

18TH CENTURY MIGRATION AND ITS IMPACT
ON HUNTLEY'S POPULATION

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(Huntley is a small country parish some ten miles west of Gloucester. For other essays on its' population, see preceding volumes of Gloucestershire Historical Studies)

The growth of Huntley's population until 1800 was not as great as might have been expected. The number of baptisms during the 18th century was considerably in excess of burials and one could, therefore, reasonably expect to see an increase in the size of the community. This increase did not take place. In this paper, the possible factors which could have contributed to the lower rate of growth are explored.

There has always been a natural tendency for populations to increase in the long term, and while an increase will create a demand for more labour, and up to a point, improve the living standards, small communities will, at some stage, become overpopulated and people will be forced to move out of their village in search of work. In a stable population, providing births are balanced by deaths, and the ratio of men to women in the population remains reasonably constant, migration need not take place. It is, however, unlikely that it would be possible to find a stable population anywhere in 18th-century England (1). Some degree of migration, therefore, seems inevitable. In order to understand the factors involved, it is perhaps useful to examine one or two situations which might apply to any village community.

Factors which may influence population movement are changes in marriage, birth or death rates. These, in the short term, could create a demand for labour beyond that which is available from local sources. This would encourage people to move into the village in search of work. If those attracted to the village were young and unmarried, an increase in marriage rate would probably follow within a few years.

On the other hand this influx of new labour may unbalance the ratio of men to women within the community which would encourage people of the opposite sex to settle in the village as the result of marriage. If this immigration did not take place, there would be a fall in the birth rate which would create another labour shortage.

Assuming this demand for labour remained, more immigration would follow. Changes in marriage, birth and death rates could also have the reverse effect of that described above, in which case, people would tend to leave the village.

The migration cycle, illustrated in Appendix A, shows how these elements inter-react. It can be seen that there is a somewhat delicate balance which must be maintained if a village is to survive. A number of factors may, therefore assist, force or restrict migration.

It would be interesting to establish the degree of migration required to change the characteristics of a population significantly, but it is difficult to measure this in numbers alone. The percentage of people moving between parishes is not important; the effect this has on the existing community is probably the most significant factor. Migration can change not only the size of the population, but also the ratio of men to women in any given age group, and this, in turn, can influence the growth rate and subsequent structure of the community.

The principal elements which could have controlled migration in Huntley may have been local labour requirements, availability of housing, the local population structure, (including the sex ratio), the number of unmarried people of marriageable age together with changes in the birth and death rates. It is possible that the largest single factor may have been the requirement for labour, but this is almost impossible to substantiate. Although the availability of work may possibly have been the largest single cause, it is more probable that migration was the result of a number of events and situations.

Having concluded that population movement was likely to have taken place to maintain the balance of population growth experienced, it is necessary to examine in greater detail the likely causes and degree of migration as they applied to Huntley.

Before proceeding further, it may be useful to look, in general terms, at the evidence which led to the initial assumption that migration was a significant and influencing factor in the development and growth of Huntley's population.

Perhaps the most obvious facts which raise questions about migratory trends are comparisons between the recorded population and the consequential effect on the population of births and deaths assuming no migration took place. The nett result on the population at the end of the 18th century would have been a figure approximately 160 above that recorded in the 1801 census.

The second fact to emerge is the high number of marriages which took place, from which no recorded baptisms or ultimate burials exist.

The third, but perhaps least important occurrence, is the number of children from neighbouring parishes who were baptised in Huntley. (There was an almost equal number of people from other parishes who were buried in Huntley). There is an obvious case to support migration, but it will be useful to review the sources of information and their likely accuracy before discussing the evidence which has emerged from the study.

Most of the data for the study was drawn from the parish registers (2) which are available from 1661. It is generally accepted that under-registration in parish registers can alone distort any demographic analysis. Baptisms do not, of course, equate to births any more than burials equate to deaths and omissions here can add to any inaccuracy caused by under-recording. It is extremely unlikely that the parish registers over the whole period could be completely accurate. Pages have been found to be missing from the registers at certain times; notes believed to have been made by the rector have not always been transferred to the registers and entries relating to Huntley have been found in the registers for Blaisdon. No doubt exists in the writer's mind that the registers are inaccurate. The only question unanswered is the degree of inaccuracy. By making reconstructions of the population at certain dates and comparing the result with figures quoted by Atkyns (3) and Rudder (4) one could tentatively suggest that, at best, the registers were no more than 90% accurate. This statement assumes that not only was the reconstruction accurate but also that the figures quoted by Atkyns and Rudder were a fair estimate of the population at the appropriate dates.

Conclusive proof of residence is not available for the 18th century as it was for the 19th. It is, therefore, feasible for a family to have moved into the parish and out again without leaving any apparent record. Any analysis will, therefore, fail to recognise all migration which may have taken place.

The reader will quickly appreciate that it is impossible to measure something which does not exist (e.g. missing entries as the result of under-registration), but relatively easy to make assumptions on what is available, basing findings on what may be inaccurate and incomplete data. Analysis shows that the available figures do not balance; indeed one could hardly expect a perfect mathematical result, and it is all too easy to explain these variations by assuming that migration must have taken place. Despite shortcomings in the available data, it is hoped that sufficient evidence can be made available to support the assumption that migration was a significant factor in Huntley's development.

Although the parish registers are available from 1661, there are indications that the 17th-century records are likely to be more inaccurate than those for later years.

It is, therefore, proposed to look almost exclusively at the 18th century.

From an analysis of the parish records, it is possible to estimate that, at the beginning of the century, Huntley had a population of about 210 and this figure showed a nett growth of just over 100 in a span of 100 years. Despite this apparent steady growth rate, the actual situation probably displayed some fluctuations from decade to decade. It would appear that, after 1701, the population rose quickly to about 286 in the first twenty year period, but then declined during the next two decades to around 200. There was then a recovery which resulted in a population of 264 in 1761. The population then remained remarkably stable for about thirty years after which Huntley may have again experienced a rapid increase to the figure of 313 which can be found in the 1801 census. The interesting fact about this growth pattern is that it is not consistent with the recorded baptisms and burials which can be found in the parish records, the details of which are summarised below:-

Period	Population at beginning of period	Baptisms	Burials	Net Change Expected	Actual Change
1701-20	210	143	121	22	76
1721-40	286	122	133	(11)	(86)
1741-60	200	176	101	75	64
1761-1801	264	378	202	176	49
Totals:		819	557	262	103

() = decrease

If allowances are made for under-registration the expected difference between the actual and "expected" population becomes even greater. The above table does not clearly illustrate that while burial rate declined, baptism rates showed a slow but progressive increase. The table is, of course, based on an estimated population and recorded baptisms and burials, all of which may be inaccurate. In an attempt to remove one of these uncertainties, it is possible to re-estimate the 18th-century population by working backwards from an accurate figure from the 1801 census. The revised population figures appear as follows:-

Date	Original Estimate	"New" Estimate
1701	210	51
1721	286	73
1741	200	62
1761	264	137
1801	313	313

This method produces figures which are extremely unlikely and bear no relationship to those produced by either Atkyns or Rudder. Even if allowances are made for marriages which result in migration, which are discussed in greater detail below, it is impossible to establish a realistic population figure. Unless there was considerable under-registration of burials, other pressures affecting the size of the population must have been present.

There can be little doubt that some movement of population was a direct result of marriage, and marriage was a contributor to the migratory trends. Of those couples who married in Huntley, 53% are believed to have left the village shortly after the wedding as no details of children resulting from the marriages or burials of the people concerned can be found. A more detailed look at these figures shows that 27% of men and 25% of women from other parishes settled in the village after marrying in Huntley. In the case of residents, 41% of men and 50% of women left Huntley after marriage. The percentages are, however, misleading on account of the small numbers involved. In actual terms, they represent 22 men formally resident outside the parish who settled in the village after marrying local girls and only nine women moving into the village after marriage.

Unfortunately, it is extremely difficult to ascertain the number of parishioners who married outside the parish, but later returned to settle within Huntley. In all 57% of marriages in Huntley involved people from outside the parish, with a greater tendency for men to marry away from home than can be found in the case of women. With few women from other parishes moving into Huntley after marriage, it would be interesting to be able to establish if the prime reason for other people moving was to find work.

The table in Appendix B has been constructed to illustrate the degree of migration which may have taken place following marriage. The tabulation was constructed from the parish registers and is based on the stated residence of the bride and groom. As in other examples, subsequent baptisms or burials were used to establish proof of residence. (Supplementary information was taken from title deeds where possible). A study of the table will show that with the exception of the following periods, viz. 1701-10; 1731-50, more men appear to have left the village after marriage than took up residence. The table also illustrates a tendency for women to marry in their own parish and also to leave after marriage. If the estimated movement associated with marriage is incorporated into the first table, the resulting population at the end of each twenty year period can be compared with the estimated population at the same date. The table attempts to demonstrate that even if marriage migration is taken into account, the calculated population still differs from the estimates which have been made from the parish registers.

Period	Estimated Pop. at Beginning	Baptisms	Burials	Movem't due to Marriage	Estimated Population at End
1701-20	210	143	121	(27)	205
1721-40	286	122	133	(32)	243
1741-60	200	176	101	(6)	269
1761-80	264	136	91	(18)	291
1781-1800	266	242	111	(26)	371
1701-1801	313*	819	557	(109)	363

*1801 population () = emigration

It will have already been noticed that there was a sharp decline in the population between 1721-1741. A closer examination of this period will illustrate the factors which inter-react and may, therefore, contribute to the changes of population. Although the reasons themselves are far from clear, it is easy to eliminate single factors as examples will show. The changes cannot, for example, be proved by baptism and burial rate alone. As demonstrated above marriage migration does not clarify the situation either.

The changes in sex ratio are quite noticeable from one decade to the next as the following table illustrates:-

Year	Males	Females	Females to 100 Males
1721	141	145	103
1731	133	109	82
1741	111	88	79
1751	116	129	111

The next stage is to try and simulate this change by taking baptisms, marriage migration and burials into account.

Decade	Males at Start	Baptisms	Marriage Migration	Burials	Resulting Population at End
1721-30	141	35	(13)	44	119
1731-40	133	35	4	30	142
1741-50	111	42	-	29	124
1751	116				

Decade	Females at Start	Baptisms	Marriage Migration	Burials	Resulting Population at End
1721-30	145	24	(19)	46	104
1731-40	109	28	(4)	13	120
1741-50	88	41	(1)	27	101
1751	129				

A comparison of sex ratios between the estimated population and calculated figures after allowing for known changes, shows similar characteristics except for 1751.

Year	Estimated Females to 100 Males	Calculated Females to 100 Males
1721	103	101*
1731	82	87
1741	79	85
1751	111	81

* not shown in tables above

The result would suggest that migration due to marriage probably does influence the sex ratio of the population. An extension of this table would show similar characteristics for the whole of the 18th century. The only date which is completely different is 1751 illustrated above.

The final statistical analysis using the baptisms, marriages and burials is an attempt to show the nett migratory movement which might have taken place during the 18th century.

Year	MALES			FEMALES		
	Est.	Calc.	Net Mov't	Est.	Calc.	Net Mov't
1711	114	113	1	126	133	13
1721	141	109	32	145	110	35
1731	133	119	14	109	104	5
1741	111	142	(31)	88	120	(32)
1751	116	124	(8)	129	101	28
1761	138	138	-	126	150	(24)
1771	137	155	(18)	129	125	4
1781	142	143	(1)	124	134	(10)
1791	146	183	(37)	118	142	(24)
1801	165	169	(4)	148	141	7

() = emigration

Small movements cannot be considered significant as calculations are based on estimated population figures, but the reader should also remember that figures show the possible nett change. The actual movement may have been considerably greater than the figures shown above.

There can be little doubt that some migration was the direct result of marriage. An analysis of children who were baptised in the parish shows that of those surviving to marriageable age only 12% married in the parish leaving 88% who either did not marry, or who apparently left the village. In the absence of any information to the contrary (e.g. burial details) it must be assumed that a high proportion of these people would have ultimately left the village for some reason.

This analysis has so far been based principally on the statistics which can be obtained from the parish registers. Obviously, the registers do not tell the whole story. Other records are available. In 1717 there were at least 49 houses; in 1776 there were 53 and by 1801 the figure had increased to 62. The 1717 figure may be a little low as it related only to the Duke of Kent's holdings in the village (5) while the 1776 figure is taken from the Land Tax return. (6). It can be seen that an increasing population would find housing difficult to obtain. The fact that more houses were not built may be an indication of limited employment opportunities in the parish. The above assumption can be tested in the following example to ascertain if limited housing could have been one reason for migration.

Year	Est. Houses	Available "Beds"	Possible Pop'tion	Migration Required	Est. Act. Migrat'n
1701	48	240	214	26	(4)
1721	49	245	205	40	79
1741	50	250	243	7	(43)
1761	51	255	269	(14)	(5)
1781	53	265	291	(26)	(25)
1801	62	310	371	(61)	(58)

- Notes: (a) Possible Population has been calculated using nett change resulting from baptisms, burials and marriage migration.
- (b) Estimated Actual Migration compares possible population with estimated population shown in third table.
- (c) Emigration is indicated thus ().

The table tries to illustrate that the number of "beds" (estimated at 5 per household) would encourage migration in addition to that which is apparently related to marriage. (The tables assumes a pr ogressive increase in the number of houses). If this is accepted, it shows that the housing situation would encourage immigration up until 1721, and after 1761 the natural growth of the population would exceed the supply of houses. If the figures are compared with the migration which is estimated to have taken place, a number of similarities will be noticed. As the above figures are based on estimates, it is possible that the changes are not quite as illustrated and, in order to overcome this problem, and make comparison easier, it is perhaps worth comparing twenty year averages, viz.

Year	Additional Migration Req'd (Nett) 20 Year Average	Estimated Actual Migration (Nett) 20 Year Average
1711	33	38
1731	24	18
1751	(4)	(24)
1771	(20)	(15)
1791	(44)	(42)

Although the middle of the century displays characteristics which differ from the other periods there is a very remarkable similarity between the two methods which have been used to try and illustrate the possible extent of migration. The table shows, in the first instance, the additional migration required over and above marriage migration to enable the population to match the available accommodation. In the second instance, it shows the change required to maintain the population which is believed to have existed. The reader should, therefore, be aware that comparisons are being made between similar sets of data, but they are not from the same source. One final point needs to be highlighted and that is the appearance and disappearance of names in the Huntley records. Analysis is difficult not only because of the magnitude of the task, but also because of the variety of spellings found in the registers and other records. This latter fact makes the job particularly difficult.

A search of registers of adjacent parishes show names familiar to the Huntley records. As detailed comparisons have not been made, the relationships, or otherwise, have not been established. More work in this area would undoubtedly help confirm the existence of migratory trends. However, any further analysis would be extremely time consuming and formidable.

The study has concentrated principally on those aspects which can readily be obtained from parish records. Although it has been necessary in many cases to use estimates, it is felt that these are a reasonable representation of the actual situation. Two important aspects have been omitted because there is insufficient information available. No real evidence has been found concerning local employment. This is particularly unfortunate because this may be the most significant factor in causing migration to take place. Other information relating to the age structure of the community would have been extremely useful in deciding if migration was common among any particular age group. Although doubts must remain concerning the available data and the extent of migration which took place, the evidence is sufficiently strong to leave little doubt in the writer's mind that the population movement must have influenced the characteristics of the village community. Space limitations have prevented a review of all the possible permutations of inter-relating data, although the most important elements of the available information have been reviewed.

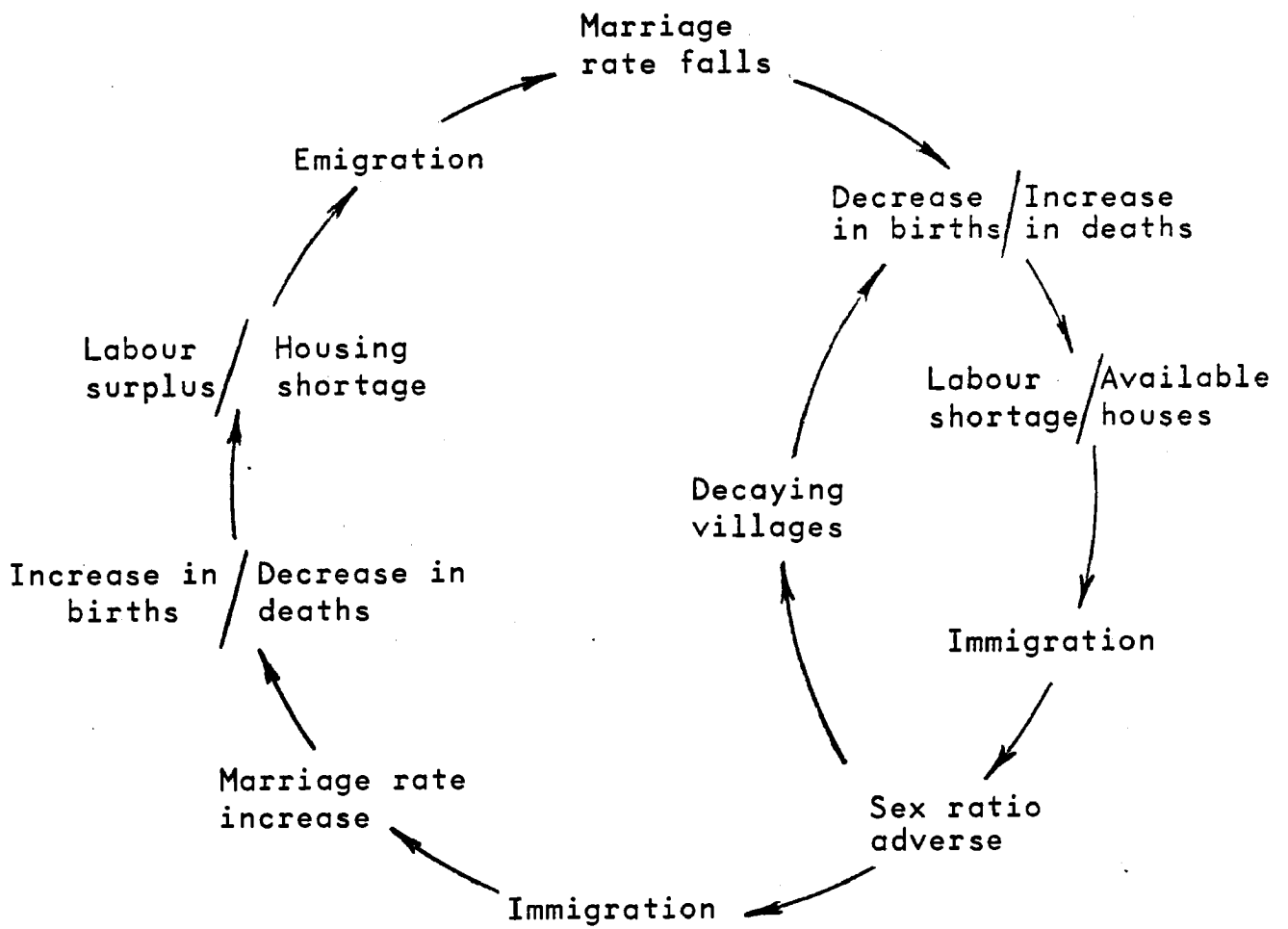
From the statistical evidence, it is clear that the population growth cannot be achieved simply by adding baptisms, subtracting burials and making adjustments for marriage migration. If there were the only events to take place, the population would have increased, but the actual increase was below what might have been expected. After 1721, there was, undoubtedly, some pressure on the population which restricted future natural growth. It was about this time that Huntley gained a new Lord of the Manor, and it may have been his influence which restricted the

availability of housing and labour. (It is emphasised that this latter point is pure speculation and no documentary evidence has been found to support this theory). However, it is clear that very few houses were built between 1717 and 1776 and this would obviously put pressure on the available accommodation. Many parishes discouraged people from other villages from settling within their boundaries for fear they might become a burden on the parish funds; again it is impossible to say whether this was relevant to Huntley. The requirement and availability of labour may also have been an influencing factor. Having reviewed all the important evidence though, it is clear that no single factor is responsible for migration. Many events appear to have interacted to produce trends which Huntley's population experienced, and lack of suitable data prevents any more specific conclusions being made for the 18th century.

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THE MIGRATION CYCLE



ANALYSIS OF MIGRATION ASSOCIATED WITH MARRIAGE

	DECADE	NON PARISHIONERS			PARISHIONERS			NET CHANGE
		Marry-ing.	Remain-ing.	Leaving	Marry-ing.	Remain-ing.	Leaving	
MALES	1701 - 1710	6	2	4	6	6	-	4
	1711 - 1720	6	1	5	20	7	13	(10)
	1721 - 1730	9	1	8	18	4	14	(17)
	1731 - 1740	19	5	14	2	1	1	(9)
	1741 - 1750	9	2	7	12	10	2	3
	1751 - 1760	6	2	4	8	5	3	-
	1761 - 1770	5	2	3	13	9	4	4
	1771 - 1780	10	4	6	15	11	4	5
	1781 - 1790	3	1	2	20	16	4	11
	1791 - 1800	10	2	8	13	6	7	(7)
	TOTAL:	83	22	61	127	75	52	(16)
FEMALES	1701 - 1710	2	1	1	10	7	3	4
	1711 - 1720	3	-	3	23	8	15	(10)
	1721 - 1730	4	-	4	23	4	19	(19)
	1731 - 1740	11	1	10	10	5	5	(9)
	1741 - 1750	8	2	6	13	10	3	3
	1751 - 1760	3	1	2	11	6	5	-
	1761 - 1770	-	-	-	18	11	7	4
	1771 - 1780	1	1	-	24	14	10	5
	1781 - 1790	1	1	-	22	16	6	11
	1791 - 1800	3	2	1	20	6	14	(7)
	TOTAL:	36	9	27	174	87	87	(18)

() = emigration