

A fleeting 'little Wales' in Marsden?

The motivations and impact of Welsh miners who migrated to Marsden, Yorkshire in the early 1890s.

By Krista McKenna

Dedicated to Thomas Jones who was tragically killed whilst working on the New Standedge Tunnel in Marsden leaving behind his wife Ann, four children, Thomas, Lewis, Annie, and the unborn son Dickie, who Thomas was never able to meet.

I'd also like to thank my family and friends for their unwavering support throughout this degree especially my husband Wayne and our two sons, Nile and Logan, the tutors who have taught me all I know and Mr Anney, history teacher at Nicholas Chamberlaine Comprehensive School who many years ago lit a spark that never went out.

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Introduction

During the nineteenth century, migration in Wales was characterised by movement from rural areas to industrialised centres. In 1801 four-fifths of the population lived in rural communities; however, by the evening of the First World War, this number had reduced to one fifth, demonstrating the size of the migratory flow away from rural communities. The majority migrated to the industrial centres of South Wales and, on a lesser scale, the Northwest of England. Yet, some predominately agricultural areas benefited from industry, with employment in mining and quarrying accounting for 31.7% of the Welsh population by 1911, up from 16.9% in 1851.¹ Anglesey was one such place, home to the Parys and Mona copper mine near Amlwch, which at its peak in the late eighteenth century, provided a third of British copper ore production.² However, at the start of the nineteenth century, the mines declined, and despite some periods of success, many of the workings were abandoned by the mid-nineteenth century.³ During the latter half of the nineteenth century, Anglesey began to experience a decline in population, including in 1891, when a group of miners from Anglesey migrated to the village of Marsden on the outskirts of Huddersfield in West Yorkshire.⁴ Huddersfield, home to an innovative textile trade and a wide range of other industrial and commercial activities, is situated on the direct route between Leeds and

¹ Geraint H Jenkins, 'A crucible of the modern world, 1776–1900,' in *A Concise History of Wales*, (Cambridge, University Press, 2007), pp. 174-175.

² Chris Evans, 'Welsh Copper: what, when and where?', in *New perspectives on Welsh industrial history*, ed. by Louise Miskell (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 2020), pp. 25-44.

³ John Rowlands, *Copper Mountain*, book 1 in the series: *Studies in Anglesey History, 1* (Llangefni, Anglesey Antiquarian Society, 1966), pp. 51-61.

⁴ John Williams, 'The Move from the Land', in *Wales 1880–1914*, ed. by Trevor Herbert and Gareth Elwyn Jones, (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1988), pp. 11-14.

Manchester.⁵ Marsden played a pivotal role in the trans-Pennine link, and in 1888, a fourth tunnel was commissioned to house a double-track railway to deal with the increase in industrial and passenger traffic.⁶ It is this project, the New Standedge Tunnel Works, that appears to have attracted the miners to Marsden.

This dissertation will use the example of the Anglesey miners' migration as a micro-study to add to the body of work on Welsh migration during the nineteenth century. Using theoretical models, the study will analyse the motivations of the migrants, demonstrating how industrial decline in rural communities could exacerbate rural flight. Moreover, the dissertation will evaluate the group's demographics alongside community and personal factors to demonstrate how these factors interplay with economic concerns to influence decisions associated with migration.

This study will seek to answer the following research questions. Chapter one will evaluate the migration size and demographics and, where appropriate, ask how the group fits in with Ravenstein's laws and what this can tell us about the group's motivations? Using theoretical models to analyse the communities involved, chapter two will ask what factors may have been considered in the decision to migrate? Chapter three will evaluate the impact of the migration on the sending community, family groups and individuals involved to ask what factors can contribute to a migration's success, failure, or subsequent migrations? The dissertation will conclude by summarising what this case study can tell us about the factors that influenced migration and how this study fits with broader migration theories.

⁵ David T Jenkins, 'Textiles and Other Industries 1851-1914', in *Huddersfield: A most handsome town*, ed. Hilary Haigh (Huddersfield, Kirklees Cultural Services, 1992) pp. 241-242.

⁶ Judi Thorpe, Mike Pinder, *Marsden: A journey through time*, (Huddersfield, Marsden History Group, 2014) pp. 13-38.

There are two specific themes of historiography to consider. The first is the way migration is studied. In 1992, historians Pryce and Drake advised that intellectual approaches be applied to migration research with as much emphasis on analysis as description.⁷ Ravenstein's *Laws of Migration*, written in 1885 after Dr William Farrar remarked that 'migration appeared to go without any definite law', proposed eleven laws specifying the most common features of migration, which Pryce and Drake maintain offer a valuable framework for the interpretation of findings.⁸ Push-pull models provide a basic way of explaining migration, although these have been criticised for only providing a snapshot rather than a long-term view. In Everett S. Lee's 1966 article *A Theory of Migration*, Lee highlighted how push-pull factors such as loss of or opportunities for employment interplay with intervening obstacles such as distance or cultural differences and personal factors such as life stage or personal dependency in the decision to migrate. Additionally, Lee argued that 'few studies have considered the reasons for migration or the assimilation of the migrant at destination', highlighting the need to analyse beyond a migrant's arrival in the receiving community for possible counter streams developing when opportunities end or negative factors materialise.⁹ Lee's theoretical model is represented in the chart below, portraying positive and negative factors within the sending and receiving communities and intervening obstacles between the two. This model will provide the framework for a close analysis of the communities and individuals involved.

⁷ W.T.R. Pryce, Michael Drake, 'Studying migration', in *Family History to Community History*, ed. by W.T.R. Pryce (Cambridge, University Press, 1994), p. 5.

⁸ Ernst Georg Ravenstein, 'The laws of migration', *Journal of the Statistical Society*, 48.2 (1885) pp.167-235. and Pryce, Drake, 'Studying migration', p. 12.

⁹ Everett S Lee, 'A Theory of Migration' *Demography*, 3.1 (1966), pp. 47-57.

IMAGE REMOVED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS

Figure 1 Lee's model demonstrating factors and obstacles present in the decision to migrate.¹⁰

The second theme concerns the narrative of a 'move from the land' and Anglesey was a predominantly agricultural economy that ostensibly would fit the narrative of rural to urban migration.¹¹ Ravenstein's *Laws of Migration* and more recent studies such as *The Move from the Land* and *Exodus from Cardiganshire: Rural-Urban Migration in Victorian Britain* describe the mid to late nineteenth century as a period of rural decline.¹² However, the latter two studies emphasise the need for nuance when analysing the cause of rural flight. Cooper's study demonstrates how a decline in Cardiganshire's lead mining industry led to a drop in employment opportunities demonstrating the need to be wary of attributing rural out-migration to a decline in agriculture as a default.¹³

¹⁰ Lee, 'A Theory of Migration', p. 50.

¹¹ GB Historical GIS / University of Portsmouth, the Isle of Anglesey District through time | Industry Statistics | Simplified Industrial Structure, *A Vision of Britain through Time*, Available at http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10056688/cube/IND_SECTOR_GEN

¹² Ravenstein, 'The laws of migration', pp.187. and Williams, 'The Move from the Land', p. 11. and Kathryn Cooper, *Exodus from Cardiganshire: Rural-Urban Migration in Victorian Britain*. (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 2011) pp. 88-102.

¹³ Cooper, *Exodus from Cardiganshire*, pp. 88-92.

This migratory event merits investigation, as it provides an example of migration away from a predominately rural community offering further evidence of how fluctuations in industry could contribute to rural flight. Additionally, at least in the first instance, the migrants involved will likely have understood the move to be temporary, providing an excellent opportunity to investigate community, intervening and personal factors that could influence decisions around the permanence of migratory steps.

Whilst much of the study will concentrate on the migration from Anglesey to Marsden and the motivations and impact of this migratory event, the study will also analyse the longer-term impact on some individuals and their families. The study will demonstrate how a combination of Ravenstein's Laws and theoretical models applied to a micro-study can provide a framework to enhance migration studies, determining the factors that could influence migration and adding nuance to broader theories. Chapter one will begin with a close analysis of the group to highlight possible causes for the migration and, where appropriate, how this group fits with Ravenstein's laws.

Evaluation of migration demographics

This chapter will evaluate the migration flow and, where appropriate, use Ravenstein's *The Laws of Migration* to identify who the migrants were and interpret possible factors in the migration. Ravenstein's *The Laws of Migration* was published in 1885 in the *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* and was on a detailed study of the birthplace data from the 1871 and 1881 census reports. The study enabled Ravenstein to produce the following 'laws of migration':

1. The majority of migrants go only a short distance
2. Migration proceeds step by step
3. Migrants going long distances generally go to one of the great centres of commerce or industry
4. Every migratory current has a counter-current
5. Natives of towns are less migratory than those of rural districts
6. Females are more migratory than males within the county of their birth, but males more frequently venture beyond
7. Most migrants are adults: families rarely migrate
8. Large towns grow more by migration than by natural increase
9. Migration increases as industries develop and transport improves
10. The major direction of migration is from rural areas to towns
11. The major causes of migration are economic¹⁴

¹⁴ Pryce, Drake, 'Studying migration', pp. 10-11.

The study will focus on seven of Ravenstein's laws, specifically two, three, six, seven, nine, ten and eleven. This chapter will not cover all of these laws; however, they will be referred to throughout the study.

Much of this chapter will focus on data from the census enumerator books (CEBs). It is worth noting that data from CEBs is not always reliable. Transcription errors, missing data, and misreporting can cause issues, particularly in relation to a micro-study where the numbers studied are small.¹⁵ Because of this, continuous data will be used where possible to fill in gaps or provide additional details or corrections.

For the purposes of this study, boundaries have been set to those living within the Parish of Marsden in Huddersfield and Marsden in Almondbury. It is certain that the size of the migration flow was larger than detailed in this study, given that many of the Standedge Tunnel Workers were living on the Saddleworth side of the tunnel. Additionally, several of the respondents who did not detail a birth county in the CEBs resided with migrants from Anglesey.¹⁶

In 1881 only seven people living in Marsden reported their birthplace as Wales, accounting for 0.21% of the population. By 1891 this figure had risen to ninety-nine with the Welsh in Marsden now accounting for 2.57% of the population, (see Appendix, Table 1).¹⁷ A

¹⁵ Pryce, Drake, 'Studying migration', pp.9-10.

¹⁶ Census records, England. Saddleworth, Yorkshire. 5th April 1891, Available at <http://www.findmypast.co.uk>, Accessed 07 April 2022. and Census records, England. Marsden in Almondbury, Huddersfield, Yorkshire. 5th April 1891, Available at <http://www.findmypast.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022. and Census records, England. Marsden in Huddersfield, Huddersfield, Yorkshire. 5th April 1891, Available at <http://www.findmypast.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022.

¹⁷ Compiled from GB Historical GIS / University of Portsmouth, Marsden in Almondbury Tn/CP through time | Population Statistics | Total Population, *A Vision of Britain through Time*, Available at http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10446855/cube/TOT_POP, Accessed 24th April 2022 and GB Historical GIS / University of Portsmouth, Marsden in Huddersfield Tn/CP through time | Population Statistics | Total Population, *A Vision of Britain through Time*, Available at http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10447033/cube/TOT_POP, Accessed 24th April 2022

breakdown of birth county shows that Anglesey was the highest reported birthplace with twenty-one respondents, followed by Caernarvonshire with nineteen (see Appendix, Table 2).¹⁸ No county of birth was recorded for thirty-two of the respondents; however, research reveals that a further twelve were born or had migrated from Anglesey, demonstrating that at least thirty-three of the respondents migrated from Anglesey, accounting for at least a third of the overall group. Anglesey is approximately 130 miles and would take around 6 hours travelling time on today's modern trains meaning these migrants had travelled some distance.

Closer analysis of the group reveals that twenty-one were born in Amlwch, six in Llanelian and two in Rhosybol, all within a three-mile radius of the Parys Mountain copper mine, providing a possible clue as to the reason for the migration. The remaining four were born in the villages of Llanwenllwyfo, Llandyfydog and Llanddeusant, all further out. However, these people may have already migrated a short distance to reside nearer to the Parys and Mona copper mine (see Appendix, Table 3).¹⁹

¹⁸ Census records, England. Marsden in Almondbury, Huddersfield, Yorkshire. 5th April 1891. Available at <http://www.findmypast.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022. and Census records, England. Marsden in Huddersfield, Huddersfield, Yorkshire. 5th April 1891. Available at <http://www.findmypast.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022. And Census records, England. Marsden in Almondbury, Huddersfield, Yorkshire. 3rd April 1881. Available at <http://www.ancestry.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022. And Census records, England. Marsden in Huddersfield, Huddersfield, Yorkshire. 3rd April 1881. Available at <http://www.ancestry.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022. And Census records, England. Huddersfield, Marsden, 1st April 1901. Available at <https://www.findmypast.co.uk/>, Accessed 7th April 2022.

¹⁹ Compiled from Census records, England. Marsden in Almondbury, Huddersfield, Yorkshire. 5th April 1891. THOMAS, John [head]. PN 3554. FL 13. SN 117. ED 6. p. 20. <http://www.findmypast.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022. And Census records, England. Marsden in Almondbury, Huddersfield, Yorkshire. 5th April 1891. DAVIES, William (head). PN 3554. FL 13. SN 118. ED 6. p. 33. <http://www.findmypast.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022. And Census records, England. Marsden in Almondbury, Huddersfield, Yorkshire. 5th April 1891. WILLIAMS, William (head). PN 3554. FL 13. SN 119. ED 6. p. 20. <http://www.findmypast.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022. And Census records, England. Marsden in Huddersfield, Huddersfield, Yorkshire. 5th April 1891. ROWLAND, Abraham (head). PN 3554. FL 42A. SN 174. ED 8. p. 27. <http://www.findmypast.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022. And Census records, Wales. Amlwch, Anglesey 3rd April 1881. ROWLAND, Abraham (head). PN 5591. FL 17. ED 10. p. 11. <http://www.ancestry.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022. And Census records, England. Marsden in Huddersfield, Huddersfield, Yorkshire. 5th April 1891. JONES, Thomas (head). PN 3554. FL 42A. SN 173. ED 8. p. 27. <http://www.findmypast.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022. And Census records, Wales. Amlwch, Anglesey 3rd April 1881. JONES, Thomas (head). PN 5591. FL 79. ED 15. p. 29. <http://www.ancestry.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April

A breakdown of age demonstrates that the 18-39 age bracket is the most represented, accounting for 52.9% of respondents, 40-59 accounts for 26.5% and 60+ accounts for 2.9%, whilst under eighteens accounts for 14.7% (see Appendix, Table 4).²⁰ The data demonstrates that whilst the migrants were mainly concentrated in the younger adult age groups, several under eighteens did migrate, indicating that family groups may have been present and somewhat countering Ravenstein's assertion that families rarely migrate.

A gender breakdown reveals that the group was mainly made up of males accounting for 84.8%, whilst only 15.2% were female corroborating Ravenstein's law that men tend to travel greater distances (see Appendix, Table 5).²¹

A breakdown of marital status reveals that 48.5% of respondents were married, 48.5% were single, and 3% were widowed (see Appendix, Table 6).²² A breakdown of relationship status reveals that 12.1% reported as head, 12.1% reported as wife, 27.3% as son, daughter or in-law and 48.5% as boarder or lodger (see Appendix, Table 7).²³ This data provides an intriguing insight into the group. While 48.5% of the group are married, only 12.1% are recorded as a wife, implying that a significant proportion of the group were unaccompanied married males who had migrated without their families and were lodging with others.

2022. And Census records, Wales. Pontycymmer, Bridgend, Glamorgan, 2nd April 1911. Roberts, Robert Tudor (head). RD 591. PN 32545. SN 323 ED 05. <http://www.ancestry.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022.

²⁰ Census records, England. Marsden in Almondbury, Huddersfield, Yorkshire. 5th April 1891. Available at <http://www.findmypast.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022. and Census records, England. Marsden in Huddersfield, Huddersfield, Yorkshire. 5th April 1891. Available at <http://www.findmypast.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022.

²¹ Census records, England. Marsden in Almondbury, Huddersfield, Yorkshire. 5th April 1891. Available at <http://www.findmypast.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022. and Census records, England. Marsden in Huddersfield, Huddersfield, Yorkshire. 5th April 1891. Available at <http://www.findmypast.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022.

²² Census records, England. Marsden in Almondbury, Huddersfield, Yorkshire. 5th April 1891. Available at <http://www.findmypast.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022. and Census records, England. Marsden in Huddersfield, Huddersfield, Yorkshire. 5th April 1891. Available at <http://www.findmypast.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022.

²³ Census records, England. Marsden in Almondbury, Huddersfield, Yorkshire. 5th April 1891. Available at <http://www.findmypast.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022. and Census records, England. Marsden in Huddersfield, Huddersfield, Yorkshire. 5th April 1891. Available at <http://www.findmypast.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022.

A closer look at the data reveals the group had established four households, each consisting of a husband and wife, their children or children-in-law. For three of the households, a group of lodgers or boarders resided with them. These households consist of William Williams and his wife Catherine, living at 119 Gilberts, The Old Road. A smaller family group of William Davies, his wife Letitia and their child William H live at 118 Gilberts, The Old Road. Abraham Rowlands and wife Esther living at 174 Red Brook and Thomas Jones and wife Ann Jones living at 173 Red Brook. A further group of five lone males live at 117 Gilberts, The Old Road, with no head of household recorded. All but the Davies household have family or lodgers living with them (see Appendix, Table 3).²⁴

This analysis supports Ravenstein's law that most long-distance migrants are adults and his assertion that males are more likely to migrate long distances. However, it does provide nuance. The group did contain families, and whilst these tended to consist of older children of working age, three of the children were aged younger than eleven. Additionally, a large proportion of the group were unaccompanied married men indicating that they had left their immediate families behind in Anglesey. Perhaps this reveals something of their intentions, that this was not initially viewed as a permanent migration but rather a

²⁴ Compiled from Census records, England. Marsden in Almondbury, Huddersfield, Yorkshire. 5th April 1891. THOMAS, John [head]. PN 3554. FL 13. SN 117. ED 6. p. 20. <http://www.findmypast.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022. And Census records, England. Marsden in Almondbury, Huddersfield, Yorkshire. 5th April 1891. DAVIES, William (head). PN 3554. FL 13. SN 118. ED 6. p. 33. <http://www.findmypast.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022. And Census records, England. Marsden in Almondbury, Huddersfield, Yorkshire. 5th April 1891. WILLIAMS, William (head). PN 3554. FL 13. SN 119. ED 6. p. 20. <http://www.findmypast.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022. And Census records, England. Marsden in Huddersfield, Huddersfield, Yorkshire. 5th April 1891. ROWLAND, Abraham (head). PN 3554. FL 42A. SN 174. ED 8. p. 27. <http://www.findmypast.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022. And Census records, Wales. Amlwch, Anglesey 3rd April 1881. ROWLAND, Abraham (head). PN 5591. FL 17. ED 10. p. 11. <http://www.ancestry.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022. And Census records, England. Marsden in Huddersfield, Huddersfield, Yorkshire. 5th April 1891. JONES, Thomas (head). PN 3554. FL 42A. SN 173. ED 8. p. 27. <http://www.findmypast.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022. And Census records, Wales. Amlwch, Anglesey 3rd April 1881. JONES, Thomas (head). PN 5591. FL 79. ED 15. p. 29. <http://www.ancestry.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022. And Census records, Wales. Pontycymmer, Bridgend, Glamorgan, 2nd April 1911. Roberts, Robert Tudor (head). RD 591. PN 32545. SN 323 ED 05. <http://www.ancestry.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022.

temporary opportunity that would mean a return to their families when complete. The identification of the sending community also provides a possible clue behind the decision to migrate, which will be explored in the next chapter.

Evaluation of factors in the sending and receiving communities

Using Lee's model, this chapter will evaluate the sending and receiving communities to highlight positive and negative factors and intervening obstacles that may have been considered when deciding to migrate. Moreover, this chapter will highlight factors within communities that may have influenced the migrants' future decisions.

Sending community

Wales underwent a remarkable transformation from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth century. Between 1801 and 1901, the population of Wales grew from 587,245 to 2,013,000.²⁵ As the population grew, rural depopulation increased as people sought opportunities in centres of commerce and industry, particularly those in South Wales.²⁶

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, Anglesey, where the group migrated from, was an economy that, while primarily consisting of agricultural employment, offered alternatives. In 1881, figures from the census suggest that 20,586 people were employed in Anglesey, with agricultural employment outnumbering any other occupation employing 8,011. However, 2,161 were employed in mining, just over 10% of the working population. By 1891 the number employed had dropped to 17,181. Agricultural employment fell to 5,426, and those employed in mining fell to 518, now only 3% of the working population.²⁷

²⁵ Williams, 'The Move from the Land', p. 11.

²⁶ Jenkins, 'A crucible of the modern world', pp. 174-175.

²⁷ GB Historical GIS / University of Portsmouth, the Isle of Anglesey District through time | Industry Statistics | Simplified Industrial Structure, *A Vision of Britain through Time*. Available at http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10056688/cube/IND_SECTOR_GEN, Accessed: 22nd April 2022

Amlwch, located by the once-thriving Mona and Parys copper mine where a large proportion of the group migrated from, was heavily dependent on the copper mining industry. Under the shrewd management of Thomas Williams, the mine reached peak production in the late eighteenth century; however, by the late nineteenth century, the mine had declined, and the little work left at the copper mines was subject to fluctuations.²⁸

In 1888 an article in *The North Wales Express* proclaimed the Parys Mountain copper mine to be 'exceedingly productive' with a 'large number of hands employed'. However, figures from the *Reports of Inspectors Of (Coal) Mines* which included statistics relating to quarrying and mineral mining, contradict this claim, revealing that by 1891 only 145 workers were employed in mining in Anglesey, down from a total of 387 workers in 1880.²⁹ A newspaper article from 1887 provides further insight into the decline of Amlwch, described as:

'one of those "cities of the past" ... its business and prosperity... greatly diminished along with the supply of the... copper ore of Parys Mountain... The mines here, ...[have] failed to a great extent; and this, in addition to the low price of copper now prevailing, has caused a very different aspect to come over the little town... and the miners have for the most part sought employment elsewhere.'³⁰

²⁸ Rowlands, *Copper Mountain*, pp. 28-59.

²⁹ Anon., 'A Visit to the Mona and Parys Mines', *The North Wales Express*, 21st September 1888, p. 6. Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3562957/3562963/24/>, Accessed 21st April 2022 and Clement Le Neve Foster, *Reports of Inspectors of (Coal) Mines, 1891*, (London, 1892), Available at <https://parlipapers-proquest-com.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/parlipapers/docview/t70.d75.1892-069063?accountid=14697> and Clement Le Neve Foster, *Reports of Inspectors of (Coal) Mines, 1880*, (London, 1881) Available at <https://parlipapers-proquest-com.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/parlipapers/docview/t70.d75.1881-057102/usgLogRstClick!!?accountid=14697>

³⁰ Anon. 'The Isle of Anglesey', *The North Wales Chronicle and Advertiser for the Principality*, 25th June 1887, p. 7. Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/4453271/4453278/66/>, Accessed 22nd April 2022

The condition of the mines was representative of copper mining throughout the United Kingdom. The General Report of the 1891 census noted a decline of 71.8% of employed copper miners since the previous census meaning there were few alternative opportunities within the industry, so the miners may have had to consider alternative employment opportunities.³¹

It is of little surprise that the population of Anglesey fell from 59,787 in 1861 to 50,098 in 1891.³² For those who stayed, the evidence suggests that unemployment was high. Between 1881 and 1891, Anglesey lost approximately 1280 people; however, persons employed fell by 3405. An article from 1886 provides insight into the struggles pointing to an 'exceptionally trying' winter partly due to 'inactivity in mining' contributing to the 'number of breadwinners out of employment'. A subsequent article in 1887 reports on the opening of a Ragged School in Amlwch for the children of the 'many unemployed, whose families are... entirely unprovided for'.³³ A lack of employment opportunities in agriculture and the copper mining industry along with the adverse effects of poverty will have likely acted as significant push factors in the decision to migrate.

A potential obstacle to migration may have arisen from Anglesey's status as one of the 'five most thoroughly Welsh-speaking counties' in Wales, according to the 1891 census report.

Whilst the report itself points out that care needs to be taken with these statistics, Janet

³¹ *1891 Census of England and Wales, General Report with summary, tables and appendices*, (London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1893), Available at <https://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/census/EW1891GEN/7?show=ALL>, Accessed 22nd April 2022

³² GB Historical GIS / University of Portsmouth, the Isle of Anglesey District through time | Population Statistics | Total Population, *A Vision of Britain through Time*, Available at http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10056688/cube/TOT_POP, Accessed: 22nd April 2022

³³ Anon., 'Amlwch', *The North Wales Chronicle and Advertiser for the Principality*, 5th November 1887, p. 7. Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/4453442/4453449/29/>, Accessed 22nd April 2022 AND Anon., 'Amlwch', *The North Wales Express*, 21st May 1886, p. 8. Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3561856/3561864/55/>, Accessed 22nd April 2022

Davies notes that Welsh monolingualism persisted into the twentieth century in the Northwest mining and quarrying districts.³⁴ Additionally, Geraint H. Jenkins' study on statistical returns of church attendance and language demonstrates that in 1900, many church services in Anglesey were still delivered predominately in the Welsh language, hinting at cultural and linguistic differences.³⁵ As the 1891 census explains, this does not necessarily mean that Welsh speakers could not communicate in English. However, it is worth considering that a lack of fluent English could inhibit migration altogether or influence potential migrants to look to areas where linguistic differences presented less of an issue.³⁶

Transport was a significant factor in the movement of people and Anglesey was no exception. The 1895 *Gazetteer of England and Wales* described Anglesey as an 'insulated county... separated... by the Menai Strait from Carnarvonshire, and... surrounded by the Irish sea'.³⁷ However, work had been carried out to connect Anglesey to the mainland. In 1826 Anglesey was joined to the mainland by the Menai Suspension Bridge. Neither was Anglesey left out of the railway boom, which during the years 1840 to 1870 saw over 1400 miles of railway built in Wales.³⁸ An article from 1864 details how the railway link to Anglesey was improved by connecting the existing line from Chester to Holyhead to a new line from Holyhead to Amlwch, meaning North Anglesey now had a transport link with the North

³⁴ 'Languages in Wales and Monmouthshire' in *1891 Census of England and Wales, General Report with summary, tables and appendices*, (London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1893), Available at <https://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/census/EW1891GEN/11>, Accessed 22nd April 2022 and Janet Davies, *The Welsh Language: A History*, (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 2014), p. 57.

³⁵ Geraint H. Jenkins, *The Welsh language and its social domains, 1801-1911*. (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 2000), p. 65.

³⁶ Pryce, Drake, 'Studying migration', pp. 14-15.

³⁷ *England & Wales Gazetteer 1895*, (London, 1895) p. 41. Available at <https://search.findmypast.co.uk/record?id=OR/GAZ/1/00010058&parentid=OR/GAZ/411>, Accessed 22nd April 2022

³⁸ Jenkins, 'A crucible of the modern world', pp. 176.

West of England.³⁹ As George Blundell Longstaff stated in his 1893 study on rural depopulation ‘the man who wants to go [first] finds the means of transit. In the last century locomotion was slow, inconvenient, and expensive. It is now rapid, handy, and cheap’, the improvement in Anglesey’s transport links ameliorated the obstacle of distance making migration to more distant opportunities, more accessible.⁴⁰

The economic climate in Anglesey was evidently difficult during the late nineteenth century, with the decline in the copper industry reducing employment opportunities. Poverty caused by this decline was highlighted by contemporaries as an issue and thus, the economic difficulties in Anglesey were likely a considerable push factor, corroborating Ravenstein’s theory that economic factors were a major cause of migration. Additionally, this evidence adds nuance to the theory of a move from the land, highlighting the need to examine communities closely to determine the cause of migration. Distance as an intervening obstacle had become less of an issue as improved transport links made opportunities elsewhere more accessible, corroborating Ravenstein’s theory that migration increases as transport improves. However, cultural factors such as linguistic limitations may have restricted opportunities, and likely remained a potential obstacle to those wishing to migrate and take advantage of opportunities outside of Wales.

³⁹ Anon., ‘Anglesey Central Railway’, *The North Wales Chronicle and Advertiser for the Principality*, 15th October 1864, p. 5. <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/4447273/4447278/41/>, Accessed 22nd April 2022

⁴⁰ George Blundell Longstaff, ‘Rural Depopulation.’ *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 56.3, (1893), pp. 414. Available at <https://doi.org/10.2307/2979636>, Accessed 29th April 2022.

Receiving community

In Ravenstein's *Laws of Migration*, he writes how 'a deficiency of hands in one part of the country is supplied from other parts where the population is redundant'.⁴¹ Ravenstein considered Yorkshire a county of absorption, and Huddersfield's population was on the increase, rising by 7.59% between 1881 and 1891, according to Poor Law/Reg District figures.⁴² Marsden, situated on the outskirts of Huddersfield, experienced a more considerable rise in population of 16.14%, which was no doubt aided by the arrival of those employed by the Marsden Tunnel Works (see Appendix, Table 1).⁴³

Huddersfield, described in the *Gazetteer of England and Wales 1895* as a 'manufacturing and market town' with railway links that provide 'communication with all parts of the kingdom' was a thriving textile town which also benefitted from a variety of other industries.⁴⁴ Figures from the 1881 census demonstrate that the textile industry was the town's largest employer accounting for 32.8% of Huddersfield's population, followed by 6.6% engaged in domestic offices or services and 4.5% working and dealing in various mineral substances. Other occupation groups are also represented at lower levels.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Ernst Georg Ravenstein, 'The laws of migration', *Journal of the Statistical Society*, 48.2 (1885) p. 198.

⁴² GB Historical GIS / University of Portsmouth, Huddersfield PLU/RegD through time | Population Statistics | Total Population, *A Vision of Britain through Time*. Available at http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10081762/cube/TOT_POP, Accessed: 24th April 2022 and Ravenstein, 'The laws of migration', p. 185.

⁴³ Compiled from GB Historical GIS / University of Portsmouth, Marsden in Almondbury Tn/CP through time | Population Statistics | Total Population, *A Vision of Britain through Time*, Available at http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10446855/cube/TOT_POP, Accessed 24th April 2022 and GB Historical GIS / University of Portsmouth, Marsden in Huddersfield Tn/CP through time | Population Statistics | Total Population, *A Vision of Britain through Time*, Available at http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10447033/cube/TOT_POP, Accessed 24th April 2022

⁴⁴ England & Wales Gazetteer 1895, ed. by J.H.F. Brabner, p. 196. Available at <https://search.findmypast.co.uk/record?id=OR/GAZ/3/00030212&parentid=OR/GAZ/16766>, Accessed: 24th April 2022 and Jenkins, 'Textiles and Other Industries 1851-1914', pp. 241-242.

⁴⁵ GB Historical GIS / University of Portsmouth, Huddersfield PLU/RegD through time | Industry Statistics | Occupation data classified into the 24 1881 & Orders plus sex, *A Vision of Britain through Time*,

Marsden followed a similar pattern with those working in the textile industry, accounting for 34.8% of the population. However, 7.6% were working and dealing in various mineral substances, greater than Huddersfield as a whole.⁴⁶

Marsden is situated on the shortest east to west crossing in the South Pennines. In the late eighteenth century, a canal tunnel was forged through the Pennine hills connecting Huddersfield to Manchester to transport goods more easily across the Pennines. In 1849 and 1868, two separate single-track rail tunnels were added linking Huddersfield to Manchester.⁴⁷ In 1888 a decision was made to upgrade this route with a bill passed granting permission to build 'a tunnel between Saddleworth and Marsden to be called the 'Standedge New Tunnel' by the London and North-western Railway providing an example of an opportunity created by the improvement of transport links.⁴⁸ Alfred Alexander MacGregor was commissioned to manage the project. He previously worked as resident engineer on the Blaenau Ffestiniog Tunnel in North Wales, where he settled for a time with his daughter Hestor born in Bangor, in 1886, several years after the tunnel's completion.⁴⁹

The Standedge New Tunnel presented an opportunity for which those with mining skills would be ideal. It is unclear how the group discovered the opportunity, although Longstaff

Available at http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10081762/cube/OCC_ORDER1881, Accessed: 29th April 2022

⁴⁶ GB Historical GIS / University of Portsmouth, Marsden in Huddersfield Tn/CP through time | Industry Statistics | Occupation data classified into the 24 1881 Orders plus sex, *A Vision of Britain through Time*, Available at http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10447033/cube/OCC_ORDER1881, Accessed: 29th April 2022

⁴⁷ Thorpe, Pinder, *Marsden: A journey through time*, pp. 13-37.

⁴⁸ Board of Trade. *Report of Board of Trade on Railway, Canal, Tramway, Gas and Water Bills, 1888*, (London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1888), p. 19. Accessed: 29 April 2022, Available at <https://parlipapers-proquest-com.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/parlipapers/docview/t70.d75.1888-065092?accountid=14697>

⁴⁹ Anon. 'Blaenau Festiniog', *Llangollen Advertiser Denbighshire Merionethshire and North Wales Journal*, 7th November 1879, p. 2. Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/3289276/3289278/14/>, Accessed 7th May 2022 and Anon. 'Births, marriages and deaths', *The North Wales Chronicle and Advertiser for the Principality*, 30th January 1886, p. 2. Available at <https://newspapers.library.wales/view/4452614/4452619/49/>, Accessed 7th May 2022

points out that improved communication caused by the improved rail links allows ‘Men [to] learn where there is a demand for labour’.⁵⁰ Possible explanations include word of mouth through MacGregor's previous connection to North Wales or via newspaper advertisements such as one advertising for Tunnel Miners in 1876 for the Blea Moor Tunnel.⁵¹ Interestingly, an article from 1891 details how men working on the tunnel were entitled to quarter fare on all London and North Western rail lines making the journey cheaper and providing further evidence of how the obstacle of distance was overcome.⁵²

A newspaper article from October 1890 reveals how London and North Western Railway made preparations to house the would-be workers detailing the building of 54 one-story huts.⁵³ These additional huts would add to the accommodation already available from the building of the canal tunnel close to the Red Brook shaft and Gilberts on the moorland under which the tunnel would run.⁵⁴ These original huts provided the accommodation for the Anglesey group, and it is clear from the previous chapter that certain families became landlords to others who came from Anglesey, a practice common in navy communities.⁵⁵ Readily available accommodation reduced the obstacle of sourcing accommodation, perhaps making the opportunity more appealing. Lodging may have increased financial viability, particularly for those migrants who may have been required to send money home

⁵⁰ Longstaff, ‘Rural Depopulation.’ p. 414.

⁵¹ Anon. ‘Workpeople Wanted’, *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, 6th May 1873, p. 2. Available at <https://search.findmypast.co.uk/bna/viewarticle?id=bl%2f0000686%2f18730506%2f047>, Accessed 22nd April 2022

⁵² Anon. ‘The New Standedge Tunnel’, *The Huddersfield Daily Chronicle*, 11th December 1891, p. 3. Available at <https://search.findmypast.co.uk/bna/viewarticle?id=bl%2f0000167%2f18911211%2f012>, Accessed 20th April 2022

⁵³ Anon. ‘Marsden’, *Huddersfield Daily Chronicle*, 4th October 1890, p. 7. Available at <https://search.findmypast.co.uk/bna/viewarticle?id=bl%2f00002876%2f18901004%2f114>, Accessed 22nd April 2022

⁵⁴ Thorpe, Pinder, *Marsden: A journey through time*, pp. 33.

⁵⁵ Bryan John Ayres, ‘Community and Identity: Late Victorian Navvies’, *Family & Community History*, 23.3, (2020), pp.175. Available at <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14631180.2021.1889181>, Accessed 7th May 2022

to their families. Moreover, this set-up may have provided a familiar community away from home, which may have lessened the impact of any cultural or linguistic differences.

The Standedge New Tunnel acted as a pull factor where an opportunity requiring mining skills became available. Undoubtedly, push factors within the sending community were weighed up against potential obstacles such as transport and accommodation, solved by improved transport links and the provision of cheaper rail travel and readily available accommodation. Cultural and linguistic obstacles may have been partially ameliorated by establishing Welsh households where unaccompanied men boarded with others from the sending community. This practice may have also provided a financial advantage to the migrants where they could share the burden of household expenses and free up money to send to families left behind.

The following chapter will explore the impact on the community and migrants and assess how successful the migration was in terms of permanence by considering how factors within the receiving community may have influenced the migrants once they were resident.

Impact of the migration on the receiving community, families, and individuals

This chapter will evaluate the impact on the community, family groups, and individuals involved to identify contributing factors to the migration's success, failure or subsequent migrations.

Impact on the receiving community

All of the thirty-three migrants in the Anglesey group settled in the cottages built for the Standedge canal workers at Gilberts and Red Brook. A map plotting the residence locations illustrates that the group settled on the moorland surrounding the village, presumably to be as close to their work as possible and perhaps inadvertently establishing a Welsh community on the outskirts of Marsden.

IMAGE REMOVED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS

Figure 2 – Map detailing the approximate location of residence for the Anglesey group plus proximity to Marsden village⁵⁶

None of the Anglesey group boarded with Huddersfield natives within the village. However, it is worth noting that some of the wider Welsh group did, such as Thomas Williams, who lodged with James and Selina Sykes, both born in nearby Slaithwaite and Edward Shore, who lodged with William Sykes, a signalman, also born in Slaithwaite.⁵⁷ However, these were in the minority, and most resided with other migrants creating a community within a community.

Newspaper reports provide evidence of various incidents involving the Marsden Tunnel Workers. An article from October 1891 describes a fight between the workers with the police remarking that they ‘had a good many complaints of this kind of thing’ and that ‘it

⁵⁶ ‘Old Map of Marsden’, [Map], Scale 1:20,000, Ordnance Survey County Series 1st Edition 1849-1899 [geospatial data], Published 1890, Landmark Information Group, UK. Using: EDINA Historic Digimap Service, <<http://edina.ac.uk/digimap> Created: 6th March 2022

⁵⁷ Census records, England. Marsden in Almondbury, Huddersfield, Yorkshire. 5th April 1891. Available at <http://www.findmypast.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022. and Census records, England. Marsden in Huddersfield, Huddersfield, Yorkshire. 5th April 1891. Available at <http://www.findmypast.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022.

was a frequent thing for these men to fall out whilst drinking'.⁵⁸ Interestingly several articles refer to the workers as strangers, including an article from January 1892 titled 'A Navvies Quarrel' where Benjamin Jones and his son, described as 'strangers to the district' were charged with assault at The Old Ram Inn.⁵⁹ A further article from April 1892 reports that two workers were charged with affray, again described as 'strangers in the district'.⁶⁰ Whilst it is not clear whether the men involved were Welsh, these articles indicate possible hostility from the local community. Despite some of the workers residing in the community for several years, they were still described as 'strangers'. This hostility may have lessened the likelihood of a permanent move with the group not entirely accepted by the native community and led to the creation of a counter stream as migrants felt unable to assimilate. There was a more positive response from the religious community with efforts to reach out to the Standedge workers. A mission was established for the entire navvy community, with an article from June 1892 describing how worshippers and scholars from the mission paraded on Whit Monday alongside others from the Church and afterwards played games in a field leant for the occasion.⁶¹ Whilst it is unclear who attended the parade and who leant the field, it does indicate that not all in the community shunned the tunnel workers.

⁵⁸ Anon. 'Marsden', *The Huddersfield Chronicle*, 10th October 1891, p. 8. Available at <https://search.findmypast.co.uk/bna/viewarticle?id=bl%2f0000167%2f18911010%2f061>, Accessed 30th April 2022

⁵⁹ Anon. 'County Police Court – A Navvies Quarrel', *The Huddersfield Chronicle*, 20th January 1892, p. 3. Available at <https://search.findmypast.co.uk/bna/viewarticle?id=bl%2f0000167%2f18920120%2f018>, Accessed 30th April 2022

⁶⁰ Anon. 'Marsden', *The Huddersfield Chronicle*, 16th April 1892, p. 8. Available at <https://search.findmypast.co.uk/bna/viewarticle?id=bl%2f0000167%2f18901205%2f012>, Accessed 30th April 2022

⁶¹ Anon. 'Marsden', *The Huddersfield Daily Examiner*, 11th June 1892, p. 8. Available at <https://search.findmypast.co.uk/bna/viewarticle?id=bl%2f0000901%2f18920611%2f218>, Accessed 30th April 2022

However, despite the establishment of the mission, the Welsh workers endeavoured to continue their own religious customs. David Young wrote in 1893 that many 'from Wales... find employment in English towns... [and] In almost every case... will inquire for a Welsh chapel... prefer[ing] to worship through the medium of the Welsh language'.⁶² In February 1891, a Welsh service was held at the Marsden Congregational Church for the Welsh workers, conducted by two Welshmen who lived locally, Mr Evans and Mr Arthur. A prayer was offered for those who had 'been obliged to leave Wales... and sojourn in a foreign land' and hymns were sung 'in their native style'. The article reports that Mr Evans and Mr Arthur 'expressed their desire to help the men in the cause they had at heart' and that more services would likely be held as a result. The wording indicates that the Welsh workers had instigated the service, seemingly consistent with other Welsh migrants.⁶³ An article detailing the tragic death of Thomas Jones, a member of the Anglesey group, provides further evidence of efforts to maintain Welsh religious practices. In the article, Jones is described as a Wesleyan who was 'a worker in religious work for the benefit of the Welsh workmen'.⁶⁴ It is worth noting that a Wesleyan Methodist Chapel existed in Marsden. However, no evidence can be found of attendance by the group in the seat rental records. Neither is there evidence of attempts by the Methodist Chapel to reach out to the group in the trustees and leaders' minutes beyond one intriguing statement in April 1893 that referred to 'strangers at the chapel doors' although no further detail is given as to who

⁶² David Young, *The origin and history of Methodism in Wales and the borders*, (1893, London), p. 705.

⁶³ Anon. 'Marsden', *The Huddersfield Daily Examiner*, 28th February 1891, p. 8. Available at <https://search.findmypast.co.uk/bna/viewarticle?id=bl%2f0000901%2f18910228%2f171>, Accessed 30th April 2022

⁶⁴ Anon. 'Marsden', *The Huddersfield Daily Examiner*, 16th April 1892, p. 7. Available at <https://search.findmypast.co.uk/bna/viewarticle?id=bl%2f0000901%2f18920416%2f281>, Accessed 30th April 2022

these 'strangers' were.⁶⁵ The newspaper reports and lack of evidence of attendance at the local Methodist Chapel suggest a desire by the group to maintain their distinctly Welsh religious traditions, providing evidence of an attempt to overcome a cultural obstacle. However, the evidence also suggests a sense of distinctiveness from the receiving community, demonstrating a lack of assimilation into the receiving community.

The evidence of hostility towards the workers for criminal activity suggests a perceived negative impact on the community; whether the workers were any more inclined to criminality than the Marsden natives is beyond the limits of this thesis but would make for an interesting investigation. There was, however, an effort to reach out by some in the receiving community with the Welsh workers aided in maintaining their religious practices. Nevertheless, the Welsh community maintained a sense of distinctiveness. The Anglesey group lived on the outskirts of the village and were inclined to set up their own, Welsh religious services. Regarding long-term impact, other than the tunnel itself, little survives of the Welsh workers' extended stay in Marsden, and by the 1901 census, only one family remained in Marsden, with no evidence of the remainder of the group found within the vicinity.⁶⁶

Impact of the migration event on families and individuals

Four families, one single lone male and one unaccompanied married male, have been selected for analysis to identify possible factors specific to individual cases that may have

⁶⁵ Marsden Methodist Wesleyan Chapel, *Trustees meetings 1881-1890* (Marsden, 1881-1890) and Marsden Methodist Wesleyan Chapel, *Trustees meetings 1891-1921* (Marsden, 1891-1921) and Marsden Methodist Wesleyan Chapel, *Stewards and leaders meetings 1890-1926* (Marsden, 1890-1926) and Marsden Methodist Wesleyan Chapel, *Seat rents 1875-1908* (Marsden, 1875-1908)

⁶⁶ Census records, England. Huddersfield, Marsden, 1st April 1901. Available at <https://www.findmypast.co.uk/>, Accessed 7th April 2022.

led to the success or failure of the migration or decisions for subsequent migrations.

Unfortunately, it is difficult to trace many of the unaccompanied men due to the widespread use of their names in Anglesey; however, two were traceable by their links to other families.

The Rowlands

The Rowlands migrated to Marsden as a family group with the father Abraham aged 50, his wife Esther who was originally born in Lancashire and their three sons, Thomas 18 born in Lancashire, James 14 and Abraham J 10, both born in Anglesey.⁶⁷ The 1881 census records a daughter, Jane, who did not initially accompany the family.⁶⁸ This is the only family from the group who remained in Marsden with daughter Jane living with the family at New Houses, closer to the centre of the village by the 1901 census. Abraham is listed as a miner, James a blacksmith and Abraham J an iron turner, both sons having taken work at the boiler works; Thomas does not appear to be living in Marsden.⁶⁹ In 1909 James married a local woman, Lucy Woodcock, in Marsden's St Bartholomew's Church.⁷⁰ In the 1911 census, James and Lucy are residing with Abraham, who is listed as a retired copper miner, and James is working as a blacksmith at the woollen mill. Abraham J married Jennie Dawson Cawthron from nearby Holmfirth in a non-conformist ceremony, also in 1909.⁷¹ Both brothers appear

⁶⁷ Census records, England. Marsden in Huddersfield, Huddersfield, Yorkshire. 5th April 1891. ROWLAND, Abraham (head). PN 3554. FL 42A. SN 174. ED 8. p. 27. <http://www.findmypast.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022.

⁶⁸ Census records, Wales. Amlwch, Anglesey 3rd April 1881. ROWLAND, Abraham (head). PN 5591. FL 17. ED 10. p. 11. <http://www.ancestry.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022.

⁶⁹ Census records, England. Marsden in Huddersfield, Huddersfield, Yorkshire. 1st April 1901. ROWLAND, Abraham (head). PN 4092. FL 110. ED 08. p. 7. SN 49. <http://www.ancestry.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022.

⁷⁰ Marriages (PR) England. Marsden, Huddersfield, West Yorkshire. 26 May 1909. ROWLAND, James Edward and WOODCOCK, Lucy. Reference Number: WDP143/1/3/2. Collection: West Yorkshire, England, Church of England Marriages and Banns, 1813-1935,. <https://ancestry.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022.

⁷¹ Marriages (NCR) England. Marsden, Huddersfield, West Yorkshire. 24 February 1909. ROWLAND, Abraham Jones and CAWTHRON, Annie Dawson. Reference Number: NI/M/1. Collection: West Yorkshire, Non-Conformist Records, 1646-1985, <https://ancestry.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022.

to have integrated into the community, marrying and working locally. It is worth noting that Abraham states his birthplace as Liverpool in the 1911 census despite other records recording Amlwch and that continuous data suggests previous migration, having married and born one son in Lancashire.⁷²

Robert Tudor Roberts

Robert Tudor Roberts originally migrated as a single, lone man and resided in the house next to the Rowlands family at Red Brook.⁷³ Robert married Rowlands daughter Jane in 1911 in a non-conformist ceremony in Huddersfield.⁷⁴ It is notable that, unlike her brothers, Jane married within the Welsh community. At the time of the marriage, Robert is recorded as living in Bridgend, South Wales working as an engine driver. Perhaps a relationship was struck up prior to this move and after the marriage Jane migrated to Bridgend to live with Robert indicating a migration at a significant life stage. Both Jane and Robert are recorded in the 1911 census still in Bridgend and identified as bilingual.⁷⁵ At some point they returned to Milnsbridge, a village a short distance from Marsden, recorded on the 1919 electoral register.⁷⁶

For the Rowlands and the Roberts, the migration to Marsden meant a permanent move for most of the family, albeit with an interim migration to South Wales for Jane and Robert. The

⁷² Census records, England. Marsden in Huddersfield, Huddersfield, Yorkshire. 2nd April 1911. ROWLAND, Abraham (head). RD 494. PN 26197. ED 07. <http://www.ancestry.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022.

⁷³ Census records, England. Marsden in Huddersfield, Huddersfield, Yorkshire. 5th April 1891. ROBERTS, Robert Tudor (lodger). PN 3554. FL 42A. SN 173. ED 8. p. 27. <http://www.findmypast.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022.

⁷⁴ Marriages (NCR) England. Marsden, Huddersfield, West Yorkshire. 10 January 1911. ROBERTS, Robert Tudor and ROWLAND, Jane. Reference Number: NI/M/1. Collection: West Yorkshire, Non-Conformist Records, 1646-1985, <https://ancestry.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022.

⁷⁵ Census records, Wales. Pontycymmer, Bridgend, Glamorgan, 2nd April 1911. Roberts, Robert Tudor (head). RD 591. PN 32545. SN 323 ED 05. <http://www.ancestry.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022.

⁷⁶ Electoral Registers (England). Colne Valley, Huddersfield, West Yorkshire. 1919. ROBERTS, Robert Tudor. Reference Number: Colne Valley. Collection: West Yorkshire, England, Electoral Registers, 1840-1962, <https://ancestry.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022.

eldest son, Thomas, appears to have moved on. Whilst the exact reasons for the decision to remain in Marsden will remain undetermined, there are clues. Abraham had spent time away from Wales and was likely bilingual. Initially, most of the family migrated together, with Jane following on, perhaps pointing to a decision at some point that the migration would become permanent. Two sons appear to have found work and eventually married locally. Perhaps the language, readily available work and grown-up children who had integrated into the community, made a permanent stay in Marsden feasible. Also, evidence suggests that the children who wished to continue with their non-conformist religion could do so within the receiving community.

The Williams

The Williams family, consisting of William Williams and his wife Catherine, migrated together, living at Gilberts. However, unlike the Rowlands, their four adult children, Elizabeth, Jane, Ellen and John, did not accompany them.⁷⁷ It is unclear where three of the children were during the 1891 census, but all were in their early to late twenties and likely able to support themselves. However, their son-in-law, Benjamin Elias, migrated with Catherine and William, leaving his wife Ellen and their two children in Anglesey.⁷⁸ By the 1901 census, the Williams had returned to Anglesey with William, listed as a widow, now living on Bethesda Street in Almwch with daughter Jane. The 1911 census records William and Jane as still residing at Bethesda Street and son John, away as a sailor.⁷⁹ The 1901 and

⁷⁷ Census records, Wales. Amlwch, Anglesey 2nd April 1871. WILLIAM, Williams (head). PN 5747. FL 63. ED 4. p. 25. <http://www.ancestry.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022. and Census records, Wales. Amlwch, Anglesey 3rd April 1881. WILLIAM, Williams (head). PN 5590. FL 59. ED 4. p. 21. <http://www.ancestry.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022.

⁷⁸ Census records, England. Marsden in Almondbury, Huddersfield, Yorkshire. 5th April 1891. WILLIAMS, William (head). PN 3554. FL 13. SN 119. ED 6. p. 20. <http://www.findmypast.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022.

⁷⁹ Census records, Wales. Amlwch, Anglesey 1st April 1901. WILLIAM, Williams (head). PN 5293. FL 50. ED 3. p. 25. <http://www.ancestry.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022. and Census records, Wales. Amlwch, Anglesey 2nd April 1911. WILLIAM, Williams (head). RD 633. PN 34571. FL 50. ED 02. SN 91. <http://www.ancestry.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022.

the 1911 census records William and daughter Jane as Welsh speakers; only John is described as bilingual. Whether or not William could understand or speak some English is somewhat irrelevant. William considered himself a Welsh speaker, and this is likely how he felt most comfortable communicating. He was also, at this point an elderly man who perhaps saw little point in making the migration to Marsden permanent, instead returning home to his family and Welsh community, establishing a counter stream once the opportunity had ended with life stage likely a factor.

The Elias'

Benjamin Elias initially migrated to Marsden with his father-in-law and mother-in-law, leaving his wife Ellen and their two children back in Anglesey. In 1894 Ellen gave birth to their third child William in Slaithwaite, near Marsden, perhaps suggesting that the family may have considered a more permanent move.⁸⁰ However, by 1898 the family had returned to Anglesey, where Ellen gave birth to their fourth child Richard. In the 1901 census, they are residing in Llanelian, and Benjamin is working as an Engine Driver, the same job he held in Marsden and all the family are recorded as Welsh-speaking.⁸¹ By 1911 the family had migrated again to Stoney Lane, Cauldon in Staffordshire. All those of working age were working at the Limestone quarry. Benjamin's brother, Richard Owen Elias is also residing with the family.⁸² It is perhaps significant that Cauldon provided an established Welsh community where the Anglesey community had been migrating to since 1853 and where the North Staffordshire Railway had built a Welsh chapel specifically for the Welsh

⁸⁰ Census records, England. Cauldon, Ashbourne, Alton, Staffordshire. 2nd April 1911. ELIAS, Benjamin (head). RD 363. PN 16669. ED 01. <http://www.ancestry.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022.

⁸¹ Census records, Wales. Llanelian, Amlwch, Anglesey 1st April 1901. ELIAS, Benjamin (head). PN 5293. FL 108. ED 9. p. 5. <http://www.ancestry.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022.

⁸² Census records, England. Cauldon, Ashbourne, Alton, Staffordshire. 2nd April 1911. ELIAS, Benjamin (head). RD 363. PN 16669. ED 01. <http://www.ancestry.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022.

workers.⁸³ Cauldon locals remember the Welsh community as 'clannish' and say that they conversed in Welsh between themselves. A later photo of the Elias family shows their daughters in Welsh dress indicating an attachment to their Welsh identity.⁸⁴ The move to Cauldon perhaps indicates that the family's Welsh identity was a consideration in the choice of where to migrate and, once the Welsh community started to leave Marsden, was a possible factor in the decision to return to Anglesey.

The Davies

The Davies family consisting of William, Letitia and their young son, William, migrated to Anglesey as a family living at Gilbert's, next to the Williams family.⁸⁵ By 1896 the family had returned to Anglesey as recorded by the birth of their second and third sons, David and Hugh, and in the 1901 census, unlike the Elias family, they recorded themselves as bilingual.⁸⁶ By 1911 the family had migrated again, also to Stoney Lane in Cauldon. William and his two eldest sons are listed as working at the limestone quarry.⁸⁷ This family, like the Rowlands, migrated to Marsden with young children, however, they chose to return to Anglesey. It is difficult to know why this was the case; it could have been through lack of work or a wish to return home. However, like the Elias family, they migrated permanently to the established Welsh community in Cauldon with their children of working age, indicating a need to take advantage of the opportunities at the Cauldon limestone quarry.

⁸³ Basil Jeuda, *The Quarries of Cauldon Lowe*, (Staffordshire, 2000) pp. 166-167.

⁸⁴ Jeuda, *The Quarries of Cauldon Lowe*, p. 166-174.

⁸⁵ Census records, England. Marsden in Almondbury, Huddersfield, Yorkshire. 5th April 1891. DAVIES, William (head). PN 3554. FL 13. SN 118. ED 6. p. 33. <http://www.findmypast.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022.

⁸⁶ Census records, Wales. Penysarn, Amlwch, Anglesey 1st April 1901. DAVIES, Williams (head). PN 5293. FL 127. ED 10. p. 11. <http://www.ancestry.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022.

⁸⁷ Census records, England. Cauldon, Ashbourne, Alton, Staffordshire. 2nd April 1911. DAVIES, William (head). RD 363. PN 16669. ED 01. <http://www.ancestry.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022.

The Jones

The Jones moved to Marsden as a family living at Red Brook next to the Rowlands.⁸⁸ Thomas Jones was buried in Anglesey in 1892, after he was tragically killed in an accident whilst working on the Standedge New Tunnel.⁸⁹ His wife Ann, appears to have remained in Marsden, giving birth to their son Richard (Dickie) later in 1892.⁹⁰ However, by 1901 the family returned to Llaneilian in Anglesey with son Lewis working as a copper miner; the family are described as bilingual apart from Richard, who only speaks English. It is unclear where John and Thomas are at this point.⁹¹ By 1911 both Ann and daughter Annie are working in agriculture still in Anglesey, both working to support Richard who is described as 'crippled from birth'.⁹² For at least part of this family, the migration failed and meant a return to Anglesey, likely because the need for wider family and community support.

The migration impacted families and individuals differently, and personal factors have been highlighted by close analysis of some of the group. Those who considered themselves Welsh speakers seem more likely to have returned to Anglesey, demonstrating that linguistic obstacles may have contributed to the lack of integration. Those that subsequently migrated chose an established Welsh community as their destination, further demonstrating linguistic

⁸⁸ Census records, Wales. Amlwch, Anglesey 3rd April 1881. JONES, Thomas (head). PN 5591. FL 79. ED 15. p. 29. <http://www.ancestry.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022.

⁸⁹ Burials (CR) Wales. Llanwenllwyfo, Anglesey, Wales. 16th April 1892. JONES, Thomas. p. 14. Collection: Anglesey, Wales, Anglican Church Baptisms, Marriages and Burials, 1547-1994, Available at <https://ancestry.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022.

⁹⁰ Census records, Wales. Llaneilian, Amlwch, Anglesey 2nd April 1911. JONES, Richard (son). RD 633. PN 34577. ED 08. SN 18. <http://www.ancestry.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022.

⁹¹ Census records, Wales. Llaneilian, Amlwch, Anglesey 1st April 1901. Jones, Ann (head). PN 5293. FL 106. ED 9. SN 13. p. 2. <http://www.ancestry.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022.

⁹² Census records, Wales. Llaneilian, Amlwch, Anglesey 2nd April 1911. JONES, Ann (head). RD 633. PN 34577. ED 08. SN 18. <http://www.ancestry.co.uk>, Accessed 7th April 2022.

and cultural differences as factors. The family that settled in Marsden were bilingual, and at least two were born outside of Wales, perhaps indicating less of an attachment to their Welsh identity. Of those that stayed or subsequently migrated, the presence of children indicates a possible need to seek out employment opportunities for those children as a factor. Of the two families that returned to Anglesey permanently, personal factors such as life stage, established grown-up children or a need for family support may have made it difficult or less desirable to make the migration permanent or migrate elsewhere. This close analysis demonstrates that multiple factors would be considered when deciding to migrate or make a migration permanent and that opportunities such as employment often must be weighed up against cultural and linguistic obstacles or personal circumstances.

Conclusion

This study has demonstrated how the migratory flow of people can be influenced by various factors within the communities and individuals involved and how careful analysis using theoretical models can add nuance to broader theories, including that of the 'move from the land'.

Several of Ravenstein's laws have been corroborated throughout the study whilst adding nuance to those laws and identifying possible clues as to the cause of the migration. Law two asserts that migration proceeds step by step has been confirmed by the close analysis of several individuals and families, demonstrating step migration and the establishment of counter streams with families and individuals returning to Anglesey before migrating elsewhere. Law three asserts that when migrants go long distances, they generally go to one of the great centres of commerce or industry. While not a city, Huddersfield was a thriving textile town with good transport links. However, it is noteworthy that the group migrated to Huddersfield for a specific opportunity, reducing the level of risk involved and raising the question of how potential migrants weighed up opportunities versus risk. Law six asserts that males venture more frequently beyond their county of birth, and the group consisted of 84.8% of males confirming Ravenstein's law, however, the presence of unaccompanied married males indicated that the opportunity was perhaps temporary. Law seven asserts that most migrants are adults, and families rarely migrate. Again, the group's demographics confirm this theory to a point; however, several families did migrate and whilst they were in the minority, under eighteens did account for nearly 15% of the group, perhaps a larger proportion than expected. Law nine asserts that migration increases as transport and industries develop and transport improves. This example of migration was a direct

consequence of the creation of improved travel links caused by increased industry and thus corroborates Ravenstein's theory, although from the point of view of both providing and increasing the accessibility of the opportunity. Ravenstein's final law, that the major causes of migration are economic, introduces the historiography of the move from the land, mainly attributed to the decline of agricultural work. In the case of Anglesey, there is little doubt that out-migration was increasing due to economic difficulties associated with a decrease in agricultural employment. However, the decline in the copper mining industry exacerbated out-migration, demonstrating a more complex set of circumstances.

Theoretical models have been used to identify factors that may have contributed to the decision to migrate and potential obstacles that may have been considered. A decline in employment opportunities and increased poverty likely acted as push factors, and the Standedge New Tunnel project acted as a pull factor for those with mining experience. The obstacle of distance was solved by improved transport links and the provision of quarter fares from the London and North Western Railway. Additionally, London and North Western Railway provided accommodation with others from the sending community acting as landlords making the opportunity more attractive and increasing financial viability. Linguistic differences were likely considered a potential obstacle. While we cannot be sure to what extent the group could communicate in English, the establishment of a ready-made Welsh community may have somewhat abated this obstacle.

Theoretical models also allow the close evaluation of the impact on the receiving community, families, and individuals, highlighting further factors that could lead to the success, failure, or subsequent migrations. The majority of the group left Marsden after the completion of the tunnel, implying a perception of a temporary opportunity where factors

within the receiving community did not provide enough of a pull and obstacles were not adequately overcome. Family, cultural and linguistic factors likely contributed. Of the individuals analysed, some considered themselves Welsh speakers and may have found it challenging or less desirable to stay once the Welsh community left Marsden. Cultural differences may have also played a part. The group sought out specific Welsh religious services, a common practice according to the evidence and suggests a lack of assimilation. It is also notable that when two of the families subsequently migrated, they did so to a ready-made Welsh community, further demonstrating a reluctance to assimilate into the sending community. Perceived hostility from the receiving community may have also played a part with the community's perception of the Standedge Tunnel workers not necessarily positive. As a result, a counter stream developed with the majority of the families analysed returning to Anglesey. It is also clear from the analysis that others in the group may have returned home or migrated elsewhere, as they do not appear to have stayed in the vicinity.

To conclude, this example of migration adds nuance to the theory of a move from the land, highlighting that a decline in industry could also contribute to rural out-migration and emphasising the need to closely analyse sending communities to determine the cause of migration. The study also demonstrates how theoretical models provide frameworks to determine the causation of migration and factors that contributed to the success, failure or subsequent migrations and how close analysis that investigates beyond push-pull factors adds to the comprehensiveness of migration studies. Personal circumstances and linguistic and cultural differences were likely factors in the groups' decision not to make Marsden their permanent home, making the temporary community the migrants created, 'a fleeting 'little Wales' in Marsden.

Word count: 7425

Appendices

Table 1. Welsh born population living in Marsden in the years 1881, 1891 and 1901 with percentage of total population compiled from CEB's

| | 1881 | 1891 | 1901 |
|--------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Marsden | 0 | 8 | 23 |
| Marsden in Almondbury | 5 | 57 | 0 |
| Marsden in Huddersfield | 2 | 34 | 0 |
| | 7 | 99 | 23 |
| Total population | 3319 | 3855 | 5755 |
| Total population increase | | 16.14 | 49.2 |
| % of Welsh | 0.21 | 2.57 | 0.40 |

Table 2. Population of Marsden reporting birthplace as Wales with county breakdown compiled from CEB's

| Marsden county breakdown | 1881 | 1891 | 1901 |
|--------------------------|------|------|------|
| Radnorshire | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Pembrokeshire | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Montgomeryshire | 0 | 4 | 1 |
| Monmouthshire | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Merionethshire | 0 | 5 | 2 |
| Glamorganshire | 0 | 4 | 4 |
| Flintshire | 0 | 2 | 2 |

| | | | |
|------------------------|----------|-----------|-----------|
| Denbighshire | 0 | 6 | 2 |
| Carmarthenshire | 0 | 3 | 2 |
| Cardiganshire | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Caernarvonshire | 1 | 19 | 0 |
| Breconshire | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Anglesey | 0 | 21 | 4 |
| Unknown | 5 | 32 | 2 |
| Total | 7 | 99 | 23 |

Table 3. Table detailing all persons within the Anglesey group residing in Marsden in 1891 compiled from CEB's

| First name | Last name | Gender | Birth parish | BP confirmation method | Relationship | Marital status | Age | Birth year | Occupation |
|---|---------------|-------------|----------------------|------------------------|---------------|----------------|-----------|-------------|---------------------|
| 117, Gilberts, The Old Road, Marsden | | | | | | | | | |
| William | Hughes | Male | Llaneilian | 1891 census | Lodger | Single | 20 | 1871 | Tunnel miner |
| William | Roberts | Male | Llanddeusant | 1891 census | Lodger | Married | 23 | 1868 | Tunnel miner |
| John | Thomas | Male | Llandyfrydog | 1891 census | Lodger | Single | 23 | 1868 | Tunnel miner |
| Morris | Jones | Male | Llanwenllwyfo | 1891 census | Lodger | Married | 34 | 1857 | Tunnel miner |
| John | Thomas | Male | Llanwenllwyfo | 1891 census | Lodger | Married | 49 | 1842 | Tunnel miner |
| 118, Gilberts, The Old Road, Marsden | | | | | | | | | |
| William | Davies | Male | Amlwch | 1891 census | Head | Married | 27 | 1864 | Tunnel miner |
| William H | Davies | Male | Amlwch | 1891 census | Son | Single | 7 | 1884 | |
| Letitia | Davies | Female | Amlwch | 1891 census | Wife | Married | 27 | 1864 | |

| 119, Gilberts, The Old Road, Marsden | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-----------------|-------------|--------------------------|--------------------|-------------|----------------|-----------|-------------|------------------------------------|
| William | Williams | Male | Amlwch | 1891 census | Head | Married | 54 | 1837 | Overlooker of tunnel miners |
| Evan | Roberts | Male | Amlwch | 1891 census | Lodger | Single | 18 | 1873 | Tunnel miner |
| Richard | Francis | Male | Amlwch | 1891 census | Lodger | Single | 19 | 1872 | Tunnel miner |
| Edward | Owen | Male | Amlwch | 1891 census | Lodger | Single | 19 | 1872 | Tunnel miner |
| Richard | Jones | Male | Amlwch | 1891 census | Lodger | Married | 24 | 1867 | Engine driver stationery |
| Hugh H | Thomas | Male | Amlwch | 1891 census | Lodger | Single | 26 | 1865 | Tunnel miner |
| Owen | Hughes | Male | Amlwch | 1891 census | Lodger | Single | 30 | 1861 | Tunnel miner |
| William | Hughes | Male | Amlwch | 1891 census | Lodger | Married | 30 | 1861 | Tunnel miner |
| Richard | Williams | Male | Amlwch | 1891 census | Lodger | Married | 40 | 1851 | Tunnel miner |
| Hugh | Thomas | Male | Amlwch | 1891 census | Lodger | Married | 49 | 1842 | Overlooker of tunnel miners |
| John | Williams | Male | Amlwch | 1891 census | Lodger | Widower | 60 | 1831 | Tunnel miner |
| Benjamin | Elis/Elias | Male | Amlwch | 1891 census | Son in law | Married | 30 | 1861 | Engine driver stationery |
| Catherine | Williams | Female | Amlwch | 1891 census | Wife | Married | 52 | 1839 | |
| 174 Red Brook, Marsden | | | | | | | | | |
| Abraham | Rowland | Male | Amlwch | 1881 census | Head | Married | 50 | 1841 | Tunnel miner |
| Abram J | Rowland | Male | Rhosybol | 1881 census | Son | Single | 10 | 1881 | Scholar |
| James E | Rowland | Male | Rhosybol | 1881 census | Son | Single | 14 | 1877 | Tool carrier tunnel |
| Thomas | Rowland | Male | Amlwch | 1881 census | Son | Single | 18 | 1873 | Fireman |
| Esther | Rowland | Female | Atherton (Lancashire) | 1881 census | Wife | Married | 50 | 1841 | |
| 173 Red Brook, Marsden | | | | | | | | | |
| Thomas | Jones | Male | Amlwch | 1881 census | Head | Married | 45 | 1846 | Tunnel miner |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|---------|--------|------------|-------------|----------|---------|----|------|---------------------------|
| Ann | Jones | Female | Llaneilian | 1881 census | Wife | Married | 42 | 1849 | |
| John | Jones | Male | Llaneilian | 1881 census | Son | Single | 21 | 1870 | Tunnel miner |
| Thomas | Jones | Male | Llaneilian | 1881 census | Son | Single | 18 | 1873 | Fireman stationery engine |
| Lewis | Jones | Male | Llaneilian | 1881 census | Son | Single | 14 | 1877 | General labourer |
| Annie | Jones | Female | Llaneilian | 1881 census | Daughter | Single | 10 | 1881 | Scholar |
| Robert Tudor | Roberts | Male | Amlwch | 1911 census | Lodger | Single | 34 | 1857 | Engine driver |

Table 4. Breakdown of Anglesey migrants to Marsden by age range compiled from CEB's

| Ages | 1891 | % |
|--------------|-----------|------|
| <18 | 5 | 15.2 |
| 18-39 | 18 | 54.5 |
| 40-59 | 9 | 27.3 |
| 60+ | 1 | 3.0 |
| Total | 33 | |

Table 5. Breakdown of Anglesey migrants to Marsden by gender compiled from CEB's

| Gender | 1891 | % |
|---------------|-----------|------|
| Male | 28 | 84.8 |
| Female | 5 | 15.2 |
| Total | 33 | |

Table 6. Breakdown of Anglesey migrants to Marsden by marital status compiled from CEB's

| Marital status | 1891 | % |
|----------------|------|---|
|----------------|------|---|

| | | |
|----------------|-----------|------|
| Married | 16 | 48.5 |
| Single | 16 | 48.5 |
| Widower | 1 | 3.0 |
| Total | 33 | |

Table 7. Breakdown of Anglesey migrants to Marsden by relationship compiled from CEB's

| Relationship | 1891 | % |
|----------------------------|-------------|----------|
| Head | 4 | 12.1 |
| Wife | 4 | 12.1 |
| Daughter/son/in-law | 9 | 27.3 |
| Lodger | 16 | 48.5 |
| Boarder | 0 | 0.0 |
| Servant | 0 | 0.0 |
| Total | 33 | |

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