

# Becoming a Borough: Loughborough, 1851-1897

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## *Preface*

Once again, this book on Loughborough is directed to a hybrid audience. Local readers may find parts of it turgid; academic readers, if any approach it, will find excessive detail, but which is local ‘colour’. I can only apologise. Read what you can abide. Again, the text processing has relied on LyX from which an epub has been exported. There will be no print run this time. Digital copies (epub or .pdf) can be downloaded for free from:

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The captions are slightly awry, I'm afraid.

## 1 Introduction

Sir - I am glad that Mr Mundella is coming to see us at Loughborough. It is a long time since he was a young fellow in this neighbourhood giving out work. He will see a change in things, and we shall see a change in him.<sup>1</sup>

So 'A parent, citizen and ratepayer' opined to the editor of the local newspaper in Loughborough in 1887 in advance of a visit to the town by Mundella to open the new Board School in Shakespeare Street. The correspondent regretted that, although the worthies of the town were certain to be invited inside, he and many other interested parties would be condemned to stand outside. The writer defined himself as an interested party as a parent, but also as a 'citizen' and a ratepayer. In his speech at the opening, Mundella commented: 'I may congratulate on what I see of external improvement in the town.'<sup>2</sup> Additionally, he expected the town to achieve incorporation, which actually occurred the following year. An informed inhabitant of the town was engaged about the liberal governmentality which had accelerated in the middle and late nineteenth century, a development represented by one (Mundella) who was a protagonist for and

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<sup>1</sup>*Loughborough Herald* (LH) 15 September 1887, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup>LH 3 November 1887, pp. 5, 7.

product of that process.<sup>3</sup>

In Loughborough, the impact of liberal governmentality was initially through the formation of *ad hoc* boards, beginning with the Board of Guardians. This Board, however, like all its compeers, covered an area wider than simply the town, embracing numerous parishes in south Nottinghamshire as well as north Leicestershire. Indeed, the south Nottinghamshire parishes had some autonomy as out-relief was administered from East Leake. The workhouse, nonetheless, was symbolically located in Loughborough where the Board convened.<sup>4</sup> More significantly, a Local Board of Health was authorised under the Health of Towns Act of 1848 and from its inception in 1850 had responsibility for the sanitation in the town, including the promulgation of bye-laws for building and the cer-

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<sup>3</sup>Patrick Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom: Liberalism and the Modern City* (London: Verso, 2003), pp. 1-17; Geoff Danaher, Tony Schirato and Jen Webb, *Understanding Foucault* (London: Sage, 2000), pp. 91-96; Mark Philp, 'Michel Foucault' in Quentin Skinner, ed., *The Return of Grand Theory in the Human Sciences* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press [CUP], 1985), pp. 65-81 at pp. 75-76.

<sup>4</sup>Felix Driver, *Power and Pauperism: The Workhouse System 1834-1884* (Cambridge: CUP, 1993), pp. 32-57; Mary Poovey, *Making a Social Body: British Cultural Formation, 1830-1864* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1995), pp. 7-13.

tification of proposals for dwellings.<sup>5</sup> This Board operated exclusively for the town. The Burial Board, focused on the vestry after the legislation of 1852, also operated only in the parishes composing Loughborough.<sup>6</sup> Like the Board of Guardians, the Highways Board established in 1864 under the 1862 Act, had a remit over a wider area, but within the town the Local Board of Health had its own competence over these matters. Applying to the town only, the Loughborough School Board was established under the 1870 Education Act. The governance of the town was thus accomplished through *ad hoc* Boards with the Local Board of Health at its core. The Local Board expanded its remit contentiously through the provision of waterworks under local Acts of 1868 and 1886.<sup>7</sup> Ultimately, in 1888 the town achieved incorporation as a borough. In 1897, the corporation acquired permanent powers over the market which reflected its maturity.<sup>8</sup>

Recently this form of local government has been reconceived as ‘liberal governmentality’.

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<sup>5</sup>*London Gazette* 1850, pp. 390-391 (Order in Council).

<sup>6</sup>15 & 16 Victoria c. lxxxv.

<sup>7</sup>31 & 32 Victoria c. xvi and 49 & 50 Victoria c. xxxvi; in general, J. A. Hassan, ‘The growth and impact of the British water industry in the nineteenth century’, *Economic History Review* 2nd series 38 (1985), pp. 531-47; Hassan, *A History of Water in Modern England and Wales* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998).

<sup>8</sup>60 & 61 Victoria c. xxviii.

The old form of government – whereby the state was self-justified and self-generated – yields to liberal governmentality: now, political reason depends on the economico-rational actions of individuals maximizing utility.<sup>9</sup>

This concept of liberal governmentality has been deeply analysed for major cities in England, particularly London and Manchester.<sup>10</sup> This analysis investigates the relationship between the liberal conception of freedom of the individual, ‘subjectivity’, and the dispersed powers of governance. Below, this discussion considers how far such influences were exerted in a small town and particularly how the parameters were confined to a liberal bourgeoisie. Indeed, was there a consensus about the project of liberal governmentality among the urban bourgeoisie divided as it was between upper and lower strata? Dissent occurred over the implications for rates as in large cities.<sup>11</sup> The question is then posed as to whether the concept of ‘hegemony’ or social control should be abandoned. Did liberal governmentality only create bourgeois

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<sup>9</sup>Thomas Lemke, *Foucault’s Analysis of Modern Governmentality: A Critique of Political Reason* (London: Verso, 2019), p. 41.

<sup>10</sup>Joyce, *The Rule Of Freedom*.

<sup>11</sup>Derek Frazer, *Urban Politics in Victorian England: The Structure of Politics in Victorian Cities* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1976).



subjectivities? What was the predicament of the urban working class under local liberal governmentality?<sup>12</sup> One of the arguments against the full exertion of social control is the continued separate cultural life and activity of the working class.<sup>13</sup>

The chapters below mainly concentrate on the years of the Local Board of Health. They form the first part of an investigation into the progress of liberal governmentality in a small town. Considerable emphasis is placed on the 1850s and 1860s as the initial stimulus towards an informed society in the town, which forms the content of chapter 1. It was in the late 1850s that the town acquired its own newspaper under the editorship of John Henry Gray.<sup>14</sup> The second chapter discusses how one feature of urban life was regulated: the consumption of alcohol. The regulatory framework was set by central government but implemented locally by local justices with surveil-

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<sup>12</sup>Simon Gunn, 'From hegemony to governmentality: changing conceptions of power in social history', *Journal of Social History* 39 (2006), pp. 705-20; Paul Johnson, 'Class law in Victorian England', *Past and Present* 141 (1993), pp. 147-169.

<sup>13</sup>Patrick Joyce, *Visions of the People: Industrial England and the Question of Class, 1848-1914* (Cambridge: CUP, 1991), pp. 215-328.

<sup>14</sup>Andrew Hobbs, *A Fleet Street in Every Town: The Provincial Press in England, 1855-1914* (Cambridge: Open Book Publishing, 2018).

lance (ambiguously) by the police force after incorporation.<sup>15</sup> The final section addresses how the expanding population of the town was accommodated. Again, the expansion was regulated by the Local Board of Health.

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<sup>15</sup>Vic Gattrell, 'Crime, authority and the policeman-state' in F. M(ichael) Thompson, ed., *The Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750-1950: Volume 3: Social Agencies and Institutions* (Cambridge: CUP, 1990), pp. 243-310.

## 2 John Henry Gray, ‘modernity’ and Loughborough

What is a town without a Newspaper? is a question that may more easily be understood, and better answered, by a careful observation of the many advantages accruing to a town that worthily supports a well conducted and respectable public Journal ... Passing events, the doings of the day are also faithfully chronicled, and the various parts of the town are, as it were, so brought together in its columns that the Newspaper becomes a mirror reflecting the actions of the inhabitants, and is thus an index recording what is happening around, awakening the interest of each in the welfare of all.<sup>16</sup>

In this manner, John Henry Gray, the publisher of the recently-introduced *Loughborough Monitor*, recommended the new newspaper to the readers of Loughborough and its district. The editor also alluded to the reporting of national and international events. His statement encapsulates a number of conceptualizations remarked upon in recent historical research. First is the influence of the local press on the formation of local ‘identity’ such as it

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<sup>16</sup> *Loughborough Monitor* (LM) 20 January 1850, p. 1 (Editorial).

existed.<sup>17</sup> Second, at a national level, is the creation of an ‘imagined community’ through the expansion of ‘print capitalism’, through the reporting in the middle and end pages of national events, more probably for the urban middle class.<sup>18</sup> Third is the acceleration of the local market economy through a continuous outlet for advertising and notices of auctions and sales.<sup>19</sup> Simply by initiating a local newspaper in Loughborough in the late 1850s John Henry Gray was an agent in the development of modernity in Loughborough. In fact, however, he was pivotal to much of the cultural transition in the town as well in the crucial decade of the late 1850s and 1860s.

The influence of the press has largely been considered from the perspective of the largest urban places.<sup>20</sup> Loughborough belonged to the category of small towns which were advancing rapidly through industrial textile production. In 1861, the town contained 2,438 inhab-

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<sup>17</sup>Andrew Hobbs, *A Fleet Street in Every Town: The Provincial Press in England, 1855-1914* (Cambridge: Open Book Publishing, 2018), esp. pp. 17, 21, 23.

<sup>18</sup>Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso edn, 1983), pp. 25-36; also Ernst Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983).

<sup>19</sup>Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914* (London: Verso edn, 1991), pp. 9-13.

<sup>20</sup>Hobbs, *Fleet Street*.

ited dwellings.<sup>21</sup> As a result of its expansion, the town achieved incorporation in 1888 (see below for urban administration before then). This figure represents the maximal number of potential readers of newspapers in the parish (including the town) of Loughborough. Additionally, however, the newspaper in question (*The Loughborough Monitor*) was distributed through north Leicestershire and south Nottinghamshire (see below). The adjacent parish of Shepshed, also industrializing, contained, for example, 788 inhabited houses.<sup>22</sup> Barrow and Sileby, to the south of Loughborough and also industrializing, contained together more than seven hundred inhabited dwellings. The agricultural parish of Wymeswold to the east of Loughborough comprised 288 inhabited houses. (These parishes are selected because most of the correspondence to the editor derived from these parishes, for which see below).<sup>23</sup> These numbers of inhabited houses must be taken into account when the circulation figures of the newspaper are recounted below.

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<sup>21</sup>*Population Tables. England and Wales. Volume 1. Index, 1861*, p. 509. For the ambiguity of what constituted a house, Edward Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census—Revisited* (London: University of London, 2005), pp. 62-5.

<sup>22</sup>The National Archives (TNA) RG9/2275, fos 74v, 85v, 101v; RG9/2276, fos 2v, 21v, 42v.

<sup>23</sup>TNA RG9/2277, fos 2v, 17v; RG9/2279, fos 85v, 105v; RG9/2280, fos 23v, 85v.

### *Who was Gray?*

Born in Loughborough, Gray was still in his twenties when he started the newspaper. Of Baptist genealogy, he was born in 1833.<sup>24</sup> His father, Benjamin, had been born in Billesdon (Leicestershire) and found employment as a watchmaker in the Market Place in Loughborough. The family then, on Benjamin's retirement, moved to Leicester Road in the town.<sup>25</sup> Initially engaged as a draper's apprentice in Loughborough, John soon established his printing business, employing one man and two boys – probably about 1856 when he produced his first almanac (see below).<sup>26</sup> As also Secretary to the Town Hall and Corn Exchange Company, he had easy access to information about current affairs in the town, not least because his own offices were adjacent to the Town Hall in the Market Place. Indeed, he also produced the *Loughborough Almanac* from his print shop. He also recruited a network of informants in the surrounding parishes (see below).<sup>27</sup> Although he relinquished the editing of the newspaper to Thomas William Rollings Lee, he maintained his interest in printing and stationery.

His first wife, Ann, daughter of John and Mary Thurner of Thackerstone, died in 1865 at the young age of thirty-

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<sup>24</sup>TNA RG4/27, fo. 85.

<sup>25</sup>TNA HO107/595/7, fo. 45; HO107/2085, fo. 103.

<sup>26</sup>TNA RG9/2275, fo. 22.

<sup>27</sup>LM 1 November 1860, p. 1.

four.<sup>28</sup> He remarried, with Sarah, daughter of the late Major Hirst of Leeds at South Parade Chapel in Leeds in 1867.<sup>29</sup> In later years, he moved his household to Park Street.<sup>30</sup> When he died at an early age in 1873, his estate was valued at under £1,000 which he bequeathed to his sole executrix, his second wife, Sarah, who survived until 1898.<sup>31</sup> He had no children by either marriage.

Gray established himself as one of, if not the most important, printer(s) in the town. (In 1853, before his business, two printers were included in the trades directory: Samuel Lee in Mill Street who also acted as the local registrar of births, deaths and marriages, and Richard Griffin, printer and bookseller, in High Street).<sup>32</sup> In 1860, his advertisement described him as ‘Manufacturing and general stationer’.<sup>33</sup> His was the only advertisement from a Loughborough business to appear in Wright’s *Midland Directory* (which covered Leicester and Loughborough with Burton-on-Trent) in 1864 and, indeed, occupied a

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<sup>28</sup>*Leicester Journal* 7 July 1865, p. 5.

<sup>29</sup>*Leicester Mail* 11 May 1867, p. 4.

<sup>30</sup>TNA RG10/3254, fo. 29.

<sup>31</sup>National Probate Calendar (NPC) 1873 Faber-Gynn p. 333; Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland (ROLLR) DE462/16, p. 360 (will, 1872; probate 1873); *Leicester Chronicle* 9 July 1898, p. 5 (aged sixty).

<sup>32</sup>*Directory & Gazetteer of Leicestershire* (Worcester: J. Stanley for F. R. Melville & Co., 1853), p. 118.

<sup>33</sup>LM 3 May 1860, p. 1.

full page.<sup>34</sup> Extending the business with new presses and type, he referred to his ‘Columbian Printing Office’ in that year.<sup>35</sup> He also ventured into bookselling, receiving regular batches from London. The new books listed for sale in 1860, twenty-seven in all, included eleven concerned with gardening.<sup>36</sup> In 1861, he listed 124 new books in stock at prices from 1s to 7s 6d.<sup>37</sup> A year later, he disposed of one hundred and thirty titles in a clearance.<sup>38</sup> He also operated his own circulating library alongside his involvement with the Loughborough Permanent Library.<sup>39</sup> In 1861, he had instructed the auctioneer, Heafford, to auction ‘upwards of six hundred volumes of books, a portion of them having been in circulation at the Permanent Library’ (for the Permanent Library, see below).<sup>40</sup> Old stock in 1862 was discounted, ‘guinea novels’ available for 2s, thirteen in all.<sup>41</sup> Perhaps his most important contribution was the initiation of the Loughborough Monitor.

### *The Loughborough Monitor...*

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<sup>34</sup> *Midland Directory* (Nottingham: Wright & Co., 1864), p. 52.

<sup>35</sup> LM 5 July 1860, p. 2.

<sup>36</sup> LM 3 May 1860, p. 1.

<sup>37</sup> LM 25 April 1861, p. 2.

<sup>38</sup> LM 9 October 1862, p. 2.

<sup>39</sup> Wright’s *Midland Directory*, p. 136.

<sup>40</sup> LM 28 March 1861, p. 1.

<sup>41</sup> LM 27 February 1862, p. 4.



Local newspapers existed before, of course. The lapse of the Licensing Act in 1695 allowed newspapers other than the official *London Gazette*, although any publication was still subject to the implications of seditious libel.<sup>42</sup> The earlier newspapers like *The Leicester and Nottingham Journal* contained mostly national news with little local content apart from the declaration of the assize of bread and the prices of grain which were tucked away in the back pages (by contrast with the later *Loughborough Monitor*, for which see below).<sup>43</sup> The number of provincial newspapers was limited, basically issuing from county towns. The rescinding of stamp duty on printed paper in the 1855 Budget allowed the proliferation of newspapers of which Gray availed himself, initiating the *Loughborough Monitor and General Advertiser for the Northern Division of the County of Leicester*.<sup>44</sup> The *Monitor* con-

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<sup>42</sup>Thomas Keymer, *Poetics of the Pillory: English Literature and Seditious Libel, 1660-1820* (Oxford: Oxford University Press [OUP], 2019)., esp pp. 186-88.

<sup>43</sup>*The Leicester and Nottingham Journal* 6 January 1759, pp. 3, 5; Geoffrey Cranfield, *The Development of the Provincial Newspaper 1700-1760* (Oxford: OUP, 1962); Cranfield, *A Handlist of English Provincial Newspapers and Periodicals 1700-1760* (London: Cambridge Bibliographical Society, 1961).

<sup>44</sup>For the implicit reasons for the removal, David Vincent, *Literacy and Popular Culture: England, 1750-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (CUP), 1989), pp. 234-237.

stituted the only successful newspaper for the town and the district, although another significant printer, John Abbott, had dabbled with the *Loughborough News*.<sup>45</sup>

In these post-1855 newspapers the local news had a more prominent position in the first pages and national and international reports were consigned to the hindmost parts. Gray established the *Loughborough Monitor* just a few years after the abolition of the stamp duty. (The issue of 20 January 1859 carried the issue number 69). The newspaper appeared weekly on Thursdays to coincide with the appointed market day in the town.<sup>46</sup> The production thus conformed to locally-structured time. The issue also thus coincided with the moment when maximum population entered into the centre of the town.<sup>47</sup> In particular, the front page of the *Loughborough Monitor* contained notices of auctions, sales, and advertisements for local suppliers. In the succeeding pages were included reports from the local courts (police court, petty sessions, brewster/licensing sessions) and district news from the surrounding villages and the adjacent towns of Ashby de la Zouch and Melton Mowbray.

Initially, the *Monitor* consisted of four pages, but Gray

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<sup>45</sup>Wright's *Midland Directory*, p. 128.

<sup>46</sup>George Green and M. W. Green, *Loughborough Markets and Fairs* (Loughborough: Echo Press Ltd, 1964), p. 12.

<sup>47</sup>Hobbs, *Fleet Street*, pp. 130-1.

expanded it to eight from the edition of 4 August 1859 by eliciting more advertising and introducing more national and international reporting. At its inception, the paper probably had a weekly issue of six hundred copies. By the middle of 1859, the weekly production had increased to a thousand.<sup>48</sup> By 1860, according to the masthead of one issue, the circulation had attained one thousand five hundred.<sup>49</sup> A notice in a Leicester newspaper in 1862 maintained that the paper had a 'Guaranteed weekly circulation [of] 3,800 copies'.<sup>50</sup> After its transfer to T. W. R. Lee (which occurred in October 1862), the weekly circulation, Lee professed in 1864, was 'nearly approaching to FIVE THOUSAND COPIES'.<sup>51</sup> (Gray's last issue occurred on 2 October 1862 and Lee's first on 9 October the next week). That production figure might be compared with the 13,600 copies of the Preston Guardian in 1866.<sup>52</sup>

### *'Modernity'*

Why then is the foundation of the *Loughborough Monitor* connected to 'modernity'?<sup>53</sup> The reason is not just the intensification of local identity.<sup>54</sup> In this small town,

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<sup>48</sup>LM 21 July 1859, p. 1.

<sup>49</sup>LM 5 April 1860, p. 1; also 6 September 1860, p. 1.

<sup>50</sup>*Leicester Guardian* 20 September 1862, p. 4.

<sup>51</sup>LM 11 February 1864, p. 1.

<sup>52</sup>Hobbs, *Fleet Street*, p. 175.

<sup>53</sup>Simon Gunn, *History and Cultural Theory* (Harlow: Longman, 2006), pp. 107-130 ('modernity').

<sup>54</sup>Hobbs, *Fleet Street*.

there existed few locales for the discussion of local and national political news.<sup>55</sup> Only two organizations had a permanent existence: the Loughborough Literary and Philosophical Society and the Loughborough Agricultural Association. Loughborough was devoid of coffee houses and venues where regular political discussion might occur and information exchanged. The newspaper provided that ‘critical bourgeois public sphere’ which supposedly propitiated democratic discussion.<sup>56</sup> Having considered briefly the transformative effects of the newspaper in the town, the wider influence of Gray can be developed, in the context of ‘liberal governmentality’ as ‘modernity’.<sup>57</sup>

As is well known, Loughborough in 1850 adopted the permissive Health of Towns Act of 1848 and instituted a Local Board of Health. This organization was a substitute for corporate governance in incorporated boroughs (which was only achieved in Loughborough in 1888). In its chequered existence, restrained by complaints about

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<sup>55</sup>Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies 1580-1800: The Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford: OUP, 2000).

<sup>56</sup>Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Enquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1987; original German edition 1962).

<sup>57</sup>Patrick Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom: Liberalism and the Modern City* (London: Verso, 2003), esp. pp. 3-6, but *passim*.

the level of rates, the Board operated that liberal (with a lower case) governmentality which existed on a larger instrumental scale in the industrial boroughs.<sup>58</sup> The members of the Board were divided on issues and subject to ‘popular’ critique. Sometimes, it was the activity of non-official agents which covertly extended the political and cultural possibilities in the urban context.

The ‘modernity’ for which Gray was important in the town was his place in the formation of a ‘critical bourgeois public sphere’ in the town and in (part of) north Leicestershire. The notion of a ‘critical bourgeois public sphere’ is associated with Habermas who detected it in the coffee houses predominantly in the eighteenth century. In this arena, rational discussion advanced democracy and rationalization (Habermas’s ‘communicative action’).<sup>59</sup> Attempts have been made to stretch the concept backwards in time, but blunting the points of the thesis.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>58</sup>Joyce, *Rule of Freedom*.

<sup>59</sup>George Ritzer, *Sociological Theory* (New York: McGrawHill, 5th edn, 2000), pp. 284-85; Alan Swingewood, *Cultural Theory and the Problem of Modernity* (London: Macmillan, 1998), pp. 64-67.

<sup>60</sup>For example, Craig Colhoun, ed., *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1992); Peter Lake and Steve Pincus, eds, *The Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England: Public Persons and Popular Spirits* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012).

The argument here is that such a bourgeois public sphere of discussion of governmentality was unlikely to occur in such a small place without conducive facilities before the advent of Gray's newspaper. The *Monitor*, moreover, appeared at a time of maximal governmentality, when a Local Board of Health, a mature Board of Guardians, and a Highways Board were in existence to elicit a critique.<sup>61</sup> In other words, the bourgeois deliberations about the town's administration was deferred and postponed until a liberal governmentality was in place.<sup>62</sup> Although the newspaper appeared on Thursdays for practical reasons and to accord with a traditional event (market day), it reinforced, nonetheless, the routinization of modernity. The new printing equipment acquired by Gray represented the mechanization of time.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>61</sup>4 & 5 William IV c. 76 (Poor Law Amendment Act); *London Gazette* Issue 21067 p. 390 (1850 Order in Council for Local Board of Health); 25 & 26 Victoria c. 61 (Highways Act). Felix Driver, *Power and Pauperism: The Workhouse System 1834-1884* (Cambridge: CUP, 1993), pp. 22-26.

<sup>62</sup>The best introduction to Habermas and 'communicative action' is Hans Joas and Wolfgang Knöbl, *Social Theory: Twenty Introductory Lectures* (Cambridge: CUP, 2009; original edition 2004), pp. 222-48.

<sup>63</sup>Zygmunt Bauman, *Liquid Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), pp. 113-18 ('From heavy to light modernity').

### *Gray and the 'reading public'*

Apart from issuing the *Monitor*, Gray supplied a wide variety of newspapers for the 'reading public' in Loughborough, promoting a democratic dialogue. From 1860, Gray received the *Nottingham & Midland Counties Daily Express* from its inception, expecting 'to receive the Papers by Ten o'clock every Morning'.<sup>64</sup> More important was the establishment of 'J. H. Gray's Public Reading and Class Rooms' contemporaneously with the *Monitor*.<sup>65</sup> This newspaper reading room collected two copies of *The Times*, and single copies of *The Daily News*, *The Morning Herald*, *The Standard* and *The Telegraph* as daily issues. Weeklies purchased by the reading room included *The Illustrated London News*, *The Illustrated Times*, *Punch*, *The Midland Counties Herald*, and a sample of Leicester and Nottingham newspapers. Also available were a collection of magazines such as *Macmillan's Monthly*, *Sunday at Home*, *Once a Week*, *Leisure Hour*, *All the Year Round*, and *Welcome Guest*. The clientele was, however, likely restricted to the urban bourgeoisie, as 'day' readers paid a subscription of 2s 6d per quarter and evening readers half that rate.<sup>66</sup> Equally, Gray despatched the daily and weekly London issues and weekly periodicals and monthly magazines to any part of

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<sup>64</sup>LM 4 January 1860, p. 5.

<sup>65</sup>LM 20 January 1859, p. 2, and 27 January 1859, p. 1.

<sup>66</sup>LM 3 November 1859, p. 2.

the town or by post to any address in the locality from his 'Newspaper Department', receiving the issues 'per express, as soon as out...'<sup>67</sup>

The question remains, of course, did Gray's organization of newspapers have a wider impact in the town? In this respect, the answer must be inferential.<sup>68</sup> The advertisements in the newspaper on the front page were almost exclusively directed to the urban bourgeois customer. The notices of auctions in particular were so intended, not only sales of farms, lands and building lots, but also the regular auctions of household furnishings. Indeed, the front page of the issue of 6 October 1859 was almost exclusively filled with notices of auctions: a freehold farm of 113 acres in Normanton on Soar; land and a dozen cottages in Loughborough and Shepshed; the Marquis of Granby in Woodgate; substantial livestock in Ratcliffe on Soar; and numerous smaller household sales.<sup>69</sup> Such a concentration was, however, extraordinary and more often the front page consisted of a variety of advertisements. Some of the advertisements revealed exclusivity. Miss Norman informed her clients that she 'has engaged a First Class London Assistant' for her millinery and mantle business.<sup>70</sup> In the same issue the general draper,

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<sup>67</sup>LM 9 January 1862, p. 4.

<sup>68</sup>Hobbs, *Fleet Street*, pp. 58-64.

<sup>69</sup>LM 6 October 1859, p. 1.

<sup>70</sup>LM 5 October 1859, p. 2.



Nathaniel Moxon, maintained that at ‘Waterloo House’ in the Market Place customers could expect ‘Attention, civility, and extra value for money’.<sup>71</sup> Increasingly, the front pages were dominated by the advertisements of the purveyors of fine foods in the centre of the town.

The issue of 20 January 1859 (no. 69) is reflective of this implied readership. The front page contained almost exclusively advertisements for consumers. The large, central panel was occupied by C. H. Capp, wine and spirit merchant. Below his display was Dobell’s offer of champagnes. Four large advertisements concerned clothing, drapery and hats. Joseph Brunt proffered long-wool Cheviots, Meltons, Beavers, Petershams and Pilots. William Bowley, ‘gentleman’s mercer’, made a competing offer. Another panel on the front page concerned photographic portraiture. Although small, two notices were placed for recruitment to private schools. Dentistry was the subject of another panel. Finally, the right column of the front page was occupied by an account of the Dispensary Ball, signifying the distinguished attendance through lists of names.

In 1864, Lee, in soliciting advertising income, was more explicit about the intended readership.

It is taken regularly by most of the Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy in this and surround-

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<sup>71</sup>LM 6 October 1859, p. 2.

ing districts, as well as by Solicitors, Merchants and principal Traders, Hotels, Inns, and Reading Rooms for many miles round.<sup>72</sup>

His intention here, of course, was to attract advertising from those quarters, which does not obviate a different readership.

‘However, the simple fact was that that the poor could rarely afford to buy new clothes, even relatively cheap ready-mades.’<sup>73</sup> The urban working class was more likely to purchase second hand clothes and to make do and mend. Labouring people were not in the market for the items specified on the front page of the *Monitor*.

The *Monitor*’s cover price was 1d, the same as the *Nottingham & Midland Counties Daily Express*. The expenditure of 1d on a weekly basis was within the resources of all classes in the town. Collective reading by working-class people might have also mitigated the cost. Newspapers were, furthermore, made available at a reduced price the day after their publication.<sup>74</sup> Gray offered *The Times*, *The Daily News* and *The Morning Herald* at concessionary prices the day after their publication.<sup>75</sup> Similarly, Gray’s *Loughborough Almanac and Trade Direc-*

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<sup>72</sup>LM 11 February 1864, p. 1.

<sup>73</sup>Vivienne Richmond, *Clothing the Poor in Nineteenth-century England* (Cambridge: CUP, 2013), p. 75.

<sup>74</sup>Hobbs, *Fleet Street*, ch. 3 (‘Reading times’).

<sup>75</sup>LM 29 December 1859, p. 8; 1 October 1863, p. 4.

*tory*, at first a single sheet available at the end of every year for the succeeding year, had an affordable price.<sup>76</sup> It was probably initiated about 1856.<sup>77</sup> Containing the list of carriers and their times of departure, the membership of societies, and the description of public bodies in the locality, the cover price amounted also to only 1d.<sup>78</sup> By 1862, the issue consisted of 116 pages.<sup>79</sup>

Although the *Monitor* was probably consulted and discussed by the working class, nevertheless the debate in its pages mainly reflected middle-class engagement in what public deliberation existed. For example, one of the first correspondents used the pseudonym *Veritas*.<sup>80</sup> In 1859, the proposals for restoration at All Saints parish church elicited letters from Beauvoir Brock, local solicitor, ‘A. Protestant’, and ‘A. Parishioner’. The subject and the pseudonyms suggest middle-class identity (see further below).<sup>81</sup>

In its early years, the *Monitor* carried few notices about cultural activities. What it did bring to attention were the meetings of the Literary and Philosophical Society and the agricultural and horticultural events. The balls,

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<sup>76</sup>LM 10 January 1861, p. 1.

<sup>77</sup>LM 12 December 1861 p. 1 (for 1862, the fifth year of publication).

<sup>78</sup>LM 20 January 1859, p. 1.

<sup>79</sup>LM 9 January 1862, p. 1.

<sup>80</sup>LM 21 January 1859, p. 1.

<sup>81</sup>LM 19 February 1859, p. 2; 17 February 1858, p. 2.

such as in aid of the Dispensary, were given advance notification.<sup>82</sup> Increasingly Loughborough became a venue for cultural events, including concert performances, as its size and middle class expanded. By the mid-1860s, such events often featured on the front page, directed to the urban middle class.<sup>83</sup>

The second method to establish the potential reach of the newspaper is through its correspondence columns, what might be defined as the active readership. The obvious deficiency here is that the participants are confined to those who could write (coherently) as well as read or were able to enlist a writer. Writing in this case exceeded the demand of a signature. Practical literacy was insufficient. A more erudite form of literacy was necessary. Just short of four hundred and fifty (448) letters to the editor can be extracted between 1859 and 1867. The correspondence permits an analysis of the status of the writers, their location, and their concerns.

First may be considered the geographical reach of the newspaper. Its extended title professed its reception through-

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<sup>82</sup>LM 25 December 1862, p. 1.

<sup>83</sup>Simon Gunn, *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class: Ritual and Authority and the English Industrial City 1840-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), esp. ch. 6 ('Music and the constitution of high culture'); Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* translated by Richard Nice (London: Routledge, 1984), pp. 272-3.

out the north of the county. The location of its correspondents and the object of their concern, almost exclusively their own place of residence, reflects the extent of the reach, but also the population of their parish. The highest numbers of letters were received from Wymeswold (twenty-one), Castle Donington (twenty), Shepshed (thirteen), Barrow upon Soar (eight), Hathern (seven), Kegworth (six) and Sileby (five), with occasional missives from Ashby de la Zouch, Belton, Breedon, Coalville, Donington le Heath, Hugglescote, Mountsorrel, Quorndon, Oaks, Osgathorpe, Rothley and Woodhouse. The volume of letters from Wymeswold, Shepshed, Barrow and Sileby was related to the condition of the villages, rates and improvement.

Some of the comment to the editor responded to (alleged mistakes in) reports from the newspaper's agents in the countryside. From its inception, the newspaper relied on information from 'agents' in the hinterland. Initially, twenty agents reported from nineteen different parishes (two agents were recruited in Ashby de la Zouch).<sup>84</sup> Unfortunately, the occasional listing of the 'agents' simply recites their status (Mr) and surname. None were female. This brevity of description renders it difficult to establish the occupation of most of the 'agents'. It can, however, be established that Mr Harrison in Whitwick, Mr Callis

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<sup>84</sup>LM 29 March 1860, p. 1 lists the names and the parishes.

in Quorndon, and Mr Stubbs in Kegworth were all grocers. Additionally, Mr Goodman in Osgathorpe engaged in grocery and bakery as well as cordwainery.<sup>85</sup> These men belonged to the lower middle class and, involved in local retail, had access to local information. In succeeding years, the number of agents increased slightly 'to whom a liberal allowance is made'.

The social reach of the newspaper can be assessed cautiously through some of the comments of writers to the editor, although circumspectly because of their own interest in corresponding, perhaps with some hubris. In 1865, 'J. C.', in a letter to the editor, commended '... your very large paper for little money ...'<sup>86</sup> Three years earlier, 'A ratepayer' counselled: 'probably your correspondent when writing had forgotten that the *Monitor* is finding its way into almost every house in this neighbourhood ...'<sup>87</sup> One correspondent who became a regular, invited contributor was *Ruricola*. When, in 1861, accepting the invitation to provide a sequence of pieces, he reflected: 'From the large circulation the *Monitor* has now obtained, it may be an instrument in conveying much useful information-not to be despised because it is con-

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<sup>85</sup>TNA RG9/2269, fo. 54; RG9/2274, fo. 34v; RG9/2280, fo. 76; RG9/2488, fo. 43v.

<sup>86</sup>LM 27 August 1865, p. 5.

<sup>87</sup>LM 19 June 1862, p. 8.

veyed by a penny paper'.<sup>88</sup> Others were more circumspect about the content of the correspondence. Thomas Bostock, in the early years of the newspaper, opined: 'Besides I consider your columns will be more respectable when not open to parish gossip and matters in which the public have no interest ...'<sup>89</sup>

As far as can be ascertained, in the nature of the anonymous complement, the scribblers were all male. In only one letter, apparently, was the female population approached, in a request by 'an assistant' (in a shop) that ladies do not leave their shopping into the evenings, taking into account the long days in retail.<sup>90</sup> The intended audience was almost certainly the women of the bourgeoisie.

The authors can be assigned to different segments. At one extreme were the letters subscribed with a Latin tag. Forty-five different tags were employed, probably representing a slightly larger number of individuals. Setting aside *Ruricola* who presented about thirty invited pieces on Loughborough, its hinterland and its history, most of the tags appeared only once. The exceptions included *Mentor* (four) and *Lex*, *Nemo*, *Agricola*, *Argus* and *Viator* (each twice). More complex was *Veritas* attached to six letters, probably more than one author. These corre-

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<sup>88</sup>LM 16 May 1861, p. 2.

<sup>89</sup>LM 11 October 1860, p. 2..

<sup>90</sup>LM 28 November 1861, p. 8.

spondents undoubtedly belonged to the educated bourgeoisie, not least *Senex Doctoribus*, *Scrutator*, *Obiter Dictum* and others. Some, indeed, punned on their tag: thus *Biceps* corresponded about physical welfare; *Aquarius* concerning the water supply; *Carbo* about coal miners; and *Viator* about rambling.

A profusion of correspondents maintained their anonymity with English pseudonyms, including descriptive periphrases. Just under a hundred and eighty letters were so subscribed. Some inevitably recurred frequently. At least twenty-one letters were subscribed ‘A ratepayer’. Another fourteen letters were above the moniker ‘Observer’. Some of names and descriptive phrases were intended to signify that the author was ‘qualified’: residence (‘One of the inhabitants’); status (‘One of the dissenters’); condition (‘One who has an ear for music’); occupation (‘One that has followed the plough’; ‘A Market Place tradesman’).

A smaller number of the descriptive periphrases were rhetorical (epideictic): to indicate justification by repute and integrity, to persuade through virtue. Thus in 1859 the editor published correspondence from ‘A well-wisher to improvement’ in Shepshed.<sup>91</sup> Responding to advocates of teetotalism, ‘A friend to the labourer’ defended the consumption of beer for sustenance by working people.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>91</sup>LM 8 September 1859, p. 4.

<sup>92</sup>LM 29 October 1859, p. 7.



Virtue was implied in the subscription of ‘One who loves honour more in practice than theory’ and, with more humility, ‘One who (though poor) loves truth’.<sup>93</sup> There were a few other such inferential periphrases.

Finally, in the context of anonymity, there were those correspondents who reserved their identity by the use of initials, usually two, but sometimes just one. These (perhaps barely) concealed authors contributed thirty-six letters. Mostly the initials were straightforward. The rather strange exception was correspondence from one or more inhabitants of Castle Donington. Six missives from there were subscribed: Z.X.Y; E.F.G; V.W.X.; X.X.V.; A.B.C.; and X.Y.Z.<sup>94</sup> Certainly, this author intended to prevent identification.

The actual status of these correspondents is thus ambiguous in their anonymity, but their letters as published are coherent and often long, so that most presumably had some skill in composition and grammar. The distribution of the newspaper enabled a bourgeois public sphere which confronted dissent and difference of opinion which was probably less appropriate in the Loughborough Literary and Philosophical Society in which division was not expected.

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<sup>93</sup>LM 4 April 1861, p. 2; 18 April 1861, p. 3.

<sup>94</sup>LM 3 May 1860, p. 3; 17 September 1863, p. 8; 20 October 1864, p. 8; 29 March 1866, p. 8; 12 April 1866, p. 8; 21 June 1866, p. 8.

Contention was frequently the agenda of correspondence, here addressed with reference to Loughborough only. As might be anticipated, the correspondence was miscellaneous, often simply correcting errors in the newspaper reports or making observations from nature. Some contentious issues did, nevertheless, erupt and elicited a flurry of letters.

One of the most frequent causes of correspondence was the activity of the Local Board of Health, especially access to detailed discussion in the meetings, from which the press was excluded. ‘A ratepayer’ complained about this perceived lack of accountability in 1861, deriding the reports in the newspaper: ‘the statements that appear in your columns, a mere apology for a report of the meetings’.<sup>95</sup> Several correspondents deplored this state of affairs and considered the meetings *in camera* as inappropriate. (Gray’s successor Lee managed to obtain permission from the Local Board to attend meetings from 1868).<sup>96</sup> The criticism extended to the other *ad hoc* boards: the existing Board of Guardians and (after the 1862 Act and implementation in 1864) the Highway Boards. This comment on the perceived ‘democratic deficit’ from some ratepayers was associated with controversy over the level of rates. There were protagonists by letter for and against (‘Anti-waterworks’) water

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<sup>95</sup>LM 28 March 1861, p. 3.

<sup>96</sup>*Leicester Mail* 11 April 1868, p. 7.

works; for a fire service; against the Board's intention through private Act to take over the gasworks ('One of you'); decrying street nuisances and poor lighting; criticism of the appointment of a surveyor and sanitary inspector aged merely twenty-three. In 1863-5, the Local Board defended itself against suggestions by the Reverend Bunch of Emmanuel and local medical professionals concerned about urban hygiene.<sup>97</sup> At least forty-five letters addressed these combined issues of local government.<sup>98</sup>

The earlier issues of the newspaper were dominated by two controversies. The first concerned teetotalism and temperance, with, as noted above, contrary opinions on the need of the labouring class for beer. This difference provoked at least eighteen letters. The contemporary problem of the actions of the local rifle corps attracted another fourteen letters. The controversy concerned the involvement of the rifle corps in the procession at Sunday services.

In the middle years of the 1860s, three divisive matters provoked correspondents. One concerned the restoration

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<sup>97</sup>LM 1 January 1863, p. 1; 7 December 1865, p. 8;

<sup>98</sup>In general, although for large urban places, E. P. Hennock, *Fit and Proper Persons: Ideal and Reality in Nineteenth-century Urban Government* (London: Edward Arnold, 1973), pp. 31, 182; Derek Frazer, *Urban Politics in Victorian England: The Structure of Politics in Victorian Cities* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1976), pp. 54, 62, 83-96, 103, 122, 127, 152, 159, 160.

of the ancient parish church of All Saints which broadened into a wider debate about religious observance: Dissent and, in the context of ‘church decoration’, Roman Catholicism. The issue elicited letters from, for example, ‘A true Protestant’.<sup>99</sup> That theological difference of opinion extended then in 1865 to the Parliamentary election for North Leicestershire, in which Frewen campaigned against the incumbent power. Letters were received in the *Monitor*’s office from ‘A Frewenite’, ‘A Protestant elector’, ‘One who will vote for Frewen, the Protestant candidate’, and others, numbering sixteen letters in all.<sup>100</sup> A contemporary controversy entailed the resignation of John Spanton from the Loughborough Grammar School in 1866 and his establishment of his own institution which attracted away some of the boys from the GS, allegedly sixteen, although Spanton denied the number.<sup>101</sup> Irregular letters had been forwarded about education in the town, more particularly about a STEM curriculum. In 1866-67, the correspondence reached a crescendo, some twenty letters over eighteen months, concerning Spanton’s resignation.

All these issues primarily affected the local middle-class townspeople: ratepayers; those invested in worship; those concerned about fee-paying education (about the

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<sup>99</sup>LM 27 December 1867, p. 5.

<sup>100</sup>LM 13 July 1865, p. 5.

<sup>101</sup>LM 14 November 1867, p. 8 (letter from ‘Fair Play’)

time of the Newcastle Commission into education). The perceptions of these middle-class inhabitants about the newspaper were not, however, uniform. Criticising the increase in the salary of the master of the workhouse, ‘A ratepayer’ commended: ‘Your columns constitute a powerful Court of Appeal, to which we as a body of Ratepayers boldly apply whenever we see injustice, malversation, or improper motives cropping up in the administration of local affairs...’<sup>102</sup> Perhaps on the contrary, *Beta*, addressing the movement for early closing for retail assistants, remarked: ‘Your paper is, indeed, a friend of improvement...’<sup>103</sup> In the early years, Gray had included an editorial comment that: ‘We also wish it to be understood that our columns are at the service of our country neighbours for the furtherance of any suggestion for public improvement ...’<sup>104</sup> The counsel was not always negative. The necessity of fire equipment was pressed by ‘One who would be willing to render his share of either services or money’.<sup>105</sup>

While, then, the debate in the newspapers was dominated by the urban bourgeoisie, there was one significant exception. At the end of August 1860, the editor published a lengthy text from John Hutchinson, explaining

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<sup>102</sup>LM 29 November 1866, p. 5.

<sup>103</sup>LM 10 July 1862, p. 8.

<sup>104</sup>LM 20 January 1859, p. 1.

<sup>105</sup>LM 16 May 1861, p. 3.

the condition of the framework knitters in the town. The hosiers, in particular those based in Nottingham, were attempting to exploit the knitters. He appealed: ‘If the middle class could but see the bearing of the case in the right way, and assist us to maintain our price, against those unprincipled hosiers...’<sup>106</sup> Hutchinson recognised the predominant readership of the *Monitor*. The following week, he clarified how the hosiers were depressing wages. Then again, a week after that letter, he persisted, exposing how the bag hosiers or bagmen were also iniquitous in their treatment of the knitters. In this letter, he explained how a union had been formed in the ‘three counties’ which contained seven hundred men who had been offered this low remuneration. Members contributed 1s each week to assist their brethren in resistance.<sup>107</sup> The letters contain a particular idiom of Hutchinson: ‘Now, Sir...’ Hutchinson can perhaps be identified with the John Hutchinson who in 1855 married Elizabeth Worrall in All Saints. He was then aged thirty-five, a framework knitter, a widower, and living in North Street where also resided Elizabeth. John signed the register with a bright signature.<sup>108</sup> In 1861, John and Elizabeth inhabited the Coneries where the entire family depended on cotton tex-

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<sup>106</sup>LM 30 August 1860, p. 2.

<sup>107</sup>LM 6 September 1860, p. 3; 13 September 1860, p. 2.

<sup>108</sup>ROLLR DE667/18, p. 232 (no. 464).

tile production.<sup>109</sup>

Hutchinson's address to the urban middle class about the predicament of the framework knitters in 1861 was prescient as their condition deteriorated in the succeeding years. By 1863, the position was desperate and he consequently submitted letters to the *Monitor* weekly to acknowledge donations for the support of the unemployed framework knitters in the town. In his letter at the very beginning of the year, he informed the reading public that the unemployment had already persisted for seven weeks. Two weeks later, he elucidated that ninety-three men were affected. He was writing in his capacity as Secretary to the Unemployed Framework Knitters of Loughborough.<sup>110</sup> In June 1863, Hutchinson informed the readers that the framework knitters had returned to employment.<sup>111</sup>

The appeal, whether through the newspaper or by the designated collectors, elicited regular contributions from some of the upper middle class in the town listed in the weekly acknowledgments in the *Monitor*. One of the supporters was Joseph Crosher. Joseph, indeed, donated at least 30s to the unemployed knitters in five instalments (the lists named those who contributed at least 5s at each

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<sup>109</sup>TNA RG9/2274, fo. 33.

<sup>110</sup>LM 1 January 1863, p. 8; 15 January 1863, p. 8; 14 May 1863, p. 6; 11 June 1863, p. 5; and passim.

<sup>111</sup>LM 25 June 1863, p. 8.

collection).<sup>112</sup> Joseph was brother to the significant grocer in the town, Richard Crosher, both from the same kinship in Bagworth. The two were the younger sons of Richard Crosher, farmer of Bagworth. Under Richard's will, Joseph was to receive a legacy of £150 and Richard £500.<sup>113</sup> Initially, it seems, Joseph, like Richard, entered business as a tea dealer and grocer, in Islington, where he married Charlotte Appel. By 1841, however, he had migrated to Loughborough, to Leicester Road. From there, he moved to Nottingham Road from where he managed his business as a coal merchant, supplying Swanwick and Alfreton coal and Crich lime from his depot by the railway station. He offered to deliver coals by rail to a distance of a hundred and fifty miles from the collieries.<sup>114</sup> Into his sixties, he continued in the business from York Villa on Nottingham Road. He remarried to Mary Hallam, a spinster aged forty, in 1878, when he was seventy-two. In the marriage register, he is inscribed as 'gentleman', but on the licence as 'wholesale coal merchant'. In his will of 1881, he defined himself as 'gentleman'. His personal estate at his death in 1888 amounted only to £305 19s 1d, which was entrusted to the executors nominated

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<sup>112</sup>LM 22 January 1863, p. 8; 19 March 1863, p. 5; 16 April 1863, p. 8; 14 May 1863, p. 8; 11 June 1863, p. 5.

<sup>113</sup>ROLLR PR/T/1834/44-45 (will, 1832; died 1833; probate 1834; sworn in £1,500).

<sup>114</sup>*Leicester Journal* 6 April 1866, p. 4.



in his will, a gas engineer and a small grocer, both in Loughborough.<sup>115</sup>

Joseph Crosher thus belonged to the upper middle class of the town, yet had an empathy for the working people. More can be elicited about him from his five letters to the *Monitor*. In two he commented on matters close to his expertise: the coal industry. In 1862, he considered the ‘heart-rending calamity at Hartley Colliery’ which left widows and their children bereft. He proposed a levy on the sale of coal to provide for the families of deceased miners. He returned to the matter in 1864, attempting to combat the notion that the increase in the price of coal was caused by the costs of labour. He asserted that the miners were not benefiting; rather all the profit was concentrated in the hands of the owners, not ‘the poor pit men’, ‘the poor miners’.<sup>116</sup> In 1867, he intervened briefly in the controversy over Spanton and the Grammar School. In this contestation, he attempted to temper the allegations being made, concluding in his final letter ‘neither do I enclose my card, but subscribe my name as before’. In contrast with most other correspon-

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<sup>115</sup>TNA HO107/595/10, fo. 34; RG9/2274, fo. 45v; RG10/3255, fo. 79; RG11/3145, fo. 106; ROLLR DE667/ , p. 190 (no. 380); DE462/31, pp. 838-841; DE1619/5, p. 40 (no. 319); NPC 1888 Cabedies-Cuvillier, p. 508.

<sup>116</sup>LM 27 February 1862, p. 5; 4 February 1864, p. 8.

dents, he was prepared to disclose his position publicly.<sup>117</sup> His other letter lauded the royal marriage which attracted only a few letters to the editor.<sup>118</sup>

Although he apparently didn't direct any letters to the *Monitor* about the election for the North Leicestershire District, he attended the rally in the Corn Exchange for Charles Frewen in 1865 at which Frewen once again castigated the High Church Toryism of the Duke of Rutland and the concessions to the Roman Catholics in Ireland. Although a Tory himself, Frewen was an obdurate defender of Protestantism, which was attractive to Crosher.<sup>119</sup> Crosher was regularly invited by local Methodist chapels to address their congregations: the Wesleyan Sunday School in the town in 1861; the new chapel at Walton on the Wolds in 1864; and the Sileby Primitive Methodist Chapel in 1867.<sup>120</sup> Summarily, then, Crosher was a nonconformist with empathy for the labouring class who contributed to the bourgeois deliberations in the town through the local press.

Returning to a potential working-class readership, the Loughborough Institute was opened on 1 October 1863.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>117</sup>LM 31 October 1867, p. 8; 21 November 1867, p. 8.

<sup>118</sup>LM 5 March 1863, p. 5.

<sup>119</sup>LM 13 July 1862, p. 4.

<sup>120</sup>LM 3 January 1861, p. 3; 20 October 1864, p. 8; 9 May 1867, p. 1.

<sup>121</sup>Melville's *Directory* in 1853 listed a Working Men's Improvement Society in Baxter Gate, but it seems shad-

The reading room was open every evening from five to ten, making available daily, weekly and monthly newspapers. The Institute was expressly for the education and edification of working people. The organization was, however, dominated by the upper middle class of the town. Archdeacon Fearon was succeeded by the banker, E. C. Middleton, as President. The committee consisted of the local elite, including Gray. The cost of membership, moreover, was not light: apprentices and youths under the age of twenty-one 3s per annum or 1s per quarter; working men 5s per annum or 1s 6d per quarter; tradesmen 7s 6d or 2s 6d per quarter.<sup>122</sup> For a few years, newspapers were available to working people in a public place, but under the surveillance of the ('hegemonic') upper middle class who constituted the governance of the town.<sup>123</sup>

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owy. *Directory & Gazetteer of Leicestershire* (Worcester: J. Stanley for F. R. Melville & Co., 1853) p. 113.

<sup>122</sup>LM 24 September 1863, p. 1; 1 October 1863, p. 1.

<sup>123</sup>Graeme Turner, *British Cultural Studies: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 1990), pp. 177-81; Patrick Curry, 'Towards a post-Marxist social history: Thompson, Clark and beyond' in Adrian Wilson, ed., *Rethinking Social History: English Society 1570-1920 and its Interpretation* (Manchester: MUP, 1993), pp. 158-200; Simon Gunn, 'From hegemony to governmentality: changing conceptions of power in social history' *Journal of Social History* 39 (2006), pp. 705-720.

### *Gray's other activities*

As owner of one of the town's print shops, Gray was also active in the further dissemination of information to the local public. In 1861, he published Thomas Pickworth's *Statistics on the Mortality of Loughborough for the Last Twelve Years*. Pickworth, a prominent draper, served on the Local Board.<sup>124</sup> As significantly, in 1865, the United Kingdom Telegraph Company (Ltd) settled on Gray's office as the local agency.<sup>125</sup> Gray's establishment was thus an integral part of the formation of an information society in town, if not the main protagonist.

It was probably also Gray who was instrumental in the prolongation of the life of the Permanent Library which had been initiated in 1826. Initially, it seems, Gray commenced his own circulating library. (Certainly in 1856 Gray advertised his circulating library in *The Leicester Journal*).<sup>126</sup> It is, however, difficult to extricate the two libraries. As a bookseller, as well as stationer and printer, Gray's facilities were important in the Permanent Library's development. Shares were reduced from £2 15s 0d to £1 per unit at this time to attempt to encourage more subscribers.<sup>127</sup> (Shares, however, were frequently advertised for sale in the *Monitor*.) The comple-

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<sup>124</sup>LM 18 July 1861, p. 1.

<sup>125</sup>LM 9 November 1865, p. 1.

<sup>126</sup>*Leicester Journal* 10 October 1856, p. 4.

<sup>127</sup>LM 5 April 1860, p. 1.

ment of books had attained 4,000 volumes by the middle of 1860. Additionally, the library subscribed to sixteen magazines, including the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly Review*, *Blackwood's Magazine*, *Punch*, and, perhaps significantly, *Blackwood's Ladies' Magazine* and *The Ladies' Magazine*, thus extending the public sphere to women. New stock in 1860 included *Adam Bede* and J. S. Mill's *Essay on Liberty*. Shareholders contributed an annual subscription of 15s to borrow three volumes simultaneously and non-shareholders £1 for the same privilege. For 10s per annum non-shareholders were entitled to one book at a time. A part of the library, moreover, was separated for casual readers at the rate of 2d per volume for a period of seven days.<sup>128</sup> Although S. L. Jones acted as Secretary, Gray occupied the position of Librarian, no doubt because of his connections in the book trade.

The Permanent Library proved, however, to be less than permanent. Through the 1860s, the existence of the Library was in danger. In 1865, 'a shareholder' inquired about the situation through the local press.<sup>129</sup> In 1867, the shareholders resolved to dismantle the library and sell the contents.<sup>130</sup> About four thousand volumes were

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<sup>128</sup>LM 5 January 1860, p. 5, and 24 May 1860, p. 2. For the equivalent organization in Leicester, ROLLR 18D35 and 14D40 which persisted longer than the Loughborough institution.

<sup>129</sup>LM 19 October 1865, p. 8.

<sup>130</sup>LM 11 April 1867 p. 4; shareholders had constantly

auctioned without reserve achieving £156 in income on 3-4 June 1867. The Library's fixtures, furniture and fittings were put up for auction on 6 June.<sup>131</sup>

Apart from involvement in the Permanent Library, as a bookseller and printer Gray benefited the town through publishing and sales. The almanac has been mentioned. When Spanton's *A Companion to Charnwood Forest* was published in 1858, Gray was the sole agent for Loughborough.<sup>132</sup> Five years later, Gray discounted his stock at half price (6d).<sup>133</sup> No doubt local customers also appreciated Gray making available a wide variety of atlases priced from 6d to three guineas and reducing the price of Webster's dictionary from 5s to 3s 6d.<sup>134</sup>

In another capacity, Gray's establishment acted as the ticket office for most of the events in Loughborough, especially cultural entertainment. No doubt this status partly ensued from Gray's position as Secretary to the Town Hall and Corn Exchange Company.<sup>135</sup> Tickets for example for the Loughborough Dispensary Ball at the Town Hall were obtainable from Gray.<sup>136</sup> He was the

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been anxious about the number of subscribers: LM 27 March 1862, p. 5.

<sup>131</sup>LM 23 May 1867, p. 1; 6 June 1867, p. 5.

<sup>132</sup>*Leicestershire Mercury* 24 July 1858, p. 4.

<sup>133</sup>*Leicester Journal* 22 May 1863, p. 1.

<sup>134</sup>LM 17 February 1859, p. 1.

<sup>135</sup>LM 21 January 1864, p. 1. Also LM 22 December and 29 December 1859, p. 1; 31 May 1860, p. 1.

<sup>136</sup>LM 25 December 1862, p. 1.

ticket agent, for example, for the annual Christmas entertainment by the Loughborough Institute in the Victoria Room in the Town Hall.<sup>137</sup>

Reticent in his own newspaper about his other service to the town, Gray was for several years Secretary of the Loughborough Agricultural Society.<sup>138</sup> As mentioned above, he occupied the same office for the Town Hall and Corn Exchange Company. He was appointed as one of the Overseers of the Poor in the parish in 1869.<sup>139</sup>

At least three other services were provided by Gray at his premises. Before others established registry offices for servants, he introduced the *Monitor* as a registry, the Monitor Registration Office.<sup>140</sup> From 1861, Gray was appointed the local agent for the Atlas Fire & Life Assurance Company of London.<sup>141</sup> Gray's premises also provided the venue for the visiting dentist, Mr Lawrence, and his successor, Mr Taylor, on Thursdays (market days), the premises being conveniently situated in the Market Place.<sup>142</sup>

### *Some conclusions*

In 1864, Gray was prosecuted in Queen's Bench for

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<sup>137</sup>LM 1 August 1861, p. 1.

<sup>138</sup>*Leicester Journal* 11 September 1868, p. 5.

<sup>139</sup>*Leicester Chronicle* 17 April 1869, p. 8.

<sup>140</sup>LM 9 June 1859, p. 1; LM 29 March 1869, p. 1.

<sup>141</sup>LM 7 February 1861, p. 2.

<sup>142</sup>LM 24 September 1863, p. 4; 16 August 1866, p. 1.

libel, having earlier published a letter from a correspondent concerning an impending court case. Gray refused to divulge the identity of the correspondent. As a consequence he incurred costs approaching three hundred pounds. In the issue of 29 December 1864, he explained his reasons for non-disclosure as the professional duty of a journalist.<sup>143</sup> Shortly thereafter, sixteen men, including some newspaper editors, made contributors towards Gray's costs. Among them were the Reverend Bunch of Emmanuel (a guinea) and Joseph Crosher (£5). The donors explained their position at length:

but in honest discharge of his duties, as a Public Journalist, general sympathy has been manifested towards him, and a desire expressed, that as the public generally participate in the benefit of a Free Press, they should have the opportunity of sharing the expenses incurred in serving the public cause.<sup>144</sup>

At least some of the bourgeoisie of the town substantively appreciated the facility that Gray had provided for discussion in the town (and in north Leicestershire: the highest contribution, £10, was sent from Barrow upon Soar). The contributors to this informal fund largely derived from Loughborough and the parishes to the south

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<sup>143</sup>LM 29 December 1864, p. 8.

<sup>144</sup>*Leicester Journal* 6 January 1865, p. 5.



of the town. Above, the implied readership of the *Monitor* has been elicited from the advertisements placed in the paper and the correspondence. The hinterland of Loughborough included numerous parishes in south Nottinghamshire which were also components of the Loughborough Poor Law Union. There is a difference between the advertisements and the correspondence. Numerous notices of auctions of land and timber in south Nottinghamshire appeared in the newspaper. On the other hand, hardly any correspondence emanated from those parishes in south Nottinghamshire, even though they were encompassed by the Poor Law Union. More correspondence derived from the parishes to the south of Loughborough in the Barrow Poor Law Union. The active readership thus had an interest in the affairs of north Leicestershire and in a particularly concentrated part: Loughborough and the parishes immediately adjacent in the Loughborough Union and parishes to the south in the Barrow Union. Many of the correspondents, especially from the large villages, bemoaned the lack of facilities in their midst. Loughborough itself had been devoid of clubs and societies apart from the Agricultural Society and the Literary and Philosophical Society. The appearance of the *Monitor* provided a forum for the discussion and debating of local affairs. The paper was initiated at a critical time when liberal governmentality was established locally through the *ad hoc* boards of the Local Board of Health

(1850) and the maturing Poor Law Union (1834) (as well as the prospective Highways Board after the 1862 Act). Expression of discontent over rates or protagonist for ‘improvement’ found an outlet in the paper. For the most part, civil debate was enabled about self-government.

As might be expected, it was predominantly a male public sphere, both in the majority of advertisements and in the correspondence. Irregular advertisements appealed to a female readership. Miss Topley occasionally inserted notices about her boarding and day school in Rectory Place.<sup>145</sup> After the demise of her husband, Mrs Corah placed notices over several issues that she was continuing the business.<sup>146</sup> Retiring, Miss Billson placed a notice for the sale of her millinery business.<sup>147</sup> In the same line, millinery and dressmaking, Mrs Bombridge of Wards End advertised for an apprentice.<sup>148</sup> Several notices in 1859 were placed to recruit female servants: a housemaid; a cook; a kitchen girl.<sup>149</sup> Whether young women actually referred to the paper is an imponderable, since appointments might be better achieved by word of mouth or through recruitment agencies. In 1859 too, a young lady, ‘well educated’, paid for a notice who ‘wishes for a situa-

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<sup>145</sup>LM 29 January 1859, p. 1.

<sup>146</sup>LM 10 April 1859, p. 1.

<sup>147</sup>LM 10 February 1859, p. 1.

<sup>148</sup>LM 21 April 1859, p. 1.

<sup>149</sup>LM 20 January 1859, p. 1; 24 February 1859, p. 1.

tion in a Shop'.<sup>150</sup> These items of interest to the female inhabitants of the town were, nonetheless, sporadic.

Labouring people might have been indifferent to the majority of the content of the newspaper. Since many readers had 'reading paths' through newspapers, working people might have consulted selected parts when they came across newspapers in public places.<sup>151</sup> Rather than buy their own copy, they would satisfactorily read little bits of 'public' copies.

*Mitchell's Newspaper Press Directory* for 1847 described the newspapers available in Leicestershire as 'Liberal' (the *Leicester Chronicle* est. 1810), 'Conservative' (*Leicester Journal* est. 1751), 'Radical' (*Leicester Mercury* est. 1836), and 'Neutral' (*Leicester Advertiser* est. 1842).<sup>152</sup> In due course, the directory classified the *Loughborough Monitor* as 'Neutral'. In fact, there seems sufficient content in the paper to categorise it as 'Liberal' in its attitude towards 'improvement'. The newspaper had an agendum which coincided with the sentiment of the 'progressive' part of the urban middle class.<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>150</sup>LM 24 February 1859, p. 1.

<sup>151</sup>David Barton and Mary Hamilton, *Local Literacies: Reading and Writing in One Community* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 154.

<sup>152</sup>*Mitchell's Newspaper Press Directory* (London: Mitchell, 1847), pp. 200-201.

<sup>153</sup>James Curran, 'The press as an agent of social control' in George Boyce, Curran, and Pauline Wingate, eds,

### 3 Drink and the people of late-Victorian Loughborough

There can be no doubt that the number of public houses in Loughborough, and some other places, Mountsorrel for example, is altogether out of proportion to the needs of the inhabitants. The only way to stop the sale of drink is to induce the people to believe that intoxicants are harmful or uncalled for.<sup>154</sup>

#### *Introduction: contestation*

So opined the editor of a local newspaper for north Leicestershire, commenting on the report of Superintendent Thomas Smith to the Loughborough District Brewster Sessions. Drink was a local as well as national political issue. The early temperance movement in Loughborough became quiescent for a time, but was revived with great vigour in 1886.<sup>155</sup> Besides the proselytising for abstinence, the question of public order was visible at

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*Newspaper History from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day* (London: Constable, 1978).

<sup>154</sup> *Loughborough Herald* (LH) 3 September 1891, p. 5.

<sup>155</sup> *Loughborough Monitor* (LM) 14 July 1864, p. 1 (Loughborough Temperance Society lectures); LH 23 September 1886, p. 5 (ten lectures in the Woodgate Old Chapel); 4 November 1886, p. 6 (Loughborough Gospel Temperance Society); Brian Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians: The Temperance Question in England* (London:

the local police court.<sup>156</sup> In 1887, Smith reported that the court had prosecuted 193 cases, 86 of which involved simply drunkenness and 75 the offence of drunk and disorderly.<sup>157</sup> Most disruptions inevitably occurred outside the hostelrys. In contrast, the licensed victuallers of the town, whatever their competitive instincts, combined together to form the Loughborough Licensed Victuallers' Association in 1851.<sup>158</sup> Mostly, their collusion was to counter the increasing pieces of legislation which regulated and taxed their commerce. By the 1880s, with the impact of temperance also, the association was transformed into the Loughborough Licensed Victuallers' Protection Society.<sup>159</sup> The annual dinners in the 1880s attracted about sixty guests which probably included the majority of the licensees.<sup>160</sup>

The ideology of self-help also placed strictures on the working class to be thrifty (Samuel Smiles, *Self-help*, chap-

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Faber & Faber, 1971) (to 1869); Thora Hands, *Drinking in Victorian and Edwardian England: Beyond the Spectre of the Drunkard* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp. 14-23 (regulation 1830-1914).

<sup>156</sup>Generally, Hands, *Drinking in Victorian and Edwardian England*.

<sup>157</sup>LH 25 August 1887, p. 8.

<sup>158</sup>LM 24 August 1865, p. 8 (fourteenth anniversary dinner at the Red Lion Inn).

<sup>159</sup>LH 21 April 1881, p. 1.

<sup>160</sup>LH 6 November 1884, p. 5.

ter 10: ‘Money: its use and abuses’). High Liberals like Mill differentiated between self-regarding and other-regarding actions: those which were entirely one’s own choice and those which impacted on others (Mill, *On Liberty*, chapter IV: ‘Of the limits to the authority of society over the individual’). The political debate about drinking and the working class thus had local resonance. Imbibing at home or in more sophisticated establishments and consumption of ‘superior’ alcoholic drink elicited little comment in the press.<sup>161</sup> The public and the private demarcated local class.<sup>162</sup> There was also a gendered aspect as female inebriation was considered pathological, a definition which was extended across gender by the Inebriates Act of 1898 as medical categorization intruded.<sup>163</sup>

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<sup>161</sup>Hands, *Drinking in Victorian and Edwardian England*; Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* translated by Richard Nice (London: Routledge, 2007 reprint), esp. p. 300.

<sup>162</sup>F. M(ichael) L. Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society: A Social History of Victorian Britain, 1830-1900* (London: Fontana, 1988), p. 308.

<sup>163</sup>Lucia Zedner, *Women, Crime, and Custody in Victorian England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press [OUP], 1991), pp. 260-96; Michel Foucault, *Abnormal: Lectures at the Collège de France 1974-1975* edited by Valeerio Manchetti and Antonella Salomoni (London: Verso, 2016 edn), pp. 310-317. For divergence of attitudes towards drunkenness, David Mandelbaum, ‘Alcohol and culture’ in Mac Marshall, ed., *Beliefs, Behaviors, & Alcoholic*

The contours of alcohol consumption and production have been established at the national level. The intention is here to examine how they worked out practically at the local level. The first part considers the venues available for public consumption of drink by working people. Then follows a similar dissection of the outlets for domestic consumption. Finally, the local production of beer is presented.

The regulatory framework for the public consumption of beer was initiated by the Licensing Act of 1828 and the Beerhouse Act of 1830 which instituted Brewster sessions.<sup>164</sup> The 1830 Act allowed the proliferation of beerhouses since the only provision was a small payment of two guineas. New licensing laws were introduced in 1869 and 1872 to address the demographic explosion in urban centres.<sup>165</sup> These later statutes provided the justices with the authority to issue or refuse licenses. The ‘deregulation’ of beer selling by the 1830 Act resulted in constant anxiety about sobriety and the condition of the working class.<sup>166</sup> The apparent increase in the consumption of

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*Beverages: A Cross-Cultural Survey* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1979), pp. 27-30.

<sup>164</sup>Thompson, *Rise of Respectable Society*, p. 309; 9 George IV, c. 61; 11 George IV & 1 William IV, c. 64.

<sup>165</sup>Thompson, *Rise of Respectable Society*, p. 311; 32 & 33 Victoria, c. 27; 35 & 36 Victoria, c. 94.

<sup>166</sup>Nicholas Mason, “‘The sovereign people are in a beastly state’: the Beer Act of 1830 and Victorian discourse

beer between 1855 and 1875 intensified the debate.<sup>167</sup>

The parameters here are the later nineteenth century as the population of Loughborough and its built environment expanded from the middle of the century to its end.<sup>168</sup> The discussion depends on the connections between several sources. Trades directories constitute a very selective source, but are useful for the basic ground.<sup>169</sup> More importantly, the census enumerators' books allow a more detailed examination of the numbers of public houses and their licensees. The local newspapers repro-

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on working-class drunkenness', *Victorian Literature and Culture* 29 (2001), pp. 109-127.

<sup>167</sup>A. E. Dingle, 'Drink and working-class living standards in Britain, 1870-1914', *Economic History Review* 2nd series 25 (1972), pp. 608-622, esp. pp. 611-12.

<sup>168</sup>For comparison, David Beckingham, 'Landed estates and the place of public houses: agricultural and industrial change in the English East Midlands, c.1860-1930', *Journal of Historical Geography* 84 (2024), pp. 97-107.

<sup>169</sup>*History, Gazetteer & Directory of Leicestershire* (Sheffield: William White & Co., 1846) (White 1846); *Directory & Gazetteer of Leicestershire* (Worcester: J. Stanley for F. R. Melville & Co., 1853) (Melville 1853); *Postal & Commercial Directory of Leicester ...* (London & Manchester: Buchanan & Co., 1867) (Buchanan 1867); S. Barker & Co. *General Topographical and Historical Directory of the Counties of Leicester, Rutland &c* (Leicester: S. Barker & Co., 1875), pp. 209-15; Wright's *Directory of Leicestershire* (Leicester: Tompkin & Shardlow for Wright, 1888), p. 474.



duce the actions of the Brewster sessions and the police courts. The information of the Brewster sessions has to be considered with care as the district extended well beyond the town and parish of Loughborough. It is necessary to extract only that information concerning the town and parish, not the entire district.

*Outlets: The Cherry Tree*

The genealogy of the Cherry Tree Inn reflects the overall development of access to and provision of drink in the town. On 7 June 1837 Joseph Foulds, a labourer in the town, and his wife brought all their four children to be baptised in All Saints church. The four children had been born between 1824 and 1832.<sup>170</sup> One of the four, born in 1826, was William.<sup>171</sup> From this humble origin, William entered into production as a brewer on Holborn Hill in the town by 1851 in his early twenties.<sup>172</sup> Ten years later, he was producing beer from Pinfold Street.<sup>173</sup> Within a few years, he had moved again

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<sup>170</sup>For this phenomenon, J. T. Krause, 'The changing adequacy of English registration' in D. V. Glass and D. E. C. Eversley, eds, *Population in History: Essays in Historical Demography* (London: Edward Arnold, 1965), pp. 379-93 at pp. 384-385, 388-389.

<sup>171</sup>Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland (ROLLR) DE667/8, p. 33 (nos 258-261).

<sup>172</sup>The National Archives (TNA) HO107/2085, fo. 34 (1851; then aged twenty-five).

<sup>173</sup>TNA RG9/2274, fo. 30.

to the recently constructed Hume Street. Buchanan's *Directory* in 1867 lists William merely as a 'beer retailer', but he had established the Cherry Tree Inn on the site of the The Cherry Tree Orchard. As below, the directory is misleading.<sup>174</sup> The subsequent censuses recorded him in 1871 and 1881 as licensed victualler at the Cherry Tree in Hume Street.<sup>175</sup> Cautiously, William made a will in 1878 by which he intended to devise the Cherry Tree and its attached brewery in trust.<sup>176</sup> At his decease eight years later, this will was proved by his widow, Jane, of Hume Street, and William Rowland. His personal estate, however, amounted to merely £147 9s 3d.<sup>177</sup> William had been an enterprising owner of the premises. Several coroners' inquests were conducted at the Cherry Tree.<sup>178</sup> Auctions were convened there.<sup>179</sup> In 1862, Foulds inaugurated an annual celery show at the Inn.<sup>180</sup> By 1881, Foulds decided to retire and put the business up for sale (three years after his will). The brewer from Sileby, Will-

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<sup>174</sup>Buchanan 1867, p. 261.

<sup>175</sup>TNA RG10/3255, fo. 43v; RG11/3145, fo. 87v.

<sup>176</sup>ROLLR DE462/29, pp. 470-472.

<sup>177</sup>National Probate Calendar (NPC) 1886 Fabling-Gyton p. 163.

<sup>178</sup>LH 28 April 1881 p. 4 (continued by his successor: LH 22 June 1882, p. 4).

<sup>179</sup>LM 25 July 1867, p. 1 (also continued by his successors: LH 10 February 1881, p. 1).

<sup>180</sup>LM 9 October 1862, p. 5; 8 October 1863; 29 September 1864, p. 5; 5 October 1865, pp. 4-5; and so on.

cocks purchased the concern for £2,000.<sup>181</sup> Willcocks entered into partnership with Gadd to develop the brewery. They invested considerable amounts into the enterprise, but the Local Board was not satisfied with the height of the chimney. In fact, they had over-extended. At the end of 1883, they both petitioned for bankruptcy. As brewers together, their liabilities extended to £700; additionally, Willcocks was indebted for £2,400 on the Cherry Tree Inn and Gadd for £2,500 on his own premises, the Fox & Hounds. Early in 1884, both the Fox & Hounds and the Cherry Tree Inn were offered at auction, with seven cottages possessed by Gadd in Wellington Street near his hostelry. A few months later, all the brewing equipment was offered separately. The plant had recently been rejuvenated with new copper and furnace, refrigerator, malt mill, and bottling and corking machines.<sup>182</sup> In a later auction in 1885, the Cherry Tree Inn was sold at a knock-down price to James Hole & Company, brewers, of Newark, for £1,500.<sup>183</sup> Gadd, in fact, managed to recover. By 1891, he was described as innkeeper and farmer at the Red Lion in Costock (Nottinghamshire). Deceased a year later, his personal estate amounted to more than £817 as he was now a farmer of Bradmore

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<sup>181</sup>LH 19 January 1882, p. 4.

<sup>182</sup>LH 20 December 1883, p. 8; 17 January 1884, p. 1; 15 May 1884, p. 1.

<sup>183</sup>LH 23 September 1886, p. 4.

(Nottinghamshire). Perhaps in his case, he was assisted by his origins as the son of a miller and baker of East Leake (Nottinghamshire).<sup>184</sup> By moving in a narrowly delimited geographical area to the immediate north of Loughborough, he managed to retrieve his situation, and liquidation at the Fox & Hounds was not an irreversible impediment. Several illustrative strands can be elicited from these events. The publicans rose from humble origins to the lower middle class. Although Foulds survived in his business and produced a will, his estate at death was moderate. Foulds had succeeded by exploiting his premises for events. Success eluded Willcocks and Gadd because of their over-extension of credit. Their attempt to expand the very local brewery failed at the time of concentration in the brewing industry, most particularly in the face of the Midland Brewery Company on Derby Road (see below). Eventually, the hostelry was acquired by an external brewery concern as public houses were transferred from private ownership into tied houses with more tenants. These issues are explored on the wider scale below.

*Outlets: the conspectus*

Buchanan's *Directory* of 1867 listed forty-eight pub-

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<sup>184</sup>TNA HO107/2086, fo. 104v; RG11/3146, fo. 24v; RG12/2518, fo. 61v; NPC 1893 Eade-Gyte p. 147 (died 1892).

lic houses by name (with additionally a number of beer retailers without signage).<sup>185</sup> By comparison, White in 1846 had enumerated fifty-five named public houses and a profusion of anonymous beer houses.<sup>186</sup> In fact, the census enumeration for 1861 included sixty-five hostelries with names. The directories were not a reliable guide to all the hostelries. In 1884, Smith reported that the town contained 88 licensed premises.<sup>187</sup> By 1887, a slight increase had occurred to 93. Smith calculated that this number was the equivalent of one public house to 193 inhabitants compared with 177 elsewhere in (rural parts of) the district.<sup>188</sup> By this point, the market for alcohol consumption was probably saturated. The concentration of licensed premises remained in the centre of the town. Some were omitted by Buchanan ostensibly because they were already on the periphery of the town: the Boat and the Albion on the canal and the Gate on Meadow Lane also close to the canal. The omission of others simply results from selectivity: Cherry Tree (as above); Plough; Unicorn; Cricket Players; White Horse; and so on.

Introducing new premises in the expanding suburbs proved difficult. Contention arose with opposition from established premises to the licensing of potential compe-

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<sup>185</sup>Buchanan 1867, pp. 258-267.

<sup>186</sup>White 1846, pp. 288-289.

<sup>187</sup>LH 28 August 1884, p. 4.

<sup>188</sup>LH 25 August 1887, p. 8.

tition. The urban area was small enough for customers to walk to the existing pubs in the centre. When Trease on behalf of the Midland Brewery Company applied for a licence for a public house on the new Paget Estate, the application was opposed by the landlords or owners of the George IV (Regent Street), Generous Briton (Ashby Road), and the Station Hotel (Derby Road). The bench initially refused the application.<sup>189</sup> Ultimately, the licence was approved and in 1891 Isaac Unwin was the tenant at the young age of twenty-four.<sup>190</sup> The same contest arose over licences for premises in the expanding area off Moor Lane.<sup>191</sup>

Some of the hostelries were imposing structures appropriate for the coaching commerce before the advent of the railways when they were multi-functional.<sup>192</sup> Some of this function remained. These buildings also added to the environment of the town centre. The Red Lion in Bigging contained stabling for forty horses and a coach house.<sup>193</sup> Carrier services started from twenty-one of the older establishments, ten from the Rose & Crown and

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<sup>189</sup>LH 28 August 1884, p. 4; 25 August 1887, p. 8.

<sup>190</sup>TNA RG12/2514, fo. 31.

<sup>191</sup>LH 26 August 1889, p. 4.

<sup>192</sup>Peter Clark, *The English Alehouse: A Social History 1200-1830* (Harlow: Longman, 1983); Clark, *British Clubs and Societies 1580-1800: The Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford: OUP, 2000).

<sup>193</sup>LM 2 April 1863, p. 1.

multiple from the Unicorn.<sup>194</sup>

As importantly, some of the hostelries provided venues for local auctions before, later in the century, auctioneers erected their own auction houses. Although the Town Hall and Corn Market was fully operational by 1856, its use as an auction house was irregular. In 1859, Heafford, who later opened his own premises, commissioned the Town Hall for an auction.<sup>195</sup> Some sales were conducted at the site of the land or timber. Frequently, nevertheless, the auctioneers availed themselves of the facilities of the town's hostelries. In 1859, five messuages in Regent Street in the town were auctioned at the Griffin Inn, a house with two acres in Hoton (Leicestershire) at the Bull's Head Hotel, eight messuages and two cottages in Sparrow Hill and Woodgate in the town at the Plough, and a freehold estate in Thorpe Acre at the Plough.<sup>196</sup> A quantity of stocking frames was put up for sale at the Plough.<sup>197</sup> In 1862, a freehold estate at Barrow upon Soar (Leicestershire) was offered at the King's Head.<sup>198</sup> The Bull's Head was the appointed venue for auctions of

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<sup>194</sup>Wright's *Directory* 1864 p. 149; Alan Everitt, 'Country carriers in the nineteenth century', *Journal of Transport History* new series 3 (1976), pp. 179-202.

<sup>195</sup>LM 20 February 1859, p. 1.

<sup>196</sup>LM 10 February 1859, p. 1; 17 February 1859, p. 1; 31 March 1859, p. 1.

<sup>197</sup>LM 24 March 1859, p. 1.

<sup>198</sup>LM 16 January 1862, p. 1.

freehold estates in Quorndon, Woodhouse, Mountsorrel, Wymeswold, and a villa on Derby Road in the town.<sup>199</sup> A lot of sequestered timber was auctioned at the King's Head, although timber auctions usually occurred at the site.<sup>200</sup> Even in 1880, the sale of the Bull's Head Inn in Wymeswold was directed to be held at the King's Head in Loughborough.<sup>201</sup> When, in 1859, Walls, the former Town Hall keeper, took over the management of the Duke of York, he not only notified his customers through the press, but also made a point that the venue contained 'commercial rooms upstairs'.<sup>202</sup>

The enterprising hosts of the George IV in Regent Street supported the eponymous celery (and vegetable) show which was held on the premises every October.<sup>203</sup> Although often convened in the Town Hall, the Loughborough Celery and Vegetable Society occasionally held its meetings in local pubs, as at the Rose & Crown in 1888.<sup>204</sup>

On the other hand, the yards of some of the hostelries had become filled with insalubrious dwellings. Fourteen

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<sup>199</sup>LM 16 January 1862, p. 1; 6 March 1862, p. 1; 11 September 1862, p. 1; 18 December 1862, p. 1.

<sup>200</sup>LM 6 March 1862, p. 1.

<sup>201</sup>LH 23 September 1880, p. 1.

<sup>202</sup>LM 10 February 1859, p. 1.

<sup>203</sup>LH 7 October 1880, p. 6; 18 August 1881, p. 4 (advance notification).

<sup>204</sup>LH 22 March 1888, p. 6.



households dwelt in the Wheatsheaf Yard in 1881, comprising mostly two brickmakers and their labourers and a couple of textile workers.<sup>205</sup> This example was not atypical of the infilling of pub yards before slum clearance.

Publicans strove to find a satisfactory living in the competitive environment. Some had to move premises, up a sort of hierarchy of income. In 1881, Bostock transferred his licence at the Cooper's Arms to Lowe and received the licence for the Old Oak from Simmons. At the same sessions, Bentley transferred to Richmond for the Black Lion and Bromhead to Hubbard for the Greyhound.<sup>206</sup>

Publicans consisted of four kinds: owners and tenants; and continuous and 'fugitive'.<sup>207</sup> The schema of the former is difficult to ascertain except anecdotally (see below). Here, the first distinction is made between 'fugitive' and continuous. The 'fugitive' publicans occurred once in the census and, it must be assumed, held a temporary licence. The continuous licences recurred in the censuses at the same hostelry. The hotels are omitted here as a different environment.

Five licensees can be selected here to represent continu-

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<sup>205</sup>TNA RG11/3144, fos 58v-60v.

<sup>206</sup>LH 18 August 1881, p. 4.

<sup>207</sup>Alistair Mutch, 'Public houses as multiple retailing: Peter Walker & Son, 1846-1914', *Business History* 48 (2006), pp. 1-19.

ity. At the Bishop Blaise, Samuel Walley was listed as the licensed victualler in all census returns from 1861 to 1891 inclusive. In fact, he was installed in that hostelry before 1846 when he is listed there by White's directory. At that time (1846), he was thirty-six.<sup>208</sup> He consequently was probably incumbent at the Bishop Blaise for half a century. At the Boat, William Cooper recurred in 1871 to 1891; his namesake, Henry Cooper was repeated at the Green Man in 1861-1881 and William Tansley at the White Horse at the same censuses; John and Ann Abbey managed the Ram between 1871 and 1891.

More is known about Walley because he composed a will. In that document, he entrusted the freehold Bishop Blaise, two cottages, the shop occupied by his son, James, five acres in Middle Park Lane and a similar amount in Wards End, and messuages in Wards End and Hathern for the benefit of his wife and children.<sup>209</sup> Probate was granted to his sons James (butcher), John (innkeeper), and the maltster, Robert Oldershaw.<sup>210</sup>

Seventeen of the licensees can be profiled in detail over their life-course. Only five hailed from Loughborough, although the one from Thorpe Acre derived from the adjacent parish also and Rempstone, Queniborough, East

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<sup>208</sup>White 1846, p. 288; ROLLR DE667/5 (October 1810: son of a labourer).

<sup>209</sup>ROLLR DE462/37, pp. 414-417.

<sup>210</sup>NPC 1894 Ubsdell-Zwart p. 44.

Leake and Hoton were in very close proximity. Two came from south Derbyshire (Aston upon Trent and Shardlow) along the rivers Trent and Soar. Two migrated from further south in Leicestershire: Leicester and Enderby and two from south Nottinghamshire (Hickling and Bingham). The only long-distance migrants were Frederick Gray alias Grey, who in all censuses professed an origin in Battersea (Surrey), but in 1891 'Ireland', and Harry Harridge from Marylebone.<sup>211</sup> The socio-economic background was also diverse: five sons of labourers; two of butchers; one of a framework knitter; one of a miller; one of a lime merchant; one of a wheelwright; and only two born to those engaged in victualling. The sons of labourers and the framework knitter can be deemed upwardly-mobile. The others moved sideways across the socio-economic continuum. (The origins of a few are indeterminate).

Not all remained in the victualling trade at death, although eight persisted. Four others declared themselves as retired victuallers. Three advanced into farming at various levels and one, in his will, described himself in his retirement as 'gentleman'. Their occupation at mortality depended, of course, on their age at death. One died before the age of fifty (49) and five in their fifties. Four survived into their sixties (two sixty-nine)

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<sup>211</sup>TNA RG12/2514, fo. 65v.

and three into their seventies. The eldest died at age eighty-three. (Some again were indeterminate). Their success is crudely determined here by their personal estate at death. Five possessed estate valued at less than a hundred pounds (four in the seventies). Two others owned estate considered to be worth under three hundred pounds, two more under six hundred and one £625 (to the nearest pound). Three possessed personal estate valued at just more than eight hundred. The highest estate belonged to the retired victualler who described himself as a 'gentleman' in his will, Harry Harridge, amounting to £1,343 8s 10d.<sup>212</sup>

Since Harridge was so successful, his biographical information might be worth rehearsing. Born towards the end of 1813 in Marylebone, his father William was a servant. In 1841, he married at Barrow upon Soar Frances Gretton, the daughter of a labourer of that parish. In the banns book, he was entered as living in Prestwold between Loughborough and Barrow, but the register entry for the marriage recorded him as already an innkeeper in Loughborough. By the following year, he had taken premises in Loughborough as a victualler (so entered in the register on the baptism of his son). In 1846, he was listed at the Rose & Crown in Baxter Gate as innkeeper where he resided in 1851. By 1861, he had moved to the

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<sup>212</sup>NPC 1883 Haas-Hyslop p. 127.

Old Griffin in Ashby Square and then by 1871 to the Eagle in Church Gate. During the next decade, he retired. He died aged 69 in Nottingham, ‘formerly of Loughborough’, ‘gentleman’, but retained his association with his former town. His will was proved by Ambrose Cumberland, the established grocer of Loughborough, and Joseph Kirk, also of that place. In fact, his body was returned for burial at Emmanuel parish church in Loughborough. His migration to Loughborough had been stepwise and once in the town, he ascended the hierarchy of hostelries. He had sufficient wealth to be able to retire.<sup>213</sup> Through enterprise as a publican, he had raised himself from the labouring class to the lower middle class with a comfortable living.

The fortunes of John and Ann(e) Abbey in their continuous occupation of the Ram reflects the potential for women, usually as widows, to conduct the business of innkeeper. In this instance, Ann(e) had experience already before marriage. The son of a butcher in Loughborough, John was born in 1825. Still a bachelor at the age of forty-two and already in place at the Ram, he espoused the much younger (twenty-seven) Ann Dexter, the

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<sup>213</sup>ROLLR DE2933/28, p. 45 (no. 115); DE2933/19, p. 24 (no. 48); DE667/9, p. 106 (no. 845); DE2594/14, p. 42 (no. 335); White 1846, p. 288; TNA HO107/2085, fo. 295v; RG9/2273, fo. 61; RG10/3256, fo. 13v; RG11/3145, fo. 110; NPC 1883 Haas-Hyslop p. 127.

daughter of John of Wymeswold in 1869. John Dexter had the joint occupations of blacksmith and innkeeper of the Hammer & Pincers in Wymeswold. When John Abbey died in 1878, his personal estate was assessed at under six hundred pounds. From then on, Ann managed the Ram as his widow until at least 1901, that is, for more than twenty years.<sup>214</sup> In 1883, she successfully bid to operate one of the refreshment booths for the meeting to promote a medical institution in the town at a price of just over £6.<sup>215</sup> Their partnership and her continuing position in the trade represent not only the opportunity for widows, but also the proficiency of women managers of such enterprises.

Similarly, Caroline Hopkins managed the Queen's Head at Nanpantan for about fourteen years after the death of her husband, John. The couple married in 1847 at Caroline's parish of Rempstone. The two operated the Queen's Head until John's death in 1867 at the tender age of forty. Thereafter, Caroline acted as host until her death in 1883 when her personal estate was valued at just

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<sup>214</sup>TNA RG11/3144, fo. 142; RG12/2514, fo. 120; RG13/2976, fo. 101v; 1911 schedule (Toothill Road); ROLLR 462/64, p. 110 (will); NPC 1921 Aaron-Cuzner p. 1 (Broad Street; died in the Union Infirmary, but estate over £148).

<sup>215</sup>LH 3 May 1883, p. 4.

more than £75.<sup>216</sup>

The role of women as managers of public houses can be approximately quantified. In White's 1846 directory, ten women were enumerated as licensees of the fifty-five named public houses and six of the twenty-five anonymous beerhouses. Considering all the named public houses detectable between 1861 and 1891, twenty-three were managed at one time by a woman licensee. The separation between private and public spheres did not obtain in the case of these women.<sup>217</sup> Not only as widows, but even during the lives of their husbands, they were intimately involved in a business which operated out of their household. Women quite often in fact must have undertaken most of the front-of-house duties alongside the barmaids.

Such would especially be the case when the husband, although the licensee, had another occupation. Son of a wheelwright, Arthur Frake pursued the same craft, but also took over the General Havelock in Fishpool Head. From there he continued his work as a wheelwright as well as publican. His wife, Sarah, must have borne much of

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<sup>216</sup>TNA HO107/2085, fo. 38; RG9/2273, fo. 40; RG10/3254, fo. 42; RG11/3144, fo. 45v; NPC 1883 Haas-Hyslop p. 463.

<sup>217</sup>Compare Leonora Davidoff, 'The separation of home and work? Landladies and lodgers in nineteenth- and twentieth-century England' in Sandra Burman, ed., *Fit Work for Women* (London: Croom Helm, 1979), pp. 64-97.

the onerous work of the Havelock, not least because their son, Joseph, named for his grandfather, also followed the occupation of wheelwright. On his death in 1886, Arthur was described as wheelwright and publican with an estate not attaining £74, with probate granted to Sarah, who died four years later at the General Havelock with a diminished estate of under £7. She, nevertheless, must have been the mainstay of the business of the hostelry.<sup>218</sup>

The same situation probably obtained at the Albion on Canal Bank where Reuben Cayless had the licence. When he married Charlotte Jennings, Reuben had a business as a farmer, no doubt assisted by his father, a lime merchant. He took over the Albion with its attached farmstead, described variously upwards of fifty acres. Additionally, he operated a hay store and sales. Reuben perished in 1881 by drowning in the canal. Charlotte persisted with the Albion and was described in the census of 1891 as publican and farmer, dying at the Albion in 1895 at the age of 76.<sup>219</sup> The business of the Albion was sustained by

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<sup>218</sup>TNA HO107/2085, fo. 60; RG9/2272, fo. 55v; RG10/3254, fo. 58; RG11/3144, fo. 62; RG13/2514, fo. 13; ROLLR DE667/18, p. 236 (no. 471); DE2594/14, p. 16 (no. 484); NPC 1886 Fabling-Gyton p. 181; 1890 Fabian-Gyton p. 193.

<sup>219</sup>ROLLR DE667/18, p. 60 (no. 119); DE1619/5, p. 196 (no. 1567); TNA RG9/2274, fo. 80v; RG10/3256, fo., 26v; RG11/3145, fo. 29; RG12/2514, fo. 96v.



Charlotte and her daughter.

Oblique references have been made to the spatial distribution of the public houses and the persistent concentration in the centre of the town. The exceptions, as noted above, were those licensed premises along the canal on Canal Bank (Albion and Boat) and the canal at Meadow Lane (Gate). Mention has been made of the difficulty of establishing new public houses in new housing developments like the Paget Estate and off Moor Lane. On the one hand, the established public houses objected to new competition. There was also almost certainly a desire on the part of the magistrates spatially to contain the public houses and any potential for social disorder. The disorder was probably associated with tenanted houses. Licensees who were owners were probably more careful about their investment. The latter-day disgrace of the George IV is an example. Elijah Cooke had only been the tenant for about three years when he became embroiled in serious trouble. He was summoned for selling alcohol on his premises after closing time and allowing gaming. The visitors, moreover, were three police constables alleged to be on duty. The matter was so disconcerting for the owner that he sent his solicitor to the court hearing. The gravity was reflected in the sentence handed down to Cooke: his licence endorsed; a fine of £10 for illegal serving; and £10 for supplying the constables; with costs and a suspended

sentence in prison in the case of default on the fines.<sup>220</sup>

*Outlets: middle-class alcoholic consumption*

At any time, the town contained up to half a dozen specialist wine and spirit merchants, half of whom constituted the main suppliers. These principal providers congregated in the Market Place. The number of continuous outlets reflects the capacity of the urban middle class.<sup>221</sup> The specialist suppliers were supplemented later by licensed grocers.

The most astonishingly successful of the specialist merchants was an in-migrant, Henry James. One of four children of a shoe maker in Manaccan (Cornwall), Henry moved northwards into south Nottinghamshire by his early twenties.<sup>222</sup> By age twenty-five in 1861, he was engaged as a butler and valet at Colston Bassett Hall.<sup>223</sup> Ten years later, he was employed as a wine merchant's book keeper dwelling in Bryan's Yard off the Market Place.<sup>224</sup> Almost certainly, he was retained by Jane Bryan, the widow of Arthur Bryan, who managed Arthur's business

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<sup>220</sup>LH 17 June 1880, p. 4.

<sup>221</sup>Simon Gunn, *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class: Ritual and Authority in the English Industrial City 1840-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), chapter 4: 'Clubland: the private in the public'.

<sup>222</sup>TNA HO107/138/5, fo. 17 (his father aged thirty-five).

<sup>223</sup>TNA RG9/2485, fo. 36.

<sup>224</sup>TNA RG10/3256, fo. 81.

for a short period after his death (see below). Henry probably succeeded to this business when Jane relinquished it, for when Henry advertised in the local press in the 1880s, he inserted: ‘Established 1836’.<sup>225</sup> By 1881, the concern was employing seven men and two boys.<sup>226</sup> Henry re-configured the outlet as ‘Wholesale dept and Wine and Spirit vaults’ and ‘Wine and brandy importer’, and recommended his ‘wine from the wood’.<sup>227</sup> He also operated a corn, cake and flour store on Derby Road near the wharf which contributed to his amassed wealth. When he died in 1900, his estate was valued at just over £18,777.<sup>228</sup>

Henry’s success was constructed on the acquisition of an earlier business which was truncated by a death, originally established by Thomas Bryan. Thomas Bryan, originally from the adjacent township of Quorndon, arrived in Loughborough probably in his early thirties and conducted his wine and spirit store from the Market Place.<sup>229</sup> Thomas passed away in 1860, when his estate was valued at the significant level of under £5,000.<sup>230</sup> Arthur, his son, came into the world in 1842, but passed away at an

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<sup>225</sup>LH 26 August 1880, p. 2, for example.

<sup>226</sup>TNA RG11/3144, fo. 92.

<sup>227</sup>TNA RG12/2516, fo. 30; LH 26 August 1880, p. 2.

<sup>228</sup>NPC 1900 Haarer-Jutsum p. 324; ROLLR DE462/43, pp. 124-136 (will, 1899).

<sup>229</sup>TNA HO107/2085, fo. 317; White’s Directory 1846, p. 291.

<sup>230</sup>ROLLR DE462/3, pp. 474-480.

early age, having controlled the business for merely nine years. At his decease in 1869, his estate amounted to under £2,000.<sup>231</sup> In 1861, Arthur managed the business, aged only eighteen, co-habiting with his three sisters and their aunt.<sup>232</sup> In 1863, however, he espoused Jane Ratcliffe of Ingleby at Foremark parish church by licence.<sup>233</sup> After Arthur's demise, Jane continued the business as a young widow, but quit Loughborough in 1875.<sup>234</sup> (She returned to Ingleby to marry Thomas Knight, farmer of a substantial acreage in Caldwell in Stapenhill in Derbyshire, who subsequently declined in status, first as a licensed victualler in Worksop (Nottinghamshire) and finally as a commission agent there).<sup>235</sup> At that point, Henry James entered upon the occupancy of the store. There was thus a continuity of the enterprise, but not of the personal. The successor, James, made a considerable fortune from the activity.

Another continuous concern which changed hands was originally founded by Isaac (Blount) Dobell, initially on Leicester Road, and subsequently in the Market Place.

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<sup>231</sup>ROLLR DE667/9, p. 109 (no. 865); DE462/12, pp. 335-336; DE667/24, p. 119 (no. 946).

<sup>232</sup>TNA RG9/2275, fo. 21.

<sup>233</sup>Staffordshire Record Office marriage licence 1863.

<sup>234</sup>TNA RG10/3256, fo. 81 (then aged twenty-nine).

<sup>235</sup>TNA RG11/2758, fo. 65; RG12/2643, fo. 128; RG13/3125, fo. 12v).

Isaac Dobell's father died in 1837 when Isaac was young and he was raised by his mother, Jane (née Blount, of Costock), an independent widow with an annuity. Isaac senior had established the wine enterprise. By the age of twenty-three, living with his mother, Isaac the younger had succeeded as wine merchant on Leicester Road.<sup>236</sup> In 1855 Isaac, then aged twenty-six and still of Leicester Road, married Clara, daughter of William Clifford, a draper in the Market Place in Loughborough. Isaac then moved the business to the Market Place by 1866. He also changed his residence to the impressive Island House.<sup>237</sup> What is interesting about Isaac is that in his advertisements in the local press, he promoted his agency for Inde, Coope & Company, Bass & Company, and Guinness, that is for India Pale Ale and Dublin Stout, rather than his wine stock.<sup>238</sup> After the death of his first wife, Clara, Isaac married True Leedham in 1863, a woman from the USA, who was resident at Shaw House in Melbourne. In 1880, they landed at Ellis Island as emigrants.<sup>239</sup> The business was acquired by John Ealand. Ealand had been a substantial farmer in Skellingthorpe (Lincolnshire) of

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<sup>236</sup>TNA HO107/595/10, fo. 24; ROLLR DE667/14, p. 267 (no. 799).

<sup>237</sup>ROLLR DE667/18, p. 221 (no. 442); TNA RG9/2275, fo. 20; RG10/3254, fo. 61v; LM 4 January 1866, p. 1.

<sup>238</sup>For example, LM 30 May 1861, p. 1; 4 July 1867, p. 1.

<sup>239</sup>Ellis Island passenger arrivals 1880 nos 187 and 188.

which he was a native.<sup>240</sup> By August 1880, he had relocated to Loughborough Market Place.<sup>241</sup> At that stage, he was aged thirty-four and all his children (aged between eight and twelve) had been born in Lincolnshire. By 1881, he resided on Forest Road, but then moved his household to the White House on Leicester Road.<sup>242</sup> By 1911, however, he had migrated to Chiswick where he operated a dairy. He died at Earls Court in 1923, with an estate considered to be worth more than £2,307.<sup>243</sup> Again, a lucrative business had continued although the ownership changed.

The business of the Capp family of wine merchants was initiated by Thomas who died in 1841. Thomas had married the widow, Maria Clarke, by licence in 1830. Charles Hacker Capp was their offspring, born three years into their marriage. After the death of Thomas, Maria managed the enterprise in the Market Place. Charles assumed management of the store in the Market Place, although his residence changed from Park Lane to Derby Road and finally Victoria Street.<sup>244</sup> In the case of the Capp enter-

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<sup>240</sup>TNA HO107/2105, fo. 84 (son of a farmer of 637 acres); RG10/3366, fo. 22 (1871, aged 25).

<sup>241</sup>LH 26 August 1880, p. 2 ('Late Dobell's')

<sup>242</sup>TNA RG11/3144, fo. 41v; RG12/2515, fo. 4.

<sup>243</sup>TNA census schedule 1911; NPC 1924 Dabb-Gyngell p. 154.

<sup>244</sup>ROLLR DE667/7, p. 195 (no. 1554); DE 73 PR/T/1841/24; TNA HO107/2085, fo. 321; RG10/3254,

prise, the business was continuous and continuously in the family, for more than seventy years in the nineteenth century.

Also in the Market Place, Charles Limb (born in Kimberley, Nottinghamshire, in 1808) established a business as a spirits merchant by 1846. When he died in 1853, the grant of probate was sworn in under £450. His widow, Elizabeth, assumed control of the business, but relocated to Mill Street as 'liquor vaults'. She persisted with the business until her death in 1878.<sup>245</sup> As in the case of the hostelries, widows had the capability to continue a concern for the rest of their life.

One of the significant developments in the late nineteenth century was the application for licences by grocers and provisioners. The newspaper in 1880 drew attention to the intention of Joseph Unwin, baker and confectioner, to apply for a licence.<sup>246</sup> These outlets provided more serious competition for the Midland Brewery in offering bottled beer for consumption off the premises. As the licensing laws were relaxed for off-sales (from the 1860 Licensing Act), grocers acquired licences for sales of al-

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fo. 44v; RG12/2514, fo. 33; RG13/2978, fo. 80v.

<sup>245</sup>TNA HO107/2085, fo. 316; RG9/2275, fo. 20; RG10/3254, fo. 59; ROLLR DE73 PR/T/1853/97; DE667/23, p. 166 (no. 1325); DE1619/4, p. 55 (no. 435); White's *Directory* 1846, p. 291.

<sup>246</sup>LH 5 August 1880, p. 1.

cohol. From just before Christmas in 1882, Chester Bros introduced into their large advertisements for provisions that they were the sole agent for W. & A. Gilbey's wines and spirits. Their advertisement contained a selection of the products, but they promised also a full catalogue on request.<sup>247</sup> At the time, Gilbey's was foremost amongst the suppliers of wines and spirits in England, associated with a strong advertising campaign, quality and brand awareness.<sup>248</sup>

In fact, Gilbey's had taken the initiative itself in the early 1860s to advertise in the local press on behalf of its local agents. In the issue of 7 March 1867, Gilbey's placed a large advertisement with the names of its agents in Loughborough (James Frost, grocer of Church Gate), and Ashby, although it misdirected readers to Church Street. The large notice was repeated through 1867.<sup>249</sup>

*Brewing: competition to concentration*

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<sup>247</sup>LH 7 December and 14 December 1882, p. 1 in each issue.

<sup>248</sup>Hands, *Drinking in Victorian and Edwardian Britain*, pp. 7, 58, 81, and 85-94; P. Duguid, 'Developing the brand: the case of alcohol, 1800-1880', *Enterprise and Society* 4 (2003), pp. 405-441.

<sup>249</sup>LM 7 March 1867, p. 7; then, for example, 28 March 1867, p. 7, 2 May 1867, p. 7, 30 May 1867, p. 7, 17 October 1867, p. 3; Hand, 'Selling the "Illusion" of the Brand: W & A Gilbey' in *Drinking in Victorian and Edwardian Britain*, pp. 85-91.



In 1890, the mortgage debentures of the Midland Brewery Company Ltd in Loughborough amounted to £40,000. The secured property comprised the brewery on Derby Road, two malt houses, the manager's house, stables, sixteen cottages, and building land in nearby Broad Street. Additionally, the company possessed seventeen freehold and fifteen leasehold licensed houses.<sup>250</sup> Four years previously, the Cherry Tree public house in the town had been purchased by James Hole & Company, brewers of Newark on Trent in Nottinghamshire, for £1,500.<sup>251</sup> The local provision of beer was being transformed by concentration in the industry as elsewhere. Small-scale local producers were being eliminated. The production of beer had become dominated by larger concerns and the retail outlets came into the hands of the producers. Even so, these local breweries were themselves involved in an aggressively competitive market. The following examination dissects how this situation developed and what were its consequences.<sup>252</sup>

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<sup>250</sup>LH 9 October 1890, p. 4; in general, but concerned with the largest conglomerates, Terry Gourvish and Richard Wilson, *The British Brewing Industry, 1830-1980* (Cambridge: CUP, 1994); Ignazio Cabraz and David Higgins, 'Beer, brewing and business history', introduction to a special issue of *Business History* 58 (2016), pp. 609-624.

<sup>251</sup>LH 23 September 1886, p. 4.

<sup>252</sup>For the wider context, Hands, *Drinking in Victorian*

In the middle of the nineteenth century, men, young and old, had been able to make something of a living through ‘occasional’ brewing. On Derby Road, near the Midland Brewery, William Jackson lived as an ‘occasional brewer’, then aged twenty-five.<sup>253</sup> Another youngish man with a family inhabiting William Street, Samuel Smith aged thirty, also operated as an ‘occasional brewer’. Despite having two children aged three and one, his wife was occupied as a staymaker to supplement their income.<sup>254</sup> A forty-year-old, Samuel Webster, was ascribed the occupation of ‘occasional brewer’ by the census enumerator. Since he dwelled in the Rose & Crown Yard, he probably supplied the local hostelry with beer.<sup>255</sup> Of similar age (39) Henry Tooley also operated as an ‘occasional brewer’ and he too might have furnished beer to the local inn as he inhabited the Castle Yard.<sup>256</sup> Boarding in a household in Wards End, the forty-six-year-old Sidney Smith also paid his way as an ‘occasional brewer’.<sup>257</sup> Also in Wards End as a boarder at the Dog & Gun, Sidney Smith, also forty, was an ‘occasional brewer’, so also probably supplying the adjacent inn.<sup>258</sup>

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*and Edwardian Britain.*

<sup>253</sup>TNA RG9/2273, fo. 35.

<sup>254</sup>TNA RG9/2274, fo. 22.

<sup>255</sup>TNA RG9/2275, fo. 1a verso.

<sup>256</sup>TNA RG9/2275, fo. 8.

<sup>257</sup>TNA RG9/2273, fo. 54.

<sup>258</sup>TNA RG9/2275, fo. 54.

By 1871, Henry Tooley had advanced somewhat, now in his own household in Woodgate, informing the census enumerator that he acted as a ‘Brewer for Publicans’.<sup>259</sup> Nearby, the twenty-year-old Harry Tooley, from Godkins’ Yard, also acted as a ‘Publicans’ brewer’.<sup>260</sup> Two older men, dwelling on Nottingham Road, George Dickens (aged sixty) and Joseph Mitchell (seventy-two) were also categorized as ‘occasional brewers’ in 1871.<sup>261</sup> At the young age of twenty, William Matlock, living with his uncle in Mill Lane, had the same occupation as ‘occasional brewer’.<sup>262</sup> In 1881, the census enumerators encountered only two ‘occasional’ brewers, Joseph Shaw (aged thirty-nine) in the Rushes, adjacent to many public houses, and George Dickens (now aged sixty-eight and living in Parker’s Yard).<sup>263</sup> These occasional suppliers were being eclipsed.

Local beer production in Loughborough became dominated by what became the Midland Brewery Company. The brewing concern had been established in 1785 by the Harley family, but since 1865 had become a limited company with shares.<sup>264</sup> (At the AGM in 1885,

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<sup>259</sup>TNA RG10/3254, fo. 80.

<sup>260</sup>TNA RG10/3254, fo. 80v.

<sup>261</sup>TNA RG10/3255, fos. 75, 78.

<sup>262</sup>TNA RG10/3255, fo. 83.

<sup>263</sup>TNA RG11/3144, fo. 113v.

<sup>264</sup>LH 9 October 1890, p. 4.

the chairman remarked that ‘As they knew it was just 100 years since the Loughborough Brewery was established . . .’, and the company inserted that date of establishment into its advertisements).<sup>265</sup> The founder of the business was William Harley who married Ursula Ella in 1794.<sup>266</sup> Their first son, Edward, was baptised in 1795 when William was described as brewer.<sup>267</sup> William made his will in 1816 and died in October the following year. Probate was granted to Ursula and Edward, already denominated as brewer, in 1818. By his will, William had bequeathed a legacy of £2,000 to Edward and £500 to each of his three other children, but the probate was sworn in under £3,000.<sup>268</sup> Ursula succumbed much later in 1850, aged seventy-seven, still living on Derby Road. Her will of 1846 was proved by her two sons, Edward, brewer and maltster, of Loughborough, and John, wine and spirit merchant of Nottingham. The probate was sworn in under £100.<sup>269</sup>

It seems that Edward assumed control of the business by 1835 when he was listed in Pigot’s directory as one of eleven maltsters in Loughborough, which included also

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<sup>265</sup> *Hinckley News* 7 November 1885, p. 5; LH 26 January 1893, p. 1 (‘Established 1785’).

<sup>266</sup> ROLLR DE667/ no. 514.

<sup>267</sup> ROLLR DE667/5.

<sup>268</sup> ROLLR DE73 PR/T/1812/82.

<sup>269</sup> ROLLR DE73 Harley 1850; DE667/23 p. 125 (no. 994) (burial).

Ambrose Brewin of Baxter Gate.<sup>270</sup> In 1826, Edward had married Ambrose's daughter, Elizabeth, so he may already have been the principal operator in the Harley brewery.<sup>271</sup> Edward Harley retired although he still inhabited Derby Road (and died in 1862).<sup>272</sup> In his will of March 1861, he styled himself 'gentleman'. Indeed, in the burial register, he was inscribed as 'Mr Edward Harley'. He died the following August. His estate was valued at under £3,000. Significantly, his will enumerated principal sums owing from several mortgages: £1,100 on his 'late' brewery; and £400 and £280 respectively on the Stag & Pheasant and messuages in Leicester. The will was proved by Elizabeth and their sons Edward, a farmer in Knightthorpe, and William, a lace finisher in Tiverton (Devon).<sup>273</sup>

After Edward's retirement, the company passed out of the hands of the Harley family. As noted above, the sons pursued other occupations. The successor as owner, George Redrup, arrived in Loughborough to take up the position of principal maltster and brewer in his mid twenties immediately after Edward retired about 1859.<sup>274</sup> It

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<sup>270</sup> *Pigot's Directory* 1835, p. 144.

<sup>271</sup> ROLLR DE667/14 p. 296 (no. 887).

<sup>272</sup> TNA RG9/2275, fo. 42 (aged sixty-six); LM 23 January 1862, p. 1.

<sup>273</sup> ROLLR DE462/4, pp. 715-716; DE667/24, p. 8 (no. 62); NPC 1861 Gabourel-Hazleton p. 174.

<sup>274</sup> TNA RG9/2275, fo. 42.

is possible that Edward assisted the transition by lending on a mortgage taken by Redrup, also indicated above. (Redrup, aged twenty-seven in 1861, had a son aged two born in the town). Redrup had been born in Hughendon (Buckinghamshire) and almost certainly migrated directly to Loughborough. In 1861, the brewery, under his direction, employed ten men, a boy and a clerk. George had been accompanied by his younger brother, Joseph Abel Redrup, master brewer, who had just arrived in Loughborough. (His daughter of three months was born in the town).<sup>275</sup> The two sons had assisted their father on his farm in 1851. George senior possessed two hundred acres in Hughendon employing eleven labourers.<sup>276</sup> Joseph remained in Loughborough only a few years before departing to first Watford and then Kings Langley as a brewery manager, before returning to Watford. When he died there in 1907, his estate was valued at £3,442 13s 9d, a substantial amount accrued through the brewing industry as it became concentrated.<sup>277</sup> George too moved on to become the manager of the Royal Brewery at Windsor, although he died prematurely in 1872 with an estate approaching £3,000.<sup>278</sup> When managing the

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<sup>275</sup>TNA RG9/2274, fo. 113v.

<sup>276</sup>TNA HO107/1720, fo. 197v.

<sup>277</sup>TNA RG10/1381, fo. 107; RG11/1442, fo. 49; RG12/1123, fo. 40; NPC 1907 Nabb-Rynne p. 302.

<sup>278</sup>TNA RG10/1299, fo. 104; NPC 1872 Rabbetts-Sluce

brewery, George rationalized the operation. He continued to lease out the malt office in Baxter Gate, distant from the main brewery in Derby Road, which had been part of the long-term business of Edward Harley. Harley had previously leased these offices.<sup>279</sup>

In 1865, Redrup was bought out of the brewery by a consortium which became the Midland Brewery Company Limited in 1865. George Trease was appointed brewery manager, in his late twenties (thirty in 1871), born in the brewery town of Burton on Trent (Staffordshire).<sup>280</sup> Trease remained in charge of the brewery, but retired before the age of fifty to Burton Street in the town.<sup>281</sup> The AGM of 1890 had been marked by the dissatisfaction of some of the shareholders with the results and the management of the brewery, in particular heavy criticism by Sharkey.<sup>282</sup> (John Sharkey, a retired wine and spirit merchant of Nottingham, presumed knowledge of the trade in his criticism of the management. He hailed from Ireland, had accumulated enough wealth to retire before the age of forty-three, and inhabited Blenheim

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p. 49.

<sup>279</sup>LM 27 October 1859, p. 2; 6 March 1862, p. 1; 28 May 1863 p. 5.

<sup>280</sup>TNA RG10/3257, fo. 7.

<sup>281</sup>TNA RG11/2144, fo. 110v; RG12/2516, fo. 79v (Burton Street in Loughborough).

<sup>282</sup>LH 5 November 1891, p. 6 (Trease had resigned).

Lodge).<sup>283</sup> As a consequence, Trease retired, moved to Russell Street, but later migrated to Nottingham to establish a wine and spirit enterprise, where he died in 1907, his estate assessed at £9,230 13s 2d.<sup>284</sup>

These managers were succeeded by Benjamin Fish who in 1891 as manager inhabited the manager's house on Derby Road and was aged forty-two.<sup>285</sup> Fish belonged to a new type of manager. Born in Over Darwen (Lancashire), he was the son of an accountant. He remained in that township as the manager of a woollen factory until recruited to the Midland Brewery. He subsequently migrated to Maidenhead (Berkshire) as director of a brewery and iron foundry. Ultimately, he returned to his birthplace, Over Darwen.<sup>286</sup>

The local newspapers reported that about fifty to sixty shareholders attended the AGMs in Loughborough. Indeed, these journals listed by name, often only surname, the shareholders in attendance. Unfortunately, apart from the four directors, it is difficult to establish the identity of the majority. Those who did attend, moreover, are

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<sup>283</sup>TNA RG12/2693, fo. 115.

<sup>284</sup>TNA RG13/3185, fo. 130v;  
NPC 1908 Taaffe-Zumbeck p. 76.  
<[https://breweryhistory.com/wiki/index.php?title=Midland\\_Brewery](https://breweryhistory.com/wiki/index.php?title=Midland_Brewery)  
(consulted 30 December 2024).

<sup>285</sup>TNA RG12/2514, fo. 50v.

<sup>286</sup>TNA HO107/2261, fo. 392v; RG10/3264, fo. 8v;  
RG11/2362, fo. 63; RG13/1161, fo. 87; 1911 schedule.



likely to have been only the local shareholders. A number of these participants, however, were local farming families. In 1891, Henry Redfern (aged seventy-one) farmed at Shoby (Leicestershire) House, Joseph Lacey (forty) and John Porter (twenty-five) at Stanford on Soar (Nottinghamshire), William Hallam (seventy-five) and John Burrowes (seventy) at Wymeswold (Leics.), John Burrows (thirty-nine) at Sutton Bonington (Notts.), Arthur Keightly (twenty-two, but perhaps as agent for his father) from a farming household in Thorpe Acre, and William Husbands (sixty-five) at Merrill Grange in Belton (Leics.).<sup>287</sup> Richard Benskin of Woodhouse Eaves, aged seventy, had retired from farming.<sup>288</sup> Henry Dickens (aged fifty-one) was recorded as a brickmaker of Rempstone, but he too was probably engaged in farming.<sup>289</sup> At least a small cohort of the shareholders thus derived from the farming families in the vicinity of the town.

One of the employees in 1861 was probably John Newbold Smith, master maltster (aged thirty-four), enumerated next to the brewery.<sup>290</sup> In fact, an enclave of brewery workers was established around the brewery. In 1891, the brewer Isaac Unwin, the maltster James Hill, and

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<sup>287</sup>TNA RG12/2516, fo. 108v; RG12/2518, fos 16v, 18v, 45v, 46, 98v; RG12/2544, fo. 175.

<sup>288</sup>TNA RG12/2520, fo. 119.

<sup>289</sup>TNA RG12/2518, fo. 52v.

<sup>290</sup>TNA RG9/2275, fo. 42.

two brewer's labourers resided in Regent Street, another brewer's labourer in Union Street, and another (aged only sixteen) in Union Street.<sup>291</sup> Along Derby Road, on the Paget estate lived a brewer's carter, a brewer's cooper, and another brewer's labourer.<sup>292</sup> Indeed, in 1883, the company resolved to build sixteen cottages in Broad Street near the brewery, accepting tenders from the local builder, Thomas Barker, for the brickwork at just over £1,718 and from C. F. Dobson for the joinery (£1,143, in this case, the lowest tender). (The sixteen 'modern' cottages were included in the call for new debenture stock in 1890).<sup>293</sup>

Some of the commercial success of the Midland Brewery was guaranteed by its supply of beer to the adjacent Loughborough Union Workhouse and the corresponding Barrow Union.<sup>294</sup> The company also prosecuted a continuous advertising campaign, every Thursday in the weekly *Loughborough Herald*, but also in a range of other local newspapers, such as the *Melton Mowbray Mercury and Oakham and Uppingham News*, the *Hinckley News*, the *Coalville Times* and the *Long Eaton Advertiser*.<sup>295</sup> The

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<sup>291</sup>TNA RG12/2514, fos 55r-v, 59, 60.

<sup>292</sup>TNA RG12/2514, fos 21, 22, 31.

<sup>293</sup>LH 26 July 1883, p. 4; 9 October 1890, p. 5.

<sup>294</sup>LH 24 March 1881, p. 5; 1 October 1885, p. 6.

<sup>295</sup>*Melton Mowbray Mercury* ... 26 June 1884, p. 2 and repetitively; *Hinckley News* 29 June 1878, p. 1; *Long Eaton Advertiser* 22 December 1888, p. 1; *Coalville Times* 5 April 1895, p. 5.

concern offered its ‘Bottled ales of brilliant condition’ and proclaimed its draft as ‘Unsurpassed for purity, clearness and body’.<sup>296</sup>

In the last outlet, the company announced that it had arranged with the Royal Hotel in Long Eaton to act as local agent. As early as 1867, the brewery had recruited an agent in Leicester, Bowmar of 90, High Street.<sup>297</sup> Later, however, it retained its own branch office in the county town in Pocklington’s Walk, the running expenses amounting to £1,254 in 1896.<sup>298</sup>

To maintain its position against external competition, the company continuously invested in the estate. In 1884, it had completed investment in the plant and facilities of considerable extent and expense. The alterations to the brewery had cost £4,963 18s 9d, a new malthouse £2,770 3s 7d, a new stable £878 and new office and stores £1,600 3s 7d.<sup>299</sup> The expense was defrayed by the issue of new debentures and mortgage. In 1885, the chairman renewed the suggestion that the business needed to raise more capital to expand the number of its tied houses to meet the competition and to make full use of the surplus capacity at the brewery, expressing his preference for debentures.

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<sup>296</sup> LH 23 February 1893, p. 1.

<sup>297</sup> *Leicester Mail* 23 February 1867, p. 1.

<sup>298</sup> *Leicester Daily Mercury* 4 February 1889, p. 1; *Nottinghamshire Guardian* 17 October 1896, p. 8.

<sup>299</sup> LH 6 November 1884, p. 6.

tures.<sup>300</sup> The debentures were offered in 1890 for £40 at five percent.<sup>301</sup>

When debentures were advertised, the company emphasized that the concern possessed seventeen tied houses and had arrangements with fifteen on short-term leases. When addressing the low profits to the shareholders in 1890, the chairman referred to the loss of trade ‘arising chiefly from certain “free houses” which they formerly supplied having been bought at large prices by other [external] brewers’. At that point, the brewery owned fourteen tied houses but the prospects of acquiring more seemed daunting.<sup>302</sup> At the following AGM, the chair had to announce a catastrophic loss of £5,387 17s 8d, which resulted in the dismissal of Trease. The prospect of supply to houses was again invoked.<sup>303</sup> Although the balance sheet quickly recovered, the directors were always conscious of the problems of maintaining the supply to public houses.

Accordingly, the company attempted to expand its outlets. The stockroom became the sole agent in Loughborough for the products of Worthington and Company.<sup>304</sup> In 1886, the brewery expanded its option for vending

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<sup>300</sup> *Hinckley News* 3 November 1885, p. 5.

<sup>301</sup> LH 9 October 1890, p. 5.

<sup>302</sup> LH 6 November 1890, p. 7.

<sup>303</sup> LH 5 November 1891, p. 6.

<sup>304</sup> LH 26 January 1893, p. 1.

wines and spirits by acquiring Bardsley's store in Swan Street.<sup>305</sup> Unfortunately, the short-term arrangements involved some contentious unions. The sub-leasing of the Crown & Cushion Inn in Belgrave Gate, Leicester, from the Worksop & Retford Brewing Company caused problems when the lease expired.<sup>306</sup> By and large, the brewery expected to enter into seven-year arrangements for the supply to non-tied houses. The profitability of the company is illustrated in Table 1 which omits the disastrous loss in 1891.<sup>307</sup> The shareholders were largely content with the dividends offered apart from the difficult returns when some demanded greater retrenchment. At the AGM on the centenary of the brewery and the thirtieth anniversary of the foundation of the limited company, the chairman reflected on the expansion of the brewery since 1865. The 'net sales' had increased from £6,418 in 1869-70 to £13,814 in 1874-5 and to £26,711 in 1884-5.<sup>308</sup> Thereafter, the turnover expanded to about £37,000 in 1894-5 and £40,947 18s 4d in 1895-6.<sup>309</sup>

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<sup>305</sup>LH 8 April 1886, p. 4.

<sup>306</sup>*Leicester Chronicle* 4 August 1894, p. 3.

<sup>307</sup>LH 6 November 1884, p. 6; *Hinckley News* 7 November 1885, p. 5; LH 1 November 1888, p. 8; LH 31 October 1889, p. 5; LH 6 November 1890, p. 7; *Leicester Journal* 2 November 1894, p. 5; *Leicester Chronicle* 2 November 1895, p. 5; *Nottingham Guardian* 17 October 1896, p. 8 (eleven months)

<sup>308</sup>*Hinckley News* 7 November 1885, p. 5.

<sup>309</sup>*Leicester Chronicle* 2 November 1895, p. 5; *Notting-*

Table 1: Profitability of the Midland Brewery Company

AGM	Net profit (nearest £)	Dividend (%)
1884	2112	7
1885	2191	7
1888	3497	8
1889	2568	6
1890	1233	3
1894	2261	2
1895	4840	5
1896	6479	10

Many of the surrounding villages also contained their own malting and brewing premises. Nine quarters of malt were stolen from Wells, a brewer in Kegworth.<sup>310</sup> The sub-lessee of the King's Arms in that village, Hooley, had been engaged in brewing his own beer and received a delivery of forty-five bushels of malt before his lease expired in 1885.<sup>311</sup> A larger enterprise was undertaken at the Crown & Cushion in nearby Quorndon. When the contents were auctioned in 1863 they included ten 36-gallon barrels, one 80-gallon barrel, a ten-strike mash tub and the associated brewing equipment.<sup>312</sup> There existed for lease a 'capital malt office' in East Leake and newly-

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*hamshire Guardian* 17 October 1896, p. 8.

<sup>310</sup>LM 5 February 1863, p. 5.

<sup>311</sup>LH 20 August 1885, p. 4.

<sup>312</sup>LM 25 June 1863, p. 1.

erected malting rooms were placed at auction there.<sup>313</sup> A lease was offered for a house with malt rooms for eleven quarters in Wymeswold.<sup>314</sup> Perhaps precisely because these premises were being leased the malting activity was in decline as commercial breweries expanded their production and distribution.

The Midland Brewery faced some competition from breweries in nearby parishes.<sup>315</sup> Sharpe & Sons, a brewery in Sileby, advertised its products in the local newspaper which also served north Leicestershire.<sup>316</sup> The Sileby enterprise proclaimed its 'Steam Brewery' which it had extended recently producing its 'Celebrated Sileby Stout and high-class ales'.<sup>317</sup> The competitive position of the Midland Brewery was illustrated, however, by its delivery to the locality of the Sileby brewery. In 1881, while delivering for the Midland Brewery to Cossington, the drayman, Walter Waits, fell off the dray. (Incidentally, Walter dwelt in Bridge Street, across the way from the Midland Brewery).<sup>318</sup> By 1864, Redrup had negotiated a contract to supply C. R. Bowmar in High Street in Leicester.

Other competitors had more serious implications, es-

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<sup>313</sup>LM 28 July 1864, p. 1; 13 September 1866, p. 1.

<sup>314</sup>LM 27 July 1865, p. 1.

<sup>315</sup>LM 4 August 1864, p. 1.

<sup>316</sup>LH 27 January 1881, p. 1.

<sup>317</sup>LH 1 September 1881, p. 4.

<sup>318</sup>LH 9 June 1881, p. 4.

pecially at an earlier time. In 1859, Wilkinson of the Red Lion alerted through the local press that he had received beer from ‘the above celebrated Brewery’ (Goodwin & Company’s All Saints Brewery in Leicester, which ultimately purchased the Midland Brewery) in casks for collection from the ale store at the Red Lion Inn Yard in Church Gate. From his store also he offered his own ‘Home-brewed Ale at the Red Lion Inn, as usual’.<sup>319</sup> John Hickman in Bedford Square acted as the local agent for Perry & Sons, brewers in Bulwell (Nottinghamshire), and then also Salt’s and Allsopp’s Burton ales.<sup>320</sup> Astill & Company in Baxter Gate imported Burton ale and London and Dublin porter and stout.<sup>321</sup> Waddelow in Burton Street also advertised the same imported products.<sup>322</sup> The prominent local retailer, Isaac Dobell, supplied Bass & Company’s India Pale Ale and Mild.<sup>323</sup> Even Worthington’s ales were offered by Scott in the Market Place.<sup>324</sup> In 1890, competition internal to the new borough (incorporated in 1888) appeared in the advertisements of Bagguley and Young, brewers of Holland Street in the town, promoting their ‘pure hop-bitters and horehound beer’ which was continued as B. G. Young of 25, Derby

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<sup>319</sup>LM 11 March 1859, p. 2; 24 November 1859, p. 1.

<sup>320</sup>LM 25 September 1862, p. 4; 28 July 1864, p. 1.

<sup>321</sup>LM 3 May 1860, p. 1.

<sup>322</sup>LM 5 September 1861, p. 1.

<sup>323</sup>LM 5 December 1861, p. 1.

<sup>324</sup>LM 19 January 1865, p. 1.



Road.<sup>325</sup>

The wine merchant, Capp, in the town centre, had an agreement with the Burton Brewery Company and All Saints Brewery in Leicester.<sup>326</sup> His advertisements were placed on the front page of the local paper, were the largest notice, and were prominently in the centre. He promised ‘cheap and good wines’, mostly from South Africa, as well as the Burton ales. He took advantage of the introduction of the local paper and his advertisement appeared on the front page of every early issue.

Competition also ensued from further afield. When the Paget Estate for housing working people was well under development, James Eadie, brewer of Burton on Trent, applied for a provisional licence for premises adjacent to the terminus of the Charnwood Forest Railway Line on Derby Road.<sup>327</sup> Eadie also leased out the Forester’s Arms in Ward’s End.<sup>328</sup> Some of the local competition fell by the wayside. Henry Astill, mentioned above, succumbed to bankruptcy . At his third examination, he revealed that his meagre profit between July 1860 and January 1861 amounted to less than £12.<sup>329</sup> In the end, he successfully redeemed his position to continue ‘as hereto-

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<sup>325</sup>LH 20 March 1890, p. 1; 27 November 1890, p. 1.

<sup>326</sup>LM 25 April 1861, p. 1; 12 June 1862, p. 4.

<sup>327</sup>LH 28 August 1884, p. 4.

<sup>328</sup>LH 6 January 1887, p. 5.

<sup>329</sup>LM 5 September 1861, p. 2.

fore'.<sup>330</sup>

*Conclusions* Engagement in the service industry as a publican afforded the opportunity to rise from the lower social levels into the lower-middle class. Most licensees originated in the labouring class. How that lower-middle class was differentiated from its customers is anomalous. The symbiotic relationship between publican and client probably maintained a close social and cultural relationship. A few former licensees, however, 'escaped' into farming and landownership. Like involvement in all retailing, success or failure was contingent. The over-extending of debt to invest caused casualties. 'Upward mobility' was severely constrained in this route. At the same time, the acquisition of hostelrys as tied houses by breweries limited the opportunities.

Women played an important role in the provision of alcohol in public houses. If the clients were mostly male, the women of the institution probably dominated the service staff. That was the case not only when the male licensee had another occupation. Wives and barmaids attended to requests. Widows, moreover, sustained the service for long periods of their widowhood.

The anxiety around the consumption of alcohol by the working class caused the reintroduction of stricter regulation of licensing of houses. As a consequence, the mag-

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<sup>330</sup>LM 26 September 1861, p. 1.

istrates could control the spatial distribution of public houses. It is apparent that these representatives of the urban elite preferred public houses to be concentrated in the centre of the town to monitor public order. The police station was situated on Woodgate and local beats from there could intervene more effectively than in the suburbs. The intention was then not only to limit the number of houses but to restrict them spatially for easier surveillance and observation.

By and large, retailers in the middle-class market for wines and spirits had better fortune. The trade was retained in the hands of a few merchants concentrated in the centre of the town, particularly in the Market Place. Considerable, and even spectacular, wealth could be attained and consequent social mobility.

While the merchandising of wines and spirits had always been concentrated in a few families, brewing had once been a demotic occupation, even allowing 'occasional brewers' to supply local hostelryes. As elsewhere, that position was eroded as the larger brewers eclipsed the smaller enterprises. Such was the success of the Midland Brewery Company. Even this dominant brewer in the town was not immune to external competition and, indeed, acted as an agent for external brewers.<sup>331</sup>

Trends and tendencies in Loughborough mirrored those

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<sup>331</sup>Gourvish and Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*.

in the large industrial cities and in the general economy. A place such as Loughborough is, however, rarely considered and often the *detail* of *local* politics and economies is not contemplated. The biographical information obtainable for these actors in Loughborough deepens the understanding of how change occurred. The pity is that there is less detail about the customers.

## 4 Building the borough: housing the people

Substantial research has been conducted into the building process and the provision of housing in the late Victorian city and the large towns.<sup>332</sup> Although the principal focus has been on London and the burgeoning industrial towns, Leicester has not been neglected.<sup>333</sup> Smaller than those

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<sup>332</sup>Much encapsulated in M(artin) J. Daunton, *House and Home in the Victorian City: Working-class Housing 1850-1914* (London: Arnold, 1983) (pp. 67-8 for Leicester); for a synopsis, Richard Rodger, *Housing in Urban Britain, 1780-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (CUP), 1995 edn) with an 'updated bibliographical note' at pp. 84-95. Images to accompany this research can be viewed at: <https://show.zohopublic.com/publish/tas7u8b106134b41446459d2e03743081591b>. I am grateful to Dr Pam Fisher for some corrections.

<sup>333</sup>R. M. Pritchard, *Housing and the Spatial Structure of the City: Residential Mobility and the Housing Market in an English City Since the Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge: CUP, 1976), esp. pp. 32-67; Richard Dennis, *English Industrial Cities of the Nineteenth Century: A Social Geography* (Cambridge: CUP, 1984), pp. 141-85, also includes some non-industrial places (Durham and York) and some smaller industrial towns (Oldham and Huddersfield); Avner Offer, *Property and Politics 1870-1914: Landownership, Law, Ideology and Urban Development in England* (Cambridge: CUP, 1981), pp. 254-82

other urban entities, even Oldham, Loughborough industrialised rapidly in the late nineteenth century with the development of factory-based textile industry. Whereas Oldham received borough status in 1849, Loughborough did not receive incorporation until 1888. There was thus a political as well as socio-economic difference between Loughborough and other industrial places.<sup>334</sup> Nor was Loughborough commensurate with Leicester, the county borough, also industrialising through textile production, but substantially larger demographically and with a more diverse economy. Yet the building development in Loughborough is important for the urban experience and residential segregation in late-Victorian England.

#### *Anatomy at mid-century*

Since the 1851 census is defective in parts, the anatomy of the town must be described from that of 1861 which is clearer. Some new locations for working-class and lower-middle-class inhabitants had already been constructed, such as King, Queen, Factory, Moira, Barrow, Holland and Rutland Streets off Leicester Road.<sup>335</sup> Their expanse was, however, limited. A multitude of families was restricted in the centre of the town in the yards

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(‘The property cycle in London 1892-1912’); P. J. Waller, *City and Nation, 1850-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press (OUP), 1983).

<sup>334</sup>Dennis, *English Industrial Cities*, for Oldham.

<sup>335</sup>The National Archives (TNA) RG9/2273 fos 88-97.

and courts off the principal streets. In Wheat Sheaf Yard and Mill Street (now Market Street) Yard numerous families resided, industrial workers, building labourers, and agricultural labourers (for the last, see further below).<sup>336</sup> Off Woodgate were situated Godkin's, Mason's, Mills' and Bass's Yards, all containing numerous households.<sup>337</sup> Similar to the Wheat Sheaf Yard was the Dog & Gun Yard.<sup>338</sup> The Theatre Yard housed fewer families.<sup>339</sup> The nearby Court Yard off Nottingham Road was the refuge of up to twenty households.<sup>340</sup> Nearer to the central precinct, Fosbrooke's Yard was situated off Church Gate.<sup>341</sup> Brown's Yard was located off Ashby Square.<sup>342</sup> Off the principal street of Baxter Gate lay the Rose & Crown, Tamm's, Fox, Chapman's, Farmer's, Angel, Wragg's, Warner's and Castle Yards, all inhabited by working people of mixed occupations. Comparison with parts of the 1851 census suggests that there is some under-denomination of the courts in 1861, although separate courts in 1851 (Court E etc) might have been consolidated in 1861.

The last point about under-registration of courts is re-

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<sup>336</sup>TNA RG9/2273 fos 23-25, 52-53v.

<sup>337</sup>TNA RG9/2273, fos 71v-75v.

<sup>338</sup>TNA RG9/2273, fos 79v-80r.

<sup>339</sup>TNA RG9/2274, fos 15r-v.

<sup>340</sup>TNA RG9/2274, fos 38v-40.

<sup>341</sup>TNA RG9/2274, fos 63v-64r.

<sup>342</sup>TNA RG9/2275, fo. 26r-v.

vealed in the 1891 census in which Courts A-E were enumerated off Bridge Street, which seemingly did not appear in the 1861 census.<sup>343</sup> In 1891, the yards off Baxter Gate were now described as Courts A-H.<sup>344</sup> More than forty courts can be counted in the 1891 census as well as Chester's and Mills's Yards. All were inhabited. It is possible that many of the dwellers were indigent, like Maria Hallam a widow in her early sixties in Court D off Woodgate, 'Kept by Parish'.<sup>345</sup> The condition of these dwellings is illustrated by the auction of ten messuages in Mills's Yard in 1861, for the property for sale also included a slaughterhouse and cowshed.<sup>346</sup> By comparison, an auction two years previously concerned a house with a shop front in Baxter Gate in the occupation of Miss Cattell which contained six bedrooms.<sup>347</sup> The house formerly occupied by a corn merchant in the Market Place featured eight bedrooms.<sup>348</sup>

One of the interesting facets is the number of agricultural labourers residing in these courts and yards in the centre, walking out to the farms that employed them. In terms of occupational residence, there was no difference between urban and rural workers. Some of the farm

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<sup>343</sup>TNA RG12/2514, fos 93, 103v-196.

<sup>344</sup>TNA RG12/2515, fos 126-131v.

<sup>345</sup>TNA RG12/2516, fo. 34v.

<sup>346</sup>*Loughborough Monitor* 15 Aug. 1861 p. 1.

<sup>347</sup>LM 25 Aug, 1859 p. 1.

<sup>348</sup>LM 19 Sept. 1861 p. 1.



labourers inhabited the periphery of the built area, on Bridge Street especially, but still intermingled with textile and other workers.<sup>349</sup>

Although the expansion of the town provided new, more salubrious, housing for the working class, many still remained in the courts and yards until later slum clearance. For example, in 1884 seven tenements in Mills's Yard were auctioned which had sitting tenants from whom a gross annual rental of £33 10s 2d per annum was received.<sup>350</sup> In 1891, five tenanted dwellings in the Dog & Gun Yard were auctioned and achieved the price of £222.<sup>351</sup>

In 1861, the central precinct of the town contained both high-status domiciles (with their shops) on the main streets but also lower-class and insalubrious housing in the courts and yards off those streets. Some residential segregation existed, however, as might be expected. Some of the industrial working class, as noted above, had settled in the new streets off Leicester Road. Some of the middle-class townspeople had migrated to new locations in the suburbs as they initially were constructed. The continuation of residential differentiation in the expanding periphery of the town was a constant and increasing feature.

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<sup>349</sup>TNA RG9/2274, fos 82v-88r.

<sup>350</sup>*Loughborough Herald* 31 July 1884 p. 1.

<sup>351</sup>LH 16 Feb. 1891 p. 3.

### *The sources*

As above, the census enumerators' books (CEBs) have been examined for the contours of the urban space, the composition of the residents, and the status of builders and landowners.<sup>352</sup> The directories provide some information about builders and developers, but their content is selective.<sup>353</sup> The National Probate Calendar has been consulted to establish the fortunes of builders and developers. Some caution is necessary in deploying the information in the NPC. From its inception in 1858 to 1881, the estate at death refers only to personal estate and the

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<sup>352</sup>The National Archives (TNA) HO107/2085 fos 1-363; RG9/2273 fos 1-120; RG9/2274 fos 1-114; RG9/2275 fos 1-57; RG10/3254 fos 1-101; RG10/3255 fos 1-85; RG10/3256 fos 1-92; RG10/3257 fos 1-24; RG11/3144 fos 1-143; RG11/3145 fos 1-144; RG11/3146 fos 1-86; RG12/2514 fos 1-140; RG12/2515 fos 1-132; RG12/2516 fos 1-88.

<sup>353</sup>*History, Gazetteer & Directory of Leicestershire* (Sheffield: William White & Co., 1846) (White 1846); *Directory & Gazetteer of Leicestershire* (Worcester: J. Stanley for F. R. Melville & Co., 1853) (Melville 1853); *Postal & Commercial Directory of Leicester ...* (London & Manchester: Buchanan & Co., 1867) (Buchanan 1867); *S. Barker & Co. General Topographical and Historical Directory of the Counties of Leicester, Rutland &c* (Leicester: S. Barker & Co., 1875), pp. 209-15 (Barker 1875); *Wright's Directory of Leicestershire* (Leicester: Tompkin & Shardlow for Wright, 1888), p. 474 (Wright 1888).

amount is expressed as below an incremental value. Between 1881 and 1897, the estate is still only personalty but a specific value is provided. From 1898, certain kinds of real estate are integrated into the value.<sup>354</sup> Notices in the local press reveal the character of the housing market, house prices, rental income and rents. Consequently, the *Loughborough Monitor* and the *Loughborough Herald* have been perused for the years available, respectively 1859-67 and 1880-93.

Substantially, understanding the development in the 1880s and 1890s, a formative time, depends on the deposited bye-law building register which commences in 1883.<sup>355</sup> The Local Board, established in 1850 under the 1848 Health of Towns Act, required the deposit of plans for approval for building in the parish.<sup>356</sup> The register does not commence until 1883, pursuant, perhaps to the legislation of the 1870s on housing and the issue in 1877

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<sup>354</sup>W. D. Rubenstein, *Men of Property: The Very Wealthy in Britain Since the Industrial Revolution* (London: Social Affairs Unit, 2006 edn), pp. 18-24.

<sup>355</sup>Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland (ROLLR) DE1834/157; some notices of applications to the Local Board are inserted in the *Loughborough Herald* from 1885: LH 5 March 1885 p. 4.

<sup>356</sup>*London Gazette* Issue 21067 p. 390; for Leicester, G. A. Chinnery, 'Nineteenth-century building plans in Leicester', *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society* 49 (1973), pp. 33-41, esp. 40-41..

of model bye-laws.<sup>357</sup> The ambiguity of the register is that it is quite summary, with information about the applicant (without status), the character and number of the intended housing (cottages, houses, villas), and whether the application was approved or rejected. This information leaves much to be desired. In particular, it is difficult always to ascertain which were re-submissions and whether the housing was actually built. The functioning of the Local Board, nevertheless, was a stimulus to the improvement of the provision of housing for the working class.<sup>358</sup>

### *The expansion*

In the last days of 1890, the surveyor for the Local Board of Health applied for an increase in salary on the premiss of the expansion of the urban area since 1875. In 1875, he opined, the rateable value of the town and parish amounted to £38,193, but by 1890 had almost doubled to £74,287, as a consequence of the extension of the built-up area.<sup>359</sup> In fact, much of the increase had occurred since 1881. In 1881, the town consisted of 3,142 inhabited houses, but in 1891 the number had been augmented to 3,834, an increase of almost 700 occupied

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<sup>357</sup>Public Health Act 1875 (28 & 39 Vict. c. 55).

<sup>358</sup>Patrick Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom: Liberalism and the Modern City* (London: Verso, 2003), for governmentality, although in larger urban contexts.

<sup>359</sup>LH 1 Jan. 1891, p. 5.

houses or twenty-two percent.<sup>360</sup> The Paget Estate alone comprised more than 260 dwellings (see further below).

The urban area was, however, constrained by some physical and some symbolic barriers. Despite its small size, the Wood Brook impeded expansion because of its pollution by dye works in Devonshire Square. The brook connected with the Canal Basin on Derby Road which also obstructed new building, although the north side of the bank, Canal Bank, had traditionally housed the boat people. Also on Derby Road, the Gas Works (now the site of Sainsbury's store) and the Workhouse were symbolic impediments. The topography on the north and south was not conducive, with the low-lying meadows (and, indeed, Tatmarsh) and Loughborough Moors. The construction of Broad Street and Regent Street overcame the symbolic obstacles of the Gas Works and Workhouse. This extension then permitted the expansion of the Paget Estate when the land was made available. Defeating these obstacles allowed the expansion of the built-up area in all these locations on the north and south for working-class and lower-middle-class housing in the 1880s and early 1890s. Superior housing was promoted on the west without such obstructions.

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<sup>360</sup>See, however, Edward Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census-Revisited* (London: University of London, 2005), pp. 62-5, for ambiguity about what constituted a 'house' in the census.

A considerable transformation had occurred since the middle of the century. In one of his letters to the *Loughborough Monitor*, the anonymous correspondent *Ruricola* proclaimed:

Few places present such a happy combination of town and country. Its handsome public offices, its fine market place, its extensive trade, and its situation in the centre of a fertile district, give it the importance of a county town: while the suburbs realize to perfection the idea of *rus in urbe*.<sup>361</sup>

The author of the letter was oblivious, deliberately or otherwise, to the density of housing of the impoverished in the central precinct. While his observations held true for the suburban expansion of mid-century and later, the persistence of rookery-like dwellings in the centre continued to mar the hidden profile. New working-class and mixed suburban expansion alleviated the issues of overcrowding, but only to accommodate the increased population, not to rehouse or allow slum clearance.

The expansion of the urban area into the rural hinterland of the extensive parish of Loughborough produced more homogeneous suburbs than the mixture of the cen-

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<sup>361</sup>LM 29 August 1861, p. 2; F. M(ichael) L. Thompson, ed., *The Rise of Suburbia* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982).

tre. In the centre were located rookeries, courts and yards alongside high-status houses. The suburbs were more purposely designed to accommodate different social classes, although some had a mixed population. The earlier developments of Regent Street and Broad Street contained a more composite population. The Paget Estate was populated by working-class and lower-middle-class residents. The Storer Estate was dedicated to a slightly higher status. High-status housing demarcated the more peripheral estates of Forest, Ashby and Park Roads. Indeed, these last three locations were already distinguished by earlier houses of considerable size.

The countervailing development was the construction of Shakespeare Street in the centre of the town, between Swan Street and The Rushes. In this location new housing was intended for the working class. It consisted of a single straight street with terraced housing and a Board school at the far end of the street. Consequently, the new street was an interloper of terraced housing in the midst of the courts off Bridge Street and Dead Lane and the central precinct of the town. Shakespeare Street belonged to the first attempt satisfactorily to address unsanitary conditions for the working class in Loughborough. Paradoxically, the courtyard slums persisted around the new street. Instead of the semi-rural environment of the Paget Estate, the working-class inhabitants of Shakespeare Street remained enmeshed in the enduring urban

condition. The houses have proven their value, although now blighted by the collapse of Wilko's, whose service entry punctuates the middle of the street.

### *The developers*

#### *(a) The builders*

Collapse in the building industry was a constant risk, partly because of the requisite capital for building supplies but also because of difficulty in estimates and quantity surveying. This risk increased if builders engaged as contractors for large projects as opposed to acting as speculative builders constructing small runs of dwellings. Some builders thus became casualties, most notably William Moss who had embarked on construction in 1876 with his brother Joseph with no capital. Before he died in 1880, Joseph had left the partnership. William then experienced a bankruptcy, but made a new start, mostly casual work. Some of the contracts became unsustainable and he incurred a loss of £30 on work for the new Liberal Club. On his second bankruptcy in 1888, his liabilities extended to £171 9s 1d compared with assets of £27 9s 7d.<sup>362</sup> A similar collapse attended James and John Sills, builders. James had commenced in the business in 1879 and was joined by his son, John. Both, however, had

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<sup>362</sup>LH 15 March 1888, p. 5; in general, Paul Johnson, *Making the Market: Victorian Origins of Corporate Capitalism* (Cambridge: CUP, 2010), pp. 49-62.



trained as joiners. Rather strangely, much of their business was conducted outside Loughborough and, indeed, their major loss was incurred on a contract for a new fire station in Nuneaton. Their liabilities extended to £3,196 6s 0d against assets of £543 11s 6d.<sup>363</sup> William Main, builder and contractor of Moor Lane, suffered a catastrophic collapse in 1881. His liabilities amounted to £886 14s 8d compared with assets of £418 2s 3d, consisting of stock in trade of just over £206, book debts of more than £197 and furniture and fittings valued at over £14.<sup>364</sup>

The principal builders in the town still attempted to enter into contracting. When the proposal was made to build Fearon Hall, eight Loughborough builders (as well as some external ones) tendered for the contract: Johnson; Clarke; Barker; Watson & Lovett; Corah; Faulks; A. & S. Main; and Needham who was awarded the contract as the lowest quotation at £2,552.<sup>365</sup> All these firms, with the addition of Sills, applied for the contract to erect Mayo's new grocery store in Mill Street (now Market Street). Again, Needham's tender (£1,368) was accepted.<sup>366</sup> The following year, William Moss & Son acquired the contract for the construction of the new infant school at the Shakespeare Street School, offering to com-

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<sup>363</sup>LH 23 February 1893, p. 5.

<sup>364</sup>LH 8 December 1881, p. 4.

<sup>365</sup>LH 10 May 1888 p. 5. Corah was established in 1850: LH 7 June 1888 p. 1.

<sup>366</sup>LH 9 May 1889 p. 5.

plete the work for £2,013 10s 6d.<sup>367</sup> Most local builders thus had aspirations to be contractors, but few succeeded. The rest were involved only in speculative house building.

The numbers can be extracted from the directories, with some ambiguity. The directories were selective. Secondly, although there was a section for builders, some building enterprises were disguised under other categories. In White's directory of 1846, five names appear under the category of builder, but Thomas Barker and William Moss, who became substantial housebuilders, were listed under bricklayers.<sup>368</sup> One of the builders, James North, retired soon afterwards to become a farmer and grazier. Melville's directory of 1853 included six firms, four of which appeared in 1846.<sup>369</sup> By 1867, Buchanan expanded the number to eleven, but Barker in 1875 only nine.<sup>370</sup> In 1888, Wright enumerated fifteen.<sup>371</sup>

The success of builders can be gauged with some crudity through their estates at death with the caveats explained in the introductory section above. Estate at death is also an imprecise metric because of difference in life styles and life-course. Only some of the builders made wills or had estate for administration. The data are pre-

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<sup>367</sup>LH 11 September 1890 p. 5.

<sup>368</sup>White 1846, pp. 285-6

<sup>369</sup>Melville 1853, pp. 114-23.

<sup>370</sup>Buchanan 1867; Barker 1875 pp. 209-215.

<sup>371</sup>Wright 1888 p. 474.

Table 2: Builders' estate at their death

Builder	Date of probate	Amount (nearest £)
Robert Lander	1862	<450
James Harding	1889	2163
Charles Savage	1891	279
Willim Moss snr	1887	49
Joseph Till	1889	1528
Abraham Smith	1895	169
Joseph Taylor	1898	850
Stephen Main	1902	5634*
William Ludlam	1904	7310*

\* May include real estate

sented in Table 2.<sup>372</sup>

Only the Moss family appear to have become a two-generation dynasty in the building trade. William senior, builder of Baxter Gate, retired to the countryside,

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<sup>372</sup>ROLLR DE462/5 pp. 339-42; DE462/30 pp. 716-720; DE462/32 pp. 288-91, 437-39; DE462/33 pp. 293-96; DE462/38 pp. 530-31; DE462/41 pp. 377-78; DE462/45 pp. 106-108; DE462/47 pp. 648-50; NPC 1862 Kalloway-Lythgos p. 134; 1887 Maban-Nye p. 429; 1889 Habart-Hithersay p. 99; 1889 Taaffe-Wayte p. 178; 1891 Raay-Seys p. 469; 1895 Sabberton-Tythcott p. 109; 1898 Sabbage-Tyzack p. 255; 1904 Kadwill-Myring p. 171; ROLLR DE1169/1/17 p. 84.

to Wymeswold as a 'gentleman'. One of his sons, William junior, continued the business of construction from Baxter Gate, while another, John, entered the retail trade as a butcher in the town; both were nominated as executors in the will of William senior.<sup>373</sup>

Briefly, the locations where builders were engaged can be illustrated. Thomas Barker, from his yard in Swan Street, applied to erect dwellings in Derby Road (three villas), Leopold Street and Paget Street (numerous cottages in terraces), Shakespeare Street (cottages), Tatmarsh (seven cottages), and Wellington Street (four cottages); all between 1883 and 1890 (the years of the register). Thomas Barker's yard was located in nearby Swan Street. In 1881, when he was aged forty-four, he employed fifteen men and two boys. At his decease in 1922, his estate amounted to £6,493 11s 0d. Probate was granted to his sons, Edward, Thomas and Henry who had continued the building enterprise.<sup>374</sup>

The Paget Estate (Paget and Station Streets) occupied William Corah also, but he also submitted an application for four houses in Park Road. The base of Arthur Faulk's business was situated on Sparrow Hill. He also applied to build cottages on the Paget Estate in Oxford and Paget Streets, but also further up the hill two cot-

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<sup>373</sup>ROLLR DE462/30 pp. 716-720.

<sup>374</sup>TNA RG11/3144, fo. 139; NPC 1922 Abbey-Cuzner, p. 149.

tages on Lower Storer Road. His applications extended further to cottages on Broad Street and Toothill Lane. He also intended to build houses at Warner Street, Gladstone Street (one) and Cambridge Street (two) as well as two villas on Park Road. Although William Ludlam applied to build dwellings on Station Road, his construction work included dwellings in diverse social spaces in Middleton Place, Salisbury Road, Rutland Street and New King Street. The Main firm also spread across the town and borough in Borough Street, Hartington Street, Herrick Road, Nottingham Road, and Warner Street. In a similar manner William Moss constructed in Paget Street and Station Road, but also Herrick and Middle Park areas. In contrast, William Needham concentrated on the Paget Estate, in Leopold, Oxford and Paget Streets and Station Road, although he did apply to build on Forest Road and Herrick Road. Housing for the working class was the enterprise of J. B. Warren, off Moor Lane, on the Paget Estate (Oxford Street) and Shakespeare Street. By comparison with all the other builders, Thomas Timperley actually lived where he was intending to build. In 1891, he lodged with a needle maker in Oxford Street, aged only twenty-nine, having also made applications to build on the Paget Estate in Leopold, Oxford, and Paget Streets.<sup>375</sup>

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<sup>375</sup>TNA RG12/2514, fo. 22v.

Those were the principal applicants to the Local Board who were builders in Loughborough. Not all the main applicants were builders nor inhabitants of the town. One external applicant was Henry Dickens. Dickens had been born in the parish in 1839, the son of a labourer.<sup>376</sup> He moved to Burton Bandalls, a few miles from the town, and established a firm as a master brickmaker and bricklayer.<sup>377</sup> Subsequently, he moved again to south Nottinghamshire, to Rempstone, a few miles to the north of the town, a brickmaker employing five men and three boys.<sup>378</sup> Both Dickens and Ludlam (above) were prosecuted for obstructing the pavement with building materials in the town.<sup>379</sup> Dickens applied to construct multiple cottages in George, King, Leopold, Morley, and Warner Streets and Station Road. In George, King and Leopold Streets, he proposed terraces of six cottages and in Station Road a row of seven.

When the builders applied to build cottages, the proposal was usually for two to seven in a terrace, but Ludlam considered rows of thirteen in New King Street, fourteen in Station Road, and twenty-two on Ashby Road and Main fourteen in Hartington Street. Houses and villas were usually erected in one (not necessarily detached,

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<sup>376</sup>ROLLR DE667/9, p. 43 (no. 339).

<sup>377</sup>TNA RG10/3260, fo. 79 (1871, aged 31)

<sup>378</sup>TNA RG11/3148, fo. 66.

<sup>379</sup>*Leicester Chronicle* 20 Nov. 1886, p. 7.

sometimes abutting) or two, but sometimes longer runs, as on Derby Road. Cottages usually referred to smaller two-storey houses, essentially two up and two down with an outshot.<sup>380</sup> Despite the large number in some of the terraces of cottages, most runs were no more than half a dozen residences. The quantity conforms to the notion of the urban 'speculative' builder, local and with limited capital, erecting small runs of houses.<sup>381</sup>

*(b) Other developers*

Not all who submitted applications to erect housing were builders. These other applicants were, however, also speculators, diverting capital from their existing enterprise into the housing market. Their investment was speculative and was congruent with the builders: small runs of working-class dwellings and one or two villa properties.

Several of the applicants for permission to build were coal merchants (Allcock, Mounteney and Robinson). Thomas Allcock had been born in Moorgreen (Nottinghamshire).

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<sup>380</sup>Contrast with the (earlier) northern single-storey cottages in the north in Stefan Muthesius, *The English Terraced House* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1982), pp. 103-4

<sup>381</sup>Peter J. Aspinall, 'The internal structure of the housebuilding industry in nineteenth-century cities' in J. H. Johnson & C. G. Pooley, eds, *The Structure of Nineteenth-century Cities* (London: Routledge, 1982), pp. 75-105, pioneering research.

In 1880 he assumed the business of the coal merchant Bassford operating out of Green Close Lane. Initially living in Ashby Road, he moved out to Storer Road. He received permission to build at least two villas in Herrick Road, and three houses in each of Leopold, Clarence and Broad Streets. When he died in 1926, his estate was valued at £3,427 8s 8d.<sup>382</sup> Another coal merchant, George Mounteney invested more heavily in housing, in Ashby Road and Burton, Falcon, Fearon, Hartington, New King and Paget Streets. In 1883, the developers of Falcon and Hartington Streets, Mounteney and the builders Faulkes, Ludlam and Dickens, dispatched a letter to the Local Board requesting it to adopt their streets.<sup>383</sup> Mounteney offered delivery of coal from Woollaton and Ilkeston as ‘best main coals’ as well as from the Charnwood Forest coal field, from his office on Sparrow Hill (from where he moved to Ashby Road when his lease expired).<sup>384</sup> He also had another string to his bow as an auctioneer, auctioning many dwelling houses and building lots.<sup>385</sup> Indeed in his will of 1885, he described himself as auctioneer and

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<sup>382</sup>LH 26 Aug. 1880, p. 4; 10 Feb. 1881, p. 2; TNA RG12/2514, fo. 61v; NPC 1926 Aarons-Cypher p. 32.

<sup>383</sup>LH 8 Nov. 1883, p. 6.

<sup>384</sup>LH 15 Feb. 1883 p. 4; 19 April 1883 p. 4; 13 Oct. 1887 p. 1.

<sup>385</sup>LH 9 June 1881 p. 1; 16 June 1881 p. 1; 21 July 1881 p. 1; 25 Aug. 1881 p. 1; 22 June 1882 p. 1 (Falcon Villas); some of these were probably his own property.



coal merchant. When the will was proved in 1899, his estate amounted to £16,582 18s 4d.<sup>386</sup> He was born in Loughborough, an inhabitant, dying at a relatively young age in his mid forties.

Although a coach builder with premises in Baxter Gate, John Bennett Warren ventured into housebuilding, especially in Shakespeare Street. In 1886 he was only in his early thirties. When he died in 1895, he left an estate valued at £1,988 16s 0d. Probate was granted to the borough surveyor, Ambrose Cross, and Francis Robinson, coal merchant.<sup>387</sup> The executor-ship of Warren's will by Robinson allows the identification of the depositor of the bye-law building plan, F. Robinson. Francis Robinson, born in Nottingham, developed a coal merchant business in North Street in Loughborough. He was slightly younger than Warren. He too diversified into some housebuilding. He is probably the Francis Robinson who died in Barrow upon Soar in 1922, as one of his two executors was Albert Warren, builder, who was presumably the younger son and sibling of John Warren, coach builder. It was Albert Warren who was running the coach building concern in Baxter Gate in 1911.

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<sup>386</sup>TNA RG12/2514, fo. 44 (1891, aged thirty-eight, born Loughborough); ROLLR DE462/42 pp. 469-71; NPC 1899 Kahn-Myring p. 343.

<sup>387</sup>TNA RG11/3145, fo. 142; NPR 1895 Udall-Zurhurst, p. 64.

Francis Robinson had accrued a quite considerable estate of £14,290 11s 0d by the time of his demise.<sup>388</sup> Willie Thomas Hampton, who submitted only one application, migrated from London to Loughborough, first as a lodger in Pinfold Street. At that time, aged 21 in 1881, he was already married to Lucy. He finally established his architectural business in The Rushes, just along from Shakespeare Street. In 1910, he left an estate of £2,722 4s 9d to Lucy.<sup>389</sup> Alfred Adolphus Bumpus was a completely different kind of investor. He was the son (born 1851) of the Reverend Thomas Bumpus who migrated from Stratford upon Avon to Loughborough in 1859 to take up office at Sparrow Hill Baptist Church. After some false starts, he became employed by Messenger & Company in 1868. When Messenger retired in 1875, Bumpus and Burder purchased the firm, although Bumpus retired himself in 1879 to Herrick Road and then to a house which he had built in Park Road. He became the second Mayor of the new borough and a magistrate. He died in Bournemouth in 1924, his estate totalling £16,640 11s 6d.<sup>390</sup> His investments were concentrated in Herrick, Ashby and Park

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<sup>388</sup>TNA RG12/2515, fo. 100; NPR 1922 Quaintance-Szmolka, p. 119; TNA RG11/3148, fo. 142; RG 1911 Schedule 300.

<sup>389</sup>TNA RG12/2514, fo. 122v; NPR 1910 Haas-Kyte, p. 24.

<sup>390</sup>LH 28 Aug. 1890 p. 6 (a biography); TNA RG12/2516 fo. 63; NPC 1925 Aaron-Czogalla p. 441.

Roads, Leopold Street, and a new street off Nottingham Road. In all three cases, involvement in housebuilding was a diversification of resources. For the coal merchants their involvement constituted an insurance but also a risk. For Bumpus, the purpose was to invest liquid capital.

(c) *The landowners*

‘A great demand having arisen in Loughborough for MIDDLE-CLASS HOUSES’, the trustees of Burton’s Charity decided to apply to Chancery for permission to let land by the Grammar School on building leases ‘in every way favourable to the erection of desirable residences’.<sup>391</sup> Landowners had considerable control over the type of housing designed for their estates. Many landowners possessed more than five acres in the parish, but location was, of course, paramount in the building process. Proximity to the existing built area was necessary. John Ed-  
dowes owned just over twenty-eight acres and the Misses White over twelve, but these lands were not conducive yet for building exploitation.<sup>392</sup> A prominent builder of housing before 1850, James North, possessed more than sixteen acres, but his trustees conserved it as the farm to which he had retired.<sup>393</sup>

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<sup>391</sup>LM 27 Oct. 1864, p. 1 (original capitals).

<sup>392</sup>*The Return of Owners of Land 1873* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode for HMSO, 1873), Leicestershire, pp. 11, 31.

<sup>393</sup>*Return of Owners of Land 1873*, p. 21.

The landowners who released land for building comprised the Trustees of Burton's and Storer's Charities, the rectory of All Saints (glebe), Paget and Edward Warner. Burton's Charity lands were dispersed through the north of the county with a nucleus in Loughborough. The whole comprised more than 347a., but the Loughborough element a small core.<sup>394</sup> The land of Storer's Charity was concentrated in Loughborough and consisted of almost fifty-five acres.<sup>395</sup> Edward Warner's lands in Loughborough comprised a small part of his large estate of over a thousand acres centred on Quorndon.<sup>396</sup> The rectory estate, totalling more than 314 acres was both rural and immediately adjacent to the built area of the town.<sup>397</sup>

The exception to these voluntary contributions to the expansion of the built area was the estate of E. W. C. Middleton. Middleton's Bank went bust and Middleton plunged into bankruptcy under the 1869 Bankruptcy Act. The Trustees for the liquidation, Humphreys, Chester, Burder, Hodgson and (Arthur) Paget, were charged with disposing of Middleton's land for the creditors.<sup>398</sup> The entirety of Middleton's estate amounted to 191a 3r 30p.<sup>399</sup>

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<sup>394</sup> *Return of Owners of Land* 1873, p. 7.

<sup>395</sup> *Return of Owners of Land* 1873, p. 7.

<sup>396</sup> *Return of Owners of Land* 1873, p. 30.

<sup>397</sup> *Return of Owners of Land* 1873, p. 11.

<sup>398</sup> LH 29 July 1880 p. 4; 22 Sept. 1881 p. 4; 10 Nov. 1881 p. 6.

<sup>399</sup> *Return of Owners of Land* 1873, p. 20.

The core of the estate was auctioned off in 1880. The hosier, White, purchased the residence, The Grove, for £5,350, which remained an isolated high-status house. The local retailer, Clemerson, bought 3a 1r 17p in Far Park Lane for £1,200 and the Loughborough Building Society acquired 17a 1r 19p for £5,350. In this instance, there was no landowner's control over the quality and type of building, but the building process was determined by previous middle-class building in the locality. The Grammar School Trustees contributed to the middle-class housing on the periphery of the town. In contrast, Warner's land became predominantly housing for the working classes adjacent to their places of work in the factories.<sup>400</sup> The Paget Estate developed into terraced cottages for the 'respectable' working class.<sup>401</sup> The rectors of the parish of All Saints provided land for housing the working class and the lower middle class, combining terraced cottages and small villas.

Although landowners controlled some of the process, the building development was also influenced by topography and culture. Housing for the working and lower-middle class tended to be constructed in the lower-lying areas of the town. That situation was emphatic with the

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<sup>400</sup>Dennis, *English Industrial Cities*, pp. 134-40.

<sup>401</sup>F. M.(ichael) L. Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society: A Social History of Victorian Britain 1830-1900* (London: Fontana Press, 1988), pp. 173-89.

extension along Toothill and towards the Meadows. Although the housing rose up away from the lowest area on Derby Road, the Paget Estate was below the higher Storer Estate with its villa houses and bay windows. Middle class housing was promoted in the locations associated with the bucolic, rural and vistas: Forest Road, Outwoods, and the Park.

The significant point about landownership in Loughborough is that most of the landowners sold the freehold to the builders and developers. Here there was less retaining of the land and issuing of building leases. The housing of the working class was held in freehold by the builders and developers and leased to the working-class tenants. The structure of ownership was thus transformed. Housing units were mostly owned by builders and developers who possessed smallish numbers of units each.<sup>402</sup>

### *Ideology*

When the Paget Estate was initially under construction, many of the terraces of houses received lozenges and stones with a name. Presumably, this stratagem was decided by the builders. Two elements were involved here. Some plaques celebrated Englishness through heroism and Imperialism. These patriotic rows included Livingstone, Stanley, Gordon, Nelson and Jubilee Cottages,

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<sup>402</sup>For the national structure, Offer, *Property and Politics*, pp. 118-24.

and probably Albany Terrace. The other strand was redolent of cottages and rurality, including Laburnum, Laurel and Virginia Cottages. At this stage, indeed, the estate was located on the periphery of the town, although confronted with the terminus of the Charnwood Forest Railway. When Shakespeare Street was constructed, close to the centre, the same ideology was instituted in the name of the street and Stratford Cottages. This convention occurred at the time of ‘the moment of Englishness’ and represented the forging of a memory of English exceptionalism.<sup>403</sup> (In later buildings, the plaques and stone decline). Whether by design or for practical reasons, the implementation of straight streets and rectilinear pattern on the estates of the working class imposed rationality as construed in Liberal England. There was an immense contrast with the irrationality of the yards and courts with their erratic dwellings. The working-class was in

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<sup>403</sup>Krishan Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity* (Cambridge: CUP, 2003), pp. 175-285 (encapsulating previous studies); Geoffrey Cubitt, *History and Memory* (Manchester: MUP, 2007), p. 196; Richard Rodger, ‘The facade of power and the power of the facade: memory and meaning in Victorian cities’, *Urban History* 50 (2023), pp. 703-38; compare, however, Paul Readman, *Storied Ground: Landscape and the Shaping of English National Identity* (Cambridge: CUP, 2018), pp. 195-248 (Manchester again).

this respect disciplined into the social body.<sup>404</sup> In the process, the body social was purified from the pollution of the courts and yards.<sup>405</sup>

*Old space and infilling*

Developed over the last century or so, the building complex of the inner urban area was complex and varied. Perhaps it is well illustrated by an auction of property in September 1889. Among the lots successfully sold was the three-storey house in Baxter Gate with a frontage of 55' 9" to this principal street, purchased by Thomas Green, draper for £1,135 and perhaps which he intended to convert to a commercial building. At the same sale, the bidding attained £460 for two houses and five cottages in Wards End to which accrued a gross annual rental income of £45 10s 0d. For the lower amount of £379, the successful bidder acquired two houses and a shop in Wards End with the two cottages at the rear with their gross annual income of £34. Two more houses and shops in the same place with annual income of £20 16s 0d were disposed for £215.<sup>406</sup>

The character of the most densely-built parts of the inner urban area is represented too by the sale of five

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<sup>404</sup>Mary Poovey, *Making a Social Body: British Cultural Formation 1830-1864* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1995), pp. 31-4.

<sup>405</sup>Poovey, *Making a Social Body*, pp. 115-31.

<sup>406</sup>LH 26 September 1889, p. 5.



tenanted cottages in South Street in 1884, with the description of cottage. The five were purchased at auction for £355, illustrating the meagre valuation of these dwellings.<sup>407</sup> Seven tenements in Mills' Yard accrued a gross annual rental income of £33 10s 2d when they were put up for auction in 1884.<sup>408</sup> At the auction, they commanded only a total price of £365 and three other cottages in the same yard only £290.<sup>409</sup> Similarly, a house with grocer's shop in Bridge Street was placed on the market with the three dwellings at its rear.<sup>410</sup> The same year, four cottages in Mills' Yard were acquired for merely £300.<sup>411</sup> So also a house, shop and ten cottages at their rear accrued a purchase price of only £770 in 1890.<sup>412</sup> A single lot at auction in 1893 comprised ten dwellings in Wards End, two in Woodgate, and five in the Dog & Gun Yard.<sup>413</sup> In 1891, a house with four bedrooms in Fennel Street was put up for sale with five cottages at its rear, the gross rental income amounting to merely £26 10s 0d. Simultaneously, a newly-built house in the same street was erected on in-filled land and commanded a rent of

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<sup>407</sup>LH 12 June 1884, p. 1; 26 June 1884, p. 4.

<sup>408</sup>LH 31 July 1884, p. 1.

<sup>409</sup>LH 14 August 1884, p. 4.

<sup>410</sup>LH 26 June 1890, p. 1.

<sup>411</sup>LH 4 September 1890, p. 5.

<sup>412</sup>LH 13 November 1890, p. 5.

<sup>413</sup>LH 16 February 1893, p. 3.

£13.<sup>414</sup> Infilling continued in the central area. In 1885, three recently-erected houses in Wards End commanded a premium of £850 at auction reflecting their central location and size.<sup>415</sup>

For an extreme comparison, in the salubrious rural part of the parish of Loughborough, the hosiery manufacturer E. P. White purchased the established The Grove in 1880 for £5,350.<sup>416</sup> Villas constructed on the Park Road and Forest Road estates about the same time also commanded multiple times the price of older houses in the inner urban area except for those in the commercial streets (discussed further below in the section of property values). The Willows on Derby Road was withdrawn at auction when the offers only attained £1,800.<sup>417</sup> More moderate comparisons can be elicited too, with the following selected prices. In 1891, a house in Storer Road was withdrawn when bidding reached £230.<sup>418</sup> There was ‘rather spirited competition’ for Stamford Villas on Derby Road at auction in 1893, knocked down at £1,235.<sup>419</sup>

One of the major issues of the inner urban area was nuisance and insanitary conditions for the poorest of the population. As the butchers had not been concentrated in

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<sup>414</sup>LH 22 October 1891, p. 1.

<sup>415</sup>LH 2 April 1885, p. 1.

<sup>416</sup>LH 29 July 1880, p. 4.

<sup>417</sup>LH 9 July 1891, p. 5.

<sup>418</sup>LH 25 June 1891, p. 5.

<sup>419</sup>LH 9 March 1893, p. 5.

a shambles area, slaughterhouses were distributed through the inner urban area. When confusion arose over the new laws about slaughterhouses, the Local Board of Health accused Charles Mason of illicitly using a building in his yard as a slaughterhouse.<sup>420</sup> When Mason applied for a licence, the Board refused.<sup>421</sup> In Baxter Gate, the premises previously let to Charles Bilson consisted of a butcher's shop, slaughter house, fasting pen, and two piggeries. The assemblage was in fact in Baxter Gate where Bilson had operated as a butcher.<sup>422</sup> In 1861 ten messuages with a cowshed and slaughterhouse were put up for sale by auction, all located in Mills' Yard.<sup>423</sup> The following year, the Inspector of Nuisances reported that Ramsay's slaughterhouse in the Bull's Head and Anchor Yard needed to be cleansed and whitewashed.<sup>424</sup> A year on, the Sanitary Inspector felt it necessary to inspect Arrow-smith's slaughterhouse in Regent Street.<sup>425</sup> In the same year, applications were presented to the Local Board of Health to permit slaughterhouses in the Boot Inn Yard and Pinfold Gate. Licence was granted on the condition that the applicants removed all offal and blood within

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<sup>420</sup>M 11 October 1860, p. 2.

<sup>421</sup>LM 8 November 1860.

<sup>422</sup>LM 24 February 1859, p. 1; 10 Nov. 1859, p. 1; TNA HO107/2085, fo. 298.

<sup>423</sup>LM 15 August 1861, p. 1.

<sup>424</sup>LM 8 May 1862, p. 5.

<sup>425</sup>LM 5 May 1864, p. 5.

18 hours in the winter and twelve in the summer.<sup>426</sup> On the same conditions the Board licensed a slaughterhouse for Francis Wright.<sup>427</sup> Permission was also granted to John Smith to use his premises in Toothill Road as a slaughter house.<sup>428</sup> Nevertheless, the following year the Board refused permission for Matthews to erect another slaughterhouse in Pinfold Gate.<sup>429</sup> The same refusal confronted Clarke, the butcher, when he requested licence for another one in Devonshire Square.<sup>430</sup> The butcher Moss sent a letter to the Board requesting permission to slaughter a few pigs and sheep on his premises in High Street in advance of Christmas; the Board declined.<sup>431</sup> A slaughterhouse was attached to a house and premises in Ashby Square which also had appended a dairy, a cart house and pig sty.<sup>432</sup> Gradually, the Local Board restricted the slaughterhouses.

The pig sty was a different matter. Many inhabitants had long supplied their own provisions of bacon through piggeries attached to their dwellings. Even recently-erected houses in 1861 had appurtenant piggeries in Wellington

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<sup>426</sup>LM 6 October 1864, p. 5; 10 Oct., p. 5.

<sup>427</sup>LM 5 January 1865, p. 5.

<sup>428</sup>LM 6 February 1862, p. 4.

<sup>429</sup>LM 4 May 1865, p. 5.

<sup>430</sup>LM 8 November 1866, p. 5.

<sup>431</sup>LM 10 December 1863, p. 5.

<sup>432</sup>LM 26 October 1865, p. 1.

Street.<sup>433</sup> The Local Board responded to several complaints about piggeries on Sparrow Hill in the traditional centre of the town, including those maintained by the butcher, Tyler.<sup>434</sup> Another butcher, Newham, was reprimanded for keeping pigs on a manure heap at the head of the Green Man Yard to the annoyance of Joseph Barradell whose house was adjacent.<sup>435</sup> In 1865, four houses entered for sale at auction in Albert Street had their own piggeries.<sup>436</sup> The Local Board received complaints about the hovel in which Cramp, the greengrocer, kept his pigs near the Workhouse and against Dobell, the ale seller, whose piggeries were in the more salubrious location of Forest Road.<sup>437</sup> In the earliest bye-laws which it issued, the Local Board imposed a penalty of 40s for nuisances such as maintaining any pigsty at the front of the street.<sup>438</sup> Still in 1882, however, the inhabitants of Woodgate and Baxter Gate brought their grievance against Greenwood's piggeries to the Local Board.<sup>439</sup> When two cottages were auctioned in Green Close Lane in 1890 the lot included an associated slaughterhouse, the total

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<sup>433</sup>LM 30 May 1861, p. 1.

<sup>434</sup>LM 16 April 1863, p. 5.

<sup>435</sup>LM 6 August 1863, p. 5.

<sup>436</sup>LM 1 June 1865, p. 1.

<sup>437</sup>LM 9 August 1866, p. 5.

<sup>438</sup>LM 29 October 1863, p. 1.

<sup>439</sup>LM 4 January 1882, p. 6.

price amounting only to £290.<sup>440</sup> The condition of some of the older houses also attracted the attention of the Local Board. In the spring of 1887, the Local Board of Health felt compelled to issue notices against houses in a dangerous condition in Court D in Bridge Street.<sup>441</sup>

### *Property values*

#### *(a) Distribution of rents*

One of the conventional ways of assessing the spatial distribution of housing in urban places is by rateable value.<sup>442</sup> There are problems of currency and assessment.<sup>443</sup> An approach is made here through what can be evinced about rents and sale prices. In 1864, several houses in the town were offered for rents of 1s to 2s 6d per week. A 'small' house at the time could be leased for 1s 6d.<sup>444</sup> Houses were advertised to let in Providence Square and Sparrow Hill at the reduced rents of 1s 4d and 1s 6d per week in 1865.<sup>445</sup> These low rents for small dwellings in the central area persisted. In 1890, four cottages in Bridge Street were still for let at 1s and 1s 6d

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<sup>440</sup>LH 13 November 1890, p. 5.

<sup>441</sup>LH 10 March 1887, p. 5.

<sup>442</sup>Daunton, *House and Home*, pp. 107-117.

<sup>443</sup>David Englander, *Landlord and Tenant in Urban Britain 1838-1918* (Oxford: OUP, 1983), pp. 53-4, 85-112.

<sup>444</sup>LM 6 October 1864, p. 1.

<sup>445</sup>LM 16 November 1865, p. 1.

per week.<sup>446</sup> What was characteristic of these inner-urban houses was the association of weekly rents, small size, and their working-class or labouring tenants.<sup>447</sup> In an auction in 1888, two cottages in Bridge Street commanded gross annual rents together of merely £8 9s 0d; four houses in Fennel Street were let at just over £6 per annum each; seven houses in Salmon Street produced a gross annual income of £92 6s 0d and another house there £7 16s 0d.<sup>448</sup> In the same year, four cottages on Steeple Row had a combined gross annual income of £22 2s 0d.<sup>449</sup> Dwellings in Rectory Place produced similarly low income.<sup>450</sup> The same applied for six dwellings in Buckhorn Square and two in Pinfold Gate in 1890.<sup>451</sup> The income accruing from a four-bedroom house in Fennel Street with five cottages at its rear only amounted to £26 10s 0d.<sup>452</sup> To clarify here, the rents were remitted weekly; the gross income was stated for the purposes of the auction.

On the Paget Estate, the early lettings of six-roomed dwellings in Station Road amounted to 4s and 4s 3d per week, but increased to 4s 9d in 1888.<sup>453</sup> The asking rent

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<sup>446</sup>LH 3 April 1890, p. 4; 1 May 1890, p. 4.

<sup>447</sup>Dennis, *English Industrial Cities*, pp. 170-2.

<sup>448</sup>LH 14 June 1888 p. 1.

<sup>449</sup>LH 5 July 1888 p. 1.

<sup>450</sup>LH 1 November 1888 p. 1.

<sup>451</sup>LH 26 June 1890 p. 1.

<sup>452</sup>LH 22 October 1891 p. 1.

<sup>453</sup>LH 12 November 1885 p. 1; 11 January 1886 p. 1; 11

for comparable dwellings in Paget Street after 1884 varied: 4s per week for some, but more commonly 5s.<sup>454</sup> Exceptionally, Clifton Cottage in Paget Street commanded a rent of 5s 9d.<sup>455</sup> Some houses in Oxford Street were let for 4s per week.<sup>456</sup> Houses of similar size for the working class in other parts of the town required rents in a similar range of 5s to 5s 6d: in King, School, Cobden, and New King Streets.<sup>457</sup>

Surprisingly, perhaps, many villa properties were also leased out and rented. The rent was influenced by the size of the villas and their prospect and view. Increasingly, the villa properties also had installed hot and cold water and a gas supply. The variety of rents can only be illustrated. The annual rental of villas extended from £14 14s 0d for five bedrooms in Park Road in 1886 to £75 for seven bedrooms in the same locality in 1888.<sup>458</sup> There was some consistency in some streets where villas were more uniform. Annual rent of £18 was expected for the

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October 1888.

<sup>454</sup>LH 18 December 1884 p. 1; 26 May 1885 p. 1; 13 August 1885 p. 1; 19 July 1888 p. 1; 5 February 1891 p. 1; 26 March 1891 p. 1.

<sup>455</sup>LH 8 Jan. 1891 p. 4.

<sup>456</sup>LH 26 March 1891 p. 1.

<sup>457</sup>LH 15 December 1887 p. 5; 1 November 1888 p. 1; 18 September 1890 p. 4; 9 October 1890 p. 1; 12 February 1891 p. 425; 16 February 1893 p. 1.

<sup>458</sup>LH 14 January 1886 p. 1; 2 February 1888 p. 1.



new villas along Derby Road.<sup>459</sup> In Burton Street, rents amounted to £32 to £35 for villas with five bedrooms.<sup>460</sup>

The range of rents exhibited more variety in two situations: where villas were interposed among runs of terraces; and in the 'polite' areas of higher-middle-class housing. Thus, a villa on Station Road had eight rooms, superior to the usual dwelling of six rooms; it commanded an annual rent of £18, consistent with those on nearby Derby Road.<sup>461</sup> The same rent was asked for a 'compact villa' at the corner of Station Road and Derby Road.<sup>462</sup> Exactly the same amount of annual rent was required to lease a 'genteel' villa in Gladstone Street which featured a hall and bay window.<sup>463</sup> A higher rent was demanded for Melrose Villa on Broad Street: £19 10s 0d.<sup>464</sup>

In the most salubrious locations, the houses were built individually and the prices varied more widely. Houses could be rented on Middle Park Road and Park Road (five bedrooms) for the inconsiderable amount of £15 to £17.<sup>465</sup> These rents were modest. Shrewsbury House

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<sup>459</sup>LH 17 March 1887 p. 4; 1 September 1881 p. 4; 23 August 1888 p. 4.

<sup>460</sup>LH 2 February 1888 p. 2; 8 March 1888 p. 4; 29 March 1888 p. 4.

<sup>461</sup>LH 2 June 1887 p. 4.

<sup>462</sup>LH 11 July 1889 p. 4.

<sup>463</sup>LH 25 April 1889 p. 4; the same in Ivanhoe Terrace on Ashby Road: LH 8 June 1893 p. 1.

<sup>464</sup>LH 19 July 1888 p. 1.

<sup>465</sup>LH 28 May 1885 p. 1; 18 June 1885 p. 1; 12 November

on Park Road with three reception and seven bedrooms was for let at an annual rent of £42.<sup>466</sup> Also containing five bedrooms, Bradgate Villa on Forest Road had an enhanced rent of £26 10s 0d.<sup>467</sup> A semi-detached villa on Forest Road with five bedrooms needed a rent of £35.<sup>468</sup> On the same road, a large villa required a rent of £50.<sup>469</sup> The newly-erected villas were designed with all conveniences. Four new houses on Leicester Road, close to Elms Park, were offered on yearly tenancies at a rent of £20.<sup>470</sup> The dwellings consisted of three sitting rooms, seven bedrooms, a bathroom, two WCs, hot and cold water and a gas supply. All the new villas had these accoutrements.

*(b) The distribution by value*

The delapidated condition of residual housing in the centre of the town was represented in the prices which accrued at auction. In 1890 a house in Baxter Gate with a shop and ten cottages at its rear fetched only £770.<sup>471</sup> Three years later, five dwellings in the Dog & 1885 p. 1; 30 August 1888 p. 4; 8 May 1890 p. 4; 3 September 1891 p. 4.

<sup>466</sup>LH 2 February 1888 p. 1.

<sup>467</sup>LH 2 August 1888 p. 4.

<sup>468</sup>LH 29 March 1888 p. 1.

<sup>469</sup>LH 16 January 1890 p. 4.

<sup>470</sup>LH 5 August 1886 p. 1.

<sup>471</sup>LH 13 November 1890 p. 5.

Gun Yard were purchased for £222.<sup>472</sup> Five cottages in Steeple Row were sold to Miss Hood in 1882 for gross £205, but after her death four achieved a purchase price of only £200 in 1888.<sup>473</sup> In 1882 seven dwellings in Rectory Place commanded only £340 altogether.<sup>474</sup> Residential dwellings were inhabited by tenants in Mills' Yard in 1884. Seven of these cottages were auctioned for a total of £365 and another three for £290 in gross.<sup>475</sup> Four more in Mills' Yard had a sale price of £300 in total.<sup>476</sup> These older dwellings thus sold for £50 or £70 or so. Houses erected more recently in Green Close Lane also only attracted about £70 each,<sup>477</sup> The price of dwellings in Queen Street was consistent with this level.<sup>478</sup> Cottages in Buckhorn Square realised more, £90, as did four dwellings on Fennel Street.<sup>479</sup> Obviously condition was important. Six other houses in Buckhorn Square appreciated to more than £120 each.<sup>480</sup> Housing in the central area was still polymorphous, however, even discounting

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<sup>472</sup>LH 2 March 1893 p. 5.

<sup>473</sup>LH 3 August 1882, p. 4; 26 July 1888 p. 5.

<sup>474</sup>LH 3 August 1882 p. 4.

<sup>475</sup>LH 14 Aug. 1884 p. 4.

<sup>476</sup>LH 4 September 1890 p. 5.

<sup>477</sup>LH 25 June 1891 p. 5 (seven for £730).

<sup>478</sup>LH 1 June 1893 p. 5 (four for £277).

<sup>479</sup>LH 27 September 1888 p. 5 (seven for £630); 5 July 1888 p. 5 (four for £365).

<sup>480</sup>LH 10 July 1890 p. 5 (six for £765).

the larger shops and stores. Prime real estate, like a house in High Street, could still command £700 on its own.<sup>481</sup>

New houses for the working class had a considered price of at least £120, although some in Freehold Street obtained a lower return.<sup>482</sup> This price was reached for the auction of six houses in Cambridge Street.<sup>483</sup> In Freehold Street, prices ranged from £130 to £160.<sup>484</sup> Similarly in Falcon Street and Hartington Street the asking prices were £137 to £162.<sup>485</sup> Stepping up the ladder, houses in Albert Street needed a capital outlay of at least £180 and up to £205.<sup>486</sup> Six houses in School Street achieved £180 each, although four others in the street were valued at £210 each.<sup>487</sup> Although three cottages in Cobden Street sold for only about £120 each, five houses in the road achieved £180 each.<sup>488</sup> In Wellington Street, cottages were auctioned for about £190 each.<sup>489</sup> At this point, it is necessary to be specific: these house were not purchased by the occupants, but for investment.

The villa properties had a higher price tag, of course.

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<sup>481</sup>LH 22 November 1888 p. 5 (two for £1,425).

<sup>482</sup>LH 27 September 1888 p. 5 (four for £400).

<sup>483</sup>LH 2 March 1893 p. 5 (six for £725).

<sup>484</sup>LH 26 July 1888 p. 5.

<sup>485</sup>LH 30 June 1889 p. 4.

<sup>486</sup>LH 2 March 1882 p. 4; 16 August 1883 p. 4.

<sup>487</sup>LH 15 December 1887 p. 5; 22 November 1888 p. 5.

<sup>488</sup>LH 14 August 1884 p. 4; 15 December 1887 p. 5.

<sup>489</sup>LH 1 March 1883 p. 4.

The vendor withdrew a house on Storer Road at £230 when it didn't make the reserve price.<sup>490</sup> Three houses on Herrick Road reached almost £200 each.<sup>491</sup> Houses on Burton Street and Forest Road made over £400 each.<sup>492</sup> Not even at the apex of the values on Forest Road, two semi-detached villas called 'Woodbrook' were valued at £1,000 each.<sup>493</sup>

These values or prices are the amounts realised at auction. The information does not take into account the condition of the properties or the possible exigency of the sale. The data do provide, however, a rough illustration of the stratification of house prices in the town and (after 1888) borough. The principal contrasts are between old working-class housing and the newer provision and the comparison of those prices with those of the higher-status houses.

### *The people*

As mentioned above, the new building conformed more closely to residential segregation than the mixed population in the old centre of the town. The middle class suburbs stretched along the west side of the town towards the Forest, with the salubrious and symbolic denomination (and views over) the Park, Outwoods, and the For-

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<sup>490</sup>LH 25 June 1891 p. 5.

<sup>491</sup>LH 10 July 1890 p. 5 (three for £590).

<sup>492</sup>LH 2 March 1893 p. 5; 2 November 1893 p. 5.

<sup>493</sup>LH 26 September 1889 p. 5.

est, with the new parish of Emmanuel. High-status and symbolic buildings included Emmanuel itself (1837), the Convent (1850) and large existing houses such as Fairfield, and The Walks. The resonance was bucolic and rural and low density with an emphasis on the views into the distance. With the development of middle-class suburbs, retailers, professional people and business people, who had previously resided in the centre of the town close to or even in their workplace, became dispersed into the suburbs. With some exceptions, habitation in the centre of the town was left to the residual working class in courts and yards and commercial premises. This situation is reflected, for example, in the constituent residences on Forest Road. There in 1891 were the residences of Richard Clifford, William Toone and Thomas Webb, all solicitors.<sup>494</sup> There too, the ironmonger Thomas Beeby had made his home.<sup>495</sup> The timber importer and the dyer, Joseph Griggs and William Clarke, were neighbours in the road (their houses named Mountfield and The Gables).<sup>496</sup> William Hanford, hosiery manufacturer, lived close by.<sup>497</sup> The three solicitors had their offices in Church Gate, Leicester Road, and Sparrow Hill. The work premises of the hosiery manufacturer were located

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<sup>494</sup>TNA RG12/2516, fos 48v, 51.

<sup>495</sup>TNA RG12/2516, fo. 49v.

<sup>496</sup>TNA RG12/2516, fo. 48.

<sup>497</sup>TNA RG12/2516, fo. 49.

on Derby Road. The ironmonger and the dyer worked respectively out of the Market Place and Cattle Market. Bedford Street contained the timber yard of Griggs.<sup>498</sup>

By contrast, the Storer Estate was more mixed, including lower-middle class and 'skilled' working class occupants. In Storer and Cumberland Roads and Fearon Street, the heads of household had twenty-five different occupations. Those occupiers engaged in the hosiery trade were composed of the skilled workers: three hosiery machine fitters and two other engine fitters (although there were two framework knitters too). Five occupiers were living on their own means. A solicitor and an elementary schoolteacher were neighbours to 'skilled' workers.<sup>499</sup>

More homogeneous and a much larger population inhabited the Paget Estate below the Storer Estate. The toponymy was significant: the mixed estate higher up than the working-class estate; the villa properties superior in all respects to the terraced cottages below. Out of 265 heads of household on the Paget estate, comprising in 1891 Leopold, Oxford and Paget Streets and Station Road, twenty-two percent were engaged in hosiery, mostly as framework knitters and warehousemen. Another twenty percent belonged to the building industry, consisting of bricklayers, house painters and bricklayers' labourers. General labourers, including gardeners, con-

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<sup>498</sup>Wright 1888 pp. 477, 480.

<sup>499</sup>TNA RG12/2514, fos 1-13v.

tributed another eleven percent. With the arrival of the Charnwood Forest Railway, appropriately twelve male heads had work on the railway.<sup>500</sup> On this estate, only a third of the heads of household were endogamous to Loughborough. Two-thirds had been born elsewhere, This immigration reflects the increase of population through immigration rather than just natural increase.

By 1891, the houses on Shakespeare Street were fully occupied. The heads of household ranged from labourers in a mixed development.<sup>501</sup> The 'apex' included a fishmonger, an ironmonger, a hosiery factory manager, a mechanical engineer and a clerk. The two joiners might have been self-employed as also the baker and the stonemason. The local textile industry was represented by three hosiery trimmers, a hosiery machine hand, hosiery bleacher, bleacher's labourer, dyer's labourer, hosiery framesmith (possibly also self-employed), and bleacher. The driller at Brush Electrical reflected a new industrial concern and the new 'labour aristocracy'. The lower echelon comprised a wine merchant's cellar-man, two iron turners, an ostler, a bricklayer's labourer, a shop assistant, a hotel servant, an ironmonger's porter, and a general labourer. Five households were headed by widows, two explicitly 'living on own means'. A single woman not attributed an occupation and a dressmaker completed

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<sup>500</sup>TNA RG12/2514 fos 13-38.

<sup>501</sup>TNA RG12/2514, fos 112-115



the heads. The mixed composition involved eight households accommodating lodgers, predominantly singletons, but also one family. The character of the mixed element in Shakespeare Street is reflected too in household sizes. Three households contained ten persons and three others eight. On the other hand, eleven comprised only two or three persons. Both the mean and median household size thus consisted of five persons (standard deviation for the mean 0.39025). The characteristics of the families diverged considerably. The heads of household also consisted of a large cohort of young inhabitants. Fifteen heads had not exceeded the age of thirty-five. The mean age of heads fell just below forty (sd 10.2844) and the median exactly thirty-nine. The oldest inhabitants in the street were the widows, two of whom were in their early sixties. Again, the character of the occupants was mixed, but with a considerable youthful cohort—and numerous children and adolescents. Under half the heads of household were endogenous, born in Loughborough. Eight had origins elsewhere in the county. Five had been born within six miles of the town. Further afield, another seven had travelled some distance from their place of birth.<sup>502</sup>

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<sup>502</sup>For the proportions of endogenous and migrants, Colin Pooley and Jean Turnbull, *Mobility and Migration in Britain Since the 18th Century* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 94.

## *Conclusions*

In the middle of the nineteenth century the majority of the population of Loughborough was concentrated in the old centre of the town. Like some other urban places, the expansion of the built area was constrained by physical and symbolic boundaries. In Nottingham, the recalcitrance of the freemen until the Enclosure Act of 1845 and the meadowland on the south delayed expansion.<sup>503</sup> The constraints in Loughborough were overcome by leapfrogging, especially in the 1880s and early 1890s to establish new areas of working-class housing. In the case of the Paget Estate, its completion encountered a new boundary, the terminus of the Charnwood Forest Railway. The 1880s and 1890s constituted a critical period for the relief of the town as the population ballooned through immigration. The new working-class housing consisted generally of six rooms in rectilinear streets with a high density. Despite this housing provision on the periphery, as in many urban places, a residual working-class population continued to remain in the less salubrious cottages in the yards and courts in the centre. The middle classes, previously also inhabiting the centre in three-storey houses, now also

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<sup>503</sup>Lisa McKenzie, *Getting By: Class and Culture in Austerity Britain* (Bristol: Polity Press, 2015), pp. 22-4; Roy Church, *Economic and Social Change in a Midland Town: Victorian Nottingham 1815-1900* (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 183-5.

migrated out of the centre. Retailers no longer lived in their retail premises, but retreated to the superior housing in the symbolically bucolic locations associated with the Park, Outwoods and the Forest. A higher degree of residential segregation happened compared with the previous socio-economic mix in the centre. In all of this development, the building process in Loughborough replicated that in more substantial urban places.. The housing for the working classes was provided by speculative builders, proposing short runs of terraced houses, defined usually as ‘cottages’. Some of these builders also constructed short runs of villas. There were no monopoly or dynastic builders. Indeed, in the process, some builders succumbed to the risk and capital outlay.

## APPENDIX Progress of the ‘estates’ and building locations

*Paget Estate* The initial phase of the development of the Paget Estate, as it was designated, commenced with tenders for the construction of the streets, the lowest tender, that of Messrs Musson & Co. of Belgrave for £2,440 17s 2½d being accepted.<sup>504</sup> W. Edward Woolley, the local surveyor, produced a plan dividing the estate into a hundred building plots.<sup>505</sup> In the summer of 1885, the consortium of fifty-eight men who had promoted the Paget Building estate convened for their final meeting at the King’s Head Hotel. The total expense of purchase of the estate of thirty acres, laying out roads and sewers had amounted to £20,200.<sup>506</sup> By 1884, houses were being let to tenants in Paget Street. William Tailby, joiner of Hume Street, was one of those builders who offered a six-roomed house in the street for rent at 5s per week.<sup>507</sup> In October 1885, Tailby offered for sale another seven tenanted dwellings in Paget Street.<sup>508</sup> At this stage, however, Paget Street was only in construction and a building plot of 829 square yards was placed at auction. In adjacent Leopold Street, two building plots of 755 and

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<sup>504</sup>LH 22 May 1884, p. 4.

<sup>505</sup>ROLLR DE5099/1325.

<sup>506</sup>LH 25 June 1885, p. 4.

<sup>507</sup>LH 18 December 1884, p. 1.

<sup>508</sup>LH 8 October 1885, p. 1.

828 square yards were offered for auction and in Station Road one of 904 square yards. These plots had frontages to the streets of 75' 1" to 95' 9" (three more than 90') and so were designed for multiple houses.<sup>509</sup> In the summer of 1885 six houses on the estate were offered for let at 5s per week.<sup>510</sup> In the autumn of 1885, Albany Terrace in Paget Street was advertised for letting, the four constituent houses consisting of three bedrooms, sitting and front rooms, kitchen and garden, for rent of 5s per week.<sup>511</sup> The progress of the estate is perhaps illustrated by two residents of Leopold Street, the widow Mary Perry and Thomas Pickburn, applying for temporary beer licences for their houses, which the brewster sessions declined.<sup>512</sup> As late as 1886, building land was still being offered, although at only 3s per square yard.<sup>513</sup> In 1887, the price of building land on the Paget Estate had diminished to 2s 10d per square yard and in Herrick Road to as low as 2s 3½d.<sup>514</sup> More plots were made available at the end of 1888. A site of 800 square yards was, it was proposed, suitable for a villa at the junction of Leopold Street and Storer Road. A smaller lot (702 square yards) in Paget Street

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<sup>509</sup>LH 12 February 1885, p. 1.

<sup>510</sup>LH 28 May 1885, p. 1.

<sup>511</sup>LH 13 August 1885, p. 1.

<sup>512</sup>LH 6 August 1885, p. 1; 27 Aug., p. 4.

<sup>513</sup>LH 15 July 1886, p. 1.

<sup>514</sup>LH 7 April 1887, p. 4.

was also offered, prospectively for a cottage.<sup>515</sup> The auction of a plot of 900 square yards on the estate in 1889 realised £130.<sup>516</sup> In 1886, four houses composing Charnwood Terrace in Paget Street were subject to auction, the resident tenants' rights to draw water from a well and the use of a common drain protected.<sup>517</sup> The following year, another auction lot consisted of seven tenanted houses in Paget Street.<sup>518</sup> About the same time, another thirteen tenanted houses in Leopold Street, recently constructed, were consigned as one lot at auction.<sup>519</sup> Dwellings were still being erected and in November 1887, Thomas Barker submitted plans for the construction of five cottages in Paget Street and William Corah for seven in Station Street.<sup>520</sup> By 1888, the development of the Lower Paget Estate commenced. In January, the property auction included 1,027 square yards. Simultaneously, five acres of grazing were let for a short lease of one year on the Paget Estate.<sup>521</sup> Building continued on the periphery at Station Road. Late in 1890, two newly-constructed, but already-tenanted, dwellings in Station Road were placed

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<sup>515</sup>LH 29 November 1888, p. 1.

<sup>516</sup>LH 2 May 1889, p. 4.

<sup>517</sup>LH 30 September 1886, p. 1.

<sup>518</sup>LH 10 March 1887, p. 1.

<sup>519</sup>LH 30 September 1886, p. 1.

<sup>520</sup>LH 10 March 1887, p. 1.

<sup>521</sup>LH 12 January 1888, pp. 1, 4.

at auction.<sup>522</sup> Vacant lots were gradually disposed, such as the plot of 845 square yards at the junction of Oxford and Havelock Streets in 1893, 824 in Leopold Street, and two of 893 in Havelock Street.<sup>523</sup> The extent of the building development by 1891 is illustrated by the opening of grocery shops in Paget Street. Mary Hallam, wife of a bricklayer, had opened a grocery shop; another one had been established by John Gutteridge with his wife as ‘assistant’; Thomas Pickbone had a third grocery shop in the street.<sup>524</sup> Oxford Street contained in 1891 a butcher’s shop and a baker’s shop adjacent to each other.<sup>525</sup>

*Moor Lane* In 1884, three houses in Cobden Street produced a gross annual rental income of £31 4s 0d. and received a successful bid at auction of £435 in total.<sup>526</sup> Three years later, about 5,000 square yards of building land came to auction on a new street from King Street to Moor Lane as also seven cottages on Queen Street.<sup>527</sup> The development of New King Street to Moor Lane was assured by the successful auction of building plots in July 1887: 1,630 square yards to J. B. Warren at 7s per square yard; 720 each to George Chester and George Moun-

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<sup>522</sup>LH 4 December 1890, p. 1.

<sup>523</sup>LH 20 April 1893, p. 1; 18 May, p. 1.

<sup>524</sup>TNA RG12/2514, fos. 25v-26r, 29, 31.

<sup>525</sup>TNA RG12/2514, fo. 23.

<sup>526</sup>LH 31 July 1884, p. 1; 14 August 1884, p. 4.

<sup>527</sup>LH 9 June 1887, p. 1.

teney at 5s 9d; 740 to William Moss at 5s 9d; 590 to H. Dickens at 5s 9d; 410 to George Mee at the same price; and 650 and 570 to William Ludlam at respectively 6s and 7s 1d.<sup>528</sup> Three more building plots came to auction in 1888 in Hartington Street on a compulsory sale of land by a mortgagee.<sup>529</sup> Towards the end of 1888, thirty-six building plots were offered for sale extending over Moor Lane, Little Moor Lane, Salisbury Street and Borough Street. Each lot, it was suggested, was suitable for four dwellings.<sup>530</sup> In December of 1888, E. H. and Captain Warner invited tenders for the construction of more streets on the Moor Lane Estate.<sup>531</sup> Although several Loughborough builders, including A & S Main, William Moss, and A. Faulks, placed tenders, the contract was awarded to the lowest bidder, J. Hawley of Ilkeston, at £674 10s 0d.<sup>532</sup> Subsequently, seven (later reduced to six) building plots offered in Moor Lane failed to make their reserve price.<sup>533</sup> Dickens may have been the first to offer houses for auction, in November 1887, when he placed eight cottages in King Street on the market.<sup>534</sup> An auction in the summer of 1888 involved seven houses

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<sup>528</sup>LH 7 July 1887, p. 45.

<sup>529</sup>LH 14 June 1888, p. 1.

<sup>530</sup>LH 15 November 1888, p. 1.

<sup>531</sup>LH 20 December 1888, p. 4.

<sup>532</sup>JH 24 January 1889, p. 5.

<sup>533</sup>LH 3 April 1890, p. 1; 17 April, p. 1; 24 April, p. 5.

<sup>534</sup>LH 10 November 1887, p. 5.



in Freehold Street, all in the occupation of tenants, a sale compelled by the mortgagee.<sup>535</sup> In 1889, one auction consisted of two tenanted houses in Freehold Street, another in Moor Lane, a house and grocer's shop in Moor Lane/New King Street, and five let houses in New King Street. The appearance of the grocer's shop indicates that the development was maturing.<sup>536</sup> In March of the following year, a dozen houses were put up for sale in Hartington Street, all having resident tenants, but none reached the reserve price.<sup>537</sup> The mature stage of Moor Lane is represented by the auction in 1893 of four houses and a corner shop, all with lessees, and newly erected, with a gross annual income of £59 16s 0d.<sup>538</sup>

*The Storer Estate* By 1884, Storer's Charity also embarked on building development after successfully applying to the Charity Commission. In consequence, Storer Road was constructed and the Charity offered eight building lots for auction extending from 1,530 square yards to 1,900 which furnished 'excellent opportunities for the erection of high-class private residences'.<sup>539</sup> By May of that year, eight lots had been disposed at prices ranging from 3s 6d per square yard to 5s 3d, but mostly 4s to 4s

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<sup>535</sup>LH 5 July 1888, p. 1.

<sup>536</sup>LH 6 June 1889, p. 1.

<sup>537</sup>LH 6 March 1890, p. 1; 27 March, p. 5.

<sup>538</sup>LH 20 April 1893, p. 1.

<sup>539</sup>LH 8 May 1884, p. 1.

9d., some acquired by local builders such as William Moss and Faulkes. Other investors included Dr Eddowes who successfully bid for lots 4 and 5.<sup>540</sup> After considerable agitation by its tenants, the Storer Charity recovered land hitherto devoted to working men's allotments and offered twenty building plots in the summer of 1888 in Ashby Road, Storer Road and three new roads, although at auction only fourteen were presented.<sup>541</sup> When the lots came to bidding, three failed to attain the reserve price. The rest achieved 3s to 3s 9d per square yard, although lot 5 rose to 4s.<sup>542</sup> Building lots still came onto the market in 1890 when a small plot of 84 square yards was acquired for 2s 6d per square yard.<sup>543</sup> The first four villas were placed at auction in November 1887.<sup>544</sup> A newly-built residence in Fearon Street was put up for auction at the end of 1890.<sup>545</sup>

*Shakespeare Street* In 1886-87, a dozen applications were submitted, eleven of which were accepted, to erect more than thirty units (mostly 'cottages') and a grocer's shop. Predominantly, four builders were responsible for the applications, but Willie Thomas Hampton, architect of Ashby Road, also intended to build one house. J.

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<sup>540</sup>LH 29 May 1884, p. 4.

<sup>541</sup>LH 10 May 1888, p. 1; LH 28 June 1888, p. 1.

<sup>542</sup>LH 19 July 1888, p. 5.

<sup>543</sup>LH 17 April 1890, p. 4.

<sup>544</sup>LH 3 November 1887, p. 1.

<sup>545</sup>LH 4 December 1890, p. 1.

B. Warren, builder of Baxter Gate, had applications accepted to build six cottages and four houses. From his yard in nearby Swan Street, Thomas Barker intended to erect three cottages and three houses. F. Robinson had designs to build eleven cottages. S. Lindsey proposed only four cottages. Cottages in this context refer to smaller terraced houses: two-up and two-down with a closet.<sup>546</sup> Liaison with the Local Board was conducted by Mr Hands. In May 1886, Hands requested that the Board undertake the laying of a water main to the street in advance of construction.<sup>547</sup> In August of the same year, he submitted an application for the Local Board to adopt the street as a public highway, which it subsequently approved.<sup>548</sup> Since he is not referenced by any further name, identifying Mr Hands is problematic. He is likely to have been Joseph Hands. This Joseph was born in Great Bowden, but his father, John, later established a business as a grocer and miller in Baxter Gate in Loughborough. Living within this household, Joseph became employed as a solicitor's general clerk. John died in 1876, upon which Joseph lodged in Leicester Road, qualified as a solicitor. He moved to the salubrious Burton

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<sup>546</sup>By comparison with Stefan Muthesius, *The English Terraced House* (New Haven, CT, 1982), pp. 103-4 ('cottages' in the North); LH 5 May 1887, p. 6: revised plan for closets approved.

<sup>547</sup>*Leicester Journal* 7 May 1886, p. 3.

<sup>548</sup>LH 19 August 1886, p. 4; 21 October 1886, p. 4.

Walks, solicitor and notary. When he died in 1918, he had accumulated £8,790 4s 6d as his estate.<sup>549</sup>

*Broad Street* In 1882, it was proposed to construct a new road between Derby Road and Ashby Road and by September kerbs and sewers had been inserted. Initially, the site was divided into seventeen building lots, each of 330 square yards with a frontage of 30' to 40'. In October the number of lots was increased to twenty. This new thoroughfare was Broad Street, the first extension of the built area. In the initial disposal at auction, only seven lots were sold, four to William Moss junior at 6s 6d per square yard, the others at 6s 9d, 7s 6d and 8s, the different prices associated with the various sizes of the lots.<sup>550</sup> As late as June 1884 a building plot of 345 square yards in the street was offered for sale.<sup>551</sup> At this juncture, however, the editor of the local newspaper could assert that Broad Street was 'well nigh fitted up with houses'.<sup>552</sup>

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<sup>549</sup>TNA RG10/3256, fo. 69; RG11/3146, fo. 18; RG12/2516, fo. 85; RG13/2978, fo. 85; ROLLR DE1619/4, p. 17 (no. 132); DE462/61, pp. 715-716; NPR 1918 Haarhoff-Kyte, p. 39. The alternative is George Hands, fleetingly a farm bailiff in Nottingham Road, Loughborough, in the census of 1881, who had moved to Hampshire by 1891: TNA RG11/3145, fo. 108; RG12/952, fo. 40.

<sup>550</sup>LH 28 September 1882, p. 1.

<sup>551</sup>LH 12 June 1884, p. 1.

<sup>552</sup>LH 16 August 1883, p. 4.

*Toothill and Meadow Lane* In 1885, three new-build houses designated the Falcon Cottages were erected and placed at auction.<sup>553</sup> Two years later, four houses were offered at auction in Lower Cambridge Street.<sup>554</sup> The following year three new houses in Gladstone Street came onto the market, each with three bedrooms, and already with tenants.<sup>555</sup> Unsold, however, were three houses in Cambridge Street offered in 1890.<sup>556</sup> Additional building plots (567 and 751 square yards) became available early in 1891 in Lower Cambridge Street.<sup>557</sup> With the consent of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, the rector advanced thirteen building lots to auction in Toothill Road and Meadow Lane in the summer of 1888. The lots were of disparate sizes, from 440 to 2,345 square yards. The allocation reduced the glebe by a mere  $2\frac{3}{4}$  acres in a rapidly populated area. Five of the lots were withdrawn at the auction, not achieving the reserve price (lots 2-4 and 11-12). The rest were despatched for 5s 2d to 5s 4d per square yard, although lot 13 managed 6s. From this auction, the total income from sales amounted to £1,083 16s 8d.<sup>558</sup> Two plots came onto the market in Cambridge

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<sup>553</sup>LH 16 April 1885, p. 1.

<sup>554</sup>LH 3 November 1887, p. 1.

<sup>555</sup>LH 12 April 1888.

<sup>556</sup>LH 24 April 1890, p. 4.

<sup>557</sup>LH 19 February 1891, p. 1.

<sup>558</sup>LH 31 May 1888, p. 1; 21 June 1888, p. 5.

Street early in 1890.<sup>559</sup> Later in the year, a building plot of 1,130 square yards in that street was offered at auction.<sup>560</sup> Closer to the centre, but on the old periphery, the inner glebe land of All Saints was being partitioned for building lots. In 1891, building plots of 1,960, 1,470, and 635 square yards in Rectory Road were presented at auction.<sup>561</sup>

*Ashby Road* Development along Ashby Road was incremental as the urban space expanded. In 1883, the builder, Ludlam, purchased a building plot of 4,390 square yards with a frontage of 155' to Ashby Road at the price of 3s 11½d per square yard.<sup>562</sup> By July 1885, Granville Terrace had been erected consisting of eight new houses. On the north-west side of Granville Street stood twenty-seven new dwellings. All were offered at auction in the summer of that year.<sup>563</sup> Considerable activity for the development along Ashby Road began in the summer of 1891. Four large plots of building land were placed at disposal, extending from 3,570 to 4,368 square yards.<sup>564</sup> Two smaller plots, each of 850 square yards followed.<sup>565</sup> In 1893 several more plots were marketed: 1,440 square yards on

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<sup>559</sup>LH 3 April 1890, p. 4.

<sup>560</sup>LH 5 June 1890, p. 1.

<sup>561</sup>LH 11 June 1891, p. 1.

<sup>562</sup>LH 9 August 1883, p. 4.

<sup>563</sup>LH 25 July 1885, p. 1.

<sup>564</sup>LH 4 June 1891, p. 1.

<sup>565</sup>LH 11 June 1891, p. 1.

Ashby Road and 917 (sold at 5s 9d per square yard) and 690 in Ashby and Cumberland Roads.<sup>566</sup> At the same time, the semi-detached villa, Hollyhurst, was also placed on the market (but withdrawn when the bidding only attained £550).<sup>567</sup>

*Park Lane* In the autumn of 1883, the editor of the local newspaper opined of the Park Lane estate:

On the estate itself residences are rapidly being built, and in time it bids fair to become one of the most popular, as it is one of the prettiest districts of the town.<sup>568</sup>

Earlier in the year, building land on Middle Park Lane and Forest Road had become available under the will of Richard Crosher.<sup>569</sup> A plot of 1,435 square yards was purchased at 3s 9d per square yard in August on the now-designated 'Park-lane Estate' and an application presented to the Local Board by T. G. Messenger for the construction of a new street between Park Road and Middleton Place, providing another entrance to the estate.<sup>570</sup> In 1890, the 'Sydney Estate' on Park Lane, Park Road and Park Avenue was commenced with the offer of twelve

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<sup>566</sup>LH 25 May 1893, p. 1.

<sup>567</sup>LH 11 June 1891, p. 1.

<sup>568</sup>LH 16 August 1883, p. 4.

<sup>569</sup>LH 28 June 1883, p. 1.

<sup>570</sup>LH 16 August 1883, p. 4.

plots. On the new development of Corporation Street and Oliver Road eighteen plots were made available.<sup>571</sup> The executors of Miss Jones put for auction in 1884 ten houses in Sidney Terrace in Middle Park Lane (in two lots), Park Cottage and a building plot of 790 square yards in Park Lane.<sup>572</sup> By 1887, further extensions were being considered. T. G. Messenger and J. T. Hodson submitted plans to the Local Board of Health for new streets between Park Road and Middle Park Lane.<sup>573</sup> When, however, twenty-nine lots of building land were proffered in Park Lane, only one sold at auction at 5s per square yard.<sup>574</sup> Early in 1888, fifteen building plots were offered in Park Road. Invitation to tender to construct new roads from Park Road were advertised in February 1890.<sup>575</sup> A year later, thirteen building plots in Park Road were disposed for 2s 3d to 4s 3d per square yard.<sup>576</sup> At auction in 1888, two newly-constructed dwellings were offered for sale, each consisting of two reception rooms and five bedrooms, with sitting tenants paying annual rent of £25. Two other residences in the road with seven bedrooms and carriage house and stables commanded a rent of £75 each. In Burton Street, four villa properties with five

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<sup>571</sup>LH 23 October 1890, p. 1.

<sup>572</sup>LH 5 June 1884, p. 1.

<sup>573</sup>LH 10 November 1887, p. 5.

<sup>574</sup>LH 1 March 1888, p. 5.

<sup>575</sup>LH 6 February 1890, p. 4.

<sup>576</sup>LH 3 April 1890, p. 1; 24 April, p. 5.



bedrooms produced a gross annual income of £140 (that is, an annual rent of £28 each).<sup>577</sup> Contemporaneously, a ten-room house in Burton Street required an annual rent of £32 by the owner, T. G. Messenger of Park Road.<sup>578</sup> It was probably also Messenger who placed at auction the newly-erected Shrewsbury House with five other houses on Park Road and four in Burton Street in 1890.<sup>579</sup>

*The southern edge* In 1886, lessees were invited for four new houses on Leicester Road next to Elms Park. Each comprised three sitting rooms, seven bedrooms, bathroom, two WCs, hot and cold water and gas. Surprisingly, the leases were restricted to yearly tenancies.<sup>580</sup>

*Forest Road* Bounded on the south-east by a 'trout stream' called Wood Brook, four building lots on Forest Road were presented at auction in 1887, the plots comprising 2a to 2a 3r 0p, with a frontage to the road of 150'.<sup>581</sup> In April 1890, a building plot of 1,339 square yards on Forest Road was disposed for £109.<sup>582</sup> Development along Forest Road was stimulated by the enforced sale by the mortgagee of ten acres of land on Forest Road, divided into twenty lots each containing more than 1,000

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<sup>577</sup>LH 2 February 1888, p. 1.

<sup>578</sup>LH 8 March 1888, p. 4; 29 March, p. 4.

<sup>579</sup>LH 23 October 1890, p. 1.

<sup>580</sup>LH 5 August 1886, p. 1.

<sup>581</sup>LH 23 June 1887, p. 1.

<sup>582</sup>LH 24 April 1890, p. 4.

square yards.<sup>583</sup> Rather strangely the low rate of 1s 2d and 1s 3d per square yard constituted the successful bids for five lots of building land in Forest Road in 1889.<sup>584</sup> The quality of the area was represented by the new lease of a semi-detached villa with five bedrooms on Forest Road, for which an annual rent of £35 was demanded.<sup>585</sup> The character of the elite houses in this district is illustrated by the auction of Mrs Potter's house, Springfield Villa, a detached dwelling in Forest Road. The dwelling had been constructed for her own habitation, but she had since migrated to Colville Street in Nottingham. The building contained an entrance hall, breakfast room, dining room, drawing room, six bedrooms, a bathroom, kitchen and the modern amenities now available such as hot and cold water and gas.<sup>586</sup>

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<sup>583</sup>LH 29 March 1888, p. 1;

<sup>584</sup>LH 26 September 1889, p. 5.

<sup>585</sup>LH 29 March 1888, p. 1.

<sup>586</sup>LH 30 March 1882, p. 1.

Figure 1: High Street c. 1890 (Stewart & Woolf postcard)

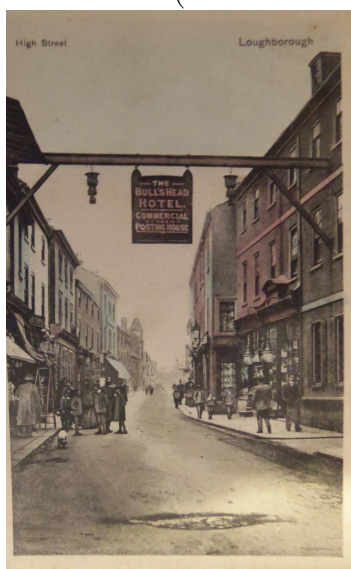


Figure 2: Town Hall 1878 (Silverette postcard)



Figure 3: Midland Brewery 1883 (O.S. Town Plan Leicestershire XVII.8)



Figure 4: Site of Paget and Storer Estates 1883 (ditto)

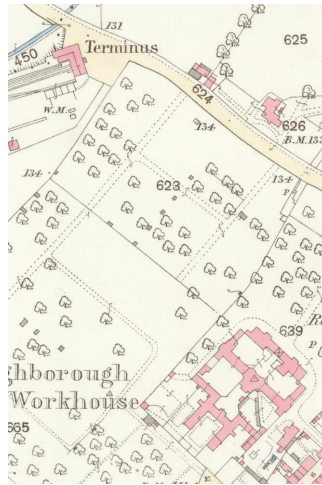


Figure 5: Paget Estate cottages (Photography by author)



Figure 6: J. H. Gray's premises 1861 (*Loughborough Monitor* 18 July 1861 p. 1)

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