

Tables 4 and 5 in the sense that many widowed parents had passed their sixtieth birthday. At least a proportion of both groups would have experienced children leaving home. No doubt some children had moved away as and when it became more difficult for their mothers or fathers to support them. A majority of the remaining families with no children had heads of households who were in their late fifties or twenties and early thirties, in which case either their families had grown up, or the couple had recently married. Yet there were also examples of couples in their prime of life who had no children, possibly because family limitation was being exercised. From the census statistics it can be seen that a larger proportion of landed and skilled trading families had none or fewer children, and certainly they were among those social groups who were the first to benefit from the spread of birth control techniques. Additionally there were examples of very mobile couples, who were not tied to one locality by any necessity to raise children. Childlessness would also arise where one of the parents was infertile or where a parent had a 'living-in' job as a domestic servant.

Family size varied from one household to another in Victorian Bridge. Although there were large families of four or more children they comprised no more than one quarter of the nuclear families. In another sense, however, this 25% was highly significant, because it accounted for nearly 61% of the total number of children in the village averaged at over the 1850s, 1860s and 1870s, which is clearly a considerable proportion. The details are set out statistically in Table 6.

Table 6 Children in families of 4 + children

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage of all children</u>
1851	149	56.7%
1861	179	57 %
1871	245	69 %

An even higher average percentage than 61% would have resulted had some families not sent their children away to become 'living-in' servants at an early age. Children from large labouring and agricultural families were the most likely to leave home early. Labourers and agricultural workers headed a considerable proportion of the larger families of Bridge between 1851 and 1871. They were least likely to be in a good financial position to support large numbers of children. Census figures, with respect to large families can underestimate the total number of children having been born into such families, with parents being capable of having more children, and with some children having died in infancy or having gone into domestic service or apprenticeship outside the family home.

It was because agricultural labourers formed the largest single occupation in Bridge, that in terms of sheer numbers they featured so strongly in the category of larger families. Their predominance in this respect was such that they did not feature so frequently with respect to smaller families. Low incomes for them did not act as a restraint

Table 7 Agricultural labourers' families with 4 + children

	<u>Number</u>		<u>% of families with 4 + children</u>						
4 children	1851 -	4	28.6%	1861 -	8	66.7%	1871 -	6	30%
5 children		7	70%		2	28.6%		7	54%
6 children		2	50%		6	60%		6	75%
7 children		2	50%		2	70%		2	50%

children, possibly in a single parent family since there was no reference to her husband. All these families with more than seven children were associated with labouring occupations. None of them represented affluent tradesmen or craftsmen, who would have been better placed financially to support such large families.

It was one of the contradictions of Victorian England that those who could least afford to support large families often had most children. Conditions were of course healthier in the countryside, as one factor among others helping to reduce death and in particular infant mortality rates. Compared to the nineteenth century, children today are more expensive to support in terms of food, clothing and education, and their dependence on parents can extend over twenty years, during which time they contribute little or nothing to the family income. Very different was the position in the nineteenth century when children were looked upon as an investment for old age. Children who were born into labouring families in Bridge in or before 1851 would be expected, at quite an early age, to seek gainful employment, so as to earn money and increase the wealth of the family unit. Depending on how long they stayed in the house, they might support their parents in old age. Bearing such facts in mind, it is hardly surprising to discover that it was the labouring classes who, on the whole, had the largest families.

From studies of particular families it is possible to find out at what intervals parents were having children. There were seven children in the Philpott family for instance in 1861. They were aged seventeen, fifteen, fourteen, twelve, eight, six and two. Assuming that Mr. and Mrs. Philpott had their first children during their first year of marriage, which was quite usual, then they would have been aged thirty and twenty-two respectively when they were married. Mrs. Philpott, on the evidence of surviving children, had given birth to a child almost every other year, with three years representing the longest period without a new baby being born. Such a gap might have resulted from family planning or from a baby having died at birth or early infancy, at a time when infant mortality was extremely high. The Philpotts in terms of the number and spacing of births were typical of many families throughout England and Wales in the middle of the nineteenth century.

While the census from 1841 onwards provides accurate figures on the number of children living at home, it does not directly indicate the possibility that quite young children were employed and living elsewhere as servants. This can be shown to have happened, however, by comparing surnames as between families residing in Bridge with domestic servants living in other households, looking also at such additional evidence as date and place of birth. There were servants employed in Bridge who had been born into particular families. In 1861, for instance, eleven servants possessed identical surnames to Bridge families, seven of whom were children of Bridge families. The other four

being somewhat older were related in some other way to families living in the village. In 1861 Captain Winter, a retired army officer, employed a 16 year old locally born girl, Elizabeth Griggs as a housemaid, who very likely was the daughter of Mr. Griggs, the village blacksmith. Not only had all his children been born in Bridge but the census for that year reveals a suitable gap in the ages of his other children, at 19, 13, 11, 8, 5 and 2 into which the girl would have fitted. Another similar example concerned a twenty-three year old, Mary Austin, who had been born in Lydd, and who was one of two daughters of a forty-two year old widow, Mrs. Austin. The latter's second daughter aged twenty had also been born in Lydd. Possibly the eldest sister had no alternative but to go out to work, since her mother was a widow, with no occupation, she could not afford to have a twenty-three year old dependent on her hands. In the case of older servants, they were often the unmarried brothers and sisters of families who were living in Bridge, while in the specific case of Mr. Vinson who at 58 was employed as a butcher by Mrs. Gregory, he was probably married to Mrs. Vinson who was living elsewhere in the village with her two children. A close examination of census data shows that the total size of any family could differ from an enumerated family unit, as it included only those members who were actually living in the household at the time.

In concluding this section on nuclear families in Bridge, while the number of children to families increased very slightly, at no time between 1851 and 1871 did the average number of people in this basic household unit rise much above the level of four. Families exceeding this norm were limited largely to the labouring classes. It has been emphasised that the children enumerated in households were those living at home. Over this twenty year period some children inevitably left the family home to reside elsewhere. Family size varied according to the differing age of parents so that those who were aged thirty had experienced less opportunity to have as many children as at the age of forty. Commonly children were born at regular intervals every year or every other year, yet Table 8 shows that there was no consistent correlation between family size and father's age. If anything families increased in size as father's age diminished. Whilst each census yields plenty of statistics there are few positive clues as to how and why they appear as they did.

Table 8 Average age of fathers with respect to family size

	<u>1851</u>	<u>1861</u>	<u>1871</u>
3 children	46.1 yr.	47.1 yr.	54.5 yr.
4 children	48.6	44	44
5 children	43.4	42	46.9
6 children	35.5	46	44
7 children	41	45	43

THE EXTENDED FAMILY

The nuclear family broadens out into the extended family as and when other relatives were living in the same household. It is commonly asserted that prior to industrialization the patriarchal family predominated in rural society, and was "marked by strong ties between the generations, living together or proximately in a state of stable self sufficiency." (2)

Industrialization, on the other hand, introduced the transient unstable family. Victorian Bridge existed in a rural setting and was in no sense an industrialized community like many towns or villages in the Midlands. However the village was modernising and changing its character to some extent during this period and it displayed little evidence of a patriarchal system. Table 9 shows that between 1851 and 1871 the number of relatives per 100 households never exceeded 7.7.

Table 9 Number of relatives per 100 households

1851	5.6
1861	7.7
1871	7.08

Table 10 illustrates how extended families as a proportion of households never exceeded 27%. Family relatives were not concentrated in just a few households but were spread very thinly amongst several families in Bridge.

Table 10 Extended Families

	<u>Number</u>	<u>% of all households</u>
1851	24	17.9%
1861	34	22.9%
1871	43	27.2%

Table 11 reveals that of all extended families in 1851, 70% had only one relative living with them. The percentages for 1861 and 1871 were higher still. Of the remaining relatives the majority were to be found in groups of two or three and in only one exceptional instance in 1861 was there a family containing six other relatives, namely a daughter-in-law and five grandchildren. Relatives who were taken into families ranged from grandchildren or parents to aunts-in-law. Only 26% were "in-laws", while grandchildren, brothers and sisters comprised the most frequently enumerated relations residing as members of extended families in Bridge.

Table 11 Households with only one relative

	<u>Number</u>	<u>% of extended families</u>
1851	17	70.8%
1861	25	73.5%
1871	35	81.4%

Families who had relations living with them were commonly headed by skilled or semi-skilled men and contained few children, as is shown in Table 12. It mattered little how poor the head of the household was since in 1851 a widowed pauper of seventy-two had her widowed daughter-in-law and three grandchildren staying with her. Trading as a grocer in Bridge in 1861, Mr. Davis at the age of twenty-eight was married with no children but he had

Table 12 The number of children in extended families

	<u>1851</u>	<u>1861</u>	<u>1871</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
0 children	2	2	4	8
1 child	1	3	3	7
2 children	2	1	1	4
3 children	1	0	0	1
4 children	1	1	0	2

living with him his mother, a sister and a nephew, and so he had a typically extended family. Generally speaking the extended family was not a common phenomenon in Bridge and between 1851 and 1871 had mostly only one relation living with them. As a rule they were not of the poorest kind, the head of the household often being a labouring man with no children, or a prosperous craftsman, such as a watchmaker or a wheelwright.

HOUSEHOLDS WITH DOMESTIC SERVANTS

Only some nuclear and extended families could afford to employ domestic servants who from first impressions appear to have constituted an important group in the village community. Almost 24% of all households in Bridge in 1851 contained servants compared to only 20% in 1861 and 1871, as shown in Table 13.

Table 13

Households with Servants

	<u>Number</u>	<u>% of households</u>
1851	32	23.8%
1861	31	20.9%
1871	34	20.3%

Table 14 illustrates how in 1851 servants constituted an important proportion of the workforce, more so than in 1861 or 1871. The fact that domestic servants were quite numerous in Bridge might suggest a fairly wealthy village, for people who maintained servants paid them wages and had to feed and house them. In the matter of affording or employing resident domestic servants there were several limiting factors. Of those Bridge households who could afford servants, well over 50% employed no more than one servant during the 1850s and 1860s as Table 15 demonstrates. In some households the servants employed were actually relatives of the family, such as brothers or sisters who paid for their food and lodging by working in the house. A substantial proportion of the servants who were employed were both young and unskilled, for which reasons they were only paid low wages. It was only a minority of wealthy households who could afford more than one domestic servant. Taking these limitations into consideration warns against exaggerating the wealth of Bridge from the point of view of domestic service employment. Even when the number of domestic servants was at its peak none were being employed in almost 80% of Bridge households.

Table 14

Total Number of Servants

	<u>Number</u>	<u>% of working population</u>
1851	57	9.12%
1861	60	8.26%
1871	60	7.59%

Table 15

Number of Households with One Servant

	<u>Number</u>	<u>% of all households with servants</u>
1851	19	59.4%
1861	20	64.5%
1871	17	50%

The census enumeration schedules indicate the sex, ages, duties and employers of domestic servants, helping thereby to recreate the social structure of the servant class. For Bridge 1861 has been selected as a sample year and several interesting features are revealed, commencing with a predominance of female domestic servants, who accounted for 41 (68%) out of 60 servants, who were then being employed in the village. An overwhelming majority of 52 (or 86.6%) were single. Three of the remaining eight were widows. Rarely were married people employed as domestic servants and on contemplating marriage they were expected to leave their position. It is also not surprising to discover that whereas 35% of the servants were aged thirty years and over, 45% were twenty years of age or under.

Having determined that the typical servant in Victorian Bridge was female, single and under the age of twenty, who in 1861 were the employers of domestic servants? Heads of households who employed only one servant varied from agricultural labourers to men of independent means. A single servant was engaged at a general level to perform all manner of work. Heads of households who employed two or more servants were invariably of independent means, owned land or were professional men, successful tradesmen or clergymen and army officers. In 1861 of five families who employed two servants a piece all fall into one of the above categories, as is shown in Table 16.

Table 16

Families employing 2 servants in 1861

LANSBERRY	-	a landholder
EYERS	-	a publican
BARTER	-	a butcher
HORNSBY	-	a licensed victualler
SICARD	-	a surgeon

Table 17 illustrates how only two households employed three servants, who very likely assisted with the running of the business, while living with the families who employed them. Three families employed four servants.

Table 17

Families employing 3 servants in 1861

COLLINS	-	a farmer of 318 acres
MUTTON	-	a brewer

They were headed by a curate and two gentlemen of independent means, as enumerated in Table 18.

Table 18

Families employing 4 servants in 1861

ALDWORTH	-	curate
EDLING	-	tenure landholder
HAMMOND	-	fundholder

Throughout the twenty years falling between 1851 and 1871 there were only seven households with more than four domestic servants, three of which concerned the same families, one of whom was a widow, landed proprietor and fundholder, Mrs. Gregory, who had engaged between seven and eight. Other heads of households who employed more than four servants included a farmer, a retired Army Captain, a landowner and a trainer of racehorses, two of whose servants were apprentices.

For many families, servants were clearly a great luxury and as such were confined to the more prosperous households in Bridge. As and when more than four servants were employed, substantial incomes or wealth were implied. Mrs. Gregory stood among the very wealthy families who could afford to engage servants for particular tasks. Her butler had overall charge of all the servants and waited upon the mistress of the house at the dining table. Her food was prepared for her by a resident cook. She employed a lady's maid to superintend her wardrobe, while a governess was responsible for the children's education and general upbringing. These were all specialized tasks which involved some responsibility, as opposed to the kitchen maid, the footman, the groom, the housemaid, the page and the gardener, whose duties were more menial and less specialized. Single servants in less well off households functioned as general servants or 'housekeepers', whose responsibilities could range from house work to opening the front door. As a general rule the wealthier a household the more servants and the greater the division of labour it could afford. A person who was employed solely to be a cook, was more experienced and specialized than a general servant or kitchen maid. Some tradesmen also employed servants for tasks which were specific to their own trades, so that Mr. Eyers who was an innkeeper in 1861 employed a stable boy and a coachman.

Since the majority of servants were employed in tasks of a general nature, requiring no great skills, they were employed from within Bridge or its environs, whereas cooks or governesses might be sought from further afield and by such means as advertizing in the provincial or national press. Table 19 shows how in 1861 55% of the domestic servants working in Bridge had been born either in or within five miles of the village. 23% had been

Table 19 The Origins of servants working in Bridge in 1861

	<u>Number</u>	<u>% of servants</u>
Born in Bridge	7	11.7%
Born within 5 miles	26	43.3%

HOUSEHOLDS WITH LODGERS

Lodgers were often at the opposite extreme from domestic servants as yet another component of Victorian households for many were 'contractual borders' (3). At no time did they represent a significant proportion of the total population of Bridge remaining fairly constant about 3%, as shown in Table 20. Table 21 further shows how only in 1861 did families in Bridge offering accommodation to lodgers approach 13.5%, although 1861,

Table 20Numbers of Lodgers

	<u>Number</u>	<u>% of the population</u>
1851	20	3.2%
1861	36	4.4%
1871	24	3.03%

compared to 1851 and 1871 was an exceptional year. (4) All these percentages were considerably lower than the 21.3% which Dr. Armstrong calculates for York in 1851. (5) Lodgers although few in number are worthy of study, particularly with respect to their occupations and who took them in. The average Bridge lodger of 1861 was a male. Indeed, 92% were men, and there were only three female lodgers, two of whom were widows, the third being a fourteen year old boarding scholar. Thirty or 83.3% of the lodgers were single, 11% were widowed, and two were married. As to occupations, most were labourers or semi-skilled working men and significantly the occupation of the head of the household often corresponded to that of his lodgers, suggesting thereby that he was their employer. On the other hand, this was not always the case, so that in 1861 the curate of Bridge and the Clerk to the Guardians were also lodgers. Almost inevitably most of the lodgers had migrated into the area. So that for 1861, Table 22 reveals how only

Table 21Households with Lodgers

	<u>Number</u>	<u>% of the population</u>
1851	11	8.2%
1861	20	13.5%
1871	15	8.9%

Table 22Origins of Lodgers in 1861

	<u>Number</u>	<u>% of lodgers</u>
Bridge	2	5.5%
From within 5 miles	9	25%
From Kent	7	19.4%
Elsewhere	18	50%

two lodgers (5.5%) had originated from Bridge, whilst 50% had been born outside Kent in counties as far away as Derbyshire, Hampshire or Suffolk.

The typical lodger residing in Bridge between 1851 and 1871 was male, single, working in an unskilled or semi-skilled job and employed sometimes by the head of the household in which he was living. There remains however the question who took in lodgers and why? Often they resided with families who were at the bottom end of the income ladder who accepted lodgers to eke out a

basic living. As and when families took in lodgers, but had no children of their own to support they were employing spare accommodation of theirs to bring in more money. In 1861 of twenty people who accommodated lodgers, seven had no children and six families had one. It is clear that families with few children whose heads were often in their late fifties or sixties, decided to take someone in if only to make full use of the family cottage and to supplement the family income, which would be declining anyhow as old age reduced the main breadwinner's earning power. Widows commonly accommodated lodgers to provide extra income, or to support their children. Over the three census years under consideration there was not one landed family or household of independant means who took in a lodger. Finally and usually there was only one lodger per household and it was only in 1861 that as many as seven instances of lodgers residing in groups of three occurred, as shown in Table 23.

Table 23 Number of lodgers per household and % per total number of lodgers

	<u>1851</u>		<u>1861</u>		<u>1871</u>	
1 Lodger	5	45.5%	11	55%	10	71.4%
2 Lodgers	5	45.5%	2	10%	2	14.3%
3 Lodgers	1	9%	7	35%	2	14.3%

At that time there was a sudden upsurge in the employment of bricklayers, carpenters and others in the building trade, for whom accommodation had to be found in the village. The next chapter explains how this situation arose from the restoration of Bridge Church coupled with the construction of the London, Chatham and Dover railway between Canterbury and Dover.

HOUSEHOLDS WITH VISITORS

Possible visitors staying in the village on the day when the census was taken constitute the final component of households, as enumerated between 1851 and 1871. They represented not only a very tiny part of the total population but according to Table 24 very few households were entertaining visitors either in 1851, 1861 or 1871.

	<u>Number of Visitors</u>		<u>Number of Households with Visitors</u>	
	<u>Number</u>	<u>% of total population</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>% of households</u>
1851	11	3.9%	10	7.5%
1861	11	1.5%	10	6.8%
1871	7	0.9%	7	4.2%

It is impossible to determine for what reasons these people were visiting Bridge. The majority were no doubt purely visitors who were paying social calls or visiting relatives. There are no clues as to how long they stayed. One of the 1851 visitors was probably the father of the head of the household where he was staying. Another was an eleven year old scholar, born in Dover who was receiving education in Bridge or visiting a friend. Whom and why people were visiting remain matters of mystery, except that they were either quite young (under twenty years of age) or quite elderly and predominantly they were women who were unlikely to be gainfully occupied and as such were genuine visitors, rather than paying guests.

THE AGE STRUCTURE OF VICTORIAN BRIDGE

Each successive census between 1841 and 1871 yields interesting and valuable information on the age structure of Victorian towns and villages. Comparisons over this period show whether a community on average was growing older or younger. Also revealed are numbers and proportions of those who were either too old or too young to support themselves. For Bridge Table 25 shows how between 1851 and 1871 the percentage of the population, which was 60 years of age and over increases from 10.6% to 12.2% thereby indicating a very small rise in the number of older people who, if not still employed, were ageing dependants living in the village. A tendency towards longevity resulted from diatry, medical and environmental improvements which were nationwide and which helped likewise to reduce infant and child mortality, so that the proportion of 0-15 year olds, also rose from 35.7% to almost 40%.

Table 25

The Age Structure of the Population of Bridge
the number and % of the total population

		<u>1851</u>		<u>1861</u>		<u>1871</u>
60 +	68	10.6%	88	12.5%	92	12.2%
16-59	330	52.8%	367	50.5%	382	48.3%
0-15	223	35.7%	272	37.4%	316	39.9%
0- 5	95	15.2%	106	14.6%	112	14.2%
6-15	128	20.5%	126	22.8%	204	25.8%

The reason for more children in the village resulted also from an increasing birth rate, yet there was a proportionate fall by 1% in the number of children five years or under set beside a 5% rise in the number of 6 to 15 year olds. While Bridge witnessed between 1851 and 1871 an increase in its youngest and oldest members there was a proportionate decline in its largely working population composed of those who were aged from 16 to 59, from 52.8% to 48.3%.

It is possible that such a shift in the age structure of the community reduced the productive wealth of the village because of an increasing number of dependants set against a declining proportion of working people who were called upon to support them. On the other hand, there were more births and people were living longer, which could be indicative of greater prosperity.

CONCLUSION

Such an apparent contradiction in the interpretation of census data provides but one illustration of the problems which face a local historian, who tries to draw any meaningful conclusions from series of statistics, as presented by the censuses of 1851, 1861 and 1871. The census material cannot be faulted for the abundance of accuracy of its statistics from which many general conclusions and trends can be determined. The major problem is that of interpreting the causes and effects of such trends which really cannot be done without recourse to other historical sources such as family papers, business records, newspapers or trade directories.

This chapter has sought to highlight some of the uses and conclusions which can be drawn from census material but limitations have also come to light. Census data relating to the years 1851 to 1871 reveal information about the numbers, sizes and structure of families and households. Parents and children were joined by domestic servants, lodgers and visitors, but the picture is not always complete and nor is it possible to state precisely how prosperous Bridge was as a village community during this period. The information to be obtained is basically statistical as shown in the tables and appendices to the chapter. Further information on family life which adds flesh to the statistical skeleton provided must be sought elsewhere.

TOTAL	1851	1861	1871	
4	1	1	1	Father
8	2	2	2	Mother
10	3	3	3	Son
16	5	5	5	Daughter
17	6	6	6	Wife
18	7	7	7	Brother
20	8	8	8	Sister
22	9	9	9	Uncle
24	10	10	10	Nephew
26	11	11	11	Niece
28	12	12	12	Grandchildren
30	13	13	13	Grandchildren
32	14	14	14	Grandchildren
34	15	15	15	Grandchildren
36	16	16	16	Grandchildren
38	17	17	17	Grandchildren
40	18	18	18	Grandchildren
42	19	19	19	Grandchildren
44	20	20	20	Grandchildren
46	21	21	21	Grandchildren
48	22	22	22	Grandchildren
50	23	23	23	Grandchildren
52	24	24	24	Grandchildren
54	25	25	25	Grandchildren
56	26	26	26	Grandchildren
58	27	27	27	Grandchildren
60	28	28	28	Grandchildren
62	29	29	29	Grandchildren
64	30	30	30	Grandchildren
66	31	31	31	Grandchildren
68	32	32	32	Grandchildren
70	33	33	33	Grandchildren
72	34	34	34	Grandchildren
74	35	35	35	Grandchildren
76	36	36	36	Grandchildren
78	37	37	37	Grandchildren
80	38	38	38	Grandchildren
82	39	39	39	Grandchildren
84	40	40	40	Grandchildren
86	41	41	41	Grandchildren
88	42	42	42	Grandchildren
90	43	43	43	Grandchildren
92	44	44	44	Grandchildren
94	45	45	45	Grandchildren
96	46	46	46	Grandchildren
98	47	47	47	Grandchildren
100	48	48	48	Grandchildren

1. The Distribution of Children in Families
number and % of the total population

<u>Number of Children</u>	<u>1851</u>		<u>1861</u>		<u>1871</u>	
0	37	28.7%	40	28.2%	46	29.1%
1	26	20.1%	23	16.2%	38	24.1%
2	20	15.5%	30	21.2%	16	10.1%
3	16	12.4%	15	10.6%	10	6.3%
4	14	10.9%	12	8.5%	20	12.7%
5	10	7.8%	7	5%	13	8.2%
6	2	1.6%	10	7%	9	5.7%
7	2	1.6%	4	2.9%	4	2.5%
8	1	0.8%	1	0.7%	1	0.6%
9	1	0.8%	0		0	
10	0		0		1	0.6%

2. Occupations of fathers with 4 + children in 1861

Agricultural Labourer (17)
 Army Officer
 Baker
 Blacksmith
 Brewer's servant
 Bricklayer
 Butcher (2)
 Farmer
 Gardener (2)
 Labourer
 Landed Proprietor
 Laundress
 Miller's Journeyman
 Saddler
 Woodsman

3. Relatives Residing in Extended Families

	<u>1851</u>	<u>1861</u>	<u>1871</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Father	2 2	1	1	4
Mother	0	4	2	6
Brother	1	3	6	10
Sister	3	8	5	16
Aunt	0	1	1	2
Niece	5	3	4	12
Nephew	0	4	5	9
Cousin	3	0	2	5
Grandchildren	7	11	20	38
Son-in-law	2	0	2	4
Daughter-in-law	1	4	2	7
Sister-in-law	1	3	2	6
Brother-in-law	3	1	1	5
Mother-in-law	2	4	4	10
Father-in-law	1	1	0	2
Aunt-in-law	2	0	0	2

4. The Occupations of Heads of Extended Families, 1861

Agricultural Labourer
 Annuitant
 Builder
 Carpenter
 Carrier
 Collector of Parish Rates
 Fund Holder
 Grocer
 Licenced Victualler
 Major General (retired)
 Matcher
 Pauper
 Servant
 Watchmaker
 Widow
 Wheelwright
 Woodsman

5. The Occupations of Heads of Households employing Servants

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Number of Households</u>
Agricultural Labourer	3
Army Captain	4
Baker	1
Brewer	2
Butcher	1
Carpenter	1
Commander	1
Curate	2
Draper	1
Farmer	5
Fund holder & landed proprietor	10
Independant	1
Licensed Victualler	4
Major General	1
Surgeon	1
Trainer of Racehorses	1

6. Occupations of Lodgers 1861

Agricultural Labourer (11)	Dressmaker
Annuitant	Excavator (2)
Blacksmith	Farm Servant
Brewer's servant	Gardener (2)
Bricklayer (4)	Harness Maker's Assistant
Brickmaker (3)	Independant
Butcher's Labourer	Labourer (4)
Carpenter (9)	Nurse
Charwoman	Police Constable
Clerk to the Guardians	Servant
Curate	Waggoner (3)
	Widow

7. Occupations of those taking in Lodgers

Agricultural Labourers (10)
 Beer Retailer
 Brewer
 Brewer's Assistant
 Builder
 Butcher
 Butcher's Labourer
 Carpenter (2)
 Carrier
 Chemist
 Gardener (2)
 Groom
 Laundress
 Nurse
 School Mistress
 Servant
 Shepherd (2)
 Shoemaker
 Tailor
 Victualler (3)
 Waggoner
 Washerwoman
 Wheelwright
 Widow (7)

FOOTNOTES

All references relating to the census material on Bridge are to be noted as follows:-

for 1851 - P.R.O. 974/H.O.107/1623
 for 1861 - P.R.O. R.G. 9/518
 for 1871 - P.R.O. R.G. 10/965

- (1) Alan Armstrong, Stability and Change in an English County Town : A Social Study of York, 1801-51 (1974), 176.
- (2) Ibid., 175.
- (3) Ibid., 180.
- (4) See the next chapter, pages 45-46.
- (5) Armstrong, op.cit., 180.

V: BRIDGE : AS PORTRAYED BY CENSUS MATERIAL 1851-1871:
OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE

Mrs. Zofia Wells

Any analysis of occupational structure from census data is restricted by the nature of the material which is available. Comparisons with other historical sources, such as trade directories or tithe Apportionments, reveal inconsistencies and omissions. Certain limitations inherent in the way the information was obtained can affect the statistics and conclusions which are to be drawn from census material, and yet this observation applies equally to nineteenth century trade directories. (1) It was heads of households who described occupations as stated in the census, even though one man for whom a specific calling was enumerated may have followed several occupations. The occupation given must be presumed to have been his main job, but also there is no means of knowing whether an individual was unemployed as opposed to being in full or part time employment at the time. It is perhaps best assumed that all those for whom occupations were given were also in employment on the night of the census. However, there were some adults and adolescents who, being listed without occupations, may have been permanently or temporarily unemployed. One man admitted to being "out of business" in 1851 and in 1871 there was an "unemployed clerk".

One specific problem associated with the 1841 census where employers were not clearly distinguished from employees, also arose in subsequent censuses, despite specific instructions being given to enumerators on how trades and crafts were to be described. While for 1851 there was a master blacksmith "employing one man" there were also three other blacksmiths in the village, including his son. Therefore did he employ his own son and possibly one of the other blacksmiths? Were the others self-employed, or could they have been working in another village? Sometimes these questions can be answered by referring to trade directories, but the latter were not always contemporary with the census.

Despite these reservations, it is possible to trace some of the occupational changes which characterised Bridge over the twenty years falling between 1851 and 1871, but it must also be emphasised that a complete picture of the employment patterns and social structure of the village cannot be obtained from census data alone. Sometimes it is necessary to guess at the specific status of particular individuals.

Classifying occupations can present great difficulties, particularly for rural communities where the standard socio-economic groupings applicable to urban societies are not necessarily relevant. Several researchers in this field have encountered this problem and each has attempted to solve it according to his own needs and the type of material used. (2)

Apart from scholars, retired and 'unemployed' persons, occupations have been categorised into ten groups, plus a miscellaneous section for those who do not fit into these categories. The ten groups are:

1. Agriculture
2. Domestic servants
3. Crafts and industries serving agriculture
4. The constructional trades
5. Food and Drink
6. Clothing

7. Transport
8. Services, other than domestic
9. Professions and Administration
10. Dual occupations

In some cases this classification is arbitrary and somewhat tentative, while it can be seen that some gardeners were employed by one family and were recorded as members of the employers' household, this conclusion does not necessarily apply to all enumerated gardeners, some of whom could have been self employed jobbing gardeners. For simplicity, however, they are all classed as domestic servants.

By classifying occupations in this way it is easier to detect changes which occurred within the village economy between 1851 and 1871, although not everyone necessarily worked in Bridge itself. Bridge farmers employed less than half the agricultural labourers who were enumerated. In 1851 there were four farmers, one of whom, having only six acres, employed no labour. Two employed eight men between them but for the fourth, who was probably the largest employer, there are no equivalent details. Apart from the farmers, two agricultural labourers also employed farm servants themselves. In 1861 twenty-six men and boys were employed in local agriculture as against thirty-six in 1871.

The proportion of the total population who were working showed no significant change between 1851 and 1861 at 37.6% and 38.2% respectively. However, by 1871 the proportion had fallen sharply to 28.7%. This was a drop of almost 10% over 10 years. Looking at adult males alone, aged 16 and over, there was also remarkable consistency between 1851 when 88.65% of all men were employed as against 88.5% in 1861. Over the next decade there was an even greater decline to 63.34% in 1871. By contrast the proportion of women who were employed fluctuated between all three census years, from 11.45% in 1851 to 19.2% in 1861 and to 14.4% in 1871. Throughout the period women accounted for approximately a quarter of all those employed, but then there are problems of under-representation in the case of women and children which will be discussed later. The proportion and absolute numbers of children who were employed declined sharply from 8.9% in 1851 to 2.8% in 1871 or from 19 in 1851 and 18 in 1861 to only 8 in 1871.

Bridge exhibited a fairly constant proportion of retired people and those who had private incomes such as annuitants or fundholders, the majority of whom were widows or spinsters. Retirement applied to retired tradesmen and retired army and naval officers. The latter numbered two in 1851 and 1861 and three in 1871, but also in 1851 and 1871 Bridge was chosen as a place of residence for serving army officers, who were presumably stationed in nearby Canterbury.

Retired labourers were often reduced to the status of paupers and were so entered in the 1851 census, where there were also three female paupers, one of whom was the widow of an agricultural labourer. All the paupers were over 60 years of age, the youngest being 61 and the eldest an 81 year old widow. Out door relief was not necessarily the sole source of income for paupers, as and where working wives and children were enumerated. Neither did old age necessarily inhibit continued employment. Nine agricultural labourers aged 60 and over were employed in 1851, the eldest being 73. There was also a butcher of 73.

At the other end of the age range were young and working children, so that in 1851 three ten year old children were employed as farm servants. A nine year old boy was the youngest employee in 1861 while in 1871 that distinction

belonged to a servant and to the son of a gardener, who was "employed in the garden", both of whom were aged 13. The 1867 Royal Commission on the Employment of Children, Young Persons and Women in Agriculture found that it was rare for children under 11 years of age to be permanently employed throughout the year in East Kent but some farmers made it a condition of hiring a man that his wife and children would also work as required. Thus boys of seven and eight were employed on bird-scaring in the spring. Hop fields were a notable source of employment for women who in turn were assisted by their children. (3)

The effects of such an irregular work pattern on education were remarked upon in the report. Although there were few complaints of entire non-attendance, "constant employment causes great irregularity". In 1851 only 64 Bridge children who were under 15 years of age were scholars, of whom fifteen were under five. In some cases there were whole families of children aged from two to ten who were entered as scholars. Possibly their mothers had some kind of employment which was not revealed to the enumerator, which justified the expenses of schooling. Bridge had two schoolmistresses in 1851, one of whom may have been running a private school and "minding" the younger children, even though it was not uncommon for two and three year olds to be found on the registers of National Schools at this time. By 1861, when the number of scholars had risen to 99, fifteen were still below the age of five. Nine years later the 1870 Education Act was passed to ensure sufficient school places for every child between the ages of five and fourteen, but there was no compulsion to attend. By 1871 the number of children at school in Bridge had fallen to 52 which in view of the above legislation seems surprising, and five of the 52 had yet to attain their fifth birthday.

Of course not every child in the village would have received their education at a school, since four governesses were employed in 1861, falling to one in 1871. Some middle class children were sent away to boarding schools as they grew older and where this was so they were excluded from the census returns.

The occupational changes which occurred over the twenty year period covered by the census material were complex, even though there were some fairly obvious changes, notably a decline in the proportion and absolute numbers engaged in agriculture and in those crafts serving agriculture, alongside a growth in what is known today as the tertiary sector of professions, administration and retailing.

Persons employed in agriculture, as a percentage of total numbers employed, fell from 38% in 1851 to 32% in 1871, with the lowest point being reached in 1861 at 28.4%. Transport showed a rise from 0.8% in 1851 to 1.3% in 1871, but the highest point was in 1861 when 2.9% were employed in transport. The most spectacular irregular movement concerned the constructional industry which employed 18% of the workforce in 1861, as against only 5% in 1851 and 6.6% in 1871. It was this sector which distorted general trends for it was during 1861 that the London, Chatham and Dover Railway between Canterbury and Dover was completed, (4) the construction of which brought additional men to the area and created alternative work for labouring men who were already living in Bridge. It is very significant that the 1861 population of Bekesbourne was swollen by 125 additional railway labourers. (5) The effect on Bridge was less dramatic, there being only one railway labourer plus two navvies and two excavators. But in Bridge there was another building project in progress - namely the repair and rebuilding of the parish church. (6)

Railway construction and church restoration together had a marked effect on the numbers employed in the construction industry:

	<u>1851</u>	<u>1861</u>	<u>1871</u>
Brick manufacturer	2	4	-
Bricklayer	2	11	1
Carpenter	3	14	5
Labourer	1	11	1
Builder	-	1	-
Plumber	-	1	2
Plumber's assistant	-	1	-
Plumber's apprentice	-	-	2
Carpenter's apprentice	-	-	1
Painter	1	1	-
Excavator	-	2	-
Railway labourer	-	1	3
Navvy	-	2	-
	<hr/>		
TOTAL	9	49	15

Significantly, as noted in the previous chapter, there were seven families who were accommodating in 1861 three lodgers each. The arrival of these additional workers helped to sustain several village services which were in competition with the proximity of Canterbury. One example can be found in the village laundry which employed nine women in 1851, thirteen in 1861 but only four in 1871. The brewing industry prospered to the extent that five brewers' servants were employed in 1861, whereas only two had been employed ten years earlier. By 1871 the number had been reduced to three.

In the field of transport there were just two carriers in 1851, but ten years later this group consisted of three carriers, three waggoners, a waggoner's mare and an ostler. Enumerated in 1871 were a carrier, a carter and a turnpike gatekeeper.

One change of a more permanent nature concerned the growth of the middle classes, who included professional men and people of independent means. Their increase and wealth meant employment for domestic servants and custom for shopkeepers. Between 1851 and 1861 the number of domestic servants increased from 54 to 67, and constituted nearly a quarter of the workforce. By 1871 their number had declined slightly to 62 but nevertheless this figure represented a higher proportion of those employed at 27.5%. Not only did the number of servants increase but their range widened, which suggests for some people, at least, a higher standard of living. The number of general servants was at its lowest in 1861, when more specialist and highly paid servants, particularly men, were most in evidence.

<u>Domestic servants: Male</u>	<u>1851</u>	<u>1861</u>	<u>1871</u>
House servant	10	4	4
Gardener	3	7	9
Footman	1	-	-
Butler	1	1	1
Coachman	1	3	2
Groom/Gardener	-	1	-
Groom	-	3	4
Page	-	1	-
Stable boy	-	1	-
Garden labourer	-	1	1
	<hr/>		
TOTAL	16	22	21

<u>Domestic servants: Female</u>	<u>1851</u>	<u>1861</u>	<u>1871</u>
Housekeeper	-	7	3
Governess	-	4	1
Lady's Maid	1	1	1
Nurse	3	2	3
Cook	3	5	5
Housemaid	2	7	2
General servant	25	16	25
Kitchen maid	1	1	1
Parlour maid	-	1	-
Maid	-	1	-
Nurse-maid	1	-	-
Under-nurse	1	-	-
Cook/Housekeeper	1	-	-
TOTAL	38	45	41
TOTAL ALL SERVANTS	54	67	62

The expansion of the professional and administrative sector was a well known characteristic of the second half of the nineteenth century, and resulted partly from a growth of local government. Bridge in addition was becoming an attractive area of residence for professional people within easy reach of Canterbury, and so, not surprisingly, a solicitor and a veterinary surgeon were enumerated in 1871. These considerations also attracted serving and retired army officers.

Professions and Administrative

	<u>1851</u>	<u>1861</u>	<u>1871</u>
Post Mistress	-	1	1
Assn't. Post Mistress	-	-	1
Doctor	1	2	-
Chemist	1	-	1
Rates Collector	-	1	-
Assn't. Rates Collector	-	2	-
Clerk to Guardians	-	1	-
Solicitor	-	-	1
Curate	-	2	1
Veterinary Surgeon/Coursing judge	-	-	1
Army captain	1	-	1
Articled clerk	-	1	-
Railway contractor	-	1	-
Civil Engineer	1	-	-
Clergyman	-	1	2
Policeman	1	1	2
Schoolmistress	2	1	4
TOTAL	7	14	14

From the middle of the nineteenth century Bridge experienced a decline in traditional rural crafts, the number of which had halved by 1871. Between 1851 and 1861 the sawyer and the wattle weaver disappeared, followed by the wheelwright during the following decade although there remained a wheelwright cum carpenter, a fairly common combination, even though the specialised skills of a wheelwright were not possessed by every carpenter.

Crafts and Industries serving Agriculture

	<u>1851</u>	<u>1861</u>	<u>1871</u>
Miller	2	2	2
Miller's Labourer	1	-	-
Journeyman Miller	1	1	-
Saddler	2	1	2
Blacksmith	4	2	4
Wheelwright	3	1	-
Woodsawyer	1	-	-
Wattleweaver	1	-	-
Blacksmith's Apprentice	1	-	-
Blacksmith's Assistant	-	1	-
Harnessmaker's Assistant	-	1	-
Miller's Carter	-	1	1
TOTAL	16	10	9

Trends in village shopping during this period are difficult to analyse and are probably more accurately traced through trade directories, particularly since some of those enumerated may have been employed in Canterbury or elsewhere. Food and drink retailers, including brewers, who often combined manufacture with retailing and some other occupation, increased from 20 in 1851 to 21 in 1861 and 1871.

Although numbers employed in victualling remained fairly stable there was only one brewer in 1861 as against two in 1851. One of the effects of improved railway communication was to allow larger breweries to extend their marketing area, so that Bridge by 1871 was included among the retailing outlets of Shepherd Neame of Faversham. Even in 1851 brewing and/or being a publican does not seem to have been viable as a single occupation with one brewer being also a coal-merchant as well as keeping the 'Plough and Harrow', while the proprietor of the 'White Horse' was training racehorses, a business which expanded under his son's management up to 1871. One brewer employed up to five brewer's servants in 1861, whereas in 1871 there were only three to an equivalent number of brewers.

	<u>1851</u>	<u>1861</u>	<u>1871</u>
Brewer	2	1	3
Brewer's Servant	2	5	3
Licensed Victualler	2	1	2
Publican	-	1	-
Innkeeper	-	-	1
Beer Retailer	-	-	1
Errand Boy	1	-	-
TOTAL	7	8	10

In 1851 Bridge had three butchers who between them employed two labourers and a journeyman butcher. Only two butchers remained in 1861, one of whom employed a labourer, while for 1871 there were just two butchers plus a combined butcher and grocer. The number of bakers fell sharply from four in 1851 to one in 1861 when also there was a combined grocer and baker, and a baker and carter who between them employed an assistant baker and a boy. Ten years later in 1871 these combined occupations had disappeared and instead there were three bakers. Grocers increased in number, quite apart from those who combined grocery with another trade. In 1851 there were two grocers plus a combined grocer and carpenter. By 1861 two more grocers had appeared, along with a grocer's assistant who was not listed ten years later. In 1851 Bridge had a fruiterer and a tea-dealer but they were not enumerated in 1861.

The changing pattern of the clothing and footwear trades was equally complex. In 1851 Bridge had six boot and shoemakers, three of whom described themselves as cordwainers. By 1861 the cordwainers had vanished but there was now a girl 'shoebinder'. Ten years later, however, only two shoemakers served the needs of the community in 1871. While the village tailor had retired by 1871 and had not been replaced, dressmaking proved to be a thriving female occupation, with three dressmakers in 1851, rising to four in 1861 and 1871. Two sempstresses and a shirtmaker appeared only in 1851. Canterbury was not far away for these services, but other needs of the fashion conscious ladies of the village were satisfied by two milliners, one of whom in 1861 was also a dressmaker but in 1871 they were no longer enumerated. Bridge sustained throughout this period a draper, but his two young assistants, who were brothers of 16 and 18, appeared only in 1851. Also enumerated were a watchmaker, and from 1861 a postmistress.

Specifically for 1871 there were certain people whose occupations are difficult to classify and who may have been working outside the village. They included a 'matcher', a 'fly bobsetter', a 'case merchant' and a 'matmaker'. By now the horse training establishment founded by Richard Sherrard senior was in the sole occupation of his son and living in the village were a jockey, two stable lads and two apprentice lads.

The village of Bridge possessed an economy which was neither static nor unchanging between 1851 and 1871. Census data over this period reveal considerable occupational changes. A decline of traditional rural work, both on the land and in crafts and industries, was countered by the demands of a growing middle class sector, who employed more domestic servants and were important consumers of goods and services which were produced and sold in the village, but how many of Bridge's inhabitants worked in Canterbury or elsewhere is not known.

APPENDICESI. The Employed Population of Bridge.

<u>1851</u>	<u>1861</u>	<u>1871</u>
237	278	227

Employed as a percentage of the total population

<u>1851</u>	<u>1861</u>	<u>1871</u>
37.6%	38.2%	28.7%

Independent or Retired

<u>1851</u>	<u>1861</u>	<u>1871</u>
3.65%	3.16%	3.54%

II. The Employment of Mena) Men employed as a percentage of the total population

<u>1851</u>	<u>1861</u>	<u>1871</u>
88.65% (164)	88.5% (208)	63.34% (140)

III. Percentage of employed in eleven different categories

	<u>1851</u>	<u>1861</u>	<u>1871</u>
Agriculture	38.3	28.4	32.4
Domestic Service	23.2	24.0	27.5
Crafts	6.75	3.5	3.25
Construction	5.0	18.0	6.6
Food and Drink	8.0	7.5	9.3
Clothing	6.75	4.3	3.0
Transport	0.8	2.9	1.3
Services	5.9	5.4	2.2
Professions and Administration	2.5	4.6	7.0
Dual Occupations	1.6	0.35	0.4
Miscellaneous	1.2	1.05	7.01

IV. Employment of Womena) Women as a percentage of the workforce

	<u>1851</u>	<u>1861</u>	<u>1871</u>
	25.8	25.0	25.5

b) Working Women as a percentage of all women

	<u>1851</u>	<u>1861</u>	<u>1871</u>
	11.45%	19.2%	14.4%

c) The Percentage of Women employed in eleven different categories

	<u>1851</u>	<u>1861</u>	<u>1871</u>
Agriculture	1.5	0	0
Crafts	0	0	0
Construction	0	0	0
Food and Drink	3.0	1.4	3.33
Clothing	9.2	9.7	6.66
Transport	0	0	0
Services	100	100	80
Prof. and Admin.	28	30	42
Domestic Service	61.5	62.5	68.3
Dual Occupations	0	0	0
Miscellaneous	0	0	0

V. The Employment of Childrena) The percentage of all children employed

	<u>1851</u>	<u>1861</u>	<u>1871</u>
	8.9%	6.25%	2.8%

b) The Percentage of children employed in eleven different categories

	<u>1851</u>	<u>1861</u>	<u>1871</u>
Agriculture	10.64	8.86	0
Domestic Service	9.25	7.46	11.29
Crafts	0	0	0
Construction	0	4.0	0
Food and Drink	10.0	9.5	0
Clothing	6.6	0	0
Transport	0	0	0
Services	7.14	6.66	0
Prof. and Admin.	0	0	0
Dual	0	0	0
Miscellaneous	0	0	8.33

c) The Ages of Children Employed

<u>Age</u>	<u>1851</u>	<u>1861</u>	<u>1871</u>
9	-	1	-
10	3	-	-
11	-	-	-
12	3	1	-
13	5	4	3
14	3	4	2
15	5	8	3
	<hr/>		
<u>TOTAL</u>	19	18	8

d) The percentage of Children at School

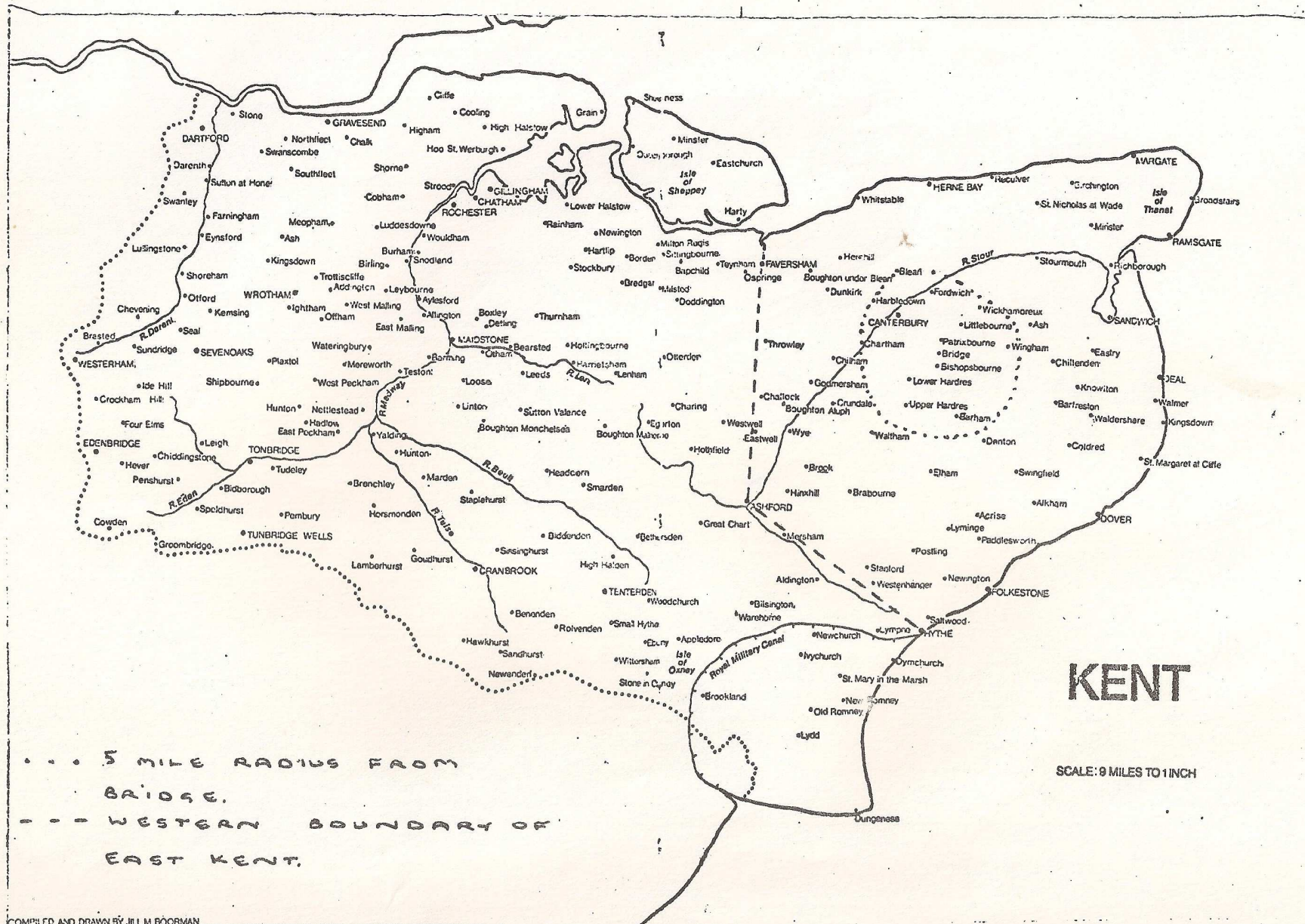
<u>1851</u>	<u>1861</u>	<u>1871</u>
30	36	16.5

FOOTNOTES:

All references relating to the census material on Bridge are to be noted as follows:

1851 - P.R.O. 97 4/HO 107/1623
 1861 - P.R.O. R.G. 9/518
 1871 - P.R.O. R.G. 10/965

- (1) Trade Directories and how they portrayed the history and life of Bridge are examined in Chapter VII.
- (2) A. Rogers, Approaches to Local History (2nd edition, 1977), 99-102
- (3) Report of Mr. Geoffrey Stanhope to the Commissioners on the Employment of Children, Young Persons and Women in Agriculture, Volume XIII (1868-9), 6-7.
- (4) F.W. Jessup, Kent History Illustrated (2nd edition, Maidstone, 1973), 53.
- (5) G.S. Minchin, "Table of Population 1801-1921" in Ed. W. Page, The Victorian History of the County of Kent Volume III (1932), 321
- (6) Kelly's Commercial Directory of the County of Kent (1882), 68.



... 5 MILE RADIUS FROM
BRIDGE.
--- WESTERN BOUNDARY OF
EAST KENT.

KENT

SCALE: 3 MILES TO 1 INCH

COMPILED AND DRAWN BY JILL M. BOORMAN

VI: BRIDGE : AS PORTRAYED BY CENSUS MATERIAL 1851-1871:
THE ORIGINS BY BIRTH OF ITS INHABITANTS

Martin Morris

INTRODUCTION

Some valuable information can be obtained from Victorian census enumerators' books concerning the origins of Bridge's population, especially for the years 1851, 1861 and 1871, even though it was the 1841 Census which recorded for the first time the origins of individual villagers, as to whether each individual had been born in the same county as his place of residence, or whether in "Scotland, Ireland, or Foreign Parts". Commencing with the 1851 Census the information provided was more specifically actual places of birth, so as to present an almost complete record of origins by birth of the inhabitants of Bridge.

This chapter is the last of three which from looking at the census returns of 1851, 1861 and 1871 illustrate family and household structure and means of living whether by profession trade employment or independent means, passing on now to the origins by birth of Bridge residents.

The 'where born' or birthplace columns of the census enumerators' books for Bridge for 1851, 1861 and 1871 (1) show to what extent its inhabitants had been born there as opposed to the surrounding area or places further afield. It might be argued from returns which show a high percentage of residents born in Bridge that the village was a self contained and perhaps inward looking community. Other chapters indicate, however, that this village, close to Canterbury, was not wholly agricultural, such that all of its inhabitants would have been born at least in the surrounding area if not in the parish itself. Bridge had a fairly diversified economy and so could be expected to attract as inhabitants people who had been born elsewhere.

In compiling this chapter several problems have arisen. How does the local historian devise a meaningful classification for the places of birth of the inhabitants of Bridge? One very clear distinction is between those born in Bridge itself as opposed to other areas such as "within five miles". Five miles was a comfortable distance to walk there and back in a day. Beyond five miles it is logical to think in terms of East Kent as an area east of a line starting from the Isle of Sheppey southwards through Faversham to Ashford and then south-east skirting Romney Marsh so as to meet Kent's southern coast of Hythe. Further afield lay the Weald and West Kent, the Home Counties, and elsewhere, which could extend to all parts of England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland or Foreign countries. These distinctions so far as Kent is concerned are illustrated by a map.

The more specific problems which arose during the research stage of this project were associated particularly with illegible handwriting in the

OVERALL TRENDS

Although pages of pure statistics can prove boring, it is necessary at least to state that in 1851 224 Bridge residents had been born in the parish which figure rose to 272 in 1861 and then rose again to 277 in 1871. Absolute figures however can be misleading, so that the percentage of the population born in Bridge actually fell between 1861 and 1871. These trends are shown in the following table which also indicates ever decreasing numbers and proportions born with ever increasing distances from the village.

TABLE I : NUMBERS BORN WITHIN EACH AREA IN THE CENSUSES OF 1851, 1861 and 1871

	<u>1851</u>		<u>1861</u>		<u>1871</u>	
Bridge	224	36.1%	272	37.4%	277	35%
Within 5 miles	191	30.8%	221	30.4%	212	26.8%
East Kent	136	21.9%	122	16.8%	189	24%
West Kent and Home Counties	37	6 %	67	9.2%	66	8.4%
Elsewhere	32	5.2%	45	6.2%	46	5.8%
<u>TOTAL</u>	620	100%	727	100%	790	100%

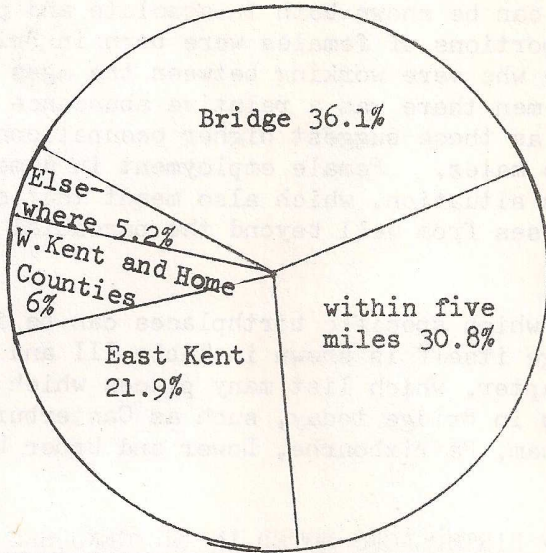
The information portrayed in this table is illustrated more graphically in the three circular diagrams on the following pages.

Mobility of population must not be exaggerated in so far as a clear majority of Bridge residents had been born within the parish or within a five mile radius, amounting to well over 60% between 1851 and 1871. Distances travelled for purposes of residence or employment were more limited in the nineteenth century than they are today. In 1861 67.8% of the inhabitants of Bridge had been born either in the village or within five miles of it. East Kent as a whole was primarily agricultural. Most migrants into Bridge were attracted from this area and Table II shows how over 85% of the inhabitants of the village had been born in East Kent, including Bridge and its immediate five mile radius. In none of the census years had more than sixteen per cent of the inhabitants of Bridge been born outside this immediate area.

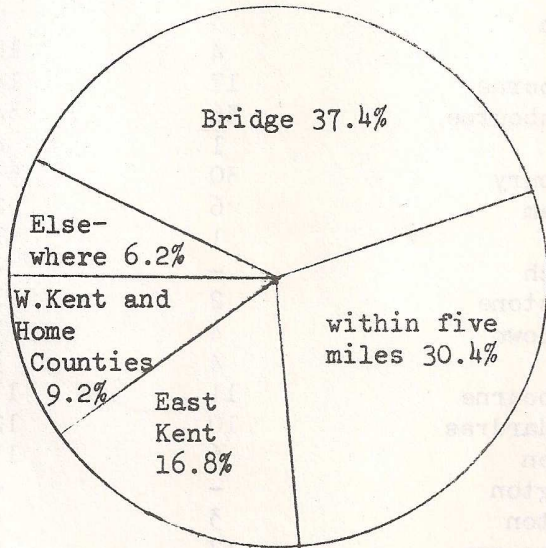
TABLE II : NUMBERS BORN WITHIN EAST KENT

	<u>Absolute Numbers</u>	<u>Percentage of Total</u>
1851	551	88.8%
1861	615	84.6%
1871	678	85.8%

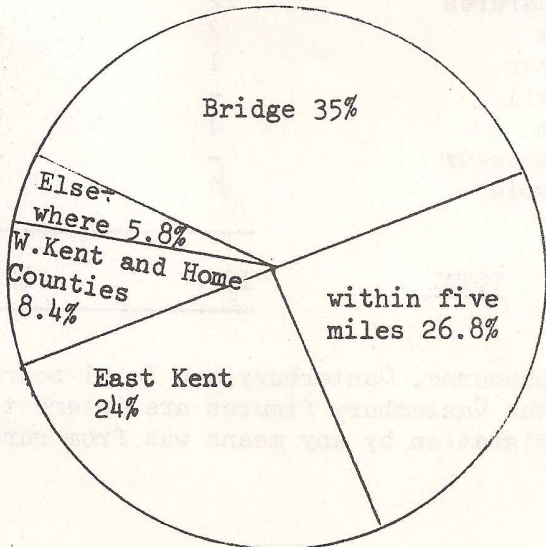
BRIDGE: 1851 CENSUS
BIRTHPLACE OF INHABITANTS



BRIDGE: 1861 CENSUS
BIRTHPLACE OF INHABITANTS



BRIDGE: 1871 CENSUS
BIRTHPLACE OF INHABITANTS



Females more than males were more likely to originate from far away places, which can be shown both in absolute and percentage terms, and yet higher proportions of females were born in Bridge in all age groups except those who were working between the ages of 15 and 59. Concerning working men there was a relative abundance of males of working age. Trends such as these suggest higher occupational mobility among females compared to males. Female employment in domestic service was one reason for this situation, which also meant that some aspiring husbands sought spouses from well beyond the parochial limits of Victorian Bridge.

The extent to which specific birthplaces can be identified within five miles of Bridge itself is shown in Table III and the two maps at the end of this chapter, which list many places which would feature in local conversations in Bridge today, such as Canterbury, Bekesbourne, Bishopsbourne, Barham, Patrixbourne, Lower and Upper Hardres' and Littlebourne.

TABLE III : LIST OF BIRTHPLACES NOTED IN THE CENSUSES WITHIN FIVE MILES OF BRIDGE

	<u>1851</u>	<u>1861</u>	<u>1871</u>
Adisham	3	7	10
Barham	4	18	20
Bekesbourne	17	14	21
Bishopsbourne	36	34	22
Blean	1	4	2
Canterbury	30	53	41
Chartham	6	2	3
Denton	1	1	1
Fordwich	-	-	1
Goodnestone	2	1	3
Harbledown	4	1	1
Ickham	4	3	4
Littlebourne	11	11	8
Lower Hardres	10	12	7
Kingston	6	13	2
Nackington	-	-	7
Nonington	3	4	3
Patrixbourne	17	9	17
Petham	8	10	18
Sturry	7	5	1
Thanington	-	-	1
Upper Hardres	12	7	6
Waltham	2	4	-
West Beer	1	-	1
West Well	-	-	2
Wingham	4	5	6
Wickhambreaux	-	-	1
Womenswold	2	3	3
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>191</u>	<u>221</u>	<u>212</u>

Bekesbourne, Bishopsbourne, Canterbury and Patrixbourne feature prominently in the table, and the Canterbury figures are interesting for showing that not all Victorian migration by any means was from rural to urban areas,

PARISHES IN 1861 WITHIN 5 MILES OF BRIDGES IN WHICH 10 OR MORE BRIDGE RESIDENTS HAD BEEN BORN.

THE COUNTY OF KENT

SHOWING PARISHES

ESSEX

RIVER THAMES

EAST SUSSEX



but equally the close proximity of Bridge to Canterbury must not be overlooked. As between 1851 and 1871 migrants rose significantly from Adisham, Barham, Bekesbourne, Canterbury, Nackington and Petham, but declined noticeably from Bishopsbourne, Chartham, Harbledown, Lower and Upper Hardres, Littlebourne, Kingston and Sturry. Migrational movements were two way as can be seen by comparing the 1861 and 1871 figures against those for 1851 in the specific instances of Bekesbourne, Goodnestone, Patnixbourne and Petham.

A surprising increase in the numbers originating from the rest of East Kent is revealed in the 1871 census returns which perhaps is to be attributed to a greater mobility of workers within this agricultural region. Persons originating from West Kent or the Home Counties were very much in a minority, and yet places such as Croydon, London, Chelsea, Woolwich, Greenwich and Middlesex were well represented, although more so in the later than earlier census years.

A few foreign birthplaces were also recorded for Bridge throughout the mid nineteenth century; for instance, the West Indies, in all three census years, suggesting previous military, naval or commercial connections with that part of the world. So far as the United Kingdom was concerned, Bridge residents had been born in several different counties, as well as in Scotland or Wales. Victorian Bridge had a population which was in no sense isolated from outside influences and inward migration. However, it was also the case that most of the people in the village between 1851 and 1871 had been born there or in some other part of East Kent.

FOOTNOTES

1. All references throughout this text relating to census material on Bridge are to be noted as follows:

For 1851	-	P.R.O. 974/H.O. 107/1623
For 1861	-	P.R.O. R.G. 9/518
For 1871	-	P.R.O. R.G. 10/965

The census enumerators' books are on microfilm in the Beaney Institute in Canterbury.

VII: BRIDGE AS RECORDED IN TRADE DIRECTORIES, 1839-1882.

Brian Phillips

TRADE DIRECTORIES: THEIR ORIGIN, NATURE AND HISTORICAL VALUE

Directories are essentially lists of people and businesses, of which the most familiar variety encountered today is the telephone directory. Their purpose is to aid contacts.

"Directories are, by nature and origin, instruments of commerce. Like roads, railways and the telegraph, they are a means of communication, essential to extensive trade relations and a wide market and they were compiled to meet the commercial needs of easy and rapid intercourse between buyer and seller". (1)

Some publications catered for a special need, such as the police directories of Walsall in 1813 and Newcastle-under-Lyme in 1836 (2). The first known directory was published in 1677: A Collection of the Names of the Merchants Living In and About the City of London: Printed by Samuel Lee. It pre-dated the first European directory by fourteen years and was concerned solely with the wholesale trade (3).

In the later eighteenth century directories began to appear outside the capital. Sadler's compilation covering Hampshire, of 1784, is the earliest known county directory. This outward spread reflects an enlargement of market areas, for which informal personal contacts are becoming inadequate. Their emphasis now turned towards a developing retail trade, providing greater information on shops and other local amenities for a more mobile population whose settlement patterns were changing. The spread of the holiday habit and the development of new resorts in particular created an urgent need for such information amongst resident visitors who were unfamiliar with the area in which they were staying (4).

Purely court directories, listing residents of "quality" only, were rare outside London until the later nineteenth century. Increased use of mail services was another stimulus to the production of directories, if only because the number of undelivered letters rose and their intended recipients had to be traced. Many directories were compiled by or with the help of postmen. In 1836, Frederic Kelly's famous link with the Post Office began, as shown by the title of his firm's directories(5).

By 1814, when the first of Pigot's general directories came out, there existed already a class of professional directory publishers, employing skilled agents to collect information. As the century progressed, Kelly's successive publications eliminated rivals from the market. High standards of accuracy were aimed at in the business, though entertaining stories of rogue publishers abound. John Machoull of Worthing, who brought out a local directory in 1811 and volumes of memoirs in 1809 and 1822, came from a family with an appalling criminal record. His mother, nicknamed "Gunpowder", was adept at stealing pewter pots from inns. His three sisters were thieves, while his brother Benjamin had been hanged for stealing a watch. Another brother, James, was also a petty thief and suspected of murder. He was tried for robbing the Paisley Bank at Glasgow of £20,000, condemned to death and reprieved

but died in jail soon afterwards. Machoull himself was a forger and kept a disreputable lodging-house in London, whence he retired to the Sussex coast c.1810, to keep up complaints that he was being persecuted! (6)

In similar vein, the preface of another directory lamented the harmful effects of "...narrow-minded and unprincipled comment of certain individuals in the trade (making use of journals)... to propagate the grossest misstatement and cowardly innuendoes..." (7)

Illustrated at this stage is a complete mid-nineteenth-century entry for the village of Bridge.

BRIDGE derives its name from its situation in a valley on the Roman and modern road to Dover, at a bridge over a feeder of the Stour. It is in the hundred of Bridge and Petham, and union of Bridge, lathes of St. Augustine, Canterbury county court district, diocese and archdeaconry, Bridge deanery, 3 miles south of Canterbury, with a population, in 1851, of 804, and an area of 1,161 acres. The Union workhouse contained 241 inmates out of this number. The church of St. Peter consists of three aisles, a high chancel, and a north transept or chancel, in the centre of the north of the aisle. The living is a perpetual curacy annexed to Patrixbourne vicarage, joint annual value £350, in the patronage of the Dowager Marchioness of Conyngham; the Rev. John Stevenson, M.A., is the incumbent. There is a National school, and a Literary and Scientific Institution for Bridge and Patrixbourne. In the neighbourhood are several gentlemen's seats.

PERITHORSE is half a mile west; Renwell, 1 north-west.

PRIVATE RESIDENTS.

Aldworth Rev. St. Ledger, M.A.
Boynck Mrs
Edling Mrs
Elgar Mrs
Freer Mr. Thomas
Gregory Mrs
Jarvis Mr. Henry
Jarvis Mrs
Johnson Mrs
Kingsford Rev. Brencley, M.A. [curate of Bishopsbourne]
Lansberry Mrs
Martin Mr
Pitcock Thomas, esq
Pratt Lieut. David
Smith Rev. Isaac [curate]
Stevenson Rev. John, M.A. [incumbent], Patrixbourne
Winter Capt. Charles

COMMERCIAL.

Adams George, farmer
Banks Robert Young, linendraper
Barter John, butcher
Colegate Richd. builder & wheelwright
Collard Thomas, tailor
Collins John, farmer, Petthouse farm
Davis John, grocer
Dutnall William, brickmaker
Eyers Joseph, *Red Lion*
Fagg Thomas, blacksmith
Finch William, boot & shoe maker
Freer Fanny (Miss), seminary
Fryer George, miller
Hardeman William, watchmaker & agent to the Kent fire & life office
Hodges Charles, butcher
Homans William, builder & registrar of births, deaths & marriages
Hornsby Charles Fortescue, *White Horse*
Huxstep Gilbert, farmer

Jarvis Ann (Mrs.), butcher
Kelsey George, farmer
Knight George, shoemaker
Lawrence Job, grocer
Marsh James, farmer
Martin John, miller
Moss Alfred, grocer & baker
Mutton Richard, ale & porter brewer, wholesale & retail
Sayer William, plumber & glazier
Sherrard Richard, postmaster
Sicard Amelius, surgeon
Steed John, grazier
Thomas James, chemist
Verrier William Curling, plumber & hop bag manufacturer
Wells Richard, master of National sch
White Thomas, boot & shoe maker
White William, farmer
Williams Daniel, greengrocer
Wills Richard, baker

POST OFFICE.—Richard Sherrard, receiver. Letters from London arrive from Canterbury by mail cart at 7 a.m. & dispatched at 8 p.m. The nearest money order office is at Canterbury

PUBLIC OFFICERS.—
Clerk to the Union, William Torth

Registrar of Births, Deaths & Marriages, Wm. Homans.
National School, Richard Wells, master; Mrs. Sophia Sayer, mistress
Union Workhouse, James Betts, master
Omnibuses & Carriers to Canterbury & Dover pass through daily

Source: Post Office Directory of the Six Home Counties (1859), 468.

It has been selected from one of several trade directories which have been consulted for this chapter. It helps to set the scene for the later 1850's by offering a general description of Bridge as a parochial community. Considered in isolation it represents no more than a static picture for 1859. Similar and sometimes fuller and more historical accounts can be gleaned from guidebooks, histories and almanacs. (8) Of equal or greater informative value are the lists of "private residents" and those in commerce and trades which follow the opening descriptive and topographical paragraphs. This format or arrangement of entry remained unchanged throughout the period covered by this chapter and was equally applicable to other towns and villages throughout the country.

The historical value of trade directories with particular reference to Sussex has recently been assessed as follows by John Farrant.

"For the social historian they can indicate the internal structures of communities; for the economic historian the relative and changing importance of occupations and industries may be revealed....In few instances are directories undoubtedly better in quality of information than other sources: census enumerators' tallies are more comprehensive and probably more

accurate in identifying individuals; rate books can be much
more preferable for discovery

embracing, directory entries for Bridge did not list even ten per cent of the population. Directories were chiefly consulted by the middle and trading classes, who sought the names and addresses of local gentlemen, spinsters or widows of independent means, such social equals as clergymen or officers in the services, as well as the heads of professional, trading or business firms. Domestic servants, employees, or labourers, who comprised a majority of the population, had no place in such works of reference, but conversely, the comprehensive census schedules did not always reveal the true status of a person within many an occupational category.

Altogether, approximately 250 differently named people, appeared in the directory lists between 1839 and 1882. Much uncertainty arises however from listing people with similar but slightly different names, such as William Verrier, plumber, who appeared in 1839 and 1847, and William Curling Verrier, plumber and hop bagging manufacturer, who was recorded from 1851 onwards. The latter was probably one and the same person or could be the son of the original William Verrier. The members of the Wye family in charge of the National School in 1874 - Robert Wye, Mrs. Mary Wye and Miss Ellen Wye - are separated by only a few years from Robert Wye, Mrs. Susan Emmeline Wye and Miss Fanny Wye, as listed in 1878 and 1882.

To some extent the historian is forced to make assumptions concerning family relationships, including whether people bearing the same surname are in fact, relatives. One possibility is that the Wyes appear as an extended family, Miss Wye being Robert's sister or Mrs. Wye being his mother, in the absence of other information.

SOME GENERAL FEATURES OF BRIDGE

Factual discrepancies between the directories are revealed for such seemingly indisputable matters as the population and acreage of Bridge. The population in 1841 was given as 817 by Bagshaw (1847) as against 632 by Kelly (1851); for 1851, Melville (1858) recorded 804, which surely must be a clerical error since Kelly (1855) had recorded it as being 864; for 1861 the population was variously 800 or 893. (24) There is general agreement that Bridge parish covered 1161 acres, though acreages of 1169 and 1280 were recorded also. (25)

Other basic facts which were diligently reported in virtually every directory included the numerous ecclesiastical and civil administrative districts in which Bridge was located, however archaic they had become. Only Melville's five economical sentences in 1858 omitted these particulars, though two of them informed the reader that the spiritual living was a perpetual curacy and that the Wesleyans possessed a place of worship. One year later, in 1859, this latter fact received no mention, possibly because editorial space was required for other pieces of information, notably the first mention in that same year of a local Literary and Scientific Institution for Bridge and Patricbourne, together with the Canterbury County Court district. In 1862 the existence of the Canterbury police district was first noted.

The development and increasing complexity of local government is a strong theme in these directory entries, commencing with the Poor Law Union which took its name from Bridge. Over the years more and more

of its officials were listed, along with the parishes contained within the Union from 1862. From 1870 appeared statements of its rateable value and gross estimated rental. All these particulars were given in voluminous detail for 1882. The creation and operation of the Union and its workhouse are examined in a subsequent chapter. (26)

The allocation of space to describing the parish church, which would have interested those readers for whom directories were designed, did not diminish through time, as can be seen from the 1867 and 1882 entries. Despite such preoccupations other economic and social features or developments did not pass unnoticed. Gas lighting in Bridge was first mentioned in 1862, while from 1874 the Bridge Gas, Coke and Coal Co., Ltd., was included in the commercial section. Mindful perhaps of the agricultural interest, the 1870 directory was the first to state that the local soil was chalky and that the chief crops were wheat, barley and oats, with hops being added to these details in 1882. Improvements in postal services were effected to the extent of two daily collections by 1878 and two deliveries by 1882, while money order, telegraph and savings bank facilities at Bridge Post Office had appeared as early as 1874.

Some indication perhaps of the prosperity of the village, patchy in coverage over time is revealed by fiscal valuations. The Property Tax assessment in 1842 was £3,635, while subsequent rateable values rose from £2,957 in 1847 to £3,067 in 1870 and 1878 and to £3,317 in 1882.

THE PRIVATE RESIDENTS OF BRIDGE

The people listed under this heading were described as "Gentry" before 1859, such as Mrs. Beasley and T. Pittock, esq., in 1851. The size of this more exclusive social category increased during the period, from at least half-a-dozen in 1839 (27) to 11 during the 1840's and 1850's, to between 15 and 17 during the 1860's, to 21 in 1870, to 25 in 1878, accelerating thereafter to reach 34 by 1882. What appears to be a sustained rise concealed, however, some fluctuations among specific groups within the élite of Victorian Bridge.

From 1845 there were normally two or three officers, falling to one only in 1866 and 1867. Their numerical strength having recovered to five in 1870, then declined before reaching six in 1882. Clergymen were most numerous in 1859 when four were listed including the incumbent, the Rev. John Stevenson, who lived at Patricxbourne. Earlier in that decade none had been recorded. There were also seven widows in 1859. A subsequent reduction in their number was reversed so that there were again seven in 1878, and eight in 1882. Spinsters were not recorded before 1866 and thereafter were never more than three in 1878. Males other than officers and clergymen rarely constituted more than half of the private residents, and in 1855, 1858, and most of all 1859 were surprisingly few in number, yet there were many in 1878 and 1882 (12 and 17), even though their relative importance had not increased. This development and increase in the number of resident widows were chiefly responsible for the higher numbers of private residents towards the end of the period under review.

The directories suggest that social upward mobility within the village was restricted. Few people managed to get transferred from the commercial to the private entries and when this did occur it is possible that a namesake may have irrupted on to the scene. Mrs. Boyack, who ran a private ladies' school, "crossed" between 1858 and 1859, (28) but then conducting a private school was a perfectly respectable

occupation. Other instances included George Kelsey, a farmer, between 1867 and 1878; Joseph Eyers, who managed the Red Lion, livery stables and a carriage business between 1870 and 1874; and Edward Gibbs, the brewer, during the same period. The only villager to be listed in 1839 and 1882, William Sayer, a plumber, also achieved private resident status.

THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY IN BRIDGE

Some idea of the commercial life of Bridge is obtained from the commercial lists. An alphabetical list of trades and the numbers engaged in each constitute Appendix II to this chapter. Such data fail, however, to portray a full picture of the village's economic activity. A mere counting of trades reveals absolutely nothing about the relative sizes of such business enterprises, in terms of capital or numbers of staff employed. There is also no hint as to their turnover or profitability, all of which are essential prerequisites for serious business history. Though certain calculations are set out below, they are not to be regarded as authoritative in any respect. They are merely suggested trends. Assuming that entered trades are comparable then increasing numbers suggest an expanding village economy.

The basic information that can be extracted with a minimum of controversy concerns the range of occupations, showing which ones endured, which vanished and which emerged. It can be seen that bakers, a blacksmith, boot and shoemakers, a brickmaker, one or two builders, butchers, farmers, grocers, inns, a linen draper, a miller, plumbers, a saddler, a surgeon, a tailor and a watchmaker were permanently represented. Only some of these trades were represented by more than one enterprise for serving the daily needs of the village. Other fairly persistent trades included a brewer (up to 1874), a chemist, one or two glaziers during the 1850's and 1860's, one or two private schools, and one or two wheelwrights. At least one general shopkeeper was listed regularly from 1866 onwards, there having been three in 1845 and one in 1847. Regularly listed towards the end of the period were one or two beer retailers, one or two carriage proprietors, one or two carriers, a coal merchant, one or two insurance agents and one or two livery stables.

Trades which died out tended to be crafts, notably a basket and sieve maker, a farrier, a harness maker, a linen manufacturer (displaced by the linen draper), a straw hat maker and a hop bag manufacturer. Rather isolated and short-lived were a broker, a commercial traveller, a jeweller, a manure agent, a marine-stores dealer, a rent collector, a tin-plate worker and a toy dealer, whose presence was not vital to the local economy. Intermittent entries included a bricklayer, a carpenter, a grazier, one or two greengrocers, one or two painters and an undertaker, while from 1878 the village possessed a veterinary surgeon. The function of "dealer" was performed under three different labels at three different times by three different people, viz.: "dealer in sundries" (1839), "general dealer" (1870) and "provision dealer" (1882). The first two were possibly close to being unspecified "shopkeepers".

Trades appearing relatively late often performed specialist services, such as a contractor, a decorator, a plasterer, and the veterinary surgeon. The agricultural interest between 1878 and 1882 was represented by a resident landowner and one or two hop growers. Farmers were included

throughout, with the single exception of 1839 (Pigot), this particular omission having been noted already. Between three and five farmers were listed from 1845 to 1858 rising to a steady six between 1859 and 1867, falling to five between 1870 and 1878 and dropping back to four in 1882 as in 1845. Fluctuations in the number of farmers did not necessarily indicate changes in agriculture, or farm size, particularly since farm acreages varied and extended across parish boundaries.

Some trades and occupations were noted intermittently, almost it seems at the whim of directory compilers. Carpentry, bricklaying, hop-bag making and painting, when mentioned, were carried on by people who had other, more enduring occupations, while being a wheelwright or undertaker in a village the size of Bridge was clearly not a full-time pursuit.

ROW	YEAR:	1839	1845	1847	1851	1855	1858	1859	1862	1866	1867	1870	1874	1878	1882
A: No. of trades X Nos. in each Period		36	48	34	36	38	41	40	37	40	40	43	42	46	54
		39-45	45-7	47-51	51-5	55-8	58-9	59-62	62-6	66-7	67-70	70-4	74-8	78-82	
B: No. of increases in (A)		23	4	9	3	9	9	3	4	2	5	4	6	16	
C: No. of decreases in (A)		11	18	7	1	6	10	6	1	2	2	5	2	8	
D: Management changes in <u>family</u>		4	1	1	2	5	5	2	2	0	9	2	1	1	
E: Other management changes		6	4	2	2	3	6	0	1	0	5	3	5	9	
F: Nos. of (A) unchanged		15	25	24	31	24	22	31	33	38	23	32	36	28	
G: Average p.a. of (B)		3	2	>2	0.75	3	9	1	1	2	1.67	1	1.5	4	
H: " (C)		2	9	<2	0.25	2	10	2	0.25	2	0.67	1.25	0.5	2	
I: " (D)		0.67	0.50	0.25	0.50	1.67	5	0.67	0.50	0	3	0.5	0.25	0.25	
J: " (E)		1	2	0.50	0.50	1	6	0	0.25	0	1.67	0.75	1.25	2.25	
K: % of (A) at end of each period unchanged		33	70	67	75	62.5	50	75	75	95	50	80	72	50	

in the occupational structure of Bridge over the period 1839 to 1882.

The numbers in row A relate to "occupational units", which are defined as the number of trades inflated by the numbers engaged in each one. Notable increases occurred between 1839 and 1845 and between 1878 and 1882. It is from information contained in the next five rows, B-F, that the annual averages shown in rows G-J are calculated, as one way of compensating for the irregular intervals at which the directories were published.

Comparing rows G and H, it can be seen that new and disappearing "occupational units" more or less balanced each other at most times, with a slight bias in favour of growth. Row I reveals that the handing-over of a business to another member of the family was most evident in

Length of recorded stay:	1 entry	1-5 yrs.	6-10	11-5	16-20	21-5	26-30	31-5	35-40	40+
MALE TRADERS	49	18	12	11	5	21	5	4	2	1
FEMALE TRADERS	8	4	3	1	1					
ALL TRADERS	57	22	15	12	6	21	5	4	2	1
OFFICIALS	12	1	7	2	1	1			1	
WIDOWS	10	6	4	1	2					
SPINSTERS	1	2		1						
CLERGY	7	2								
OFFICERS	6			3	1			1		
CONYNGHAM FAMILY	2	1								
OTHER MALE RESIDENTS	11	7	8	2	2					
TOTAL PRIVATE RESIDENTS	37	18	12	7	5			1		
GRAND TOTAL	106	41	34	21	12	22	5	5	3	1

CONCLUSION

The seventeen trade directories which have been examined for this chapter help to reconstruct the economic life and social structure of Bridge as a Victorian village community between 1839 and 1882. They suggest that gentry and professional and trading families managed to thrive over this forty-year period. This conclusion seems justified despite the variety of publishers and the different standards which they adopted. Much added detail is provided for the four years separating 1878 and 1882. These were years of change. With respect to agriculture, hops appeared alongside cereals as a major cash crop. There were two hop growers in 1882 instead of one in 1878. The number of farmers dropped from five to four, while no grazier had been listed since 1859. The number of listed private residents rose sharply from 25 in 1878 to 34 in 1882, attaining thereby parity with the number of commercial names. Businessmen who were involved in more than one trade and the number of "occupational units" also rose significantly. Finally, there was a rise of almost 10% in rateable value from £3,067 in 1878, to £3,317 in 1882.

Although trade directories contain much economic and social detail for the Victorian period, their different approaches, omissions, faults and whims also reveal as much about the compilation of such works as about local history.

APPENDIX IPrimary Sources

- Pigot and Co's Royal National and Commercial Directory and Topography
(1839), 235.
- Pigot and Co's Royal National and Commercial Directory and Topography
(1840), 235.
- Post Office Directory for the Six Home Counties (1845), 220.
- S. Bagshaw, History, Gazetteer and Directory of the County of Kent
(Sheffield, 1847), volume II, 234-5.
- Post Office Directory of the Six Home Counties (1851), 260.
- Post Office Directory of the Six Home Counties (1852), 260.
- Post Office Directory of the Six Home Counties (1855), 280-1.
- Melville and Co's Directory and Gazetteer of Kent (1858), 35.
- Post Office Directory of the Six Home Counties (1859), 468
- Post Office Directory of the Six Home Counties (1862), volume II, 752.
- Post Office Directory of the Six Home Counties (1866), volume II, 849-50.
- J. G. Harrod and Co's Postal and Commercial Directory of Kent (1867), 112-3.
- Post Office Directory of the Six Home Counties (1870), volume II, 1041.
- Post Office Directory of the Six Home Counties (1874), volume II, 1159-60.
- Post Office Directory of the Six Home Counties (1875), volume II, 1159-60.
- Post Office Directory of the Six Home Counties (1878), volume II, 1292-3.
- Kelly's Directory of Kent (1882), 67-8.

A useful finding list of Kentish directories exists in W. F. Bergess and B. R. M. Riddell, Kent Directories Located (Maidstone, 1973).

APPENDIX II (Contd.)

	1839	1845	1847	1851	1855	1858	1859	1862	1866	1867	1870	1874	1878	1882
Decorator														1
Farmer		4	3	4	5	4	6	6	6	6	5	5	5	4
Farrrier		1												
General Dealer (1)	4										1			1
Glazier	2			1	1	2	1	1	1	2	1			1
Grazier		1		1	1	1	1							
Greengrocer		1		1	1	2	1							
Grocer	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	4	3
Harness Maker		1												
Hop-Bag Manufacturer		1		1	1		1							
Hop Grower													1	2
Insurance Agents							1	2	1	1	2	2	2	3
Jeweller		1												
Inns	2	3	2	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	3
Landowner														1
Linen Draper		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Linen Manuf/r.	1													
Livery Stables						1		1	1	1	1	1	1	2

APPENDIX II (Contd.)

	1839	1845	1847	1851	1855	1858	1859	1862	1866	1867	1870	1874	1878	1882
Manure Agent													1	
Marine Store Dealer												1	1	
Miller	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Painter	1	2	2			1								
Plasterer														1
Plumber	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1
Rent Collector												1	1	
Saddler	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Shopkeeper		3	1						1	1	1	1	1	2
Straw Hat Maker	1													
Schools (2)	2	1	1	1	1	2	1					1	1	1
Surgeon	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	2
Tailor/ess	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	2	1	2
Tinplate Worker		1												
Toy Dealer										1				
Undertaker		1				1								1
Veterinary Surgeon													1	1
Watchmaker	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Wheelwright		1		1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	1	1	2

Notes (1) "Dealer in sundries" (1839); "general dealer" (1870) and "provision dealer" (1882). (2) See footnote (29)

FOOTNOTES

- (1) J. E. Norton, Guide to the National and Provincial Directories of England and Wales, excluding London, published before 1856. (1950), 1.
- (2) Ibid., 2, 14.
- (3) Ibid., 1.
- (4) Ibid., 10.
- (5) Ibid., 11-2.
- (6) Ibid., 20, 180-1.
- (7) Quoted in ibid., 22.
- (8) As presented for instance in Chapter 1.
- (9) J. H. Farrant, Sussex Directories 1784-1940 (2nd Ed., Brighton, 1975) 1.
- (10) W. G. Hoskins, Local History in England (2nd Ed., 1972), 30.
- (11) A. M. Everitt, "Town and County in Victorian Leicestershire: The Role of Village Carrier", in (ed.) A. M. Everitt, Perspectives in English Urban History (1973), 213-40.
- (12) P. Wilde, "The Use of Business Directories in Comparing the Industrial Structure of Towns" The Local Historian, XII, Nos. 3 and 4 (1976), 152-8; D. Alexander, Retailing in England during the Industrial Revolution (1969) J. Whyman, "Eynsford and Lullingstone a Century Ago," Cantium: A Magazine of Kent Local History, V, No. 2 (Summer 1973), 38-44. The bibliography in Farrant, op.cit., 4, lists five other studies.
- (13) Hoskins, op.cit., 181.
- (14) W. B. Stephens, Sources for English Local History (Manchester, 1973), 50.
- (15) Ibid., 104.
- (16) Ibid., 156, 159.
- (17) Ibid., 180, 192.
- (18) Norton, op.cit. 16-8.
- (19) The entry in Pigot and Co's Royal, National and Commercial Directory and Topography (1839) covers Littlebourne, Bekesbourne and Patricxbourne as well as Bridge so it is difficult to distinguish where some of the private gentry actually lived.
- (20) Except in 1858, 1859 and 1867.
- (21) Pigot and Co's Directory, 325.
- (22) Post Office Directory of the Six Home Counties (1874), volume II, 1160.
- (23) See chapters 3, 4 and 5.
- (24) Post Office Directory of the Six Home Counties (1866), volume II, 849; J. G. Harrod and Co's Postal and Commercial Directory of Kent (1867), 112.
- (25) S. Bagshaw, History, Gazeteer and Directory of the County of Kent (Sheffield, 1847), volume II, 234; Post Office Directory of the Six Home Counties: (1845), 220; (1851), 260.
- (26) See chapter IX.
- (27) See footnote (20) above.
- (28) She is recorded as Mrs. "Bryack" in 1858.
- (29) "Boarding academies" in 1839; "seminary" in 1845 and 1859; "ladies' boarding school" in 1847; "boarding schools" in 1851, 1855, 1858, and "ladies' school" from 1874.

VIII: BRIDGE AS PRESENTED IN LOCAL NEWSPAPERS
BETWEEN 1840 AND 1878

Robert A. Scott

INTRODUCTION: THE KENTISH GAZETTE AND OTHER CANTERBURY NEWSPAPERS,
1768-1855

Charles Lamb once observed that

"Newspapers always excite curiosity. No-one ever lays one down without a feeling of disappointment."(1)

In many ways this comment is relevant to the use of old newspapers as a source for studying the history of mid-Victorian Bridge. Dr. Alan Rogers, however, notes that "a lengthy run through even a weekly is a laborious task" (2) especially since the contents of local newspapers have never been indexed.

Following on a Bill for abolishing the compulsory Newspaper Stamp, which took effect on 29 June 1855 there dawned an era of cheaper and more comprehensive newspapers with greatly extended local coverage. The Kentish Gazette, as the principal source of reference for this chapter, has enjoyed a continuous publication since 1768 and can be consulted in the Beaney Institute in Canterbury. Bridge was merely one small community within the circulation area of the paper which in its local news coverage took in regular reports from such towns as Tonbridge, Rochester, Margate, Deal, Dover or Hythe. Thus information on a village as small as Bridge is often sparse or superficial leaving many of the local historian's questions unanswered.

The Kentish Gazette first appeared towards the end of May 1768. It cost twopence and replaced The Kentish Post as one of England's earliest provincial newspapers, having first appeared in 1717. The present day Gazette claims dubiously to have existed from that earlier date. Its Canterbury printer, James Simmons, used the first issue to announce the following objectives "To the Inhabitants of the County of Kent and the City of Canterbury":

"I hope to render it not only valuable but entertaining; that, biased by no Party, and under no influence whatever, it shall be open to the favors of every corresponding Friend, and all possible Care shall be taken for the due management and Circulation thereof." (3)

Such good intentions did not persist so that by 1840 The Kentish Gazette had become associated with the Conservative interest whilst its great rival The Kent Herald supported Liberal views.

Selected years have been examined for the purpose of this chapter, namely 1840, the odd years of the 1840's, followed by the even years from 1850 onwards. Originally it was intended to look at only one week in each month, but it soon became clear that since information on Bridge

was intermittent, a more detailed study was required. It is easy to miss events, perhaps of some importance, using such an approach, but it is not the aim of this chapter to record all the events which occurred in Bridge, rather to portray aspects of the village's everyday life as reported by a local newspaper. Hopefully a fair coverage has been achieved.

On Tuesday, 7 January 1840, The Kentish Gazette and Weekly Journal for East and West Kent was published, price fourpence, copy number 7122, with a circulation "every Tuesday through the principal towns and villages of Kent and part of Sussex, Surrey, Essex and Middlesex", being widely read amongst "the nobility, gentry, clergy, agriculturalists and mercantile classes". (4) It contained only four pages each of which had six columns; it was printed in Canterbury by Robert Smithson.

Local news formed only part of the content of Victorian local newspapers. As well as national and foreign news they contained selected items from both London newspapers and from other newspapers under the all-embracing heading of Provincial Intelligence. The local news of The Kentish Gazette was largely limited to Canterbury itself and to other major towns of East and West Kent. News from Canterbury covered its various clubs, the City Magistrates' Court, the East Kent Quarter Sessions, the Canterbury Hospital and Dispensary, market prices, and births, deaths and marriages. This was the pattern of local reporting until 1855.

The Kentish Gazette had to compete against rival newspapers. The Kent Herald, at the end of 1854 was "printed and distributed every Thursday morning by George Burch, 9 High Street, Canterbury". Having seven columns to each of its four pages, it cost the same as the Gazette, enjoyed the same wide circulation and claimed similar sales figures. The Kentish Observer was more expensive at fivepence but it did incorporate "the Ramsgate and Margate, Deal and Sandwich, Dover, Hythe and Folkestone, Ashford and Romney, Faversham and Sittingbourne, Herne Bay and Whitstable Journals". Published on Thursdays it contained eight pages of six columns each. Every Saturday was published the youngest of Canterbury's newspapers, The Canterbury Journal and Farmer's Gazette (5), but its circulation at mid-century was only one quarter that of the Gazette.

The repeal of the Stamp Duty half way through 1855 had a sudden and dramatic effect on the newspapers of East Kent. The reaction of the Gazette was typical of the contemporary press as a whole.

"On TUESDAY NEXT, JULY 3, The First Tuesday in the
 Ensuing Quarter
 That Old-Established County Newspaper, the
 KENTISH GAZETTE
 will be ENLARGED to the size of the London Daily Papers;
 with Eight Folio Pages, containing Forty-Eight columns
 of reading...
 Improvements are also now in contemplation which

Cheaper local newspapers appeared on the scene and their prices were "within the means of a large class of the community to whom the purchase of a newspaper has hitherto been a prohibited luxury". (7)

1855 was also memorable for the first appearance of The Canterbury News and General Advertiser on 14 July, which was introduced as a "Penny, first-class Newspaper" (8). This paper must have been one of the original "popular tabloids" intended for "the working man", which sought to influence "the cause of Reform". (9) Certainly it met with immediate success and was claiming after only twenty-three weeks that "We expected to circulate five hundred copies per week, whereas our circulation has averaged during the last few weeks upward of FIFTEEN HUNDRED and on one occasion reached Eighteen Hundred." (10) Following on its initial success it was extended and enlarged as The East Kent Times and Canterbury News. From the mid 1850's onwards there emerged a wide and popular demand for newspapers, which involved an extended coverage of local, agricultural, scientific, and ecclesiastical news, as well as such items as literary reviews, a ladies' corner, family column and 'Gleanings from Punch'.

ADVERTISEMENTS RELATING MAINLY TO PROPERTIES AND HOUSEHOLD EFFECTS

Then, as now, advertisements occupied a good deal of space in the local press, and they provide useful information for the local historian. Most of the advertisements were purely local. Residents of Bridge and elsewhere learned of innumerable patent medicines, of schools, insurance companies, amusements, or of impending sales and auctions, or of recently published books and magazines.

The Kentish Gazette of 7 January 1840 for instance included advertisements for the following:

The Agricultural and General Life Assurance Co.

Hudson's Botanic Tooth Powder and Tincture.

The Annual General Meeting of the Association for the Prosecution of Felons and Thieves.

Dane Court Academy, Albion House School, Littlebourne.

Among the advertisers of 31 December 1878 were:

W. E. and J. Rigden, Pale Ale Brewers, Canterbury and Faversham,
Celebrated Family Pale, Stock and Mild Ales, Stout and Porter.

A Fortune for a Trifle. £20,000 for £1.

Elliman's Universal Embrocation.

Hay Fever and Colds cured by Dr. Dunbar's Alkaram Smelling Bottle.

J. W. Benson, Watch and Clock Maker.

R. Betts and Sons, Coal Merchants.

Pianofortes for Hire from 10s. per Month from H. J. Goulden.

Henry Lawrence's Improved Spectacles.

There were relatively few advertisements originating from Bridge, but since the village was no more than three miles from Canterbury, as the principal shopping and social centre of East Kent, its residents were

naturally interested in those advertisements concerning Canterbury. Purely Bridge advertisements concerned the Poor Law Union and the Canterbury Races, which find mention elsewhere in this chapter.

Properties and household possessions which were advertised for sale reflect, however, both styles of living and movements of people to and from the village. Advertised for sale during March 1840 were "two well-built and commodious Messuages" which it was suggested would suit "persons retiring from business, or builders wishing to engage in speculation". (11) Bridge was portrayed as an attractive and quiet village, which was suited to retirement and yet was close to Canterbury.

The household possessions of a surgeon are clearly indicated in the following advertisement which appeared in October 1841:

"BRIDGE

TO BE SOLD BY AUCTION By H. S. Westfield. On Friday October 15th, 1841, all the HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE, and EFFECTS, on the Premises of William Nix, Esq., Surgeon (leaving that place). Comprising carved mahogany four-post and French bedsteads with chintz furnitures, bordered goose-feather beds, bolsters and pillows; mattresses, palliasses, blankets, sheets and counterpanes, mahogany chests of drawers, dressing and washing tables, dressing glasses, basins and ewers, painted bedroom chairs, covered with satin hair and brass bound, plate and plated goods, china, glass and earthenware, fenders and fire-irons, the usual kitchen requisites and culinary articles, and a variety of miscellaneous and useful property.

The whole to be particularised in catalogues, to be had on Thursday previous to the sale, of the AUCTIONEER, 16 St. George's Terrace, Canterbury, and at the place of sale.

Sale to commence at 11 o'clock." (12)

Subsequent auctions included during 1845 the "Household Furniture, Patent Mangle, Double and Single Barrelled Guns and Effects... of the late Mr. H. PYM at BRIDGE", (13) and nine years later the "Household Furniture, Plate, Linen, excellent Race Horse, Corn, Fodder, Stable Implements and Effects... of Mr. Richard Marsh (under a Bill of Sale)". (14)

On 2 April 1878 it was announced that the contents of Bridge Place were to be auctioned within days as follows:

"BRIDGE PLACE,
BRIDGE, NEAR CANTERBURY
on Thursday April 4th 1878

The Property of Walter Gipps, Esq., who is leaving the neighbourhood comprising iron bedsteads, mattresses, palliasses, dressing tables, looking glasses, chests of drawers, chamber ware, Turkey and other carpets, rosewood sofa in green damask, walnut davenport, inlaid occasional table, mahogany sideboard with celleret drawer, rosewood pianoforte by Anderson, fine toned cottage pianoforte by Nutting and Addison, mahogany chairs in American cloth, dinner and dessert services, silver handle dessert knives and forks in mahogany case, quantity of plated articles, handsome clock under glass shade, walnut inlaid cabinet with glass back, fenders and fire-irons, sundry chairs, earthenware, kitchen utensils, quantity of garden

tools, wringing and mangling machine, chaff cutting machine, oil cake crusher, lawn mowing machine by Green, large iron garden roller, cucumber frames, waggonette in good repair, sociable light dung cart, nearly new, five couples of fowls, &c., &c.

The lots may be viewed the day previous and on the morning of the Sale which will commence at Twelve o'clock precisely.

Catalogues may be obtained of Mr. EYERS, the Red Lion Inn, Bridge; and of the AUCTIONEERS (Messrs. Sladden), Adisham and Bekesbourne. (15)

Here was a substantial household which could afford the domestic luxuries of two pianos, while an extensive kitchen garden is indicated by the inclusion of garden tools and cucumber frames.

Eleven separate Bridge properties were included in a single auction in six lots which Messrs. Cooper handled on Saturday, 24 March 1866: (16)

1. "A respectable DWELLING HOUSE and BUTCHER'S SHOP...., now in the occupation of Mr. Stephen Bartter."
2. "A genteel and substantial brick-built RESIDENCE...., now occupied by Mrs. Edlin at the yearly rent of £40."
3. "A respectable DWELLING HOUSE... with Two Acres and a Half of first-class Meadowland adjoining...., now in the occupation of Mr. Henry Jarvis and Mr. John Jarvis."
4. "TWO respectable modern-built COTTAGES...., now in the occupation of Mr. Henry Vye and Mr. Wm. Williams, at the yearly rent of £10 each."
5. "THREE cottages with the gardens and appurtenances thereto belonging, situated in Malthouse Lane...., occupied by Harlow, Austin and Gimber, at the yearly rent of 2s. 6d. each."
6. "THREE similar cottages, adjoining Lot 5, now in the occupations of Munns, Wilson and Beakes."

Since some village businesses were family concerns which were handed down from one generation to another they were rarely offered for sale, but two advertisements have been found from Bridge.

"To be sold by auction,
by Messrs. Collard and Ashenden,
At the White Horse Inn, Bridge, on Friday the 3rd.
of November 1854 at Three o'clock in the Afternoon
to the minute by order of the Mortgagee under a
power of sale.

A FREEHOLD MESSUAGE or TENEMENT and SHOP with
the Yard, Garden, and Appurtenances there unto belonging,
situate in Bridge Street in the Parish of Bridge, in the
County of Kent, and now in the occupation of Mr. Daniel
Williams at the low Rent of £12 per annum." (17)

"Bridge, nr. Canterbury,
To Brewers and Others,
Leach and Son, will sell by Auction
On Tuesday 17th March 1868 on the Premises all the
BREWING PLANT UTENSILS IN TRADE, HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE
and OTHER EFFECTS of Mr. John Burch, Brewer, (under
a Bill of Sale)". (18)

THE BRIDGE POOR LAW UNION

The Board of Guardians

The Bridge Poor Law Union was fairly widely reported in the local newspapers, either through advertisements for tenders or for staff, or by reports of events at the workhouse, but, unlike the Canterbury Union, reporters were not admitted to meetings of the Guardians who during May 1860 "rejected a proposition for the admission of reporters to their meetings." (19)

Board members were elected annually, and the 1840 "Notice of The Annual Election of Guardians of the Poor" was accompanied by a specimen nomination form. (20)

FORM (A)

Nomination Paper for the Parish of				
Name of the Person proposed as guardian	Quality and calling of the person proposed	Qualification of Person proposed		Name of proposer
		Description of qualifying premises	Amount of assessment	

Three weeks later the first meeting of the Bridge Union for the current year was reported with the Rev. Charles Hughes Hallet as Chairman pro. tem. It was proposed by Mr. Brice, and seconded by Mr. Dowsett, and carried unanimously that Mr. Charles Collard, be appointed Chairman for the year. Mr. Thomas Collard proposed and Mr. Pilcher seconded, and the meeting accepted Mr. Pope as vice-Chairman. (21)

The Guardians might conclude each term of office with some form of celebration, such as in April 1849, when

"The retiring members of the Board of Guardians dined together... at the White Horse Inn. Charles Collard, Esq., of Wickham Court presided, and R. Brice, Esq., of Bridge Place officiated as vice-Chairman. The party was numerous and dinner was served up in a style which gave the greatest satisfaction to all present." (22)

It was typical of the style of Victorian reporting to lavish praise as and when it was felt appropriate to do so.

THE CLERK AND OTHER STAFF OF THE UNION

A letter of resignation was included in The Kentish Gazette of 14th July 1840.

"To the Guardians of the Bridge Union

GENTLEMEN,

FINDING that the Duties I have had to perform as Clerk to your Board have not met with the Approbation of the Poor Law Commissioners, I beg leave to RESIGN THE SITUATION.

I remain, Gentlemen,
Your obedient servant,
HERBERT COLLARD.

Bridge, July 10th." (23)

The same edition also invited applications for this now vacant post:

"CLERK TO THE BRIDGE UNION

The Guardians of the BRIDGE UNION will meet at the BOARD Room of the UNION WORKHOUSE, BRIDGE, on FRIDAY, the 24th July, for the purpose of Electing a CLERK. The salary will be £60 per annum. Testimonials of character and offers of service must be left at the Workhouse, Bridge, on or before 23rd of July.

CHARLES COLLARD,

Chairman." (24)

William Forth was elected Clerk and he occupied this post until his death on 1 April 1865. He clearly carried out his duties efficiently since on 10 June 1856 it was reported how the Guardians had "presented to Mr. and Mrs. Wm. Forth, Jun., a very handsome silver tea pot, from the establishment of Messrs. Mason of this city, for the satisfactory manner in which they have always discharged their several duties as master and matron, during the time they have been at the union." (25) Two years later a special meeting of the Bridge Guardian was convened when

"The Chairman proposed that an advance of £20 per annum should be added to the salary of Mr. FORTH, the clerk, [who] merited such an acknowledgement of his long and faithful services, he having performed the duties of clerk and other offices in the union for nearly 23 years. The proposal was carried by a large majority." (26)

Following William Forth's death on 1 April 1865 at the age of 70, The Kentish Gazette regretted to announce his unfortunate and sudden demise on the previous Saturday evening. He had visited Canterbury that day and had "appeared to be in the enjoyment of his usual health." He "was highly esteemed by his private friends, and respected by all with whom the discharge of his public duties brought him into contact." (27)

When it came to placing an advertisement for a new Clerk, the Guardians resolved to pay an annual salary of £60 which was "a reduction of £40 on the amount paid to Mr. Forth." (28) The new clerk was to be paid no more than had been paid twenty-five years earlier to William Forth when he first took up the post, despite which there was no shortage of applicants, with Mr. A. Fielding, a Canterbury solicitor, obtaining the office with twelve votes to Mr. T. Ashenden's (a descendant of the now prominent Canterbury firm of estate agents) eleven votes. (29)

The Clerk assumed responsibility for placing advertisements in the local newspapers for staff and for tenders for the Union. One such advertisement for a schoolmistress in 1850 pointed out that

"The Salary of the late Schoolmistress was Twelve Pounds per annum. The continuance or increase of this Salary will depend on the competency of the person elected...In addition to the Salary, Rations, Coats, Candles and a furnished apartment will be allowed." (30)

Between then and the 1870's a higher salary was paid, since in 1872 a salary of £20 per annum was advertised, "with board, furnished apartments and washing", but also the person appointed was expected to be "a member of the ESTABLISHED CHURCH, unmarried and a good needlewoman... and to devote the whole of her time to the performance of the duties of the same." (31) In 1868 the schoolmaster was expected to be

"duly qualified,...a Single man or Widower, a member of the Church of England... Salary £21 per annum but a higher sum may be awarded by the Poor Law Board, on the report of the School Inspector." (32)

TENDERS FOR WORKHOUSE PROVISIONS, ETC.

The most common tenders related to supplying provisions to feed the inmates of the Workhouse. Bread was also delivered on occasions to the outdoor poor. The successful trader would then supply the Union's needs for three months. Less frequently, the Guardians would meet to receive tenders for the supply of clothing, materials and foot-wear, and most ominously for the supply of coffins. Those tenders relating to provisions provide some idea of the diet appropriate to a pauper. It appears to have changed little over this period. One typical invitation for tenders was advertised as follows during March 1843:

"BRIDGE UNION

Tenders will be received by the Board of Guardians at the Union Workhouse, Bridge, on Friday the 17th instant, at or before Eleven o'clock in the forenoon, for the supply of the undermentioned articles for the use of the workhouse.

Second Bread at per 4 lb. loaf;

Second Flour at per sack;

Beef without bone, Necks of Mutton, and Suet at per stone;

Gloucester and Dutch Cheese, Second Limerick Butter;

Scotch Barley, Raw Sugar, Yellow Soap, Soda and Salt at per cwt;
 Black Tea at per lb;
 Candles at per dozen lbs. and South Durham Coals at per ton.
 to be delivered in sacks;

Also for the supply of Second Bread at per 4 lb. loaf for
 Out Poor, to be delivered where the
 Relieving Officer shall direct.

Persons tendering will be required to produce samples of
 Cheese, Butter, Tea, Sugar and Soap.

Every article required must be of good quality and delivered
 free of expense.

By order of the Board.

William Forth, Clerk." (33)

PROPOSED ALTERATIONS TO THE WORKHOUSE IN 1870

In 1870 The Kentish Gazette printed a correspondence between Robert Lake, who thirty years previously had been the Bridge Tithe Apportioner, and George Dering, concerning "Contemplated Alterations in the Bridge Union House." Mr. Lake opposed the intended alterations in favour of "a measure (if compulsory so much the better) calculated to improve the dwellings of the honest and industrious class" which would raise "the moral standard of the labouring people", added to which,

"the old and children deserve attention; not so the able-bodied inmates... I am decidedly against any large outlay in our Union house... I believe the district was scarcely less able to meet extra charges than at present."

Mr. Dering in justifying the intended alterations referred to a recent report from the Poor Law Inspector, Mr. Farnall, which noted how "the construction of this House renders a strict classification of the inmates impossible." Moreover

"the late Poor Law Inspector, Mr. Langley... was very desirous that the Bridge Union House should undergo extensive alterations. The Poor Law Inspector who preceded Mr. Langley, Sir John Walsham, in a letter I received from him made use of the following expression - 'I hope I shall not give offence when I say that, provided all the inhabitants were removed to a place of safety, I should be glad to see the Bridge Union House burnt to the ground.'"

Mr. Dering believed that there were very few able-bodied labourers in the workhouse. The inmates who were "deserving of compassion more than of blame" were "old, infirm and invalide". (34)

Extensions and improvements to the workhouse were undertaken in preparation for which The Kentish Gazette of 9 April 1872 reported twelve tenders which had been considered

"For building casual wards, stable and coach-house, and other works at the workhouse, Bridge Union, Mr. B. Adkins, architect.

Quantities supplied: -

Featherstone £2,202. 18s., Gaskin and Godden £2,175,
 Stephenson £2,157, Stiff £2,049, Epps £2,047,
 Richardson £2,042, Harnett £2,040, Wilson £2,028. 15s.
 Bourne £1,987. 10s. Toad (accepted) £1,925, Judge £1,897,
 and Woodcock £1,837". (35)

Accepting the lowest tender was not always the overriding priority. The Guardians showed some concern for quality and value for money.

INQUESTS AND COURT CASES CONCERNING THE BRIDGE UNION.

Over the years several inquests or court cases were reported, as during December 1852 when

"Mr. Delassaux held an inquest here... on the body of a child, two years old, named Gilbert Richard Sidders. It was taken ill on Saturday with an inflammation in the throat, when a blister was applied and some powders ordered to be taken. The child died on Monday. Verdict - Natural death." (36)

Eight years later a "Sudden Death in the Workhouse" resulted in an inquest being held at the White Horse Inn, "on the body of Thomas Austen, 78 years of age, a pauper". The deputy coroner, Mr. Fox, was informed that "an old man who slept in the same ward heard the deceased make a gurgling noise: but he took no notice, as such a noise had often been made by the deceased", whereupon the jury returned a verdict of "Died from Natural Causes". (37)

Minor offences which occurred in and around Canterbury were usually tried at the St. Augustine's Petty Sessions. Some cases concerned Bridge Union, such as when

"John King and John Widderson were had before E. Foss, Esq., charged with breaking all the windows in the vagrant ward of the Bridge Union. It appeared that the prisoners, who had travelled the country in search of work, were admitted by an order for the night; but as no food was given to them, they broke the windows purposely to be sent to prison. Mr. Forth, the master of the Union, stated that by an order from the Board he was not allowed to give food, unless in cases of extreme destitution. The prisoners in defence said they had walked twenty-six miles that day without food. Mr. Foss sentenced them to be imprisoned for one week but told them that sentence would have been more severe, had any bread been given them. The worthy magistrate told Mr. Forth that he wished the Guardians to know that he highly disapproved of the order that they had made." (38)

On 15 May 1860 the following conviction was also reported:

"Henry Johnson, alias 'Deaf Burke', an able-bodied pauper, inmate of the Bridge Union, was charged by the master with refusing to work. The defendant, having been previously convicted of a similar offence, was sentenced to a month's imprisonment with hard labour." (39)

An assault case arose in July 1872 when one inmate attacked another who had entered his bed-room to remove some articles from under the bed. (40) Typically those cases which were reported were of a relatively trivial nature, and were to be expected from among inmates some of whom had previous criminal convictions. The magistrates at the St. Augustine's Petty Sessions were also empowered to authorise changes in the Poor Rate, as, for instance, during February 1860.

"NEW POOR RATE - At the St. Augustine's Petty Sessions on Saturday the magistrates signed a new poor-rate of 4d. in the pound for the parish." (41)

FESTIVITIES AND CELEBRATIONS IN THE WORKHOUSE

Not every day in the life of the Workhouse was one of abject misery. Paupers joined in the festivities which surrounded any notable event in the village, thanks largely to the benevolence of such propertied families as the Conynghams. They also enjoyed annual Christmas and New Year celebrations as on 1 January 1876.

"NEW YEARS DAY AT THE WORKHOUSE - As has been the custom for many years past, the inmates of the Union were liberally entertained on New Year's Day. A dinner of roast beef and plum pudding was kindly provided for them by the Marquis Conyngham, and the wards were visited by the Earl and Countess of Mount-Charles, Viscount Slane and Miss Parker, who also contributed to the happiness of the occasion by the seasonable gifts of tea, tobacco, snuff, and cake, his Lordship presenting his kind presents in person with a word of greeting to each recipient. There were also present, the Rev. F. T. Vine, Rev. R. H. Cautley, and Mr. Pilcher (Steward to Lord Conyngham)". (42)

During May 1864 Mr. Collard celebrated his retirement after twenty-one years as chairman of the Bridge Union, during which time he had "discharged the onerous duty of the office with credit to himself and advantage to the ratepayers," by "ordering a dinner of good old English fare - roast beef and plum pudding." (43)

Occasionally the pauper children received a special treat, as on 21 January 1868 when Miss Parker provided a substantial tea; following which they were entertained by Mr. Linam's magic lantern, before Miss Parker and the other ladies presented prizes to the children. (44)

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE BRIDGE UNION RURAL SANITARY AUTHORITY

The local government of the area was profoundly affected by the establishment of the Bridge Union Rural Sanitary Authority, in relation to which during June, 1874, The Kentish Gazette publicised Dr. Robinson's report on the district:

"CONSTITUTION OF DISTRICT - the portion of the Union which is placed under the jurisdiction of this board for sanitary administration extends over 41,394 acres and includes 2,061 inhabited houses, with a population of 10,243... With the exception of those employed at the paper mills, nearly all the residents are engaged in agricultural pursuits...

GENERAL SANITARY ARRANGEMENTS - The greater part of the water supply of the district, which is derived from wells sunk in the chalk, is pure in character... The means for excremental disposal are generally rude and ill-contrived... The causes of enteric fever which every now and again occur in these localities afford indications of the ever-present causes of disease and show a necessity for a complete change of the present arrangements.

SCARLATINA EPIDEMIC - Scarlatina [has been] the principal zymotic and not only destroyed more lives than any other of this class, but was also the most wide-spread one. Bridge and Petham suffered especially from the epidemic, in consequence of the studied concealment of the early cases which occurred." (45)

value 1s., the property of Mr. George Crothall, of Bridge". (50)
 When, during August 1870 "a tramp, giving his name as Campbell, was charged with stealing half-a-pound of sausages, value 4d., belonging to George Pegden, of Bridge", he pleaded guilty and was sentenced to ten days' hard labour. (51)

Punishments imposed at Quarter Sessions were invariably of a harsher nature, as and when during March 1872 George Edwin Fryer was convicted of housebreaking and stealing £1. 9s. 11d. from George Fryer of Bridge, on 20 January 1872, for which he was sentenced to six months' hard labour. (52) At the other extreme is an instance of a theft being reported during 1876 with no culprit being taken involving three five pound notes being stolen from the Post Office "under circumstances which would point to the theft having been committed by an adept". (53)

Assault cases were particularly newsworthy material with detailed reports of the evidence of both prosecution and defence witnesses. Sometimes it was difficult to prove cases either way, especially when the evidence was confused and unsubstantiated. Defendants who were believed to be guilty were usually fined and ordered to pay costs, which commonly exceeded any fine. The following instance was reported in The Kentish Gazette on 7 August 1860.

"ASSAULT - At the St. Augustine's Petty Sessions, on Saturday, before W. Delmar Esq., T. H. Mackay Esq., Capt. Young, Geo. Neame Esq., and Wm. Plummer Esq., Richard Eldridge, labourer of Lower Hardres, was charged with assaulting William Noble, labourer, at Bridge, on the 20th July. The complainant stated that on the day in question, he was seated on a tug belonging to his master when the defendant came up and pushed him off on the road, hurting his shoulder very much. The defendant then got a pole and "poked" him with it several times, remarking that he would like to knock his brains out. - A witness was called who saw the assault. - The defendant admitted that he pushed the complainant off the tug but the complainant had scandalised both him and his Mrs. several times, having reported that he had nothing to eat in the house one Monday evening. The bench fined the defendant 5s. and 10s. costs, or in default of payment to be imprisoned 14 days - he was allowed a fortnight to pay the money." (54)

Christmas 1869 was marred by a stabbing incident, following which John and Thomas Oxley of Denton accused the village constable, William Harnden, of stabbing them on Christmas Day in a scuffle as they and three other men were dismounting from a trap in the village in the early hours. Although they claimed to have been sober at the time, a defence witness reported on how when he had seen John Oxley the next day, he had admitted that he fell out of the cart as it was the easiest way to get out. Harnden, who denied the charge was committed for trial, bail being accepted. (55)

All sorts of cases were heard and decisions taken at the Petty Sessions, some of which involved children. The following affiliation case was reported during August 1870:

"John George Wilson was summoned to show cause why he should not contribute to the maintenance of a male bastard child, of which he was the alleged father. Defendant did not appear. Jane Elizabeth Gosling stated that she was 21 years of age and was in the service of Mr. Tucker, of Bridge. She first became acquainted with the defendant in May 1869. He paid attention to her and promised her marriage. The child was born on the 23rd May last. He promised to keep the child and to pay all expenses. Ellen Gosling, mother of the plaintiff, stated that the defendant had admitted he was the father of the child, and promised to maintain it. - The bench made an order of 2s. a week and expenses." (57)

During October 1876 James Kemp was summoned for having left his three infant children chargeable to the Bridge Union since 13 July. What was an offence of desertion was proved by Mr. Charles Holman, the relieving officer, whereupon the defendant, "a big strapping looking fellow, who said he could not keep his children, was sent to gaol for six weeks with hard labour". (58)

With the introduction of compulsory elementary education parents or guardians could be forced to send their children to a public elementary school, as happened during July 1878 when George Willis and George Davidson, both of Bridge, were ordered to appear before the bench on summonses which had been executed by the School Attendance Board of the Bridge Union. Evidence having been given, "the magistrates made an order, in each case, that the children should be sent to school". (59)

There were cases and pronouncements which are not easily categorised, so that on 15 May 1860, for instance, it was reported that the Magistrates at the St. Augustine's Petty Sessions had signed a lighting rate of 3d. in the pound for the Bridge lighting district. (60) The magistrates also concerned themselves with unlawful hawking, unmarked carts and stray dogs. Henry Reed was fined 2s. 6d. with 9s. 3d. costs in October, 1872, after being found guilty of hawking without a licence in Bridge, where he had offered note paper for sale while in possession of an old and expired certificate for the metropolitan district. Failure to meet the fine incurred seven days' imprisonment. (61)

During November 1874, "Mr. Henry Harvey from Bridge was summoned... on a charge of having allowed a cart to be used without his name and description being painted thereon and having admitted the fact, he was fined 1s. and 8s. costs." Also at the same hearing, the Rev. James Hughes Hallett, of Petham, who did not appear, was fined 1s. with 10s. costs "for having allowed a donkey cart to be used without having his name painted thereon", (62) which shows that the clergy clearly came within the confines of the law.

Social status carried the obligation to set a good example so that the Petty Sessions really showed their muscle when Major Henry Castle, one of the leading landowners of Bridge received a summons during August 1878,

"for allowing a dog belonging to him to be at large on the 26th of July. A police-constable found the dog in the street on the evening of the 26th ult., and on finding out the next day that it belonged to Major Castle he took it to his house. It was a Parmenian dog and the officer said he had never seen it about the street before. Fined 1s. and 9s. costs". (63)

The magistrates were indulging in a form of consumer protection when in October 1876 they fined George Lott, who was a marine store dealer in Bridge, 20s. and 9s. costs for having seven weights in his possession which were light. The defendant claimed that it was he who suffered since he used the weights only to buy in rags and bones, having had no opportunity to get the weights inspected previously. William Wilson, a beer retailer and general provision dealer, was also fined 1s. with 10s. costs for having two incorrect scales in his possession. (64)

THE CANTERBURY RACES

"They have lately had races at Canterbury; and the Mayor and Aldermen, in order to get the Prince Leopold to attend them, presented him with the Freedom of the City; but it rained all the time and he did not come!"

William Cobbett, Rural Rides,
Canterbury, 4th Sept., 1823.

Bridge was famous even in the eighteenth century for its proximity to the Canterbury races which as one of the foremost sporting attractions of East Kent were much publicised in the local newspapers, whether in the form of advertisements, correspondence or reports. The fact that the race course was on Barham Downs greatly influenced the village of Bridge, in such matters as the provision of stabling and jockeys, and in the business which the meetings must have brought to its inns and other traders.

The main meeting was usually held sometime in late August or September, having been once a four day event which was reduced to two days or a single day, though still receiving Royal patronage in the form of Her Majesty's Plate. In 1840 the meeting was still sufficiently important to be accompanied by "GALAS DURING THE RACES", for

"it will be seen on reference to our advertising columns that St. Peter's Gardens, in this city, will boast unusual attractions during the races. Mr. Dorby the celebrated pyrotechnist is making extensive preparations for exhibiting fireworks, gladiatorial shows, Hampton's balloons and a variety of entertaining amusements." (65)

The fortunes of the Canterbury Races fluctuated considerably, with an evident decline in their former grandeur during the 1840's. This decline prompted The Kentish Gazette to observe that the 1843 races were "scarcely worthy of mention, either as regards the nature of the sport or the attendance of the gentry of the county...[since] on neither day was the grandstand graced with more than half a dozen members of Kentish families." (66) What was perhaps the sensational highlight of the meeting occurred towards the close of the first day, caused

"by the driver of a van (named Bangham) coming down Bridge Hill at a rapid pace. The vehicle was overturned and smashed to atoms throwing the passengers in various directions, one of whom, beside the driver, was much injured, though we

and wretchedly burlesqued on Thursday and Friday last." Greatly lamented was the passing of those days when the grandstand had been

"the nucleus of fashion, of life, of the high-born, the rich, the elegant, the lovely and the gay. Beauty in all its phases, the blonde, the brunette, the lily, the rose all shone resplendent there, a sight the boast of Kent that Kent alone could boast,"

but in 1847 this "once celebrated arena of wealth and rank was partially tenanted by a few citizens of "lowly degree", and The Kentish Gazette could only bemoan "this marked desertion, this sudden and general repudiation of the races by the gentry of the county." (68)

A somewhat rosier picture prevailed in 1850 when on the opening day

"The weather was fine, and a large concourse assembled to witness the sport. The usual concomitants of races, refreshment booths, various games of chance, fortune telling, 'elastic brothers', archery, 'cockshies', itinerary musicians, etc. - proved scarcely less attractive sources of amusement... than the racing itself."

The second day attracted "a much more numerous and fashionable attendance than yesterday, the joint effects, doubtless of the remarkably fine weather and the anticipation of superior sport," which was marred only by the fact that "some of the light-fingered profession obtained some booty and succeeded in getting clear off." (69) The 1850's did not produce a sustained boom. The first day of the 1852 meeting witnessed "an almost utter absence of gentry," (70) while in 1854 "the company was very meagre, nor was the sport of all that pleasing a nature" but typical of the years was the race-card as advertised for that meeting.

"CANTERBURY RACES

Thursday and Friday August 24th and 25th 1854. To start each day at half-past One o'clock.

FIRST DAY.

A SWEEPSTAKE of 2 Sovs. each with 15 added... The winner to be sold by auction immediately after the Race and any other surplus over the selling price to go to the fund. One mile.

The CANTERBURY HANDICAP. Five Sovs. each, 2 forfeit with 50 added. About one mile and a half.

A SWEEPSTAKE of 2 Sovs. each, with a purse of Sovs. added. For Horses the property of Officers of the Army and Militia quartered in the County of Kent, and to be ridden by Officers; 11st. 10lb. each.

SECOND DAY.

The CITY PLATE.

Heats about one mile and a half.

The sum to be given will depend upon the subscriptions received from the City of Canterbury and will be named at the time of entry.

HER MAJESTY'S PLATE of 100 Guineas. Two miles.

A SWEEPSTAKE of 3 Sovs. each with 20 added.

Heats - about one mile and a half.

Gentlemen riders; professionals to carry 6lbs. extra.

A SWEEPSTAKE of 2 Sovs. each, with 15 added.

For horses the property of Officers of the Army and Militia quartered in the County of Kent, and to be ridden by Officers; 11st. 7lbs... Heats - about one mile and a half, over four flights of hurdles; the winner to pay for the hurdles.

The horses to be named for all the races to the Clerk of the Course, at the White Horse Inn, Bridge, on Wednesday, August 23rd, between the hours of two and four in the afternoon... No gambling of any description will be allowed here. Entrance to the course - Four wheeled carriages, 3s; two wheeled, 2s; Saddle horses, 1s." (71)

Bridge was actually represented in the races by at least

1863 produced a successful meeting held over two days with the support of the local gentry when "a good programme was prepared and it attracted good fields for the different races." (77) By 1864 both the South-Eastern and the London, Chatham and Dover Railway Companies were running special excursion trains at reduced fares to Canterbury for the Races, while fourteen years later these railways also conveyed race-horses to Canterbury or to Bekesbourne "at a single fare for the double journey." (78)

The Kentish Gazette for 1872 could not fault the quality of the assembled company, since "fine weather favoured" the first day of the meeting, when "some capital racing was witnessed," and "the attendance although not large was exceedingly select." The second day was noted for "a goodly sprinkling of [the] equipages of local gentry." (79) Likewise the attendance on each day of 1874 "was numerous and fashionable while the band of the Cavalry Depot discoursed sweet music in the intervals of racing." (80)

By 1878 the Canterbury Races were approaching their final days. Each meeting was reduced to one day only, and the assembled company was noted less for its gentry than for the officers from the Barracks.

Traditionally, a Spring Meeting had been held as part of the Easter Holiday festivities. It was revised in 1840 by "the spirited exertions of one or two individual citizens", (81) but two years later

"the Canterbury Spring meeting at Barham Downs... did not afford the usual sport. Mr. Sherrard's horse walked over the course for the Easter Plate. A match or two of no great interest followed, and the sports of the day were wound up by donkey racing and other minor amusements." (82)

At the Spring Meeting of 1847 it was decided to prohibit booths from the Downs, a decision which was welcomed by The Kentish Gazette,

"There can be no doubt that considerable damage is sustained by the neighbouring residents, alike in their plantations and hedge-rows, by the turbulent persons who have been accustomed to stay in the booths drinking till midnight. The keepers of these places have only themselves to thank for the deprivation." (83)

Booths or no booths, the meeting itself was a relatively dull affair;

"This meeting which may be considered as held in memory of the 'Easter Plate' races, took place at Barham Downs on Tuesday, on which occasion there was a tolerable attendance of equestrian visitors, consisting principally of the gentlemen connected with the East Kent Hunt: but of pedestrians few were present, though the afternoon was bright and fine. This circumstance may in a great degree be attributed to the prohibition of the sale of refreshments on the race course." (84)

Canterbury's Spring Meeting became very much the prerogative of the hunting interest, the races being confined to horses that belonged to the 'East Kent Earth-stopping Fund'. Sometimes they were expected to have been in at the death of a certain number of brace of foxes, (85) but by 1852 the attendance was very limited. (86) Spring meetings thereafter were abandoned until 1872 when "an attempt to revive the Easter Race meeting on Barham Downs on Tuesday last proved more successful than could have been expected, owing to the liberal support given to the meeting, as an Easter Hunt Meeting by Lord Guilford and C. S. Hardy Esq." (87)

Steeplechasing provided an alternative activity for those 'young bloods' who experienced insufficient excitement in hunting or racing. It was rough riding with few if any rules, which enabled Captain Ross to inform Lord Kennedy before a match that

"I understand that we may ride over each other and kill each other if we can?' 'Just so' was the reply." (88)

The neighbourhood of Barham Downs witnessed a steeplechase in 1845; the event was open to all England and some first rate horses from different parts of the country were expected to take part in the "strifes of the day." (89) The event actually took place on 24 March and was reported in The Kentish Gazette on the following day.

"Canterbury presented an animated appearance from an early hour, long before the time for starting, hundreds of pedestrians were seen wending their muddy way to the scene of competition - loud in their surmises of the important events of the day.

The starting field where the horses were placed was truly picturesque. Every description of vehicle and spectators of every class and age crowded the spot... Never before, in the recollection of the oldest Kent sportsman has such a scene been witnessed and assembled for such a purpose near Canterbury. Thousands of people thronged the line of chase and all was animation, anxiety and eagerness.

The first Chase was for a sweepstake of ten sovereigns each with 100 added. The line marked out for the running was over three miles of a fair hunting country of the form of a figure of eight, commencing in the field called Bridge Place, belonging to Mr. Brice and finishing in the park not far from the starting place... There were nearly thirty leaps, many of them stiff fences, and a brook." (90)

SOCIAL LIFE AND PATRONAGE IN BRIDGE

Patterns of social life in Bridge varied with social status. Larger households had their own life styles and while the middle and upper classes organized their own amusements their patronage and benevolence were often important in providing certain entertainments and active interests for the lower classes. Much social life centred on the public houses, the church, the local school and agricultural shows, apart from sport which is examined separately.