villages would be irrelevant. And second, the concern here is with the pull of the urban locations on all the migrant sons who moved less than 30 miles as a whole, as opposed to the long-distance migrants.⁵⁰

	RURAL (within 30 miles)	URBAN (within 30 miles)	RURAL (30+ miles)	URBAN (30+ miles)	RURAL (all migrants)	URBAN (all migrants)
Waddington & West Bradford	18	39	0	4	18	43
	32%	68%	0%	100%	30%	70%
Forton & Cabus	29	8	0	7	29	15
	78%	22%	0%	100%	66%	34%
Wadworth & Loversall	29	26	1	2	30	28
	53%	47%	33%	67%	52%	48%
Cuckney & Norton	38	18	2	5	40	23
	68%	32%	29%	71%	63%	37%

Table 4.4: Numbers and percentages of rural and urban migration for sons of the Lancashire and Sheffield area villages.

The rates of urban migration from the four areas differed greatly. However, it has been possible to establish reasons for many of these variations. Waddington and West Bradford sons displayed by far the highest rates of urban location, and the proximity of

⁴⁹ S. Hardy, (ed.), *The Diary of a Suffolk Farmer's Wife, 1854-69* (Basingstoke, 1992) pp.125-6.

⁵⁰ A calculation was made which included village stayers in the 'rural' category. However, although the rural percentages were therefore higher, they did not alter the differences/comparisons between the four pairs of villages to any major significance.

Clitheroe, with its many cotton mills, was a major cause. This town alone accounted for 19 of the 43 urban migrant sons (44 per cent). There were no other towns or cities which came close to attracting such numbers across the eight villages.

However, the proximity to the Forest of Bowland may also have resulted in a higher rate of urban migration. Being highly restricted from travelling north, those who wanted to migrate further than Clitheroe were pushed south towards towns such as Blackburn and Accrington, and further south to Rochdale and Bury. Ironically, being located on the edge of a vast expanse of grassland may well have resulted in an increase in urban migration.

Despite the pull of Clitheroe for the sons of Waddington and West Bradford, proximity of a town or city does not appear to have always resulted in a positive effect on urban migration rates. The majority of the Sheffield area sons disregarded nearby towns and cities in favour of a rural environment. The five-mile radius of Cuckney and Norton was entirely rural, yet the sons displayed a far higher rate of short-distance migration than those of Wadworth and Loversall. Looking at the urban migration rates from the previous study of Sussex, Norfolk and Northumberland, it was found that that despite being relatively rural counties, their overall rate of urban migration within 30 miles was 33 per cent, with Sussex at 44 per cent. Therefore, with Wadworth and Loversall surrounded by many easily-reachable towns and cities, an urban migration rate of 47 per cent (of those remaining within 30 miles) is perhaps surprisingly low, and to some extent challenges William Ogle's perception that towns acted as a powerful magnet to young men who found rural life monotonous.

It has been noted that the agricultural earnings for Lancashire and West Yorkshire were some of the highest in the country, and this may have been a significant factor in their rural persistence. The rural migrants of the Sheffield area villages were almost all contained within 10 miles, and not one of the Lancashire rural migrant sons were found outside of the county, implying that both employment and wages were instrumental in keeping these men local. This may also help to explain the reason for high rates of short-distance migration by the sons of Cuckney and Norton, and also of Forton and Cabus, where no urban location could be found within five miles. Rural workers would perhaps have not seen the need to seek a new type of employment in the towns and cities, and were more content with working in the occupations they knew well.

There are many examples of sons who moved to rural locations around and beyond nearby towns and cities. Matthew Lee, for instance, chose to bypass Doncaster when he

moved north from Loversall, and was working as a coachman in the village Clayton cum Frickley in 1881. Farm labourer John Elvidge, and carter Henry Battey, could both be found 20 miles from their childhood village of Wadworth by 1881, living beyond Doncaster and Barnsley in the village of Barugh. And George Lambert of Wadworth who, in his teens, moved a few miles north of Sheffield to work as a groom at Wentworth Woodhouse, the estate of the 6th Earl Fitzwilliam. By 1871 he had moved 50 miles south, passed Sheffield and Derby to the small Staffordshire village of Dunstall. He briefly returned to Wadworth in the early 1870s before moving with his wife and son to rural Lincolnshire, where he ran the *Red Lion* inn at Wilsford.

Many of the migrants sons also ignored nearby urban locations for more distant *urban* alternatives. Hull, Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham and London all feature in the list of locations for the Sheffield area sons. This observation is also clear in the statistics for Forton and Cabus, where Lancaster, Preston and Fleetwood were often disregarded in favour of far more distant towns and cities, such as Bolton, Bradford and Liverpool. Table 4.4 shows that all but 3 of the 21 long-distance migrants were found in an urban location. This again highlights the fact that many who sought a move to a town or city were not always to be found in those close-by, and that those who sought a rural location rarely moved outside of the area. Additionally, the figures show that the lack of a nearby town or city may well have led to more frequent *long-distance* urban migration. Percentages of urban migration for Forton and Cabus, and Cuckney and Norton, were comparatively low within 30 miles. However, the overall urban migration rates for these villages were far closer to that of Wadworth and Loversall. The figures for Forton and Cabus especially, reveal that their remote, rural location exacerbated the rate of long-distance urban migration.

It would be interesting to note whether many of the rural migrants were at least making their way *towards* centres of commerce and industry. For the sons of Cuckney and Norton, many could be found in the villages on the way to Sheffield. However, there were just as many rural migrants who moved in the opposite direction. Additionally, the sons of Wadworth and Loversall tended to move north-west, not towards Sheffield, but towards the less industrious Barnsley, Wakefield and Huddersfield. In fact only three of the rural migrants from these villages moved towards Sheffield. Ernst Ravenstein and A. W. Flux noted that, at the county level, men migrated towards areas of industry. However, at the micro-level this movement seems to have been less obvious.

The railways could perhaps have had an effect on the migration patterns from these northern villages. For Waddington and West Bradford, with Clitheroe station on their doorstep, travel by rail must have been not only tempting, but also relatively easy, and this was the same for all four pairs of villages. Each had a railway station within five miles by 1851. Additionally, unlike many of the rail networks near the villages from the rural counties in this study, where only a single rail line existed, there was far more of a network of lines in the industrial north. Nevertheless, of all 226 migrant sons traced from these four pairs of villages, only one could be found in Manchester, four in Liverpool, two in Leeds, and two in London. Even looking at lifetime migration between 1851 and 1901 reveals little additional moves to major towns and cities, and certainly no more moves to either Manchester or London.

Investigations will now turn to the occupations held by the urban migrants. Table 4.5 shows the last known occupation of the sons who moved to an urban environment. This is compared to the prevalence of rural occupations, represented by those held by rural persisters in 1861. As with the previous chapter, only agricultural workers and tradesmen have been used, but also a separate set of statistics for cotton workers has been included.

	<u>OCCUPATION</u>	<u>OCCUPATIONS OF RURAL PERSISTERS IN 1861</u>	<u>LAST KNOWN RURAL OCCUPATION OF URBAN MIGRANTS</u>	<u>+/-</u>
LANCASHIRE	Ag workers	46%	47%	+1
	Tradesmen	21%	16%	-4
	Cotton workers	15%	19%	+4
SHEFFIELD AREA	Ag workers	50%	48%	-2
	Tradesmen	23%	19%	-4
TOTAL	Ag workers	48%	47%	-1
	Tradesmen	22%	17%	-5

Table 4.5: Comparison of the percentage of those agricultural workers, tradesmen and cotton workers who migrated to urban areas with those who remained rural.

The differences here are marginal, but the figures show that agricultural workers were no less likely to be urban migrants than tradesmen.⁵¹ With a total average of 22 per cent of the sons occupied as tradesmen, just 17 per cent of the urban migrants (20 out of 115) were tradesmen. This pattern can be observed for both Lancashire and Sheffield area. Cotton workers were naturally more likely to migrate to urban areas, with all but 2 of the 12 urban migrants from this occupation migrating to Clitheroe.⁵²

Additionally, it would be interesting to note the occupations held by those few who left for the major northern towns and cities. The most popular urban destinations for Lancashire sons (excluding Clitheroe) were Blackburn, Rochdale and Lancaster. For the Sheffield area sons, Sheffield and Doncaster were the favoured destinations. Liverpool, Manchester and Leeds joined Sheffield in the six most populated cities in England in 1861,⁵³ so these shall be included. Additionally, Bradford, Preston, Oldham, Bolton, and Nottingham will also be included, as they all featured in the top twenty most populated towns and cities in 1861. Tables 4.6 and 4.7 list all the sons who migrated to these towns and cities (from Lancashire and the Sheffield area respectively), comparing their occupations held with that of their previous occupation.

Numbers here are small, but this simply highlights the lack of pull these industrial towns and cities had on the northern migrant sons. What is clear from both Lancashire and Sheffield area, is that those working in trade almost invariably remained in that occupation on their move to the town. A move for tradesmen appears to simply be a way of perhaps obtaining more trade. For example, Samuel Alcock of Wadworth was an apprentice draper and grocer in nearby Conisbrough in 1861, and by 1870 had moved to Sheffield where he set up his own grocery business, employing both staff and a household servant. William Burgess of Waddington and John Barton of Cabus, both stonemasons, were able to ply their trade in Bradford and Liverpool respectively.

However, for those not working in trade, there was a clear difference between the two areas. For the sons of the Sheffield area, a move to a major town or city invariably meant a move into industry or factory work. A similar move for the Lancashire sons often meant either a move up the occupational hierarchy to a better job, or an equivalent agricultural job. For instance, not one of the 16 Sheffield area sons working outside

⁵¹ The figures for agricultural workers do not include the small percentage of farmers, and the figures for tradesmen do not include the few sons working *in* trade.

⁵² The other two urban migrant cotton workers were found in Blackburn and Bacup.

⁵³ <http://www.buildinghistory.org/town-rank.shtml>.

<u>Previous occupation</u>		<u>Occupation in major town/city</u>	<u>Town/city</u>
Agricultural labourer	Agriculture	Police constable	Oldham
Agricultural labourer		Butcher	Preston
Agricultural servant		Cowman	Bolton
Farm servant		Carter	Blackburn
Cowman		Farm servant	Preston
Farmer's son		Police detective	Lancaster
Farmer's son		Butcher	Rochdale
Farmer's son		Butcher's servant	Rochdale
Farmer		Farmer	Rochdale
Butcher	Trade	Butcher	Blackburn
Chairmaker		Chairmaker	Blackburn
Innkeeper		Carter	Lancaster
Stonemason		Stonemason	Bradford
Stonemason		Stonemason	Liverpool
Wheelwright		Wheelwright	Blackburn
Wood turner		Wood turner	Blackburn
Draper's assistant		Grocer & draper	Bradford
Blacksmith's labourer		General labourer	Preston
Cotton piecer	Other	Cotton Grinder	Blackburn
Waterworks labourer		Agricultural labourer	Blackburn
Servant		Brewery porter	Blackburn
Assurance agent		Life insurance agent	Blackburn
Quarryman		Shoemaker	Blackburn
Railway labourer		Gardener	Lancaster

Table 4.6: Comparison of the occupations held by Lancashire migrant sons to the major northern towns and cities with that of their previous occupation.

<u>Previous occupation</u>		<u>Occupation in major town/city</u>	<u>Town/city</u>
Agricultural labourer	Agriculture	Agricultural labourer	Doncaster
Agricultural labourer		Agricultural labourer	Sheffield
Agricultural labourer		Gas fitter's labourer	Doncaster
Agricultural labourer		Lace maker	Nottingham
Agricultural labourer		Coke burner	Sheffield
Ploughman		Steel melter	Leeds
Farmer's son		Agricultural labourer	Doncaster
Baker	Trade	Shopkeeper	Liverpool
Blacksmith		Blacksmith	Leeds
Draper & grocer		Grocer	Sheffield
Innkeeper		Builder	Sheffield
Joiner		Joiner	Sheffield
Shopkeeper		Ironworks foreman	Sheffield
Wheelwright		Wheelwright	Doncaster
Brickmaker		Brickmaker	Doncaster
Carter	Other	Carter	Sheffield
Carter		Coal miner	Sheffield
Coal carrier		Ironworks labourer	Sheffield
Colliery carter		Engine works labourer	Sheffield
Groom		Railway stoker	Doncaster
Groom		Coal miner	Sheffield
Attorney's clerk		Solicitor's clerk	Sheffield
Railway labourer		Machinist	Sheffield
Coachman		Plant labourer	Doncaster

Table 4.7: Comparison of the occupations held by Sheffield area migrant sons to the major northern towns and cities with that of their previous occupation.

trade found a higher class occupation on moving to a major town or city. Yet 6 of their 15 counterparts from the Lancashire villages improved their occupational status with the same type of move.

For example, from the Sheffield area, William Adams, an agricultural labourer from Wadworth, moved to Sheffield in the 1860s and worked as a coke burner for the rest of his life. His neighbour, ploughman George Singleton, moved to Leeds and became a steel melter. These are typical examples of the moves of Sheffield area sons to the towns and cities. However, from Lancashire, there are many examples of occupational improvement. Abraham Cross of Cabus was working as an agricultural labourer as a teenager, the son of an agricultural labourer. By 1861 he was working as a police constable in Oldham, and later moved to Bradford to work as a grocer. Farmer's son, James Hey of Forton, moved to Lancaster, and then on to Carlisle, where he was a police detective. And an example of migration in later life, Dent Nowell of West Bradford was a stone quarryman, and the son of a lime burner. He worked as a quarryman into his fifties. However, on migration to Blackburn in the 1890s he became a self-employed shoemaker. Again, these are just selected examples from a small dataset, and may be treated with a certain degree of caution. Nevertheless, the difference between the experiences of these few sons from the two areas is quite clear. It would appear that a move to Sheffield or Doncaster did not often result in a higher rated occupation, and this may lead some way towards an explanation as to why these urban locations were less popular with the migrants than one might have expected.

Of the 10 who migrated to Blackburn, only one was working in its thriving cotton industry; John Hoyle of Waddington, who remained in menial cotton factory work until his death aged 45. And of the 13 who migrated to Sheffield,⁵⁴ only 5 could be said to be working within heavy industry. Regardless of the advantages or disadvantages of migrating to the major towns and cities of the north, these locations clearly provided very little attraction to the sons of these northern villages.

It is with investigations such as this where the advantages of taking research down to a more local level become apparent. Research at a broad level, even simply isolating the industrial north, would not have picked up the differences highlighted in tables 4.6 and

⁵⁴ 18 migrants to Sheffield have already been noted. However, for 5 of these a previous occupation is unknown.

4.7. Jason Long's use of a 'nationally representative 2-percent sample',⁵⁵ for example, would fail to appreciate the contrasting results migration had on occupational status across different areas. Long's conclusion that 'Moving to the city allowed the average mover to obtain a better job than he would have been able to get had he remained in a rural place...' ⁵⁶ is inconsistent with the results of the Sheffield area migrant sons, and also with the comparison between these and the results of the Lancashire sons. If the sons noted in tables 4.6 and 4.7 are representative of the wider rural area within these districts, then work as policemen and butchers would have been obtainable by rural agricultural workers moving to urban Lancashire. However, their equivalents moving to the urban areas around Sheffield would have been far more likely to have been found in labouring jobs or heavy industrial factory work. Long may have been right to conclude that 'On average, people from all socio-economic strata who moved to the city were substantially more successful in improving their socioeconomic status...' ⁵⁷ However, the 'average' hides many local variations, which should be investigated, analysed and discussed.

The migrant daughters

It has been found that the daughters of Waddington and West Bradford were more likely to remain in their village by 1881 than any of the other villages in this study thus far. Much of this was linked to the local cotton industry, and this consequently had an effect on the prevalence of migration within the unmarried daughters. Table 4.8 shows the percentage of unmarried daughters found living away from the parental home at the time of the 1861 census.⁵⁸

At just 12 per cent, the unmarried daughters of Waddington and West Bradford were far less likely to be found outside the parental home than their cohorts in the six other villages, which averaged 41 per cent. Of the 42 Waddington and West Bradford daughters who were still within the parental home, 31 were noted as holding an occupation, and 27 (64 per cent) were involved in the cotton industry. The low rate of

⁵⁵ J. Long, 'Rural-Urban Migration and Socioeconomic Mobility in Victorian Britain', *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol.65, No.1, (March 2005) p.4.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p.26.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p.29.

⁵⁸ Those living in the village with a close relative (i.e. brother, sister, uncle or aunt) were classed as within the parental home. Widows were classed as having been married.

<u>VILLAGE</u>	<u>Daughters living away from the parental home</u>
Waddington & West Bradford	6/48 (12%)
Forton & Cabus	12/34 (35%)
Wadworth & Loversall	18/42 (43%)
Cuckney & Norton	27/52 (46%)

Table 4.8: Rates of unmarried daughters living away from the parental home at the time of the 1861 census.

migration from these two villages was clearly a direct effect of the work available within this local industry. The advantages of children's income into the household has been discussed, and these daughters, all aged between 15 and 25 in 1861, were supplementing the family income by remaining at home. 10 of the 27 cotton workers were weavers, which would have yielded a higher wage than the more menial jobs often carried out by young women and children, such as cotton rovers, carders and piecers.⁵⁹

Domestic service was usually a common occupation amongst female rural migrants, and by 1851 was the second largest occupation for women, after agriculture.⁶⁰ The 1861 census noted 976,932 female domestic servants working in England and Wales.⁶¹ The prevalence of domestic industry can be clearly seen in table 4.9. These figures show the percentages of unmarried daughters, who had left the parental household, working in domestic service in 1861.

This table reveals that work in domestic service was indeed the main occupation for the unmarried migrant daughters. Disregarding Waddington and West Bradford, 91 per cent of the daughters who had an occupation noted were in service, with just 5 of the 57 daughters not working in service. For the daughters of Waddington and West Bradford the need to go into service was negated by the prevalence of a local industry. John O'Neill's daughter Jane, for instance, would have had no need to look further afield for

⁵⁹ The area around Forton and Cabus also saw a small number of cotton industry jobs, with 6 of the 22 daughters remaining with their parents were in cotton work.

⁶⁰ J. Burnett (ed.), *Useful Toil* (Harmondsworth, 1974) pp.136-7.

⁶¹ Census of England and Wales for the year 1861. Population tables. Vol. II. Part 1, 1861, page xxxvii. Table XVII.

<u>VILLAGE</u>	<u>Working in domestic service</u>
Waddington & West Bradford	1/6 (17%)
Forton & Cabus	10/12 (83%)
Wadworth & Loversall	18/18 (100%)
Cuckney & Norton	24/27 (89%)

Table 4.9: Rates of domestic service for all unmarried daughters noted as having an occupation on the 1861 census while living away from the parental home.

employment, and could remain in the family home while supplementing the household income. The cotton industry around Clitheroe had resulted in few unmarried daughters both from leaving the parental household, and from working in domestic service.

As with the sons, the prevalence of work in the cotton industry would undoubtedly have had an effect on patterns of migration of the daughters. Figures 4.17 and 4.18 show the rates of distance migration for the unmarried daughters, using their last known location up to 1881.

Regardless of the small dataset, these graphs clearly show significant enough variations to be of use. The effect of the cotton industry can clearly be seen in the high rate of short-distance migration by the daughters of Waddington and West Bradford, with 11 of the 14 daughters remaining within 5 miles. 6 of these 11 were working in the cotton industry, including Ann Titterington and Jane Jackson, who had both managed to attain jobs as power loom weavers by the age of 16.

More of interest perhaps, is the stark contrast between the two pairs of Sheffield area villages. At 71 per cent (15 out of 21), the unmarried daughters of Wadworth and Loversall were prolific short-distance migrants, whereas with just 7 out of 29 remaining within five miles, those of Cuckney and Norton were far more likely to migrate away from the local area. It has already been noted that domestic service was a highly common occupation for the migrant daughters. For those of Wadworth and Loversall, of the total 18 migrant daughters who had an occupation noted on the census, all bar one

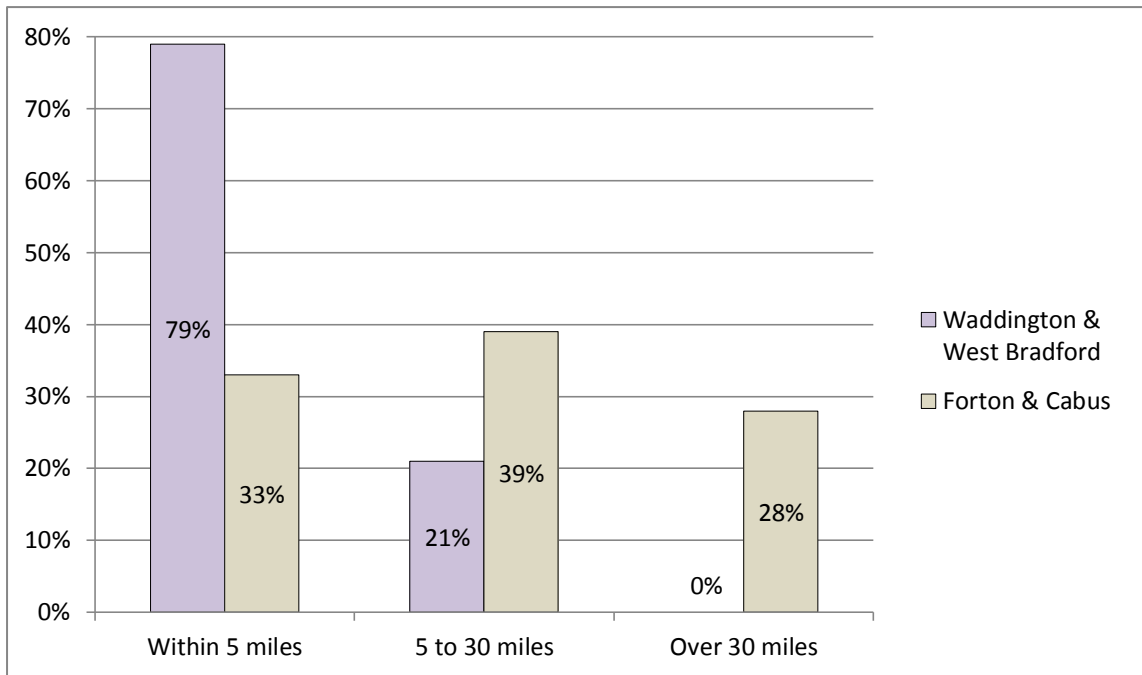


Figure 4.17: Distance travelled by daughters who left home, unmarried, by 1881. (Lancashire villages).

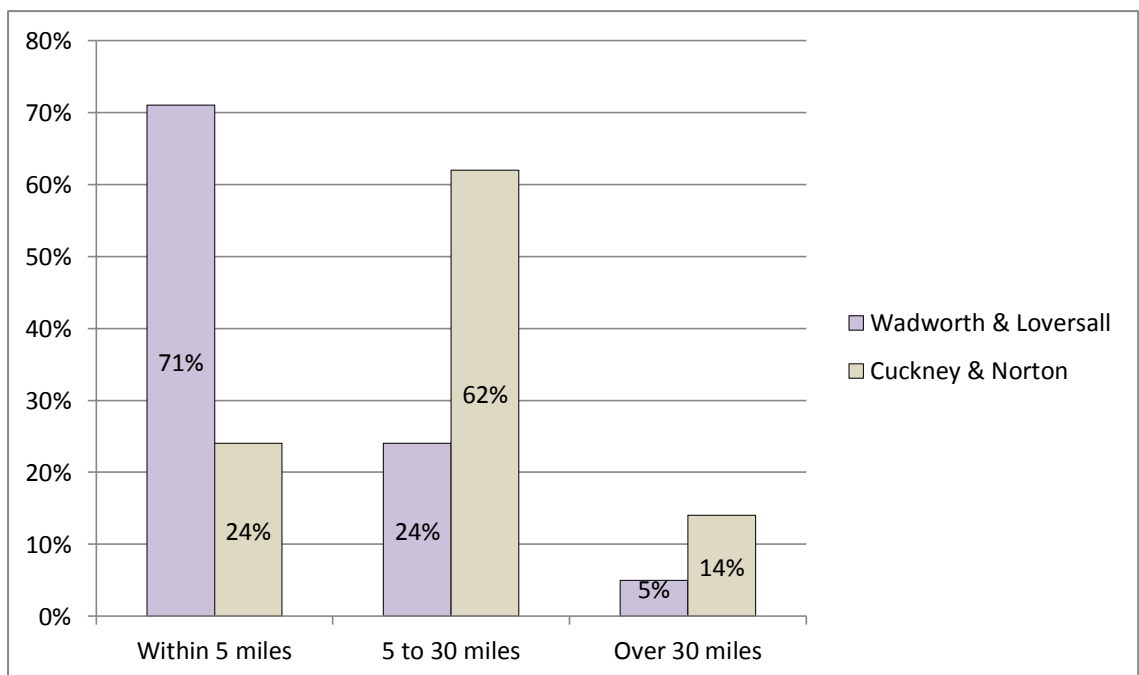


Figure 4.18: Distance travelled by daughters who left home, unmarried, by 1881, using the last known census location. (Sheffield area villages).

were working as domestic servants, and 11 of these 17 (65 per cent) did not need to move more than five miles from their village. Of the 20 domestic servants from Cuckney and Norton, just 4 (20 per cent) remained within five miles of their village. The daughters of these latter two villages were clearly moving further afield to obtain work.

Observing the occupations held by those daughters who remained in the parental home in 1861 reveals an interesting addition. Whereas just one daughter from the Lancashire villages remaining in the parental home was noted as a 'servant' in 1861, and one from Cuckney and Norton, 12 (out of 24) from Wadworth and Loversall were described as 'servants'. Daughters within the parental household were often noted as 'housekeeper' under 'occupation' on the census returns, but their 'condition' would still be noted as 'daughter.' However, these daughters of Wadworth and Loversall were all housemaids and kitchen maids, with their condition noted as 'servant', implying they were living at home, but working elsewhere in the local area as a servant. For example, 18-year-old Eliza Cooper was living with her parents in Wadworth, and working as a kitchen maid. 20-year-old Hannah Booth was also living with her parents, working as a housemaid. And sisters Sarah and Hannah Watson were working as a housemaid and kitchen maid, respectively, whilst living in the parental home. Whereas the daughters of Cuckney and Norton appear to have needed to travel some distance for domestic service work, the area in and around Wadworth and Loversall clearly provided enough work, greatly restricting the rates of migration over five miles. It was therefore not only the cotton industry which could keep unmarried daughters local, but also the prevalence of domestic work could be a key factor in keeping young women from certain villages local.

The villages of Waddington and West Bradford, and Wadworth and Loversall, were located within five miles of a significant urban town. One therefore might expect a higher rate of urban migration by the daughters of these villages. However, it has also been noted that the availability of work in the cotton industry was responsible for keeping a large percentage of unmarried daughters of Waddington and West Bradford within their parental homes. Additionally, domestic service was locally available for those of Wadworth and Loversall, with many daughters remaining within the parental household whilst working as domestic servants. These factors may have had a

significant effect on the prevalence of urban migration. Figure 4.19 shows the percentages for all unmarried daughters who were found in an urban area by 1881.⁶²

These figures reveal that the urban migration rates for both Waddington and West Bradford, and Wadworth and Loversall, were significantly lower than those of the other villages, despite their proximity to a large town. Of the 50 unmarried daughters from Waddington and West Bradford, just 6 were last found in an urban location. 4 of these

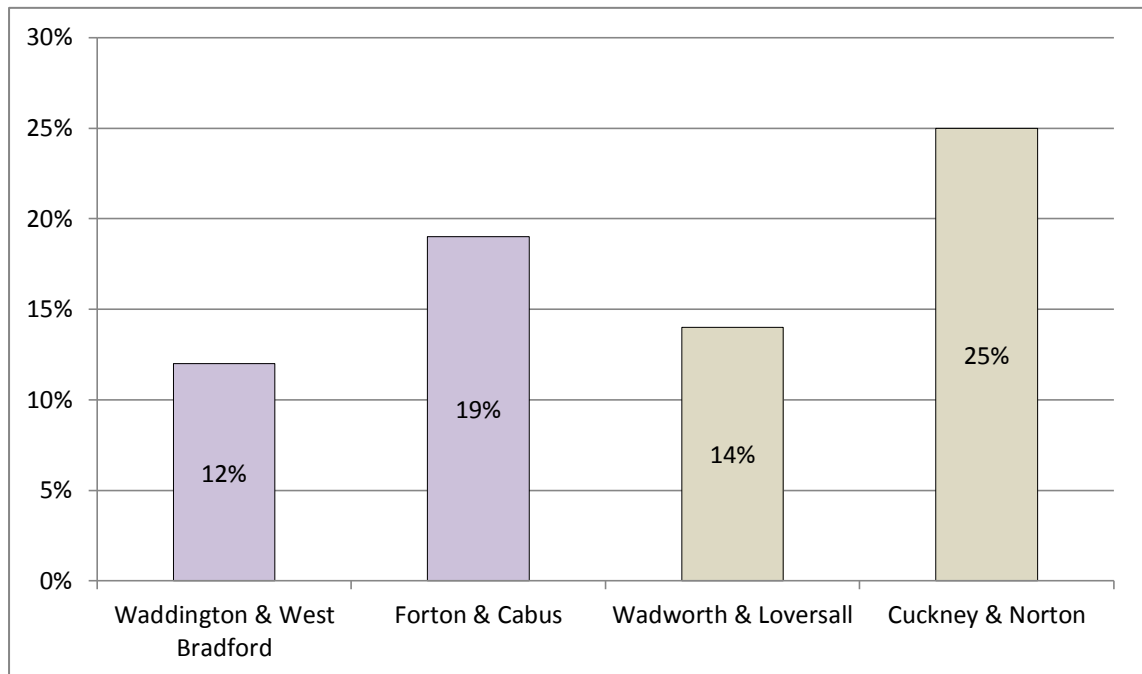


Figure 4.19: Percentage of all unmarried daughters who migrated to an urban area by 1881, using the last known census location. (Lancashire and Sheffield area).

were living in Clitheroe, and all working in the cotton industry. The remaining 2 were Isabella Leeming, working as a milliner in Accrington, and Catherine Pinder, who was living with her brother in Blackburn. Of the 44 daughters who remained rural, 27 (61 per cent) were working in cotton, with 87 per cent (27 out of 31) of all occupation holders working in the trade. With work in cotton so prolific, and available whilst living in the local area, there would have been little incentive to travel into the towns and

⁶² These figures include those daughters who remained within their village, as this investigation is concerned with the effects of occupations available both outside, and within, the parental home.

cities. It would therefore appear that local, rural work in the cotton industry was greatly responsible for the low rate of urban migration.

As with distance migration, there was a significant difference between the urban migration rates of Wadworth and Loversall, and Cuckney and Norton. 43 unmarried daughters of Wadworth and Loversall could be located on the census up to 1881. Of these, just 6 saw their last known location in an urban area. 5 of these were living in nearby Doncaster, with the remaining daughter, Charlotte Spittle, in Scarborough. All 6 of these daughters were working as domestic servants. Of the 37 who remained rural, 24 held an occupation, and 17 of these (71 per cent) were in domestic service. It has already been seen that many daughters were able to remain within their parental home in these two villages whilst working in service. As with the Waddington and West Bradford daughters, it appears migration to an urban destination for those of Wadworth and Loversall was largely unnecessary, as much work could be found within the local, rural area.

These investigations show that, as with the sons, proximity to an urban location did not always result in higher rates of urban migration. The two pairs of villages which displayed the lowest rates of urban migration were the two found with a neighbouring large town. Towns and cities could offer certain types of lucrative employment for young women, but if that same employment was available within the local area, or even within the village, the need, or desire, to migrate to an urban location would have been significantly diminished. The cotton industry greatly influenced migration patterns for the unmarried daughters of Waddington and West Bradford; not by drawing them in to the great cotton manufacturing towns and cities, but by keeping them local and rural. For those of Wadworth and Loversall, the availability of domestic work within the village area appeared to have influenced the low rates of urban migration. In both these pairs of villages, employment was possible whilst remaining within the parental home, and this was clearly a favourable situation for many young women, who otherwise may well have migrated into the towns in order to work.

Monyash, Derbyshire

Having looked at four villages located near the cotton industries of Lancashire, and four near the heavy industry of Sheffield, this chapter shall lastly investigate the migratory

habits of the sons and daughters of a village equidistant from both areas. By looking at a remote village, located a reasonable distance from the industrial northern towns and cities, but not too distant to stop a determined young man or woman migrate towards them, it should be possible to observe how great a pull, if any, these places exerted.

The village of Monyash is situated within a remote area of the Peak District, in the northern half of Derbyshire. In 1851 it reached its peak population of 473 inhabitants.⁶³ It is around twenty miles south-west of Sheffield, and thirty miles south-east of Manchester. The nearest place of any significance is the small market town of Buxton, ten miles away, which had well under 2,000 inhabitants in 1851. Robert Henry Cheney was the Lord of the Manor, and considerable owner of the parish, along with seven others, including the Duke of Devonshire.⁶⁴ In 1861 Robert Cheney decided to sell his Monyash estate of 542 acres, comprising of over 200 fields, and other landowners, as a few tenants were in a position to purchase some of this land.⁶⁵ 61 per cent of the working men in this village were engaged in agriculture in 1851, and these included 32 farmers, although all but 6 were farming less than one hundred acres. There was a good range of trade, including blacksmiths, butchers, potters and shoemakers, and the village was an almost self-sufficient community.⁶⁶ However, none of the tradesmen here were in a position to employ anyone it seems. Nevertheless, the large number of farmers resulted in Monyash having 40 per cent of its working men holding a Class III or above occupation, putting this village on a par with Loversall and Waddington. There were 19 lead miners in Monyash at this time. Lead mining had been practiced in this area since at least the eleventh century, with the Greensward mine at Monyash being in use from as far back as the sixteenth century, right up to the end of the nineteenth century.⁶⁷ 13 of these 19 miners were born in Monyash. 63 per cent of all Monyash residents in 1851 were born in the village, with 82 per cent born within 5 miles of the village, highlighting the remoteness of the area.

There appears to have been little work for the women in 1851, apart from domestic service. With just 28 out of the 139 women in the village, aged 14 or over, noted as having an occupation on the census return of 1851, this was lower than any of

⁶³ R. Johnston & S. Johnston, *Monyash; The Making of a Derbyshire Village* (Ashbourne, 2010) p.75.

⁶⁴ *White's History, Gazetteer and Directory of the County of Derby*, 1857.

⁶⁵ R. Johnston & S. Johnston, *Monyash; The Making of a Derbyshire Village* (Ashbourne, 2010) p.80.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p.76.

⁶⁷ R. Buckley & M. Howard, 'Greensward Mine and its Pumps, Monyash, Derbyshire', *Bulletin of the Peak District Mines Historical Society*, Volume 23, Number 6, (Winter 1995) p.68.

Monyash

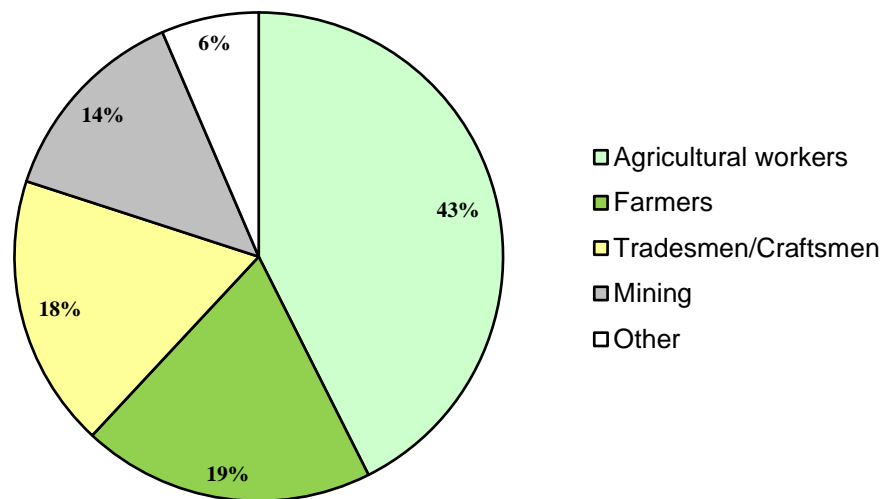


Table 4.20: Distribution of occupation types for all male residents of Monyash at the time of the 1851 census.

Monyash

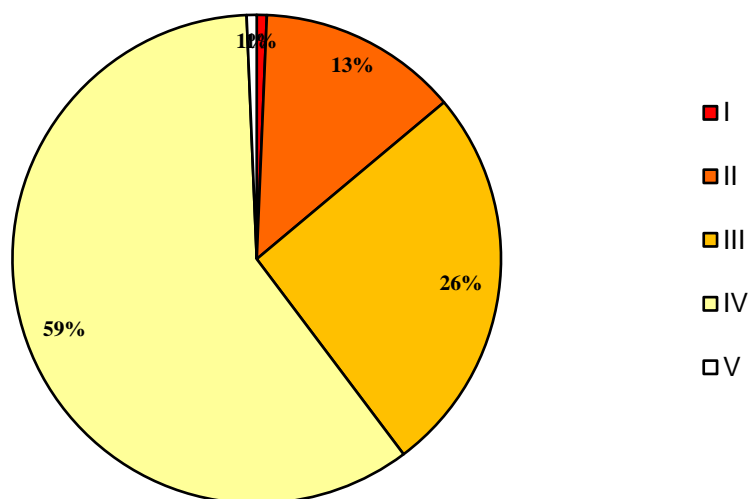


Table 4.21: Distribution of occupational classes for male heads of households in Monyash at the time of the 1851 census.

the villages of Lancashire and the Sheffield area. Two of the house servants in the village in 1851, Eliza Dicken and Hannah Slack, were just ten years old. Previously villages have shown that few domestic servants were from within the villages themselves. However, this was not true of Monyash, where one in three household servants had been born in the village; again perhaps highlighting its remoteness. Only one female was working in trade, and that was milliner Mary Slack, whose husband John was one of the four grocers in the village.

Despite the remote location of the villages in this area, the road networks were good, and the coming of the London and North Western Railway Company in 1861 resulted in easy and frequent rail travel north to Manchester or south to London.⁶⁸

Analysis

Figure 4.22 shows the comparison between the sons and daughters of Monyash with regards to village staying. The sons clearly outweighed the daughters at 34 per cent (21 out of 62). And with a mean average of just 18 per cent for both sons and daughters in the villages of Lancashire and the Sheffield area, the sons outweigh any of the other villages so far studied in this thesis, with the exception of the Northumberland fishing

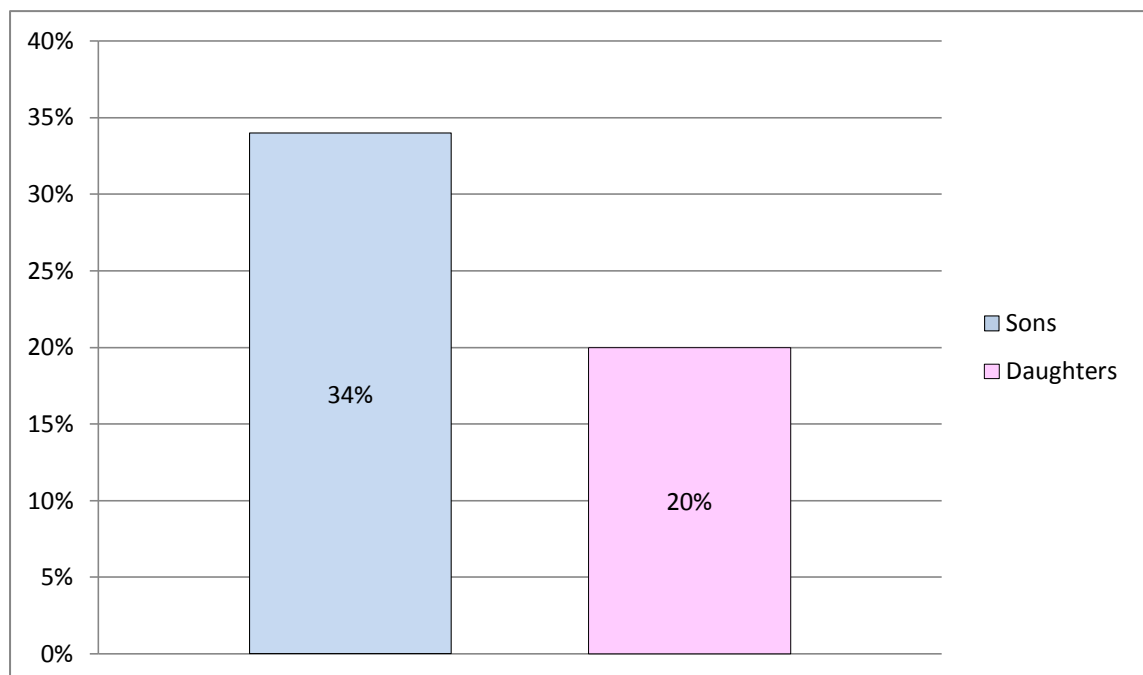


Figure 4.22: Sons and daughters of Monyash still living in the village in 1881.

⁶⁸ R. Johnston & S. Johnston, *Monyash; The Making of a Derbyshire Village* (Ashbourne, 2010) p.94.

village of Craster. The daughters, at 20 per cent (10 out of 49), displayed an average village staying rate consistent with that of the daughters in the villages of the industrial north. Clearly something was keeping the sons within the village. If it was the remoteness of the village then surely the daughters would have shown an equal rate of village staying. A look at the occupations held by the sons may lead towards an answer.

The main occupation for these village stayers was in farming. 8 of the 21 village stayer sons worked as a farmer in 1881, 3 more were agricultural labourers and shepherds, 5 worked in trade, 3 working in the lead mines, and the other 2 were a railway plate layer and a road labourer. Farming was a highly common occupation in Monyash, although many were small farmers. It is also interesting to note that just 2 of the 8 village stayer farmers in 1881 were farmers twenty years earlier in 1861. For instance, Jesse Bonsall was an agricultural labourer in 1871, but by 1881 was farming 8 acres. John Hibbert was a lead miner in 1871, and a farmer of 18 acres in 1881. And John White worked as a carter and farm labourer, but was farming 26 acres in 1881. Whether this had a connection to the selling off of farm land in the 1860s by Robert Cheney, it is difficult to tell, but the fact remains that small farmers were common in Monyash in 1881. Of the 10 daughters who remained in the village in 1881, 9 were married, and 5 of these were married to farmers. Just one of the husbands farmed more than 20 acres. So yet again, small farmers clearly had an impact on keeping people within the village.

	<u>LAST KNOWN OCCUPATION OF THOSE WHO MIGRATED</u>	<u>OCCUPATIONS HELD BY VILLAGE STAYERS IN 1881</u>	<u>+/-</u>
Agricultural workers	9	3	-6
Farmers	1	8	+7
Tradesmen	4	5	+1
Miners	4	4	0
Others	3	1	-2
TOTAL	21	21	

Table 4.10: Comparison of the last known occupation held by migrants from Monyash with the occupations held by village stayers in 1881.

Table 4.10 shows the comparison between the occupations held by the village stayer sons with the last known occupations held by the migrants. (Both sets of data consisted of 21 occupations). These figures clearly show that farming was not only the most common occupation held by village stayers, but also the highest growing occupation compared to the occupations of those who left the village.

Figure 4.23 shows the rates of distance migration by the 30 Monyash sons found living away from the village by 1881. 11 (37 per cent) remained within five miles. With no urban location within this radius, these sons remained firmly rural, and were scattered across 10 separate villages. 18 sons (60 per cent) were found between 5 and 30 miles away, with the village of Burbage attracting 3 sons. However, the most common location was Sheffield, with 4 sons found in this city. Only one showed a last known location over 30 miles away, and that was Henry Bowman, who moved to rural Normanton-on-Soar, in Nottinghamshire. As with both Lancashire and the Sheffield area sons, long-distance migration was not favoured by those of Monyash.

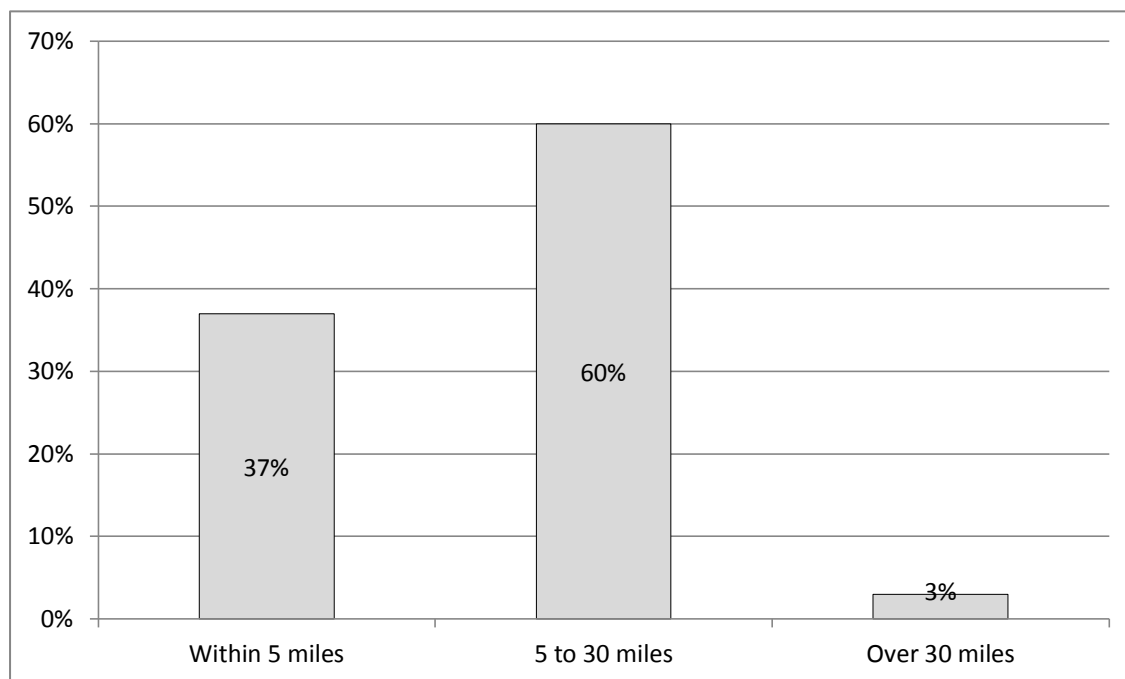


Figure 4.23: Distance travelled by migrant sons by 1881. (Monyash).

Just 8 of the 30 migrant sons (27 per cent) were to be found in an urban location, lower than any of the villages in Lancashire or the Sheffield area. Along with the 4 in

Sheffield, there were 2 in Buxton, 1 in Manchester, and 1 in Barnsley. However, it is interesting to note that many of the rural locations were in close proximity to a major town or city. 2 sons had moved to the town of Buxton, but another 3 had moved to rural Burbage, just a mile from the centre of Buxton. And 2 brothers, Richard and George Bonsall, moved to rural Brampton, which was located just a mile or two from the large town of Chesterfield. The high rate of middle-distance migration from Monyash indicates that those who chose to migrate were heading towards the industrial north, and if not living within the towns and cities, were situated extremely close to them. The map in figure 4.24 clearly shows all but 2 sons migrating north of Monyash, towards the industrial towns and cities.



Figure 4.24: The last known locations of the Monyash migrant sons by 1881.

The studies of migration by Ernst Ravenstein, and later historians such as A. W. Flux, showed that men tended to migrate towards areas of industry. This did not seem true of a great many of the Sheffield area migrants, who were found to move mostly away from nearby towns and cities. However, the situation with Monyash was slightly different. Whereas the Sheffield area migrants were in close proximity to many towns, Monyash was situated in a remote part of Derbyshire, and migrants would have needed to travel much further distances in order to be in close proximity to towns and cities. This is more akin to the studies made by Ravenstein and Flux who were dealing with county and (in Flux's case) district levels of migration. The Monyash sons would have had to move from their district, and often the whole county, in order to find themselves close to a large urban area. The theory that men tended to migrate towards urban centres therefore, in this case, would appear to be true. Additionally, despite being located within a vast rural area, Monyash was nevertheless surrounded by many other villages, was close a railway running both north and south,⁶⁹ and did not have the physical geographic restrictions experienced by villages such as Waddington and West Bradford. Migrants from Monyash had the opportunity to migrate to the south, towards the more distant and less urbanised Stoke, or Derby. The conditions of sale for Robert Cheneys's freehold estate in 1861 stated that Monyash was 'on the verge of good roads and approaches in every direction.'⁷⁰ However, the map in figure 4.24 reveals just two sons making their way southwards. It would appear that at this more macro-level, sons were indeed drawn towards the urban areas.

Turning to the occupations held by the migrant sons, 3 of the 11 short-distance migrants were farmers. However, a surprising 8 out of the 19 longer distance migrants were also farmers. Farming was a common occupation in Monyash, but it seems both village stayers *and* migrants were occupied as farmers in great numbers. The 2 sons who moved to Brampton, near Chesterfield (brothers Richard and George Bonsall) were farming 106 acres and 54 acres respectively, and even William Needham, who migrated to urban Ecclesall, on the outskirts of Sheffield, was working as a farmer. He had initially moved to Chesterfield, and then on to Sheffield where he worked as a joiner and builder. However, by 1881 he was farming 33 acres of land there.

⁶⁹ J. Holland & D. Spaven, *Mapping the Railways* (Glasgow, 2013) p.68.

⁷⁰ R. Johnston & S. Johnston, *Monyash; The Making of a Derbyshire Village* (Ashbourne, 2010) p.80.

Despite table 4.10 showing only one migrant as having a last occupation in the village as a farmer, many sons were working as farmers in their new locations. These migrant sons either moved into farming shortly before they left the village, or, in many cases, became farmers once they had moved. Richard Bonsall, for example, was working as an agricultural labourer in Monyash in 1861, then moved to Bakewell where he worked as a farm bailiff before moving on to Brampton, near Chesterfield farming 106 acres. Charles Critchlow was a carter in the village 1861, but by 1871 was farming 108 acres in Chapel-en-le-Frith. Farming appears to have been an occupation the sons of Monyash could take and apply to many a location outside their village. Overall, the migrants shared a wide range of occupation types. Even those who migrated to Sheffield shared a variety of jobs; a farmer, a millwright, a cattle dealer and a gas works stoker.

The daughters

The unmarried daughters of Monyash shall now be investigated in order to establish where these young, single women migrated, and whether the attraction of urban life resulted in greater migration rates for daughters over sons. Figure 4.25 shows the distances migrated by unmarried daughters.

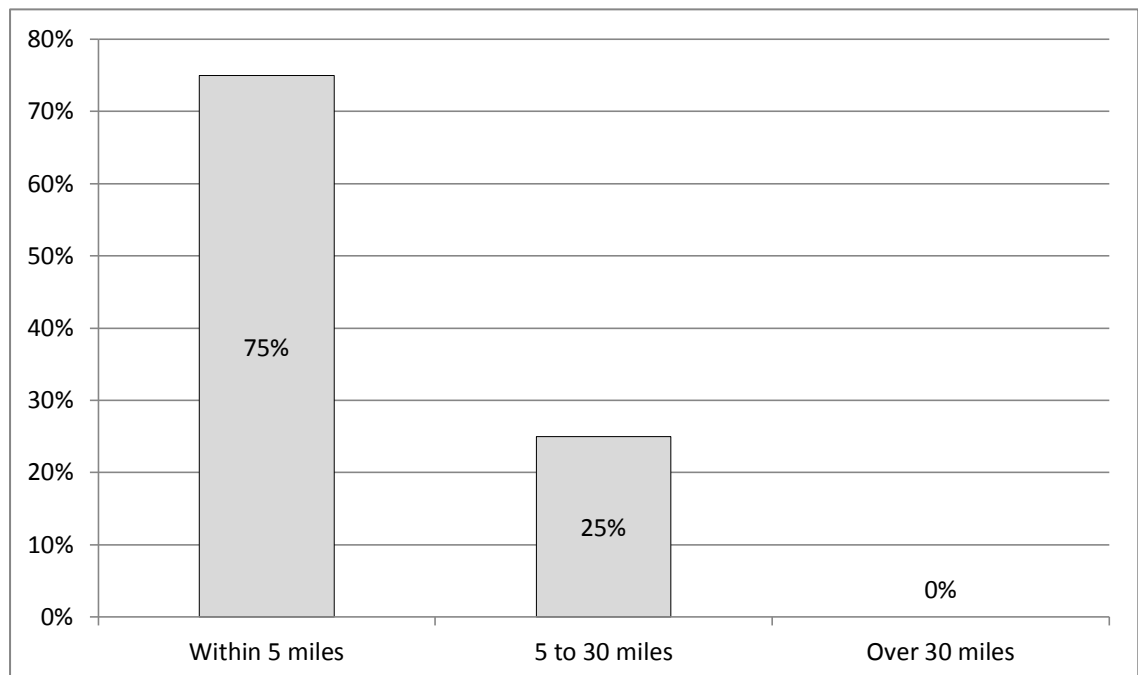


Figure 4.25: Distance travelled by daughters who left home unmarried by 1881. (Monyash).

Although married daughters left the village in great numbers, there was little migration found by those who were still unmarried. Of the 40 daughters used from this village, only 16 were found away from their parental home before marriage. Nevertheless, the pattern of distance migration is revealing. 75 per cent (12 of the 16) remained within five miles of Monyash, and of the remaining 4, not one migrated over 30 miles. Of the 12 who remained within five miles, 4 worked as dairymaids, and 7 as domestic servants. Just one daughter was noted as living in any urban location whilst unmarried. This was Ann Slater. In 1851, aged 19, she was described as a 'servant out of place'. In her twenties she moved to Macclesfield, finding employment as a domestic servant. Even observing lifetime migration, not one other Monyash daughter was noted in an urban location at any time whilst unmarried.

This pattern did not conform to that of their remote counterparts of Forton and Cabus, and Cuckney and Norton, whose daughters migrated further, and were far more likely to find themselves in an urban environment. It is possible this could have been due to the extra remoteness of the village that stunted the rates of migration from this very rural part of Derbyshire. However, the working lives of the daughters of Monyash did bare some similarities to those of Waddington and West Bradford, and Wadworth and Loversall. The former two villages saw high rates of work available in the cotton industry, keeping daughters local and rural. For those of Wadworth and Loversall, domestic service was commonplace work for daughters in the local area. Farm work and domestic service were equally as available in and around Monyash, and the daughters appear to have been able have found employment in these industries without leaving the area. It has already been noted that a third of household servants had been born in the village.

Additionally, for the 12 Monyash daughters still living with their parents, 2 were employed as dairymaids, and 7 were daughters of farmers. Being the daughter of a small farmer would most likely have involved helping out in the family business. Again, as with the two pairs of villages to the north, available work for girls and young women whilst living in the family home may well have restricted the need, or desire, to migrate from the area.

This investigation into the sons and daughters of the remote Derbyshire village of Monyash has again revealed a unique set of migration patterns, highlighting the importance of village sampling. Farming appeared to have been responsible for the high

rate of village staying amongst the sons. As the Northumberland village of Craster had its fishing community, so Monyash had its farming community. Likewise for the unmarried daughters, farm work, along with domestic service, helped to keep the young women local and rural. A few sons managed to migrate to the towns and cities to the north, with many more migrating towards them, indicating that migration to these urban areas was not necessarily difficult. However, with many of these sons continuing to work in farming, this highlights the importance of farm work for the Monyash sons, and perhaps explains why so many remained within the local community.

Conclusions

The migration patterns displayed by those in the villages in the industrial north have proved far more varied and complex than one might have assumed. Living in a village surrounded by towns and cities did not necessarily result in high rates of urban migration. Sons did not always flock to nearby towns and cities such as Doncaster and Sheffield, and the daughters did not migrate to the major centres of the cotton industry in great numbers.

The unusually high rate of village staying by the daughters of Waddington and West Bradford was greatly affected by the local cotton industry. Without the mill at Low Moor, which was in walking distance of the villages, and Waddington's own small cotton industry, the levels of village staying may have been greatly reduced. Their equivalents in Forton and Cabus had no such incentive to remain in their village. This highlights the unique situations in which each village (or pair of villages) found themselves. Evidence from the diaries of James Garrett and John O'Neill has shown that cotton wages at Low Moor were good, and that work was plentiful. Additionally, the prevalence of work available for wives and children in the cotton industry would also have been responsible for the high rates of short-distance migration by the sons of Waddington and West Bradford. Although, Dov Friedlander had noted that 'the textile industry was not a powerful pull for migration' during the second half of the nineteenth century,⁷¹ it clearly *was* at the local level around Clitheroe.

Long distance migration was incredibly low from these villages, and it was proposed that this was due to the attraction of the large number of major towns and cities surrounding the villages. However, it has been shown that sons and daughters migrated

⁷¹ D. Friedlander, 'Occupational Structure, Wages, and Migration in Late Nineteenth-Century England and Wales', *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol.40, No.2 (Jan 1992) p.308.

to rural destinations in great numbers, in many cases simply bypassing centres of commerce and industry, settling for life in other villages or small towns. Four very different patterns of urban migration by sons were found across the four pairs of villages. Those of Waddington and West Bradford were attracted by Clitheroe and the surrounding towns, yet Wadworth and Loversall sons were far less likely to be urban migrants, despite Doncaster lying close-by. Proximity to an urban location did not automatically result in high rates of urban migration, challenging the trends noted by men such as William Ogle and John Saville. Many later historians have continued to cite proximity to urban centres as a major influence on migration patterns. However, this research at the micro-level has shown the pull of the towns to be far more complex. By noting, and understanding, the significance of the cotton industry for Waddington and West Bradford, for example, it has been possible to appreciate the reasons for high rates of urban migration for the two villages. Also, by observing the locations favoured by long-distance migrants from Forton and Cabus, it has been found that the sons from these more remote villages were often pulled to far more distant urban locations, revealing that the lack of a nearby town could result in higher long-distance urban migration. This mirrors the results found in the remote Norfolk villages.

With regards to occupations of the urban migrant sons, this again differed in each area. The agricultural workers of the Sheffield area villages who migrated to the major towns and cities were generally drawn to factory work and labouring jobs. However, those from the Lancashire villages were more likely to improve their occupational status. This brings into question Jason Long's conclusions of occupational improvement in urban migrants, showing once again that results differed from area to area.

Railways appear to have had little effect of these villagers. All were within easy reach of a railway station by the mid-1850s, and unlike the single lines found in the more rural counties, most of these villages had easy access to a great network of railway lines. Nevertheless, long-distance migration remained extremely low, with just a handful of sons and daughters located in locations such as Manchester, Leeds and London. Additionally, much of the migration did not follow the course of the railway lines, showing that the railway had little effect on both distance and direction of migration.

However, one factor which has clearly been noted here as a major impact on migration patterns, was physical geography. The uninhabitable and expansive area of the Forest of Bowland seriously hampered the direction of migration for the Lancashire

migrants, and greatly reduced their options. Much work on migration has investigated the pull of the urban centres on migrants, but few studies, if any, have addressed the impact of geographical barriers, and the great hindrance these would have caused to potential migrants. Physical geography should be a vital factor to take into account when investigating patterns of migration.

The unmarried daughters were greatly affected by employment available in the local area. The cotton industry not only reduced migration for the daughters of Waddington and West Bradford, but also reduced the need to go into service. Conversely, the high rates of local domestic service work available for the daughters of Wadworth and Loversall kept the majority local and rural. Again, this shows that close proximity to a large town did not automatically result in high rates of urban migration.

The study of the remote village of Monyash strengthened the idea that the prevalence of local work could keep sons and daughters local. Despite opportunities to migrate further, the sons and daughters of this village remained local in great numbers, where work in farming and domestic service was plenty.

This investigation into the migratory habits of rural inhabitants in the industrial north has shown once again that sons and daughters of rural villages did not conform to particular patterns, each pair of villages displaying a unique set of migration habits. As with the counties of Sussex, Norfolk and Northumberland, migration habits depended on a wide variety of factors, which can only be truly appreciated by taking investigations down to the parish level.

Chapter 5

Bedfordshire: the effects of domestic industry

For the final analysis in this thesis, five villages in Bedfordshire are studied, and the effects of the prolific domestic industry within these rural locations. Straw-plating and lace-making were commonplace domestic industries in Bedfordshire, and one would expect this to have had a negative effect on the migration habits of the young villagers, especially the women. Indeed, the broad statistics showed a sizeable rate of village staying for the daughters, and even more so for the sons. This chapter will attempt to discover whether migration was affected by the abundance of domestic industry within the villages. It will look at the differences between the villages dominated by straw-plating compared to those involved in lace-making, and also the effect of the mat-making industry, in which many of the sons of Pavenham village were involved. For those who left their village, the broad statistics showed high rates of short-distance migration, especially for the daughters, but also high rates of long-distance migration, with very little middle-distance migration noted at all. This chapter will seek to establish whether the prevalence of short-distance migration was related to domestic industry, and whether patterns and explanations can be established for the high rates of long-distance migration.

The agricultural wages rates in Bedfordshire during the mid-nineteenth century were some of the lowest in the country. In 1867-70 weekly earnings averaged 14s 3d.¹ When compared to wages in counties such as Northumberland, where an agricultural labourer would earn 17s 6d, or Lancashire, 17s 9d,² the Bedfordshire labourer's income would have meant that his family would have struggled to make ends meet. Even those in the poor county of Norfolk were earning more, at 14s 9d.³ As such, Bedfordshire agricultural earnings were the lowest across all the counties used in this thesis.

Nevertheless, like many counties in this region, including Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Essex, Bedfordshire thrived on its wealth of domestic industries.

¹ A. L. Bowley, *Wages in the United Kingdom in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1900) End table.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

In this county, straw-plaiting and lace-making co-existed alongside agriculture.⁴ The early 1800s saw a decline in both these once flourishing domestic industries. The end of the Napoleonic Wars saw a renewal of foreign imports for both industries, and the increased mechanisation in the lace-making industry severely affected wages for female lace-makers.⁵ Nevertheless, both industries remained a large part of working life in many counties, Bedfordshire included, where ‘in the north of the county the females of the labouring class are engaged in lace-making, and in the south and more populous part of the county in plaiting straw.’⁶ Across the county, straw-plaiting was far more common, with 15,156 females engaged in the trade in 1851,⁷ a far higher number than any other county. According to the census data, lace-making peaked in Bedfordshire in 1861, at 6,714 women and girls.⁸ George Culley’s report on Bedfordshire for the 1867 Royal Commission on Children, Young Persons and Women in Agriculture, found that women’s weekly wages for these industries in Bedfordshire were found to be 2s. to 3s. for straw-plaiting, and 2s. 6d. to 3s. for lace-making.⁹ However, his visit coincided with a time that ‘county plait was very “bad”’, and that in good years it could bring in a higher wage than work in agriculture for either person of the same sex.¹⁰ This extra work would have boosted the household income significantly, and it is perhaps therefore not surprising that such a high rate of women were working in straw-plaiting and lace-making in the county.

It is reports such as those by George Culley which enable a greater understanding of life within the villages of England during this time. Culley, for example, spent nine weeks in Bedfordshire alone.¹¹ He visited all the parishes in Woburn union, and then proceeded to visit ‘as many parishes as the time at my disposal would allow in Bedford, Ampthill, Biggleswade and Luton Unions’, gathering evidence from ‘all classes of persons.’¹²

⁴ Verdon, N., *Rural Woman Workers in Nineteenth Century England* (Suffolk, 2002) p.138.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p.139.

⁶ PP 1867-8, XVII, First Report from the Commissioners on the Employment of Children, Young Persons and Women in Agriculture. George Culley Esq., p.124.

⁷ Goose, N., ‘The straw plait and hat trades in nineteenth-century Hertfordshire’, in Goose, N., (ed.), *Women’s Work in Industrial England* (Hatfield, 2007) p.100.

⁸ Verdon, N., *Rural Woman Workers in Nineteenth Century England* (Suffolk, 2002) p.153.

⁹ PP 1867-8, XVII, First Report from the Commissioners on the Employment of Children, Young Persons and Women in Agriculture. George Culley Esq., p.134.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.124.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.122.

¹² *Ibid.*

Village descriptions

Campton and Meppershall

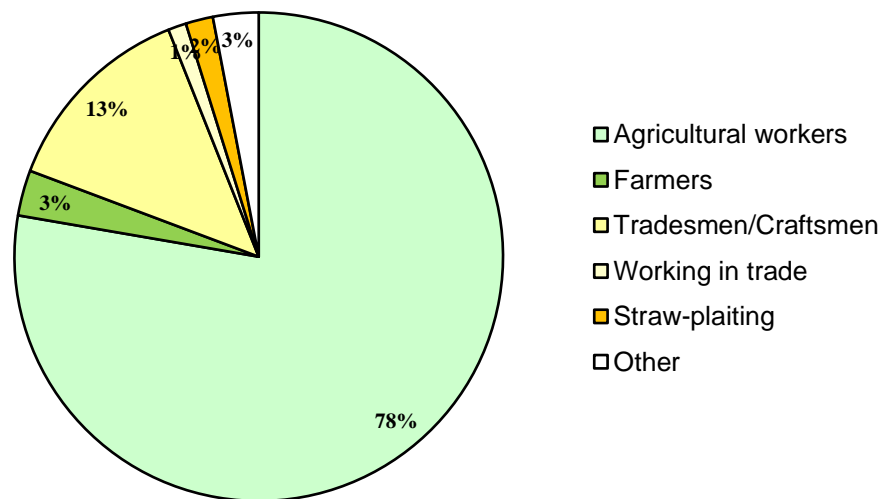
These two villages are situated in the south-east part of Bedfordshire. They are two of many isolated villages in that area. Small towns such as Biggleswade, Hitchin and Letchworth all lie within eight miles of the villages, but the county town of Bedford is situated a good ten miles to the north. The market town of Shefford lies on Campton's doorstep. With a population of just 1,116 in 1851, Shefford could barely be described as a thriving centre of commerce and industry, although it did hold a regular market. 70 per cent of Campton inhabitants in 1851 were born in the village, and 66 per cent of Meppershall's. And a sizeable 91 percent of Meppershall's inhabitants were born within five miles of the village, with 90 per cent of Campton's. This demonstrates the isolation of these villages; even more so than the remote Norfolk villages.

Campton was the slightly larger of the two in 1851, with a population of 548, and was very much an 'open' parish.¹³ It was largely an agricultural community, with 78 per cent of the working male population of 1851 employed as agricultural workers, with just another 3 per cent working as farmers. Almost all the remaining working men were engaged in trade. There was a very broad range of tradesmen here, including a miller, a grocer, a tailor, a rake maker, a wheelwright, plus several shoemakers and blacksmiths. This perhaps highlights the needs of a rather isolated community. With relatively few tradesmen, just 18 per cent of the working men had a Class III or higher occupation. There was much child labour within this community, with fourteen boys under the age of thirteen engaged in agricultural work, including Philip Lincoln, at just seven years old.

Like many areas of Bedfordshire, a great number of the women in Campton were engaged in straw-plaiting. 50 per cent of the female population over the age of ten were engaged in the straw-plaiting industry. This trade attracted all ages, and in Campton in 1851 the eldest straw-plaiter was 60-year-old Mary Taylor, and the youngest was Mary Hare, at just six years of age. Additionally, there were many servants, charwomen and dressmakers in Campton, and also several tradeswomen. 65 per cent of the female population over the age of ten had an occupation recorded on the 1851 census.

¹³ *The Imperial Gazetteer of England and Wales*, 1872, Vol. 1., p.351.

Campton



Meppershall

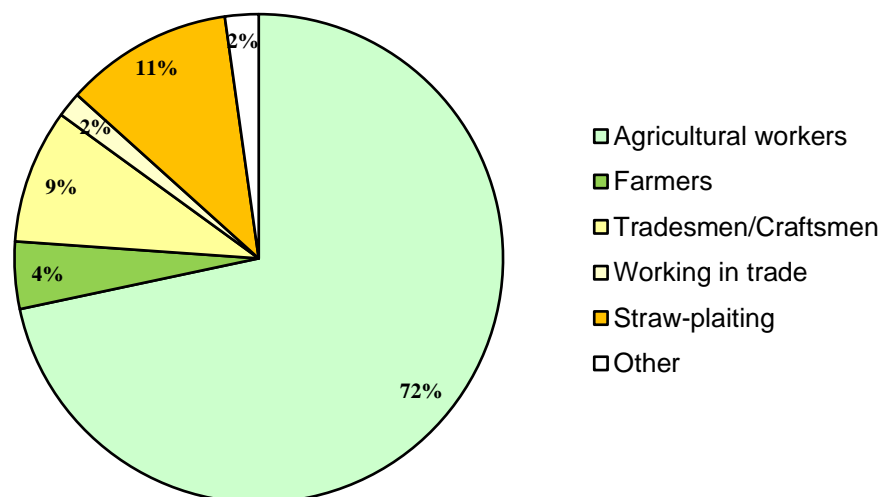
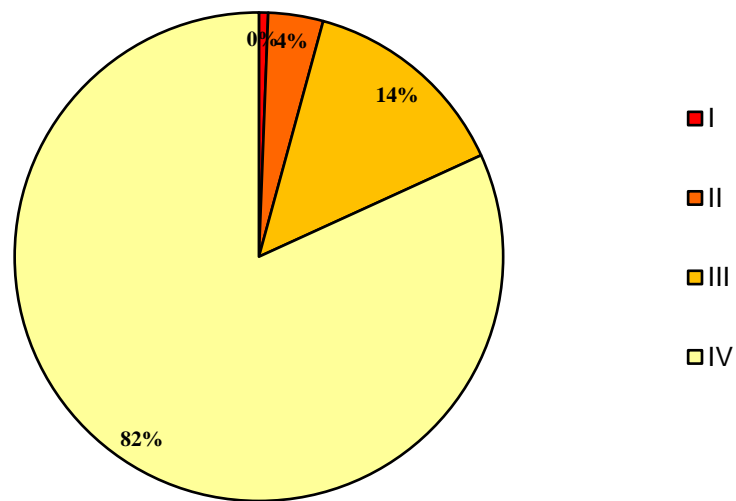


Figure 5.1: Distribution of occupation types for all male residents of Campton and Meppershall at the time of the 1851 census.

Campton



Meppershall

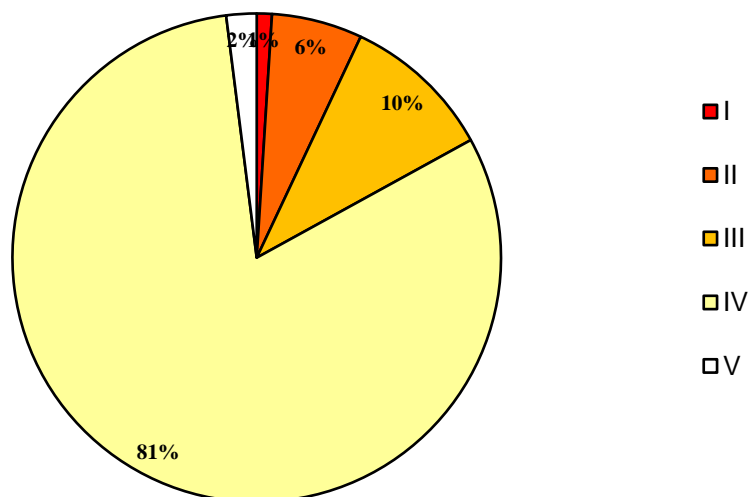


Figure 5.2: Distribution of occupational classes for working males in Campton and Meppershall at the time of the 1851 census.

Meppershall was little different to Campton, with just 17 per cent of its working males holding a Class III occupation or above. Agricultural work dominated at 76 per cent (including farmers), with just eleven per cent working in trade. Again the trade was very diverse, with fifteen trades being covered by nineteen tradesmen. However, one difference from Campton was that a further eleven per cent of Meppershall's male workers were engaged in the straw-plaiting industry. Whereas Campton had just three male straw-plaiters, Meppershall had seventeen, plus three straw/plait dealers. Most of these were children, with fifteen of them under the age of 13. Meppershall had an even higher percentage of women's occupation than Campton, with 77 per cent of all females over the age of ten noted as having an occupation on the 1851 census. 84 per cent of these working women (115 out of 137) were engaged in the straw-plaiting industry, including straw factor, Mary Dear, and plait dealer Mary Stevens. As with Campton, many young children were working as straw-plaiters; 20 girls under the age of twelve. Hugh Cunningham's research has shown that at the time of the 1851 census, Bedfordshire employed the highest proportion of girls aged 5-9, at 21.5 per cent, and also girls aged 10-14, at 50.6 per cent.¹⁴ In Campton, 21 per cent of girls aged 5-9 (8 out of 38) had an occupation on the 1851 census, and 79 per cent (26 out of 33) of those aged 10-14. For Meppershall the figures were 22 per cent (11 out of 50) and 97 per cent (38 out of 39) respectively. Despite the incredibly high average number of young girls in employment in Bedfordshire, the figures for both Campton and Meppershall, especially within the 10-14 age group, show that these were two villages where employment of young girls far exceeded the norm at this time.

Straw-plaiting would have been a great boost to family income, and as Arthur Young noted in early nineteenth century Hertfordshire, the straw-plaiting trade was 'highly beneficial to the poor ... and has a considerable effect in keeping down [poor] rates...'¹⁵ For Campton and Meppershall the market at neighbouring Shefford would have provided an easy means of selling their products.¹⁶ Pigot's Directory for 1839, mentioning the trades in Shefford, states, '...straw plat, also, in the making of which

¹⁴ H. Cunningham, 'The employment and unemployment of children in England c.1680-1851', *P&P* cxxvi (1990) pp.115-50, Tables 1-4 at pp.141-5. Quoted in S. Williams, *Poverty, Gender and Life-Cycle under the English Poor Law* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2001) pp.23-4.

¹⁵ Cited in N. Goose, *Population, economy and family structure in Hertfordshire in 1851, I: The Berkhamstead region* (Hatfield, 1996) p.35.

¹⁶ S. Williams, *Poverty, Gender and Life-Cycle under the English Poor Law* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2001) p.25.

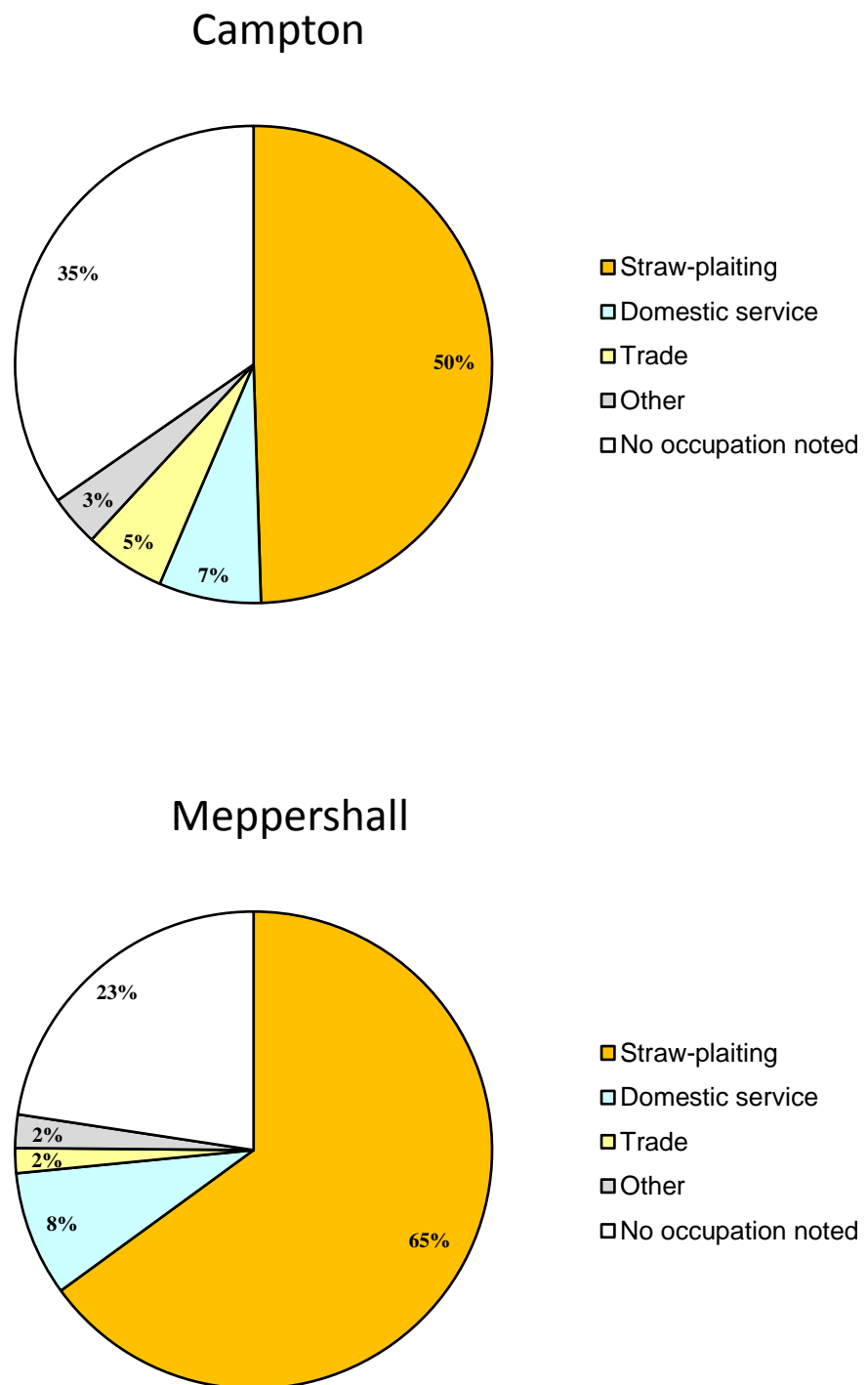


Figure 5.3: Distribution of occupation types for all female residents of Campton and Meppershall, aged 10 and over, at the time of the 1851 census.

many women and children are employed, is brought in great quantities to the market.'¹⁷ This was work which could be done outside in the fresh air, and on seeing two young girls platting at Durley in Hampshire, William Cobbett noted 'how clean; how healthful...' this employment was.¹⁸ However, straw-plaiting was seasonal, generally only carried out between January and May,¹⁹ so being taken in the spring, the census does show employment in straw-plaiting at its height. Many women and children would have been unemployed between June and December, or may have found work in the fields.

With regards to transport, the Midland railway line came to nearby Shefford in 1857, with a direct line to London, and to the Midlands and the North.²⁰ With a station right on the doorstep of Campton, and just two miles from Meppershall, there would have been a great opportunity for both sets of villagers to leave their relatively enclosed communities for places with more diverse employment opportunities.

Pavenham, Felmersham and Radwell

These three villages are situated six or seven miles north of Bedford. They are within a large area of remote villages spread across parts of Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Northamptonshire. Bedford is the closest town, within small town of Wellingborough around ten miles to the north.

Pavenham was by far the largest of the three villages, with a population of 556 in 1851. Its property was divided by a few owners; including C Alston, Esq and J Tucker, Esq. Although principally an agricultural community, with farmers Thomas Wagstaff and James Pike employing 38 labourers between them, Pavenham had just 59 per cent of its male workforce engaged in agricultural labour. There was much trade: bakers, carpenters, shoemakers and tailors were commonplace in this village. Additionally, the village had for centuries been the centre of the mat-making industry, and this trade was still to be found in the village in the mid-nineteenth century.²¹ Mat-making involved using bulrushes, reeds and osiers which grew along the river Ouse. 27 men and boys of

¹⁷ *Pigot and Co's Directory*, 1839, p.35.

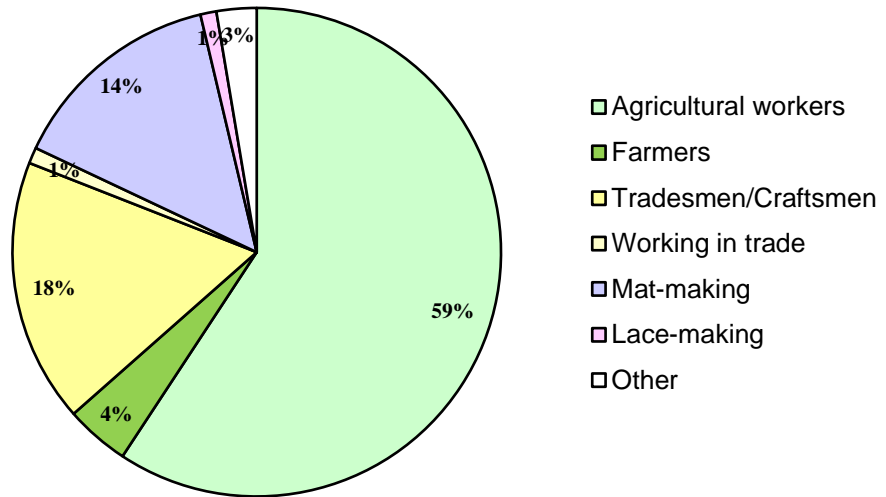
¹⁸ W. Cobbett, *Rural Rides (Penguin Classic edition)* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1987) p.136.

¹⁹ S. Williams, *Poverty, Gender and Life-Cycle under the English Poor Law* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2001) p.23.

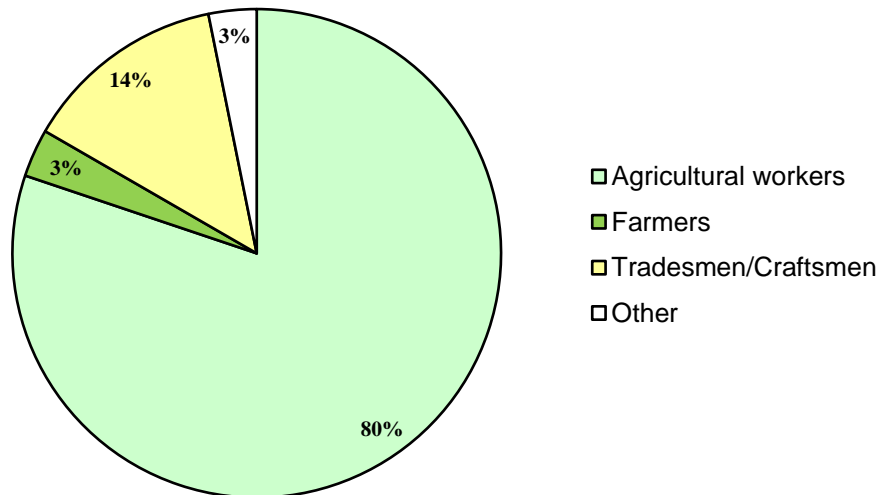
²⁰ K. Shrimpton, *Felmersham: The History of a Riverside Parish* (Felmersham, 2003) p.94.

²¹ W. E. Draycott, *Grain and Chaff; threshing out the history of Felmersham, Bedfordshire* (Felmersham, 1985) p.66.

Pavenham



Felmersham



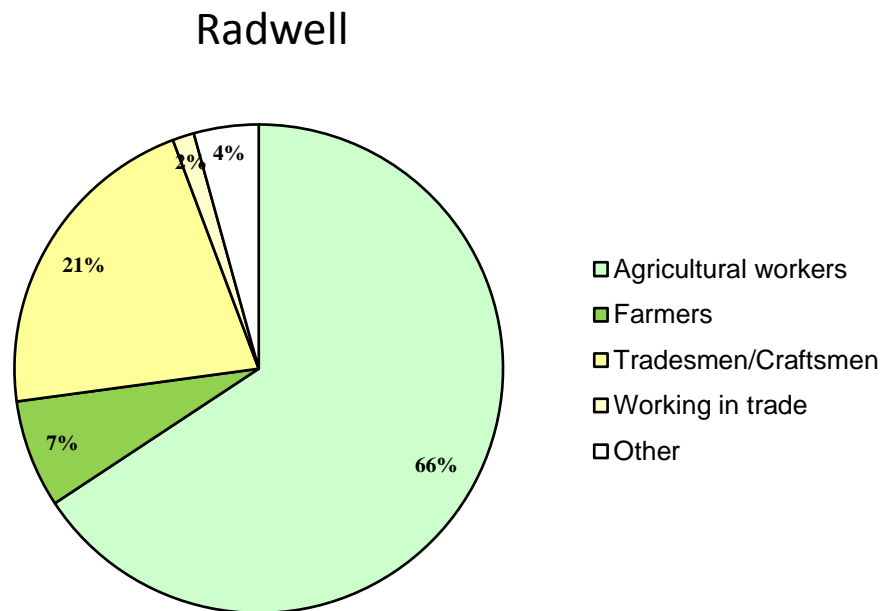
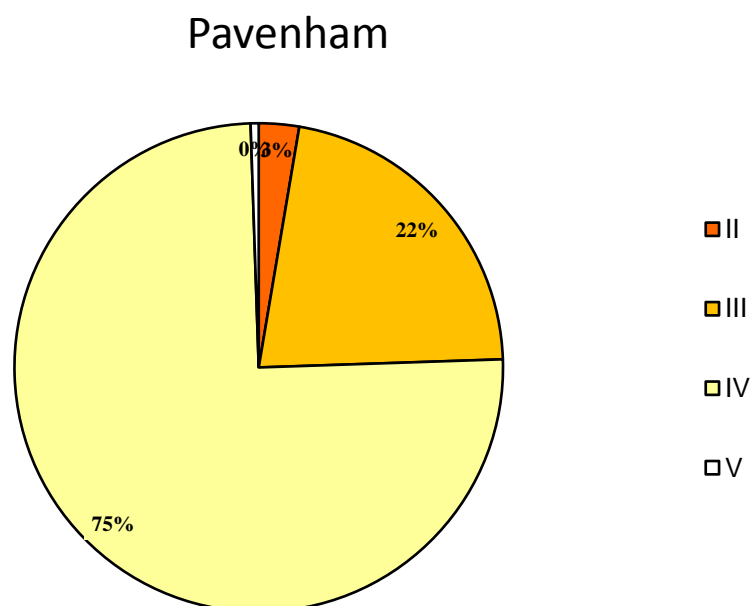


Figure 5.4: Distribution of occupation types for all male residents of Pavenham, Felmersham and Radwell at the time of the 1851 census.



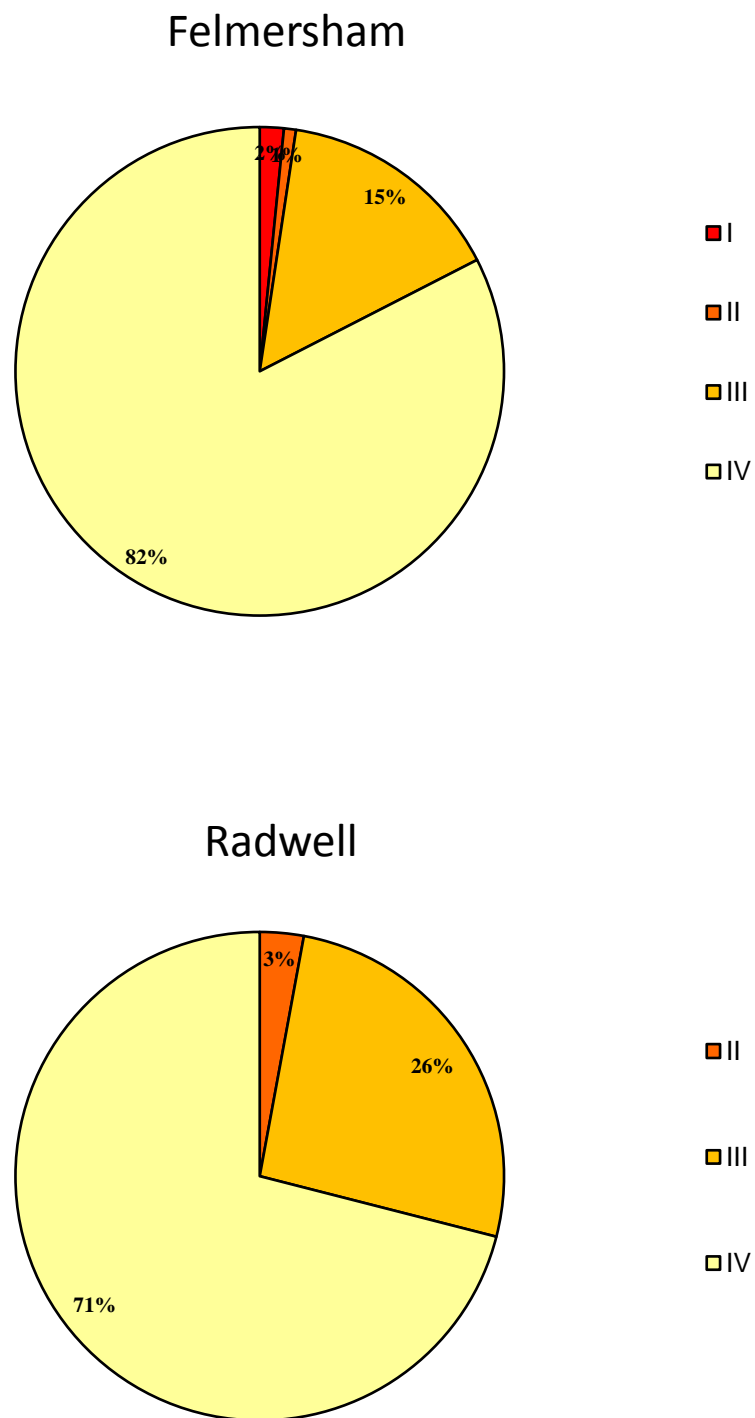


Figure 5.5: Distribution of occupational classes for working males in Pavenham, Felmersham and Radwell at the time of the 1851 census.

Pavenham were still employed in this trade in 1851, making up 14 per cent of the male workforce. Like Campton and Meppershall, Pavenham appears to have been quite an insular community, with 77 per cent of its inhabitants in 1851 being born in the village, and 87 per cent being born within five miles.

Felmersham was almost half the size of Pavenham in 1851, with a population of 315. Along with neighbouring Radwell, it can be classed as an 'open' village.²² Unlike Pavenham, the vast majority (80 per cent) of working men were engaged in agricultural labour. Additionally, there were four farmers in Felmersham, with Joseph Pain being the principal farmer with well in excess of 1,000 acres, and employing 76 men and boys.²³ Unlike Pavenham, there was no mat-making in the village, and very little trade. Brickmakers and carpenters made up well over half the tradesmen in the village, and as Felmersham historian W. E. Draycott noted;

Felmersham differed slightly from the larger villages in the area such as Sharnbrook and Harrold, for whereas the latter provided services for outsiders, Felmersham's carpenters, shoemakers, tailors, shopkeepers, and so on were more concerned with supporting the agricultural community of their own village.²⁴

Whereas 25 per cent of working men in Pavenham had an occupational class of III or above, they totalled just 18 per cent in Felmersham. This village also differed greatly to Pavenham in the fact that just 54 per cent of its inhabitants were born in the village, compared to Pavenham's 77 per cent, with many being born in the surrounding counties, such as Northamptonshire, Cambridgeshire and Buckinghamshire.

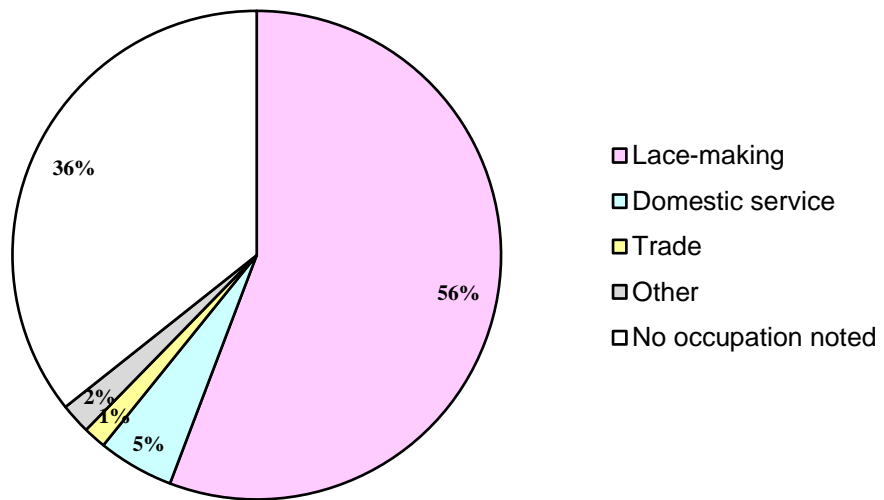
With just 205 inhabitants in 1851, Radwell was the smallest of the three villages. Although 73 per cent of its male workforce employed in agricultural, 7 per cent of these were farmers. Additionally, a sizeable 21 per cent of Radwell's working men were trades or craftsmen; almost all of them carpenters or shoemakers. Consequently, 29 per cent of the working men had an occupational status of III or above; the highest percentage of all the five Bedfordshire villages.

²² *The Imperial Gazetteer of England and Wales*, 1872, Vol. 1., p.702.

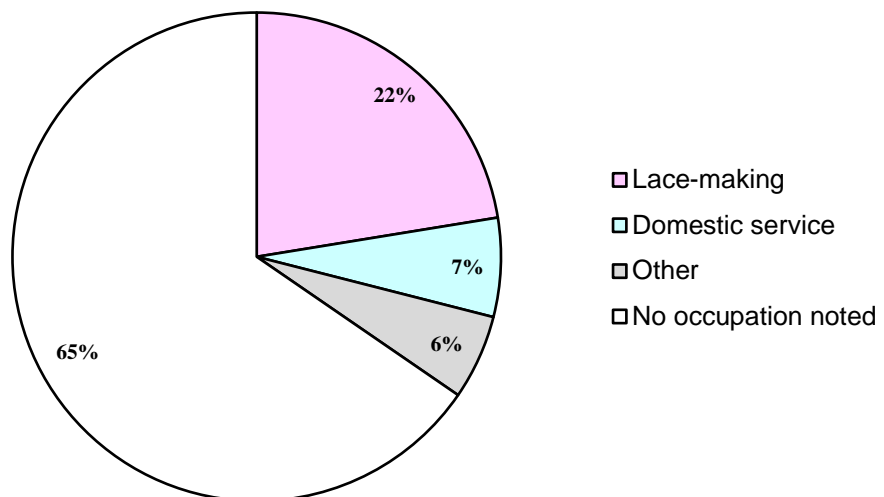
²³ Digitised census enumerators' books.

²⁴ W. E. Draycott, *Grain and Chaff; threshing out the history of Felmersham, Bedfordshire* (Felmersham, 1985) p.63.

Pavenham



Felmersham



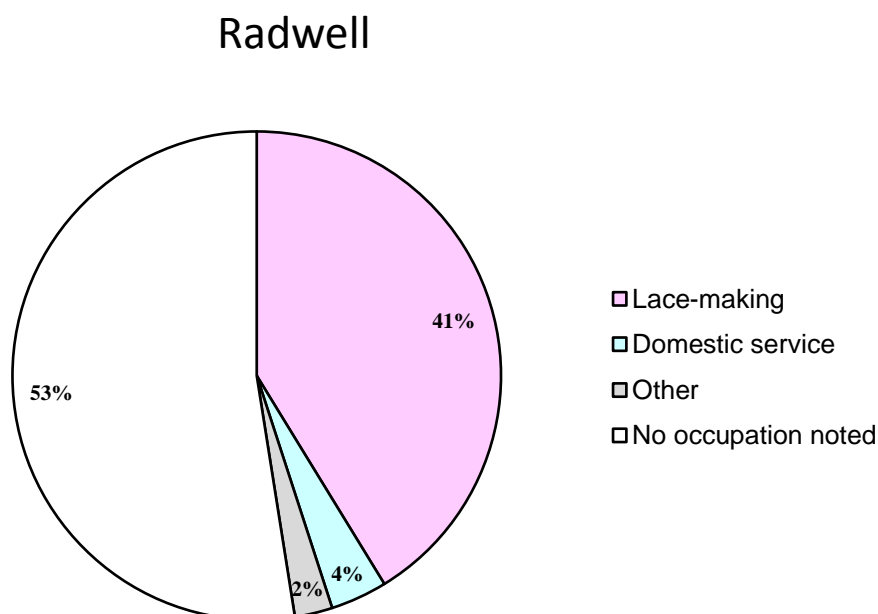


Figure 5.6: Distribution of occupation types for all female residents of Pavenham, Felmersham and Radwell, aged 10 and over, at the time of the 1851 census.

Lacemaking had been a common female domestic industry in this area for many centuries.²⁵ This work could be carried out all year round, and although a fairly simple job with few tools required. However, unlike straw-plaiting, the work was often done by candlelight in a crowded, ill-ventilated room; far less healthy employment. The villages of Pavenham, Felmersham and Radwell were all involved in this industry. The prevalence of female lacemaking within these three villages seems to correspond with the prevalence of male trade. Pavenham, with its large number of tradesmen and mat-makers, had by far the highest percentage of females working as lace-makers (56 per cent of all females over the age of ten), followed by Radwell (41 per cent), and lastly Felmersham (22 per cent), which was largely dominated by agricultural workers. It therefore would appear that lacemaking was perhaps not always a means to supplement a poor household income. In fact, 32 per cent of the heads of the household of lace-maker wives and daughters in Radwell were tradesmen, and 26 per cent in Pavenham (including mat-makers). For example, the wife and elder two daughters of Pavenham stone mason William Hilton were working as lace-makers, as was the wife of tailor

²⁵*Ibid.*, p.76.

Jesse Burbidge. And Pavenham farmer John Gregge had two grown-up daughters working in lace-making. Felmersham could be regarded as the poorest of the three villages, with its prevalence of agricultural work and few tradesmen. However, the youngest recorded lace worker was twelve years old, whereas sixteen children under twelve were working as lace-makers in Pavenham, including Elizabeth Hilton, Emma Poole and Mary Hulatt; all just seven years old, and two of them daughters of tradesmen.

The Midland railway line came to Bedfordshire in 1857, with a direct line to London, and to the Midlands and the North.²⁶ The inhabitants of Campton and Meppershall were situated very close to Shefford station, whereas those of Pavenham, Felmersham and Radwell would have had to travel the seven miles to Bedford to reach their nearest railway station. Nevertheless, this would not have been a particularly difficult journey.

According to Armstrong's occupational classes, these Bedfordshire villages were extremely low with regards to occupational status of the male workers, with a mean average of 224. The mean average for the Lancashire and Sheffield area villages was 241, with the lowest of them (Cabus) at 229. Across the Sussex, Norfolk and Northumberland villages, just three of the 22 dropped below 224. A major cause of this low occupational skill grading across the Bedfordshire villages is the prevalence of straw-plaiting and mat-making amongst the men and boys, along with agricultural work. However, it is also the fact that, although there was much trade in the villages, the census notes virtually no master tradesmen, nor tradesmen who either employed others or who had servants.

A significant proportion of the family income across all five villages was brought in by the women and girls of the household through straw-plaiting and lace-making. This may have been additional income, but with Bedfordshire's agricultural wages having been some of the lowest in the country during the nineteenth century, this extra money would have been more of a necessity rather than a bonus for the vast majority of households. George Gray of Meppershall worked as an agricultural labourer. He had six children between the ages of one and fourteen in 1851. The eldest four, (the youngest of

²⁶ K. Shrimpton, *Felmersham: The History of a Riverside Parish* (Felmersham, 2003) p.94.

whom was just six years old), were working as lace-makers. This is clearly a sign of a family in great need to supplement their income.

Analysis

The village stayers

Figure 5.7 shows the village staying figures for sons and daughters of each of the five Bedfordshire villages. These figures are extremely high. When one considers the highest village staying rate across Lancashire and the Sheffield area were 26 per cent (Wadworth) and 32 per cent (West Bradford) for sons and daughters respectively, many of the Bedfordshire villages stand out high above the norm; especially with the sons. In fact Meppershall was almost akin to Craster in Northumberland, which stood head and shoulders above all the other villages across Sussex, Norfolk and Northumberland. Clearly Bedfordshire displayed higher than average rates of village staying. Nevertheless, it also exhibited great variations between each village.

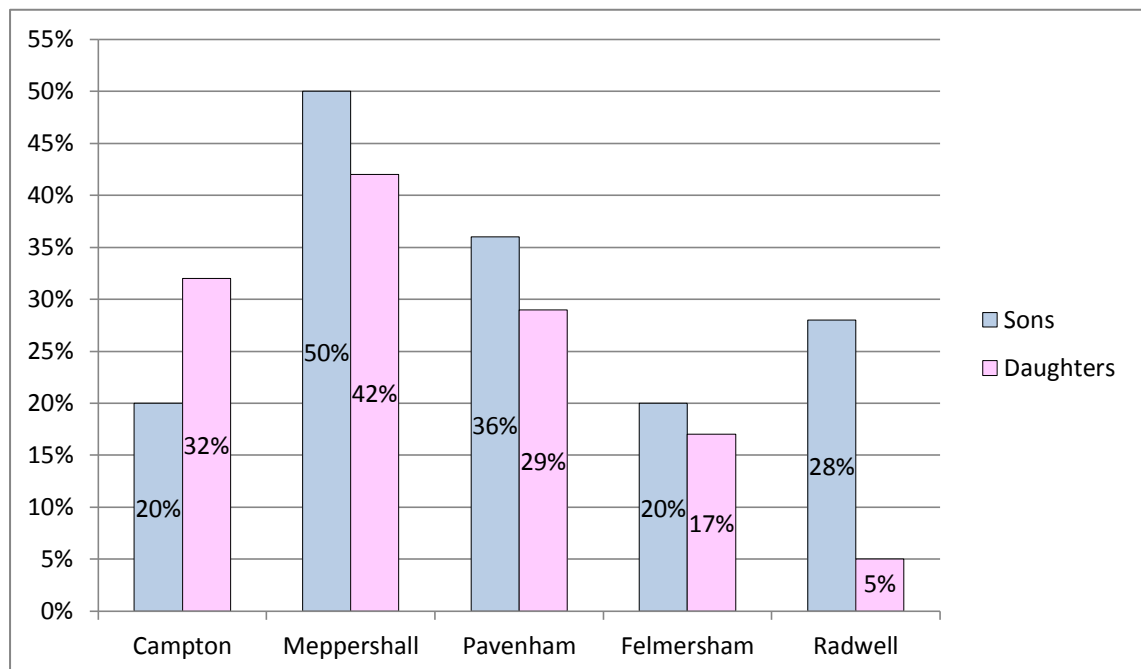


Figure 5.7: Sons and daughters still living in their village in 1881 (Bedfordshire).

Taking the sons first, the two villages that stand out as having the highest village stayers are Meppershall (at 50 per cent), followed by Pavenham (36 per cent). Of the

five Bedfordshire villages, it was these two that employed a significant number of men and boys in the straw-plaiting and mat-making industries. 11 per cent (20 out of 180) of Meppershall's working males in 1851 were employed in the straw-plaiting industry, and 14 per cent (27 out of 188) of Pavenham's working males were engaged in mat-making, plus two working as lace-makers. The only other village with males working in any of these industries was Campton, where three worked as straw-plaiters. Pavenham also displayed a high percentage of tradesmen, at 18 per cent, whereas Meppershall's tradesmen totalled just 9 per cent.

It might be assumed that the high rates of village staying were related to the levels of employment in domestic industry. However, a look at the occupations held by the village stayer sons in 1881 contradicts this assumption. Of the 36 sons who remained in Meppershall in 1881, 30 (83 per cent) were agricultural labourers, and 3 were tradesmen. Not one was engaged in straw-plaiting. Likewise in Pavenham, of the 30 sons who were still living in the village in 1881, 22 (73 per cent) were agricultural labourers, three were tradesmen, with just two working in the mat-making industry. It seems clear these domestic industries were not instrumental in keeping sons from moving away from their childhood village, and that the vast majority of village stayers were agricultural labourers. The census returns for Meppershall reveal just two males working in the straw-plaiting industry in 1881; ten-year-old John Redman, and 66-year-old Edward Dear, who was a straw-plait dealer. In 1851, 15 of the 20 male plait workers were under the age of thirteen, and it would seem this form of work had declined within the boys of the village by 1881. Nevertheless, adult male work in the industry had also declined, from five to just one. Therefore it appears that it was not that straw-plaiting failed to keep young men in the village, but that the trade ceased to be a common occupation for males in general. Three of the Meppershall village stayers had been straw-plaiters in 1851, but all were working as agricultural labourers by 1881.

For the mat-makers of Pavenham, trade also declined in the village, with just 9 resident in 1881, compared to 27 in 1851. Compared to straw-plaiting, mat-making was far less of a children's occupation, with just 7 of the 27 mat-makers in the village in 1851 under the age of 13. Three of the four village stayer sons working as mat-makers in 1851 were still in the same trade in 1871, and two in 1881. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that this domestic industry was responsible for the high rate of village staying amongst the sons.

However, it must be remembered that straw-plaiting and lace-making were predominantly female occupations. Indeed, Edwin Grey, who was born 15 miles south of Campton and Meppershall, in rural Hertfordshire in 1859, noted that ‘some of the men and the lads were also good at [straw-plaiting], doing it at odd times, or in the evenings after farm work, but this home industry was always looked upon really as women’s work.’²⁷ The highest rates of female domestic industry within these five villages were indeed in Meppershall and Pavenham, and it is a feasible assumption that this was heavily responsible for the high rate of village staying amongst the young men. There was much geographical endogamy within these tight communities, with many sons marrying girls from their own village. 14 of the 32 wives of the Meppershall village stayer sons (44 per cent) were born in the village, and 15 of the 28 Pavenham wives (54 per cent). The vast majority of these brides were already earning a wage through domestic industry. For example, agricultural labourer William Devonshire of Meppershall married 19-year-old Emma Pettifer of Meppershall in 1867. Emma had been working as a straw-plaiter before the marriage, and was still registered as such up to the 1891 census. Ebenezer Ford and Ann Faulkner, both of Pavenham, were in their thirties when they married in 1863. Ann had worked as a lace-maker before her marriage, and continued long after. As Nicola Verdon’s research has revealed, these domestic industries were ‘at the centre of rural women’s lives’.²⁸

This investigation must therefore not ignore the occupations held by the wives of the village stayers. 48 village stayer sons in Campton and Meppershall had married by 1881. Of the 48 wives, 39 (81 per cent) were noted on the census returns as working in the straw-plaiting industry at some point between 1861 and 1881. Likewise, in Pavenham, Felmersham and Radwell, of the 46 wives of village stayer sons, 32 (70 per cent) were engaged in lace making. Regardless of the great reduction in males working in this industry, the fact such a high number of wives were supplementing the family income by working in straw-plaiting and lace-making must surely have had a significant effect on the decision to stay in, or leave, the village. Most studies on migration fail to address the subject of employment by wives, tending to focus solely on the male occupation and wage. Especially where there is such a prevalence of domestic industry, it is vital to acknowledge this extra household income, and to acknowledge the potential effect this may have had on the family’s decision to migrate from their village.

²⁷ Grey, E., *Cottage Life in a Hertfordshire Village* (Harpenden, 1977) p.68.

²⁸ Verdon, N., *Rural Woman Workers in Nineteenth Century England* (Suffolk, 2002) p.161.

Turning to the daughters, female employment in straw-plaiting and lace-making, noted on the 1851 census (for those aged ten and over), was high for all five villages, ranging from 22 per cent in Felmersham to 65 per cent in Meppershall. Domestic industry would perhaps have had more effect on women's migration habits than the men's. Figure 5.8 shows the comparison between village staying rates and the prevalence of domestic industry.

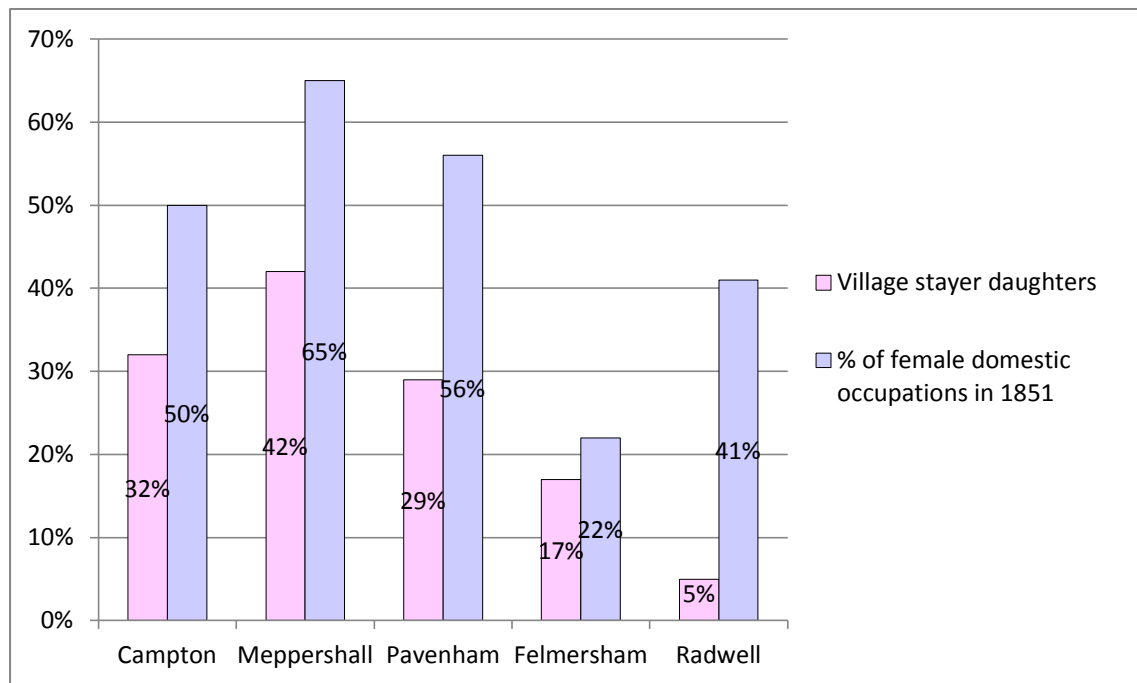


Figure 5.8: Bedfordshire daughters still living in their village in 1881, compared to the prevalence of female domestic industry within the villages in 1851.

There is clearly some correlation between the two figures, with Meppershall the highest in both village staying rates and domestic industry occupations. Felmersham, with its low rate of domestic industry also displayed a corresponding low rate of village staying. Radwell showed a completely contradictory pattern, with just 5 per cent of the daughters remaining in the village, despite 41 per cent employed in the lace-making industry. Radwell was by far the smallest village of the five, which might have partly accounted for the low rate of village staying.

Despite the low figure from Radwell, the village staying rates across the five villages as a whole is significantly high. Sussex, Norfolk and Northumberland village stayer daughters averaged 9 per cent, 16 per cent and 15 per cent respectively, and those of

Lancashire and the Sheffield area, 20 per cent and 17 per cent respectively. At a mean overall average of 27 per cent, Bedfordshire daughters, like the sons, displayed a significantly high rate of village staying.

The straw-plaiting villages appear to have held on to their daughters more than the three lace-making villages. Despite the dataset of daughters from each of the areas being very similar in size,²⁹ 49 Campton area daughters were still living in their village in 1881, compared to just 28 in the Pavenham area. Table 5.1 shows the occupations held by these village stayers, using their marital status as at the 1881 census return. At 91 per cent, the married Campton area daughters were highly involved in the in straw-plaiting industry. Pavenham area's married daughters were less likely to work in the lace-making industry. However, at 77 per cent the figure was still high. A noticeably lower percentage of unmarried daughters were engaged in domestic industry across the two areas. Nevertheless, at 75 per cent the figure for the Campton area was significantly higher than that of the Pavenham area, where just 6 daughters remained unmarried by 1881, with only 2 of these engaged in lace-making on any census up to 1881.

	Married	Unmarried	Total
Campton area	30/33 (91%)	12/16 (75%)	42/49 (86%)
Pavenham area	17/22 (77%)	2/6 (33%)	19/28 (68%)

Table 5.1: Comparison of domestic industry occupations held by married and unmarried village stayer daughters, noted on any census return between 1861 and 1881.

As found with the wives of the Bedfordshire sons, straw-plaiting was certainly a trade practised more by the village stayer daughters than lace-making, both numerically and in percentage terms. Straw-plaiting was certainly deemed to be the most appealing of the two domestic industries. Writing about female labour in Felmersham village, W. E. Draycott noted,

²⁹ 152 from the Campton area, and 165 from the Pavenham area.

The romantic picture evoked by the elegant lace, often finished by candlelight, may not always reflect the truth of the matter. The crowded ill-ventilated rooms in which it was often produced, coupled with the long hours worked resulted in Bedfordshire's lacemaking area being noted for the unhealthy appearance of the women and children engaged in this work.³⁰

Straw-plaiting on the other hand, was a more healthy, sociable and flexible occupation. Observing female straw-plaiters as a child, Edwin Grey saw that

This industry had many good points about it... firstly, it was of a clean nature, and then again the housewife could, when wanting to go on with other household work, put aside her plaiting, resuming it again at any time. She could also do the work sitting in the garden, or whilst standing by the cottage door, enjoying a chat or gossip with her neighbours.³¹

Additionally, one might take note of George Culley's report of villages where straw-plaiting was a common employment amongst the young men and women. On discovering plaiting was injurious to morals, he noted that 'the male and female plaitiers go about the lanes together in summer engaged in work which has not even the wholesome corrective of more or less physical exhaustion.'³² This not only depicts a far more sociable employment, but also may reveal another reason for such high village staying by both the sons and daughters of Campton and Meppershall.

Straw-plaiting was clearly the more pleasant of the two industries, and perhaps this explains much of the disparity between the numbers of daughters and wives remaining in their villages, despite the wages being very similar. Nevertheless, straw-plaiting and lace-making were not simply confined these particular villages, and many individuals may have left to ply their trade in neighbouring communities, and beyond. An investigation into the amount of domestic industry practised by the Bedfordshire migrants will provide a clearer understanding as to the pull of straw-plaiting, lace-making and mat-making industries.

³⁰ W. E. Draycott, *Grain and Chaff; threshing out the history of Felmersham, Bedfordshire* (Felmersham, 1985) p.76.

³¹ Grey, E., *Cottage Life in a Hertfordshire Village* (Harpenden, 1977) pp.69-70.

³² PP 1867-8, XVII, First Report from the Commissioners on the Employment of Children, Young Persons and Women in Agriculture. George Culley Esq., p.135.

Migration and domestic industry

Figures 5.9 and 5.10 show the distances migrated by the Bedfordshire sons up to 1881. These reveal a great disparity between the Campton and Pavenham areas regarding short-distance migration. With an average of 39 per cent in the Campton area and just 12 per cent in the Pavenham area, the sons from the straw-plaiting communities were far less likely to migrate outside the area than those of the lace-making and mat-making communities. These rates were consistent across all villages in each area. The levels of village staying cannot account for a great deal of this disparity, as Pavenham area's village staying rate was only marginally higher than that of the Campton area, (at 34 per cent compared to 29 per cent).

Looking at the occupations of these migrants, the Pavenham sons did not take their mat-making skills outside their village, and not one of the Campton area migrant sons worked in straw-plaiting. This latter observation is perhaps unsurprising, as it has already been established that straw-plaiting amongst males was predominantly carried out by children. Mat-making, however, was almost exclusively an occupation held by adult males. Nevertheless, this trade was principally plied in Pavenham village, where

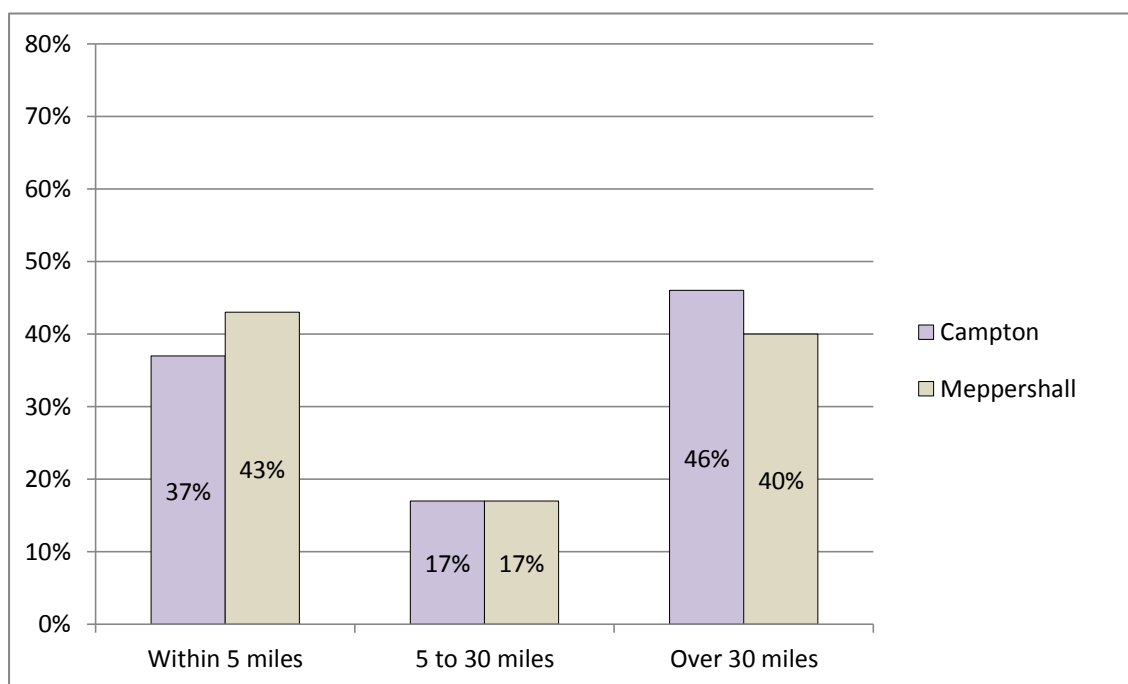


Figure 5.9: Distance travelled by migrant sons by 1881. (Campton area).

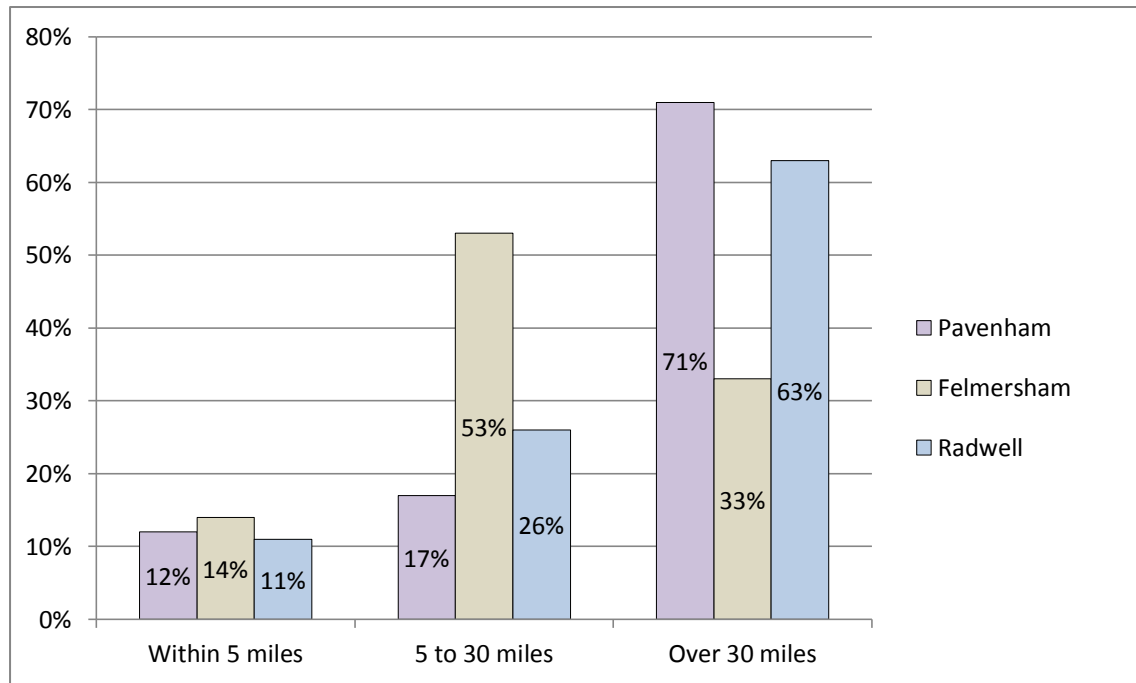


Figure 5.10: Distance travelled by migrant sons by 1881. (Pavenham area).

the Hipwell family reputedly founded the business in 1665.³³ Indeed, a search of the 1881 census returns reveals just 28 mat/matting makers in the whole of Bedfordshire, with 9 of these resident in Pavenham.³⁴ Again, male domestic industry appeared to have little effect on short-distance migration habits.

The investigation into village stayers showed a great percentage of wives of the migrant sons engaged in straw-plaiting (81 per cent), and to a lesser extent lace-making (70 per cent). As these industries were commonplace across the entire regions, one would also expect to find evidence of this work amongst some of the wives of the short-distance migrants. Table 5.2 shows the results of this investigation, using the last known location up to 1881 for each of the married migrant sons, where a wife's occupation was noted.

These figures reveal that both straw-plaiting and lace-making were commonplace occupations amongst the wives of short-distance migrants. Both areas show over half of all wives of these sons were working in domestic industry. However, it is important to

³³ W. E. Draycott, *Grain and Chaff; threshing out the history of Felmersham, Bedfordshire* (Felmersham, 1985) p.66.

³⁴ Of the remaining 19 Bedfordshire mat/matting makers, 6 were found in Stevington, and 5 in Maulden. However, these were located using an electronic search, and consequently other Bedfordshire mat makers may have been mis-transcribed from the census.

acknowledge the disparity between actual numbers across the two areas. Although the lace-making area of Pavenham saw a higher percentage of short-distance migrants with

	Under 5 miles	5-30 miles	Over 30 miles
Campton area	15/29 (52%)	1/12 (8%)	1/31 (3%)
Pavenham area	6/10 (60%)	2/28 (7%)	2/44 (7%)

Table 5.2: Domestic industry occupations held by the wives of migrant sons, using the last known location up to 1881 where a wife's occupation was noted.

wives in domestic industry, these only equated to 6 individuals, compared to 15 from the straw-plaiting area of Campton. It should not simply be assumed that the higher rate of short-distance migration from Campton was solely due to the attraction of straw-plaiting. Nevertheless, this does compliment the findings for village stayers, where the straw-plaiting communities showed higher rates of village staying.

The domestic industries were far less common in the wives of the middle and long-distance migrants. Just 2 wives of the 43 Campton area migrants over five miles could be found in straw-plaiting; Sophia Turner, wife of Charles, at Ampthill in Bedfordshire, and Emma Wilson, wife of George, who worked as a bonnet maker in St Pancras, London. Additionally, just 4 wives of the 72 Pavenham area longer-distance migrants could be found in lace-making; John Bayes and Henry Turner had both moved to Nottinghamshire, where their wives continued to work in lace-making. Mary Middleton, wife of John, worked as a lace-maker in Bethnal Green, London, and Sarah Mason, wife of James, plied this trade in Lewisham. It is evident that domestic industry, certainly amongst married women, did not travel.

An additional investigation was made, noting any census return where the wife of a son was working in domestic industry between 1861 and 1881, rather than simply taking the last census where a wife's occupation was shown. Unlike the previous investigation, this included multiple results for many sons, and would reveal wives' occupations for any sons who moved away from the area and later returned. For short-distance migrants, this method revealed an additional 21 entries for straw-plaiters, but just 5 additional entries for lace-makers, increasing the totals to 38 and 15 respectively.

Again, this shows the prevalence of straw-plaiting over lace-making. Not one extra entry was found for either industry in a location over five miles, strengthening the observation that these industries were rarely practised by a Bedfordshire wife away from the area.

Of course straw-plaiting was seasonal, and the time of the census returns (early April) coincided with the height of the straw-plaiting season, which ran from around Christmas until June.³⁵ However, much of this season coincided with the dark, short days of winter. Edwin Grey noted in rural Hertfordshire ‘the [farm] wage during this shorter hour period sinking on some farms to 9s., or even less.’³⁶ Straw-plaiting wages would have therefore been much needed by many households during this part of the year, and this could have accounted for some of the higher rates of straw-plaiting over lace-making. Nevertheless, the difference between the numbers of wives found within the two industries are substantial.

As with the village stayers, domestic industry practised by the wives of sons may well have had a negative effect on distance migration by the sons. Once again, straw-plaiting appears to have been by far the more influential of the two domestic industries in keeping the sons local. Neither of these industries seemed to travel well, again highlighting perhaps the need, or desire, to remain local.

Turning to the Bedfordshire daughters, as before, initial concentration will be on the migratory habits of those unmarried. 164 daughters were noted as unmarried on at least one of the census returns up to 1881, split equally between the Campton and Pavenham areas (82 each). 62 of the 164 daughters were noted as living away from their parents; 26 from the Campton area and 36 from the Pavenham area. For this analysis the villages have been combined to produce statistics for each area. This is for two reasons; first, the figures used here are relatively small. And second, unlike the sons where only one set of villagers from each area were engaged in domestic industry, a great percentage of daughters across all five villages were engaged in either straw-plaiting or lace-making, so it is acceptable to compare the differences in migration habits between the two sets of villages by merging them together. Figure 5.11 shows the percentages for the distances of migration.

³⁵ See Lucy Luck’s account in J. Burnett (ed.), *Useful Toil* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1974) p.77.

³⁶ Grey, E., *Cottage Life in a Hertfordshire Village* (Harpenden, 1977) p.62.

The most noticeable statistic here is that the migrant daughters from the Campton area, as with the sons, were far more likely to remain within five miles of their village,

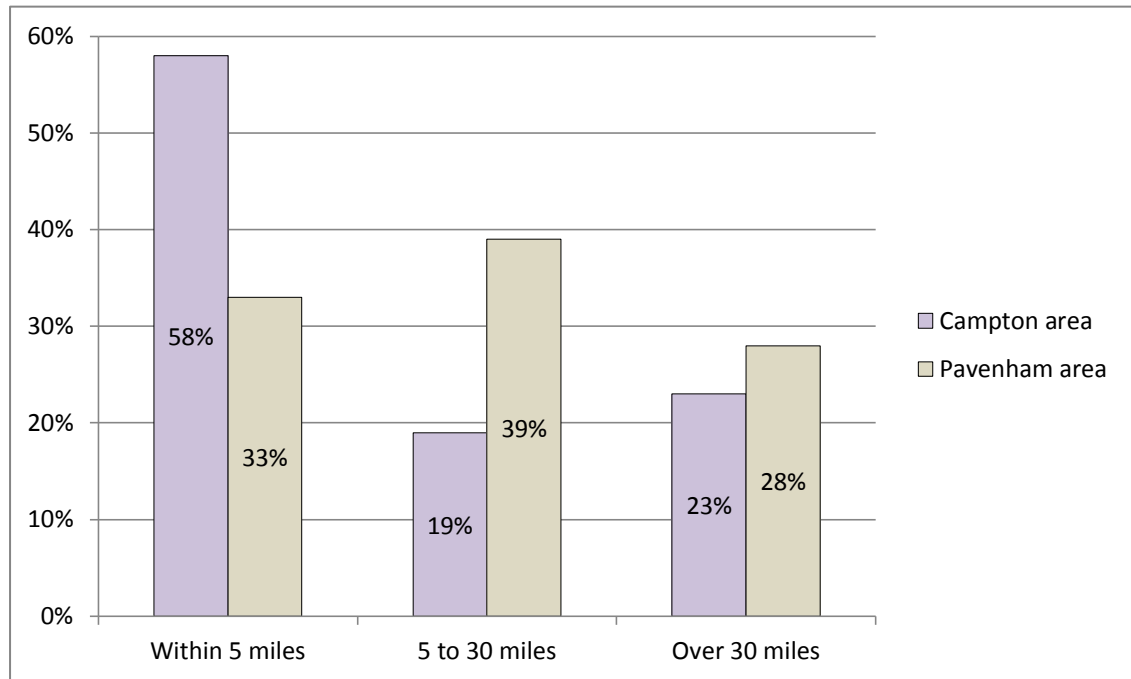


Figure 5.11: Distance travelled by Bedfordshire daughters who left home unmarried by 1881.

at 58 per cent; nearly twice that of the Pavenham area daughters. 67 per cent of the migrant daughters of the Pavenham area could be found over five miles away from their village, compared to just 42 per cent of the Campton area daughters. However, these figures are still small, with the long-distance migrant percentages representing just 16 daughters across the two sets of villages. Nevertheless, the figures tally with those of the migrant sons, where the straw-plaiting villages showed higher rates of short-distance migration than the lace-making villages.

Previous chapters have shown that domestic service was usually the most common occupation held by unmarried daughters outside the parental home. However, as found with the Lancashire daughters of Waddington and West Bradford, where cotton work was plenty, one might expect the prevalence of domestic industry in the Bedfordshire villages to have resulted in a negative effect on the desire, or need, to go into service. Table 5.3 shows the occupations held by the unmarried daughters who had moved away from the parental home by 1881.

	<u>Domestic industry</u>	<u>Domestic service</u>	<u>Other</u>
Campton area			
Under 5 miles	5/15 (33%)	5/15 (33%)	5/15 (33%)
Over 5 miles	3/11 (27%)	8/11 (73%)	-
Total	8/26 (31%)	13/26 (50%)	5/26 (19%)
Pavenham area			
Under 5 miles	3/12 (25%)	9/12 (75%)	-
Over 5 miles	1/24 (4%)	21/24 (87%)	2/24 (8%)
Total	4/36 (11%)	30/36 (83%)	2/36 (6%)

Table 5.3: Occupations held by unmarried daughters living away from the parental home by 1881.

These figures show that work in domestic service was far more commonplace than domestic industry for unmarried migrant daughters across both areas. With a total of 62 migrants, 43 were working in domestic service, compared to just 12 in domestic industry. However, the figures also reveal a difference between the straw-plaiting and lace-making areas. It has already been found that those in the straw-plaiting areas were more likely to remain local, and that straw-plaiting was more practised by village stayer daughters than lace-making. Those findings tally with the figures in table 5.3, which show that both numerically, and in percentage terms, Pavenham areas daughters were far more likely to go into domestic service than work in domestic industry than their counterparts in the Campton area. With an equal number of 82 daughters being noted as unmarried at any time between the 1861 and 1881 census returns, 30 Pavenham area daughters were found in domestic service compared to just 13 from Campton area. It appears that the dominance of straw-plaiting may well have been instrumental in dissuading unmarried daughters from going into domestic service. Arthur Young had observed this trend in the county of Essex earlier in the century, remarking that ‘As in Hertfordshire so here also, a cry has been raised against it, the young women earning so

much [in straw-plaiting], that maids for domestic purposes are not easily to be had.’³⁷ It would appear this same trend continued into well into the century, despite the large subsequent decrease in wages for straw-platters. Lucy Luck had been born in Tring, Hertfordshire, in 1849. At the age of 15, after two years in domestic service she stated that she ‘had begun to bitterly hate service, and a fatherly old man who used the public house where I had been, told of a place in Luton where they wanted a girl to learn the straw-work and help in housework.’³⁸ Despite a turbulent time with various employers, she ‘liked the work very much, and was quick at it.’³⁹

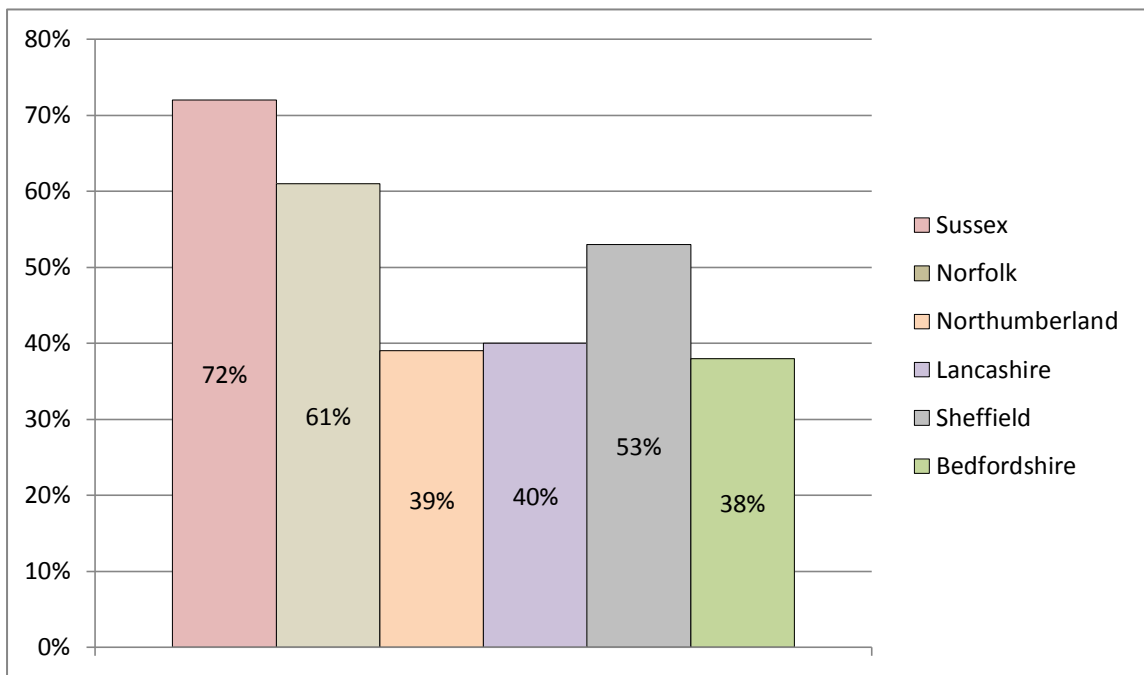


Figure 5.12: Percentage of unmarried daughters noted as living away from the parental home at some point between 1861 and 1881.

Whilst 62 of the daughters were found living away from their parents and unmarried, it cannot be ignored that the majority (102) were not found outside the parental home. At 38 per cent, the migration rate of unmarried daughters is significantly low. Figure 5.12 compares this figure with those of the other counties used in this thesis. These statistics show the unmarried daughters of the Bedfordshire villages to have displayed the lowest

³⁷ A. Young, *General View of Agriculture in Essex* (London, 1807), p.395, quoted in P. Sharpe, ‘The Women’s Harvest: Straw-Plaiting and the Representation of Labouring Women’s Employment, c.1793-1885’, *Rural History*, 1994 5(2). p.132.

³⁸ J. Burnett (ed.), *Useful Toil* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1974) p.72.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

rate of migration from the parental home, and almost half that of the county of Sussex. Lancashire and Northumberland daughters were almost on a par with Bedfordshire at 40 per cent and 39 per cent respectively. 33 of the 64 unmarried Lancashire daughters (52 per cent) living with their parents in 1861 were working in the cotton industry. For the Northumberland daughters there was a large percentage working in agriculture, or part of large farming and fishing families. For the Bedfordshire daughters, 80 of the 114 (70 per cent) living in the parental home in 1861 were working in the straw-plaiting or lace-making industries. Conversely, with the county of Sussex displaying little or no domestic industry, of the 33 remaining in the parental home in 1861, 63 per cent were noted as having ‘no occupation’ on the census return. This strengthens the idea that domestic industry was instrumental in keeping daughters within the parental homes, and that work within these industries very probably dissuaded them (or hindered them) from seeking work in domestic service, and outside the parental home.

The occupations of these daughters who remained in the parental household should therefore be analysed. Table 5.4 shows the rates of domestic industry for unmarried Bedfordshire daughters still remaining in the parental home in 1861. With 70 per cent of unmarried daughters working in straw-plaiting and lace-making, these statistics highlight the prevalence (and importance) of domestic industry within the parental home. Once again, the figures reveal the straw-plaiting industry in the Campton area provided considerably more work for the young women of the household than lace-making; both in percentage terms and numerically. With just 4 daughters working in domestic industry outside the parental home in 1861, there appears to have been little

	In the parental home	Outside the parental home
Campton area	52/65 (80%)	3/15 (20%)
Pavenham area	28/49 (57%)	1/29 (3%)
Total	80/114 (70%)	4/44 (9%)

Table 5.4: Rates of domestic industry noted for unmarried daughters, at the time of 1861 census.

necessity to work elsewhere in either straw-plaiting or lace-making. This was an occupation which could be carried out without having to leave the familiarity of one's family home and neighbourhood.

A significant percentage of the wives of the Bedfordshire sons have been found to be working in domestic industry. As this was clearly an integral part of the family income for many households, it may therefore be prudent to analyse the occupations held by the married daughters of the Bedfordshire villages. Table 5.5 shows the results for all married daughters, including village stayers, using their last known census return up to 1881.

	Village stayers	Under 5 miles	5-30 miles	Over 30 miles
Campton area	32/36 (89%)	19/24 (79%)	1/8 (13%)	1/17 (6%)
Pavenham area	17/24 (71%)	16/19 (84%)	3/20 (15%)	4/26 (15%)

Table 5.5: Domestic industry occupations held by all married daughters over each distance, at their last known census location up to 1881.

The high percentages revealed in this table highlight once again the importance of domestic industry in the marital household. Both straw-plaiting and lace-making were equally prolific, with a total of 85 per cent of married women who stayed local in straw-plaiting, and 77 per cent in lace-making. Yet again, in numerical terms straw-plaiting proved to be the more common of the two occupations. Nevertheless, the amount of work in both occupations was extremely high.

As with the wives of the sons, there were a small number of married daughters engaged in domestic industry over 5 miles from their village. Of the long-distance migrants, just one was noted as working in straw-plaiting; this was Adelaide Dudley, wife of John, who was working as a straw hat maker in Hackney. There were 4 married daughters working in lace-making over 30 miles from their village; it has already been noted that Mary Middleton and Sarah Mason, who were married to Pavenham area sons, were working in Bethnal Green and Lewisham respectively. They were joined by Elizabeth Gregge, wife of John, in Brimington, Derbyshire, and Sarah Sinfield, wife of

George, in Ecclesfield, Yorkshire. Lace-making could clearly be applied outside the traditional lace-making areas, but evidence of this was very small in numbers.

Long-distance migrant sons

Despite the high rates of village staying, figures 5.9 and 5.10 revealed that long-distance migration by the Bedfordshire sons was also significantly high. This was especially true of the Pavenham area migrants, where short-distance migration was extremely low. Taking the last known location up to 1881, 55 per cent of Pavenham area's migrant sons were to be found over 30 miles from their village, and 44 per cent of Campton area sons. To put this in perspective, the long-distance migration rates by the Sussex, Norfolk and Northumberland sons were 28 per cent, 40 per cent and 25 per cent respectively. And at the parish level, the high rates of long-distance migration by Pavenham and Radwell sons, at 71 per cent and 68 per cent respectively, could not be matched by any other village in this study. Domestic industry had certainly helped keep Bedfordshire sons local, but it appears there was little middle-ground between local migration and long-distance migration, with many Bedfordshire sons seemingly keen to escape to distant locations. An investigation into the specific locations favoured by these long-distance migrants may help in understanding why such a trend existed.

Calculations for figures 5.9 and 5.10 used the last known location over 30 miles up to the 1881 census return. However, by noting other census returns, locations of marriages, and births of children, a further 31 sons can be traced as migrating over 30 miles at some point in their lifetime; 18 from the Campton area, and 13 from the Pavenham area. The figures indicate that 43 per cent of all Bedfordshire sons used in this study (120 out of 280) migrated over 30 miles at some point in their lifetime.⁴⁰ These combined statistics not only reveal a great range of locations, covering 18 separate counties, but also reveal very different trends at both area and parish level. Table 5.6 shows the county locations favoured by the sons of each area.

From Campton and Meppershall, the 54 long-distance migrants were scattered over 13 separate counties. The most favoured destination was London, with 23 migrants (43 per cent). Surrey, Hampshire and Derbyshire were also attractions, but on a far smaller

⁴⁰ Broken down into area level, these figures are 54 out of 135 (40 per cent) for the Campton area, and 66 out of 145 (46 per cent) for the Pavenham area.

County location over 30 miles	Campton area	Pavenham area
Derbyshire	5	13
Essex	2	1
Hampshire	5	3
Hertfordshire	-	2
Huntingdonshire	1	1
Kent	1	2
Lancashire	-	2
Lincolnshire	2	1
London	23	17
Middlesex	4	3
Nottinghamshire	-	4
Somerset	1	-
Staffordshire	-	1
Surrey	6	2
Sussex	1	1
Warwickshire	-	2
Wiltshire	2	-
Yorkshire	1	11
Total	54	66

Table 5.6: The county locations of lifetime Bedfordshire migrant sons. (One entry per son).

scale. There was no particular location within these counties which these sons favoured, with the exception of the St Pancras district of London, which attracted 6 sons.

The long-distance migration rates by the Pavenham area sons were also substantial. Covering 16 separate counties, these sons were even more widely spread than those of the Campton area. London again was the most popular destination, with 17 migrants (26 per cent). However, 13 sons (20 per cent) could be found in Derbyshire, and 11 (17 per cent) in Yorkshire. 6 of these Yorkshire migrants were drawn to Sheffield, which is a higher rate than some of the Sheffield area villages investigated earlier. A further 6

found themselves working in the coal mines of Derbyshire and Yorkshire. Nottinghamshire also attracted 4 sons.

Looking more closely at the long-distance migrants, noting popular locations and occupational types, may reveal certain patterns of behaviour which might help to explain the high rates of migration over 30 miles. London, Yorkshire and Derbyshire were common destinations for the Bedfordshire long-distance migrants. Of the 120 sons who were noted over 30 miles at any point in their lifetime, 47 (39 per cent) were in London, 13 (11 per cent) in Yorkshire, and 20 (17 per cent) in Derbyshire. These three counties alone attracted 65 per cent of the 120 long distance migrants, and 44 per cent of all 178 traceable migrants.⁴¹ London as a destination is certainly understandable. Despite being located around 60 miles from these Bedfordshire villages, the capital was a natural attraction for anyone who sought to migrate from a county in the southern half of the country, as previously seen with the sons and daughters of Norfolk. However, Derbyshire and Yorkshire were not remotely close to Bedfordshire. With Derby (in south Derbyshire) 90 miles away from Bedford, and Sheffield 130 miles away, a migrant would have to pass through a minimum of two counties to arrive at either of these destinations.

Taking the Derbyshire migrants first, it is interesting to note which villages these migrants came from. 15 of the 20 were from the Pavenham area, and 9 of these were from Pavenham itself. Not one Meppershall son could be found in Derbyshire. The 'friends and relatives' effect has been discussed, and naturally word-of-mouth would have been a significant variable with regards to the decision to migrate. As Dudley Baines concluded of migration in general, the 'bulk of migrants moved along paths that had already been taken by friends and relations.'⁴² This has been noted in the previous chapters, especially amongst the Norfolk migrants. Looking at the specific locations within Derbyshire, 5 of the Pavenham area migrants could be found in the village of Whittington, and 4 just two miles away in Staveley. The rest were close-by in Brimington, Newbold, Dronfield and Mickley. Having migrated over 100 miles from their home village, these 15 Pavenham area sons could all be found within a 5-mile radius of each other. Moreover, all 3 Derbyshire migrants from Radwell could be found

⁴¹ Two of the migrants to London, Derbyshire and Yorkshire are repeated in the statistics; Newman Turner of Felmersham, and William Payne of Radwell, could be found in both Derbyshire and Yorkshire at some point in their lives. Therefore the 80 migrations to London, Derbyshire and Yorkshire consisted of 78 individual sons.

⁴² D. Baines, *Migration in a Mature Economy* (Cambridge, 1985) p.26.

in Staveley, and all 5 migrants to Whittington were from the village of Pavenham. This area was coal-mining country, and as such the sons who moved to Whittington worked at the colliery.

Brothers Samuel, James and George Knight both migrated to Whittington as young men, to work in the coal mine, leaving their widowed father in Pavenham. Joseph Church, who had grown up in Pavenham, and was a few years younger than the Knight brothers, joined them in Whittington during the 1860s, and in 1871 was living in the same street as George. Although Thomas Cockins was living near Pavenham in 1861, working as an agricultural labourer, he had married in the Staveley area in 1855, and his eldest child had been born in Staveley that same year. He had clearly been working there and had since returned to rural Bedfordshire.

The three Radwell sons had all migrated to Staveley by 1861. Brothers Robert and John Hulatt, were joined by close neighbour William Payne. A search of the 1871 census returns for Staveley shows 42 Bedfordshire-born residents. Of the 35 which showed a legible town or village of birth, 24 (69 per cent) of them were born within five miles of Pavenham, Felmersham and Radwell, and just one was born within five miles of Campton and Meppershall. Perhaps further evidence of the effectiveness of the 'friends and relatives' effect. As Kathryn Cooper discovered of migrants from Cardiganshire, 'kinship networks ... actively recruited from home with offers of help in finding both work and accommodation.'⁴³

Looking at the 13 migrants found in Yorkshire at any time, not one of the sons of Meppershall could be found in this county, and just one son found from Campton. The vast majority of the migrants, once again, were from the Pavenham area. 6 of the 12 were from Pavenham itself, with 4 from Felmersham and 2 from Radwell. All bar 4 of the sons were to be found in Sheffield, or on the outskirts of the city. However, none of these migrants was working in the steel industry, and only one could be found working directly in the mining industry. It seems clear that the long-distance migrant sons from the two villages south of Bedford (Campton and Meppershall) were far less likely to migrate towards the north than their cohorts to the north of Bedford.

For migration southwards to the capital, the story is different. Of the 47 sons who could be found in London at some point in their lives, 25 (53 per cent) were from

⁴³ K. J. Cooper, *Exodus From Cardiganshire; Rural-Urban Migration in Victorian Britain* (Cardiff, 2011) p.84.



Figure 5.13: Locations of the lifetime long-distance migrant sons of the Campton area.

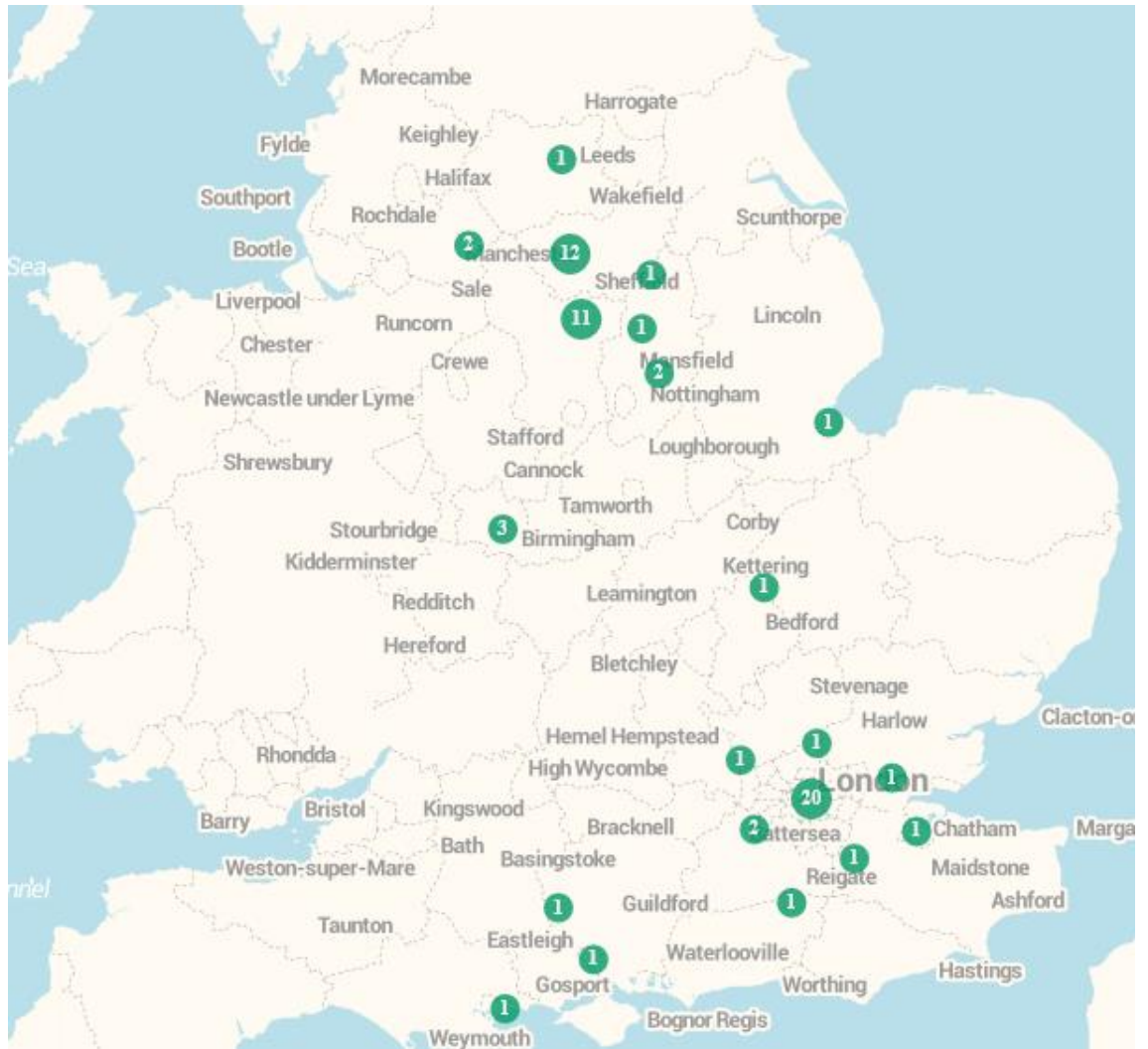


Figure 5.14: Locations of the lifetime long-distance migrant sons of the Pavenham area.

Campton and Meppershall, at a fairly even split of 13 and 12 respectively. From the Pavenham area, 12 were from Pavenham, 8 from Radwell, with just 2 Felmersham sons found in London, (despite 4 migrating to Sheffield). Once again, looking at specific locations within London, there is significant evidence of the ‘friends and relatives’ effect. For example, the most popular London destination was St Pancras, with 8 sons found there. 6 of these sons were from the Campton area, with all bar one of them from the village of Meppershall. Henry Harris, Egram Parrott, William Pettifar, Henry Rainbow and George Tysom all left Meppershall for the St Pancras area of London. Egram Parrott and William Pettifar had been next-door neighbours in Meppershall, and both migrated to the same district in London. Of course this may be coincidence, but there is a good possibility that simply word-of-mouth would have been a great persuasive element with regards to long-distance migration patterns.

There were other similar trends with regards to long-distance migration. All 4 migrants to Nottinghamshire were from Felmersham and Pavenham. The 5 Hampshire migrants from the Campton area were all from Campton itself, with none from Meppershall. And the 2 Wiltshire migrants were both Campton sons. Again, much of this could be coincidence, but it is worthy of note.

First-hand evidence of the ‘friends and relatives’ effect are hard to come by during this period. There are many letters from emigrants to Australia and America which provide a wealth of evidence of the importance of these networks, but little trace of letters sent to and from internal migrants. However, internal migration would have required similar points of contact for many potential long-distance migrants, and much of the evidence above strongly implies there were links between sons who migrated to similar locations.

Looking at the locations of all 120 Bedfordshire sons who could be found over 30 miles away from their village, there are two very different patterns which existed between the two village areas. Figures 5.13 and 5.14 show the patterns of long-distance migration by those from Campton area (54 sons), and Pavenham area (66 sons). These maps clearly show the trend for the Pavenham area sons to head for the north, and Campton area sons favouring the south.

Taking Campton first, just 9 of the 54 long-distance migrants (17 per cent) went north of the village. However, 25 could be found in London, with a further 10 just to the south of the capital. The map for the Pavenham area sons, however, shows a clear

tendency to migrate north. Over half (35 out of 66) migrated north of their village, with a large concentration around South Yorkshire and Derbyshire. As with the Campton area sons, there was a great migration to London. Nevertheless, the figures were far lower with the Pavenham area sons.

Noting occupations of the long-distance migrants, there is little difference between the two sets of villages with regards to their occupational status before migrating. Of those who left the Campton area 61 per cent were agricultural labourers, with 9 per cent tradesmen. From the Pavenham area the figures were 68 per cent and 9 per cent respectively. 85 per cent from the Campton area had a Class IV or V occupation, with 15 per cent Class III or higher. From the Pavenham area the figures were 81 per cent and 19 per cent.

Nevertheless, the occupations held by the two sets of villagers did vary *after* migration, and this was largely due to the contrast between the predominantly southern migrants of the Campton area, and the split between the north/south migrants of the Pavenham area. The sons of the Campton area were spread fairly evenly across many types of occupation; agricultural labourers, tradesmen, factory workers, etc. However, occupations for the Pavenham area were often more specific. For example, all bar one of the 7 long-distance migrant sons working in the mining industry were from the Pavenham area. Also, whereas just one Campton area son was working on the railways, there were 5 railway workers from the Pavenham area, spread over 5 counties. Again, these are small observations, but worthy of note.

Looking at the prevalence of urban migration, also reveals a significant difference between the two areas. Of the 59 long-distance migrant sons of the Campton area, just 12 (22 per cent) remained rural. However, 23 of the 66 Pavenham area sons (35 per cent) remained rural.⁴⁴ Therefore, despite a great migration towards the industrial north, the Pavenham area sons were less likely to migrate to an urban location. With large areas of Bedfordshire and the surrounding counties being greatly reliant on domestic industry to supplement poor agricultural wages, a move towards the prosperous and commercial city of London, or the high-waged industrial north, may well have been a great temptation for those wishing to escape a life of low wages and a reliance on domestic service work by the wives and children.

⁴⁴ As before, the location used is the first known location over 30 miles for each migrant.

These Bedfordshire sons generally displayed high rates of villages staying, but also significantly high rates of long-distance migration. The agricultural earnings in this, and its four surrounding counties, were some of the lowest in the country. With Bedfordshire's agricultural labourers expecting to earn 14s 3d a week, they would have earned the same in neighbouring Cambridgeshire and Buckinghamshire, and just 13s 6d in Hertfordshire. Only Northamptonshire could have provided better earnings, at 15s 3d.⁴⁵ However, this was still far lower than those which could have been gained in the northern counties, or indeed many towns and cities. Many sons were clearly encouraged to remain in the area due to the high rates of employment in domestic industry available to their wives and children. However, for those wishing to leave the area around their village, a move to a neighbouring county could simply have resulted in equally low wages. In order to escape this situation, a long-distance move may have seemed far more of a sensible alternative. And with fellow villagers making long moves, the 'friends and relatives' effect would undoubtedly have exacerbated this trend.

Conclusions

This chapter set out to establish how far the high rates of village staying amongst the sons and daughters of the Bedfordshire villages were related to domestic industry. This investigation has shown that the daughters were not only kept local by domestic industry, but kept in their parental homes in great numbers. In comparison with many of the other counties within this study, the unmarried daughters of Bedfordshire were far less likely to leave the parental home.

For the sons, domestic industry also appeared to have a significant effect on their migratory habits. However, this was not due to their own work in the industries, but the prevalence of available work for their wives. A large percentage of wives of the sons were engaged in domestic industry, and this must be taken into account when looking at influences in migration habits for young men. The fact that unmarried daughters tended to remain within the parental household, working in domestic industry, and on marriage were often to be found continuing in the trade, indicates that straw-plaiting and lace-making were highly important for supplementing the household income. The decision whether to migrate would have been a household decision, highly influenced by the work of the women in the household.

⁴⁵ A. L. Bowley, *Wages in the United Kingdom in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1900) End table.

Numbers in straw-plaiting consistently appear to have outweighed those in lace-making. The straw-plaiting villages of Campton area were more likely to keep sons and daughters local, and married and unmarried daughters, as well as wives of the sons, consistently displayed higher numbers of work in straw-plaiting than lace-making. Research on domestic industry has shown that straw-plaiting was far more healthy, sociable and flexible than lace-making, and contemporary accounts have confirmed this.

Additionally, it has been established that domestic industry did not travel, and work in straw-plaiting and lace-making (as well as mat-making for the sons) was rarely practised in locations over five miles from the villages. As a consequence of the popularity of local domestic industry, work in domestic service was not common for daughters, particularly from the straw-plaiting villages, and the majority of those few who worked in service were to be found many miles from their village.

Previous migration studies tend to focus on the male occupations and wages, and rarely do these studies take into account income by wives and children within the household. This investigation into the migration habits of the sons and daughters of five Bedfordshire villages has shown that women's income could have a great influence on migration patterns in nineteenth century England.

This chapter also addressed the high rate of long-distance migration by the sons of Bedfordshire villages. It is clear that although long-distance migration was extremely high for the sons of both the Campton and Pavenham areas, the patterns of migration between the two were very different. Looking at occupation types, and occupational skill gradings, showed there was little difference between the *type* of migrant. Nevertheless, despite these two sets of villages being located less than 20 miles from each other, the villages to the north (Pavenham, Felmersham and Radwell) saw high rates of migration to the northern counties such as Derbyshire and Yorkshire, whereas the villages to the south (Campton and Meppershall) saw migration almost exclusively towards London and the south. The 'friends and relatives' effect appears to have been much in evidence, especially for those sons who migrated north, and, along with the low rates of agricultural earnings in the surrounding counties, could be considered as having a significant effect on the high rates of long-distance migration.

This chapter has again highlighted the importance in taking migration studies down to the parish level. Despite being situated within the same county, and less than 20 miles apart, these two sets of Bedfordshire villages displayed significantly different patterns

of migration, which would simply be missed by a broader study. By taking into account the varying rates and types of female domestic industry within each village, it has been possible to come to a better understanding of why these varying migration patterns existed. Additionally, noting the specific childhood village of the long-distance migrant sons, revealed much evidence of the 'friends and relatives' effect, which could simply not have been possible without this type of intimate study.

Conclusion

This thesis has sought to address many of the shortcomings evident in migration studies. This has been achieved by taking analysis down to the parish level, as suggested long ago by historians such as John Saville and Keith Wrightson, and implementing many of the improvements recommended by Colin Pooley and Ian Whyte. By appreciating the unique characteristics of individual communities, and placing them in a geographic and social context, an attempt has been made to provide a greater understanding of migration patterns in the latter half of nineteenth-century England. Additionally, this research has been enhanced by exploiting available sources to their full potential, resulting in a large and detailed dataset of individuals, traced over successive census returns. Analysis of a unique dataset of 2,845 individuals from 36 villages, covering a wide range of geographic areas and types, has revealed a diverse set of migration patterns across the country, which can only be found and explained using comparative research at the parish level.

The investigations into the villages in Sussex, Norfolk and Northumberland have demonstrated that migration patterns could vary significantly between different geographical areas within one county. It has also shown that similar types of location did not always conform to similar patterns of migration behaviour. For instance, not all villages situated near to a significant urban location, displayed high rates of urban migration, and not all remote villages showed high rates of long-distance migration. Each set of villages were affected by a unique set of circumstances, and as such each must be treated as an individual and unique community.

It is important to acknowledge that although individuals were affected by economic, social, political and geographic factors, at the micro-level there will always be variations which cannot be explained. Kathryn Cooper acknowledged that in the end, ‘migration is the outcome of a multitude of decisions taken by individuals who do not necessarily respond to similar situations in the same manner.’¹ Nevertheless, much of the analysis within this thesis has been able to go some way to indicating why particular patterns may have existed between different parishes, highlighting the benefits of comparative research.

¹ K. J. Cooper, *Exodus From Cardiganshire; Rural-Urban Migration in Victorian Britain* (Cardiff, 2011) p.7.

Proximity to towns and cities has often been seen as having a positive effect on migration. However, this study has revealed a rather more complex picture, with towns and cities attracting migrants in varying degrees. Whilst some locations attracted both sons and daughters in great numbers, others did not prove a great attraction to either. Daughters of the West Wittering area were drawn to Chichester, yet many sons were to be found in more distant Portsea. However, by recognising the characteristics of both the villages and the urban destinations, it has been possible to establish why such patterns existed.

The investigations into the villages of the industrial north also revealed that distance and urban migration was greatly dependant on the type of towns and cities within the immediate area. The town of Clitheroe exerted a strong pull on both sons and daughters, and this was clearly as a direct result of the cotton industry. This industry had a significant effect on both the sons and daughters of the nearby villages; not to pull men and women away from the area, but to keep them local. This was an industry which could employ many members of one family, and working in the cotton industry could clearly be lucrative.

The study of the Bedfordshire villages also highlighted the effects of local industry on migration patterns. Both straw-plating and lace-making were commonplace industries, and had the advantage of being able to be practised within the home. This was predominantly a female occupation, but clearly had a significant effect on the migration habits of the men. This highlights the fact that studies of migration should take into consideration the employment female employment when observing male migration patterns.

There appears to have been no firm link between railways and distance migration within this study. Sons and daughters from many of the more remote villages with no immediate access to a railway station often displayed high rates of long-distance migration. Yet many villagers finding themselves close to a railway station were often predominantly short-distance migrants. It would seem that long-distance was not hindered by the lack of a nearby rail network, and the attractions of nearby locations outweighed the desire to migrate to more distant locations.

This is also noticeable in the industrial north. Each of the eight villages was within easy reach of a railway station, linked to a great number of rail networks. Nevertheless, long-distance migration was significantly low, with few sons or daughters being located

in major cities such as Manchester, Leeds and London. Again, railways might have been used for shorter distance migration, but did not appear to encourage long-distance moves.

However, one very noticeable trend amongst the sons is that a coastal location tended to lead to high rates of long-distance migration. All three coastal areas of Sussex, Norfolk and Northumberland displayed the highest rates of long-distance migration, and their destinations imply that much of this migration was made along the coast. Again, this highlights the necessity of appreciating the geographic location of an individual when assessing patterns of migration.

Yet physical geography could also be a barrier, causing a major impact on migration patterns. The uninhabitable and expansive area of the Forest of Bowland was shown to have seriously hampered the direction of migration for the inhabitants of the Lancashire villages, greatly reducing their options. Much work on migration has investigated the pull of the urban centres on migrants, but few studies, if any, have addressed the impact of geographical barriers. Physical geography is often overlooked, and should be a vital factor to take into account when investigating patterns of migration.

The ‘friends and relatives’ effect has often been discussed in recent studies of migration. However, many of these are based on county or regional-level investigations. The parish-level research in this study has revealed far stronger evidence of the ‘friends and relatives’ effect. This was especially noticeable with the Bedfordshire sons, many of whom migrated great distances, yet remained within close proximity to their former neighbours. This was clear evidence of the ‘friends and relatives’ effect, and far more convincing than county to county analysis. It is only with research at the parish level, and tracing individual migrants, that factors such as the ‘friends and relatives’ effect can be truly acknowledged.

The defence of the rural persister from the idea that he was unambitious or unintelligent, may have appeared to be just a small part of this thesis. However, it has been an underlying theme throughout much of the analysis. Analysing the rates of village staying was essential to understanding the communities from which the migrants were from, and therefore essential for understanding why certain villages held on to their young men and women more than others. Particularly high rates of village staying by the sons and daughters could usually be explained by understanding the occupational

structure of their childhood village. High rates of employment in fishing, farming, domestic service, the cotton industry, and domestic industry, present within a village, could greatly affect the decision to migrate. These produced widely different rates of outmigration from villages, and showed that many young men and women often had good reasons for remaining local and rural. The nineteenth-century rural labourer who remained within his village should therefore not necessarily be condemned as displaying a lack of intelligence or ambition. As Nathaniel Blaker remarked, ‘Does not the stupidity rather rest with those whose ignorance of the country and of the nature of plants and animals, prevents their seeing that these men are skilled labourers of the highest class?’² Additionally, investigations into the types and classes occupation which have migrated to towns and cities have shown a variety of patterns across the counties, challenging the opinion that those who left for the towns and cities were the ‘cream of the crop’.

This thesis has been as much about the methodology used as the results obtained. For many years, historians have highlighted the merits of comparative research at the parish level, yet migration studies of this type remain scarce, with broad studies continuing to dominate this field of study.

The necessity of noting diversity at the parish level has been demonstrated throughout this study, revealing significant variations between neighbouring communities that were hidden at the county or area level. These differences must be taken into account, and can provide vital evidence when attempting to analyse rates of migration. As Barry Reay stated, ‘...regional and local variation are much more than some minor variant to be incorporated into a larger picture.’³ Researching each individual village, and understanding their unique characteristics, therefore formed a vital element to this study.

Comparisons of migration between a variety of village types and geographic locations are also essential to understanding why certain patterns existed. This study has shown that there was a vast array of forces at work across various areas of the country, all exerting a ‘pull’ or a ‘push’ on the potential migrant. By comparing the migration patterns from each village or area, a greater understanding can be obtained of the influence of individual factors.

² N. P. Blaker, *Sussex in Bygone Days* (New edition). (Hove, 1919) p.137.

³ B. Reay, *Rural England* (Basingstoke, 2004) p.205.

Using individual-level data across a range of census returns was also key to this study. By following the lives of individual sons and daughters, a far more detailed picture could be obtained, noting more than simply a snap-shot of an individual's life on the night of a singular census return. This allowed for many moves to be noted, and succeeded in revealing a far greater variety of migration than would have been found by simply comparing two census returns.

Most migration studies using individuals from the census returns have purely been focussed on the location and occupation of an individual. However, another advantage of exploiting all the information on the census returns, was the ability to observe occupations held by wives. In certain communities, female occupation was an essential part of the family income. Consequently, a great amount has been learned about male migration within those communities, and this would simply not have been possible by observing male migration and occupations alone.

Many elements of this type of investigation were simply not possible in the past. However, the modern-day historian of migration is now in the privileged position of having a computerised search of the census returns at their fingertips, allowing individuals to be traced from census to census, location to location, throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. Some have used this facility to simply locate individuals with a specific place of birth on a single census (the nativity method). Others have used automatic searches to link individuals between two census returns, twenty or thirty years apart. Yet, the computerised census allows far more detailed and in-depth data collection, and the historian must take full advantage of this technology.

There are weaknesses in this study. First, some of the analysis has relied on small datasets, and these can be increased, either by further research into the missing villagers, by using larger villages, or using an increased number of neighbouring villages. Also, whilst diaries and autobiographies were available in abundance for certain areas of the study, others were distinctly lacking. These first-hand accounts can considerably strengthen evidence found within the analysis, and although much use of John Burnett's comprehensive list of autobiographies has been made, as were the archives of various local history societies, in many cases first-hand accounts were simply not available.

This thesis has shown that migration patterns in late nineteenth century England varied considerably between individual villages and local areas, and that these variations were affected by many different factors. However, only by taking research to the parish level, observing the movements of each individual across a number of census returns, and comparing a range of communities, has it been possible to attempt to explain why these variations existed. This study has ultimately only been able to examine a small selection of villages in England. However, further studies of this nature would hopefully strengthen many of the findings made in this thesis.

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Craster Local History Group – www.crasterhistory.org.uk

The Disused Railway Stations website – www.disused-stations.org.uk

Durham Mining Museum – www.dmm.org.uk

Maps Data – www.mapsdata.co.uk

Researching Historic Building in the British Isles – www.buildinghistory.org

The Times Archive Collection – www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/archive