

# IV People and Property

## 1801 to 1851

### THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF HAGLEY IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

The size and, to some extent, the nature of the population can be established from early national census returns and, since the Overseers provided the figures, copies of the original returns for Hagley in 1801, 1811 and 1821 were discovered amongst the records. Compared with later census returns, what the Overseers were required to list in these years was rudimentary.

(Copy) from W. Samuel Davies of the  
Population of Hagley & number of Houses, March 10<sup>th</sup> 1801

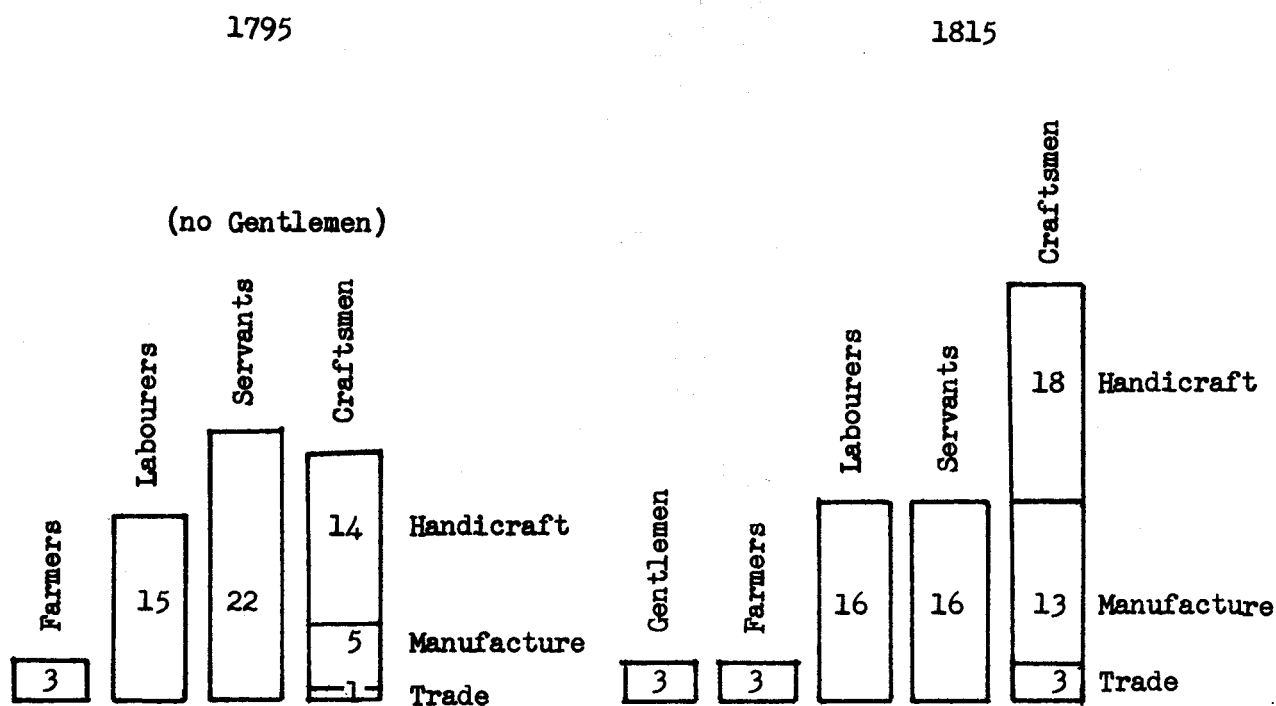
Males	Females	Employed in agriculture	Employed in trade	Neither in trade nor agriculture	Houses occupied	Houses unoccupied
297	324	70	84	459	104	4

Copy of Census Return for Hagley, 1801

The 1811 census provides more or less the same categories of information but unfortunately the snag of most census comparisons arises here - the compilers changed the questions! In 1811 they asked for numbers of families engaged in agriculture, trade, manufacture and handicraft, instead of individuals as in the 1801 census. The answers to this question in 1811 show that there were 42 families engaged in agriculture, 47 in trade, manufacture and handicraft, and 29 others. The 1821 census shows a small increase to 48 of those engaged in agriculture, but a large increase (62 instead of 47) in trade, manufacture and handicraft. There were 31 'others'. The returns also give numbers of occupied houses as follows: 1801 104 houses, 1811 113 houses, 1821 124 houses. Total populations in the three returns were 621, 610 and 595 respectively. Apart from establishing the size of the population the returns are inadequate for examining the social composition of the parish. However, they do reveal a significant trend in the increase of those engaged in trade, manufacture and handicraft.

Not until 1841 do the census returns show individual occupations, but Militia Lists for certain years from 1795 to 1816 give the names of all men between the ages of 18 and 45 with specific occupations. Although these Militia Lists do not cover the total working population they must be representative of male occupations, and they do indeed reflect the same increase in the number employed in trade, manufacture and handicraft. More importantly, they reveal a large category not distinguished in the census returns, that of 'servant'. Some men are actually called 'servant' but there are other occupations given such as butler, footman, groom, coachman, postilion and valet. These specialist 'servants' must have served the most wealthy gentry, particularly the Lytteltons. Taken as a group, the servants always exceeded 'labourers' (taken to mean agricultural labourers) except in 1815. The Militia Lists include very few 'gentlemen' (no more than three ever appeared on one list), rather more yeoman farmers or their sons, and the three main categories: labourers, servants and craftsmen.

Figure 11

Male Occupations Taken From Militia Lists

The charts show the importance of the 'servants' and the growth in the number of craftsmen.

The 1821 census gives a breakdown of ages, male and female. Children under 10 accounted for nearly 25% of the population. Persons in the 20 years between 10 and 30 were almost 35% of the total, but the size of the age groups declined rapidly after 30. At the upper end of the age range there were 9 females and 8 males between 70 and 80, 2 men and 2 women in their 80's and one lady in her 90's.

The apparent decrease in the total population between 1811 and 1821 is explained by an interesting note on the 1821 census which shows that the 1811 total population figure was inflated because 'two Bording Schools in the Parish of Hagley that year had 33 Borders and this year none'. The increase in the number of houses, however, confirms the underlying growth of the population.

Figure 12

Population of Hagley 1801-51

Year	Males	Females	Total
1801	297	324	621
1811	264	346	610
1821	279	316	595
1831	327	364	691
1841	368	376	744
1851	458	477	935

As we have seen, the distribution of wealth in the community can be assessed by examining the Poor Relief and Rate Books. In addition, the Charities Account Books reveal that far more persons than the paupers on weekly pay were considered to be 'poor'. Some light is thrown on this by one record which has amazingly survived - a rather scrappy list of persons invited to have 'Meat Drink and Bread' on Wednesday, October 25th 1809, as a 'Gift' to them from Lord Lyttelton. This list covers a surprising 321 persons, men, women and children, a total that amounted to more than half the population. The names on the list do not include the more well-to-do inhabitants recorded in the Rate Books and elsewhere and of the 96 invitations, 64 (representing 105 adults and 138 children) were to people who received charity payments in February 1810.

If these are the less affluent inhabitants, other lists from the parish chest give the names of more middling or wealthy parishioners. One such list is that of persons in Hagley who had taken out 'Certificates for Using Hair Powder' in 1795. As a means of raising revenue nationally this did not prove very successful. In Hagley only fifteen names are given and five of these are servants: two Butlers and three Footmen. The others are Lord and Lady Lyttelton and the Hon. Caroline Ann Lyttelton, the Rev. Richard Harrington and his wife, Mrs. Sarah Durant, Mrs. Eliza Grove, Miss Ann Hollier, Miss Mary Wilkes and William Waldron Esq. This seems a short list. Were there few really 'fashionable' people in Hagley, or was it by 1795 a dying fashion?

A list of donations 'towards the Patriotic Fund on Acct. of the Battle under Lord Nelson Oct. 21, 1805 off Trafalgar' shows 37 subscriptions (amounting to £35.3.6.). The largest are by Lord Lyttelton (£10.10.0.) and the Rev. Richard Harrington (£5.5.0.). The rest range from £2.2.0. down to 6d. from 'Miss Hinchley not at Home her Servant'. Miss Hollier's name is present again and 'F. Driver' may be Frances Driver described in a later document as a schoolmistress. All the rest are men and they are names which occur repeatedly in the Account Books of men nominated or serving as Overseers or Churchwardens, or elected as Jurors or Surveyors of the Highways. Daniel Mathews was later to become 'High Constable'. One could safely say that these thirty people, plus a few others from the Rate Books, were the ones who administered the Parish of Hagley in the early part of the nineteenth century. Very few are recorded as Gentlemen in other papers such as Apprenticeship Indentures.

A similar subscription list 'for the relief of the wounded and the widows and orphans of those brave men who were slain in the memorable Battle of Waterloo, June 18th 1815', attracted only 26 donors and a total of £28.8.6.

*List of persons Describing themselves  
as Residing in the parish of Hagley in the  
County of Worcester, who have taken out  
Certificates for Using Hair Powder for the year 1795*

<i>1795</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Description</i>
<i>June 5</i>	<i>Durant M<sup>rs</sup> Sarah</i>	<i>Housekeeper</i>
<i>the 5</i>	<i>grove M<sup>rs</sup> Mary</i>	<i>Do</i>
<i>the 2</i>	<i>Harrington the Rev<sup>d</sup> Richard</i>	<i>Do</i>
<i>2</i>	<i>Do for Culcutt Richard</i>	<i>Butler</i>
<i>2</i>	<i>Do for Holland William</i>	<i>Bookman</i>
<i>2</i>	<i>Harrington Elizabeth</i>	<i>Wife</i>
<i>May 20</i>	<i>Hollies Wife Ann</i>	
<i>the 29</i>	<i>Lyttelton the Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Henry Lord</i>	<i>Housekeeper</i>
<i>29</i>	<i>Do for Rowland John</i>	<i>Butler</i>
<i>29</i>	<i>Do for Davison John</i>	<i>Bookman</i>
<i>29</i>	<i>Do for Rogers John</i>	<i>Do</i>
<i>29</i>	<i>Lyttelton the Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> Carolina Lady</i>	<i>Wife</i>
<i>29</i>	<i>Lyttelton the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Carolina Anne</i>	<i>Daughter</i>
<i>May 27</i>	<i>Waldron W<sup>m</sup> Esq<sup>r</sup></i>	<i>Housekeeper</i>
<i>June 2</i>	<i>Willes Wife Mary</i>	<i>Lodger</i>

*All Persons Wilfully tearing Defacing or Removing  
this Copy are liable to the Penalty of Forty shillings  
for every Offence —*

*Thos Jackson.  
Constable of Hagley  
Dec 12<sup>th</sup> 1795 —*

Lord Lyttelton contributed separately. Again, most of the names are those of Overseers, Churchwardens, Jurors or Surveyors. Only two are positively described elsewhere as 'Gentlemen'. The remainder can be identified through other means as having such occupations as painter, cordwinder (cordwainer or shoemaker), shopkeeper, butcher, victualler, farmer, even 'besom maker'.

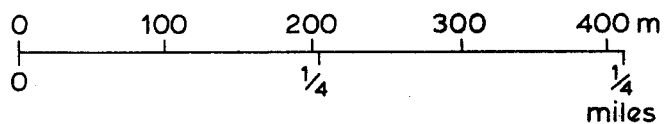
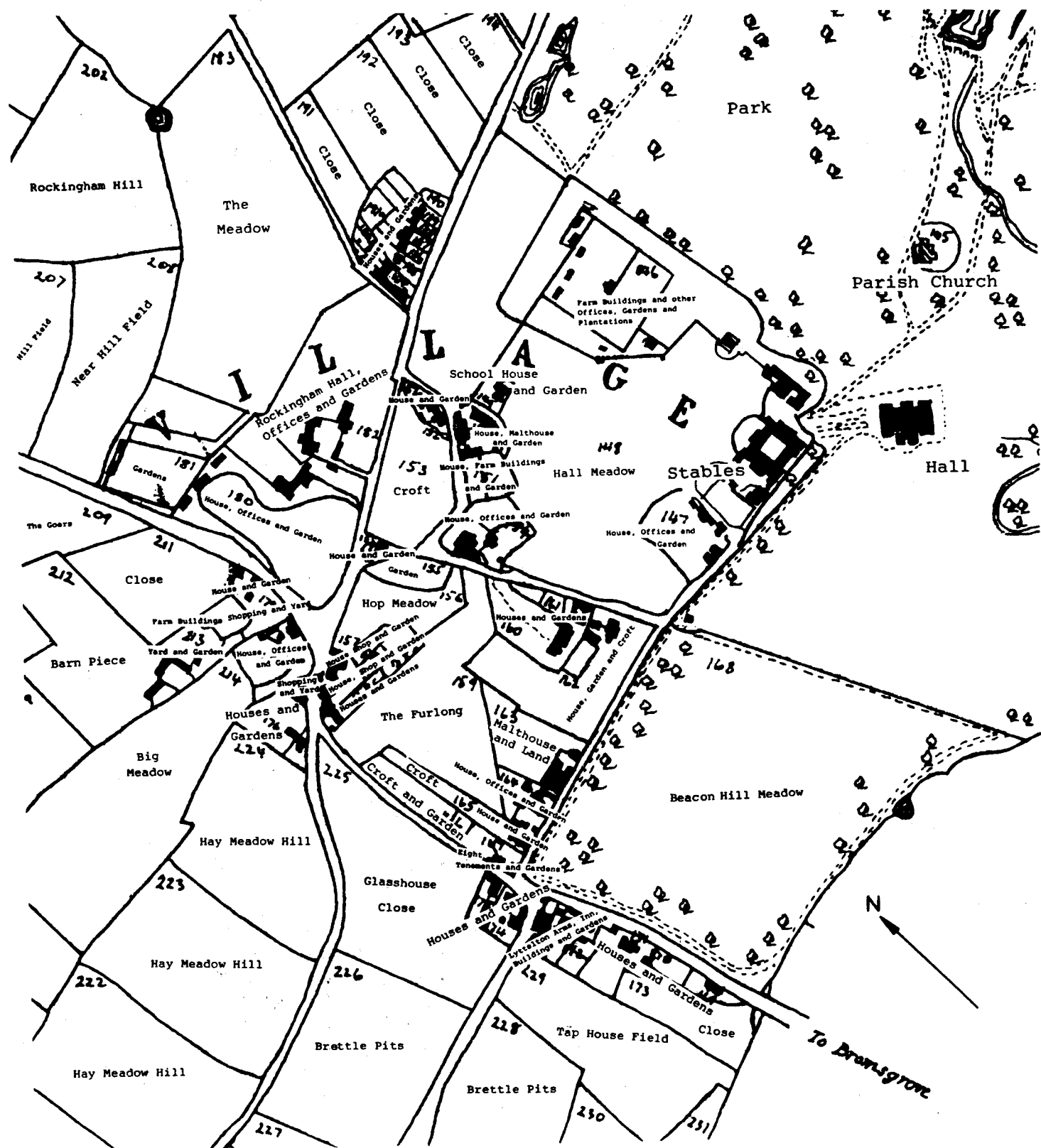
These four lists cannot be regarded as positive proof, but they do seem to point to a community with one noble lord, a few 'gentlemen' and a small core of yeomen and craftsmen who bear most of the task of administration.

A similar impression is gained from 'Lewis's Worcestershire Directory' of 1820. This lists gentry and tradesmen as follows:

- 1 Lord
- 1 Clergy (Rector)
- 5 Gents
- 2 Esq
- 1 Widow
- 1 Lady, not categorized
- 1 Steward
- 1 Keeper
- 6 Farmers
- 3 Millers (probably in Blakedown or Churchill)
- 2 Victuallers
- 1 Butcher
- 1 Grocer
- 1 Maltster
- 1 Shoemaker
- 1 Carpenter
- 2 Stonemasons
- 1 Mason
- 2 Wheelwrights
- 3 Smiths

This gives the appearance of the archetypal village of popular imagination. It represents a small, fairly self-sufficient community, with a great degree of interdependence amongst its inhabitants - the noble lord of the manor, the rector, several esquires and gentlemen, the lord's steward and gamekeeper, the producers and purveyors of food and drink, the craftsmen who supply shoes and furniture and those who create or service buildings and implements. Only one essential occupation is missing, the tailor. If all we knew of Hagley was contained in this list we might visualize an idyllic 'Merry England'. We have only to remember the evidence of the Charities Accounts and the recipients of Lord Lyttelton's 'Feast' to know that the reality was less comfortable. During the period under review, the community consisted of a few desperately poor people - the paupers - and a number of wealthy or relatively well-off property owners who, with their families, accounted for up to one-third of the population; the rest were poor.

SURVEYED 1837 PUBLISHED 1838



## THE TITHE MAP AND SCHEDULE 1838

The Tithe map and schedule form a useful data base for information about the Parish in the late 1830's. As Hagley was primarily an agricultural parish an accurate period picture is revealed of land use, land ownership and the extent of enclosure some 150 years ago. The present existence of the old farm and field names and the field boundaries is testimony to the continuity so typical of many parts of rural England.

At the outset some information about the relief and geology of the parish is relevant. In the North-East the higher, plateau areas around Wassell Grove form part of the Coal Measure series of Carboniferous age. At the surface lie a variety of the Upper Coal Measures, mainly red marls, sandstones and clays. The more resistant Clent Breccias lie to the South-East and form the higher land of the Clent Hills. The Coal Measures were for the most part barren and unproductive and any coal seams were poor, thin, faulted and unsuitable for mining.

To the West the Coal Measures end fairly abruptly at the Western fault where the Carboniferous rocks are thrown against the younger Triassic sandstones - the Bunter Sandstones and Pebble beds and the Keuper Sandstones. This fault is identifiable today by Hagley Hill. The sandstones are the predominant rocks of the whole of the parish lying to the West. The bulk of the village now known as 'Top' Hagley and 'West' Hagley lies on the Keuper Sandstones. In the far West, the area known as the Brake, the older Bunter sandstones occur at the surface. In certain areas the sandstones are overlain by deposits of sand and gravel laid down more recently in the Pleistocene era at the end of the Ice Age. These were left behind when vast quantities of melt water passed over the area.

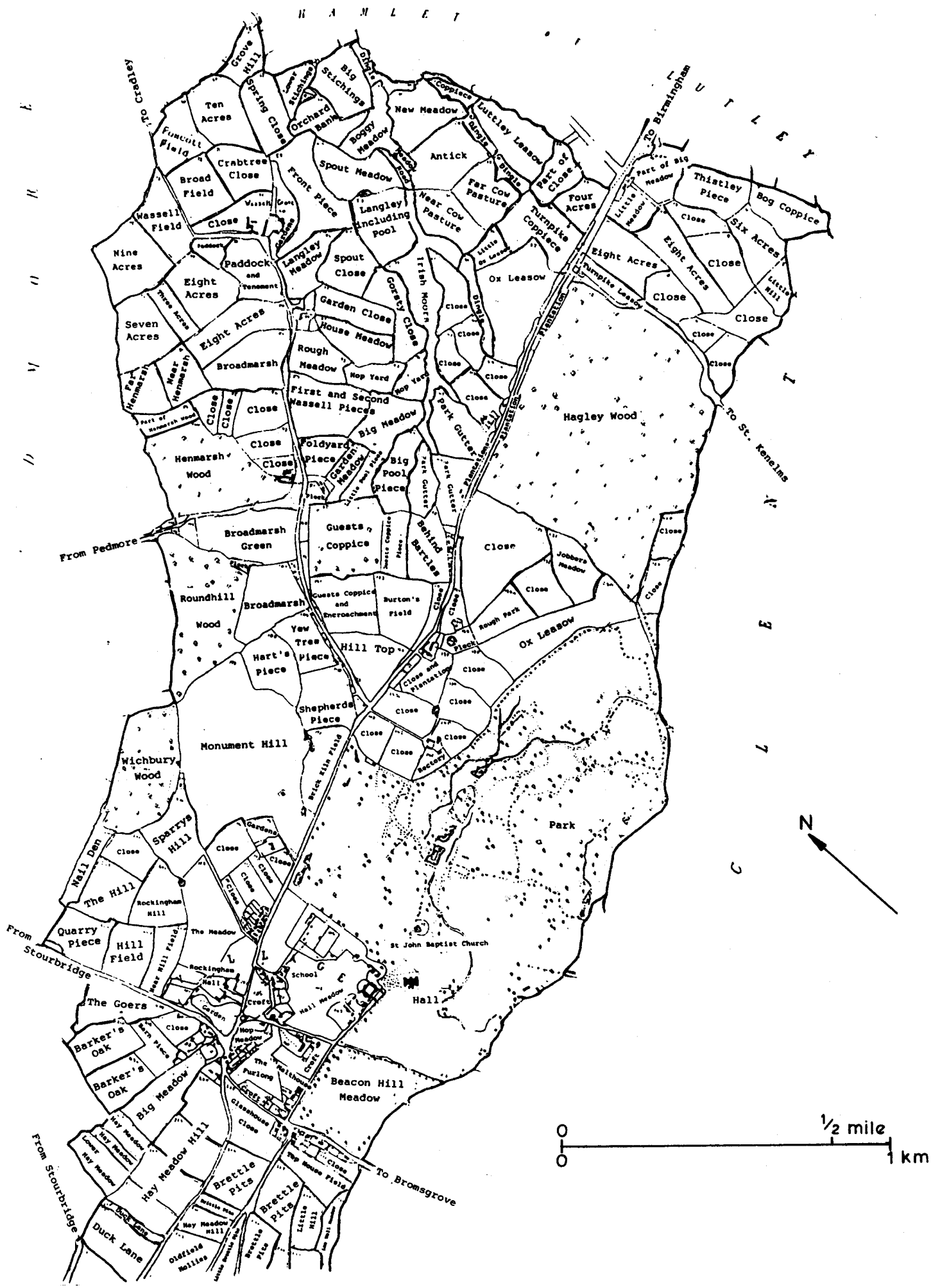
The relief of the land consists of the plateau area on the edge of the Clent Hills where the height averages about 600 ft rising to over 700 ft on the lower slopes of the Clent Hills and to just 700 ft on Wychbury Hill. West of the fault line the land drops to around 420 ft at the traffic lights at the Stourbridge Road and falls away gently westwards to below 300 ft in the valley of the Gallows Brook at Sweetpool.

Because the sandstones are porous there is little surface drainage. The Gallows Brook and its tributaries are the only streams draining the west of the parish and flowing westwards to join the river Stour near Kidderminster and finally the river Severn. The high eastern plateau region is drained by streams which feed the main stream of the river Stour to flow through Halesowen, Cradley and Stourbridge. The Coal Measures are poorly drained in places on the plateau and there are several areas of marshy land. Most of the streams rise at about 600 ft in this area. The eastern area forms a small watershed separating the drainage basins of the two main streams. Below the plateau the lands to the west are well drained. The rocks are porous and the streams which rise nearby are small and are unlikely to flood outside their immediate valleys.

The soils generally are rather poor and acidic. In the west the very light sandy soils support only a poor heathland vegetation when not cultivated. Considered within Worcestershire as a whole, the area around Hagley is a relatively poor agricultural region.

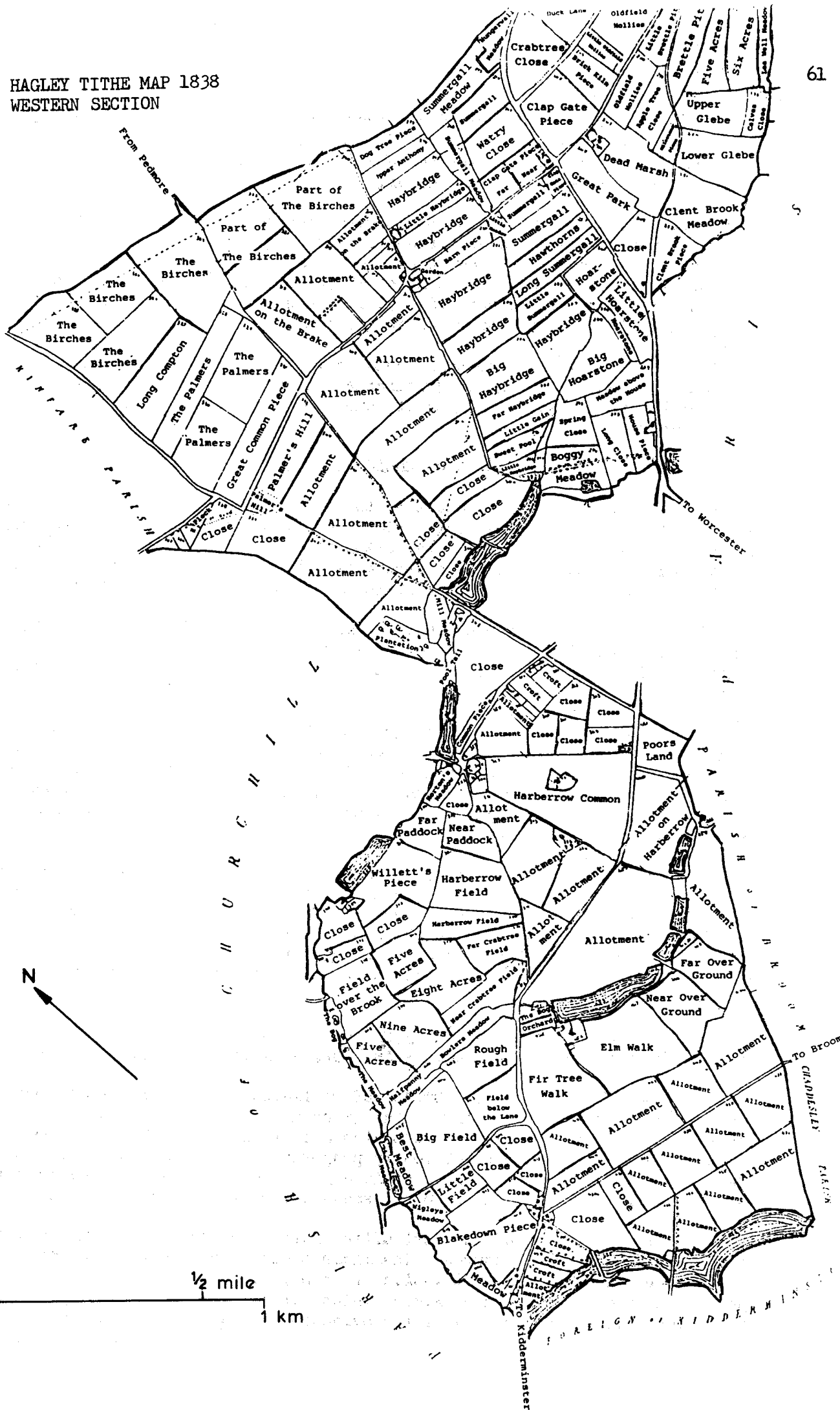
When the work was carried out for the Tithe survey the parish was fully enclosed by fields. The field pattern as revealed on the Tithe map is indicative of several periods of enclosure. The last areas to be enclosed were the two areas of common land, the Brake and Warren Lands (1830/1), and Harberrow and Blakedown Commons (1832/4). These common lands were enclosed by Act of Parliament which ended the traditional 'commons rights'. Previously the Brake and Warren Lands (270 acres) were:

HAGLEY TITHE MAP 1838  
EASTERN SECTION





## 61



'open heath or waste ground and formed an Ancient Warren stocked with conies and the soil thereof belonged to the Lord of the said Manor and the Bite or Pasture subject to the said Warren to divers of the Tenants of the said Manor.

'.... the Brake and Warren Lands were then held in distinct parcels by several persons under certain leases originally granted to divers persons being Freehold and Copyhold Tenants of the said Manor at small reserved Rents for terms of 99 years all which would expire in the course of the year 1831 ..... the same would again become Commonable or Waste lands subject to the said right of Warren.

'.... and there were certain Woods in the ..... Parish of Hagley the property of the Right Honourable William Henry Lord Lyttelton which were subject to rights of Common or Pasturage at certain periods or Intervals'

(Act of Enclosure 1830)

The year 1831 was an appropriate time to enclose these lands as the old leases were due to expire. The persons having the Rights of Common and Pasturage on these lands were named as 'Lord Lyttelton, Rev. Thomas Taylor, John Bate Cardale, Thomas Lea and Dorothy Hollier and several other persons who were owners and proprietors of estates in Warren, Brake Lands and Commonable Woods.'

The procedure of enclosure was to allot specific plots of land to the persons concerned 'in proportion to their respective rights'. The Act of Enclosure also ended the rights of the leases by making a reasonable compensation to the people concerned.

The Commission set up to carry out the Enclosure was empowered to sell such land as was necessary to defray the costs of implementing the Act. It was required by law to offer the land for sale to the landowners adjoining, notwithstanding land required for roads, and to give receipts and the freehold of the land. Should the adjoining landowners not wish to buy, then the land could be offered for sale to others.

The Commission met on two occasions, both in the Lyttelton Arms, in July 1830 and in September 1831. The lands had to be surveyed, measured and mapped and the lines of the public roads agreed. The landowners of the newly enclosed land were given six months in which to erect proper Waggon and Bridle Gates, to make ditches and drains sufficient to carry off the water and to build bridges and culverts as necessary. Quickset hedges were to be established within five months.

The procedure of Parliamentary Enclosure was repeated in a similar manner for Harberrow and Blakedown Commons in 1832, an Award being made in 1834.

The Common lands enclosed by Act of Parliament in the nineteenth century can be picked out fairly easily on the Tithe map in the west of the Parish. The field boundaries, roads and footpaths are straight and the fields rectangular. The boundaries were obviously properly surveyed and measured. These lands did not for the most part contain any settlements, as they had previously been common lands. The soil is poor, sandy and of low agricultural value.

The field patterns of the rest of the Parish are very different from those of the Parliamentary Enclosures. The lands around the main village, now Top Hagley, were used for the cultivation of crops. The fields were probably once part of the old Medieval Three Fields which were divided up into many strips or 'furlongs'. There is very little evidence on the Tithe map to help to

identify the original location of the large Medieval fields. However, there is one plot of land on the north side of Middlefield Lane (numbered 220 on the Tithe map) which is very reminiscent of a medieval strip or furlong. It has the characteristic 'reversed S' shape and it stretches right down to the stream at the bottom of the valley. This can be seen well from the footpath which runs alongside the stream. Nevertheless, it is unwise to speculate about the past without investigation of the appropriate historical documents.

Hagley Hall and its Park have had an overwhelming influence on the development and plan of the village. The Park and the woodlands occupy virtually all the land in the centre of the Parish, stretching up to Hagley Wood Lane on the South side of the Turnpike road (Hagley Road) and beyond Wassell Grove Lane on the North side. The landscaping and tree planting carried out by the Lyttelton family over the years has added enormously to the aesthetic value of the landscape within Hagley.

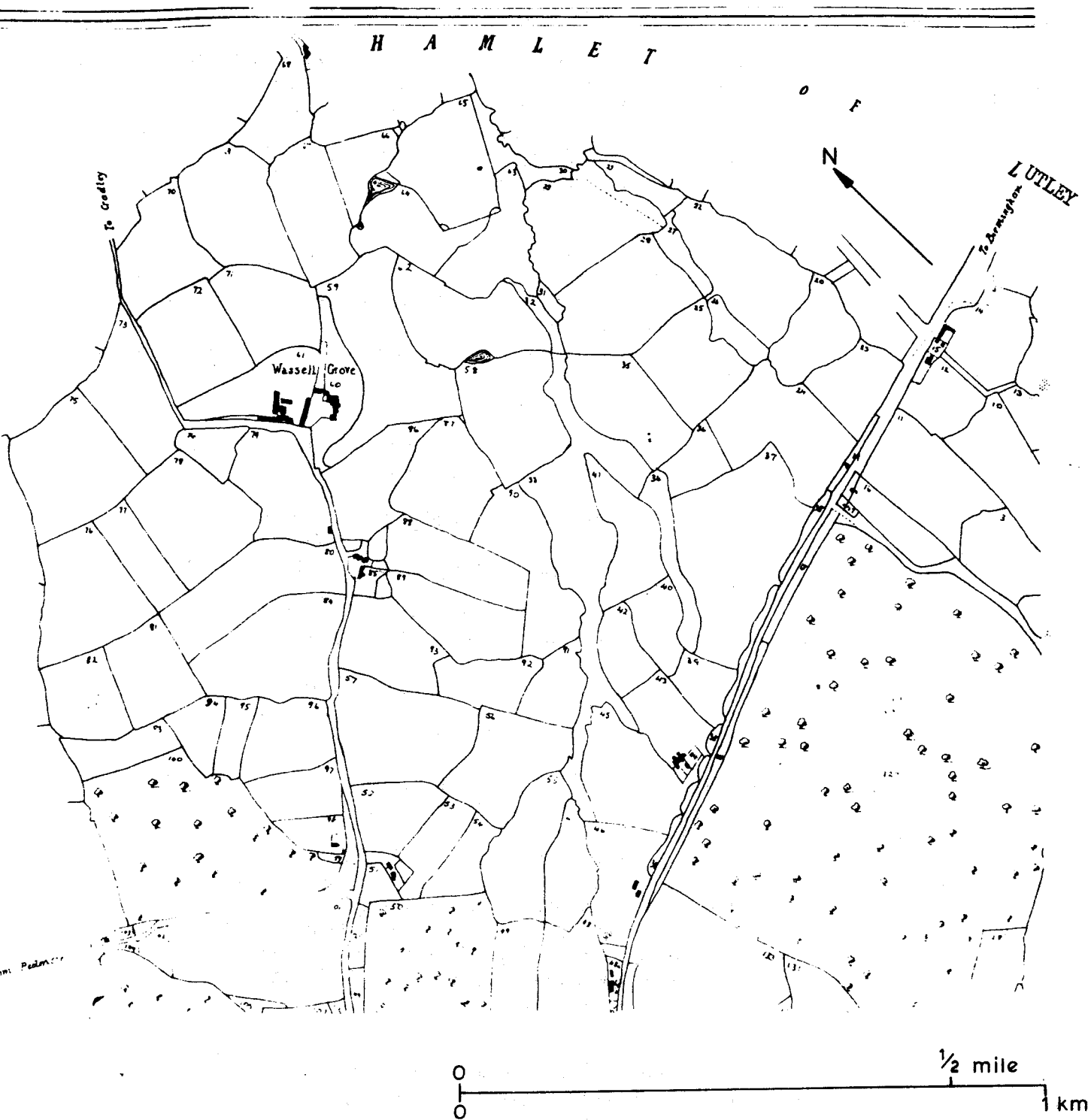
East of Hagley Park, at the top of Hagley Hill, on the plateau, the soil is not particularly fertile and is badly drained. The irregular field pattern suggests that this land was probably enclosed on a piecemeal basis over a long period of time. Clearings would have been made in the natural woodland and the cultivated land gradually extended over the centuries. It is likely that the settlements around what is now Wassell Grove were squatter settlements in Wassell forest dating from the medieval period.

The Tithe schedule records all the fields with their owners, the acreage and the land use. In the whole of the parish there were 2366 acres 2 roods and 28 perches. Of this land the majority was used for crop growing: 1289 acres 0 roods and 6 perches. Woodland occupied 220 acres 3 roods and 12 perches and Meadow or Pasture a further 733 acres 0 roods 6 perches. (There were 40 perches to one rood and 4 roods to one acre). The remaining land covered with buildings and gardens, land covered with water furze for winter cattle fodder, and other modes of cultivation, accounted for some 123 acres 1 rood and 31 perches. One field on the boundary of Lutley Parish is recorded as growing hops.

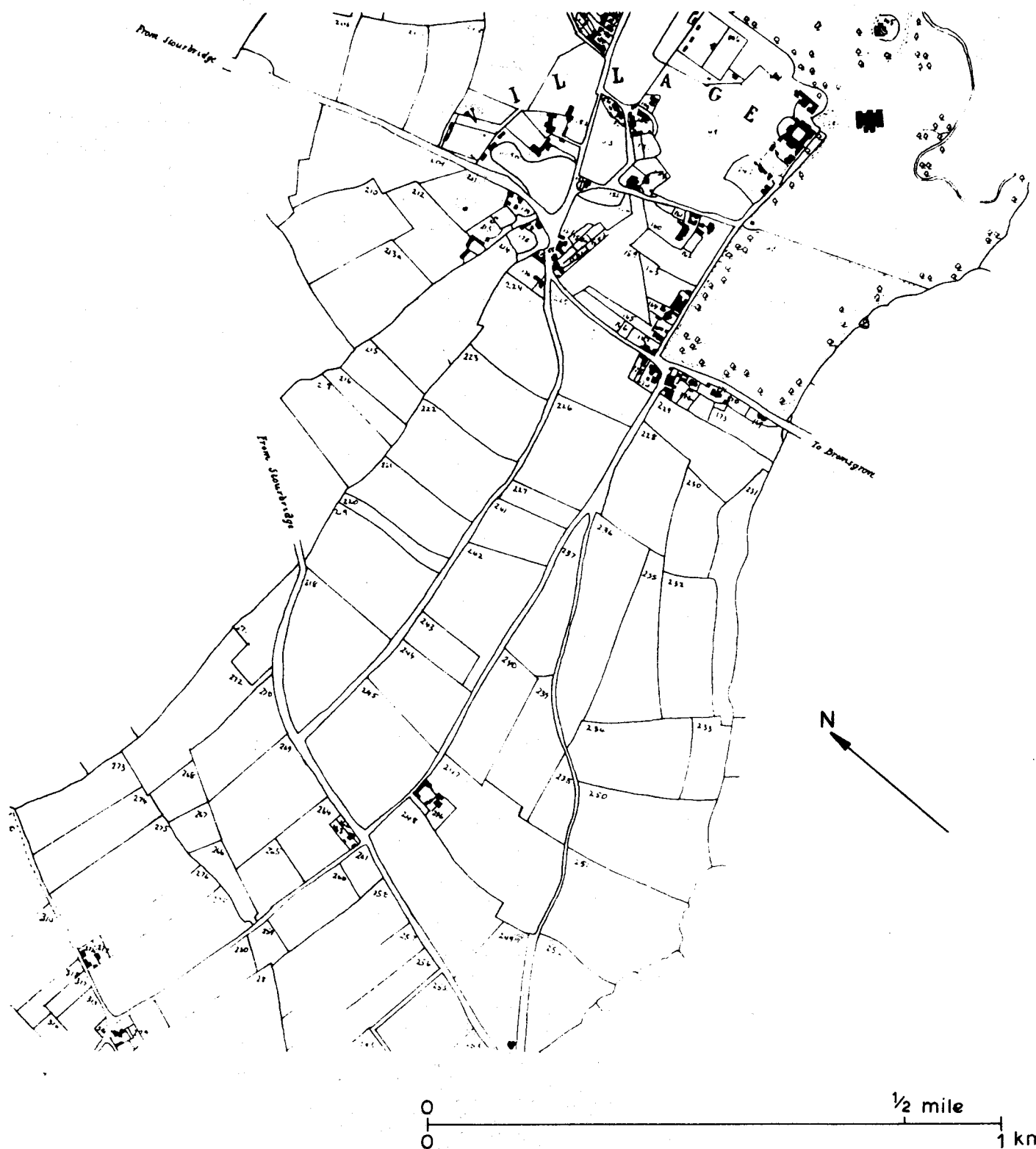
The traditional payment of the tithe had by this time been commuted to a cash payment. The payments recorded were, in lieu of tithes, 7s.0 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per bushel of wheat; 3s.11 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per bushel of barley and 2.9d. per bushel of oats.

Arable land predominated in the West of the Parish, especially in the areas of the Parliamentary Enclosure. The central part of the Parish was dominated by Hagley Park and this is recorded on the Tithe map as meadow land. Most of the woodland was in the East, of which Hagley Wood was the largest. About 85% of all the woodland was owned by Lord Lyttelton. Most of the lands of the Parish were owned by a small number of landowners, the largest holdings being those of Lord Lyttelton, some 915 acres, about 39% of the total cultivable land. Other landowners, notably John Richards, William Aylesbury Roberts, Wade Brown, Sir Edward Dolman Scott and Henry Hollier had large holdings grouped together which were usually worked by tenant farmers. In all there were some 65 landowners and 181 tenants.

Some of the field names give a clue to the type of land found there: Boggy Meadow, The Bog, Hay Meadow, Harberrow Common, Dingle and Near Cow Pasture. Others are detectable in today's names: Haybridge, Oldfield Hollies, Hall Meadow, The Birches, Sweetpool and Milestone Piece.



Section of Tithe Map showing irregular fields in the Wassell area



Section of Tithe Map showing reversed 'S' pattern, Field No. 220

Part of an area which may have been in cultivation continuously since medieval times

## HAGLEY IN 1851

Although there are no materials relating to the 1851 census in the Parish Chest, an examination of the Enumerators' Returns in 1851 was regarded as a useful comparative exercise. The scope of the information required by the Registrar General had widened by this date to include not only names and ages but also addresses, occupations and places of birth.

By 1851 the parish had changed quite considerably. Not only had the population risen strongly (by over a quarter since 1841), but the occupational structure of the village had also changed. Agriculture remained a flourishing sector of the village economy employing only slightly fewer than domestic service, the census figure for which included women. A noticeable difference was the decline, proportionately, since the early part of the century in the number who were engaged in manufacture or trade in Hagley itself.

At the same time it is clear that Hagley had become a desirable place to live in, or to retire to, and a large number of the prosperous had brought themselves and their households to the village. As Slater's Directory of 1850 put it, Hagley 'is charmingly situated on the edge of Hagley Park' and 'contains some genteel dwelling houses, while several highly respectable families reside in the vicinity'. The new prosperous inhabitants were engaged elsewhere in manufacturing industry, often 'masters' from the iron trade. The retired included an Excise officer, a farm steward, the widow of a 'fancy toy' merchant, and John Addenbrooke, the noted Stourbridge iron master. Most notable is the existence of no fewer than 17 women of independent means, classified as fundholders or annuitants. Not a single one was born in the parish, although the influence of the Black Country is strong in their places of birth. Almost without exception these new arrivals had servants. At Hagley House, for example, William Robins, a banker, had eight.

Slater's

Directory.

STOURBRIDGE, &c.

Worcestershire.

HAGLEY is a parish, in the same division and hundred as Old Swinford; the village, charmingly situated on the edge of Hagley Park, the seat of Lord Lyttleton (before noticed with Stourbridge), is 2 miles s. from Stourbridge, and contains some genteel dwelling houses, while several highly respectable families reside in the vicinity. The church of Saint John the Baptist, is beautifully situated in the park. The chancel was rebuilt of freestone by the first Lord Lyttleton; he also inserted an east window of rich stained glass: within these few years the church has received an addition of about two hundred sittings. Among the monuments to different members of the Lyttleton family, is a beautiful and chaste one to the memory of the wife of the first lord, before mentioned—he was a celebrated historian, an elegant poet, and miscellaneous writer. The living of Hagley is a rectory, in the patronage of the present Lord Lyttleton. Population of the parish, in 1831, 691; in 1841, 744.

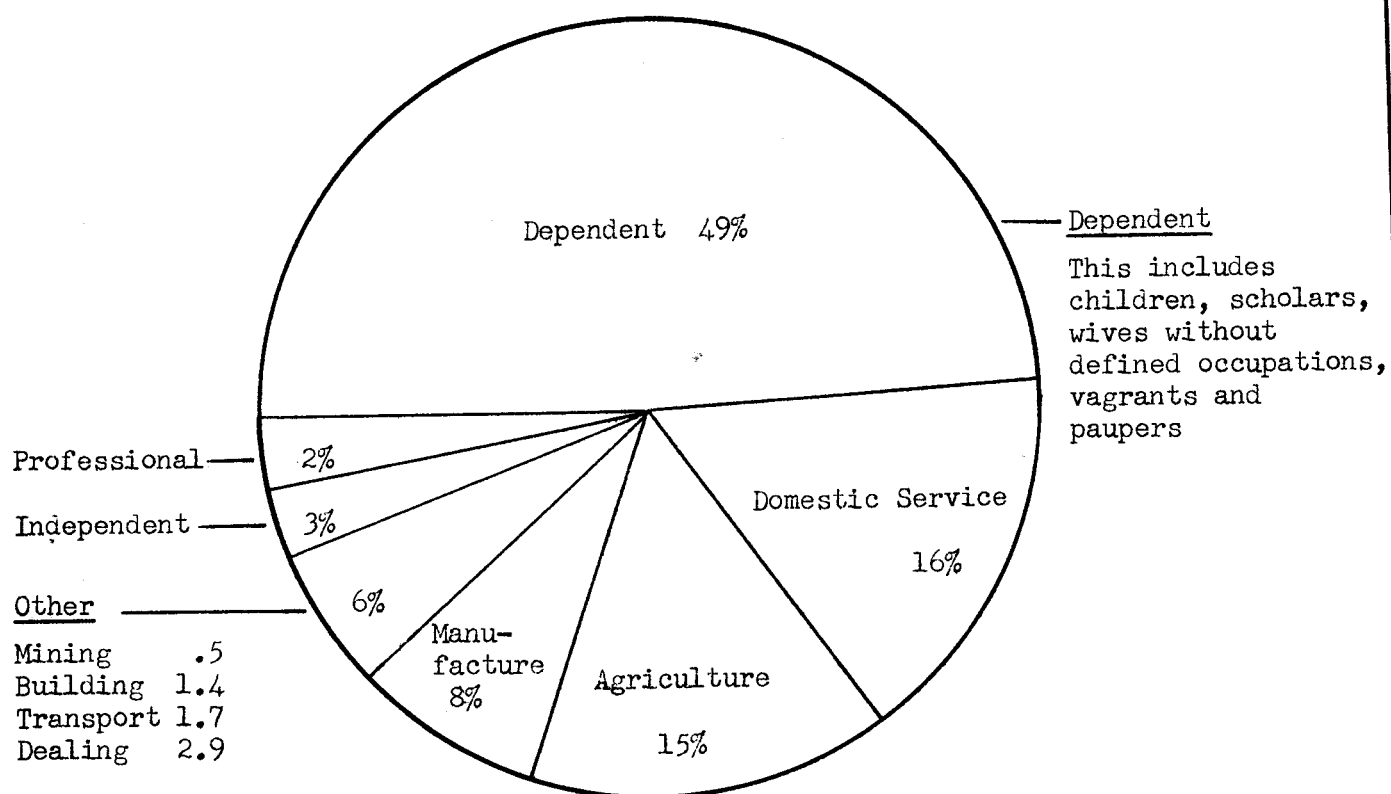
The entry for Hagley in Slater's Directory of 1850

The largest household by far was that of Lord Lyttelton. His own family consisted of his brother William, who was Rector of Hagley, four sons and three daughters. Lady Lyttelton is not referred to in the Returns and was presumably absent on the night of the census. Staying with Lord Lyttelton was his mother-in-law, Lady Glynne, her companion and two servants. She was, of course, the mother-in-law of William Gladstone who also stayed frequently at Hagley Hall. Apart from the children's governess, the domestic servants resident in the Hall numbered twentyone. Listed, presumably in rank order, were the butler, groom, housekeeper, nurse, cook, nursemaid, kitchenmaid, 3 housemaids, nursery maid, stillroom maid, dairy maid, 3 laundry maids, scullery maid, footman, servant of all work, stable boy and washerwoman. Lord Lyttelton employed in addition out-servants, but these lived in places like the Park Lodge.

Agriculture provided an occupation for 139 persons, 15% of the whole population. The number of farmers was 22, all but four of these on farms larger than 30 acres or employing agricultural labourers. Those engaged in manufacturing numbered 73, mostly in the metal industry. There was a thriving spade-making industry in the Stakenbridge part of the parish, and at Blakedown a number of scythe-making workers were recorded. Nailing, chainmaking and mining were represented in the Wassell area, which is close to the coal measures that mark the southern fringe of the Black Country.

Those involved in what might be called the service sector of Hagley's economy were few. There were 3 inn-keepers and 3 more defined as beer-house keepers. The number of shops was small, only one baker, 2 butchers, 2 grocers and a shoemaker. Two master tailors also lived in Hagley but in a part which indicates they did not carry on their trade within the parish. There were also no fewer than 9 school teachers, but only one of these, William Stephens, of the National School, can be said with any certainty to have worked in Hagley.

Figure 13

OCCUPATIONS IN HAGLEY 1851

1

Parish or Township of Hagley		Ecclesiastical District of		City or Borough of		Dean of		Village of Hagley	
No. of Householder's Name	Name of Street, Place, or Road, and Name or No. of House	Name and Surname of each Person who abode in the house, on the Night of the 30th March, 1851	Relation to Head of Family	Condition	Age of		Rank, Profession, or Occupation	Where Born	W. B. L.
					Males	Females			
1	School House	William Stephens	Head	<del>Man</del>	39	1	Nat Schoolmaster	Devon. Appleton	
		Ann do	Wife	<del>Man</del>	38	1		Berks. Shaw	
		Charles W. do	Son		6	1	Scholar at School	Middx. Hackney	
		Mary Ann do	Daughter		5	1		Worcestersh. Hagley	
		Henry Crofts	Nephew		14	1	Scholar, Boarder	Middx. Mary Lamb	
		William Hopkins	App		16	1	Pupil Teacher	Worcestersh. Hagley	
One house uninhabited									
2		James Read	Head	<del>Man</del>	35	1	Garden Labourer	do. Talsworthen	
		Mary do	Mother	<del>Man</del>	29	1	Housekeeper	do. Ballbroughton	
		Henry Mellicham	Son	<del>Man</del>	10	1	Groom, out door work	do. Malvern	
3		William Hyde	Head	<del>Man</del>	36	1	Tailor, Master	do. Hagley	
		Mary do	Wife	<del>Man</del>	30	1		do. Elmley Lovett	
		Harriett do	Daughter		2	1	Scholar at School	Worcestersh. Birmingham	
		Anne Newman	Son		12	1	Scholar at School	Middx. London	
4		William Whitthorn	Head	<del>Man</del>	34	1	Maltster / must employ 1 man	Worcestersh. Northfield	
		Eliza do	Wife	<del>Man</del>	23	1		do. Kings Norton	
		Sarah A. do	Daughter		8	1	Scholar at School	do. Northfield	
		James Hall	Serv	<del>Man</del>	26	1	Maltsters Labor	do. do	
Total of Persons...					9	0			
Total of Houses		1401B							



Finally, the dependent part of the population should be considered. Many wives were recorded without occupations, but it is evident from the husband's occupation that they assisted their husbands. Of children between 5 and 13 two-thirds were classified as scholars: 114 out of 173. Lord Lyttelton's children were scholars 'at home', as were a few others, but there is no way of telling if the attendance of the other 105 was regular or occasional. Nine of this age group were already at work, 5 as servants and one as a coalminer! There were 2 vagrants recorded and 7 paupers. While it must be remembered that the Workhouse at Bromsgrove was responsible for many of the poor, the impressive figures for attendance at school and the relatively small number of paupers seem to indicate a community considerably more prosperous than that of the early part of the century.

The Enumerators' Returns also make possible an investigation into the mobility and migration patterns of Hagley's population. Some 34% of the total inhabitants were indigenous to the parish confines, whilst a further 17% originated from towns situated in the modern Metropolitan County of the West Midlands - namely, Birmingham, Cradley, Dudley, Halesowen, Frankley, Romsley, Warley, Oldswinford, Pedmore, Stourbridge and Lye. The last four mentioned here predictably accounted for 11 of this 17% - a confirmation of their continued immediacy to the Hagley area. Indeed, given the close connections that persist between the parish and this decaying industrial heartland, the overall trend is an expected one.

However, this view of limited long distance demographic movement is confirmed if the survey is extended to include the area of Worcestershire at an approximate ten mile radius, striking west, south and east from Hagley. This area, which reaches its farthest extent at Upper Arley, Astley, Droitwich, Tardebigge, and Alvechurch, comprised twentythree separate parishes in 1851, and 190 people - over 20% of the total - originated here.

Figure 14

Origins of Hagley Inhabitants 1851

<u>Area</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Hagley	319	34
Worcestershire (10 mile radius)	190	20.3
Worcestershire (Rest of County)	47	5
West Midlands (Rest of Metropolitan area)	162	17.3
Other English Counties	205	22
Scotland and Wales	10	1
Not known	2	0.2
	<u>935</u>	<u>100</u>

The most frequent sources of population in the 10-mile radius within Worcestershire are again the most predictable, with Clent, Churchill, Belbroughton, Bromsgrove, Chaddesley Corbett, and Kidderminster accounting for 149 of the 190. Only 217 of those recorded in 1851 (23%) were born outside the borders of Worcestershire or the West Midlands. Of this number, five counties that might be considered as neighbours, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Shropshire and Warwickshire, account for 140 people - namely 15% of the total survey. In other words, of the 935 inhabitants, only 75 hailed from areas of the British Isles other than those already named - a mere 8%.

Perhaps one might conclude that this figure represents a reasonable degree of population movement for the mid-nineteenth century. However, before one pursues this argument, two important variables must be taken into account. First, those born in London or Middlesex alone represent almost a quarter (17) of the 75. Secondly, some allowance has to be made for any possible distortion of the statistics caused by the Lyttelton family, with particular reference to the ten family members and thirty servants residing at Hagley Hall. For example, of the seventeen born in London and Middlesex, eight resided in the Lyttelton household. Five were Lyttelton children: Muriel, Lucy, Albert, George and Mary. The other three were servants: John Daphne, groom, and his school mistress wife, Mary; and John Bullivant, footman.

Of the eight recorded Welsh, five were also in service at Hagley Hall, and one was butler to the Bate family at The Birches. Further to this, both of the Scots listed in 1851 were in service: Frederick Nicholls, of Forfar, was Lyttelton's footman, and Eliza Robson, of Kincardineshire, was wife of a 'nobleman's gardener'. Indeed, of the 75 not born in Worcestershire, the West Midlands, or the five neighbouring counties, more than a third were employed in service.