

East Meon History Group
“Farming the Valley” Research Project



**MALE RURAL MIGRATION FROM
EAST MEON
IN THE MID-19TH CENTURY**

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1. Introduction

In the 19th Century Britain saw one of its greatest social and economic changes – its urbanisation. In 1800 20 percent of the population of England lived in towns: by 1925 70% did¹. Wales saw massive desertion of the land to the coalfields and ironworks² The Industrial Revolution both produced the need for and the ability to move people from the Highland Clearances, and Ireland mass migration to the Colonies following its devastating famines. Beginning at the turn of the century the Industrial Revolution both provided the need and facilitated the ability of amassing ‘labour’ into major rapidly growing industrial cities: the same advances in technology (e.g. steam powered machinery) and use of ‘capital’ saw the need for agricultural labour and small scale trades shrink and the demise of cottage industries. Enclosures forced people off the land, poverty was rife, and social unrest was manifest and targeted at the privileged in response to their exploitation of position and power, and growing poverty and dispossession³. East Meon was surrounded by outbreaks of the Swing Riots at Droxford, Selborne, and Headley whilst its major land magnate, John Bonham-Carter presided over the subsequent arrests and committals for trial⁴. These were some of the reasons why poorer people were ‘pushed’ from their traditional occupations and locations in villages in the South of England. It is widely accepted⁵ that new opportunities especially in London, opportunities of economic improvement, greater freedoms, and better education “pulled” people too, facilitated by the new ease of travel the railways began to provide. These ‘pushes’ and ‘pulls’ brought about England’s “Great Rural Exodus” and between 1851 and 1861 East Meon saw its greatest decline in population in the whole Victorian Era.

2. This study and its sources

This study seeks to investigate how East Meon was affected. It focuses on the period from 1851 to 1861, primarily males and those who were directly involved in agriculture in 1851 (other occupations and females are addressed more briefly). Did people leave? If so, where to? ... as individuals or families? ...to do what? ... and why? These questions are explored from three perspectives: an attempt to track the life journeys of all male leavers involved in agriculture and subsequent analysis to gain an overview of the evidence, a series of case studies based on the emerging picture, and thematic studies of the most significant factors. This last question, “Why?”, is perhaps hardest of all to answer as so far no personal accounts or reflections (letters, diaries, such-like) have been discovered from East Meon’s emigrants and family anecdote from a period so long ago seems to not exist either. The

¹ BBC History, The Rural exodus

² Cardigan

³ Hobsbawm, Eric; Rudé, George (1973). *Captain Swing: A Social History of the Great English Agricultural Uprising of 1830*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc.

⁴ Hampshire Papers 11: Popular Radicalism and the Swing Riots in Central Hampshire by David Kent (1997)

⁵ Pooley & Turnbull, Migration and mobility in Britain since the 18th century

evidence sources that have been used are the England Census Books⁶ from 1841 until 1911, the National Birth, Marriage and Death Registrations from the National Archives⁷ (in the main at an Index level only), and the parish records of East Meon containing details of Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials⁸. Adjoining parish records have also been consulted where available). Baptisms and Marriages in the village lack information on those that took place in the non-conformist chapels (of which there were five by the 1860's) but as there were no burial grounds associated with them All Saints' Burial record is likely to be complete. National Registrations are indexed on the local General Registrar's Office - in East Meon's case usually Petersfield (occasionally Droxford).

The approach of the study has been to identify all those who resided in East Meon in Spring 1851 but who were no longer resident in Spring 1861 or who had not subsequently died and buried in the parish and to then seek to plot a life map of their subsequent locations, occupations, and family settings (and often demise) until at least 1900. Assemblage of the initial data set was greatly facilitated by Robert Mocatta's excellent linkage project of 1851 and 1861 Census Data transcripts with the Parish Records. Attempts have been made to trace all males who left. For linkage to Mocatta's work and other studies his 1851 reference to an individual is appended to each name (in the format M#nnn).

3. Methodology

The process is fraught with difficulties, the greatest being mis-transcription of the original handwritten census books into digital indexes accessing the data online⁹. Names are often mis-transcribed, whilst “East Meon” itself is mis-transcribed as a place of birth well in excess of 30% of the time with many such variants as “Pastmeon”, “Eastraxen”, “Eastwean”, even “Easamson”, which disrupts location but is very understandable given the sometimes near illegible handwriting of the census taker. There is also considerable latitude in how a family chooses to define place of birth. Frederick Smith (M#1189) chooses to describe his as “Bordean”, “East Meon”, and “Petersfield” in successive censuses – all of which are equally true as administrative areas are hierarchical, in this case the tithing, the parish, and the district. This example demonstrates a common principle that the further you move from home the larger the place the person is likely to cite to people who have never heard of East Meon. Even more so if the census information is proffered by the head of your household in which you are a servant far from home or the Royal Navy ship's clerk! In some cases, I have (hopefully sensibly) applied informed judgement in making these linkages. Individuals also exercise choice in their current choice of name: “Elizabeth” becomes “Eliza”, “Fanny” becomes “Frances”. Likewise spelling of surnames can be erratic...by choice or sometimes renamed by family changes such as re-marriages or illegitimacy. Most migrants have been traced, some have not because of the above issues, because of missing census books (1861

⁶ National Archives, Kew

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ EastmeonHistory.com?

⁹ In the main Ancestry.com and Mocatta's transcript have been used with frequent reference to the hand written originals)

being the least complete¹⁰), and because of service, emigration, and death overseas, or perhaps they just wanted to disappear! They are discussed more fully later.

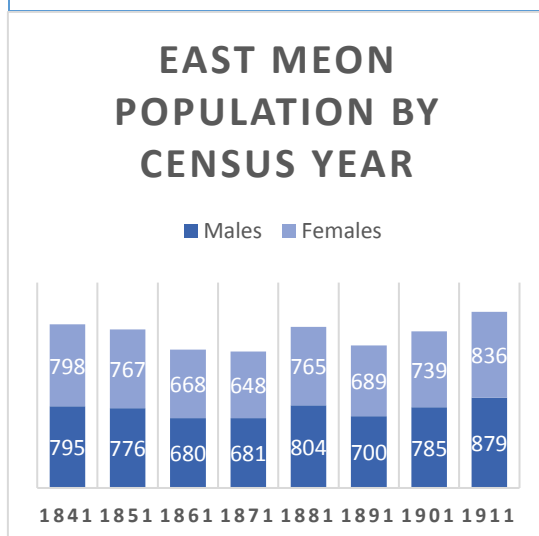
4. Did people leave?

Yes - a staggering 42% of East Meon residents there in 1851 had left for other places by 1861! This represents an outflow of 640¹¹ men, women and children from a total population of only 1543. The following table shows more detail:

	1851			1861		
	Males	Females	Both	Males%	Females%	Both%
Stayed	471	413	884	58.3%	57.7%	58.0%
Left	337	303	640	41.7%	42.3%	42.0%
Total	808	716	1524	100%	100%	100%

This represents an acceleration and the biggest drop in East Meon’s population between 1841 and 1911, total population reaching its lowest ebb in 1871 as the following table shows:

Census	Males	Females	Both
1841	795	798	1593
1851	776	767	1543
1861	680	668	1348
1871	681	648	1329
1881	804	765	1569
1891	700	689	1409
1901	785	739	1424
1911	879	836	1715



¹⁰ National Archives, Kew, Missing from the Census?

¹¹ A small proportion of these did not leave but have been found under different names

It is significant though that the net population dropped by a much smaller number of 195.

<i>East Meon Population</i>	Males	Females	Both
1851	776	767	1543
1861	680	668	1348
Net change to 1861	-96	-99	-195

This has two causes. The first is a greater number of births in East Meon than deaths between 1851 and 1861. The baptism and burial registers of the parish church (All Saints) indicates this, but non-conformist records have not been traced. The 1851 Religious Census of Hampshire reveals that as many people attended the five non-conformist chapels in East Meon as did attend the Anglican Parish Church. None had burial grounds, so it is reasonable to take the parish burial record as indicative of deaths, but many if not most of the births of non-conformists may well not appear in the parish baptisms records. As one of the chapels was a “Baptist” chapel, who believed in only baptising adults who chose to ‘become believers’, so we can be sure that the baptismal records do not represent all births even if the other denomination attendees chose to mix and match rites and attendance (for which there is some evidence¹²). A rather arbitrary figure of a 160 net gain from more births than deaths is therefore suggested.

<i>Net internal population change between 1851 to 1861</i>			
	Baptisms	460	120 added for NCs
	Deaths	300	Burials at All Saints
	Net Change	160	

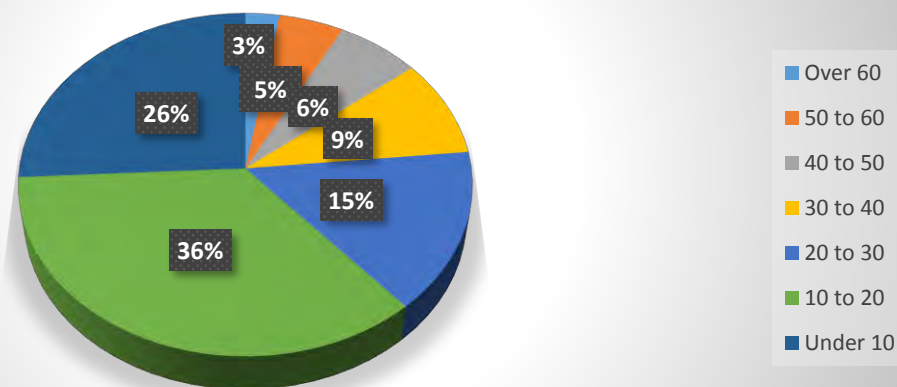
This leads us to the conclusion that whilst 640 East Meon residents left, that also a substantial number of families and individuals (a suggested figure of 285 persons seems sensible) newly arrived in or returned to the village between 1851 and 1861. Obviously rural migration in East Meon is more complex than just a ‘rural exodus’.

5. Who went?

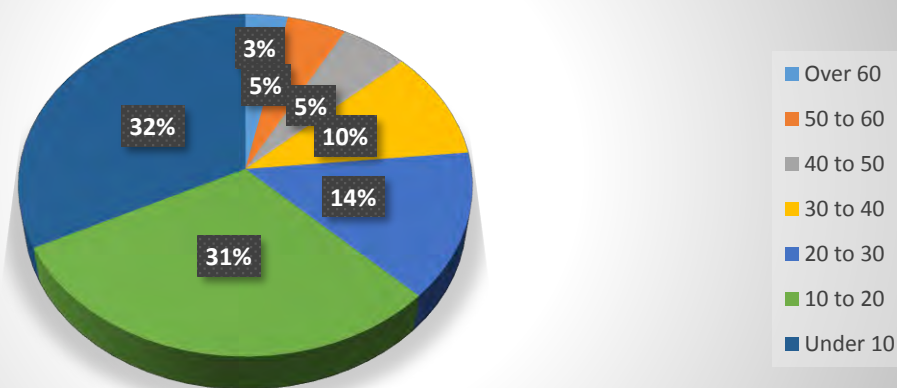
A broad range of people is represented by the 640 who left. The age groups leaving are as follows:

¹² Hopkins, 2016

Age in 1851 of Leavers before 1861- Males



Age in 1851 of Leavers before 1861 - Females



We can suggest no reason why the age group distribution of females is younger, but the majority of leavers of both sexes is clearly adolescent or in their late teens or early twenties. They sometimes moved as whole family units but more frequently as solitary individuals though sometimes with or to relatives. Limiting ourselves to the detail of the 169 males successfully traced through their life journey (Appendix 4) only 26% of individuals (44 persons) were relocated in 1861 as part of their family as existed in 1851 into the same (new) parish, whilst only 6 moved with a sibling:

<i>Leavers who moved as part of nuclear family or with sibling(s)</i>	<i>Families</i>	<i>Individuals</i>	<i>As % of All Individuals Traced</i>
Nuclear Families	21	44	26.04%
Siblings Pairs	3	6	3.55%
		50	29.59%
Total Traced		169	100.00%

Even when siblings moved to the same parish they could end up as boarders in different dwellings, George and Stephen Rutter’s (M#579 & M#580) move to Hambledon being a case in point, with George boarding at Denmead Farm whilst Stephen was lodging with the Cob family (themselves from East Meon) at Park Cottage in Hambledon itself.

The occupations of males and females who left are recorded in 1851 and can be seen overleaf. 147 were farmers or directly employed in agricultural work, 80% of the working population in 1851 who subsequently left.



Carters and under-carters at East Meon For

As can be seen the overwhelming majority of the then working population were “agricultural labourers”. The usual point of entry to agricultural employment seems to be for boys to enter as “under carters” or “farm boys” perhaps until their muscle power made them apt “agricultural labourers”. Thirteen people seemed to be “in service” as grooms, house servants, and suchlike. The trades are broadly represented but in the main are ‘individuals’ which makes any statistical analysis of their moves unreliable.

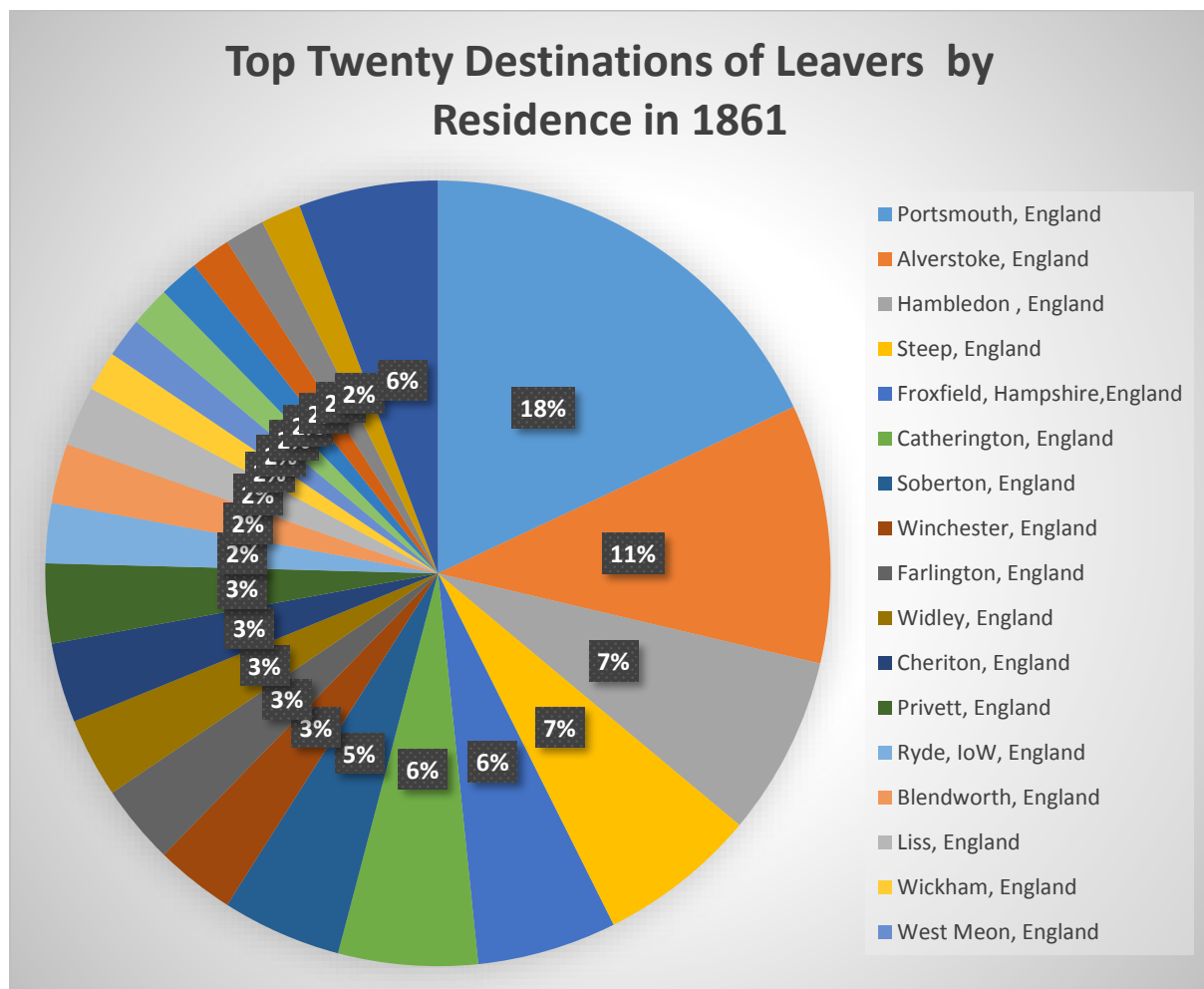


Occupation in 1851 of Male Leavers from East Meon by 1861



6. Where did they go to?

The vast majority didn't go far. Restricting ourselves to the 169 males who had previously engaged in agricultural activities or their sons and successfully traced in 1861 the top twenty destinations in 1861 were:



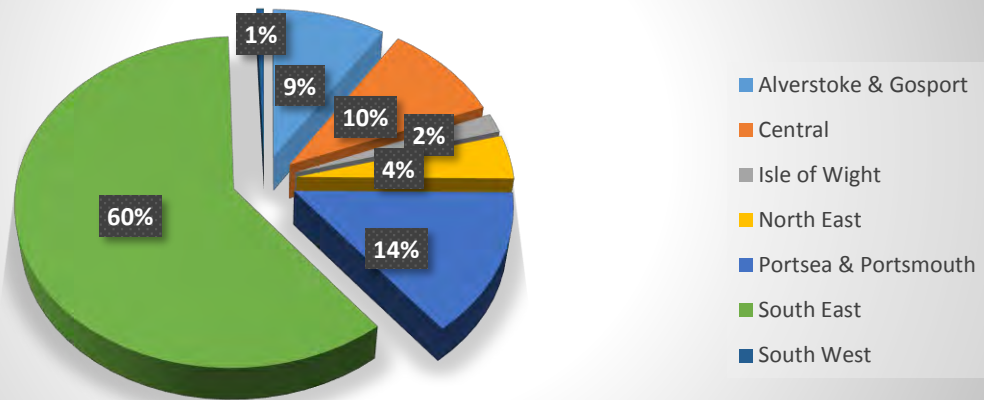
There are some surprises. The great majority of leavers stayed in South East Hampshire (98 of the 169 traced). Thirty moved to the adjoining parishes of East Meon (Hambledon, Froxfield, Steep, Privett, West Meon, Buriton) - 26% of the traced leavers, whilst 23 went to Portsmouth and 15 to Alverstoke (Gosport) representing 28% of the destinations. Only 8% moved to London, whilst none moved to Petersfield. Very few moved down the Meon Valley, the movements being far more prolific to Hambledon, Catherington¹³, Blendworth, Farlington, Bedhampton, and the Widley areas, due south and south-east of East Meon. This is presented below in charts and distribution maps.

¹³ Clanfield and Horndean are subsumed into Catherington

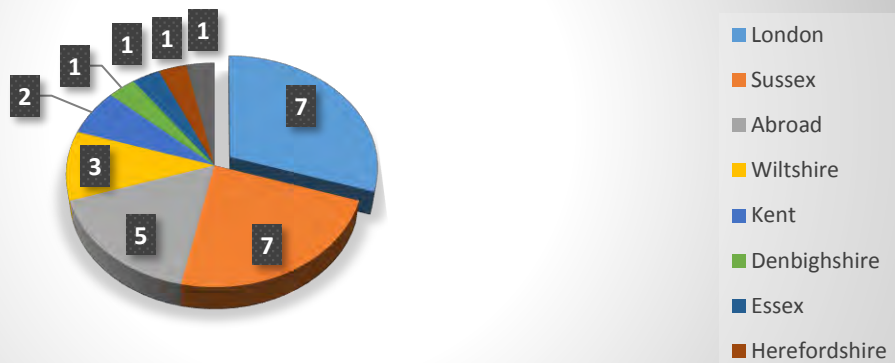
Males - Leavers moving In or Out of Hampshire by 1861



Males - Leavers moving within Hampshire by 1861

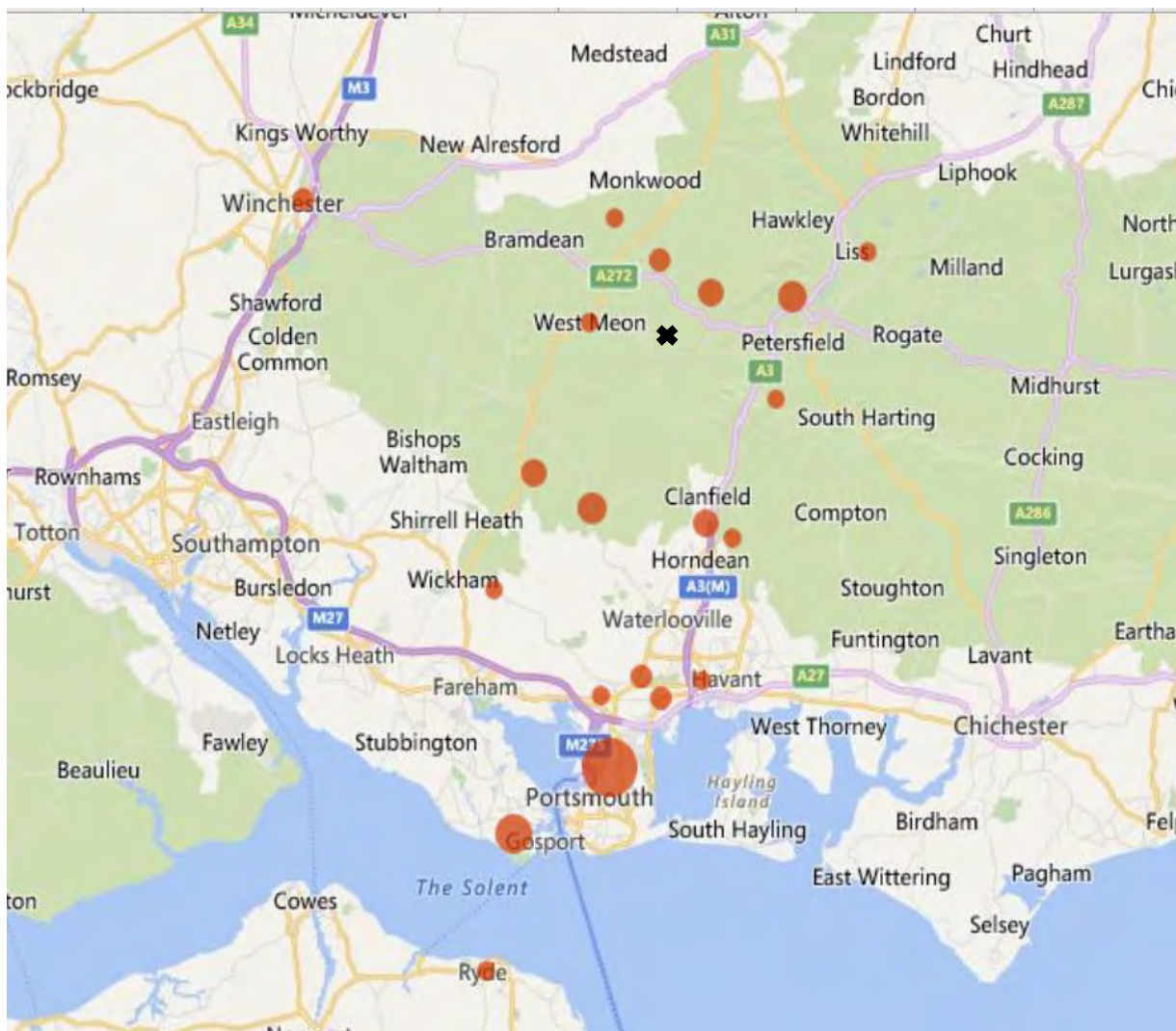


Males - Distribution of Out of Hampshire Movements by 1861 (number of persons)



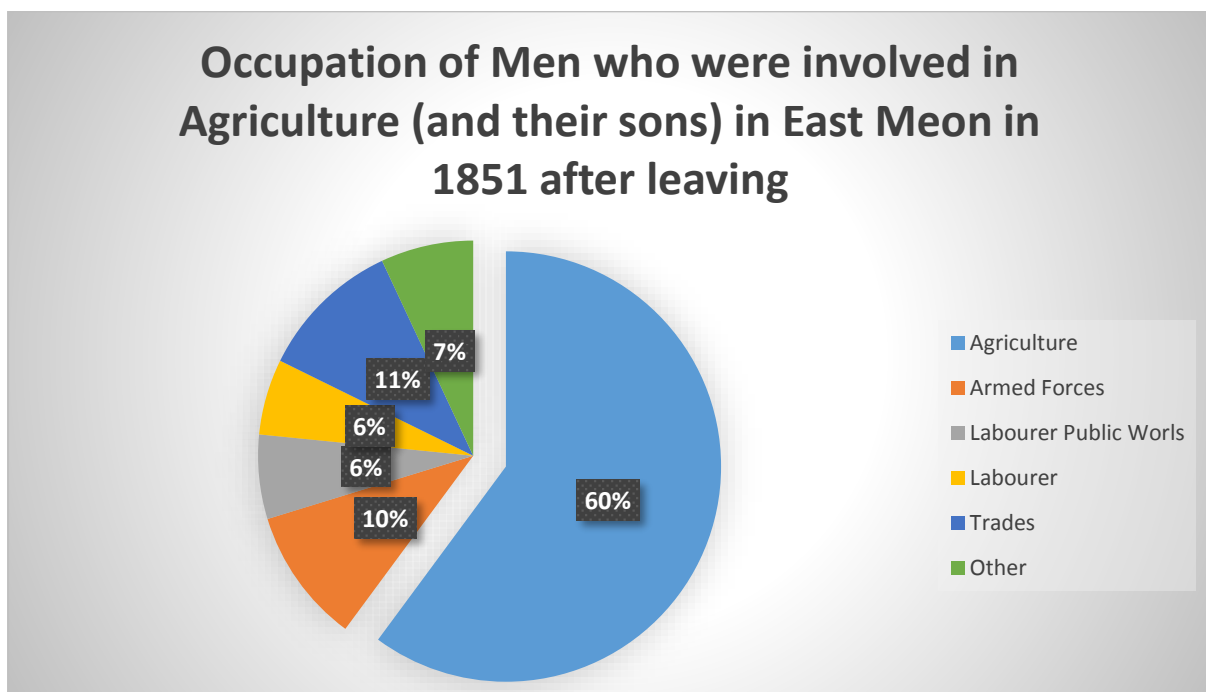


Distribution of Leavers Map (the larger the disc the greater of number of leavers there resident in 1861). X marks East Meon

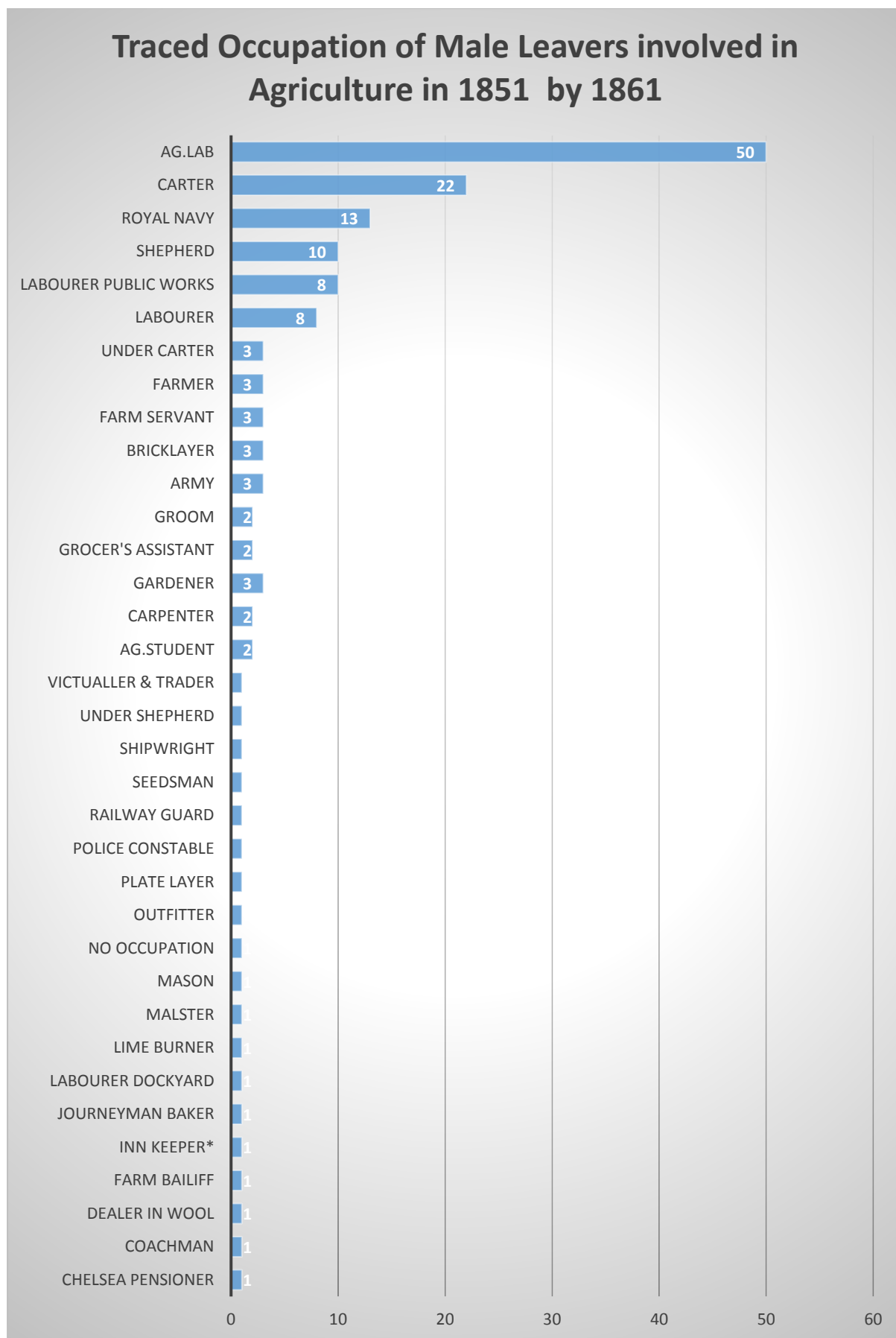


7. To Do What?

Given the predominance of the male agricultural leavers migrating to similar and nearby agricultural communities it will now be no surprise that the exodus from rural life to urban centres and factory work is not the likely pattern for East Meon male leavers. In fact, the substantial majority did what they did in East Meon (or what their father did) when traced to their 1861 locations. Many could not be traced in 1861 but could in 1871 and the trend including these holds equally true. Sixty percent of male leavers moved to work in agriculture usually as labourers or carters or shepherds.




Even those who moved to urban centres often took their inherited skill set with them, “agricultural labourers” becoming “labourers”, “farm carters” becoming “carters” and a few becoming grooms, or even in one case a coachman. Even then the title “labourer” is ambiguous leaving us to surmise by context of location. No one is recorded as a factory worker, and the only possible equivalent we can identify is Her Majesty Dockyard at Portsmouth (Britain’s prototype production line). Even here we can only trace one labourer and one shipwright. There is some diversification into trades. However most significant draw away from agriculture are into the Armed Services, especially the Navy and to “Employment on Public Works” viz. building fortifications at Alverstoke and Hilsea/Widley – widely known as the “Palmerstone Follies”. Sections of this report examines them more closely later.



8. London

East Meon seems unusual given the national pattern as to how few males left for London, 9 between 1851 and 1861 successfully traced. Analysis of the data reveals their occupations as follows:

<i>Male Leavers moving to London</i>					
#M Ref	Forename	Surname	DoB	1861 Occupation	1861 Residence
66	Robert	Kinshot	1829	Gardener	Lewisham,
201	Charles	Culverwell	1841	Gunner R.A.	Woolwich
1186	Henry	Smith	1846	Seedsman	Fulham
1281	Henry	Eade	1833	Carter	Shoreditch
1288	Thomas	Budd	1796	Gardener	Isleworth
1292	William	Budd	1842	Gardener	Isleworth
1402	James	Garrett	1836	Railway Guard	Lambeth

We can get some feel for these individual leaving stories. Robert Kinshot lived in Church Road, East Meon in 1851. Son of “pauper” John and Mary Kinshot, unmarried, living at home. He married Olivia Silverston at Greenwich in Early 1860, she a widow from Writtle Essex, with a six year-old daughter. By 1861 they had their own son and lived in a row of cottages at Eltham – he a gardener, she a laundress. They seem not to be attached to “a big house” but more likely served the number of new “villas” adjoining them and lived in by heads of households who are “solicitor”, “fund-holder”, “railway agent”, “provision merchant”, “store-keeper War Department”, etc. – a new suburban stratum. They had two “boarders” to no doubt eel  funds.

Charles Culverwell, born in Bishop’s Waltham was an “incomer” to East Meon before 1851, living with his parents in Alley Street (now Chapel Street) East Meon, his father being an agricultural labourer. His exact whereabouts in 1861 are uncertain but most of his life was associated with the Woolwich Arsenal where he was both a Royal Artillery Gunner, and later a Drill Master before becoming an Inn waiter in old age.

Henry Smith was the son of the Head Gardener at Bordean House, living there in 1851. By 1861 he was a seedsman in Fulham, 16, single and living in lodgings. By 1891 he had moved to Chester as a Commercial Traveller in seeds.

Henry Eade, born in Prior’s Dean was already in lodgings at Tigwell Farm by 1851 working as a farm carter, then removed to Shorditch by 1861 now married to an Irish girl. Ten years later he is still a carter now living in Shadwell.

Thomas and William Budd offer challenges in being sure they are the correct people. There are three William Budds born in East Meon in the same year and the father of our leaver was born in Newton Valence but has a recorded place of birth in 1861 as Yelverton,

Hampshire which seems not to exist. However, Thomas Budd born Newton Valence is in Isleworth as a gardener in 1871 together with his wife of 1851, Harriett. Assuming they are the father and son, Thomas was head gardener at Bereleigh in 1851 but moved to Isleworth by 1861 where he was a gardener lodging in a beer house. His son, also a gardener was lodging a few doors down.

James Garrett moved from Langrish where his father and four brothers were all agricultural labourers to Agnes Street, Lambeth – a street of high adult occupation within houses, 8 plus two children in his, where he was a boarder. Many in the street are connected to the railways: he was a railway guard. By 1871 he had moved to Southampton as a guard, by 1881 to Fareham Station as a railway inspector and retired there by 1891.

9. Railways

There is considerable academic argument on the railway's impact on migration. Some doubt that it played any role other than in allowing migration over a greater distance¹⁴ Others argue that it was a major cause of rural depopulation¹⁵. E. L. Jones claimed that the fall in rural population was first evident in parishes contiguous to the railway in the Midlands, as supported in this study¹⁶. Roger Woods in his recent MA dissertation¹⁷ provides convincing evidence that “A distinct ‘railway effect’ can be seen in the statistically significant findings ... Districts with a railway line had the greatest rate of migration to London.”¹⁸

South East Hampshire was singularly late in its development of railways having no direct link to London until 1859 as a result of a ‘railway war’ lasting from the 1840’s between the London, Brighton & South Coast Railway (LBSCR) and London & South West Railway (LSWR) with other entrepreneurial companies assisting or adding to the mayhem as the era of Railway Mania reached peaks of competition. Government and economic interests all agreed that a direct link to Portsmouth as an important centre for the Royal Navy and its support activities, and for ship construction and repair as well as being an important commercial port, was essential. Unfortunately, the two major South Coast companies competed on the basis of extending branch lines to it (or Gosport) ...the LSWR via Eastleigh and the LBSCR via Brighton/Chichester, proposals objected to by Portsmouth itself. By 1850 Portsmouth now had two routes from London: Waterloo to Gosport via Bishopstoke, (Eastleigh) and London Bridge to Portsmouth via Brighton. Both were obviously unsatisfactory from Portsmouth's point of view, and in 1853 a further proposal became a reality. The *Portsmouth Railway* (of which John Bonham-Carter, East Meon’s largest landholder at the time was a Principal Director) was authorised on 8 July 1853 to build from just north of the Godalming terminus to Havant via Witley, Haslemere and Petersfield; it

¹⁴ Redford, Labour Migration, pp. 160-163; Nair & Poyner, ‘The flight from the land?’, pp. 178/9; Pooley & Turnbull, Migration and mobility, p. 66

¹⁵ A. K. Cairncross, Home and Foreign Investment 1870–1913: Studies in Capital Accumulation (Cambridge, 1953) p. 75; Freeman, Railways, p.37

¹⁶ Jones, Agriculture, p. 21

¹⁷ Woods, Mid Nineteenth Century Migration from Norfolk to London

¹⁸ Ibid., p.21

would be 32 miles long and the capital was to be £400,000. The LSWR and LBSCR had opposed the Bill in Parliament but the logic of building it was overwhelming. It shortened the route by 20 miles.

The LSWR reluctantly, but forced by complete threats, was now in possession of a shorter and more efficient route to Portsmouth. But the line from Havant to Portcreek Junction was over the LBSCR, and from there to Portsmouth the line was joint. There was a long-standing traffic pooling agreement with the LBSCR and worse, there was a territorial exclusivity agreement.

The bitterness between the two companies culminated in the “Battle of Havant Station”. The 1 January 1859 was fixed for the start of operation of the new line. However, the LBSCR had refused to negotiate with the LSWR over any arrangement that would permit the operation, and declared that no Portsmouth Railway train would be allowed to pass. The LSWR decided to force the issue by running a goods train on 28 December 1858; it arrived at Havant at about 07:00 while it was still dark, with about 80 navvies on board. The LBSCR had removed the switch tongue of the Portsmouth Railway down line at the junction, so the goods train was crossed to the up line to by-pass it, but it was again stopped in Havant station by the removal of another rail section, now blocking all lines. The impasse continued until about 13:00, with LBSCR traffic being worked to the point of obstruction from either end and "getting the passengers across on foot".



LBSCR A1 Stroudley Locomotive of 1872

The LBSCR got further reinforcements and two more engines up during the morning, and eventually the LSWR withdrew, with no promise not to repeat the attempt at any time.

Whether physical violence took place is uncertain, but with numerous employees on each side and tempers running high it is likely that scuffles broke out.

Finally, after prolonged legal wrangling and petitioning, in August 1859 agreement was reached; a new pooling arrangement for passenger fares was agreed, as was rental for use of the joint line. Through trains over the Portsmouth Railway route resumed on 8 August 1859. The Act authorising amalgamation of the LSWR and the Portsmouth Railway had included clauses specifying a minimum passenger services: six daily in summer and four daily in winter allowing a more inexpensive access to London. It previous availability must have deterred many from migration to London which appears to be the norm for most other parts of the south and east of England (Norfolk et al) although the ‘pull’ on agricultural labour was always far less than that for semi-skilled artisans of which East Meon had few.¹⁹

Of far greater significance than the ‘pull’ of London on men to leave East Meon is Government Service either in the Armed Forces, usually via Portsmouth, or in the massive “Public Works” being constructed in Portsmouth and Gosport/Alverstoke at the time.

10. The Armed Forces

No fewer than sixteen 1851 male leavers were traced in the Armed forces in 1861, 13 in the Royal Navy (including the Royal Marines) and 3 in the Army representing 10% of those traced. There can be little doubt the figure is substantially higher than this with many of the men untraced in 1861 missing from the census as serving abroad. Their trail in life reappearing as Chelsea Pensioners or civilian jobs in Aldershot for instance indicative of this. The records for the Army are particularly poor, but tracing those in the Navy is helped by the inclusion in the 1861 Census of returns for those on Board Vessels at Sea or in Harbour in Home Waters and relatively complete “Engagement” Records²⁰. More appear as seamen with their ranks in the normal land based Census returns. The 13 individuals traced are as follows. My suspicion this list is not complete as when serving abroad ‘place of birth’ often becomes somewhere more known such as Portsmouth.

<i>Naval Details of Traced Leavers in 1861</i>						
M# Ref	Forename	Surname	DoB	1861 Occupation	1861 Residence	Notes
67	Aaron	Kinshot	1847	Ship's Steward Boy	Portsmouth	HMS St Vincent, d.1866
177	George	Merritt	1841	Ordinary Seaman RN	Rio de Janiero	HMS Leopard. D.1916
229	Alfred	Primmer	1843	Ord.1st Class RN	Portsmouth	HMS Britannia
375	Henry	Merritt	1839	Ordinary 2d Class (Ordinary Seaman)	Malta Harbour	HMS Neptune, d.1920
612	Henry	Pink	1850	Scholar (Private, Royal Marines after)	Portsea (Hong Kong 1871)	HMS Princess Charlotte
672	George	Merritt	1834	Sailor	East Meon	d.1916
673	Stephen	Merritt	1844	Seaman (RN)	Portsea	
700	George	Gregory	1838	Ord.Seaman (RN)	Maldonado, Uruguay	HMS Curacoa
920	Thomas	Lloyd	1845	Boy (RN)	Portsmouth	HMS Victory
939	Noah	Jones	1842	Ord.Seaman 2nd class	Portsmouth	HMS Britannia
940	Alfred	Jones	1847	Boy (RN)	Portsmouth	HMS Victory
1198	James	Jeffries	1829	Bosun's Mate (RN)	Yantai, China	HMS Odin
1241	William	Beckess	1839	Stoker 2nd Class (RN)	Sheerness	HMS Cumberland

¹⁹ Pooley & Turnbull, Migration and Mobility in Britain since the 18th Century, pp.112-115

²⁰ UK Naval Officer and Rating Service Records

The ships they served on need some explanation. It is also interesting to note that most of these individuals cannot be traced in later census, perhaps because their identities became rather generalised or because they ‘died on foreign shores.

Alfred Primmer (M#229) and Noah Jones (M#939) both served on HMS Britannia, Alfred enlisting for ten years on 16 July 1860, age 16, and then classed as a “Boy”²¹ but being “Ordinary Seaman First Class” by 1861. He obviously kept his links with East Meon marrying a young widow in 1865. However, she remarried in 1867, a widow again. No death certificate in England being so far identified the evidence points to his death being in



Victoria, British Columbia in March of that year, in probability on active service. Thomas Lloyd (M#920) and Alfred Jones (M#940) Noah’s brother served on HMS Victory (both as “Boys”, usually acting as servants). Both these ships were no longer in fighting service. HMS Britannia was a 120-gun first-rate ship-of-the-line laid down in 1813 and launched on 20 October 1820. She became a cadet training in Portsmouth ship in 1859. She was moved to Portland in 1862, then Dartmouth in 1863, where she served as residential barracks for cadet and was finally sold for breaking up in 1869²².

HMS Britannia

HMS Victory, much more famous as Nelson’s flagship, was both older and smaller (but still very large) being a 103 gun first-rate ship-of-the-line. Launched in 1765, she was removed from fighting service in 1812 and became a ‘harbour’ or depot ship in Portsmouth Harbour, the role in which Thomas Lloyd and Alfred Jones must have served. She may also have been the ‘base’ of the Commander-in-Chief, Portsmouth in 1861 (Vice Admiral Sir Henry Bruce).



HMS Victory

²¹ [UK, Royal Navy Registers of Seamen's Services, 1853-1928](#) Registers (Pieces 1-82, 91-244) Piece 0002: 1854 (10001-20000 A and B series)

²² Lavery, Ships of the Line, vol. 1, p. 187.

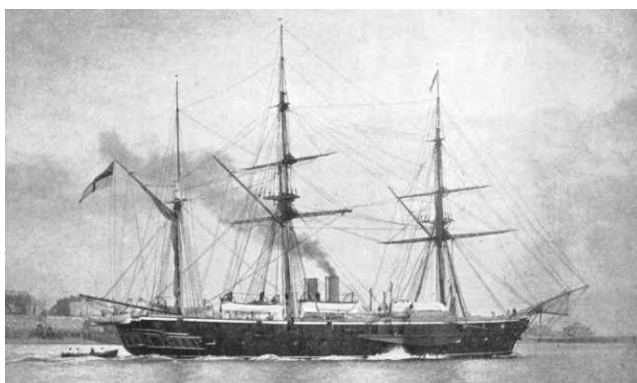


Aaron Kinshott (M#67) was a “steward’s boy” – one of the Captain’s or senior officers’ mess servants - on HMS St. Vincent, another ‘retired’ first-rate ship-of-the-line of 120 guns. She was launched in 1815 and taken out of fighting service following the Crimean War (1856) to be yet another Portsmouth ‘harbour’ ship, being subsequently commissioned as a training Ship in 1862.

HMS St Vincent.

With the exception of Henry Pink, still a ‘scholar’ in 1861, but soon to recruit as a Royal Marine before being posted as a “Private” to HMS Princess Charlotte, a ‘receiving ship’ in Hong Kong harbour in 1871, all the other East Meon ‘leavers’ are posted on Royal Navy ships on active service around the world. The picture it reveals and the rather more innovative ships they served on probably represents the change between our East Meon ‘leavers’ initial entry into the navy and subsequent experiences.

Other ‘leavers’ can be traced in foreign ports, most often in the newly innovative steam powered screw or paddle driven ships appearing, though they still had wooden hulls and primarily relied on sails for propulsion.



James Jeffries was on board HMS Odin in 1861, in harbour at Yantai, China, then aged 32. Clearly a ‘career’ sailor, being a “Bosun’s Mate”, it is probable he was participating in the Second Opium War in which the ship’s captain (Captain Lord John Hay) played a notable role. The Odin was a “Furious” Class steam powered paddle frigate.

“Furious” Class Steam Paddle Frigate

George Merritt (M#177) was likewise crew on Odin’s sister ship, HMS Leopard recoded at 1861 Census time as in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. The Leopard was a wooden-hulled paddle second-rate frigate, launched 1850 and sold 1867, indicative of the rapid rate of technical change, paddle ships soon rendered obsolete by screw driven vessels.

Henry Merritt (M#379) is found on HMS Neptune in 1861 (having joined the Service on 22 October, 1856, age 17), with rank of “Ordinary Seaman 2nd Class” suggesting he had recently been posted to a fighting ship. HMS Neptune was a 120-gun first rate ship of the line, launched on 22 September 1832 at Portsmouth. She was fitted with screw propulsion in 1859. Henry is found aboard her in 1861 in The Grand Harbour at Malta.

HMS Neptune



HMS Cumberland was a 70-gun third rate ship of the line, launched on 21 October 1842 at Chatham Dockyard. She carried a crew of 620 men. She was later converted to serve as a training ship in 1870, but shortly after the



Crimean War she was rather crudely converted (note the aft funnel) to being assisted by steam powered screw propulsion, and evidenced by William Beckes (M#1241) rank of “Stoker 2nd Class” whilst being on active service, aboard her at Sheerness in 1861. The ‘leavers’ of East Meon were undoubtedly encountering a strange blend of tradition and radically changing technology whilst serving in fighting ships.

HMS Cumberland

George Gregory (M#700) entered the Royal Navy in 1856 aged 18, following his cousin Samuel (who had already left East Meon by 1851 for Portsea, initially as an agricultural labourer). By 1861 George was an “Ordinary Seaman” on HMS Curacao, a 31-gun Tribune-class screw frigate launched in 1854 from Pembroke Dockyard. After the Crimean War she was part of the Channel Squadron between 1857 until 1859. She then was sent to the North America and West Indies Station and served between 1859 until 1862. George is found on her “vessels” census return in Maldonado, Uruguay. Undoubtedly a ‘career’ seaman he reenlisted in 1873 as a “Petty Officer First Class” for a further ten years serving on HMS Ariadne, Excellent, and Penelope, but was “shore pensioned” in 1875²³, appearing in 1901 resident in Emsworth described as a “pensioner”, probably dying in 1904.

²³ [UK, Royal Navy Registers of Seamen's Services, 1853-1928](#) Registers (Pieces 1-82, 91-244) Piece 0017: 1873 (47201-47800)

John Sims (M#1282) is the only Royal Marine we can clearly trace in 1861. In 1851 he was a “farm carter”: in 1861 he was “Gunner (Royal Marines Artillery)” on board the newly commissioned (1856) but unfortunate HMS Conqueror. Conqueror was a screw-driven wind and sail propelled ship of the line of 101 guns (but had 99 in April 1861) lying at Census time at Hamoaze, Devonport. She was shortly to be used to transport troops to Mexico in support of the French intervention there in 1861 where on “December 12, 1861, while steaming from Port Royal, Jamaica to Bermuda, under the command of Captain E.S. Sotheby, she was carried 20 miles off course by a strong current. She ran aground and became stranded on Rum Cay. Fortunately, there was no loss of life. Her officers and crew made it safely ashore and constructed canvas shelters in which they lived until they were finally saved by a rescue ship. While the captain was acquitted of any blame, it was later attributed to the navigator”²⁴.

So John Sims seems to have survived a Caribbean shipwreck.



HMS Conqueror

Two more Merritts, the brothers George and Henry, cousins of the two earlier considered, also were serving in 1861. George Merritt (M#612) was serving on HMS Havoc, a steam-powered screw driven gunboat, but on shore leave staying with his married sister in Alley St., East Meon, whilst Henry (m#617) was staying in Portsea with widowed mother and younger siblings.

So, the considerable emigration of young men from East Meon to the Armed Services is apparent, well documented for the Royal Navy, far less so for the Army which may suggest more enlisted who cannot be traced. Our limited sample suggests the pattern for their



Naval Enlistment to be joining the Service in their late teens, for an initial engagement of a period of ten years. Initial posting (often with rank of “Boy”) to one of the venerable and large training or harbour ships in Portsmouth Harbour, before service overseas in one of the new ‘hybrid’ ships of steam and sail, sailing to any quarter of the world. Certainly a transition after shaping by the disciplined traditions to an exciting if dangerous world where rapid technological change whilst risk of shipwreck and ‘death on foreign shores’ was a reality so very different from their early years as sub-carters or farm servants in East Meon. Few seemed to return after initial years of continuing contact with the village.

Mid-19th Century British Sailors²⁵

²⁴ <http://www.shipwreckexpo.com/tsbahamasrumcayshipwrecks.htm>

²⁵The Marks of a 19th Century Sailor: Maritime History Aloft

11. The Palmerston Follies

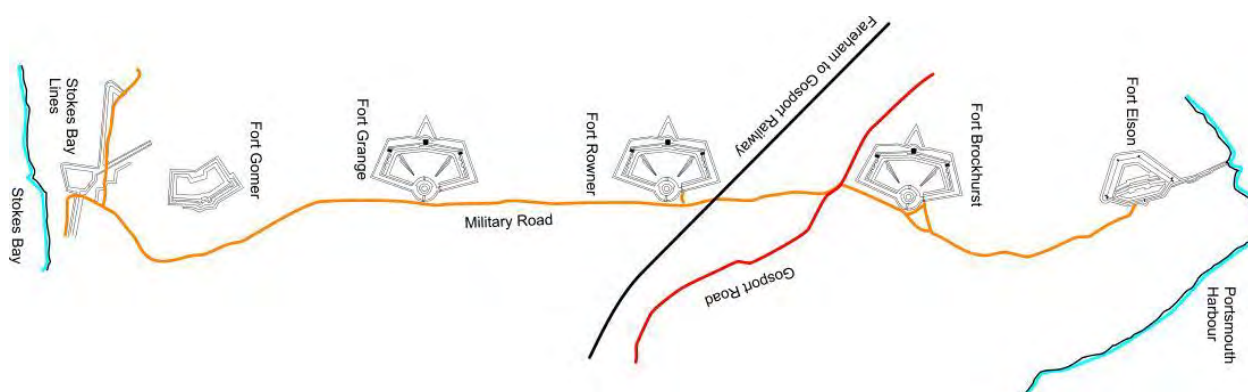
The second major focus of leaving males was to Public Works at Alverstoke and Portsmouth, being clearly denominated such in the 1861 Census returns. Indeed, many of the leavers who are merely recorded as “labourer” or “carter” may also have been so employed but not specified by the census taker. These Public Works are clearly the building of a series of massive forts (no other major works being built at that time) collectively known today as the “Palmerstone’s Follies”. Strictly speaking the name refers to the row of five forts and two redoubts to the north of Portsea Island on the Portsdown Ridge and four ‘island’ forts in the Spithead Approaches. They were known as “Palmerston's Follies”, partly because the Portsdown Hill forts had their main armament facing inland to protect Portsmouth from a land-based attack, which gave the impression that they faced the wrong way to defend from a French attack. However, there substantial (and politically controversial) cost and the fact they ‘never fired a shot in anger’ were seen equally as a folly.




Fort Brockhurst

They were built on the recommendations of the 1860 “Royal Commission on the Defence of the United Kingdom”, following concerns about the strength of the French Navy, France’s aggressive foreign policy and the experience of the Crimean War (particularly the Siege of Sebastopol) where the place of massive fortifications and the advent of much longer-range and more accurate artillery bred fears for the safety of Portsmouth’s all-important dockyard. However, such fears predated the 1860 Commission and huge fortifications were

built throughout the 1850’s. Work started on the Hilsea Lines in 1858 and was completed by 1869 at the considerable expense of £209,254²⁶, a sum equivalent to approximately £14 million in 2016²⁷. Much bigger works were embarked on in 1853 in the Gosport Advanced Lines and completed in 1863. Consisting of a series of five massive polygonal brick and earth-banked, moated forts (Forts Gomer, Grange, Rowner, Brockhurst and Elson), the three central ones being identical ‘carbon copies’ of each other, the rebuilding of Stokes Bay Batteries, and Fort Fareham inland all protecting the western edge of Portsmouth Harbour from land intrusion. It cost in excess of £650,000 (equivalent to £50 million in 2016).



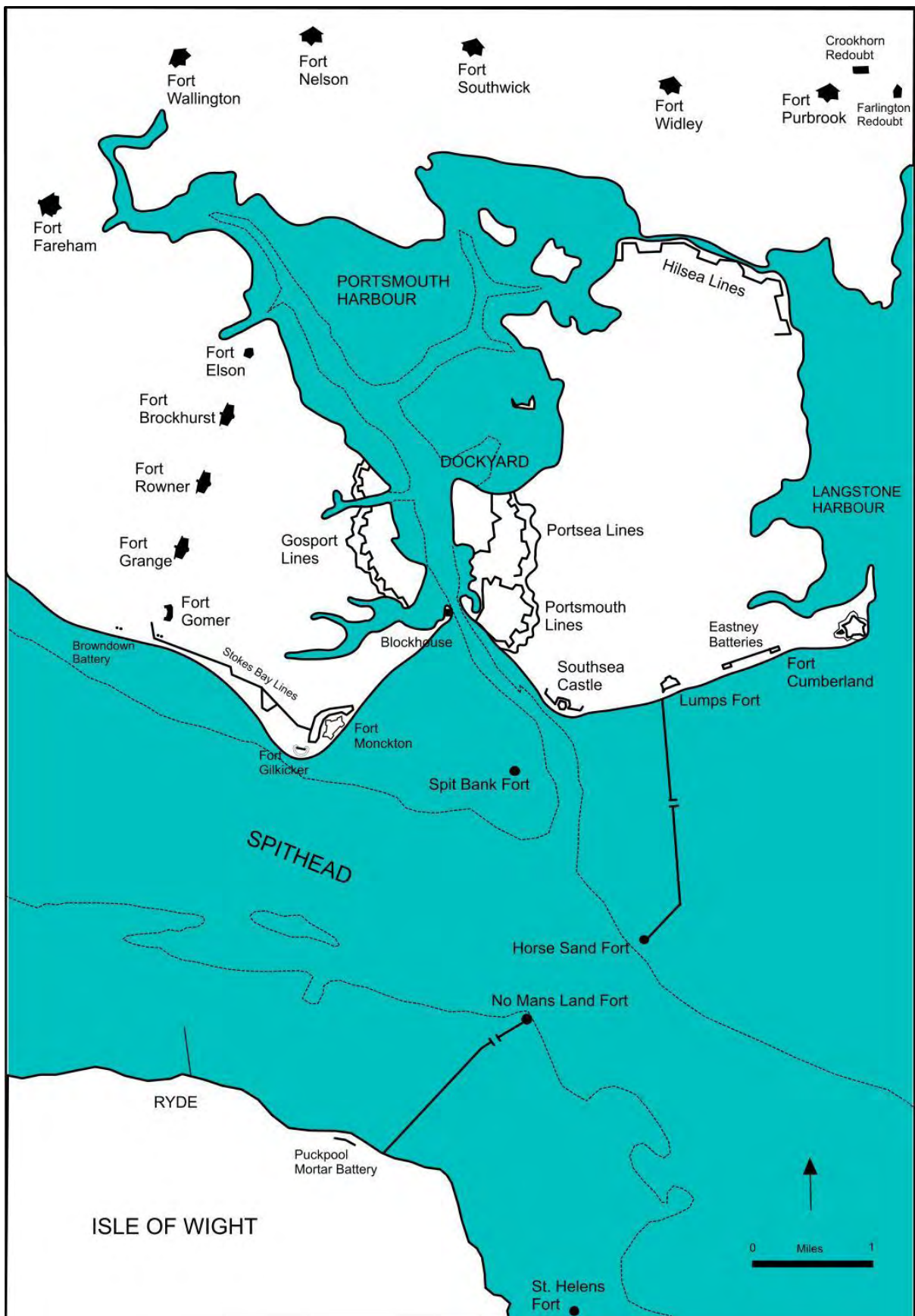
The Gosport Advanced Lines were built across the breadth of the district of Alverstoke where we find a  of East Meon ‘leavers’ congregated, employed in these “public works”. In Widley we find four probably working on completion of the Hilsea Lines or early work on the Portsdown Hill Forts.

Traced Leavers "Labouring" on Public Works in 1861

#M Ref	Forname	Surname	DoB	1861 Residence	1851 Occupation
156	John	Smith	1838	Widley	
157	George	Smith	1843	Widley	
521	William	Norgate	1838	Widley	Under carter
523	Benjamin	Norgate	1842	Widley	
671	William	Merritt	1831	Alverstoke	Ag.Lab
674	Henry	Merritt	1838	Alverstoke	Under carter
1074	Stephen	Hurst	1835	Alverstoke	Ag.Lab
1075	James	Hurst	1839	Widley	Ag.Lab

²⁶ <http://www.victorianforts.co.uk/pdf/datasheets/hilsealines.pdf>

²⁷ <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency/results.asp#mid>



In 1851 we find the brothers Stephen and James Hurst living at Stonylands in the East Meon tything of Oxenbourne both agricultural labourers, as is their father, aged 16 and 12 respectively. Close inspection of their residences in 1861 reveals some interesting insights.

Stephen is lodging (together with another three lodgers all “labouring on Public Works”) with William and Sarah Littlefield, themselves from East Meon. William and Sarah were still in East Meon in 1849²⁸ but had left by the 1851 Census. Next door, the head of the household was 40 year-old Joseph Norgate also born in East Meon and married there in 1845, but by 1851 working as an agricultural labourer in Newton Valence, and by 1861 a “labourer on Public Works”, as are two of Joseph Norgate’s younger brothers. Lodging with him was George Hurst²⁹, Stephen and James’ older brother, who had left East Meon for Catherington as an agricultural labourer before 1851. Nearly every man in the street, Russell Place in the then hamlet of Forton neighbouring the forts, was a “labourer on Public Works”. These lodging arrangements indicates a strong trend of movement to these Works in the preceding decade of 1861 and the significance of family and friendship networks.

A few streets away in Forton at Bedford Street we had a second family grouping, this time of Merritts, Henry and his younger brother Willam, both with wives and young families. Once again the residents of the street are almost all “labourers on Public Works” or “bricklayers”.

James Hurst, rather than being with his brother in Alverstoke was lodging at Cosham, Widley with four other boarders all “contract labourers” or Labourers on Government Works”. In the adjoining street 24 year old William Norgate and 22 year old John Smith together with John’s 17 year old brother George were three of five boarders all “labourers on Government Works”. Benjamin Norgate was boarding close by with 33 year old widowed George Neal from Stroud Common, who had left East Meon before 1851. The pattern of houses full of usually single boarders linked by family ties or past friendships in East Meon is repeated as at Alverstoke.

12. Did they return?

Of the approximately 250 male ‘leavers’ involved in some way with agriculture in 1851 a mere 20 returned at any time up to 1901 (8%). Remarkably, seven of these were from one family – the Merritts – who seem to represent a very special feature in East Meon migration.

Returners to East Meon by Census Year Residence and by subsequent occupation provide interesting insights:

²⁸ East Meon Parish Baptism Records

²⁹ Class: *HO107*; Piece: *396*; Book: *8*; Civil Parish: *East Meon*; County: *Hampshire*; Enumeration District: *3*; Folio: *3*; Page: *3*; Line: *20*; GSU roll: *288799*

Returners by Census Year Residence

#M Ref.	Forname	Surname	DoB	1861	1871	1881	1891
94	George	Spiers	1846		Soberton	East Meon	East Meon
177	George	Merritt	1841	Rio de Janiero	Ramsdean	Ramsdean	Ramsdean
373	William	Merritt	1831	Alverstoke			
375	Henry	Merritt	1839	Malta Harbour			
456	William	Padwick	1822	Buriton	Warbligton	East Meon	
462	George	Earwaker	1840	Chelsea	East Meon*	East Meon	
501	David	Noble	1846	Buriton	East Meon*	East Meon	Ramsdean
503	Robert	Merritt	1840	Gospport?	Leysdown, Kent	Leysdown, Kent	Portsea
506	Henry	Crockford	1816		East Meon	East Meon	East Meon
562	Stephen	Alderslade	1842	Hambledon	East Meon		East Meon
671	William	Merritt	1831	Alverstoke	East Meon		
674	Henry	Merritt	1838	Alverstoke	East Meon	East Meon	
679	Luke	Merritt	1850	Portsea	East Meon	East Meon	East Meon
849	William	Pink	1834		East Meon		
958	Albert	Etheringto	1841	Soberton	East Meon		
1028	Thomas	Ansell	1799	West Meon	East Meon	East Meon	
1051	John	Smith	1788		East Meon		
1077	Joseph	Eames	1822			East Meon	East Meon
1241	William	Beckess	1839	Sheerness		East Meon	
1336	William	Smith	1842		East Meon	Islington, London	Wewyn, Herts

Returners by Census Year Occupation

#M Ref.	Forname	Surname	DoB	1861	1871	1881	1891
94	George	Spiers	1846	Carter	Bricklayer	Bricklayer	Builder
177	George	Merritt	1841	Ordinary Seaman RN	Ag.Lab	Ag.Lab	Ag.Lab
373	William	Merritt	1831	Labourer, Public Works	Ag.Lab		
375	Henry	Merritt	1839	Ordinary 2d Class	Ag.Lab	woodman	Ag.Lab
456	William	Padwick	1822	Farmer	Farmer	Rtd.Farmer	
462	George	Earwaker	1840	Baker's Assistant?	Ag.Lab	Ag.Lab	
501	David	Noble	1846	Under Shepherd	Brewer	Carrier	Farmer?
503	Robert	Merritt	1840		Coastguardsman	Coastguardsman	Lime Agent
506	Henry	Crockford	1816		Ag.Lab	Ag.Lab	Ag.Lab
562	Stephen	Alderslade	1842	Shepherd		Farm Labourer	Hurdle Maker
671	William	Merritt	1831	Labourer Public Works	Ag.Lab.		
674	Henry	Merritt	1838	Labourer Public Works	Ag.Lab	Woodman	
679	Luke	Merritt	1850	Scholar	Ag.Lab	Cattle Dealer	Cattle Dealer
849	William	Pink	1834		Ag.Lab		
958	Albert	Etheringto	1841	Ag.Lab	Ag.Lab		
1028	Thomas	Ansell	1799	Shepherd	Ag.Lab	Shepherd (formerly)	
1051	John	Smith	1788		Shepherd		
1077	Joseph	Eames	1822		Ag.Lab	Ag.Lab	Ag.Lab (rtd)
1241	William	Beckess	1839	Stoker 2nd Class (RN)		Railway Engine Driver	
1336	William	Smith	1842		Gardener	Builder's Labourer	Ag.Lab

Three sailors returned, the cousins George (M#177) and Henry (m#375) Merritt, and William Beckess (M#1241). The former returned after their ten year naval enlistment period both as agricultural labourers, which they remained. In contrast, William Beckess adapted his new

acquired skills as a Royal Naval Stoker to become a Railway Engine Driver only returning to East Meon as a “visitor” in 1881. Three of the eight ‘leavers’ employed on Public Works in 1861 one also returned – all of the Merritts, two brothers and a cousin in 1871: William (M#373), William (M#671), and Henry (M#674), all as agricultural labourers.

Two more Merritts returned: Luke, youngest brother of the above William and Henry, who whilst returning in 1871 as an agricultural labourer becomes a “cattle dealer” and one of some substance ending his life living in “Brooklyn”, a prestigious Queen Anne house in East Meon’s High Street. Robert Merritt (M#503), untraced in 1861 (but almost certainly there-about a mariner as he describes himself in 1911 as “retired naval man”) after most of his life as a coastguard, and in 1891 in Portsea, is recorded in 1911 as living in Ramsdean (East Meon).

Whilst most other ‘returners’ came back to traditional agricultural occupations, two further men demonstrate upward social/economic mobility: George Spiers (M#94) and David Noble (M#501). David Noble rather remarkably worked a career from an initial move from East Meon to neighbouring Buriton as an “under shepherd”, returning to East Meon as a “Journeyman Brewer”, then becoming the village carrier, before at age 55 farming “on his own account” the not insubstantial Rookery Farm in Ramsdean (East Meon). George Spiers had returned before 1868. The Parish Marriage records show him then living in Bordean (East Meon) and already a bricklayer. By 1881 he had moved to Workhouse Lane and shortly before his death in 1892 he describes himself as “builder”.

13. Social Mobility

Crucial in any attempt to answer the question “Why did they leave?” is any evidence that there was scope for improvement in economic and social standing by migrating. Of course, many may have anticipated “streets lined with gold” but only found “a few coppers on the pavement”³⁰. However, we have already noted that 11% of ‘leavers’ acquired ‘trades’ and a further 7% moved to ‘other occupations’ which suggests significant revision of occupations acquired by leaving East Meon. Whether Victorian England was a period facilitating upward social mobility has been much debated.³¹ Social mobility can be examined in relation to changes of occupation over an individual’s lifetime or inter-generationally. Andrew Miles analysed the latter using fathers’ and sons’ occupations from marriage certificates and the former through autobiographies. He concluded that nineteenth century English society was stable but not stagnant. Less than half of men changed their (occupational) class and few working class people became middle class, although more middle class sons ‘dropped’ into a working class occupation.³²

³⁰ Hobsbawm, *The Age of Capitalism*

³¹ J. Long, ‘The surprising social mobility of Victorian Britain’ *European Review of Economic History* 17 (2013) pp. 2/3

³² A. Miles, ‘How open was nineteenth-century British society?: Social mobility and equality of opportunity, 1839-1914’ in A. Miles & D. Vincent (eds.), *Building European society: occupational change and social mobility in Europe, 1840-1940* (Manchester, 1993) p.23

This study³³ uses an alternative approach, used by Long drawing on a large database from 1851 to 1901 Censuses to compare fathers’ and sons’ occupations at similar ages and found that social mobility in England and Wales was even greater.³⁴³⁵ This study broadly follows this latter approach. It takes the occupation of a male involved in agriculture in 1851 of that of a male child’s father or guardian, allocates to him a socio-economic class, and correlates it with the highest socio-economic class subsequently achieved by 1891 based on occupation in subsequent censuses. The possible criticism that there is likely to be an inevitable upward rise as a person’s grows older is not born out as many decline as they grow older. We seek to allocate a social class to each individual based on their census recorded occupation through successive decades based on the adaptations of a model devised by Armstrong and adapted by Andrew Miles:³⁶

Class 1. Professional and upper middle class. Includes members of the old professions (clergy, military, legal and medical); aristocracy and gentry; and large employers.

Class 2. Lower middle class. Smaller businessmen including farmers; lower professionals, such as teachers; and clerks, retailers and agents.

Class 3i. Skilled working class. Crafts traditionally involving apprenticeship or other training; and the ‘uniformed working class’ (police, mail, and railway) requiring literacy.

Class 4. Semi-skilled working class. Occupations requiring little training including domestic service; gardeners; carters; coachmen and watermen.

Class 5. Unskilled working class. Includes labourers, porters, and messenger.

It is not without controversy or ambiguity. A full categorisation can be found in Appendix 2.³⁷

Carters are treated by this study as Class 4, whilst “under carters” and “under shepherds” as Class 5.

Whilst the substantial majority of male ‘leavers’ between 1851 and 1861 remained in the same socio-economic class as they occupied in East Meon in 1851 (59%), a significant number rose to higher levels, 37% in total. A few rose two or even three classes. In the main those who rose only one rank (24%) can be categorised as being those who moved from being labourers to having a more specific and skilled role such as “Carter”, Shepherd”, “Gardener”, or “Groom”. Those who rose two (9%) or three ranks (4%) seem much more linked to industrial innovation or commercial acumen.

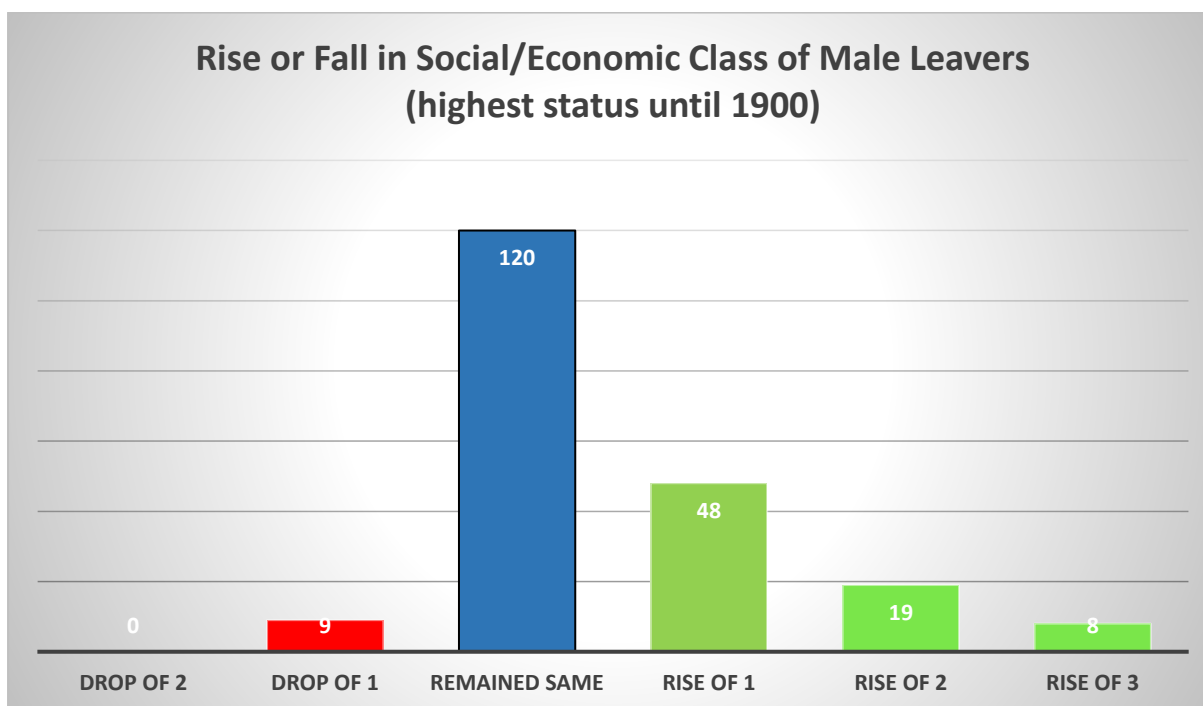
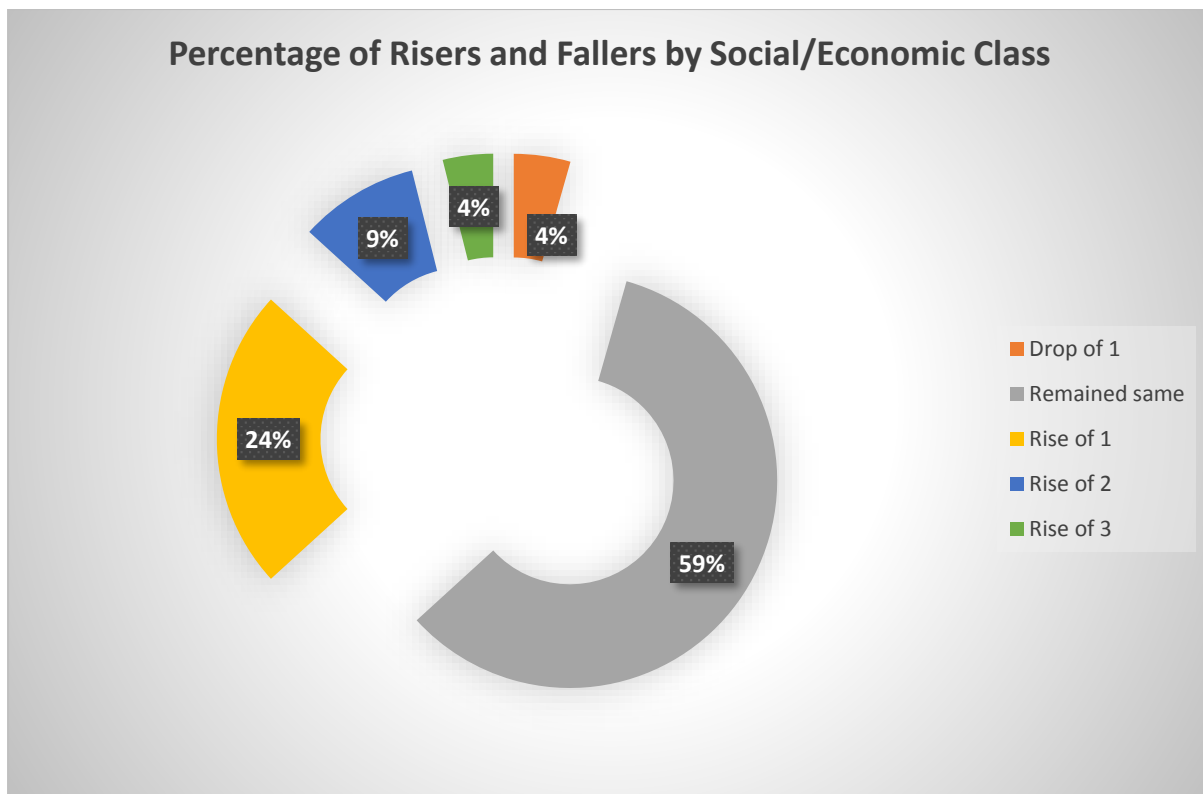
³³ Drawing on Woods, MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY MIGRATION FROM NORFOLK TO LONDON:

³⁴ Long, ‘The surprising social mobility’

³⁵ Long, ‘The surprising social mobility’ pp. 1/2

³⁶ W. A. Armstrong, ‘The use of information about occupation’ in E. A. Wrigley (ed.) Nineteenth-century society: Essays in the use of quantitative methods for the study of social data (Cambridge, 1972) p. 202

³⁷ Woods, MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY MIGRATION FROM NORFOLK TO LONDON, pp.41-43



Appendix 3 gives an analysis of the 27 individual who comprise these two groups of significant socio-economic ‘risers’. Most typical features are those fro agricultural labouring background who become bricklayers, masons, carpenters or builders (26%), those associated with victualling and brewing trades/services (19%). One rose (George Kinshott, M#554) to be a Police Superintendent in xxx, and some became printers, shopkeepers, or commercial agents. Three stand out as making linear ‘upward progression.

We have already noticed David Noble as a ‘returner’. However, deeper analysis to the possible cause of his social mobility reveals additional insights. He was brought up on South Farm, East Meon where his father was a farm shepherd. In 1851 he was five years old. By 1861 he had been employed in the neighbouring parish of Buriton in his father’s skills as an “under-shepherd”, lodging with the Elliotts at Bell Hill (now Petersfield). By 1871 he is newly married to Ann Tilbury from Clanfield, returned to East Meon with a one month old daughter in employment as a “journeyman brewer”. By 1881 he is the village carrier. A rare insight into the significance of family networks can be drawn as they lived in The White Cottage (the long used carriers abode) next door to William Tilbury’s Grocers Shop. Ann Tilbury was William’s younger sister by 20 years. The entry in trade directories fairly certainly suggests David Noble’s reason for return and subsequent occupational opportunities both as a brewer and in the synergy being a “carrier” had with the Tilbury’s ever increasingly sophisticated consumables trade.

1859 White’s Directory “William Tilbury: grocer, East Meon”

1865 Harrod & Co’s Directory “William Tilbury: grocer & beer retailer, East Meon”

1875 Post Office Directory³⁸ “William Tilbury: grocer, brewer, and dealer in British & foreign wines, tea, East Meon”

David Noble ends as a tenant farmer of a substantial holding, suggesting considerable flexibility and careful financial management.

Edmund Harris (M#1496), moved from Rogate, Sussex sometime between 1841 and 1851 as a groom living at Langrish Cottage adjoining Langrish Farm. By 1861 he had become the landlord of “The Seven Stars” Inn in the adjoining tything of Stroud but interestingly in the parish of Steep, not East Meon...hence he is a ‘leaver’ if only by a few yards! By 1881 he has invested his earnings and taken tenancy of Lythe Farm in Steep, a farm of 128 acres and employs 4 men which he is still farming in 1901 age 78.

Luke Merritt (M#679) is the youngest son of that “get up and go” family that we have encountered so many times already. Consideration of Luke in context of his nuclear family experience provides additional insights into socio-economic movement. Luke was youngest child in a family of ten, seven of them boys, plus mother and father, Ann (nee Cross) and John Merritt. Luke was born in posthumously to his father who died age 43 of “Colic” (referring to acute and sudden abdominal pain, possibly kidney stones, gall stones, or appendicitis) on the 8th August 1849³⁹, Luke’s birth being registered between January and March 1850 and his age in Spring 1851 noted as “1”⁴⁰. The family lived in the poorer end of the village at Frogmore having moved there in 1834 from Clanfield. John was an agricultural labourer⁴¹. His death undoubtedly predicated the family into economic crisis with mother Ann described in the 1851 Census as “Pauper (Ag Lab)” supporting six children at home as “scholars” are younger whilst eldest son William is an “Ag Lab” and younger siblings George

³⁸ http://freepages.history.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~cmtilbury/directs_hampshire.html

³⁹ Death Certificate, National Archives: DYE 055120

⁴⁰ 1851 Census

⁴¹ Death Certificate, National Archives: DYE 055120: 1841 Census

and Henry are “Farm under-Carters”. One can surmise that family crisis and poverty unlocked their migration. The family headed in two directions. Ann with sons Robert and Stephen, who had both enlisted in the Royal Navy but residing at home in 1861, daughters Harriett and Lucy, and youngest son Luke were living in a “Beer House” in Aford Street, Portsmouth. Ann was supporting the family (Harriett and Luke still being “scholars”) as a “Charlady”, whilst older daughter Lucy was a “Naval Maid” (eldest daughter Ann had married in 1854 and remained in East Meon). Second son George is also a sailor (and staying with his sister in East Meon in 1861, whilst middle son Robert is probably also at sea)). As we described earlier, eldest son William, with brothers Henry have moved to Alverstoke, sharing a home, and labouring on Public Works, whilst brother Stephen was similarly occupied in Cosham.

Three of these brothers returned to East Meon, William, Henry, and Luke, all initially in 1871 being resident in the village working as “Agricultural Labourers”. William and Henry continue so (though in 1881 Henry is described as “Woodsmen” reverting to labourer in 1891) but Luke effects a significant change in circumstances between 1871 and 1881 when he is described as a “Cattle Dealer”, a trade that resulted in comparative wealth by his death in 1898 having lived in a prestigious village house and left a considerable estate⁴². Their different paths in occupation from members of the same nuclear family underline that movement in socio-economic class is due to far more than demographics or economic opportunity – choice, ability and ambition are perhaps greater factors⁴³.

A final ‘case study’ in socio-economic mobility is taken from the life journey of James Garrett (M#1402) who demonstrates progression upwards in a life long employment in an industrial based organisation. James Garrett (M#1402) was born in Langrish in 1836, his father being an agricultural labourer. Sometime before age 25 he became a railway employee (probably of the London and South West Railway)⁴⁴ being a “Railway Guard” in 1861 in lodgings at Lambeth, likewise but married in his own household in 1871, but substantially promoted to “Railway Inspector” by 1881 in which he continued in 1891, retiring by 1901. This latter post brought its own railway owned house at Farnham Station. He was retired by age 66 (in 1901) living in a comfortable suburban residence at “The Hollow”, Tilford Road, Farnham with his wife and six unmarried children aged between 21 and 10, whose occupations include “school mistress”, two trainee school mistresses, a solicitor’s clerk, and a bank clerk. James seems to have made a clear transition from rural to suburban life.

A very few ‘leavers’ sank in socio-economic terms from semi-skilled parental backgrounds to being labourers. Leaving probably offered a good opportunity for improvement, but little risk of economic failure as most were at the bottom of the socio-economic class order to begin with. Few seemed to require poor relief in the decades after leaving, but most were young and active and initially single without the need to support children.

⁴² England & Wales, National Probate Calendar (Index of Wills and Administrations), 1858-1966

⁴³ It is tempting to link Luke’s marriage to Lucy Pink as casual, Pinks having been previous occupants of Luke’s later prestigious home and village doctors. No evidence has been found to support this

⁴⁴ Based on locations

14. Why did they leave?

The academic argument raged throughout most of the 20th Century as to whether the “Rural Exodus” Britain experienced in the 19th Century was caused by people being “pushed” off the land or by being “pulled” into urban towns. Hobsbawm⁴⁵ observes that “the nineteenth century was a gigantic machine for up-rooting country men” and that this uprooting reached new peaks in the mid-19th Century. Mike Stanley articulates the long held “push” view quoting the seminal work of the Hammonds⁴⁶ that the process began with ‘enclosure’ of common land in the late 18th century: “before enclosure the cottager was a labourer with land, after enclosure he was a labourer without land ... families that had lived for centuries ... on their small farms and commons were driven before the torrent.” Certainly the era of free trade, laissez-faire, the depression and saturation of labour markets post Napoleonic Wars resulted in a change from a relatively secure world of annual agricultural labour contracts to one of employment on a piecemeal basis, with much work being seasonal and uncertain by the mid-19th Century, a world in which the issues of rural poverty signalled a change in parish care for the increasing numbers of ‘poor’ with the advent of deliberately harsh Union Workhouses decreed by the 1834 Poor Relief Act. “Landless, the agricultural labourers who remained were powerless to prevent exploitation and were therefore forced to work for long hours for meagre, irregular wages.”⁴⁷ Dissent was repressed by the privileged.

An opposing view is that people were ‘pulled’ by economic and social opportunities, the promise of a varied and appealing social life away from village dullness and the rural drudgery of field work, greater freedoms (religious, ideological, moral) or improved education. Most academics today suggest that the arguments are futile and unresolvable.

The argument has also shifted to whether in fact for many parts of the country “rural exodus” ever really happened. For many parts of the country a picture of shifting but circulating migration is being identified. A further refinement in recent studies is identifying ‘step migration’ where rural areas adjoining urban centres have agricultural workers readily drawn from them to the towns whilst the labour vacuum this leaves is filled by agricultural workers from remoter rural areas.

All of these trends seem demonstrated in the East Meon ‘leaving’ experience of the 1850’s to 1860’s. Some ‘leavers’ are truly poor and their leaving is probably triggered by family crisis and resulting economic stress. However, the size of inflow of newcomers to the village in the same period mitigates its significance and suggests a circulation of employment within a larger agricultural economy. However, relatively few ‘leavers’ returned.

The strong trend of movement to new agricultural employment in parishes South East of the East Meon (and bordering Portsmouth) suggests the ‘step theory’ of migration whereby cities grow from the “inflow of the inhabitants from the surrounding rural

⁴⁵ Hobsbawm, Age of Capitalism, p.231

⁴⁶ J.L. & B. Hammond, The Village Labourer, 1911

⁴⁷ Winstanley M., BBC History, 2011

districts, whose places are taken up in turn by immigrants from more remote districts”⁴⁸ may be valid. However, where that ‘step’ was to is circumscribed by communication links and family networks. The absence of any real movement into industrial employment negates the most traditional view and ‘enclosure’ seems to be a minor issue in 19th century East Meon⁴⁹. The very significant draw of the Armed Services can be accounted for as the ‘push’ of economic necessity or the lure of adventure and new (hoped for) freedoms. Ideological and religious ‘push’ factors are not evidenced – indeed the spread of non-conformity in East Meon is significant at this time, often led by families of some of the ‘leavers’ (e.g., the Nobles, the Greens)⁵⁰. Despite attempting an analysis of every male who was involved in agriculture who left we cannot safely draw any statistical certainties on why they left. The significant conclusion is that there is complex and complimentary mix of reasons, both ‘push’ and ‘pull’, why they left - with that ‘blend’ being often special to individual families.

15. Conclusion

A very high proportion of East Meon’s agriculturally based male population left between 1851 and 1861, but being substantially replaced by worker from other villages. The village did nevertheless see its most significant population decline recorded in that century. The ‘leavers’ were usually young, single and rarely left as a family unit. More often than not they continued in their existing occupation or that of their father. However, over a life span there was a reasonable chance of socio-economic improvement. Most ‘leavers’ did not go far. They mainly went to neighbouring parishes and those bordering Portsmouth. Relatively few went to London, probably due to the special circumstances of late railway development in the area: none went to the local market town of Petersfield.

Relatively few returned and particular family predispositions seem relevant where they did. A high number of males joined the armed forces especially the Royal Navy and the strong influence of Portsmouth is apparent. Social mobility is clearly more than the demographics or economic opportunities, but admixed with ambition, abilities, and personal inclination. The construction of major public works in the area adds a distinct but short lived draw. Many ‘leavers’ remain untraced, perhaps emigrating from nearby Southampton. The results demonstrate a fascinating kaleidoscope of rural migration manifesting circular migration, step migration to other villages to replace labour drawn to the nearest major town (Portsmouth), moves to London and abroad - all for a probably wide mix of reasons, but for most to do what they had always done, agriculture, in a slightly different place.



⁴⁸ E. G. Ravenstein, *Census of the British Isles 1871: The Birthplaces of the People and the Laws of Migration* (1876) p. 24

⁴⁹ Blakstad, *Enclosures in the Meon Valley*

⁵⁰ Hopkins D., xxx :

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Appendix 1: Occupation in 1851 of Male Leavers by 1861

Occupation in 1851	Number
Accountant	1
Baker & Grocer	1
Bird-Keeper Ag Lab	1
Blacksmith (journeyman)	1
Brewer To his father	1
Butler	1
Chair Bottomer	1
Footman	1
Funeral Director	1
Harness Maker	1
Hurdle maker	1
Landed Magistrate	1
Landed Proprietor	1
Lime-maker	1
Maltster Journeyman	1
Master Baker	1
Master Butcher	1
Plumber, Glazer & Painter	1
Police Constable	1
Sawyer	1
Shoemaker	1
Shopman	1
Tailor	1
Thatcher	1
Travelling Tinker	1
Woodsman	1
Chelsea Pensioner	2
Errand Boy	2
Groom	2
Carpenter	3
Gardener	3
General Servant	3
House Servant	3
Shepherd Boy	3
Bricklayer	4
Miller	4
Pauper	4
Servant	4
Farm Boy	5
Farmer	6
Farm Carter	7
Ag Shepherd	9
Farm Servant	9
Under Carter	17
Child	52
Scholar	57
Ag Lab	94

Appendix 2: Classification of Male Migrants Occupations

Occupational Class I		
Captain	Company secretary	Stockbroker
Civil engineer and surveyor	Physician	Surgeon
Clergyman	Solicitor	
Occupational Class II		
Accountant	Factory inspector	Mercer
Artist	Farmer	Parish clerk
Bank agent	Fundholder	Playwright
Builder	General dealer	Publisher
Cab proprietor	Grocer	Railway clerk
Chemist and druggist	GPO overseer	Solicitor General clerk
Clerk	Hosier	Surveyor of telegraphers
Commercial traveller	Hotel manager	Teacher
Commission agent	Mail contractor	Timber merchant
Corn merchant	Manager	Valuer clerk
Dealer	Manufacturer	Wine merchant
Employer (boot maker)	Master (baker, tailor, etc.)	
Occupational Class III		
Baker*	Currier	Plumber
Basket maker	Draper*	Police constable
Beer house keeper	Electrician	Postman
Blacksmith	Farm bailiff	Printer compositor
Brass founder	Fisherman	Racquet maker
Bricklayer	Fishmonger*	Railway signalman
Brush maker	French polisher	Seal skin shaver
Butler	Gamekeeper	Ships caulker
Candle maker	Glazier	Shipwright
Carpenter	Grocer (shop worker)	Shoemaker*
Carriage builder	Harness maker	Sign writer
Cigar maker	Ink maker	Tailor
Coach painter	Joiner	Tallow chandler
Coach trimmer	Mariner	Telegraphist
Cocoa matting weaver	Mason	Upholsterer
Coffee stall keeper	Miller*	Victualler*
Cooper	Oilman	Warehouseman
Cordwainer	Painter	Watchmaker
Crane driver	Pipe maker	
Occupational Class IV		
Ashphalter	Groom	Sawyer
Assistant (of above jobs)	Hammerman	Servant
Barman	Horse keeper	Shepherd
Cabman	Lighterman	Stoker (fireman)
Carman	Machinist	Tin worker
Club steward	Mole catcher	Toll collector
Coachman	Ostler	Turkish bath attendant
Commissionaire	Packer	Waiter
Cork cutter	Packing case maker	Waterman
Drayman	Railway ticket collector	Warrener
Footman	Rat catcher	Window cleaner
Gardener	Saw sharpener	
Occupational Class V		
Agricultural labourer	Labourer	Porter (Railway, coal, etc.)
Costermonger	Messenger	Watchman
Excavator	Office cleaner	

Appendix 3: Social ‘Risers’ of two or more Socio-Economic Classes

M#Ref.	Forename	Surname	DoB	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1861-91	1851	Rise
501	David	Noble	1846		Under Shepherd	Journeyman Brewer	Carrier	Farmer	2	4	2
615	Stephen	Oliver	1837	Works on farm	Bricklayer Labourer	Bricklayer			3	5	2
617	Hill	Oliver	1842			Butler			3	5	2
644	James	Bricknell	1836	Under carter	Seaman		Printer		3	5	2
709	John	Baker	1837	Ag.Lab	Bricklayer	Bricklayer	Bricklayer	Bricklayer	3	5	2
745	Ljonas	Nash	1840		Ag.Lab.	Carpenter	Carpenter	Carpenter	3	5	2
884	Thomas	Port	1832	Ag.Lab	Ag.Lab.	Ag.Lab	Ag.Lab	Farm Bailiff	3	5	2
917	David	Lloyd	1811	Ag.Lab	Dealer in wool	Ag.Lab			3	5	2
1032	John	Ansell	1841	Ag.Shepherd	Ag.Lab	Grocer	Farmer (35 acres)	Farmer	2	4	2
1099	Stephen	Burgess	1830	Ag.Lab	Malster	Malster			3	5	2
1128	Samuel	Sims	1810	Ag.Lab	Carpenter				3	5	2
1193	George	Vince	1843		Bricklayer's Labo	Gen.Dealer	Fishmonger		2	4	2
1198	James	Jeffries	1829	Ag Lab	Bosun's Mate (RN)				3	5	2
1241	William	Beckess	1839	Farm Carter	Stoker 2nd Class (RN)		Railway Engine Driver		2	4	2
1265	Henry	Primmer	1817	Ag.Lab	Farm Bailiff				3	5	2
1495	Robert	Stephens	1838	Scholar	Ag.Student	Commercial Traveller			3	5	2
1497	Edmund	Harris	1823	Groom	Victualler & Trac	Licensed Victualler &	Farmer	Farmer	2	4	2
1520	Willam	Jennings	1840	Pauper/scholar	Mason	Stonemason			3	5	2
1529	William	Etheringto	1838	Ag.Carter	Inmate in Army	Soldier	Private, Rifleman	Dealer/Shop	2	4	2
94	George	Spiers	1846		Carter	Bricklayer	Bricklayer	Builder	2	5	3
503	Robert	Merritt	1840	Shepherd Boy		Coastguardsman	Coastguardsman	Lime Agent	2	5	3
554	George	Kinshot	1840	Under carter	Police Constable	Police Constable	Police Superinden	Police Superinter	2	5	3
560	James	Alderslade	1829	Ag.Lab	Outfitter	Rtd.Builder			2	5	3
679	Luke	Merritt	1850		Scholar	Ag.Lab	Cattle Dealer	Cattle Dealer	2	5	3
1358	Rice	Howard	1840	Scholar	Ag.Lab		Engine Driver (Ste	Ag.Lab	2	5	3
1402	James	Garrett	1836	Ag Lab	Railway Guard	Railway Guard	Railway Inspector	Railway Inspecto	2	5	3
705	Henry	Gregory	1836	Ag.Lab	Ag.Lab.	Plate Layer	Lic.Victualler	Railway Servant	2	5	3

Appendix 4: Life Journey of East Meon Leavers

Note: Some discrepancies occur between transcripts, as do possible transcript errors.

The intention of this tracing exercise is to provide broad brush overview information rather than a definitive family history resource.

In absence of drawing down death certificates dates are suggested as probable.

M#Ref.	Forname	Surname	DoB	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1861	1871	1881	1891	Last traced residence	Notes
39	James	Cobb	1819	Ag. Lab.	Carter	Ag. Lab	General Lab	General Lab	Hambleton	Hambleton	Hambleton	Hambleton	Hambleton	Hambleton
45	James	Lee	1836		Army?	Porter		Aldershot?		Aldershot			Aldershot	
47	George	Lee	1846	Scholar	East Meon	Carter	Carter		East Meon	Soberton			Soberton	Married 1869 in EM as of parish
57	James	Newland	1794	Ag. Lab	Ag. Lab	Cook *			East Meon	Petersfield				Aka Tribe (1871 in Workhouse)
60	John	Newland	1839			Cowman	Ag. Lab	Carter		East Dean, Sussex		Up Marden, Sussex	Stoughton, Sussex	Up Marden
61	William	Newland	1843					Ag. Lab				Wymering	Married Eliza Edney 1877 who remarried 1883	
66	Robert	Kinshot	1829	Ag. Lab	Gardenener									
67	Aaron	Kinshot	1847			Ship's Steward Boy								HMS St Vincent, d.1866 Portsmouth
94	George	Spiers	1846		Carter	Bricklayer	Bricklayer		Builder	Soberton		East Meon	East Meon	East Mepn d.1892
98	James	Kille	1799	Lab.	Labourer	Pauper	Ag. Lab		Alverstoke	Alverstoke		Alverstoke		Alverstoke
101	Stephen	Kille	1846			No occupation				Alverstoke				
104	Hori	Withers	1837			Lab. Fortifications	Ag. Lab	Ag. Lab	Ag. Lab	Wymering	Treyford	Treyford	Treyford	Treyford, Sussex
135	George	Harding	1778											Probable death 1862/3
153	John	Smith	1838			Labourer on contract work				Widley				
174	Henry	Beckenham	1829			Labourer	Labourer	Ag. Lab		East Meon*	East Meon*	East Meon	East Meon	East Meon d.1881 * appears in Parish Baptism Records but not on Census
177	George	Merritt	1841			Ordinary Seaman RN	Ag. Lab	Ag. Lab	Ag. Lab	Rio de Janiero	Ramsdean	Ramsdean	Ramsdean	Langrish HMS Leopard. D.1916
195	Samuel	Murrant	1833	Ag. Lab	d.1867			Sheet				d.1867		
201	Charles	Culverwell	1841			Gunner R.A.	Drill Master		Inn Waiter	Inn Waiter		Woolwich	Woolwich	Woolwhich Woolwich Brighton Army Pensioner
205	Alfred	Jacobs	1844			Carter boy								
206	Andrew	Jacobs	1846			Carter boy	Ag. Lab							Emigrated to USA?
223	Edward	Taylor	1823			Lab. Carter for a builder				Alvetstoke				Swanmore
229	Alfred	Primmer	1843			Ord.1st Class RN				Portsmouth				HMS Britannia
240	John	Morgan	1840			Gunnery Instructor	Gunner's Mate RA			Ass.Warden @Prison			Portsea	Portsea
262	James	Collins	1833	Ag. Lab	Ag. Lab									
263	Henry	Collins	1840											
269	Robert	Bramley	1832	Ag. Lab										
271	Luther	Blackman	1824		Head Carter	Carter	Gen. Lab			Warnford				Winchester
293	William	Spiers	1839	Lab.	Farm servant		Ag. Forman			Warblington				Idsworth
294	James	Spiers			Carter	d.1872							Portsea	
302	William	Tribe	1838	Carter	Carter	Ag. Lab	Ag. Lab	Carter	Soberton				Blendworth	
325	Stephen	Martin	1838	Labourer		Labourer Dockyard			Labourer Dockyard	Labourer Dockyard		Dockyard	Portsea	Complain Rtd. from H M Dockyard
337	William	Read	1810							Bognor				Bognor
339	William	Read	1833	Shipwrights	H M Navy	Shipwright		Shipwright	Shipwright	Shipwright		Portsea		Portsea
340	Charles	Read	1835	Sawyer	Carpenter	Carpenter				Portsea				
342	John	Crockford	1812		Brewer's Lab.	Cellarman		Ag. Lab.					Portsea	d.1889
352	Joseph	Coverson	1839											
357	Thomas	Newton	1836	Labourer,	Public House	Ag. Lab.	Gen. Lab			Alverstoke			Alverstoke	d.1884
359	Henry	Newton	1841	Ord 2d Class (Ordinary Seaman)		Ag. Lab.	Ag. Lab	Ag. Lab	Ag. Lab	Ag. Lab	Portsmouth		Farlington	HMS Britannia, d.1904
361	Edward	Newton	1845	Carter	Ag. Lab.	Ag. Lab	Ag. Lab			Catherington				Clanfield d.1884
362	George	Newton	1847	Carter	Ag. Lab.	Carter				Hambledon				Catherington d.1922
373*	William	Merritt	1831			Ag. Lab				East Meon				Easr Meon d.1876
375	Henry	Merritt	1839			Ordinary 2d Class (Ordinary Seaman)		Ag. Lab	woodman	Ag. Lab			Malta Harbour aka Chives	East Meon HMS Neptune, d.1920
380	George	Chivers	1813											
411	Richard	Underwood	1827	Ag. Lab	Labourer					Portsea			Portsea	d.1864
456	William	Padwick	1822	Farmer's Son	Farmer	Farmer	Rtd. Farmer			Buriton Warbligton			East Meon	East Meon d.1896
459	John	Earwaker	1795	Ag. Lab									East Meon	d.1867 at Petersfield Union Workhouse
460	John	Earwaker	1836		Shepherd Boy									d.1859
461	Eli	Earwaker	1838		Birdkeeper	Journeyman Baker							Lewisham	

462	George	Earwaker	1840	Scholar	Baker's Assistant?	Ag.Lab	Ag.Lab	Chelsea	East Meon*	East Meon					
490	Willam	Kille	1831	Farm Servant	Ag.Lab.		Alverstoke			Alverstoke					
501	David	Noble	1846		Under Shepherd	Journeyman Brewer (EM)	Carrier	Farmer?	Buriton	East Meon*	East Meon	Ramsdean	Petersfield	d.1919	
502	Henry	Noble	1850	Scholar	Ag.Lab	Ag.Lab	Ag.Lab	Hambledon	West Thorney, Sussex	Bignor, Sussex	Petersfield				
503	Robert	Merritt	1840	Shepherd Boy		Coastuardsman	Coastguardsman	Lime Agent	Gosport?	Leysdown, Kent	Leysdown, Kent	Portsea	Langrish	1861: Possibly lodging with cousin, a mariner at Gosport	
504	Henry	Crockford	1784	Ag.Lab						d.1853					
506	Henry	Crockford	1816	Ag.Lab	Carter	Ag.Lab	Ag.Lab	Ag.Lab	Catherington	East Meon	East Meon	East Meon	East Meon	d.1904	
514	George	Crockford	1840	Farm Boy	Carter	Ag.Lab	Ag.Lab	Ag.Lab	Catherington	Catherington	Catherington	Farlington	Farlington		
521	William	Norgate	1838	Under carter		Lab.on contract work		Ag.Lab	Widley	Aldingbourne, Sussex				b.1837	
523	Benjamin	Norgate	1842			Lab.on contract work			Widley		Widley				
530	Henry G	Besant	1819	Ag.Lab						Farehamd.1867					
531	James	Dollery	1819	Ag.lab	Ag.Lab.			Catherington		Catherington	d.1866				
533	William	Dollery	1846		Ag.Lab.	Ag.Lab	Ag.Lab	Ag.Lab	Catherington	Falmer, Sussex	Falmer, Sussex	Amberley, Sussex	Thakenham, Sussex	In Thakenham Workhouse, 1911	
534	William	Besant	1785	Farmer's Son						Petersfield	d.1857 (reg.Petersfield)				
537	Robert	Kinshot	1833	Farm Servant											
538	James	Windybank	1832	Farm Servant		Ag.Lab	Ag.Lab	Inmate of Workhouse		Clanfield	Clanfield	Catherington			
539	Charles	Kinshot	1840	Farm Servant	Farm Servant			Boarhunt							
546	Henry	Barnard	1850		Under Brewer	Brewer	Brewer		Windsor, Berks	Mortimer, Berks	Mortimer, Berks	Mortimer, Berks	Mortimer, Berks	d.1909 (reg.Basingstoke)	
550	Henry	Tribe	1820	Carter	Labourer	Ag.Lab			Alverstoke	Alverstoke	Alverstoke			d.1910	
553	William	Withers	1838	Under carter	Groom	Groom	Domestic Servant		Upham	Bosham, Sussex	Bosham, Sussex				
554	George	Kinshot	1840	Under carter	Police Constable	Police Constable	Police Superintendent		Police Superintendent	Ryde, IoW	Micheldever	Fareham	Basingstoke	Alverstoke d.1923 Alverstoke	
560	James	Alderslade	1829	Ag.Lab	Outfitter	Rtd.Builder			Ryde, IoW	Ryde, IoW	Swanmore, IoW	d.1873	Swanmore, IoW		
562	Stephen	Alderslade	1842	Scholar	Shepherd		Farm Labourer	Hurdle Maker	Hambledon	East Meon	East Meon			pob. Adopted mother's remarried name	
567	George	Restall	1842	Pauper/scholar	Carter	Ag.Lab	Labourer	Ag.Lab	Catherington	Soberton	Epsom, Surrey	Amberley, Sussex	Amberley (1911)		
573	James	Norgate	1838	Under carter	Carter	Ag.Lab	Ag.Lab	Headley	Catherington	Waterlooville	(Waterlooville (1901)				
575	Eli	Norgate	1844	Scholar	Labourer			Farlington			prob.d.1869	Battersea			
579	George	Rutter	1843	Scholar	Carter			Hambledon							
580	Stephen	Rutter	1845	Scholar	Under Carter	Labourer	Farm Labourer	Farm Labourer	Hambledon	Staines, Middlesex	Staines, Middlesex	Staines, Middlesex	Staines (1911)		
590	Henry	Silk	1829	Ag.Lab	Ag.Lab.	Ag.Lab	Ag.Lab	Ag.Lab	Stoughton, Sussex	Mid Lavant, Sussex	Mid Lavant, Sussex	Mid Lavant, Sussex	Lavant (1901)	d.1904 Sussex	
600	William	Greentree	1844	Scholar	Shepherd	Groom	Gardener	Gardener	East Meon	Woking, Surrey	Ashington, Sussex	Witley, Surrey	Witley, Surrey (1911)	d.1917, Surrey	
606	Charles	Ford	1837	Under carter					Widley (1911)	1911: Farm Labourer	d.1913				
608	Henry	Pink	1815	Ag.Lab	Labourer	Labourer(general)	Labourer (general)	Labourer (general)	Labourer (general)	Portsea	Portsea	Portsea	Portsea	d.1895 (Portsea)	
612	Henry	Pimk	1850		Scholar	Private (RM)		Prison Guard	Portsea	Hong Kong	Portsea	Prison Guaard at Dartmoor (1901&1911)	HMS Princess Charlotte (Receiving Ship)		
613	James	Oliver	1804	Ag.Lab	Ag.Lab.			Dummer							
615	Stephen	Oliver	1837	Works on farm	Bricklayer	Labourer	Bricklayer		New Arlesford	New Arlesford					
616	Frederick	Oliver	1839	Works on farm		Ag.Lab	Ag.Lab	Ag.Lab	Ellisfield	Ellisfield	Ellisfield	Ellisfield (1911)	d.1914		
617	Hill	Oliver	1842		Butler			Moreton on Lugg, Herefordshire			Eli?				
621	Henry	Shawyer	1836	Under carter											
629	James	Titheridge	1841	Scholar	Ag.Lab.	Ag.Lab		Wymering	Horndean						
644	James	Bricknell	1836	Under carter	Seaman	Printer		Portsea	Portsea	Portsea	Lab.HM Dockyard (1901)				
645	Edmund	Bricknell	1839	Scholar	Labourer	Labourer	Dockyard	Labourer	Dockyard	Labourer	Portsea	Portsea	Portsea	Portsea	aka "Edwaed"
654	Henry	Pollard	1839	Works on farm											
671	William	Merritt	1831	Ag.Lab	Labourer	Public Works	Ag.Lab.		Alverstoke	East Meon				d.1876	
672	George	Merritt	1834	Under carter	Sailor			East Meon			1911 living at Ramsdean (EM)			d.1916	
674	Henry	Merritt	1838	Under carter	Labourer	Public Works	Ag.Lab	Woodman	Alverstoke	East Meon	East Meon			d.1898	
675	James	Merritt	1842	Scholar	Ag.Lab.	Ag.Lab	Ag.Lab	Labourer (general)	East Meon	East Meon	East Meon	East Meon		d.1896	
673	Stephen	Merritt	1844	Scholar	Seaman (RN)	Seaman (RN)		Portsea	Portsea						
679	Luke	Merritt	1850		Scholar	Ag.Lab	Cattle Dealer	Cattle Dealer	Portsea	East Meon	East Meon	East Meon		d.1898	
695	David	Dimond	1791	Ag.Lab.	Labourer			Brighton		Brighton (1869)	d.1869				
697	Stephen	Dimond	1829	Ag.Lab											
698	George	Gregory	1810	Ag.Lab	Ag.Lab.			Farlington							
700	George	Gregory	1838		Ord.Seaman (RN)		Ag.Lab	Maldonado, Uruguay*			Emsworth.	d.1904	*HMS Curacoa (31 guns)		
701	William	Gregory	1842		Ag.Lab.			Farlington							
705	Henry	Gregory	1836	Ag.Lab	Ag.Lab.	Plate Layer	Lic.Victualler	Railway Servant	Farlington	Cosham	Weymouth	Portsea			
706	William	Philips	1803	Ag.Lab	Ag.Lab.	Ag.Lab		West Tisted	Privett		d.1876 (reg.Petersfield)				
709	John	Baker	1837	Ag.Lab	Bricklayer	Bricklayer	Bricklayer	Bricklayer	West Tisted	Privett	Privett	Privett	Privett (1911)	d.1925	
710	John	Croucher	1808	Ag.Lab	Ag.Lab.	Gardener	Ag.Lab	Pauper	Froxfield	Rogate, Sussex	Midhurst	Rogate		d.1897 (reg.Midhurst)	

712	William	Croucher	1838		Ag.Carter	Labourer		Alverstoke	Alverstoke					
714	George	Croucher	1848		Carter	Ag.Lab	Railway Guard	Ag.Lab/Gravel Digger	FroxfieldRogate, Sussex	Bermondsey, London	Alverstoke	Alverstoke (1911)d.1923 (reg.Alverstoke)		
719	David	Nash	1821	Ag.Lab	Ag.Lab	Labourer	blank	Privett Privett Privett		Ancestry mistranscription as Daniel Wash				
723	John	Ganet	1789	Ag.Lab						Visitor				
724	James	Eames	1831	Ag.Lab	Shepherd	Ag.Lab	Shepherd	Shepherd	Hambledon	Clanfield	Clanfield	Farlington		
725	Charles	Pack	1827	Ag.Lab	Ag.Lab	Labourer	Ag.Lab	Ag.Lab	Twyford Bishopstoke	Bishopstoke	Sothampton (1911)			
727	George	Hastead	1836	Ag.Lab	Ag.Lab	Ag.Lab	Ag.Lab	Privett	West Meon	Privett	Privett	Privett (1911)	d.1912	
741	George	Nash	1807	Ag.Lab	Ag.Lab	Ag.Lab	Pauper (Gen.Lab)	Privett	Privett	Privett	d.1887 (reg.Petersfield)			
744	Eli	Nash	1834		Shepherd	Labourer	Shepherd	Shepherd	Hambledon	Chichester, Sussex	West Dean, Sussex	Rake, Sussex	Nutbourne Sussex (1911)	
745	Ljonas	Nash	1840		Ag.Lab.	Carpenter	Carpenter	Carpenter	Privett	Kensington, London	Hammersmith, London	Penge, London	Jonas	
747	William	Littlefield	1823	Ag.Lab		Ag.Lab	Carter	Ag.Lab	Cheriton	Bishops Waltham	Eastleigh	Eastleigh (1901)	d.1910 (reg.South Stoneham)	
751	Henry	Coverson	1833	Ag.Lab	Contract	Labourer		Gen.Lab	Gen.Lab	Turncock (water-works)	Alverstoke	Portsea	Portsea	Portsea aka Colverston
752	Robert	Hetels	1813	Ag.Lab	Shepherd	Shepher	Labourer	East Meon	East Meon			East Meon	d.1898. "Fletcher" (mis-transcribed "Hatche" in Ancestry 1851)	
760	William	Dennis	1844		Farm Servant	Labourer		Soberton	Southampton				d.1863 (reg.Carisbrooke, Southamton)	
776	William John	Ray	1841		Farmer's Pupil	blank	Yeoman Farmer - retired	Warminster	West Meon	South Stoneham	Portsmouth (1911)	Retired Farmer	d.1918 (reg.Southampton)	
807	James	Cannon	1775	Ag.Lab						prob.d.1856 (reg.Portsea)				
811	Edward	Pile	1795	Gardener									d.1855 (buried 1/1/1856 West Meon)	
822	William	Adams	1825	Ag.Lab										
842	James	Moody	1830	Ag.Lab										
845	Robert	Moody	1827	Ag.Lab	Ag.Lab.	Ag.Lab		East Meon	East Meon				d.before 1881	
847	James	Underwood	1823	Ag.Lab	Lime Burner	Lime Burner	Lime Burner	East Meon	East Meon	Chilcombe			d.1888 (regWinchester)	
849	William	Pink	1834	Ag.Lab		Ag.Lab		East Meon						
857	Joseph	Arnglass	1809	Ag.Lab									aka Angless. Prob.burial 1855 at West Meon	
865	George	Deadman	1839			Ag.Lab		Soberton						
884	Thomas	Port	1832	Ag.Lab	Ag.Lab.	Ag.Lab	Ag.Lab	Farm Bailiff	Froxfield	Froxfield	Froxfield	Froxfield	d.1899	
885	George	Neal	1796	Ag.Lab										
896	Albert	Budd	1844	Scholar		Royal Marines			Plymouth				d.1889 (reg.Petersfield). Abourd HMS Sealark tender to HMS Implacable	
902	Joseph	Neal	1836	Ag.Lab										
903	Henry	Gilman	1799	Ag.Lab		Ag.Lab		Steep						
904	George	Gilman	1824	Ag.Lab		Ag.Lab	Ag.Lab	Steep	Froxfield					
910	William	Green	1840	Scholar	Shepherd	Groom	Gardener	Gardener	East Meon	Woking, Surrey	Thakenham, Sussex	Witley, Surrey		
911	James	Green	1842	Scholar	Shepherd	Gardener	Gardener	Gardener	East Meon	East Meon	Hambledon	Hambledon	Hambledon (1911)	
917	David	Lloyd	1811	Ag.Lab	Dealer in wool	Ag.Lab		Winchester	Froxfield				d.1877	
920	Thomas	Lloyd	1845		Boy (RN)			Portsmouth					HMS Victory	
925	John	Pulinger	1778	Ag.Lab									d.1855 (reg.Droxford)	
926	John	Budd	1801	Ag.Lab	Ag.Lab			East Meon					d.1871 (reg.Petersfield)	
931	John	Pink	1842	Under carter									d.prob 1851 (reg.Petersfield)	
939	Noah	Jones	1842	Scholar	Ord.Seaman	2nd class			Portsmouth				HMS Britannia	
940	Alfred	Jones	1847	Scholar	Boy (RN)			Portsmouth					HMS Victory	
941	William	Jones	1848		Carter	Ag.Lab	Labourer (in Chalk Pit)		Froxfield	Froxfield	Betchworth, Surrey	Betchworth, Surrey	!1911) Chalk Pit Labourer	d.1918 (Betchworth, Surrey)
944	William	Aldersnade	1834		Ag.Servant		Groom	Carter	Ag.Lab	Westbourne, Sussex	Midhurst, Sussex	Alverstoke	Fareham"Alderslade"	d.1910 (reg.Fareham)
946	Henry	Grant	1831	Ag.Servant		Carter	Police Constable	Gardener	Dock Labourer	Ryde, IoW	Horndean	Rustington, Sussex	Southamton (1911)	d.1923 (reg.S,Stoneham)
953	Danial	Gilman	1834	Ag.Servant										
957	Edward	Etherington	1839			Under Groom	Groom	Groom	Groom	Waltham, Essex	Edmonton, Middlesex	Speldhurst, Kent	Marylebone, London	Westminster, London (1901)
958	Albert	Etherington	1841			Ag.Lab	Ag.Lab		Soberton	East Meon				
959	Cornelius	Etherington	1843			Carter				Blendworth				
965	Benjamin	Vokes	1840				Corn Merchant	Corn Merchant	Corn Merchant	Winchester	Winchester	Winchester		
967	William	Vokes	1850			Grocer's Assistant	Corn Merchant		AB Seaman (RN)*?	Alverstoke	Winchester	Portsmouth*?		*possibly crew of HMS Duchess of Edinburgh
978	John	Deadman	1850			Grocer's son	Ag.Lab	Gen.Lab	Steep	Sheet	Wimbledon, Surrey	Mitcham, Surrey (1911)	Poultry Dealer	d.1934 (reg.Dartford, Kent)
995	Mark	Deadman	1824											prob.d.1861 (reg.Alton)
999	William	Lloyd	1806	Ag.Lab	Ag.Lab	Ag.Lab		Liss	Liss					
1001	George	Lloyd	1841											
1021	Henry	Godard	1826	Ag.Shepherd	Carter	Labourer		Carter (Ag.)		Portsea	Horndean	Horndean		
1028	Thomas	Ansell	1799	Ag.Shepherd	Shepherd		Ag.Lab	Shepherd (formerly)		West Meon	East Meon	East Meon		d.1884
1030	Jesse	Ansell	1831	Ag.Shepherd			Ag.Engine Driver	Engine Driver		Winchester	Winchester			d.1890 (reg.Winchester)
1031	Benjamin	Ansell	1835	Ag.Shepherd			Ag.Lab			Preston Candover				poss.d1869 (Reg.Fareham)
1032	John	Ansell	1841	Ag.Shepherd	Ag.Lab	Grocer	Farmer (35 acres)	Farmer	East Meon	Preston Candover	Ellisfield	Ellisfield		

1280	Benjamin	Primmer	1846	Carter	blank	Carpenter	Wheelwright	Popham	East Stratton	East Stratton	East Stratton		d.1929 (reg.Winchester)					
1281	Henry	Eade	1833	Farm Carter	Carter	Carter	Shoreditch, London		Shadwell, London									
	John	Sims	1836	Farm Carter		Gunner (RMA)			Hamoaze (Devonport)< Cornwall				HMS Conqueror					
1283	James	Hastead	1818	Ag.Lab		Ag.Lab			Wickham									
1285	William	Hastead	1849			Ag.Lab			Wickham	Leyton, Essex	Leyton (1911)	Railway Labourer						
1287	Charles	Tobury	1834			Labourer			Labourer	Fareham	Fareham		d.before.1901					
1288	Thomas	Budd	1796	Gardener		Gardener			Gardener	Isleworth, London	Isleworth, London							
1292	William	Budd	1842			Gardener			Gardener	Isleworth, London	Isleworth, London	Isleworth, London	d.before 1891					
1300	Charles	Cooper	1850			Scholar			Stockman	Post Master	East Meon	Godalming, Surey	Godalming (1911)	d.1924 (reg.Guidford)				
1319	William	Beckingham	1843	Scholar		Carter			Gen.Servant	Gen.Lab	West Meon	Arlesford	Arlesford	d.1889 Arlesford				
1336	William	Smith	1842	Scholar		Gardener			Builder's	Labourer	Ag.Lab	East Meon	Islington, London	Wewyn, Herts	Hendon (1901) Laudrtman			
1358	Rice	Howard	1840	Scholar		Ag.Lab			Engine Driver to Steam Plough		Ag.Lab	East Meon	East Meon	East Meon	d.1901(reg.Petersfield)			
1366	William	Ansell	1804	Ag.Lab		Ag.Lab							d.1868 (Reg..Petersfield)					
1370	William	Ansell	1838	Scholar					Carter			Wymering	d.1892 (reg.Portsea)a					
1371	Henry	Ansell	1841	Scholar														
1380	James	Porter	1841	Scholar		Police Constable			Police Constable	Police Constable	Constable		Hawleya	Overton Kingsclere				
1385	Benjamin					Etherington	1834		Ag.Lab									
1388	John	Elliott	1831	Ag.Lab		Plate Layer			Railway Labourer	Railway Labourer	Railway Labourer	Steep	Steep	Steep	Buriton	Petersfield (1911) Pensioner	d.1924 (reg.Petersfield)	
1389	James	Elliott	1837	Ag.Lab														
1401	William	Garrett	1834	Ag Lab		Ag.Lab			Labourer	Carter	Carman	Soberton	Millbrook	Southampton	Southampton			
1402	James	Garrett	1836	Ag Lab		Railway	Guaed		Railway Guard	Railway Inspector	Railway Inspector (rtd)		Lambeth, London	South Stoneham	Farnham, Surrey	Farnham, Surrey	prob.d.1906 (reg.Farnham)	
1403	Philip	Garrett	1842	Scholar					Dom.Servant		Dock Labourer		Southampton	Southampton		prob.d.1898 (reg.Southampton)		
1404	George	Garrett	1845	Scholar					Ag.Lab	Ag.Lab		East Meon	East Meon					
1428	Henry	Goler	1827	Ag.Lab		Ag.Lab			Ag.Lab	Ag.Lab	Ag.Lab	East Meon	East Meon	East Meon	East Meon			
1435	William	Kinshot	1815	Pauper														
1440	William	Kinshot	1849			Carter			Groom	Corn Chandler's Asst.		East Meon	Petersfield	Petersfield			d.1886 (Reg.Petersfield)	
1445	Wiliam	Bridger	1841															
1457	Albert	Steels	1840	Scholar										"Steele" - illegitimate son				
1476	Nicholas	Padwick	1793	Farmer (150 acres)					Farmer			Steep					prob.d.1864 (reg.Petersfield)	
1487	Edward	Berry	1798	Farmer & Brickmaker													Prob.d.1854 (reg.Petersfield)	
1489	Daniel	Slingshott	1832	Ag.Carter		Ag.Lab						Bramshott					"Darrice Kingshott"! Possibly Daniel Pob Bramshott	
1495	Robert	Stephens	1838	Scholar		Ag.Student			Commercial Traveller			East Meon	East Meon				"Berriman-Stephens"	
1497	Edmund	Harris	1823	Groom		Victualler & ? Trader			Licensed Victualler & Farmer			Farmer (128 acres)	Farmer	Steep	Steep	Steep	Steep	"Seven Stars" :prob.d.1905 (reg.Petersfield)
1516	William	Sims	1843	Scholar														
1519	William	Lipscombe	1831	Ag.Carter		Ag.Lab			Gardener		Coachman	Coachman	Witley, Surrey	Witley, Surrey	St.Pancras, London	Putney, London	Putney (1901)	
1520	Willam	Jennings	1840	Pauper/scholar		Mason			Stonemason				Bersham, Denbighshire	Wrexham, Debighshire			b.Frensham, Surrey	
1525	Samuel	Clarke	1824	Ag.Lab														
1529	William	Etherington	1838	Ag.Carter		Inmate in Army			Soldier	Private, Rifleman	Brigade	Dealer/Shop	Winchester	Woolwich, Kent*	Winchester	Winchester	Winchester (1901) Beerhouse Keeper	

*Woolwich Infantry Barracks: prob.d.1925 (reg.Winchester)