

REWARDING ‘THE RESPECTABLES’ – SHAPING THE FUTURE?: 19TH-CENTURY AGRICULTURAL ASSOCIATIONS IN HAMPSHIRE AND WEST SUSSEX

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ABSTRACT

The early Victorian period witnessed the creation of agricultural associations, a paternalistic response to the unrest in the countryside. This article examines and contrasts two of them, on either side of the Hampshire/Sussex border, using as the major source the distillation of almost 30 years of newspaper reports. The founders of the associations held annual competitions for farm workers. The associations’ regulations and financing are explained, and their impact on the rural workforce is discussed. The paper also reports on the use of these societies by the members of the Anglican church to increase its influence upon the rural workforce and counter the threat of non-conformism.

INTRODUCTION

The agricultural distress of the 1820s and 1830s and the subsequent riots and disturbances in the south of England have been the subject of a number of books and papers. These have tended to focus on the behaviour and suffering of the agricultural proletariat and their families. The classification of these families between ‘Respectables and Roughts’ was used in ‘Crime and Protest in a Country Parish’ (Wells 1991, 216). This paper examines another aspect of those times in southern England by focusing on the farm worker. It investigates the benevolent use of paternalism by the gentry, the church and employers to reward ‘The Respectables’, both as a means to counteract threats to property and to improve relationships within farming communities. Farmers and gentry hoped to achieve this

through the creation of agricultural associations. These were a recognition by landowners and farmers that privilege entailed duties to those who depended on their goodwill, and that model employees should be well rewarded. The founders also wanted to use the associations to increase agricultural productivity by improving the skills of workers, farming methods and implements.

THE FOUNDER OF TWO ASSOCIATIONS IN HAMPSHIRE AND WEST SUSSEX

Sometime during 1834, a well-to-do farmer from Hayling Island made one of his regular visits to the Chichester market, where he was well known and highly regarded. His name was Charles Osborn – yeoman, land valuer, commissioner for Enclosure, land steward to the bishop of Winchester and subsequently a prolific valuer for Tithe Redemptions. The significance of his visit was remembered some years later, when the duke of Richmond in proposing his health at a meeting of the West Sussex Agricultural Association observed:

‘The original members of this association doubtless will remember the man and the occasion which led to its formation. At a cattle market held at Chichester Mr Charles Osborn, a gentleman who is not an inhabitant of Sussex, proposed to give premiums to the most worthy labourers. This proposal was handsomely responded to by the farmers, who immediately commenced obtaining subscriptions and, from that small beginning, this society dates its prosperity’ (*Hampshire Telegraph* (HT) 13. 9.1841, 3).

Whatever his motivations, Osborn was very aware of the threats of arson. He farmed on Hayling and at Fareham, and it was at the latter town, where Fareham Farm was situated, that arsonists struck on 5 September 1835. This was just one of several reports of incendiarism in east Hampshire and West Sussex in the second half of 1835: in West Sussex at Didling and West Burton in July (HT 27.7.1835), West Harting in August (HT 29.8.1835), Lodsworth in October (HT 5.10.1835) and in Hampshire at Tufton, near Whitchurch and Hurstbourne on the same night in October (HT 12.10.1835), as well as at West Meon in November (HT 2.11.1835).

During 1835 Osborn, the duke and other influential landowners in the area discussed various remedies to defuse tensions in the countryside. At the Fat Stock Show held in Chichester on December 9, following the usual awards given for the best livestock, the *Hampshire Telegraph* reported that prizes were given by Osborn to three labourers for their lengths of service and, significantly, that they had brought up large families with little or no parish relief; his gift totalled ten pounds. Osborn, who had great respect for his own workforce, was no doubt uncomfortable with the inclusion of prize-winning men with prize-winning livestock. He was a determined man with a vision, who wanted to see a rural workforce that was highly skilled, highly motivated and respected both by employers and by the gentry, thus reversing the trend of an ever widening gap between landowners and farmers and the rural workforce. Osborn wished to achieve this by rewarding their skills and responsible behaviour, thereby increasing their self-pride at annual events where substantial money prizes, subscribed by landowners and farmers, would be awarded. As an employer he shared the concerns about the existing poor morale and low self-esteem of the agricultural labourer. Such concerns were later expressed by Lord Ernle, who wrote that demoralised 'free' labourers were unable to compete with labour which was subsidised by parish relief, and who did not qualify for help if they owned their own cottage. He warned

of the demoralising effects of a 'benefits dependent' society (Ernle 1961, 328–9).

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND

Osborn was fortunate to find a powerful patron in the duke of Richmond, who was receptive to his ideas. Charles Gordon Lennox, the 5th duke of Richmond, had a formidable influence in West Sussex. His Goodwood estate spanned 12000 acres, he was a Lord Lieutenant and sat on the West Sussex Bench with two other grandees, the earl of Egremont and the duke of Norfolk. He had been an aide to the duke of Wellington and had no compunction about organising 50 of his tenant farmers to rout a force of 200 rioting labourers in November 1830. Perhaps equally important in the context of this article, he presided over the West-hampnett Poor Law Union which comprised 36 parishes, most of whose guardians were farmers or related to farmers. William Cobbett, a good judge of farmers and farming, had praised the condition of village houses and gardens that he saw as he passed through Richmond's estate on 2 August 1823 http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/text/chap_page.jsp?t_id=Cobbett&c_id=12&cpub_id=0.

In 1836, 'Agricultor', an anonymous contributor from Sussex, had a letter published in the April issue of *The Farmer's Magazine*. He was trying to interest the readership in the topic of awarding premiums to labourers, and wrote enthusiastically about the recent formation of two associations, one in Chichester and one in Arundel, whose express purpose was the reward of 'skilful and well conducted labourers'. He pointed out that both association presidents, the duke of Richmond and the earl of Surrey, were not mere figureheads but were actively involved in committee meetings, adding their considerable influence by their presence and example. The writer said that 1836 was a highly appropriate time, when the operation of the Poor Law Amendment Bill had affected the welfare of the labouring classes. The Arundel and Bramber Agricultural Association, the

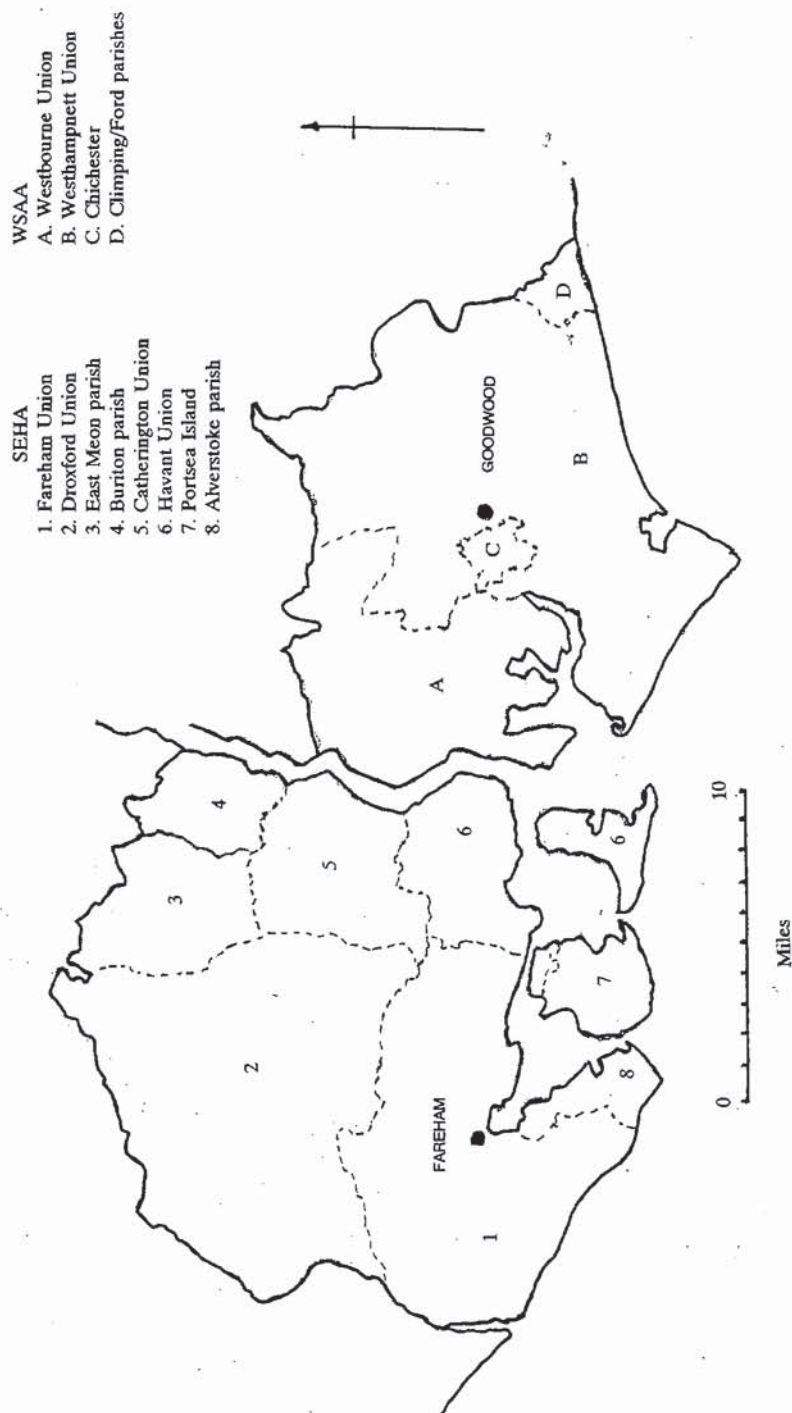


Fig. 1 Map of the areas covered by the SEHA and WSAA

West Sussex Agricultural Association (WSAA) and the South East Hants Association (SEHA) were formed and held their first meetings to award premiums during 1836, and a Hayling Island Association held its first meeting five years later.

THE SOUTH EAST HANTS ASSOCIATION

This association, based in Fareham, is the main focus of this article, although comparisons will be made with its West Sussex counterpart at Goodwood, both of which Charles Osborn masterminded. The association's formation was announced in the *Hampshire Telegraph* on 29 August 1836 and its president was Henry P. Delme of Cams, Fareham, the position of secretary being held by Charles Osborn, who continued in this role for 27 years until his death on 27 January 1863. Its stated object was 'The encouragement of industrious and meritorious agricultural labourers, residing in the (Poor Law) unions of Fareham, Droxford, Havant and Catherington, and in parishes of Portsmouth, Portsea and Alverstoke' (see Fig. 1). Substantial landowners were named as vice-presidents beneath whom farmers were listed as committee members and stewards, reflecting the hierarchical nature of rural society.

The advert for the association gave no details of the financing of the premiums. However the rules of a similar organisation, the North Hants Agricultural Society which started in 1840, stated that the annual subscription, payable in advance, was not less than one pound and not more than five. Because the object of the society was to improve and benefit the labouring class, the North Hants society awarded not less than two thirds of its annual income and this, no doubt, was the common practice of similar associations who kept back a substantial sum towards the annual dinner, which supporters and award winners attended. No public announcement sought support for the West Sussex association; the duke merely let his wishes be known.

Records of proceedings

No minute books or other written records of these societies have survived, and, although a few items of related correspondence from Osborn to Richmond exist in the Goodwood archives, the *Hampshire Telegraph* is the source of much of the material which follows. It is accepted that this source is biased. The newspaper owner, William Harrison, previously a partner of the late J C Mottley, the paper's founder, was middle-class and paternalistic and his newspaper relied on advertising and subscriptions from like-minded readers. The weekly paper provided detailed reports of the annual award ceremonies including, due entirely to the importance placed by Osborn on their publication, details taken from the 'certificates of character'. Unfortunately, W Hayley Mason, a bookseller and the secretary of the West Sussex association, did not supply similar detailed results, although Osborn had persuaded him to do so in 1838 and 1840. In 1838 the paper reported that it was the editor's intention that 'certificates of character' would be published in full because they not only provided valuable and interesting information about the agricultural population but also demonstrated what could be achieved by an industrious and sober workforce. Examples are provided in Appendix 1.

Qualifications for candidates

Candidates of both SEHA and WSAA had to meet certain criteria before their names were put forward. Regardless of desirable qualities of character or skill, the associations were adamant that competitors who failed to attend church or chapel on a regular basis would not be acceptable. The minister of the parish (or dissenting minister in the case of SEHA) had to vouch not only for regular church going but, together with the employer, overseer and churchwarden (or four respectable householders), was expected to sign the 'certificates of character' demanded from every entrant. Part of an SEHA poster showing these requirements is shown in Fig. 2. Men who wasted their money

The Association is deeply impressed with the great advantage that a large Garden is to the Cottager, and confidently hope that the Candidates for these Premiums will be numerous, and that GARDENS may be generally INCREASED in SIZE, to afford the Cottagers an opportunity of exhibiting their industry and skill in the cultivation.

No. 1. Form of Certificate for Classes A, B, C, D, E, F, G.
Certificate of aged Years, of the Parish of a Candidate for Premium in Class

Names of Children	Age when first placed at service.	Names of their respective employers.	Length of service with each employer.	Single or married when employed.	General observations.

Candidate's employment
Amount of Parochial relief received & the amount in each year
We, the undersigned, do hereby certify that the above statement is to the best of our knowledge, correct and true, that the Candidate is a regular attendant at Divine Worship, of careful & industrious habits, not a frequenter of Public Houses or Beershops, & that his (or her) general character is good.

Employer.
{ Minister of the Parish, [Householder, Churchwarden, Overseer, or by 4 respectable

No. 2. Form of Certificate for Classes H, I, K, L, M.
Certificate of aged Years, of the Parish of a Candidate for Premium in Class

Age when first at service.	Names of employers and length of service with each.	Nature of employment in each service.	Rates of wages.	Where Candidate has changed situation since the date of last service, and results.	Amount of savings and how disposed of, whether deposited in savings Bank or a member of a benefit society and of what description. Or whether assisted to support relations.

We, the undersigned, do hereby certify that the above statement is, to the best of our knowledge, correct and true, that the Candidate is a regular attendant at Divine Worship, of careful & industrious habits, not a frequenter of Public Houses & Beershops & that his (or her) general conduct is good.

Employer.
{ Minister of the Parish, [Householder, Churchwarden, Overseer, or by 4 respectable

No. 3. Form of Certificate for Classes N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, U, V, W.
We, the undersigned, do hereby certify that this Parish is, to the best of our knowledge and belief
1st A regular attendant at Divine Worship;
2nd Not one of those who waste their money and time in Beershops or Public Houses;
3rd and lastly that his general conduct is good and such as renders him a fit subject for honorable reward or distinction.

Employer.
{ Minister of the Parish, [Householder, Churchwarden, Overseer, or by 4 respectable

N. B. In Classes R, S, T, U, V, W. it must also be stated that the daughters have not been kept at home from service.

H. P. Delme.
NICHOLSON, PRINTER, FAREHAM.

Fig. 2 Part of an 1838 SEHA poster

Table 1 Analysis of character awards made during the lives of the Associations

	SEHA	WSAA
Self-sufficiency (little or no need for parish relief)	46%	35%
Supply of children into service	16%	23%
Thrift - saving for old age and sickness	38%	42%

and time in beer shops were disqualified, regardless of their skills. Completed certificates had to be returned to the secretary several weeks before the annual ceremony so that the committee could evaluate them.

Scoring of candidates

Although no record exists about the scoring of 'character' classes the qualities looked for by the committee were referred to in a speech by Osborn at the second annual meeting in Fareham. He said that valuable and honorable awards had been made to men and widows who had brought up large families, from five to 12 children, with very little or no parochial relief. The committee had also made awards to those who have placed out their children at an early age in 'respectable' service, and to the young men and women who had saved money to support themselves in old age or sickness, or which enabled them to furnish a cottage and lead a respectable life, should they marry. Cottagers had also benefited from awards where cottages and gardens demonstrated from their cleanliness and good cultivation the respectability and industry of their inhabitants. He continued that it had been recognised that a large garden not only supplied families with good food but kept the men away from the beer shops; gardens, preferably with a pig, annexed to cottages were far preferable to allotments and the committee had been successful in increasing the size of many (HT 9.10.1837, 3). The importance of various character traits is reflected in Table 1.

There was considerable variation in the amounts awarded annually, much depending

on the availability and quality of candidates, but the emphasis on self-help is quite clear. A sample list of the various 'character' classes is provided in Appendix 2.

Politics

Political discussion was taboo. The founders of the associations needed to appeal to the widest circle of influential and well to-do patrons if they were to obtain a sound financial base and support for their activities. Thus a fundamental rule of every association forbade the discussion, at any meeting, of any subject of a political nature, although this rule became somewhat blurred when county members of Parliament spoke at the annual award ceremony. When the agitation for the repeal of the Corn Laws in the early 1840s provoked the consequent rise of the 'Protectionist' associations, many of whose members also subscribed to the SEHA and the WSAA, Charles Osborn had to walk a diplomatic tightrope, not wanting to offend one faction nor the other. He attended one or two protectionist meetings, but no reports appeared of his overt support. It must have seemed somewhat ironic to the West Sussex president, who was created president of the Agricultural Protection League in 1845 and who lived at Goodwood, that Richard Cobden, the most important figure in the 'Free Trade' movement, had been born only six miles away on the outskirts of Midhurst.

Prize money

The amount of prize money paid out during the existence of these two societies was con-

Table 2 Analysis of awards made by the South East Hants Association.

	<i>Character</i>	<i>Skill</i>	<i>Homes/gardens</i>	<i>Pigs/Veg.</i>	<i>Total</i>
1836	£68.10s (65%)	£28.10s	£6.10s	–	£103.10s
1840	£102.10s (56%)	£32	£46.10s	–	£181
1846	£96.10s (52%)	£30. 4s	£53.10s	£3.10s	£185.14s
1850	£51.10s (44%)	£26.10s	£33	£7	£117
1855	£42.10s (42%)	£31	£21. 9s	£6.18s	£101.17s
1860	–	£38.10s	£25.16s	£7	£71. 6s

siderable. Osborn, who was also a committee member of the West Sussex society and, according to his will, eventually a landowner in that county, wrote to the duke of Richmond on 17 June 1837 to say that he had been shown the value of premiums to be awarded at the September show. He continued:

'I rely on your Grace's kindness to pardon the liberty I take in stating that I hoped they (the premiums) would have been much more comprehensive and extensive. The funds are ample and if we do not offer to nearly their extent we cannot expect to increase them. I have designated Chichester, the parent, Fareham one of its children, and I hope for the honour of Sussex, the parent will not allow the offspring to excel' (Goodwood correspondence: folio 1022).

His letter was effective and generous awards were made by this association which paid out over £4000 during its lifetime. South-East Hants awarded £800 in the first four years and over the course of twenty seven meetings donated over £3000. In one or two years, there was insufficient information reported to calculate precisely the total amount paid out during the lives of the societies, so that the totals are understated. The amounts allocated to each class tended to reflect the importance attached by the committee to rewarding approved character traits, such as thrift and loyalty, as well as farming skills. An example follows of

awards made by the South East Hants Association: five premiums, totalling £15, in the class which rewarded labourers who had brought up the largest family with the smallest amount of parochial relief, were divided into a first prize of £5, a second of £4, a third of £3, a fourth of £2, and fifth of £1. These were substantial prizes representing even at the lowest end more than two weeks' wages. An analysis of awards made in several years (Table 2) reflects the paternalistic emphasis on desirable character attributes during the SEHA's life; descriptions of these classes appear in Appendix 1.

Charles Osborn improved the chances of Hampshire employees to benefit financially by persuading the duke and his committee that their competition should be open to agricultural labourers or servants who lived within a 20-mile radius of Chichester. This area covered both Hayling Island and Fareham and, between the years 1836 and 1857, £221 10s was paid to Hampshire labourers and widows by the West Sussex society.

ANOTHER CASE OF INCENDIARISM

It is appropriate at this point to leave the story of the associations and report another arson attack. Charles Osborn's farm at Fareham was again torched by an arsonist at midnight on 3 November 1837. A letter appeared in the next issue of the *Hampshire Telegraph*, in which he thanked the local inhabitants and others for

their prompt help. He added that while he had always tried to treat rural workers well and to improve their happiness and prosperity he had no hesitation in prosecuting crime whenever he detected it. Osborn continued that he did not think that the arson had been committed by any labourer but 'by some villain whose days are spent in idleness at the beer shop and his nights in depredation and plunder' (HT 6.11.1837, 3). Despite two attempts to burn down his property, Osborn did not waiver from his objectives, although he did move his base. He left Manor Farm on Hayling Island in September 1839 and moved to Downend, opposite Delme's estate at Cams. At Fareham he also had a flourishing land valuer's business which kept him closely in touch with the farming community over a wide area.

THE CLERGY

The awards ceremony was always well attended by Anglican clergy and it is necessary to highlight the prominent role of the Anglican Church in the activities of the societies.

Conflicting interests

Alienation between the rural workforce and the church had occurred in the early part of the 19th century. This was mainly due to payment of tithes in kind, which small farmers blamed for depressing wage levels in southern England. Additionally a number of clergy had distanced themselves from their flock when they had joined the ranks of land owners, having been awarded land for tithe commutation during the enclosure of open fields and commons which further impoverished the poor. Furthermore, the church needed to make its presence felt because the Victorian age was witnessing a crisis of faith and there was to be an increasing conflict between faith and doubt, religion and secularism in the second half of the century (Vickers 1993, ix).

A local example illustrates tensions within the Anglican Church. During the period under review, the bishop of Winchester was

having problems with supporters of the Oxford Movement, who wanted a closer tie to the Roman Catholic Church, and greater ritual in church services. These Tractarians were based in south-east Hampshire. Edward Tew Richards, the incumbent of Farlington and his son-in-law Andrew Nugee, incumbent of Wymering were both enthusiastic followers of the Oxford Movement. Richards's clash with John Deverell, lord of the manor of Farlington has been well documented. Deverell built his own chapel in Purbrook in 1860, next door to Richards's new church, which had been consecrated in 1858. When later testifying before the Ritual Commissioners on 1 July 1867, Deverell defended his action of building a dissenting chapel stating 'it is licenced for members of the Church of England protesting in self-defence against the Romanizing principles and practices as carried out in this locality'. Deverell was referring to the churches of Farlington, Purbrook, Widley and Wymering. Significantly, Deverell (a vice-president of the SEHA) added that as well as the principal farmers, Mr. Pettis of Wymering and Mr Randall of Farlington (also supporters of the SEHA) attended his chapel, the poor also attended and he thought that 'very few comparatively' attended their parish churches (Yates 1978, 7). Another example of conflict was the contentious issue of pew-rents and the seating arrangements within the church that stigmatised the poor, whose 'free' seats were either at the back of the church or in the centre, where they could be looked down upon by more affluent pew-renters. In St. John's, Chichester, there were separate entrances for the poor and for those who paid (Thomas 2009, 276).

The non-conformist presence

Already the subject of the 1835 Ecclesiastical Commission, the Anglican Church had to become a more active force among the working class to counter the threat from non-conformism. The 1851 Religious Census provides evidence of increasing non-conformist influence, more especially in parishes on the coastal plain as shown in Table 3. A number of the more recent chapels had been built by

Table 3 Increasing non-conformist influence, especially on the coastal plain

<i>Registration district (No.)</i>	<i>Total Dissenting chapels</i>	<i>Built 1830–1850</i>	<i>% of total</i>
Havant (91)	7	4	57
Fareham (98)	9	4	44
Droxford (110)	4	0	–
Catherington (111)	5	4	80
Total in SEHA area	25	12	48
Westhampnett (91)	10	7	70
	1 (no date)	–	
Westbourne (94)	2	2	100
	4 (no date)	–	
Total of dated in WSAA	12 *	9	75

* 11 of these were in parishes south of the present A 27 trunk road.

'No date' was possible on the returns because the meeting place was part of a private house.

Source: 1851 Religious Census - Hampshire and West Sussex

Bible Christians and Primitive Methodists who drew their support from the rural workforce and their families. The presence of clergy at association meetings therefore represented a marked shift away from the pluralism and absenteeism for which the Church had been criticised.

Paternalism and moral welfare

Anglican clergy were an integral part of the paternalistic way of life and their attendance at these annual events was essential. They held a deep belief that God had created a hierarchical society, that the poor should recognize and accept the superiority of rank, and that everybody had their appropriate duties. This message was reinforced not only in church, but also when addressing the premium winners at their annual events. The following statement by bishop Turner of Chichester in 1848, in a letter to churchwardens at Warnham, epitomises the prevailing attitude, which was not a view of society shared by non-conformists:

'True Christian humility does not consist in setting at nought the unavoidable necessary distinctions of this world, but in acknowledging these as part of God's wise arrangement for the good of all, those who are high not being puffed up by their elevation, the lowly not seeking to break God's order, but walking humbly before him without envy and with meekness towards their bretheren' (Thomas 2009, 276).

From 1840 the bishop of Chichester lent his support and awarded three prizes of bibles or prayer books or both of them to men over 55 who regularly attended church and had the best 'certificates of character'. The local clergy were praised for their dedication to their pastoral duties in visiting the cottages of their parishioners, but it is questionable whether these visits increased church attendance by the poor, who tended to be more attracted to the more informal dissenting services, if they existed. Chapels were funded privately, and were only built where a site was available – often

a problem in a 'closed' parish – and when local membership was large enough to finance it.

From 1841 the bishop of Winchester awarded similar prizes at the SEHA's yearly ceremonies, which were also well attended by local clergy who used the occasions to remind land owners and farmers of their duties towards the poor. They expressed their concerns about the appalling physical condition of the labourers' cottages in some districts, but on the subject of rural families' hunger, the bread tax and other food taxes not a word was heard. As Cobden wrote in a letter to John Bright, in May 1842, 'The Church clergy are almost to a man guilty of causing the present distress by upholding the Corn laws, they having themselves an (tithe) interest in the high price of bread' (Longmate 1984, 126). Of more importance to the clergy, from the perspective of their middle class backgrounds, was their concern about the threat of sleeping arrangements to the morals of the working classes. Ministers lived in houses with separate bedrooms for adults and children of the opposite sex and judged the 'lower orders' accordingly.

At the 1860 SEHA meeting, Rev. W. S. Dumergue expressed concern about the dwellings of cottagers and, referring to the number of bedrooms, decried the practice of taking a single male lodger to improve the family's income; this practice often forced grown up sons and daughters to sleep in the same room and furthermore, 'if daughters had not been compelled to go into service, they could succumb to various temptations when their fathers or mothers were away in the field' (HT 20.10.1860, 6). Again in 1862 the Fareham minister, Rev. F. Smith, was clearly scandalised by the sleeping arrangements which he had discovered in his district, where visitors to the homes of the poor would have been horrified to find how a man, his wife, and eight or nine children whose ages varied from 16 years down to two or three years old were 'stowed away' every night (HT 1.11.1862, 6).

By their more active involvement, Anglican clergy hoped to increase their influence over the rural poor, but the 1851 Religious Census results showed the Church of England only had 58%

share of attendance in Hampshire, and 66.7% in Sussex. They perhaps had a better chance of influencing those agricultural families who lived in small compact parishes without the alternative of a dissenting church; Table 4 contrasts parishes in the SEHA and WSAA parishes and shows that, in 1851, the WSAA had nearly twice the number of parishes than had its fellow society, but over three quarters of these had no dissenting places of worship compared with just over half in south-east Hampshire. These contrasting percentages suggest the considerable influence that Richmond and his squirearchy exerted over their local area compared with the more fragmented land ownership in south-east Hampshire, which had a number of country towns and some widespread parishes, such as Hambledon and Titchfield. Henry Delme, president of the Fareham society, was descended from Huguenot emigrants and, it is supposed, was influential in creating a more liberal and tolerant attitude in south east Hampshire.

THE COMPETITIONS

A very important feature of the associations was the holding of annual outdoor competitions to test the abilities of the rural workforce by holding practical demonstrations of their skills, although no competitions existed which tested the skill of the shepherd with his dog(s). Sheep-dog trials started in Bala in 1873 and reached Petworth in 1908 (Gosset 1911, 149). Nevertheless, a number of classes open to agricultural workers were devised to test them:

Solo ploughing half an acre with two horses.
(A similar competition was open for boys under 18)

Shepherds who could rear the most lambs with least loss of lambs and ewes.*

Cottagers who had the largest number of beehives.

For the best thatcher of ricks of hay or corn, plus a class for recent thatchers.

For those who could build the best ricks of hay or corn, plus a class for recent rick builders.

Table 4 1851 Religious Census – parishes with no dissenting alternative as a percentage of the total

	<i>Registration district</i>	<i>Number of rural parishes under 2000 population</i>	<i>Parishes with no Dissenting places of worship</i>
SEHA	Havant	4	2
	Fareham	7	5
	Droxford	8	5
	Catherington	6	1
Total	25	13	52%
WSAA	Westhampnett	37	28
Westbourne		11	9
Total	48	37	77%

For the best trimmer of quick set hedges.

For cottagers whose cottages have been kept in the neatest manner and whose gardens are best cultivated. (This competition was divided into groups of parishes)

Osborn personally fostered inter-county matches in the early years by offering premiums of £5 and £2 to the two best ploughmen in the SEHA and WSAA .’

THE COMPETITORS

It is not known how well the annual events were supported. The numbers of applicants whose names were submitted for various classes were seldom recorded in the newspaper. In 1840 the West Sussex association reported that nearly 400 candidates had submitted their names, a number much greater than in former years, and that 109 were awarded premiums. It is not possible to know whether this four to one ratio was usual, but judges in both associations were determined to maintain high standards before parting with the associations’ income, and regularly commented that there had been no competitors of sufficient merit. The number of applicants also depended on the support of the farmers and the willingness of men and

women to enter. The SEHA covered an area of 32 parishes, the majority of which could be considered ‘open’, there being no great landowner to compare with the duke of Richmond. An analysis of the guardians of Droxford Union and the Fareham Union showed that a number of them were farmers who endorsed contestants. The WSAA covered an area with, excluding Chichester, 51 parishes of which 35 were classified as ‘closed’ (Short 1999, 99) and over which the duke of Richmond exercised considerable sway. Many of the farmers were Westhampnett Poor Law guardians who would have ensured a supply of suitable candidates.

A steady supply of new entrants was needed to prove to subscribers that the numbers of skilled and worthy men and women were expanding. Charles Osborne and his committee tried to ensure that the same contestants did not apply for premiums in the ‘character’ classes year after year by deducting money won in the previous two years from any amount awarded. This penalty was rigidly adhered to, but the WSAA were less strict in applying this rule. The SEHA gave out between 80 and 110 awards annually, some years there being no applicants for a particular class, or no candidates of sufficient merit. At their 11th meeting held in 1846, the Secretary observed that the competition for premiums were more numerous than ever (HT

Table 5 An analysis of individual awards over the life of the South East Hants Association

<i>Prize money</i>	<i>Individuals</i>	<i>Percentage of total</i>
Under £1	149	12.8
Over £1 under £5	899	77.0
Over £5 under £10	93	8.0
Over £10 under £15	14	1.1
Over £15	12	1.1
Total 1167	100.0	

3.10.1846). It appeared that many of the sons of those who first won prizes were now coming forward to compete. Indeed it is apparent from looking at results over a number of years that once one member of a family had been successful in winning money, the news spread and other members of the extended family later featured as award winners.

As far as it has been possible to discover, few of the competitors were 'day labourers' but were hired hands who looked after animals and who were employed by the year. These were a skilled, responsible class of men such as shepherds, stockmen and carters, who often doubled as ploughmen and also directed the building of ricks at harvest time. Women, unless they were 'live - in' agricultural servants, who again looked after animals, were only employed on task work such as hoeing, root trimming or stone picking, or helped their husbands and fathers in the fields at harvest. Their domestic and horticultural skills were recognised indirectly (or directly if widows) when awards were given for cottagers' homes and gardens. The association provided the permanent employee with the opportunity to improve his annual income compared to that of the day labourer who, being paid by the task or piece work, often earned more during the various harvest periods when labour was in great demand.

Prize money

The low level of farm workers' weekly income meant that prize money, as well as the recog-

nition of their skills by their peer group, was a considerable inducement to enter the competitions. Table 5 shows that the money won was considerable. Three quarters of the total number of premium winners, that is 899 men and women, won between one and five pound pounds; this represents between £50 and £250 at today's values. However four of the 12 winners were awarded more than £20 (£1000):

Richard North of Fareham, ploughman, won £24.17s.6d. between the years 1838 and 1852 and, when he was 35, won the 1838 ploughing match against West Sussex. His son, Henry, was aged 15 when he took second prize in the junior ploughing event in 1851.

George Edmunds of Fareham won £24.7s.6d between 1844 and 1862. An employee of Henry Delme who won many prizes in the 'Cottagers' class for his garden, from which he produced many prize-winning vegetables.

James Frost of Fareham, born in 1817, won £22.10s between 1837 and 1854. He won second prize in the ploughing match against West Sussex in 1840, and also took a lot of prize money at other ploughing events. In 1851 he won a prize for raising five children without parish relief - except for the parish doctor at his wife's last confinement. He was another father whose son won a number of prizes at boys' ploughing competitions.

Samuel Payne of Fareham won £20.19s between the years 1846 and 1863. Payne was another prize-winning ploughman who, when he was 34 in 1852, won £2 for having raised 6 children

without relief – except to pay the parish doctor on two occasions during illness. His cottage and garden, pigs and vegetables also earned him a number of awards.

The employer of the three out of the four top prize winners was Charles Osborn, who tried to ensure a succession of excellent ploughmen by employing and training the sons. That he was ultimately unsuccessful was due to circumstances beyond his control; better education and the urge to escape the restricted opportunities of local employment reduced the supply, increased mechanisation the demand. As well as the successful competitors, other beneficiaries were shopkeepers and tradesmen in these parishes where winners lived, if only because debts were repaid.

Monetary awards were accompanied by commemorative tablets, later proudly displayed on the walls of the cottage by men and widows, who told Osborn that these were regarded as family heirlooms. The West Sussex association, by contrast, gave out a certificate and, should a man or woman achieve more than £12 in awards, they were awarded gilt or white medals depending on the classes entered. The substantial sums of money offered by subscribers is shown in Table 6.

The employers

Osborn quickly gathered together a large number of local farmers sympathetic to his ideas. He had built up an excellent communication network through various markets and farmers' clubs, as well as through his extensive land valuation business. There were undoubtedly strongholds of farmers' support of the Fareham society and this is demonstrated in Appendix 3, where Hayling Island, which also held its own annual competition and, reflecting the influence of Osborn, was pre-eminent, closely followed by Titchfield. There is no direct evidence that the farmers of south east Hampshire were more enlightened employers than in other parts of the county, but Osborn claimed at the 1851 meeting that wage rates were higher

in the districts covered by the SEHA (HT 27.9.1851, 6). According to a survey carried out in 1850–1, a higher scale prevailed in the southern districts of Hampshire. Although the Hampshire labourer was, on the whole, better paid than those in adjoining counties, he often had to pay an increased rent due to the scarcity of accommodation because the effects of the laws of settlement, which had induced landlords to pull down 'all buildings that were likely to afford a harbour for the poor' (Caird 1852, 95).

The condition of cottages was the subject of caustic comment. At the 1840 meeting, the judges of the cottagers' class in the Droxford Union found that 'in general, the houses were in good repair, some were so dilapidated that the tenants could not keep them neat and clean, and they hope that the proprietors of cottages will not, by their neglect, deprive their tenants of the opportunity of gaining premiums in the future' (HT 21.9.1840, 3). Not surprisingly, in case affluent subscribers should withdraw their patronage, thereafter judges' comments were not publicised for a number of years. Nevertheless the condition of cottages was again criticised at the 1850 Fareham meeting. Henry Clarke, one of the judges, caused a stir when he claimed that there were cottages not fit for the labourers to hang up tablets presented by the society and that 'the evil of the want of accommodation for the labourer was a most serious and growing one ... farmer and landlord had to act together to solve the problem because the farmer could not do it on his own, however much he respected the labourer' (HT 28.9.1859, 7).

Osborn, ever diplomatic, thought that the remarks did not apply to their district and, although not perfect, the condition of cottages were better than those of other districts. At the meeting of 1862, the secretary was singled out by one of the clergy for his provision of excellent new housing for his labourers. Further research is needed to discover the extent of the problem, and whether better housing was provided in other parts of Hampshire. Osborn had strong views about the law of settlement

Table 6 Summary of prize money awarded between 1836 and 1864

	<i>SEHA</i>	<i>WSAA</i>
Average annual amount awarded	£120	£140
Total awarded	£3200	£4077
Number of individuals awarded to	1167	847
Average per individual	£2.14.6d	£4.16.0d

The difference in the average individual award is due to the ability of the West Sussex society to finance higher individual awards during its existence, especially as it continued the higher prizes for 'Character' classes for several years more than its counterpart, who also paid out many smaller awards in the 'Cottager's pig' and 'Vegetable growing' competitions.

and its detrimental effect, because it offered no inducement to the owner to keep his cottages in good condition but led him to pull them down, thereby driving labourers into towns. The subject of settlement was discussed at the 1861 meeting when the local MP, Sir J C Jervoise, claimed that he had 'the honour of reading a letter from Mr Osborn to the House on the question of settlement ...' (HT 21.9.1861, 6). According to the report in Hansard, Sir Jervoise supported the 'Irremovable Poor Bill' but did not read out the letter (Hansard, 1864, Vol. 164, Col. 974).

Finally, some comment must be made on the support given by the employers to their deserving employees. In *SEHA*, at 27 meetings, 361 employers successfully promoted 979 prize-winners, but the identities of employers of a further 188 winners are missing from the newspaper reports. Appendix 4 shows that in 18 parishes certain employers, many of whom were committee members, dominated the annual events by employing, over the years, more than 25% of the awards winners in their parish. It seems reasonable to assume that they were the largest and most successful employers who could have the pick of the best workers in the parish, and this could perhaps be verified by census and tithe apportionment data. No comparison is possible with the *WSAA* because, in many years, the name of the employer was omitted from the results.

THE ANNUAL CEREMONY

No account of the history of the associations would be complete without some description of the yearly award ceremony which occurred after the corn harvest in south-east Hampshire and in June – the sheep shearing month – in West Sussex (although the Goodwood ploughing match occurred in October, the awards being presented in the following year). These events were not only a display of paternalistic power and benevolence, but were very much holiday occasions for the workers who, in their best round smocks, were the focus of attention. They had a day off work, enjoyed a good meal and were individually recognised by their 'social betters' as fully meriting awards, which were at least equal to a week's pay.

First, it was a point of pride with Richmond that he and Osborn had set an example to the rest of the country by sitting down with their rural workers in the same room to enjoy the occasion. At the sixth meeting in 1841, unusually held in September, the duke informed his audience that the *WSAA* was the first society in England which dined with the successful candidates, and he knew that this example had been followed by other associations – to the delight of the labourers. Previously it had been the practice for only the members of the associations to enjoy good dinners, and the labourers merely walked in and out again without so much as being offered a drink. Richmond

continued 'You showed a better example, and let it appear that you are not ashamed to see them sit down to dinner with you, and the labourers have experienced great gratification for it' (HT 13.9.1841, 2).

The autumn prize giving at the SEHA dinner was always preceded by two ploughing events that were run concurrently, one for men and the other for boys – some as young as ten or 12 years old. The dinner was always held at 3pm at the Red Lion, Fareham, followed by the prize-giving, after which the labourers left the room. While it was customary that women prize-winners did not share in the festivities but were given half a crown instead, it was not unusual for over a hundred landowners, farmers and clergy to join an equal, or lesser, number of male prize-winners on these occasions.

The Goodwood ceremony, normally held in June, was very much a festive occasion for all levels of society. From 1838 the day started with the sheep shearing competition, held in the shade of one of the massive Cedars of Lebanon in Goodwood Park, where each competitor had to shear six penned Southdown sheep. The watching crowd was frequently entertained by a military band from the Chichester barracks; in 1856 it was the turn of Royal Sussex Militia who, at 2pm, led a procession of 70 boys and girls from the village school, followed by the prize-winners, to the dinner which was held as usual at the (Royal) Tennis Court (HT 14.6.1856).

This section cannot be ended without mentioning the employers' commitment to their successful workers. They had to arrange for horses and wagons to transport them from parishes, some of which were quite a distance from Fareham or Goodwood and, furthermore, competitors in the ploughing had to be provided with horses and ploughs. These had to be carted to the event field. Farmers took a great pride in the skills of their ploughmen, especially when they beat those from neighbouring farms.

THE WATERSHED YEAR

There often comes a time in the lifespan of an organisation when its committee decides to take

stock. For the Fareham association such a time occurred in 1856, 20 years after its first meeting on 3 October 1836. The lack of surviving minute books has obscured the reason for the absence of a competition in 1856, but concerns as to the future format and finances were apparently raised at committee meetings. Attendances were falling and income was declining, as many of the original supporters had died or moved away. There was a feeling, expressed by Osborn at the meeting in the following year, that 'by continuing them [the 'character classes'] for so great a time in the same district, they had sifted the county of its meritorious men, and the premiums were repeatedly falling into the same hands' (HT 26.9.1857). A decision was taken to continue only with the classes that rewarded skills.

Changes in personnel were needed. Henry Delme, in declining health, had given up the role of chairman to Sir J C Jervoise, an M.P. and the association's president, and Osborn observed that in order to improve the usefulness of the organisation and introduce fresh ideas, the president should be changed annually and the society should consider holding events in Petersfield and Bishop's Waltham. He not only spoke of the necessity of bringing new blood into the executive of the society but, more ominously, hinted that it was time for a younger man with fresh ideas to take his place. He was now approaching the age of 60, owned a number farms and had a thriving land valuation partnership.

No such change occurred at Goodwood, where the Richmond family influence ensured that the same format endured, although in 1862 the chairman had to express his regret that the association, which had tended to improve the quality and skill of the agricultural labourer, was not supported in general by the tenant farmers. It should be noted that in nearly 30 years the WSAA committee, in contrast to their Hampshire counterparts, never sanctioned displays of agricultural implements nor rewarded vegetable growing or pig keeping.

On 24 September 1859, the newspaper noted that the number of competitors in the ploughing event at Fareham was fewer than in

previous years and the society had to cancel the event due to the problem of finding competitors at the 1861 meeting, where comments were heard about the need of a more technically-minded class of labourer who was required to operate the more complex machinery now found on farms (HT 21.9.1861); these had been introduced to do the hard, backbreaking work and to compensate for the declining agricultural workforce.

The writing was on the wall. The death, in 1860, of the 5th Duke of Richmond was followed by the death of Charles Osborn on 27 January 1863. The life force went out of both associations, South East Hants holding their final meeting on 14 September 1863 and West Sussex in June the following year. No reason for their demise was ever provided by the newspaper.

CONCLUSIONS

The societies, based in sheep and corn country, flourished and died in the 'golden age' of farming, before the agricultural depression which occurred after 1870. In the early years subscribers benefited from reduced Poor Law rates, and some from the compensation received from the newly-formed railway companies, and therefore were able to support these organisations generously. The threats to property had receded, though whether this was due to migration or transportation of the sullen and resentful, or to an improved quality of life is debatable. The associations were not alone in trying to help the rural poor; a number of branches of the Labourers' Friend Society, founded in 1830 to provide allotments, existed in the southern region. One of these, The Warblington Poor Man's Friend Society, based in Emsworth and led by Rev. W. Norris, provided land and funding for more than 70 allotments and later joined with the Bedding, Clothing and Firing Association to improve the quality of life for local workers and their families (Walford 2007, 9). Other southern benefactors, notably Lord Egremont at Petworth, arranged in the 1830s for assisted

emigration to the colonies, especially to Upper Canada.

It is not possible to prove that Osborn succeeded in improving the morale and skills of the rural workforce or whether he created a better understanding between landlord, tenant and labourer. It has been demonstrated that substantial sums were paid out in awards to those workers fortunate enough to have supportive employers, and the poor conditions of their cottages were highlighted. There is ample evidence from the character awards that an elite group of workers were able to save money and to invest in property and livestock, as well as to pay bills relating to sickness, confinements and funerals. Members of this elite may well have held positions of influence in their village and been part of the working class 'aristocracy', who set the tone of contentment and respectability referred to by Pelling and Hobsbawm (Scotland 1981, 64). Further research into village organisations and clubs may provide answers.

The societies were unquestionably paternalistic which was the reason for their generous financial support on both sides of county border. They were an obvious target for comment and satire by the Anti-Corn Law press, despite the fact that they rewarded loyalty, self-sufficiency and skill. In 1846 the *Economist* had published a feature about 'The waning agricultural associations', which argued that they would not survive the recent abolition of the Corn Laws (HT 3.10.1846,3); Osborn and Richmond plainly did not subscribe to this notion. The duke – and to a lesser extent other land owners in the south – exemplified benevolent paternalists who were convinced that they knew what was good for their dependents, and had the power to ensure that their will was carried out. The tightly-knit community in rural parishes, where well defined personal relations existed, formed the cement of paternalism (Roberts 1979, 5, 270), and these predominated in the countryside between the river Meon and the river Arun.

However change was inevitable. Property owners had hoped to maintain their existing way of life by tackling social problems, through private charity and by using the influence of the

church. Unfortunately for them, the pressures for change were gathering strength and the age of paternalism was waning. The commercial middle classes, who had won the battle of the Corn Laws, were a rising force in politics and in the countryside; men who had made their money in commerce were taking over farms and estates and seldom had any interest in the lives of their workers. Secularism and the rise of the more egalitarian and democratic non-conformist religions, already a force in the cities, were also gathering strength in the southern parishes. The increasing number of chapels – symbols of a new independence by the country poor – demonstrated that salvation was wanted in this life and not, as promised by the church, in the next. Third-Class rail travel provided a cheap method of migration to the cities, and the gradual rise of coastal holiday resorts provided alternative employment for young cottagers who wanted to escape the restricted opportunities of village life.

Osborn had founded his agricultural associations in order to improve the quality of life of the agricultural poor. However, they tended to reward skilled farm workers who cared for the farmer's working capital, the land and livestock.

The *Hampshire Telegraph* failed to ask the poor for their opinions about these societies, but even if they had, generations of deference would have conditioned their replies. They lived with a system they were unable to change and took what little was offered. For all its faults, close-knit village life for 'The Respectables', if they had a benevolent employer or squire, was arguably better than the grime and crime of the industrial towns, where working families lived in overcrowded back-to-back houses, forever overshadowed by the polluting smoke from brick-making kilns, mills and factories.

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APPENDIX 1 EXAMPLES OF 'CHARACTER' CLASS PERSONAL DETAILS.

- 1838: Sarah Dacre, aged 53 of Upham, for having placed out 4 sons at an early age during her late husband's lifetime; they saved from their earnings sufficient to buy a piece of ground and build a cottage in which the candidate now resides; they also apprenticed one son to a painter.
- 1838: John Taylor, aged 53 of Exton, who has been a member of a benefit society 30 years, and has during that period assisted his mother, and a sister who is debilitated through fits; he has also at his own expense built a cottage in which he resides, and has partly supported an orphan child of a relation.
- 1841: William Hobbs, aged 47 of Clanfield, in the employ of Mr Henry Poate, for having brought up 6 children without parochial relief. In early life the candidate saved from his earnings £1 which he paid to be taught thatching; he has put all his children to school, and apprenticed one son to a blacksmith; he assisted his widowed mother for two years prior to her decease, and paid the whole of her funeral expenses amounting to £5; he has saved by his industry sufficient to purchase a cottage, to which he has since purchased a piece of land on which he has built two other tenements, producing him in the whole £11. 4s. 0d per annum. He is a member of a benefit society.
- 1844: Hannah Collier, aged 49 of Southwick, for having supported 4 children with very little parish relief. Her husband died in 1840, after an illness of 15 years, during which period he was only able to work a little at intervals, leaving 7 children. Candidate has purchased a pony, cart, mangle, and two pigs: two of her sons belong to the Southwick Friendly Society.
- 1847: James Cousens, aged 36 of Fareham, in the employ of Mr Osborn. This candidate is deaf and dumb, he has £7 in the Fareham Savings' Bank, he paid 25 shillings last year for the burial of his sister's child, and has occasionally sent her money, and helped her this year. He is also awarded 4th premium for the neatness of his garden.
- 1850: Edward Smith, aged 47 of Bishop's Waltham, employed by John Hatch; having no children, he adopted a daughter of his deceased brother, whom he has kept and sent to school for 5 years; he has also assisted a married sister to the amount of £6, worked on the same farm 26 years and is a member of a benefit club.
- 1851: Charlotte Sturgess, aged 44 of Portchester; her husband died four years since, leaving her with 10 children, all under the age of 19; she has, with the usual parish allowance, her own exertions as a laundress, and attending the Portsmouth market with fruit, etc. manage to gain a living for herself and such of her family as were not able to provide for themselves.
- 1854: Jane Cook, an agricultural domestic servant, aged 26 of Boarhunt in the employ of Mr George Creed; she has saved £15 which is deposited in the Savings' Bank, and she has also assisted her mother during her illness.

Full transcripts of the SEHA results have been deposited at Hampshire Record Office – Ref 118A05

APPENDIX 2 SEHA CHARACTER CLASSES

- Class A: Labourers who have supported, since 1834, the largest families respectably, with the smallest amount of parochial relief.
- Class B: As above, for widows.
- Class C: Labourers or widows who had placed out at respectable service their daughters at an early age, and who have remained in service, with good characters.
- Class D: As above, for sons.
- Class E: Labourers or widows whose families had made, by their own industry, the greatest improvement in their condition in life.
- Class F: Labourers who, in reference to their circumstances in life, had voluntarily afforded the most material aid or support to their aged parents or other relations.
- Class G: Married labourers who, in reference to their circumstances in life, had made best provision for old age.
- Class H: Labourers who have married since 1st January 1835 and who, previous to the time of their marriage, had made best provision for their future maintenance.
- Class I: Single labourers who have been in service the longest period, and shall have voluntarily afforded the most material aid and support to their relatives.
- Class K: Single labourers who have been in service the longest period, and shall have made the best provision for age and sickness.
- Class L: Single labourers under 25, who have been in service the longest period, and shall have voluntarily afforded the most material aid or support to their relatives, or made a provision for age or sickness.
- Class M: As for Class L, for female agricultural servants.
- Class N: As for Class L, for female agricultural servants under 20.
- Taken from the award schedule published by the *Hampshire Telegraph*, 18 September 1847.

APPENDIX 3 PRIZE MONEY, BY PARISH OF THE SEHA AWARD WINNERS (1836–63)

<i>Union</i>	<i>Parish</i>	<i>No. of winners</i>	<i>Amount: SEHA</i>	<i>+WSAA</i>	<i>No. of employers*</i>
–	Alverstoke	10	£20.10s		5
H	Bedhampton	5	£11.10s		3
D	Bishop's Waltham	39	£83.10s		20
C	Blendworth	34	£83.17s		9
F	Boarhunt	37	£82.7s		9
–	Buriton	54	£118.13s		8
C	Catherington	38	£99.4s.6d		20
C	Chalton	43	£122	£2.10s	8
C	Clanfield	26	£76.8s.6d		12
D	Corhampton	19	£26.4s		11
D	Droxford	32	£94		13
D	Durley	45	£95.8s.6d		15
–	East Meon	15	£29.1s.6d		7
D	Exton	13	£28		8
F	Fareham	133	£497.18s.6d	£53	15
H	Farlington	12	£46		5
D	Hambleton	45	£109.12s		16
H	Havant	17	£42.15s	£13	6
H	Hayling, N & S	97	£248.2s.6d	£126.5s	30
D	Meonstoke	25	£40. 6s		9
F	Portchester	45	£124.14s	£2.10s	8
P	Portsea	5	£9		4
F	Rowner	6	£14. 7s		2
D	Soberton	40	£104. 9s		12
F	Southwick	18	£35.19s		8
F	Titchfield	71	£180.6s.6d		26
D	Upham	22	£32.1s		14
H	Warblington	25	£38.10s £	24.5s	15
D	Warnford	14	£42.14s		4
D	West Meon	80	£239.0s.6d		20
F	Wickham	33	£74.3s.6d		13
F	Widley	3	£4.15s		1
F	Wymering	26	£60		8
	Parish unknown	40	£80.5s		–
	Total	1167	£2995.12s.6d	£221.10s	361

Key – C: Catherington, D: Droxford, F: Fareham, H: Havant

* In a number of parishes, the employers were not identified – this occurred most often in the Vegetable, cottager's pig, and Cottage and garden classes.

Note – The parish of Alverstoke was a part of the SEHA from 1836, and Buriton and East Meon added in 1844.

APPENDIX 4 EMPLOYERS OF MOST WINNERS BY PARISH

<i>Parish</i>	<i>Employer</i>	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	(E)	(F)
Bishop's Waltham	Clark, T & G*	5	£22	36	£80	27%	20
Blendworth	Gale, Richard	10	£27	26	£74	36%	9
Boarhunt	Creed, George	12	£29	35	£78	37%	9
Buriton	Seward, Samuel	21	£42	46	£109	38%	8
Chalton	Boys, Thomas	11	£33	38	£113	29%	8
	Martin, William*	10	£43	38	£113	38%	8
Clanfield	Poate, Henry	8	£38	22	£71	54%	12
Corhampton	Aylward, James*	6	£11	19	£26	42%	11
East Meon	Earwaker, Thomas	7	£14	13	£26	54%	7
Fareham	Osborn, Charles*	49	£101		£456	64%	15
Hambleton	Goldsmith, John	9	£25	34	£89	28%	15
Meonstoke	Wooldridge, Henry*	13	£24	22	£37	65%	9
Portchester	Binsted, Henry	10	£38	38	£111	34%	8
	Martin, James*	12	£39	38	£111	35%	8
Soberton	Knight, Jeremiah	10	£40	32	£86	47%	12
Titchfield	Wooldridge, Rich.*	15	£47	57	£147	32%	26
Warnford	Mager, Francis	11	£38	14	£42	90%	4
West Meon	Arnold, Messrs.*	21	£104	19	£210	49%	19
Wickham	Wooldridge, Jas.	7	£25	24	£54	46%	13
Wymering	Martin, William*	8	£22	20	£50	40%	8

Key:

- (A) Total number of his employees who won awards
- (B) Total amount won by his employees
- (C) Total number of employees in the parish who won awards
- (D) Total amount won by all employees in parish
- (E) Percentage of B of D
- (F) Total number of employers of award winners

* These men were identified as committee members on the 1838 SEHA poster.