
There and Back

Dave Maund

Abstract

This paper studies the migration history of the members of a single family, who moved between north Herefordshire and what is now the west Midlands conurbation. The research reported here makes use of oral history and diary evidence to describe the migration decisions made by members of the family, especially in the early and mid twentieth century. It elucidates the role of 'place' and the attraction to particular places in those decisions and provides a case study that exemplifies many of the migration processes which were characteristic of the population of England and Wales at that time.

This short article is a study of migration, specifically migration decisions and the attraction of place. It plays out over a period of some 160 years from late eighteenth century to the mid twentieth century and straddles three major population movements (which form part of the structural background) along with two world wars and a major economic depression. The decisions though, in contrast to those in the vast majority of migration studies, are taken by a single family, the Maunds. The article will demonstrate the importance of individual agency in contrast to assumed structural influences even at a time when the latter were powerful. The regional setting is the Welsh borderlands, specifically north Herefordshire.

There is a vast literature on migration studies, the majority of which addresses gross movements using aggregated data to show migration flows. Explanation is sought using generalised forces such as urban growth, movements in the business cycle or civil turbulence and war. Several reviews trace the developments in this work.¹ Such explanations take no account, nor can they take account, of individual agency. In major flows of peoples there is no possibility of identifying individual decision and it is assumed that all were driven by the same forces which were beyond their control. More recently there have been calls for a closer examination of process and the role of individual agency in migration.² This analysis of the actions of a single family seeks to illustrate these recommendations and develop the theme of individual agency and the context which lends it opportunity.

1 See, for example, G.J. Lewis, *Human Migration* (London, 1982); P.J. Boyle, K.H. Halfacree and V. Robinson, *Exploring Contemporary Migration* (London, 1998); P. Guinness, *Migration* (London, 2002).

2 See, for example, W.T.R. Pryce, *From Family History to Community History* (Cambridge, 1994); C. Pooley and J. Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility in Britain since the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1998); T. Champion and T. Fielding (eds), *Migration Processes and Patterns* (London, 1992); R. King, 'Geography and migration studies: retrospect and prospect', *Population Space and Place*, 18 (2012), pp. 134–53.

Some reviews are helpful to substantive investigation: they list appropriate literature; others are devised to show the evolution of thought and are essentially theoretical commentaries. In these cases there is some danger that such work can 'push' substantive work towards the use of what may be seen as progressive methodologies which may not necessarily be appropriate for the issue to be examined. This study adopts the stance that the methodology should be directly related to the needs of the investigation and not a test of a particular ideological stance, in other words methodology grows directly from the needs of the investigation and it is not an end in itself.

For this investigation a number of questions arise. First, there is the question of how to assemble sufficiently rich and extensive data for a single family? Some data are provided by sources familiar to the family historian: for example parish records, census enumerators' books and the results of the work of the Church of Latter Day Saints.³ These can trace, broadly, the movement of a family by reference to the date and place of birth of members. However these data are not entirely comprehensive because the census only yields data every ten years and there may consequently be gaps in the identification of movement. Nevertheless, for the early part of the study these are the sources that must be used. There are no other records because the members of the family were agricultural labourers and so, in the words of Hobsbawm and Rudé: 'they left nothing identifiable behind them, for the marvellous surface of the British landscape, the work of their ploughs, spades and shears and the beasts they looked after, bears no signature or mark such as the masons left on cathedrals'.⁴ For the exploration of decision the testimony of the siblings of the author are used to give direct account for the decisions taken. Part of this relies on written testimony; there is a complete diary for 1934, a book and a set of poems in addition to the oral evidence. There are of course issues raised by this method, effectively a form of participant observation, when conducted by a member of the family. But it does enable the delivery of detailed and individual migration paths together with reasons which enable the construction of detailed life course transitions.⁵

In a recent contribution, King mentions ethnographic and participatory methods for such micro studies.⁶ The data source for the decision element of this study is, in the main, oral history evidence, but the relationship of the respondents to the researcher required a specifically designed methodology.⁷ Whilst following a broadly behavioural approach with a focus on individual decision there was a necessity for a form of ethnographic approach

3 The Church of the Latter Day Saints transcribed the 1881 census enumerators' books for England and Wales, so that they were available to researchers years before the remainder of the censuses were rendered machine readable and disseminated using the Integrated Census Microdata project.

4 E.J. Hobsbawm and G Rudé, *Captain Swing* (Harmondsworth, 1973), p. xvii.

5 It is, in effect, the same source (the testimony of relatives) that was used in Pooley and Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility in Britain*.

6 King, 'Geography and migration studies', pp. 134, 141.

7 Although no element of the methodology used here is unique, the combination of elements quite possibly is.

involving participant observation.⁸ In accounts of participant observation as a methodology, stress is placed upon the need for reflexivity on the part of the researcher.⁹ In addition to the usual reflection upon events and processes, reports and assessment among the siblings are triangulated, in the form of constant checking and verification.¹⁰ In a somewhat similar context Robina Mohammad remarked in 2001: ‘experiential “sameness” is used to prove moral authority to an account on the basis that this sameness endows the researcher with greater understanding of the researched’s reality’.¹¹ Similarly, almost 20 years earlier, Torsten Hagerstrand had remarked that, ‘the insider ... is involved in the network of meanings that bind ... together and ... he might even be able to trace to the roots of the projects back to their finer details’.¹² There appears, therefore, to be some clear justification in the literature for such a methodology and this enables a new approach to migration as will be revealed as the investigation progresses.

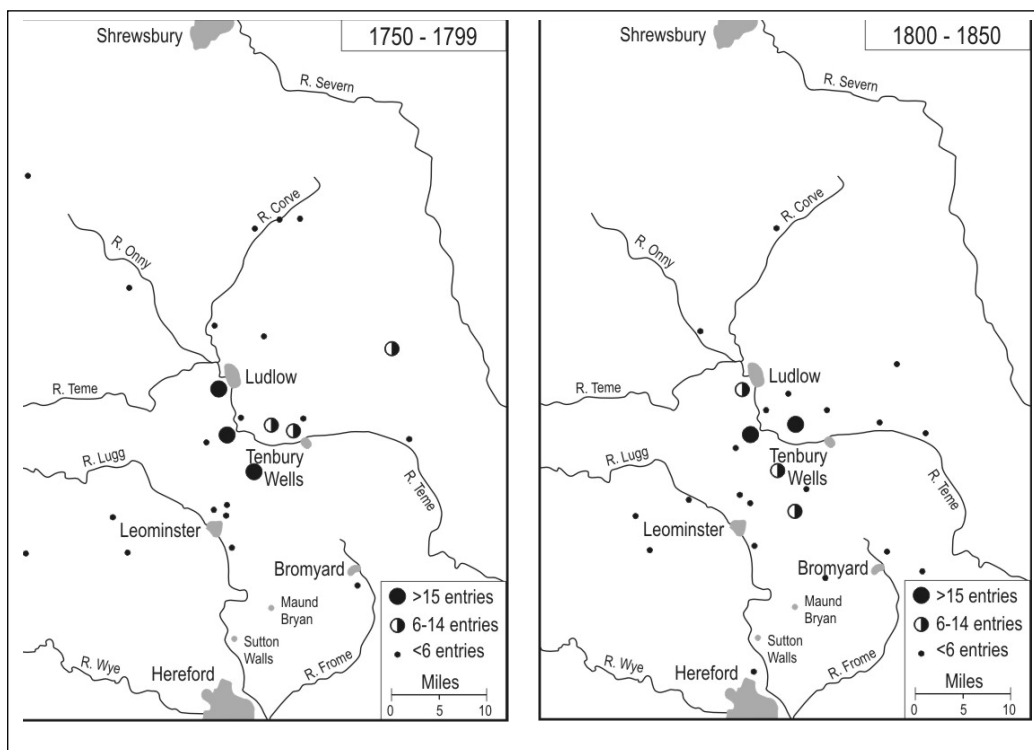
The subject of this investigation is a branch of the Maund family. The name Maund derives from the Celtic *magene*; it relates to a territory, now six parishes, in Herefordshire.¹³ This land lies between Leominster and Hereford and immediately to the east of the River Lugg. The anglicised version, Maund, is what David Hey refers to as a locative name and as such, he maintains, the bearers of the name are likely to have sprung from a single couple.¹⁴ It is certainly the case that a study of parish registers for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries reveals significant concentration of Maund names in South Shropshire and North Herefordshire (Figure 1).

To establish the locational context, the earliest record of this Maund branch is found in the Parish Records of the parish of Brimfield in north Herefordshire between Ludlow and Tenbury Wells. Using parish registers and census returns showing places and ages, it is possible to plot movement but not at precise dates. Clearly, however, no reasons for movement can be ascertained by this method: for these we must rely on written testimony or oral evidence. Using the combined approach it is possible to deliver detailed and individual migration paths together with reasons which enable the construction of detailed life course transitions. Such an approach enables a flow rather than a series of arbitrary stages of a life cycle. It is to this matter that this account now turns.

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- 8 See W. Kirk, ‘Problems of geography’, *Geography*, 48, pp. 357–71; DJ Maund, ‘Moving on from a rural parish’ (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Coventry, 2008).
 - 9 G. Rose, ‘Situating knowledges: positionality, reflexivities and other tactics’, *Progress in Human Geography*, 21 (1997), pp. 305–20; see also P. Cloke, I. Cook, M. Goodwin, J. Painter, and C. Philo, *Practising Human Geography* (London, 2004).
 - 10 See N.K. Denzin, *Interpretive Biography* (London, 1989).
 - 11 R. Mohammad, *Insider and/or Outsider: Positionality, Theory and Practice* (London, 2001), p. 104.
 - 12 T. Hagerstrand, ‘Diorama, path and project’, *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 73, pp. 323–9, here at p. 326.
 - 13 M. Gelling, *Signposts to the Past* (London, 1984); J.A. Sheppard, *The Origins and Evolution of Field and Settlement Patterns in the Herefordshire Manor of Marden*, Department of Geography, Queen Mary College, Occasional Paper 15 (London, 1979).
 - 14 See D. Hey, ‘The local history of family names’, *Local Historian*, 27, pp. i–xx.

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Figure 1 Geographical distribution of the Maund name



Note: Maps drawn by Dr Graham Hill, University of Worcester.

In the late eighteenth century William and Hannah Maund moved with their five children from Brimfield to the adjacent parish of Little Hereford immediately to the east. They settled in an area of some 13 houses on land designated as 'Poor Land'. Here the Maund family stayed for three generations. William and Hannah's youngest son George, born in Little Hereford, married Fanny and together they produced eight children. One of their sons, John, inherited the house and married Emma (great-grandparents of the author). They had ten children over a period of some 25 years (Table 1), one of whom was Thomas, and for reference later, the last born was David Gwynn Maund, in 1880. These data are compiled from parish records and census enumerator's books. However, it is with Thomas that this narrative begins.

Thomas left home aged about nine to live in on a farm in the neighbouring parish of Greete. Later he became a groom and married a housemaid, Jane, from the big house in neighbouring Ashford Carbonel. Alice was born there in 1888 and Thomas Earnest was born in 1890 in Kings Norton, then a rural parish south west of Birmingham. Records of births show that Thomas moved several times (Table 1), traversing the West Midlands to Radnorshire, Stoke Prior in Herefordshire and Aston Munslow in Shropshire. We do not know why the family moved, except by second or even third hand accounts. Jane died in 1936 and Thomas in 1954, both in Birmingham. Thomas had moved to Birmingham at a

Table 1 The life path of Thomas Maund

Year	Event	Location	Source	Occupation
1865	Birth	Bedlam Row, Little Hereford, Herefordshire	Parish register	Son of drainer
1881	Living in as servant	Greete, Salop	Census enumerators' books	Farm servant
1887	Marriage to Jane Deakin	Ashford Carbonel, Salop	Marriage certificate	Groom
1888	Birth of daughter Alice	Ashford Carbonel, Salop	Birth certificate	Coachman
1890	Birth of son Thomas Earnest	Kings Norton, Warwickshire	Birth certificate	Coachman
1891		Llanbadarn Fynydd, Radnorshire	Census enumerators' books	Groom
1894	Birth of son Harold	Knowle, Warwickshire	St Catherine's House	Coachman
1896	Birth of daughter Maggie	Stoke Prior, Herefordshire	St. Catherine's House	Coachman
1899	Birth of son Frederick	Aston Munslow, Salop	Calculation, census enumerators' books	
1901		Willenhall, Staffordshire	Census enumerators' books	Coachman
1902	Birth of son 'Jack'	Willenhall, Staffordshire	St. Catherine's House	Coachman
1905	Birth of daughter Annie	Harborne, Birmingham	St. Catherine's House	
1907	Birth of daughter Florence	Harborne, Birmingham	St Catherine's House	
1910	Birth of daughter Pauline	Harborne, Birmingham	Birth certificate	Insurance agent
1920s	Change of address	Harborne, Birmingham	Oral history	Newspaper delivery
1936	Death of Jane	Harborne, Birmingham	Oral history	
1954	Death	Bearwood, Birmingham	Oral history	

time of great population change: he was part of the great urbanisation movement but, as shown, his was far from a simple direct move. We can be fairly clear that he moved for work but, as to the detailed counter-moves, only the testimony of the daughter of Pauline, with whom he lived in his later years, can be given some credence. It is believed that he was a man of high temper who easily fell out with his employers and was therefore forced to move. The moves back to the west might be explained by the fact that either he or his wife Jane had contacts there, though this is little more than speculation and illustrates the difficulty of constructing reliable, verifiable narratives without direct testimony.

The five children of Thomas's eldest son, Thomas Earnest, were able to account for their movements from the 1920s to their deaths in 1990s, a period of up to 80 years. They provide the evidence which follows. Their accounts enable the construction of a framework which provides another aspect of the methodology for this detailed enquiry, namely,

an examination of life course rather than the more arbitrary life cycle. The disadvantages of the life cycle approach have been pointed out by Tony Warnes, who went on to explore the utility of a life course approach as an alternative framework in relation to migration.¹⁵ Warnes suggests that rather than the inevitable stages of the life cycle there may be a series of what he calls 'life course transitions'. This approach is not time-specific and implies that not all individuals or social groups follow the same sequence. The transitions may occur at any time and are not necessarily age related. They might therefore be viewed as turning points or 'times of decision' to use a phrase coined by Dudley Kirk.¹⁶ An important characteristic of the life course is that it necessarily accounts for what has gone before and therefore gives a context for action.¹⁷ Such an idea is very important to the analysis of migration decisions of the Maund families investigated. In Harris's terms an individual's life course is the intersection of historical time and personal time.¹⁸ To this might well be added geographical space.

Thomas Ernest Maund and his wife Hephzibah had five children, the first four of whom were born in Harborne, Birmingham: Brenda in 1913, Ken in 1915, Fred in 1917, Bob in 1919, and the last the present author David, born in Birmingham (but in Bartley Green) in 1936. David never lived at home with his siblings: his earliest memory is of them married and living in separate households. The author already knew the main aspects of the narrative of the move from Birmingham and the motives which underpinned it; this was part of the family discourse over his early years. The researcher interviewed his siblings, then all living in Herefordshire, on the basis of three main questions. 'When did you move?'; 'Where did you move to?'; 'Why did you move?'. The encounters (prearranged), and the questions (posed beforehand) took up far more than one meeting. The events produced a number of anecdotes but the responses were checked in future interviews and by triangulation among the respondents. This was also carried out to ensure that answers were not those that the siblings thought their brother wanted to hear. An important figure in the narrative was Great Uncle Dave, known as 'Mon' and a Herefordshire resident. His eldest son, Bill, something of a hero with the siblings, was also interviewed. These encounters were tape recorded as well as notes taken. In addition a visit was made to Harborne with Ken and Fred which was also recorded. In 1934 Fred, then aged 16 or 17 years, had kept a diary (mostly complete) and this proved a valuable source along with a book written by Ken and Fred's poems.

From a structural point of view the move to the Birmingham suburb of Bartley Green was part of the suburbanisation movement and the return to Herefordshire a part of the counter-urbanisation movement which had been preceded by the move into suburbia.

15 A. Warnes, 'Migration and the life course', in T. Champion and T. Fielding (eds), *Migration Processes and Patterns* (London, 1992), pp. 175–87.

16 See D. Kirk, 'Problems of geography', *Geography*, 48 (1963), pp. 357–71.

17 G. Cohen, *Social Change and the Life Course* (London, 1987).

18 C. Harris, 'The individual and society', in A. Bryman (ed.), *Rethinking the Life Cycle* (Basingstoke, 1987), pp. 17–29.

These moves took place during a time of great recession and the build up to the Second World War. But the Maunds were always in employment during this time. The investigation now moves to the substantive part of the analysis of the diary of Fred Maund.¹⁹

Fred Maund was born 1917 with a cleft palate. His father, Thomas Earnest, paid for a then pioneering operation to correct this. The family was then living above a shop in High Street, Harborne and Thomas was an extremely well paid waiter in an elite restaurant in central Birmingham and so able to meet the 200-guinea cost. The outcome was that Fred remained sickly so Thomas Earnest had a caravan built and towed to Yew Tree Farm, Bircher Common, in north Herefordshire. This was owned by 'Uncle Dave', born in Little Hereford in 1880, and only ten years older than his nephew, Thomas Earnest. The assumption is that there had been ongoing contact and therefore this arrangement could be made. The family moved there for the entirety of two summers in 1923 and 1924. They were there from April to September in each of those years.²⁰ They mixed with Uncle Dave's children, Hazel, Bill and Jack, went to the local school and absorbed much of the farming culture of the area.

As Fred described it:

The caravan was parked in an orchard some 200 yards behind the farm house. On the far side or rear were two bunk beds. Under the rear of the caravan and attached to was a large wooden box the full width, with a hinged lid. Mother used to keep utensils in it, a sort of locker.

This could have been about 1925. At the time we lived in Harborne in a small house behind and over a shop. It consisted of a small living room and what we called scullery, with two small bedrooms and an attic. So we were glad to go to the caravan.

Life in the caravan was obviously primitive, no flush toilet. All water carried from the farm and therefore rationed. Springs and streams were reasonably clean; fertilisers were not used extensively then, so we drank from these sources²¹

The impression gained from these experiences and also the relationship forged with their country cousins, particularly Bill, remained with them for the rest of their lives and was the driving force in the eventual move to Herefordshire in 1938. Thus began a love affair with north Herefordshire and its farming way of life. In fact in later years Fred was moved to write:

Young experiences taught us much,
Quiet woodlands, murmuring stream, natures touch,
That diminished memory of foul factory and smoke,
And grime and rush for rail and bus²²

19 Much of what follows is a condensed version of sections of Maund, 'Moving on from a rural parish'.

20 Herefordshire County Record Office (hereafter HCRO), J17/4.

21 Letter from Fred Maund, 11 November 2006.

22 Fred Maund, 1997.

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Before that though came the first family move out of central Birmingham and into the then suburb of Bartley Green. This took place about 1932. They moved further out of the city to a three bedroomed, semi-detached rented property with a bathroom, in the rural-urban fringe, with a very large garden. This was part of the suburbanisation process then affecting large urban areas as they continued to expand.²³ Bartley Green was on the edge of the then built up area and there was a farm at the end of the lane where a chicken could be bought for 2s 6d. They were only three miles from Harborne but a long way away in terms of standards of living. The decision to move was taken by Mother with the active urging and support of her children. She took the initiative and found the house and moved. It was much more like the location of Mother's childhood on the edge of the Black Country in Wallheath. Of course, at least three of the children were earning. According to Fred, 'Well, it was a better house wasn't it?' And Brenda said: 'We were older by then and could put pressure on'.

This was not a move conditioned by some predetermined life cycle stage but more initiated by the children to meet their life style aspirations. It was a transition. It should perhaps be noted here that there was a degree of social mobility operating too which informed their values: the three boys had scholarships to an elite Boys School and by this time had white collar jobs, Ken as a progress chaser at Austin Motor Company and Fred in the laboratories of the same company. Brenda, on the other hand, did not have this experience. In her words: 'where there were children of both sexes in those times the boys were sent to the Grammar school but not the girls. So there was sex discrimination, but we just got on with it, took it for granted.' She did, though, get herself trained and obtained a job in the Water Department of Birmingham City Council as a comptometer operator.

In the years in Bartley Green three important things for this narrative took place. The relationship with Herefordshire was not just one way; in Fred's diary it was reciprocal, as the following extracts reveal.²⁴

I had a letter from Jack at the farm yesterday and mother had one from Aunt. Flower is dead, a bit of bad luck. I wrote to him and Bill and then after that I wrote a bit in my diary. (Wednesday 28 March).

We had a letter from the farm. Aunt sat 48 eggs and got 9 chicks. (Saturday 5 May).

Bill, Jack, Aunt, Uncle, Hazel, Dickie and Bumper came in a four seater Standard. I moved the fowl run onto the grass. What a job it was too. Jack has grown a bit and Dickie. I think I shall go for my holidays. (Sunday 22 July).

Mother and Bob and Ken went to the farm this morning for a week. (Saturday 1 September).

23 See M.J. Wise (ed.) *Birmingham and its Regional Setting* (Birmingham, 1950).

24 The diary extracts in this section come from various years between 1932 and 1938.

The family picked up some elements of the business and farming culture in that they all engaged with their garden, indeed they gained an allotment:

Mother is thinking about putting wire netting round the allotment and keeping fowl (White Leghorns), sitting broody hens and rearing chicks. (Friday 5 January).

I got home and hurried my dinner, had a wash and went to Harborne. I then went to the Bank where I got 15/- out. Afterwards I went to Collins & Wells, the ironmongers, and asked the price of the wire netting. They said 17/- for a roll fifty yards long by five feet high and two-inch mesh. I thought that was too much and went to Whistles where I got it for 15/6. It was British made and guaranteed. I also bought a nice little galvanised bucket, 6d. (Friday 2 February).

The whole family became involved in tending the garden and allotment:

Ken has got the broad bean and peas and tomato seeds from Northfield and we all dug the garden in the afternoon. (Saturday 11 February).

Ken, Bob, Les Ryman & I put a lovely fowl run up in the allotment nearly covering it. It was rather a damp, foggy day. (Sunday 4 February).

There are many references to the fowls. Fred noted each day the number of eggs they laid and also wrote about their sale, plucked and dressed.

I walked round about five times & finally bought 8 white Aylesbury ducklings for just under 6/-. The fellow wanted 8/- for them but I knocked him down to that price. (Friday 23 June).

I sold a cockerel at work, 1 to Mr Bentley and 1 to Mr Amphlett that is six orders for cockerels so far. I have only 8. I have 21 chickens and chicks and hens etc amount to 44 head of stock. Nearly a poultry farm. (Thursday 14 June).

So there are persistent themes in the diary relating to growing and rearing things, about the ultimate commercial nature of this and a willingness to learn more. The continued contact with the farm and the friendship and bond between the family and their relatives on the farm is also a feature. Of course this is a partial selection of the diary; there are many references to work at the Austin factory, to attending evening classes, the activities of the household and to some world events. But what emerges from the selection are two significant features of the migration process: the significance of the concept of 'way of life', and the fact that continuous contact with the reception area is important.

However, whether the interests and experiences described in the diary can be seen to constitute a real understanding and appreciation of the rural 'way of life' is difficult to determine. It could equally be that it was an idealised view based as it was on two exciting summers spent with a peer group away from a drab home environment.

The family of Thomas Earnest dispersed, effectively from 1938, when the move back to Herefordshire began. It was on the initiative of Fred with the active encouragement, support and participation of Mother which resulted in finding a cottage for rent. Fred moved there with his mother and two year old brother, David, (the present author) and maternal grandmother, Xantepe Jones. For the moment the other members of the family stayed in Birmingham and, over the next four years they married, and moved to Herefordshire as individual families. This came as the socio-economic context was changing as the war created a resurgence in farming and brought it out of the stagnation which it had suffered since the 1870s. Although this move to Herefordshire was important in the lives of the family, it could be argued that it was a continuation of a phase initiated by the transition of the early 1920s and preparatory to the next transition. It was more than a change of location but not yet a transition. In these circumstances it might be argued that a transition is a process over time leading perhaps to a form of acculturation.

There is no doubt that Fred was the leader and catalyst for the moves. In 1932 he left school early and after a short period at the Technical College responded to an advertisement in the *Farmers Weekly* and went as a live-in farm worker to a farm in Sussex. The whole tone of his 1934 diary, written after his return, strongly suggests that it was he and his mother who were responsible, in the main, for the cultivation of the garden, the allotments and the production and sale of poultry and eggs. The others were interested followers. Thomas Earnest never took part in these activities, nor did he ever initiate a move of house. But wherever he was he found things to interest him and they always had an intellectual component. From this analysis an important feature of the decision to migrate would seem to be the existence of someone to lead and to take the initiative.

The other siblings followed over the next few years. In 1940 Brenda became a member of the land army and worked on a farm near Ross-on-Wye. She lived in and enjoyed the experience. This was not the case with all her contemporaries: as Brenda reported, '*A lot of the girls couldn't cope on the farms, especially with the cows*'. However it was to be 1947 before she returned to Herefordshire with husband and daughter to become a shopkeeper in the north Herefordshire village of Pembridge. She never again worked on the land but remained a lover of countryside and of gardening for the rest of her life. Bob was called into the army in 1939 whilst he was a trainee accountant in Birmingham. He was at Dunkirk and subsequently demobbed on medical grounds. He married and in 1942 he took up a small-holding in Ullingswick, north Herefordshire.

Ken took rather longer to move to Herefordshire. During the Second World War he was in reserved occupation at Aeroparts. It was a time of war and shortages and, therefore a good time for growing and selling produce. In 1939 he succeeded in obtaining the tenancy of a County Council Small Holding on the outskirts of Worcester. He did this by persuading the Council Committee of his experience of farming on Bircher Common. The rent was 9s 6d per week and the 'in-going' was £50. Throughout the war he cultivated the holding as a market garden, maintaining his job in Birmingham while selling the produce of the small-holding to shops and the remainder on the market. At the end of the War he gave up

his job, worked full time on his plot and sold the produce through a shop, rented in the town. Eventually this became two shops when he went into partnership with a returning army officer. In 1947 he sold the goodwill on the smallholding for £2,500 and moved to a farm in Wales. Subsequently he bought a farm in Herefordshire in 1950.

Effectively, then, the family's move back to Herefordshire took place in 1938. A move in distance terms of less than 50 miles put other ways, saw two generations of a single family take part in urban growth and counter-urbanisation. But alongside this mobility, the family went in the same two generations from scarcely being able to read to receiving a privileged schooling. This improved education and upward social mobility was experienced by both the boys and by Brenda. She did not go to the Grammar School but instead went to a comptometer school when she was 14 years old and worked in the Water Department of Birmingham City Council. Here she was one of the better paid at 25s per week, better than the typists and, as she commented, 'A lot of the girls were from well-to-do families'. In terms of the society of the day she, like her brothers, was enjoying a form of upward social mobility indicating aspiration and probably explaining the pressure to move from Harborne to Bartley Green to a better house. But it was different for men and women. In a sense the work women obtained, however prestigious, was to service functions organised by men. Nevertheless certain jobs represented, for some women, upward social mobility; they could join the lower middle classes, mostly through their expertise. Upward social mobility may be a factor in the migration process.

In terms of the immediate environment the move to Herefordshire was a move to a different world, to a different culture, to no electricity or piped water and lavatories down the garden, certainly a move to a different 'way of life'. All three boys married white collar, urban girls two of whom went to grammar schools and one to a private school. It was a huge distance in socio-spatial terms, requiring major adaptation.

Explanation of the moves of the Maund family over six generations cannot satisfactorily lie in structural processes alone. The general movements of population such as urbanisation are made up of a myriad of individuals and families, each of whom make individual decisions to move. The totality of these decisions makes up a migration flow, but no one, generalised, explanation can explain a particular decision. It can never be known for certain why William and Hannah left Brimfield in 1783 to settle not much more than a mile away in Little Hereford. At the time, labouring families moved to seek work and often for accommodation in a tied cottage. This was a typical pattern that had developed since the demise of the feudal system. However, for farm labourers, the system of employment in the west of England was a little more reliable since the farming regime was pastoral and mixed and therefore required labour all year round. This contrasted with the eastern regions where work on arable land was far more seasonal.²⁵ Moreover in 1725 when Defoe passed through the area he was able to write: 'I observe they are a diligent and laborious people

25 See K.D.M. Snell, *Annals of the Labouring Poor: Social Change and Agrarian England, 1660–1900* (Cambridge, 1985).

chiefly addicted to husbandry, and the boast perhaps, not without reason, that they have the finest wool and the best hops, and the richest cider in all Britain'.²⁶

However if this type of move was not at all unusual there may have been an added incentive for William and Hannah in the form of a cottage on land designated for the poor.²⁷ In the event there were 13 such houses in what was named Bedlam Row on land given by the lord of the manor, Richard Dansey, to the parish in payment of a debt. The Maunds lived here for three generations until the death of Emma in 1917. This is, however, conjecture in the absence of personal testimony: but it can be said is that short distance moves were normal over several centuries.²⁸ The move was of course coincident with the population surge in the late eighteenth century and the beginnings of urbanisation although it is doubtful whether the Maunds were aware of this. By the 1970s the counter-urban movement was clear in Herefordshire and well established.²⁹ This is the evidence, such as it is, which may describe a context but not a particular decision to move. For the Maunds these generalised explanations for movement are all we have until the children of Thomas Earnest and Hepzibah. From their accounts some indicators of the circumstances which lead to the decision to return to Hereford can be gleaned, these are not generalisations about migration decision but particulars about the Maunds' decisions. The final section of the analysis focuses upon those features which seem to have a direct bearing upon migration decision and the role of place in this process.

This research was made possible because of the particular age distribution of the children of Thomas Earnest and Hepzibah. This facilitated the use of a form of participant observation where the author was seen by his siblings as a trusted other hence the recurrence of responses which began, '*Now I've never told anyone this*'.

In this manner it is possible to identify quite private thoughts and motivations. The move to the suburbs of Birmingham was motivated by the initiative of Mother, with the aid of the children to seek much better accommodation and an environment more nearly akin to that which she had experienced as a child. *Aspiration and leadership are important factors* and these are conditional upon attitudes and values learned at an early age. The early experience of Herefordshire and ways of life on a farm were critical but there were other triggers and enabling factors, notably the perceived health need of Fred, which acted as an immediate motivation or 'trigger' to move. Thomas Earnest's income was an enabling resource, and Uncle Dave, through his location, provided a destination to which to move.

Once the move was made, the experience of a quite contrasting way of life made a profound impact upon all of the young Maunds, yielding a life changing desire to become part of such a way of life. However it could be also that mixing with their cousins may have

26 D. Defoe, *A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain*, Vol. 2 (London, 1927), p. 448.

27 HCRO, T19/33.

28 See the contributions to P. Clark and D. Souden (eds), *Migration and Society in Early Modern England* (London, 1987).

29 D. Maund, 'The urbanisation of the countryside' (unpublished M. Phil. thesis, University of Leicester, 1976).

reinforced the 'way of life' experience and induced a form of admiration and bonding which stayed with them for ever.

This attraction to a 'way of life' may of course be the first stage of a process of acculturation and a transition may be the start of that process. The move to Bartley Green gave the facility to imitate some of the ways of life of the farm. In the 1920s Yew Tree Farm was pretty well self-sufficient, certainly with food and garden produce, and poultry rearing would have been a normal part of the way of life. There was therefore a period of some six or seven years between 1931 and 1938 where some practice of the way of life could be and was undertaken. This was allied to a sense of business, certainly by Fred, and work for profit took hold. During this time there was continued and regular contact with the farm and their cousin was maintained both by visits and letter. Continuous contact with potential receiving area and the properties of that area are important in the decision to migrate.

Both from his Diary and the sharpness of his memory it is clear that Fred's influence and his commitment, urged on by Mother, were essential factors in the move in 1938. It was Mother (and David) who went to the cottage he found, Maund Cottage on Maund Common in the hamlet of Maund Bryan. There may be a personal fulfilment/ambition component in the decision to migrate, though ambition-led migration requires energy and drive.

This case study has identified certain factors as important aspects of the decision to migrate and illustrated the role of place in that decision. It is not the claim that these are universal factors but certainly that they account for some of the individual decisions which underlie the individual motivations contained in more general migration flows. It should perhaps be stressed that the Maunds in Birmingham all had the beginnings of potentially successful careers, but such was the appeal of a move to Herefordshire and, crucially, a completely different way of life that this became the driver for their migration. Theirs is a detailed example of the role of individual agency in migration.