

THE IMPACT ON BOROUGH MARKET OF THE ARRIVAL OF RAILWAYS UP TO 1885

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ABSTRACT

This thesis considers how the arrival of the railways affected Borough Market for the fifty years preceding 1885. Borough Market was the only authorised London market located on the southern bank of the Thames and had enjoyed the benefits of good communications into London before the arrival of trains. It was also located only a few yards from the first London train terminus which was built at London Bridge and thus Borough Market was uniquely placed to discern the changes caused by this revolutionary, new form of transportation. This work examines how London underwent extensive changes in land use and demographics caused by railways and interrogates if Borough Market shared the same experience through examination of the marketplace. The research also considers how railway transportation affected the range and volume of goods available for sale in Borough Market by analysing its accounts and portage data recorded in the Trustee Minute Books. Whilst the data is specific to Borough Market this work also increases the body of knowledge about the impact of railways on the food distribution system of London, of which markets were an important facet. The same information also helps to explain why Borough Market moved into wholesale trading, a trend reflected by other major London markets during the second half of the nineteenth century. By focussing on the small geographic area of Borough Market it is possible to identify how local influences could vary the impact of the railways on different communities and areas. Furthermore, Borough Market provides a powerful example of the unexpected benefits that railways could endow on a specific location: in this case, through a life-saving injection of cash from the South Eastern Railway Company.

LIST OF CONTENTS	Page
CHAPTER 1 – Introduction, historiography and sources	7
CHAPTER 2 – The history of Borough Market before the arrival of the railway	19
CHAPTER 3 – Changing land use and demographics in Borough Market	31
CHAPTER 4 – Analysis of Borough Market accounts	53
CHAPTER 5 – Changes in Borough Market trade caused by the railways	74
CHAPTER 6 – Conclusions	102

LIST OF TABLES AND GRAPHS

	Page
TABLES	
1. Examples of property income rates from 1837 to 1885	71
2. Growth of volumes of vegetables delivered by the Great Eastern Railway Company provided by Mr William Birt, 1888	84
3. Selection of Tolls from the 1829 Act of Parliament	91
4. Table of conversion rates for different fruit and vegetable measures	94
5. Summary of Borough Market portorage analysis	95
GRAPHS	
1. Borough Market generated income and railway company compensation received 1824–1883	73
2. Borough Market volume of total produce subject to portorage	96
3. Borough Market volume of potatoes subject to portorage	97
4. Borough Market volume of fruits subject to portorage	98
5. Borough Market number of different types of produce sold	99

LIST OF APPENDICES

- Appendix 1 1849 Plan of Borough Market from the Trustee minute book 1843–1852
- Appendix 2 Financial Analysis of Borough Market’s accounts 1824–1884
(separate file)
- Appendix 3 Summary of selected data from analysis of Borough Market’s accounts.
1824–1884
- Appendix 4 Analysis of portorage reports from Borough Market Minutes 1857–8 and
(separate file) 1864–1874
- Appendix 5 Analysis of rents paid for stands 1833, 1841 and 1879

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as references.

CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION, HISTORIOGRAPHY AND SOURCES

Introduction

It is impossible to visit Borough Market in Southwark without being aware of its proximity to the railway. The major railway terminus at London Bridge is a few steps away and, once inside the Market, there is the persistent sound of trains running overhead. Yet, despite the seeming physical symbiosis between Market and railway, this relationship was the result of a new technology being imposed on an existing site rather than the creation of two entities at the same time. The Market has inhabited the same location since 1756, some 80 years before the first train arrived at London Bridge station and was an established part of the local community with an intimate link to St Saviour's parish. Both the Market and the community it served were affected by the physical and social changes caused by railways, but the nature of their individual experiences depended upon their differing circumstances.

This thesis examines how the demands and opportunities offered by the railways during its first fifty years in London affected Borough Market and interrogates why the Market experience was not the same as that of the community it served or of cities in general. Paradoxically, whilst large parts of Southwark were destroyed by railway construction, the Borough Market site was preserved despite the extensive railway development around and over it in the 1860s. The work will also look at the importance of the railways in transforming Borough Market into a wholesale market during the nineteenth century and why this change was important for Borough Market to maintain its status as a major London food market.

As well as increasing knowledge about the history of Borough Market during the nineteenth century, this work will also add to the limited research on transportation of fresh produce to London markets at that time. It will consider if Borough Market's commercial experience, following the arrival of railways, was consistent with other London markets over the same period. The work will also add to the larger, more general studies already undertaken on the impact of railways on cities and, by examining a small part of the Victorian metropolis, will show how local factors could produce different results in closely related spaces

Historiography

To date there has been no academic work which looks specifically at the impact of railways on Borough Market during the nineteenth century, or even a case-study forming part of a larger piece. Indeed, there has been very little work completed on the history of Borough Market at

all and limited research on any London markets in the nineteenth century. It is also important to consider more general work on food transportation and the impact of railways on cities in the nineteenth century in order to contextualise the examination of Borough Market.

Despite it being one of London's major fruit and vegetable markets in the nineteenth century there has been very little academic consideration of Borough Market over the last 150 years. Passingham included a brief history of Borough Market in his 1935 book, *London Markets Their Origins and History*, which provides a useful narrative about the history of the Market.¹ Interestingly, he considers the arrival of the railway as "undoubtedly the greatest" event in Borough Market's history and firmly attributes the Market's prosperity from the second half of the nineteenth century to this.² Unfortunately, Passingham does not provide any details to support his contentions and whilst his opinion seems sound, his lack of evidence is frustrating.

The Trustees of Borough Market, who manage the Market, have also commissioned some useful sources of information about the origins of Borough Market in the form of an occasional book or pamphlet.³ These publications tend to include a brief history of Borough Market and also mention its move from a retail to a wholesale market during the nineteenth century. The authors of these documents support Passingham's opinion that the arrival of the railway was important to Borough Market, but they equally lack data to prove this contention or to suggest when the Market moved to wholesale trade.

It is not only Borough Market that has suffered from a paucity of study but London markets in general. Colin Smith is the only historian to have considered this topic recently in his 1999 PhD thesis *The Market Place and the Market's Place in London, c1660–1840*. He believes that part of the reason that London markets since 1700 have generally received little academic attention is because they do not offer any "obvious set of historical problems".⁴ Smith's work includes fruit and vegetable markets but focuses primarily on Covent Garden Market. Whilst Smith re-visited markets in 2002 in an article for *The Economic History Review* he has not published any more research on this subject.⁵ Smith's thesis primarily considered the period of

¹ W J Passingham, *London's Markets - Their Origins and History* (London: Sampson, Low, Marston and Co Ltd, 1935).

² Passingham, 109.

³ 'Borough Market's History', *Market Life History*, 2017; Dominic Webster et al., *An Illustrated History of Borough Market: 250 Years* (London: Trustees of the Borough Market, 2006); Ptolemy Dean, *The Borough Market Book* (London: Civic Books, 2005).

⁴ Colin Smith, 'The Market Place and the Market's Place in London, c. 1660–1840' (PhD, University College London, 1999), 11, <http://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/1318007/>.

⁵ Colin Smith, 'The Wholesale and Retail Markets of London, 1660–1840', *The Economic History Review* 55, no. 1 (2002).

time before the arrival of the railways into London but, despite the difference in scope to this thesis, his work provides useful background information about London markets before the arrival of trains.

All forms of food distribution in Victorian cities are considered by Scola in his 1992 work, *Feeding the Victorian City*, not just railway freight.⁶ Scola was equally aware of the lack of academic work on subjects relating to the history of food which he believed could be considered either through diet or supply.⁷ Scola analysed all aspects of the food distribution system and production in and around a city, of which markets were just one part.⁸ His work is especially relevant to this thesis because he is investigating the nineteenth century and included the importance of trains as a method of distribution. Yet a key factor in Scola's research was that he researched the city of Manchester and, whilst this provides a thorough over-view of provisioning a growing, Northern industrial city, as Asa Briggs notes, "all cities differ and need to be studied separately".⁹ London had its own unique challenges because of its size and location which meant that what was observed in Manchester does not necessarily apply to London. In particular, London had limited access to the inland canal network which was more developed in the north-west of England.

The railways became very important for transporting goods to market, especially to towns and cities, yet as Hawke notes in his work, *Railways and Economic Growth*, railway histories have given little attention to the economic impact of the railways caused by the services they provided.¹⁰ Instead historians have tended to consider commercial, engineering and social changes associated with the railways in the nineteenth century and these areas enjoy a plethora of source material to examine. In contrast, details about commodities transported by train, including many foods, are hard to trace.¹¹ But the importance of this sector of railway transportation should not be ignored and Burnett, in his history of food, *Plenty and Want*, described railway transportation as the "revolution" which solved the "mounting pressure" on local food supply in the 1830s.¹² Kellett also acknowledges that railways were important for solving the "logistics problems" of supplying food to cities but

⁶ Roger Scola, *Feeding the Victorian City: The Food Supply of Manchester, 1770–1870*, ed. Alan Armstrong and Pauline Scola (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), 1–2.

⁷ Scola, 2.

⁸ Scola, 3.

⁹ Asa Briggs, *Victorian Cities* (London: Odhams Press, 1963), 32.

¹⁰ G. R. Hawke, *Railways and Economic Growth in England and Wales, 1840–1870* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 2.

¹¹ Hawke, 61.

¹² John Burnett, *Plenty and Want: A Social History of Food in England from 1815 to the Present Day* (London: Routledge, 1966), 8.

warned that it is difficult to link this success specifically and exclusively to the railways.¹³ Certainly, trains enabled farmers to be located further from their customers and to move perishable goods, including fruit and vegetables, greater distances into cities, “creating a national market in food”.¹⁴ This was demonstrably because of the speed and reliability of trains compared to former methods of transportation available to farmers. But whilst research has been undertaken to consider the railway’s influence on farming methods at one end of the food chain, and consumer diets at the other end, the perspective of the intermediaries who sold the produce has been largely ignored, especially markets. Historians, such as Dorothy Davis, have looked at general changes in retailing during the second half of the nineteenth century, but in Davis’ work *A History of Shopping* she specifically ignores wholesale trading. In *English Fairs and Markets*, Addison believes that shops displaced the retail trade in markets and this change of social habit may explain why the examination of markets is so limited in comparison to shops.¹⁵ But the rise of wholesale markets should not be ignored because it was a vital part of the distribution chain. Wholesale markets were important to provide stock for retail shops and to organise the increasing volumes of food needed to feed an expanding population.¹⁶ Wholesaling was particularly vital in the major London markets which were national receiving points for food products before they were distributed across the country. Kellett notes the link with wholesaling and railways and reflects that new wholesale markets of perishable foods sought to be located close to the railway termini.¹⁷ Borough Market is an example of how an existing market benefited from its fortuitous location close to a railway terminus.

The arrival of the railways did not only impact the market as a commercial undertaking but also the physical space it inhabited and the community it served. Kellett’s work considers how railways affected the physical environment of any city and the consequences this had on the population.¹⁸ Kellett directly attributes variations in land use and value and in working-class overcrowding to the arrival of railways into the centre of cities. This view is supported by

¹³ John R. Kellett, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities* (Great Britain: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1969), 2.

¹⁴ Burnett, *Plenty and Want: A Social History of Food in England from 1815 to the Present Day*, 8; P. J. Cain, ‘Railways, 1870–1914: The Maturity of the Private System’, in *Transport in Victorian Britain*, ed. Michael J. Freeman and Derek H. Aldcroft (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 100; Scola, *Feeding the Victorian City: The Food Supply of Manchester, 1770–1870*, 193.

¹⁵ Dorothy Davis, *A History of Shopping* (Great Britain: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1966), ix; William Addison, *English Fairs and Markets* (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1953), 71.

¹⁶ Smith, ‘The Market Place and the Market’s Place in London, c. 1660–1840’, 98.

¹⁷ Kellett, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities*, 1969, 321.

¹⁸ Kellett, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities*, 1969.

other academics, such as Dyos and Reeder in their section on slum development in *The Victorian City* and Dennis' work *English Industrial Cities of the Nineteenth Century*.¹⁹ As railway companies sought to expand further into the centre of London, their demand for land gave some existing land-owners the opportunity to sell their property for great profit. Poor, cheap housing in cities tended to be owned by wealthier people who lived elsewhere, and the owners were happy to sell for a good profit. As a result, this type of property was often the victim of railway's demolition plans.²⁰ Dyos and Reeder provide a pertinent example of this concerning St Saviour's parish, where Borough Market was located, and where some 1,400 of the poorest people in St Saviour's and Christchurch parishes were displaced as a direct result of The South Eastern Railway Company's demolition policy.²¹

However, railway companies own construction was not the only thing to change an environment. Once a railway terminus was built, the land around it became valued for manufacturing, warehousing and travellers' facilities, such as hotels, because this prime location minimised the time and cost spent to access the trains.²² This led to further loss of cheap housing and the character of whole areas changed.²³ Southwark is an example of these changes because vast areas of housing were obliterated and replaced by railways and other commercial property seeking proximity to London Bridge terminus.

The loss of cheap housing encouraged the development of slums as displaced poor crushed into the next areas of low rent, and Dyos and Reeder consider the railways specifically "reinforced [the] tendency to slum."²⁴ This situation was aggravated by wealthier inhabitants moving out of the centre of cities, aided by the commuter train, causing significant changes to the local demographic of an area. Whilst overall population numbers rose in Southwark, the variation in its demographic profile affected Borough Market's customer base because the Market lost the wealthier, middle class section of society who could regularly afford fruit and vegetables. Burnett notes that middle class households were "relatively small in number" but

¹⁹ H. J. Dyos and D. A. Reeder, 'Slums and Suburbs', in *The Victorian City: Images and Realities*, ed. H. J. Dyos and Michael Wolff, vol. 1, 2 vols (London: Routledge, 1973), 359–88; R. Dennis, *English Industrial Cities of the Nineteenth Century: A Social Geography*, Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

²⁰ Dyos and Reeder, 'Slums and Suburbs', 366; Phillip Bagwell, *The Transport Revolution, 1770–1985* (London: Routledge, 1974), 121.

²¹ Dyos and Reeder, 'Slums and Suburbs', 367.

²² Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, 26; Kellett, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities*, 1969, 319.

²³ Kellett, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities*, 1969, 292–93.

²⁴ T. R. Gourvish, 'Railways, 1830–1870: The Formative Years', in *Transport in Victorian Britain*, ed. Michael J. Freeman and Derek H. Aldcroft (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 72; Bagwell, *The Transport Revolution, 1770–1985*, 121; Kellett, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities*, 1969, 330; Dyos and Reeder, 'Slums and Suburbs', 364.

that they accounted for significant food consumption because of the number of children and servants in any one establishment.²⁵ In contrast, the increased number of poor families living in Southwark could often only afford staple foods, of which potatoes were often the only vegetable.

All these excellent bodies of work provide insight into the land and demographic changes experienced in any city following the arrival and expansion of the railways. They aim to consider major impacts in generic cities and to predict how an area will change based on general principles. Kellet did consider South and East London as a case study and identified some local responses to the railways, but he was still covering a geographic area of significant size and noting general trends.²⁶ Dyos' *A Study of the Growth of Camberwell* provided an in-depth examination of a more discrete geographic area but was concerned with the effects of suburbanisation rather than specifically considering railways. What has not been completed to date is an investigation into whether all parts of a city had the same response to the arrival of railways, and if not, why this was the case. Whilst Borough Market is a very small geographic area the size does make it easier to complete a detailed analysis of how its land use and demographic profile changed after the arrival of the railways, which can be compared to academic expectations.

Value of Borough Market as a Case Study

Borough Market is ideally suited as a case study because it was a well-established London fruit and vegetable market before the arrival of the railways and the Market had an established pattern of trade and range of customers. Because London Bridge station was constructed a few hundred metres away from Borough Market, and the Bricklayers Arms goods depot was built with easy road access along Borough High Street, the Market and its customers had every opportunity to take advantage of the benefits of train transportation. It is therefore valuable to compare the perishable fruit and vegetable trade at Borough Market before and after the arrival of the railways and to hypothesise which changes were directly or indirectly attributable to the arrival of trains. By gaining a greater understanding of how the railways interacted with one major London market, this thesis will also provide evidence on the importance of railways

²⁵ Burnett, *Plenty and Want: A Social History of Food in England from 1815 to the Present Day*, 39.

²⁶ Kellett, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities*, 1969, 256–83.

in feeding cities and will specifically consider the role of markets in the food distribution system.

Borough Market is also a valuable case study because it remained in the same location during the various phases of railway construction and managed to maintain a relatively stable demographic profile. In contrast, Southwark generally suffered a significant demographic change and loss of residential housing, both factors associated with the railways. Contrasting the land use and demographic changes in Southwark to those in Borough Market will identify how localised differences could significantly change the impact railways had on an area. Dyos and Reeder recognised that one reason that a location could avoid railway demolition was because it was considered valuable and they provided the Anchor Brewery as an example, which was located close to Borough Market.²⁷ This thesis will therefore consider if Borough Market was considered valuable, either as a commercial undertaking or as a part of its community, to establish if this status contributed to the Market avoiding the worst effects of railway construction.

Sources

This thesis benefits from the vast range of sources available from the nineteenth century, a period of expanding government and private publications. In addition, the accessibility of extensive archive material, especially in relation to Borough Market, provides specific data with an incontrovertible provenance.

A. Archive Material

i. Borough Market

Borough Market has maintained records since it was first established in 1754 and they are now housed at the London Metropolitan Archive. These documents are an invaluable source for this research because they provide a contemporary record of the Market activities without the filter of editing or analysis in later years. Borough Market records provide detailed information relating to the property and management of the Market and also record its relationship with third parties, such as railway companies. The Trustee Minutes are especially valuable because they are an unbroken record of the high-level management of the Market since 1756 and a

²⁷ Dyos and Reeder, 'Slums and Suburbs', 367.

detailed examination of them enables data to be extracted about different aspects of the Market including:

- a. Discussions and costs relating to the purchase and development of the Market site which provides information about changing land use and ownership from 1756 onwards.
- b. Accounts were recorded every six months in the Trustee meeting minute book from 1823, before the arrival of the railways, and continued to be documented throughout the period under review. These accounts used a standard format to report the major sources of Market income and expenditure which makes it possible to identify financial trends both before and after the arrival of the railways. They also clearly show the impact of the financial compensation paid by The South Eastern Railway Company when the London Bridge to Charing Cross line was built over the Market.
- c. Detailed discussions recorded in the Minutes provide an insight into the Market Trustees' attitudes to the Market and to third parties and the Trustees' desire to work for the benefit of Borough Market and not for personal gain. The Minutes recorded the Trustees' negotiations with The South Eastern Railway Company and show that the Trustees persistently fought to achieve the largest possible compensation for the disruption to the Market caused by railway construction in 1860s. The Trustees' commitment to the preservation of the Market contributed to the site avoiding demolition or loss.
- d. The Trustee meeting minutes books also contained information about the demands and problems associated with running a Market and provide information about the Market traders, the types of goods sold and Market tolls. Unfortunately, this information was sporadic and often secondary to the main topic of discussion. Nonetheless, the Minutes did provide information where other sources rarely existed, especially regarding Market traders whose records are lost or never existed. There were occasional references in the Minutes regarding how goods are delivered to the Market, but no details concerning the source of the produce was included.

The reliability of the Trustee Minutes can be spot-checked against other records held in the Borough Market Archive to provided assurance that the Minutes are an accurate record of the Market proceedings and can reasonably be relied upon. The other records included account ledgers, purchase invoices and legal papers but, because they are incomplete, they cannot be used on their own.

Detailed analysis of certain Borough Market records can provide new information pertinent to the thesis subject, such as the portage records in the Stand Committee minute books. These records only exist from some twenty years after the arrival of the railways, and only refer to goods carried by Market-employed porters, but still provide enough information to identify new produce being sold and the increasing volumes of produce passing through the Market. Importantly, they cover a significant period for this research, being years before, during and after the London Bridge to Charing Cross railway line was built.

ii. Market Traders

Business records have not been identified for any of the individual traders in Borough Market. This is not unexpected because such businesses would have been run by individuals or partnerships who were not obliged to publish accounts or maintain them for public interest. Limited liability company records could have provided some useful information, but this corporate structure did not exist before 1855 and even after that date limited liability companies were not the domain of the small businessmen.

iii. Railway Companies

Central Government demanded that railway companies maintained detailed business records. The main companies using the lines from the south of the country into London Bridge were The South Eastern Railway Company, The London and Croydon Railway Company and The London and Brighton Railway Company, all of whose records are all held at the National Archive. The directors' Minutes from The South Eastern Railway Company provide a record of the other party's view in the negotiations with Borough Market regarding the London Bridge to Charing Cross line. There are very few references to Borough Market in The South Eastern Railway Company's Minutes in comparison to other landowners, such as St Thomas' Hospital, and therefore there is little opportunity to interrogate the railway company's attitude to Borough Market.

The information that is missing from the railway company archives are the transactional records relating goods transportation. Such detail could have provided information about the types of fruit and vegetables that were delivered by train and the points of shipment and delivery. Yet, it is not a surprise that these records have been destroyed because they would have created a huge volume of paper over the years which would have been expensive to store and of no long-term value to the railway company.

B. Government Commissions and Returns

Many government commissions were undertaken during the nineteenth century including reviews of the railways, agriculture and market tolls.

Railway companies were required to provide the Government with statistics about their business and these were amalgamated into annual returns. However, the returns were mainly concerned with passenger data and the information published on freight focused on the major products carried: coal and iron. Agricultural goods formed part of the statistics for 'other' goods carried by train, of which wheat was the largest single item and most important to the Government. Fruit and vegetables were insignificant in comparison to wheat and were not shown separately on railway annual returns.

Agricultural returns were regularly produced to record levels of food production but were not concerned with how the produce was delivered. The primary focus of the returns was to record the production of foods such as corn and meat, which were more financially valuable than the staple of the poor, the potato. These returns do not provide complete or detailed information concerning fruit or vegetable production.

Occasional Select Committees were constituted to consider the railways and agriculture. The record of evidence given by interested parties to the commissioners often provided useful statistics and opinions and help to build a picture of the development of these two areas of the British economy. However, such committees were held irregularly and the information provided was inconsistent, which limits their use as a source.

C. Maps

Although Southwark was formally part of Surrey until 1899, its intimate relationship with the metropolis north of the river meant that it was included in the important maps of London produced by John Rocque and John Horwood in the eighteenth century. Later, other privately funded maps followed the practice of including Southwark in London maps. By the mid-nineteenth century the government-funded Ordnance Survey maps provided records of the whole of the metropolis. The advantage of these maps as sources is that they provide a contemporary record of London and were intended to record an area rather than offer an opinion on the areas mapped.

All the maps mentioned above were produced with details of roads and alleys and often identify different land use. They can be compared to each other to show urban

development and changing land use over time, including the arrival of the first railway line into Southwark.

D. Population Statistics and Census Records

Population statistics have been published using contemporary national and local statistics collected, including the early censuses. Detailed census records are available from 1841 onwards, just after the arrival of the railways in Southwark, and provide increasingly detailed information about individuals including their occupation, if they housed servants and how many people shared a house. When used in conjunction with the maps, it is possible to link changing land use to areas of overcrowding which provides evidence about the wealth and living conditions of the local demographic in and around Borough Market.

E. Contemporary Observation

There are many different forms of written work which provide contemporary source data for this thesis. The detailed, analytical work of social reformers, such as Henry Mayhew and Charles Booth, provides evidence about the lives of the working classes in Southwark during the nineteenth century.²⁸ Although Booth's work was published just outside the period of this thesis, much of his evidence was collected during the late 1880s and provides a detailed analysis of conditions in Southwark by individual street, including Borough Market. Newspaper articles provided information concerning market produce prices and major types of produce sold, and they also reported events specifically linked to Borough Market and its people. Creative authors provided evocative narratives of London people and markets which help to bring them to life, indeed Dickens produced a magazine article specifically about Borough Market.

F. Pictures and Photographs

The mid-nineteenth century saw an explosion of images of London because of the development of photography. Before photographs representations of people and places were mostly provided in drawings and paintings and there were fewer images produced. The different pictures and photographs provide a visual representation of Southwark and the local people, including market traders. Whilst there are few of Borough Market itself there are several of Borough High Street and various inns and buildings along it.

²⁸ Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and The London Poor*, 3 vols (London: George Woodfall and Son, 1851); *Labour and Life of the People*, vol. 1, 2 vols (London: Williams and Norgate, 1889).

Despite the varied sources there remains a gap in the data to support a direct link between the railways and Borough Market's trade. The detailed analyses produced from the Borough Market records, which form part of this thesis, have been produced to provide evidence of increasing volumes of produce passing through the Market from the 1860s and improvements in Market profitability. Whilst the analyses cannot specifically prove that the development of the railways caused the increased volume of trade in Borough Market, it is difficult to ignore the synchronicity of the events. The increased volume of trade identified in the analyses also provides support to the contention that Borough Market moved into wholesale trading in the second half of the nineteenth century which is not specifically mentioned in any of the sources.

CHAPTER 2 – THE HISTORY OF BOROUGH MARKET BEFORE THE ARRIVAL OF THE RAILWAYS

Introduction

Borough Market was not the first market in Southwark and its antecedents are closely associated with the development of Southwark and its trading history. Examining this history will provide context for the establishment of Borough Market and why it was located on its site. This work will also consider the mercantile relationship which was established between the City of London and Southwark, especially with respect to markets, and why Borough Market was a departure from this.

Examination of the unique ownership of Borough Market and the Market's relationship with St Saviour's parish will provide a background to understanding the response of Borough Market Trustees to the demands of railway companies on the Market property and trade in the mid-nineteenth century.

Early Development of Southwark

Southwark is located on the southern end of London Bridge and owes its existence to the bridge and to its proximity to London.²⁹ The earliest bridge is likely to have been built by the Romans in the first century CE and was at the end of the main communication route from the south of England and the Continent to London on the northern shore of the river Thames. London was the main administrative and commercial centre of Britannia covering an area of 300 acres. Unsurprisingly, a small settlement developed around the southern end of the bridge, but only covering some 30 acres in comparison to London. Yet traces of Roman inns in Stane Street, Southwark and of substantial houses near the main roadway have been excavated and suggest permanent occupation, not merely a temporary encampment.³⁰

After the Romans left Britannia in the fourth century CE, the London settlement was the focus of many foreign attacks, ranging from pirates blockading London in 367CE to Danish slaughter in 842CE and 994CE³¹. Southwark enjoyed fewer defences than London and the attacks left some sites along Borough High Street uninhabited until as late as the 1300s.³² Johnson notes that the first written record of Southwark is included in Snorri Sturluson's

²⁹ David J. Johnson, *Southwark and the City* (Oxford: for the Corporation of London by Oxford University Press, 1969), B.

³⁰ Johnson, 2, 3.

³¹ Johnson, 3, 6, 7.

³² Johnson, 5.

thirteenth-century saga, *Heimskringla*, in which he describes eleventh-century Southwark as a great market town and London Bridge as broad enough for two wagons to drive past each other when crossing it.³³ Southwark was already established as a busy trading settlement and intimately linked to the land crossing into the City of London. Regular attacks on London only stopped after William the Conqueror had subdued London and both London and Southwark were able to develop more consistently after this time.³⁴

Southwark's proximity to London Bridge was important because the bridge remained the only land crossing from the southern shore of the Thames into London until 1750, when Westminster Bridge opened. Borough High Street, leading onto the bridge, developed as the major artery for people and goods moving by land between London and the south of England and the Continent. The constant traffic into London encouraged many inns to be established along Borough High Street to provide accommodation for travellers, most famously the Tabard Inn described by Chaucer in the General Prologue of his work, *The Canterbury Tales*.³⁵

Whilst medieval Southwark remained a place of trade and commerce, its convenient access to London also made it a desirable location to build substantial homes for wealthy men, especially clerics.³⁶ Much of Southwark was owned by the Church and men such as the Bishop of Winchester, who was Chancellor of England in 1316, and the Bishop of Rochester built large establishments there as well as and the Priors of Lewes and of Merton³⁷. But powerful clerics often created "rival factions" and there was no overall control exercised in Southwark, which was a concern for its nearby neighbour, London.³⁸

Southwark and the City of London

Southwark is considered as London's first suburb and was not part of London, but Surrey, until the end of the nineteenth century.³⁹ The name, Southwark, was first recorded in the *Burghal Hidage*, meaning "a defensive work of the men of Surrey", or as 'south burh' to distinguish it

³³ Johnson, 8.

³⁴ Johnson, 11.

³⁵ Geoffrey Chaucer, 'Canterbury Tales', Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse, 29 June 2018, <http://name.umdl.umich.edu/CT>, General Prologue, line 20.

³⁶ Johnson, *Southwark and the City*, 14.

³⁷ Johnson, 29–30.

³⁸ Johnson, 33.

³⁹ Johnson, B; Jonathan Schneer, *London 1900: The Imperial Metropolis* (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1999), 9.

from the “larger fortification” of London across the river.⁴⁰ This provides the basis for the area around the southern end of London Bridge also being known as Borough.

Originally part of Wessex, and later the County of Surrey, Southwark did not fall under the jurisdiction of London, which created a tension between the two communities. London officials considered Southwark as a threat to its own laws and trade because lawless people could offend in London and slip across the river to Southwark to escape justice. The powerful London craft and trade guilds were also dissatisfied because they could not impose their rules in Southwark. In 1327, London acquired a charter from Edward III granting the “mayor, commonality and citizens of the City of London” rights over the inhabited part of Southwark also known as the ‘guildable manor’.⁴¹ This included administration of the Leet Courts, which were the courts of record and good trade, and included management of all markets north and south of the Thames.⁴² Importantly, the charter gave London rights over the income from any markets held in Southwark.⁴³ These rights were re–confirmed in later centuries by Edward VI in 1541 and 1550 and by Charles II following the Great Fire of London.⁴⁴ This last charter helpfully identifies the location of Southwark’s original market as being situated along the High Street leading from London Bridge to St Margaret’s Hill and the charter insisted that it continued to trade at that location.

The relationship between the City of London and Southwark markets prior to the creation of Borough Market is important because London was the beneficiary of the market income and London’s primary drives were to achieve the greatest benefit and the most income for the capital. If Southwark markets had still been under the control of London at the time of the railway construction, the decisions taken regarding Market property would have been based on what suited London and not Borough Market or the Southwark community. London’s focus on its own profits was proven when it decided to give up control over Southwark markets in favour of improved access into London in the mid–eighteenth century.

⁴⁰ Johnson, *Southwark and the City*, 7.

⁴¹ ‘The Constitution of the Guildable Manor of Southwark’, The Guildable Manor of Southwark, 2014, <http://www.guildablemanor.org/constitution.html>.

⁴² ‘The Constitution of the Guildable Manor of Southwark’.

⁴³ ‘The Constitution of the Guildable Manor of Southwark’.

⁴⁴ Johnson, *Southwark and the City*, 31; British Government, ‘1754 Act of Parliament to Prevent Holding Any Market in the High Street of the Borough of Southwark in the County of Surrey’, in *Acts Relating to Borough Market, in the Parish of St Saviour, Southwark. Also Two Several Acts to Alter and Amend the Same* (London: R Thomas, 1829), 3.

The Relocation of Southwark Market

The success of the market along Borough High Street and the increasing flow of traffic over London Bridge led to dreadful congestion both on and leading up to the bridge. Problems associated with stalls obstructing traffic along Borough High Street are recorded from 1624 and in 1675 and 1676 it was decided to remove properties from the roadway at the foot of London Bridge to ease traffic flow.⁴⁵ Despite this demolition Borough High Street was still barely passable at times with increasing numbers of stalls, carts and wagons cluttering the road.⁴⁶ The congestion was not only restricted to market days because empty wagons were left obstructing the street.⁴⁷ The City of London was concerned that delays in crossing the river affected its trade and wealth and this worry was further aggravated by competition from a new, permanent river crossing at Westminster which opened in 1750. The City of London was keen to maintain the toll income generated by London Bridge and responded to the competition by clearing any buildings from London Bridge to make it wider and easier to traverse. However, the congestion along the southern access road onto the bridge limited the success of this improvement and the City of London decided that the only solution was to remove the Borough High Street market completely. This was a significant decision because London was giving up the control of and income from the Southwark market after benefitting from it for over three hundred years.

Because the market on Borough High Street was constituted by royal charters, the dissolution of the market required Parliamentary approval. In 1754 the City of London presented a Bill to Parliament to stop the market on Borough High Street trading and to give up all its rights over Southwark markets. This Act specifically mentioned increasing volumes of “coaches, carts and other carriages” using Borough High Street and said that it caused the traffic to stop frequently which caused “great obstruction to trade and commerce.”⁴⁸

Clearly the need for a local market had been discussed before the City of London Bill was presented and St Saviour’s parish also submitted a Bill in 1754 to “enable the churchwardens, overseers and inhabitants of the parish to hold a market which did not

⁴⁵ Johnson, *Southwark and the City*, 306.

⁴⁶ British Government, ‘1754 Act of Parliament to Prevent Holding Any Market in the High Street of the Borough of Southwark in the County of Surrey’, 3.

⁴⁷ Johnson, *Southwark and the City*, 307.

⁴⁸ British Government, ‘1754 Act of Parliament to Prevent Holding Any Market in the High Street of the Borough of Southwark in the County of Surrey’, 3.

interfere with Borough High Street.”⁴⁹ This Bill acknowledged the importance of a market to the inhabitants of Southwark and “neighbouring towns and villages” and stated that any new market should be located near to the original market site for the “benefit and accommodation” of those people.⁵⁰ The Bill also acknowledged that the parish would have difficulty buying the land and buildings without the aid and authority of parliament.⁵¹ The two Bills, to dissolve the high street market and to enable a new market, were passed into law at the same Parliamentary session in 1754 and gave control of the Southwark market back to the community it served.

St Saviour’s Parish

St Saviour’s parish had an important role in the history and development of Borough Market because it submitted the parliamentary Bill to create the new market and because it benefitted from the Market’s success. The parish was located on the western side of Borough High Street and along the riverbank to the west of London Bridge. The parish had been created in 1540 by the amalgamation of two former parishes, St Margaret’s and St Mary Magdalene following the dissolution of the monasteries under Henry VIII. The sixteenth century saw the creation of organised vestries to take over the traditional church role of managing parish affairs and revenues, but vestry powers were extended to include some secular responsibilities. By the early seventeenth century the St Saviour’s vestry had appointed six wardens, each with specific responsibilities, and the vestry managed over 2,000 receipts and payments relating to the parish’s financial affairs.⁵² By the eighteenth-century, St Saviour’s was an important parish in Southwark with a well-organised vestry and significant financial experience. The Parliamentary Bill to run a market was no doubt rooted in a pastoral desire to care for the people of Southwark, but the Act also provided for St Saviour’s to benefit financially from the market.

⁴⁹ ‘1754 Act of Parliament to Enable the Churchwardens, Overseers and Inhabitants of the Parish of St Saviour in the Borough of Southwark in the County of Surrey to Hold a Market within the Said Parish Not Interfering with the High Street in the Said Borough’, 1754, Section III, p10, ACC/2058/01/01/001 1 of 2, London Metropolitan Archive.

⁵⁰ ‘1754 Act of Parliament to Enable the Churchwardens, Overseers and Inhabitants of the Parish of St Saviour in the Borough of Southwark in the County of Surrey to Hold a Market within the Said Parish Not Interfering with the High Street in the Said Borough’, Section I, 8.

⁵¹ ‘1754 Act of Parliament to Enable the Churchwardens, Overseers and Inhabitants of the Parish of St Saviour in the Borough of Southwark in the County of Surrey to Hold a Market within the Said Parish Not Interfering with the High Street in the Said Borough’, Section I, 8.

⁵² Johnson, *Southwark and the City*, 97, 320, 322.

This financial link between Borough Market and St Saviour's parish would prove influential during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Acts of Parliament Creating Borough Market

The 1754 Act to enable a new market to be established in Southwark set down many rules concerning the new market and these included land-ownership, the management and the finances of the market. These three areas would prove influential when negotiating with The South Eastern Railway Company over a hundred year later and will therefore be considered in more detail.

Land Ownership

The 1754 Act defined the market site, the property ownership and how the purchases were to be funded.

The new Market was to occupy: "a piece of ground which is contained in a Spot called The Triangle" in the parish of St Saviour's, an area "abutting on a Place called the Turnstile, and the backside of Three Crown Court eastwards, on Fowle Lane and buildings in Rochester Yard and Dirty Lane northward, and towards Deadman's Place westward." The land within the defined boundaries was to be bought for the Market, wherever possible, and vested in the Market Trustees.⁵³ Where it was more convenient or beneficial to the Market, The Act proposed that Market property could be leased for up to 61 years rather than converted for Market use. Any disputes with existing landowners concerning the purchase of their property would be settled by a jury appointed by the sheriff of Surrey, whose verdict was binding. In 1756 a second Act of Parliament was passed to "explain, amend and render more effectual" the first, which clarified the property to be included in the Triangle and amended the method of dispute resolution with land owners.

The 1754 Act also provided for the Borough Market Trustees to raise up to £6,000 in loans to buy the property and to build any necessary structures for the marketplace. The loan could be raised through annuities, each up to a value of £480 and with a maximum rate of

⁵³ '1754 Act of Parliament to Enable the Churchwardens, Overseers and Inhabitants of the Parish of St Saviour in the Borough of Southwark in the County of Surrey to Hold a Market within the Said Parish Not Interfering with the High Street in the Said Borough', Section I, 8.

return of 8% which was to be paid quarterly from the date the loan money was first received.⁵⁴ A subsequent Act in 1756 allowed the Market to raise a further £2,000.⁵⁵ Parliament required a written record of the annuitants, their loan amount and rate of return to be maintained and the 1754 Act also required annuitants to be paid from the Market profits and that these transactions were also properly recorded.⁵⁶ The Trustee Minutes provide a narrative of the process undertaken to raise funds to buy the Market site starting on 15 June 1755, when the first newspaper advert to raise money through annuities was authorised. The Market received offers of loans from a wide geographic area, for example for £100 from the “Reverend Thomas Bedford, rector of Clondevadoge in Donegal, Ireland”.⁵⁷

The ownership of Borough Market property was vital when railway construction created intense demand for land around the London Bridge terminus and when The South Eastern Railway Company sought to build a railway line over Market property in the 1850–60s. This was because the Market was not subjected to the decisions of a landlord who chose to sell the Market site and because the negotiations remained in the hands of the Borough Market Trustees. The definition of the market site within The Acts meant that the Market could not easily be forced to move without Parliamentary sanction. These two factors ensured that The South Eastern Railway Company could not force through their plans for the London Bridge to Charing Cross line without agreement from Borough Market.

Management

The 1754 Act appointed commissioners to carry out all “matters and things necessary” to execute the Act and to enable the appointment of a group of a Trustees to manage the Market. Parliament also wanted the Trustees to be local men who were linked to the community and parish. Consequently, the Board of Trustees was to be constituted from St Saviour’s parish churchwardens and overseers of the poor and eleven of the “most substantial inhabitants chosen by the vestry.” The Trustees’ decisions, recorded in the Borough Market Board Minutes,

⁵⁴ ‘1754 Act of Parliament to Enable the Churchwardens, Overseers and Inhabitants of the Parish of St Saviour in the Borough of Southwark in the County of Surrey to Hold a Market within the Said Parish Not Interfering with the High Street in the Said Borough’, Section XII, 15.

⁵⁵ British Government, ‘1756 Act of Parliament to Explain, Amend and Render More Effectual the 1754 Act to Permit a Market’, in *Acts Relating to Borough Market, in the Parish of St Saviour, Southwark. Also Two Several Acts to Alter and Amend the Same* (London: R Thomas, 1829), Section VI, 25.

⁵⁶ ‘1754 Act of Parliament to Enable the Churchwardens, Overseers and Inhabitants of the Parish of St Saviour in the Borough of Southwark in the County of Surrey to Hold a Market within the Said Parish Not Interfering with the High Street in the Said Borough’, Section XIII, 16.

⁵⁷ ‘Borough Market Committee of the Market Minute Book Including Meetings of the Trustees from 1755’, 6 May 1755, 10 Feb 1756, ACC/2058/01/02/001, London Metropolitan Archive.

suggest that the men selected had relevant skills and commitment to manage the Market properly and to fight the railway company's construction plans.⁵⁸

The 1754 Act also gave the Trustees of Borough Market the same "Rights, Privileges And Appurtenances" that London had enjoyed from the ancient Southwark market and was allowed to take the usual rents, tolls and profits⁵⁹. The Act also protected the Market trade by stopping any goods which were usually sold in a public market to be sold within 1,000 yards of the new market once it was operational.⁶⁰ This Act and the limit of competition within 1,000 yards of Borough Market gave the Market a special status as the only authorised market south of the Thames, which was a matter of pride for the Trustees. The desire to maintain this status guided the Trustees' judgement on later expansion plans for the site.

Finance

A key element of the 1754 Act concerned the financial relationship between St Saviour's parish and Borough Market.

The new Market was to be run by and for the benefit of St Saviour's parish, but Parliament insisted that Market funds must first always be available to pay annuitants' interest. Therefore, if there were ever insufficient funds to pay the interest from the Market trading, the St Saviour's rate payers would have to find up to sixpence in the pound on land rate assessments to cover the deficiency.⁶¹ Furthermore, the parish could not benefit financially from the Market whilst any annuitants remained alive and any excess Market funds, or profits, had to be invested in safe funds. This ensured that the Market could cover any future commitment to annuitants. Once all the annuitants were deceased, any deposits and future

⁵⁸ '1754 Act of Parliament to Enable the Churchwardens, Overseers and Inhabitants of the Parish of St Saviour in the Borough of Southwark in the County of Surrey to Hold a Market within the Said Parish Not Interfering with the High Street in the Said Borough', Section II, 9.

⁵⁹ '1754 Act of Parliament to Enable the Churchwardens, Overseers and Inhabitants of the Parish of St Saviour in the Borough of Southwark in the County of Surrey to Hold a Market within the Said Parish Not Interfering with the High Street in the Said Borough', Section III, 10.

⁶⁰ '1754 Act of Parliament to Enable the Churchwardens, Overseers and Inhabitants of the Parish of St Saviour in the Borough of Southwark in the County of Surrey to Hold a Market within the Said Parish Not Interfering with the High Street in the Said Borough', Section IV, 10.

⁶¹ '1754 Act of Parliament to Enable the Churchwardens, Overseers and Inhabitants of the Parish of St Saviour in the Borough of Southwark in the County of Surrey to Hold a Market within the Said Parish Not Interfering with the High Street in the Said Borough', Section XVI, 17.

market profits were available for the benefit of St Saviour's parish to be used for the "diminution of any of the parochial rates or assessments."⁶²

This financial benefit was a significant incentive for St Saviour's parish and the Market Trustees, who were closely linked to the parish, to fight for the continuity of Borough Market on its original site so that this income stream could be preserved.

Borough Market 1754–1829

The first recorded meeting of the commissioners appointed by the 1754 Act of Parliament was held on 16 May 1755 and the process of buying the property and creating the Market proceeded quickly. On 5 June a committee was appointed to survey the property within the "Triangle" and to obtain estimates for the land values.⁶³ On 24 Feb 1756 the Trustees ordered a notice to be placed in newspapers stating that "a commodious place for a market is now being prepared" on the "backside of Three Crowns Court" on the west side of Borough High Street and will be ready by 25 March and it duly opened on that day.⁶⁴

The Market clearly traded successfully over the next 65 years because by 1823 it had accrued £13,302 of profit which had been placed in secure 4% bank annuities. These yielded £532 interest for the Market in the twelve months to September 1824. The level of investment and interest income was revealed in an application to Parliament in May 1823 to amend the restricted use of Market profits before all annuitants were deceased, as defined in the 1754 Act. St Saviour's parish was now keen to access these profits since very few annuitants were still alive and parochial rates were "very burdensome."⁶⁵ The Market was able to prove that the annual bank income alone more than covered their annual payments to surviving annuitants and so Parliament approved an immediate change to permit all future Market profits be handed to the parish from 1823 onwards. The 1823 Act also required the Market Trustees to

⁶² '1754 Act of Parliament to Enable the Churchwardens, Overseers and Inhabitants of the Parish of St Saviour in the Borough of Southwark in the County of Surrey to Hold a Market within the Said Parish Not Interfering with the High Street in the Said Borough', Section XVIII, 18.

⁶³ 'Borough Market Committee of the Market Minute Book Including Meetings of the Trustees from 1755', 5 June 1755.

⁶⁴ 'Borough Market Committee of the Market Minute Book Including Meetings of the Trustees from 1755', 24 Feb 1756.

⁶⁵ British Government, '1823 Act of Parliament to Alter and Amend Two Several Acts Passed in the Twenty-Eight and Thirtieth Years of His Majesty King George the Second, for the Purpose of Enabling the Churchwardens, Overseers, and Inhabitants of the Parish of Saint Saviour in the Borough of Southwark in the County of Surrey, to Hold a Market within the Said Parish', in *Acts Relating to Borough Market, in the Parish of St Saviour, Southwark. Also Two Several Acts to Alter and Amend the Same* (London: R. Thomas, 1829), 34.

produce accounts twice a year and to present them to all parish inhabitants on the 29 September and Easter Tuesday.⁶⁶

The ongoing success of the Market was also reflected in the 1829 Act of Parliament plan to “alter, amend and enlarge” the existing Borough Market, which also gave the Market Trustees more powers to take certain decisions without the need to apply for Parliamentary approval.⁶⁷ The new powers enabled Trustees to make and uphold bye-laws relating to the Market, to appoint and pay a market clerk, collector of rents and tolls and any other persons they thought fit and also to buy property and to make improvements to the Market.⁶⁸ The increased freedom for the Trustees would be useful in their later dealings with the railway companies because they were able to respond quickly and without the costs and delay associated with applications to Parliament for permission.

The Arrival of the Railways to Southwark

The first London railway terminus was opened in 1836 in Southwark and was situated at the southern end of London Bridge on the eastern side of Borough High Street, at a similar level to Borough Market which was located on the other side of the High Street. The terminus and tracks created a limited construction footprint on Southwark because the station was small and The London and Greenwich Railway Company built the line on a viaduct to avoid the cost of multiple road crossings.⁶⁹ However, additional lines were built into London Bridge terminus from as early as 1838, by The London and Croydon, The London, Brighton and South Coast and The South Eastern Railway companies, to create additional links to the south and east of the country.⁷⁰ These competing companies often duplicated lines and buildings in the same area causing greater land loss and change to the area than was necessary. The only recorded early interaction between Borough Market and the railways occurred when The London and South Western Railway Company sought to obtain a Bill to enable them to build an extension to London Bridge in 1846. Borough Market opposed the Bill, but when their opposition failed the

⁶⁶ British Government, 35.

⁶⁷ British Government, ‘1829 Act of Parliament to Alter, Amend, and Enlarge the Powers of Several Acts Passed for Holding a Market in the Parish of Saint Saviour in the Borough of Southwark in the County of Surrey, and for Granting More Effectual Provisions for That Purpose’, in *Acts Relating to Borough Market, in the Parish of St Saviour, Southwark. Also Two Several Acts to Alter and Amend the Same* (London: R Thomas, 1829), 37.

⁶⁸ British Government, Sections XII, XIII, XXII, XLII, 47, 51, 63.

⁶⁹ Francis Sheppard, *London, 1808–70: The Infernal Wen* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1971), 125.

⁷⁰ Sheppard, 126.

Trustees showed the foresight to have clauses inserted into the resulting Act of Parliament to protect the Market property and its access from any railway construction. However, when the Market advertised for a toll collector in the following year, the Trustees did acknowledge that The London and South Western railway line had not “in any way interfere[d] with the Market”. Consequently, prior to the 1850s, railways construction had no impact on Borough Market property because the railways were located on the opposite side of Borough High Street.⁷¹

Railway companies across the country increasingly sought greater and closer access into London leading to substantial railway termini being built on available ground all around the outskirts of the metropolis.⁷² This new method of mass transportation brought millions of people and tons of goods to a few locations which then had to be moved to a final destination. This created significant congestion in the London streets and the 1855 Parliamentary Commission on Metropolitan Communications sought to find remedies. They recommended to Parliament that different London train termini should be connected to keep people and goods off the London streets.⁷³ This view was reflected in the plans of The South Eastern Railway Company who wanted to link their London Bridge operation with Victoria station and its access to Whitehall, the West End of London and Belgravia.⁷⁴

The South Eastern Railway Company applied to build a new line between London Bridge terminus and Victoria terminus via a new station on the Strand at Charing Cross, which The Morning Chronicle considered to be “one of the most important metropolitan improvement[s]” proposed for many years.⁷⁵ This was because London Bridge station was a major contributor to congestion and carried more passengers than any other London terminus with the numbers increasing rapidly. The Commission on Metropolitan Communications of 1855 estimated that 5,558,000 passengers passed through London Bridge station in 1850 and that this had increased to 10,845,000 by 1854.⁷⁶ In addition to passengers, the trains delivered tons of goods into Southwark. London Bridge remained the greatest access point into the City

⁷¹ ‘Borough Market Minute Book from 1843’, 6 October 1843, 7 May 1846, 7 May 1847, ACC/2058/01/02/007, London Metropolitan Archive.

⁷² Michael J. Freeman and Derek Aldcroft, *The Atlas of British Railway History* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1986), 20, 26.

⁷³ ‘Report from the Select Committee on Metropolitan Communications with the Minutes of Evidence Taken before Them and an Appendix, 23 July 1855’, 1855, iv, <https://www.proquest.com/>.

⁷⁴ Sheppard, *London, 1808–70: The Infernal Wen*, 146.

⁷⁵ ‘The Proposed London-Bridge and Charing-Cross Railway’, *The Morning Chronicle*, 28 March 1859; Sheppard, *London, 1808–70: The Infernal Wen*, 146.

⁷⁶ ‘Report from the Select Committee on Metropolitan Communications with the Minutes of Evidence Taken before Them and an Appendix, 23 July 1855’, iii.

of London and Kellett notes John Hollingshead believed that the volume of traffic over the bridge increased by ten times in the decade to 1860.⁷⁷

The proposed route for the London Bridge to Charing Cross line necessitated building through the parish of St Saviour's and Borough Market and involved demolishing the parish church of St Saviour. The proposed construction would have had a devastating effect on Borough Market, even if it survived demolition itself. Revised plans left the church intact and plotted the tracks over Borough Market, not through it, but despite these new plans the Trustee Minutes record that the Market management opposed the whole new line.⁷⁸ But the Market's opposition was in vain because both the public and Parliament supported a proposal to reduce the dreadful congestion in London and on London Bridge, and consequently the Bill was passed by Parliament in 1859. By this date Borough Market had already started negotiations with The South Eastern Railway Company which continued throughout the next six years.

Conclusion

The history of Borough Market is important to fully appreciate Borough Market's role in Southwark, and especially in St Saviour's parish, and why this affected the Market Trustees' response to the arrival of the railways. The history shows that Borough Market was an integral part of the local community which encouraged people to fight against the South Eastern Railway Company's threat to the Market site. Furthermore, it is also important to understand the role of Parliament in the creation of Borough Market and defining its land ownership and management structure. These factors were critical in the negotiations with the South Eastern Railway Company and gave Borough Market the necessary authority and capacity to act effectively, which will be considered in more detail later in this thesis.

⁷⁷ Kellett, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities*, 1969, 301, 313.

⁷⁸ 'Borough Market Minute Book from 1852', 7 May 1852, 4 March 1859, ACC/2058/01/02/008, London Metropolitan Archive.

CHAPTER 3 – CHANGING LAND USE AND DEMOGRAPHICS IN BOROUGH MARKET

Introduction

Changes in land use have been identified as a major consequence of the arrival of railways in cities, but cities were already changing before that event. In Southwark this change was driven by improving communications, a factor which had always been important in the development of Southwark and its markets.⁷⁹ Southwark was originally just a community which developed around the southern end of London Bridge and was focused around the major road leading south from the bridge and around the wharves and water-stairs along the side of the Thames. Much of the rest of Southwark was open common ground or cultivated market gardens with few inhabitants. When Borough Market started trading in 1756, Southwark was undergoing some fundamental land use changes, fuelled by new roads and bridges built south of the Thames, which made Southwark more accessible and the open land more attractive to develop. Yet this change of land use had relatively little impact on the demographic make-up of Southwark in comparison to the period after the arrival of the railways.

The arrival of trains in cities was a new factor which brought changes to the land use in cities, especially close to the railway lines and termini. Developers were encouraged to build for specific uses associated with train transportation, such as warehousing and, as a result these areas became increasingly industrial and commercial. This effect is demonstrated in an examination of Southwark and it created social and demographic changes which affected Borough Market's original trader and customer base.

This chapter will identify the transformation of Southwark from the mid-eighteenth century and examine if Southwark's experience after the arrival of the railways reflects academic expectations of generic changes in cities. It will also consider Borough Market in detail, to establish if the experience of a specific location is consistent with the whole area around it. Whilst land use and demographics are intimately linked, they will be considered in separate sections for clarity.

Methodology

Physical change in Southwark will be considered primarily through contemporary maps because they recorded the major infrastructure of an area at an identifiable date. Successive

⁷⁹ John R. Kellett, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities* (Great Britain: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1969).

maps also identify open areas being developed and the movement between different types of property, such as residential or commercial. Two maps will be used to establish changing trends in Southwark before the arrival of the railways and when Borough Market was established. The earliest map is John Rocque's *A plan of the cities of London, Westminster, and the borough of Southwark*, first published in 1746.⁸⁰ This provides a solid record of Southwark and the area around St Saviour's church before Borough Market was established. The second map to be used is Richard Horwood's *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts adjoining Shewing every house* which surveyed the area from 1792 and was published in full in 1799.⁸¹ This map shows how the construction of new bridges across the Thames and roads linking the bridges had started a change in the physical structure of Southwark.

Changes to Southwark following the arrival of the first railway at London Bridge 1836 are identified from two further maps. Laurie's *Plan of London, Westminster and Southwark* was surveyed that same year and published in 1841.⁸² It identifies the progression of infrastructure growth over the previous four decades since Horwood's map was surveyed and shows Southwark at the dawn of the railway age. Finally, the Ordnance Survey maps surveyed in 1868–72 will be used to see the effect of thirty years of railway construction on Southwark.⁸³

Changing demographics in Southwark will be examined by looking at the numbers and types of people living in the borough using statistics and details obtained from censuses produced in 1801 to 1881. These documents provide details of population numbers, how many people occupied a single property and, after 1841, the occupation and age of each person notified. Using this information together with the maps, it is possible to extrapolate movement of social groups over time and propose who was living near to and using the Market before and after the railways arrived in Southwark.

⁸⁰ John Rocque, *A Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, and the Borough of Southwark*, clickable on-line access, 26miles:1 inch (John Pine and John Tinney, 1746), https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Rocque%27s_Map_of_London,_1746.

⁸¹ Richard Horwood, *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjoining Shewing Every House*, 1799 1792, 26"/mile, 1799 1792, <http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/crace/p/largeimage87950.html>.

⁸² 'Laurie's Plan of London and Westminster, and Southwark.', British Library - Online Gallery, n.d., <http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/crace/l/00700000000007u00242000.html>.

⁸³ Ordnance Survey, 'Ordnance Survey Map of London 1869–78', Locating London's Past - The Old Bailey Proceedings, 2011, <https://www.locatinglondon.org/index.html>.

LAND USE

Changing land use in Southwark before the arrival of the railways

i. Southwark in General

The importance of Southwark is reflected in the fact that it is specifically included in the title of Rocque's and Horwood's maps of London and both maps include full details of Southwark despite the fact that it is situated on the southern bank of the Thames.⁸⁴ Southwark's importance to London was based on the fact that there has been a land crossing over the Thames in this vicinity since the first century CE and it was the only river crossing point located east of Kingston-upon-Thames until the mid-eighteenth century.⁸⁵ A major road, Borough High Street, ran south through Southwark from the southern end of London Bridge and was the major artery for moving goods and people by road from the south of the country into the centre of London. The period from 1746–1831 saw the start of changing land use in parts of Southwark driven by the building of new bridges across the Thames. Because Southwark was an established access point into London it was an integral part of the new road network built south of the river to connect the new bridges. An examination of the two eighteenth century maps by John Rocque and Richard Horwood show the effect of the new road system on Southwark and highlight the different land-use patterns and density between the north and south of the Thames.

The differential between the density and type of land use on the north and the south sides of the Thames is a striking feature on both eighteenth-century maps. Southwark was virtually the only area with any development south of the river whilst to the north the land was extensively covered with buildings and had a well-developed road system. South of the Thames was primarily undeveloped, open ground used for gardens and cultivation, and several areas used for drying cleaned cloth (a tenter ground). This lack of development is partly because the Thames acted as a barrier for access to London, but also because the land south of the river lacked good roads which made the area relatively isolated from London.⁸⁶ The only significant roads are the "three ancient roads" which formed the basic structure of Southwark: Borough High Street, the major thoroughfare, and Tooley Street and Bankside, which ran along the

⁸⁴ Rocque, 'A Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, and the Borough of Southwark'; Horwood, 'Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjoining Shewing Every House'.

⁸⁵ 'Travel: Thames Bridges', Port of London Authority, 2019, <https://www.pla.co.uk/Travel/Tourists-visitors/Thames-Bridges/Thames-Bridges>.

⁸⁶ Rocque, 'A Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, and the Borough of Southwark'.

southern river bank either-side of London Bridge.⁸⁷ It is difficult to understand why most of Southwark remained so under-developed given its proximity to the City of London and a bridge. One reason was because much of the land in Southwark was poorly drained and marshy, such as St George's Fields located at the south-western end of Borough High Street, which was so wet that it was renowned for duck shooting on its ponds.⁸⁸ There was no incentive to improve the land for building until the latter half of the eighteenth century when more bridges across the Thames were constructed and the bridges sought to link to London Bridge.

Rocque's map was produced in 1746 when a second road bridge, Westminster Bridge, was being built across the Thames.⁸⁹ Westminster Bridge was not opened until 1750 and Rocque's map shows a limited road system being developed at this bridge's southern end and negligible impact on land use south of the river. By the time Horwood's map was published over four decades later, between 1792 and 1799, a third bridge had been built across the Thames into London and a road network established on the southern side of the Thames to link the three river crossings. The third bridge was Blackfriars bridge, which was opened in 1769 just west of London Bridge.

Horwood's map clearly shows the development of St George's Circus, which was built on the former St George's Fields and which acted as a hub for the new and existing roads. The importance of good road communications between the bridges south of the river made it worthwhile overcoming the problems of the marshy land in this part of Southwark. Furthermore, these wide new roads increased the value of the nearby land and encouraged quality residential housing to be constructed along them. The land use changed from marsh to fashionable residences so that in 1813, James Smith noted that "St George's Fields are fields no more [but] are changed to civic villas now."⁹⁰

These two maps make clear how improved communications affected land use in Southwark, even before the arrival of railways. This was especially demonstrated around St George's Fields where the popular demand for houses along the new roads provided the financial incentive to overcome the limiting factors caused by poorly drained land. The maps suggest that the new buildings were mainly residential properties, not commercial or industrial.

⁸⁷ University of Greenwich, 'St George's Fields, Southwark: From a Grand 18th Century Suburb to 19th Century Inner-City Slums', *Ideal Homes: A history of south-east London suburbs*, Introduction, accessed 12 December 2018, <http://www.ideal-homes.org.uk/case-studies/st-georges-field>.

⁸⁸ University of Greenwich, Introduction, *Gathering*.

⁸⁹ Rocque, 'A Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, and the Borough of Southwark'.

⁹⁰ University of Greenwich, 'St George's Fields, Southwark: From a Grand 18th Century Suburb to 19th Century Inner-City Slums', sec. new streets and houses.

This is in keeping with the rest of Southwark's land use and suggest that the new roads did not fundamentally change the character of Southwark, simply the extent of the developed area.

ii. Borough Market and its Locality

The part of Southwark at the northern end of Borough High Street was well developed in contrast to the rest of Southwark when Rocque completed the survey for his map.⁹¹ This was because this part of Southwark was proximate to existing communications with London: London Bridge, Borough High Street and the wharves and water stairs on the Thames. The area around St Saviour's church was a series of small streets and alleys often with access to Borough High Street. Nearby, the roads defining the boundaries of the "Triangle" of land, which would become Borough Market, are marked.⁹² There is clearly an existing local community in this part of Southwark, with housing, churches and burial grounds. There were also inns built along the eastern side of Borough High Street to serve travellers heading for London, and two large hospitals, St Thomas' and Guy's. Rocque's map suggests little local industry in the vicinity, just a timber yard to the west of Stoney Street and a tenter ground. A little further west it is mostly open ground and gardens whose small roadways enjoyed such evocative names as "The Green Walk" and "Melancholy Walk".

Horwood's map, surveyed almost fifty years later, shows some significant changes to the area around Borough Market. There is more development west of Borough Market towards the new Blackfriars Bridge and the timber yard, tenter ground and burial ground, which had been located west of the Market, had been replaced by industry. Whilst the riverside to the east of London Bridge had always attracted commerce and industry because of the many wharves that served the docks downstream, these had now also encroached on the western side of the bridge. The industries included breweries, vinegar works and iron works and some were substantial establishments such as the Anchor Brewery. Some new housing had been built on formerly undeveloped land and the size and density of the buildings suggest that it is likely to have been poor housing for industrial workers. Borough Market was now located on the

⁹¹ Rocque, 'A Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, and the Borough of Southwark'.

⁹² British Government, '1754 Act to Enable the Churchwardens, Overseers and Inhabitants of the Parish of St Saviour in the Borough of Southwark in the County of Surrey to Hold a Market within the Said Parish Not Interfering with the High Street in the Said Borough', in *Acts Relating to Borough Market, in the Parish of St Saviour, Southwark. Also Two Several Acts to Alter and Amend the Same* (London: R Thomas, 1829), Section I, 8.

triangular parcel of land prescribed for its use by Parliament.⁹³ The Market boundary roads generally remained the same as on Rocque's map, apart from occasional road name changes such as New Rents being re-named Church Street. The area inside the Market boundaries show signs of re-organisation with Rochester Street a more defined road across the Market and the former Dirty Lane had disappeared to become an un-named Market thoroughfare.

One significant change to the local infrastructure happened after Horwood's map was printed. The City of London Corporation considered the new bridges at Westminster and Blackfriars a threat to the importance of London Bridge and its ability to create wealth for the City, and in 1831 a new London Bridge was opened.⁹⁴ The new London Bridge was built some 200 feet west of its original site and closer to Borough Market, but this required the northern end of Borough High Street to be re-designed to allow access onto the bridge.⁹⁵ The new northern end of Borough High Street replaced the "old narrow High Street" with "spacious new streets... lined with well built, first rate houses" according to the *Morning Chronicle* of 18 September 1833, and Borough High Street was also widened on a level with Borough Market.⁹⁶ Plans for the 1833 new approach show that Borough High Street was now much closer to the Market but that some of the alleys on the western side of the street had been demolished.⁹⁷

The eighteenth-century move from residential property to industry in the area around the Borough Market does not seem typical of the rest of Southwark, where changes in land use were primarily associated with building the new road network and residential buildings. This transition cannot be associated specifically with the new road system, a view supported by the Borough Market Trustees. They felt that the roads had been built too far south which gave no benefit to the Market itself and did not relieve the congestion near London Bridge.⁹⁸ It is more likely that the increase in industry was linked to riverside access and local land values rather than to generally improving communications in Southwark.

⁹³ Horwood, 'Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjoining Shewing Every House'; 'Acts Relative to Borough Market', 1933 1754, Section I, 8, ACC/2058/01/01/001 1 of 2, London Metropolitan Archive.

⁹⁴ Sir Howard Roberts and Walter H. Godfrey, eds., *Survey of London*, vol. 22: Bankside: The parishes of St Saviour and Christchurch Southwark (London: London County Council, 1950), sec. History of Southwark.

⁹⁵ L. Reilly, *The Story of 'The Borough'* (London: London Borough of Southwark, 2009), 104.

⁹⁶ 'Improvements in the Neighbourhood of London Bridge', *The Morning Chronicle*, 18 September 1833; Reilly, *The Story of 'The Borough'*, 104.

⁹⁷ *Plan Showing the Proposed Approaches to the New London Bridge*, 1833, 1833, WB 716, National Archive.

⁹⁸ University of Greenwich, 'St George's Fields, Southwark: From a Grand 18th Century Suburb to 19th Century Inner-City Slums', new bridges and roads.

In contrast, the re-design of Borough High Street did affect Borough Market and cause concerns about the effect it would have on Market trade. Whilst the demolition of property around the southern bridge-end did not affect the fabric of the Market, the Trustees believed that the loss of the Chaingate and Frying Pan Alley, which provided access to the Market from Borough High Street, was the cause of “great depreciating of property and loss of trade.”⁹⁹ In comparison, the arrival of the railway at London Bridge in 1836 did not raise any concerns and was unmentioned in the Trustee Minutes, probably because it was located on the eastern side of Borough High Street and did not affect the land immediately around Borough Market.

Changing Land Use in Southwark after the Arrival of the Railway in 1836

i. The impact of railways on city land use in general

The first steam railway line to be built in London ran from Greenwich to London Bridge.¹⁰⁰ Sections of the line were running as early as February 1836 but the terminus at London Bridge was not opened until December that year. Railway quickly developed and became significant land users in all cities so that as early as 1840 the railway companies had possession of between 5.2% and 9% of the built-up land in the five major cities of the UK including London.¹⁰¹ This represents a major change of land use in cities.

Kellett considers that railways had a considerable impact on land use in cities, not only because they used land themselves, but also because they caused a change in the utilisation of nearby land. Briggs also comments that large-scale clearance associated with railway construction led to houses being demolished to be replaced with shops, factories, warehouses and offices.¹⁰² Kellett also believed that the railways centralised business, a view shared by Dennis, and that passenger termini created a new demand for hotels, pubs and on-going transportation.¹⁰³ Kellett also proposed that the land “divided or confined” by the railways became used for warehousing, industry and poor housing and encouraged the creation of

⁹⁹ ‘Borough Market Minute Book from 1830’, 2 September 1836, ACC/2058/01/02/005, London Metropolitan Archive.

¹⁰⁰ Kellett, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities*, 1969, 264.

¹⁰¹ Gourvish, ‘Railways, 1830–1870: The Formative Years’, 72.

¹⁰² Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, 26.

¹⁰³ Dennis, *English Industrial Cities of the Nineteenth Century: A Social Geography*, 112; Kellett, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities*, 1969, 293,319.

“twilight zones”.¹⁰⁴ These matters will be considered with reference to maps of the area around London Bridge station.

ii. Southwark

London quickly became the focus of many of the new railway companies springing up during the first railway boom of the early 1840s. London Bridge station was uniquely close to the centre of London in comparison with other London railway termini because it was built on the largely undeveloped southern side of the Thames. There were open fields within 400 yards of London Bridge station during the 1830s, yet the Bank of England was only half a mile away from the terminus because of access via London Bridge.¹⁰⁵ In contrast, the heavily developed land to the north of the Thames was too expensive and difficult to build other termini equally close to the City of London. In the decades following the construction of the first train line in 1836, more lines to London Bridge station were built by the London and Croydon, London and Brighton and South Eastern Railway companies. Initially the companies were forced to share lines and amenities, but each company wanted control of their own lines and buildings, and the duplication of these facilities took increasing amounts of the local land. A major example is the South Eastern Railway Company building a rival goods terminus to London Bridge at Bricklayers Arms on the Old Kent Road in 1844.¹⁰⁶

Whilst Kellett considered the arrival of the railways as “dramatic”, Laurie’s 1840 map does not show that this was immediately the case in Southwark.¹⁰⁷ The most obvious change from Horwood’s map is not the railway lines but the web of major roads throughout Southwark and the increased property development associated with the roads. There is also another new bridge across the Thames, Southwark bridge which opened in 1819, and Southwark Bridge Road which had been built to connect the bridge to the rest of the road network. Overall, Laurie’s map suggests the continued gradual progression of land development in Southwark based on road communications. The railway line to London Bridge shows little impact on land

¹⁰⁴ Kellett, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities*, 1969, 293.

¹⁰⁵ Michael H. C. Baker, *London to Brighton: 150 Years of Britain’s Premier Holiday Line* (Wellingborough: Patrick Stephens Ltd, 1989), 20.

¹⁰⁶ Reginald B. Fellows, ‘The Railway Magazine- Archive -The Failure of Bricklayers Arms as a Passenger Station - Part 1’, *The Railway Magazine*, 1944, <https://www.railwaymagazine.co.uk/julyaugust-1944-the-failure-of-bricklayers-arms-as-a-passenger-station-part-1/>.

¹⁰⁷ John Outhett, *Laurie’s Plan of London and Westminster, and Southwark* (London: Richard Holmes Laurie, 1841), MPH/1/601, National Archive, <http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/crace/l/007000000000007u00242000.html>; Kellett, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities*, 1969, 287.

use in Southwark since it mostly crossed open and undeveloped country and the railway terminus is only a small construction on the west side of Borough High Street.¹⁰⁸

But, railway construction in the UK carried on apace over the following two decades and many new lines and stations were built. In 1862 *The Builder* magazine described the railways as “the invasion of the metropolis” by the “steam horse” and believed its impact on the “physical features of the metropolis” as “almost incredible.”¹⁰⁹ This was despite the Government veto of building railways in the City of London itself to avoid damaging the existing infrastructure.¹¹⁰ The same government policy did not apply to Southwark and the Ordnance Survey map published in 1872 shows the change to Southwark caused by railway construction.¹¹¹ This was especially noticeable on the eastern side of Borough High Street, where London Bridge terminus was located, but the railways affected land use throughout Southwark. The north eastern side of Borough High Street was transformed and streets of houses, St Olave’s burial ground and even St Thomas’ hospital were gone by 1872, to be replaced by multiple railway lines and buildings. In front of London Bridge terminus, the station approaches alone covered an area similar in size to Borough Market and there were booking offices, waiting rooms and railway company offices built along it. Behind the terminus were multiple train lines with engine houses and workshops located between them. This is a striking example of how much land a major railway terminus required and shows how existing communities, their homes and even final resting places, could be eradicated by the railway’s construction demands.

The 1872 Ordnance Survey map also shows changes of the land use around the railway terminus as predicted by Kellett.¹¹² Former residential areas either side of the major railway lines were now covered by warehouses, manufacturers and yards whose owners wanted to benefit from being located close to the new, speedy transportation offered by the train. This made commercial sense because it reduced transportation costs and improved delivery times, which especially benefitted wholesalers.¹¹³ Inbetween these commercial and industrial sites were left small areas of housing, often squashed in and close together, with a small footprint on the map which suggest the poor housing that Kellett predicted would be found in these areas.¹¹⁴ In addition, the size and frequency of the commercial properties broke up any

¹⁰⁸ Outhett, ‘Laurie’s Plan of London and Westminster, and Southwark’.

¹⁰⁹ Donald J. Olsen, *The Growth of Victorian London* (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1976), 308.

¹¹⁰ Kellett, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities*, 1969, 282–83.

¹¹¹ Ordnance Survey, ‘Ordnance Survey Map of London 1869–78’.

¹¹² Ordnance Survey; Kellett, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities*, 1969.

¹¹³ Kellett, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities*, 1969, 321.

¹¹⁴ Kellett, 293.

potential residential communities and it is easy to imagine the streets being empty at night creating the “twilight zone” proposed by Kellett.¹¹⁵

In contrast to the crowded and industrial streets behind the terminus, the land use around the front of the station was very different and reflected the services offered to train travellers. Two large hotels, the Terminus Hotel and The Bridge House Hotel had been built nearby and there were many public houses to provide refreshment. A large cab stand was located at the front of the station, acknowledging the need for on-going transportation for people arriving at the railway terminus. Further south, a huge Pickford’s Stable had been built to provide the same service for large volume of goods which arrived by rail, especially to the nearby Bricklayers Arms goods terminus. John Hollingshead, the journalist and writer, said in 1860 that he believed that traffic across London Bridge had increased tenfold due to London Bridge railway station, especially heavy cartage.¹¹⁶

On the riverside there are multiple wharves, often replacing the old water stairs, many fitted with cranes suggesting the development of a more advanced trans-shipment industry able to cope with increasing volumes of goods. The wharves benefitted from direct access to the docks downstream as well as proximity to the railways which enabled goods landed by ship to be moved quickly all over the country. But the railway lines clearly created an impenetrable impasse for traffic to move directly south from the riverside at Tooley Street, which Kellett calls the “barrier effect,” and which could seriously affect local traffic congestion and further segregate communities.¹¹⁷

The change in land use in Southwark since the development of the railways is significant. Clearly the railways were the instigator of change to the land they occupied, but the influence of the railways had extended across a much larger land area. The benefits of railway transportation encouraged industrial and commercial undertakings to move closer to the railway terminus and this required the destruction of many residential areas in favour of factories and warehouses. The demand for property close to the railway terminus increased the value of that land, which discouraged developers from building of new homes in favour of commercial property.¹¹⁸ Those houses which did remain were frequently surrounded by

¹¹⁵ Kellett, 293.

¹¹⁶ Kellett, 313.

¹¹⁷ Kellett, 292.

¹¹⁸ Dennis, *English Industrial Cities of the Nineteenth Century: A Social Geography*, 112.

noisome industrial works. The only remnant of the open land, so frequently apparent in Rocque's map, were the privately-owned gardens of Guy's hospital.¹¹⁹

Reilly believes that "railway company interests almost always prevailed over non-railway interests", and this would seem to be true in the case of the extensive development of railway property in Southwark, even causing the destruction of the long-established St Thomas' hospital.¹²⁰ By 1872 Southwark was a centre of industry and commerce, especially concentrated around London Bridge terminus, but which also extended across the whole borough. This movement towards industry may reflect a trend which started to be seen on Horwood's map, but the pace and extent of the change was undoubtedly accelerated by the arrival of the railways.¹²¹

iii. Borough Market

Whilst in general much of Southwark's residential property was converted for commerce and industry, did the same apply to Borough Market and its immediate area? The *Daily News*, in 1863, described the area to the west of the Market as a "filthy locality" with "very extensive iron foundries" and Potts vinegar ground nearby.¹²² The Ordnance Survey map of 1872 confirms that the area around the Market had been transformed for commerce. Major wharves surround St Saviour's Dock including Hibernian Wharf, which ran all the way to London Bridge, and several smaller wharves, such as Phoenix and West Kent. Hop warehouses dominate and the land behind St Saviour's church is now covered by a large bonded warehouse. There is little evidence of residential properties remaining amongst the wharves and warehouses. In contrast, Borough Market persists as a symbol of consistency in a very changing environment.

The Market is clearly marked on the 1872 map and remains in its original location, although the railway lines appear to cut through large parts of the site. The Market has good access to the wharves via Church Street and to Borough High Street along the improved York Street and Stoney Street.¹²³ The map shows that Borough Market remains an integral part of its environment and has retained its land use despite the impact of the railways on the

¹¹⁹ Rocque, 'A Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, and the Borough of Southwark'.

¹²⁰ Reilly, *The Story of 'The Borough'*, 99.

¹²¹ Horwood, 'Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjoining Shewing Every House'.

¹²² 'New Railway Projects: The Charing-Cross and London-Bridge Line', *The Daily News*, 23 December 1863, 5.

¹²³ Ordnance Survey, 'Ordnance Survey Map of London 1869-78'.

surrounding area. There were several factors which ensured that the land occupied by Borough Market remained unaffected by the arrival of the railways and these link to the land ownership of the Market and its importance to the local community.

Land ownership is a key factor in changes of land use in Southwark because many of the owners did not live on their Southwark property and were attracted by the profits offered from selling up to railway companies and other commercial undertakings. Borough Market owned the property it occupied which meant that the Market property was not subject to the interests of an individual or small group of individuals looking for personal gain. In addition, the property was vested in the Borough Market Trustees, who had group responsibilities to the Market and St Saviour's parish for their decisions. Parliamentary protection through the Acts creating Borough Market meant that the railway company was unable to force the Market to sell its property but had to negotiate with the Market instead. As a result, Borough Market only had to surrender a few properties during railway construction in the 1860s and in return obtained ownership of additional properties within its original boundaries, as well as financial compensation.

Despite the protection provided by Borough Market owning its own property, the Market could have suffered without the active engagement of the management of the Market. The 1754 Act of Parliament required a Board of Trustees to manage the Market whilst later Acts allowed professional men to be employed for important roles, such as the Market clerk.¹²⁴ The commitment to the Market and the commercial acumen of these men was especially important when The South Eastern Railway company proposed building a link from London Bridge to Charing Cross through the Market in the late 1850s. The Trustee Minutes at this crucial time provide evidence that these men were focused on preserving the Market and obtaining as much compensation from the railway company as possible. The Market clerk, Mr Herbert Sturmeay, proved especially able during these negotiations and received an honorarium of a hundred guineas as recognition of 'the very able manner in which he conducted the arduous duties devolved upon him' as a result of the railway plans.¹²⁵

¹²⁴ British Government, '1829 Act of Parliament to Alter, Amend, and Enlarge the Powers of Several Acts Passed for Holding a Market in the Parish of Saint Saviour in the Borough of Southwark in the County of Surrey, and for Granting More Effectual Provisions for That Purpose', Section XIII, 47.

¹²⁵ 'Borough Market Minute Book from 1852'; 'Borough Market Minute Book from 1859', 20 January 1865, ACC/2058/01/02/009, London Metropolitan Archive.

The earliest reference to the proposed railway line was in the Trustee Minutes dated 7 January 1859, when Mr Sturmev recorded that he had been approached to meet the engineer of the proposed new railway line to “receive an explanation” concerning “how the Market would be affected by the Railway.”¹²⁶ This early proposal was not accepted by the Market who managed to negotiate changes to the railway plans whereby the train line ran on pillars over the marketplace instead of at ground level, which would have devastated the area. Not only did this preserve the Market itself but it also eliminated much of the “barrier effect” to local communications.¹²⁷ This was because tunnels and arches were built under the railway line which enabled the local roads to be largely unaffected. Therefore, although the Ordnance Survey map appears to show railway lines cutting through the Market, this was not the case and the Market was able to continue to trade much as before.¹²⁸

The preservation of the Market site was also dependent upon Borough Market continuing to trade successfully, because Market profits contributed to rate-paying parishioners of St Saviour’s parish by reducing their parochial rates. If the Market had been financially failing, the Trustees may have decided that the land could be more profitably used in other ways and the property converted to warehousing, for example.

Conclusion

The improved communications south of the river Thames caused by the building of new bridges and roads led to Southwark becoming increasingly developed from the middle of the eighteenth-century. The main emphasis during this period was to build residential communities and the change was gradual in comparison to the development of the area after the arrival of the railways. The building of a major railway terminus serving the south of the country changed the speed of Southwark’s development and within thirty years the whole of Southwark was intensively developed. More dramatic was the introduction of increasing amounts of industry and commerce into Southwark, especially close to the railway itself. This changed the nature of the landscape and destroyed or segregated existing communities. In contrast, Borough Market did not experience the same impact from the arrival of the railways. The Borough Market site remained largely unaffected by the incursion of the railways and its influence because it was protected by Parliament and local community who financially benefitted from the Market.

¹²⁶ ‘Borough Market Minute Book from 1852’, 7 January 1859.

¹²⁷ Kellett, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities*, 1969, 292.

¹²⁸ Ordnance Survey, ‘Ordnance Survey Map of London 1869–78’.

However, the physical changes in Southwark did impact the local population and this will be considered in more detail in the next section.

DEMOGRAPHICS

Introduction

The developing and changing land use in Southwark after 1746 led to more people living in Southwark and to the environment deteriorating due to the influx of industry. This in turn changed the social structure of the inhabitants of Southwark because the increased industry tended to attract casual and unskilled labour at a time when wealthier inhabitants started to move away from Southwark. The migration out of Southwark was originally facilitated by the improved road communications and the introduction of the horse omnibus, but it accelerated greatly when commuter trains offered a fast and regular service to and from London. This section will examine in more detail how land usage impacted who lived in Southwark and why this was important for Borough Market.

Population Growth and Development of Southwark

The development of Southwark at the start of the nineteenth century was also an expression of the increasing population of the UK and of urbanisation which caused a general expansion of the metropolis. London's population was growing 20% faster than the national average reaching a population of almost 1.7 million by 1831 and 3.8 million within fifty years.¹²⁹ This led the journalist George Sala to describe the city, in 1852, as swelling "with frightening, alarming and supernatural rapidity."¹³⁰

Rocque's and Horwood's maps clearly contrast the availability of land to house the increasing population on the south side of the Thames compared to north of the river as late as 1799.¹³¹ Furthermore, before the arrival of the railways the land south of the river was much cheaper to buy and rent; for example Kellett suggests that it would have cost a shilling to rent a foot of land close to the river on the southern side of the Thames, falling to six pence further south, whilst north of the river the rent would have ranged from ten shillings to a pound.¹³²

¹²⁹ Wendell Cox Consultancy, 'Greater London, Inner London & Outer London Population & Density History', Demographia, 2001, <http://www.demographia.com/dm-lon31.htm>.

¹³⁰ David R. Green, 'The Metropolitan Economy: Continuity and Change, 1800–1939', in *London: A New Metropolitan Geography*, ed. Keith Hoggart and David R. Green (London: Edward Arnold, 1991), 11.

¹³¹ Rocque, 'A Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, and the Borough of Southwark'; Horwood, 'Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjoining Shewing Every House'.

¹³² Kellett, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities*, 1969, 297.

Availability of cheap land together with the improving road communications led to large parts of Southwark being developed, and by the 1850s most of the land south of the river had been extensively built on.¹³³ Southwark retained the mix of social classes of former centuries: for example, whilst the former St George's Fields were the site of the fashionable Temple West Estate they were also the location of some of the worst cheap housing originally built by Mr Hedger, the proprietor of the Dog and Duck public house.¹³⁴

From 1829, the horse omnibus made it possible for wealthier people move away from Southwark but still travel into London daily, but it was limited to travelling at 5mph and was only practical for journeys of up to 4 miles.¹³⁵ Consequently, the omnibus had little significant impact on the demographic profile of Southwark, only transporting 20,000 commuters by 1850.¹³⁶ The real change came with the railways, which arrived when Southwark became increasingly industrial and unattractive and provided an opportunity for anyone with sufficient income, to live outside of the area but travel daily to work by train. As early as 1841 it was possible to travel between Brighton and London in one-and-a-quarter hours and for two shillings, whilst the suburbs offered a shorter and cheaper commute.¹³⁷

The Changing Demographic Profile of Southwark after 1840

The cheap land in Southwark attracted the London and Greenwich Railway Company's early ventures in the 1830s, but the popularity of railway transportation led to increased land prices soon after, especially around the London Bridge terminus.¹³⁸ This was because proximity to the railways became increasingly attractive for commerce and industry and a comparison of Laurie's 1841 map and the Ordnance Survey Map of 1872 confirms that large areas of residential housing had been demolished or converted for other uses by 1872.¹³⁹ Many developers justified the demolition associated with the railways as "social engineering" because they often removed squalid properties but despite these claims the railway companies

¹³³ Kellett, 276.

¹³⁴ University of Greenwich, 'St George's Fields, Southwark: From a Grand 18th Century Suburb to 19th Century Inner-City Slums', *New Streets and Houses*.

¹³⁵ Harold Pollins, 'Transport Lines and Social Divisions', in *London: Aspects of Change*, Report (Centre for Urban Studies, University of London) 3 (London: Macgibbon and Kee, 1964), 34.

¹³⁶ T. C. Barker, 'Urban Transport', in *Transport in Victorian Britain*, ed. Michael J. Freeman and Derek H. Aldcroft (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 139–40.

¹³⁷ Dyos and Reeder, 'Slums and Suburbs', 295.

¹³⁸ Dennis, *English Industrial Cities of the Nineteenth Century: A Social Geography (Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography)*, 112. Gourvish, 'Railways, 1830–1870: The Formative Years', 72.

¹³⁹ Dennis, *English Industrial Cities of the Nineteenth Century: A Social Geography*, 112.

gained a reputation for destroying housing.¹⁴⁰ The unfortunate, displaced poor who lost their homes were simply squeezed into other nearby and already densely settled areas, creating overcrowded and unhealthy slums where cholera epidemics were regular. By 1857 the formerly fashionable St George's area of Southwark housed 184 people per acre in comparison to an average of 30 people per acre for London as a whole.

The population of the Borough also increased significantly, rising from 38,900 in 1821 to 51,400 by 1851 despite the substantial loss of housing to commerce.¹⁴¹ The construction of the London Bridge to Charing Cross line involved significant demolition and Olsen believes that the dislocated poor of Southwark "positively suffered in their housing conditions" as a result.¹⁴² In St Saviour's parish the poverty translated to high child mortality and in the 1860s only 50% of the children born there would reach five years old.¹⁴³

The impact on the poor of the demolition policies executed by the railway companies and other developers did not go unnoticed by everyone at the time. Briggs quotes Charles Knight from his book *London*, published in 1841–4, who commented that "the poor are smothered:..far too rarely do we make provision for them".¹⁴⁴ Similarly, in 1844 the architect, Henry Austin, stated that he believed that street clearance increased overcrowding.¹⁴⁵ Modern historians, such as Wohl and Green, agree with these contemporary views and consider that the demolition policy caused the rapid formation of slums.¹⁴⁶

But the development of slums in Southwark was not only the result of demolition but also linked to the increased level of industry and commerce which followed the arrival of the railways. The wharves of the Southwark riverside had always provided work for cheap casual workers and the 1872 Ordnance Survey map shows that the number and size of wharves had increased substantially since 1841, undoubtedly to enable goods brought by ship to have easy access to the railway network.¹⁴⁷ The railways also encouraged the centralisation of commerce

¹⁴⁰ Dennis, 128; A. Davis, *The Map of London: From 1746 to the Present Day* (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1988), 7.

¹⁴¹ Reilly, *The Story of 'The Borough'*, 55.

¹⁴² Olsen, *The Growth of Victorian London*, 308.

¹⁴³ Reilly, *The Story of 'The Borough'*, 70.

¹⁴⁴ Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, 14.

¹⁴⁵ Dennis, *English Industrial Cities of the Nineteenth Century: A Social Geography*, 87.

¹⁴⁶ David Green, 'The Metropolitan Economy: Continuity and Change 1800-1939', in *London- A New Metropolitan Geography* (Edward Arnold, n.d.), 11.

¹⁴⁷ P. Jackson, 'Ports', in *Transport in Victorian Britain*, ed. Michael J. Freeman and Derek H. Aldcroft (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 226.

and industries around railway termini which added to the demand for unskilled workers.¹⁴⁸ In addition, the railways needed a large number of unskilled staff to build their infrastructure and Reilly notes that Irish railway workers were some of the many immigrants who chose to move to Southwark.¹⁴⁹ The poorest were often casual workers who were forced to live close to their place of work for two main reasons: to be readily available whenever work was offered and because they could not afford the cost of travelling. In 1846 Charles Pearson aptly described this section of society as “chained to the spot” in his report on Metropolitan railway termini.¹⁵⁰

Whilst the influence of the railways made Southwark more industrial with increasing areas of overcrowded slums, the area also suffered because many of the affluent inhabitants left the area. In some circumstances this was a direct result of the railway construction, such as the professors and teachers from St Thomas’ hospital moving away when the hospital was demolished for railway construction.¹⁵¹ In other areas, such as St George’s Circus, the middle class residents chose to leave and by 1850 most wealthy people had moved out of the centre of the metropolis. The large and quality houses which had been occupied by wealthy and fashionable people, such as the landscape artist, Robert Baker and Henry Perkins the co-owner of the nearby Anchor Brewery, became slum housing.¹⁵² This is in keeping with the expectations of Dyos and Reeder, who believed that some of the worst slums developed in the areas vacated by the middle class because no-one else could afford to rent the whole house or even the whole floor of these houses.¹⁵³

The move out of the metropolis to the new suburbs had started before the railways arrived when existing communications improved sufficiently to enable people to live at a distance from their place of work. Southwark was especially subject to this exodus because of its access to the good roads and bridges, built from the eighteenth-century, and from the introduction of the horse omnibus in 1829.¹⁵⁴ The omnibus was the first step towards the mass transportation of people, but the development of the suburban rail network from the 1850s enabled many more people to travel into London from the suburbs and further afield.

¹⁴⁸ Kellett, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities*, 1969, 293; Bagwell, *The Transport Revolution, 1770–1985*, 121.

¹⁴⁹ Reilly, *The Story of ‘The Borough’*, 57; Gourvish, ‘Railways, 1830–1870: The Formative Years’, 70.

¹⁵⁰ Barker, ‘Urban Transport’, 138.

¹⁵¹ Reilly, *The Story of ‘The Borough’*, 57.

¹⁵² University of Greenwich, ‘St George’s Fields, Southwark: From a Grand 18th Century Suburb to 19th Century Inner-City Slums’, *New Streets and Houses*.

¹⁵³ Dyos and Reeder, ‘Slums and Suburbs’, 361.

¹⁵⁴ Green, ‘The Metropolitan Economy: Continuity and Change 1800-1939’, 11.

Moving to the suburbs became associated with an escape from the worst of city life not simply a way to find cheaper housing.¹⁵⁵ Dyos describes this migration as the rich being drawn to the “airy suburbs” whilst the “poor were left in airless slums”.¹⁵⁶ The railways were important in the development of suburbs from as early as the 1840s and initially encouraged the middle classes to move out of London. An example of the railway’s drive to attract the middle classes can be seen in *The Surrey Advertiser* of 1846 which promoted ten new villages being built near Croydon. These villages would house 350,000 people and stated that The Croydon Railway Company had promised all the inhabitants could travel to London for three and a half pence a journey.¹⁵⁷ Anyone who could afford the time and fare to travel into work from the suburbs could expect to enjoy much better housing for their income since property prices were £720 per acre in the suburbs compared to £14,520 in the City.¹⁵⁸ The poorer followed the middle class in the 1870s following the introduction of workmen’s trains in the 1860s.¹⁵⁹ The subsequent 1883 Cheap Train Act took this exodus to another level and was deliberately intended to encourage the working class to move out of the centre of London and into the suburbs.¹⁶⁰ Many skilled workers moved out to Clapham Junction and South Croydon, which encouraged the middle class to move even further out from the metropolis and only the poorest were left behind in the city centre.¹⁶¹ Southwark became an area of increasing poverty and over-crowding, which was recognised and recorded by Booth in his 1880s poverty map of the area.¹⁶²

Demographic Change and Borough Market

The demographic changes discussed had the potential to affect Borough Market in two ways: to change the customer base using the Market and to change the type of people wanting to rent property owned by the Market.

¹⁵⁵ Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, 28.

¹⁵⁶ Dyos and Reeder, ‘Slums and Suburbs’, 360.

¹⁵⁷ Olsen, *The Growth of Victorian London*, 272.

¹⁵⁸ Green, ‘The Metropolitan Economy: Continuity and Change, 1800–1939’, 18.

¹⁵⁹ Cain, ‘Railways, 1870–1914: The Maturity of the Private System’, 101; Bagwell, *The Transport Revolution, 1770–1985*, 122.

¹⁶⁰ Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, 15.

¹⁶¹ Barker, ‘Urban Transport’, 149.

¹⁶² London School of Economics & Political Science, ‘Maps Descriptive of London Poverty in Inquiry into Life and Labour of London, 1886–1903’, Charles Booth’s London: Poverty maps and police notebooks, 2016, <https://booth.lse.ac.uk/map/14/-0.1174/51.5064/100/0>.

At the start of the nineteenth century Southwark was an area of mixed social inhabitants, including many households who could afford regular fruit and vegetables. The railways transformed Southwark to an area increasingly overcrowded by the poorest of society, so that in 1900 the wife of parliamentary candidate, Sir Alfred Newton, described Southwark as a place “of so much poverty and pathos.”¹⁶³ This demographic movement left Borough Market’s local customer base as primarily people on low incomes who had little money for fruit and vegetables. Indeed, Bosanquet, in his pamphlet *The Rights of the Poor and Christian Almsgiving Vindicated* published in 1841, considered that the potato was the only vegetable that would be purchased by anyone earning twenty-one shillings or less a week.¹⁶⁴ This income level included all unskilled and casual workers who made up so much of Southwark’s population by the second half of the nineteenth century. In addition, few people living in poor tenement houses had proper cooking facilities and so relied on street vendors and costermongers for much of their hot food rather than buying produce and cooking it themselves.¹⁶⁵ This situation did not significantly improve for the working classes until the 1880s when their income increased in real terms.¹⁶⁶

The ongoing loss of its wealthy customers would appear to pose a serious problem for Borough Market and yet its finances, which will be considered in detail in the next chapter, do not show any significant downturn in income after the arrival of the railways. On the contrary, the accounts show substantial growth after the London Bridge to Charing Cross railway line was opened in 1864 and continued growth over the successive two decades. Since the demographic of Southwark was becoming increasingly a poor population with little available income for fresh fruit and vegetables, the Market must have found new customers or methods of trading to maintain and increase its income which will be considered in more detail in chapter five.

The other potential loss of income for Borough Market was from rental income of its non-market related property. The ability to retain and replace tenants of the same quality depended upon maintaining the Market environment and trade. If the Market area had become depressed or run-down the Trustees may have been forced to rent properties to multiple families. This would have led to the Marketplace becoming a place of poverty or even a slum area, which would have made it unattractive to Market traders or their customers. However, a review of the census records between 1841 and 1881 show that the demographic

¹⁶³ Schneer, *London 1900: The Imperial Metroplis*, 234.

¹⁶⁴ Burnett, *Plenty and Want: A Social History of Food in England from 1815 to the Present Day*, 55.

¹⁶⁵ Burnett, 6, 42.

¹⁶⁶ Burnett, 107.

of Borough Market did not reflect that of Southwark as a whole. Even as late as 1881, all the properties were leased by a single family, not shared by multiple families, and some still employed servants.¹⁶⁷ This suggests that the Market retained its own unique environment which continued to attract people who could have chosen to move to the suburbs but instead remained in Southwark. This choice was most probably linked to the leaseholder's business since the Market owned several public houses, such as The Bell and The Rams Head, as well as shops and houses. Mr Keighley, for example, was a stand-holder in the Market but also rented No 6 The Market from 1837 until at least 1885 (Appendix 5). But the continuity of lessees, who could have afforded to commute, does prove that the environment in Borough Market cannot have been as unpleasant as much of the rest of Southwark.

Conclusion

Improved communications in Southwark during the eighteenth century and the increasing population of London led to the development of Southwark during the early years of Borough Market and the social mix of local inhabitants provided the Market with a regular customer base. It is likely that over time the area would have become more densely populated and some industry would have moved into the area; however, the arrival of the railways escalated the development of Southwark. The demands of the railway companies and the transport opportunities they provided rapidly diverted land use in Southwark from primarily community based to industrial and commercial. This changing land use led to the destruction of the existing community because more poor, unskilled people moved into the area and the wealthier left. This migration was driven by the railways because the increased level of industry and commerce offered more low-paid jobs in Southwark, whilst the commuter trains provided the wealthier inhabitants the opportunity to live elsewhere.

Borough Market commercially weathered the demographic change in Southwark because it took advantage of the opportunities that the railways created, intentionally or not. Borough Market income was not only maintained but improved and this had to be linked to finding a new customer-base outside of the immediate demographic area and by taking advantage of the opportunities associated with fast, reliable rail transportation. These factors will be considered in more detail in chapter five.

¹⁶⁷ British Government, 'Census 1841', 1841, <https://www.ancestry.co.uk>.

The demographic profile of the tenants living on the Borough Market site remained similar and, in many cases, unchanged despite the arrival of railways. This does not reflect the experience of the rest of Southwark or the demographic changes that historians predicted for cities in general. The consistency of Borough Market lessees proves that if local factors were sufficiently influential that they could override the impact of railways on a discrete area, and in this case avoid the loss of residential properties to industry or slum dwellings.

CHAPTER 4 – ANALYSIS OF BOROUGH MARKET ACCOUNTS

Introduction

The arrival of the railways had a significant effect on the customer base of Borough Market, as discussed, and an analysis of the Borough Market accounts provides a method of identifying how these factors translated into monetary terms. The accounting records demonstrated how the relationship between Borough Market and St Saviour's parish limited the financial decisions taken by the Market Trustees. The records also show the impact on the Market of a cash injection from The South Eastern Railway Company to compensate the Market for the railway construction. This chapter will examine Borough Market's capital investment policies before and after the arrival of the railways and identify changes in major income streams over the same period.

The importance of maintaining accounting records was established at the inception of Borough Market and the 1754 Act of Parliament which established the Market required the Trustees to maintain a proper record of the Market's financial activities. An additional Borough Market Act, passed on 23 May 1823, extended this requirement and specifically required the Trustees to maintain accounts books which showed "a true and just account of all and every the rents and annual profits of the said Market" including all expenses and disbursements.¹⁶⁸ The 1823 Act also required the information to be available to interested parties and the accounts books were to be kept in the St Saviour's parish vestry to be accessible for inspection by anyone who paid rates in the parish. The 1823 Act also required an open meeting to be held to report the Market finances every six months on 29 September each year (unless that date was a Sunday when it would be held on 30 September) and on Easter Tuesday which tended to be late March or early April.¹⁶⁹ These statutory requirements ensured that Borough Market's finances were properly run and recorded and created an invaluable archive of data concerning the financial state of the Market throughout the period under consideration in this thesis.

Prior to 1823, only a summary of total income and total expenditure had been regularly included in the Trustee Minutes but thereafter the Borough Market clerk diligently transcribed a more detailed financial report into the Trustee Minutes every six months. Only the 1830 financial information is missing for no identifiable reason. The Trustee Minutes themselves

¹⁶⁸ British Government, '1823 Act of Parliament to Alter and Amend Two Several Acts Passed in the Twenty-Eight and Thirtieth Years of His Majesty King George the Second, for the Purpose of Enabling the Churchwardens, Overseers, and Inhabitants of the Parish of Saint Saviour in the Borough of Southwark in the County of Surrey, to Hold a Market within the Said Parish'.

¹⁶⁹ British Government, 35.

provided an ongoing narrative of major events and discussions concerning the Market and of the decisions taken by the Trustees. These Minutes often filled in the background to any major financial transaction but also were evidence of the intentions of the Market Trustees and of St Saviour's parish, which had a significant impact on the Market finances.

There are other, lower-level financial records available in the Borough Market archive, such as cash books, rent lists and original invoices, but these are now often incomplete and only cover short periods of time. There are still cash books which cover most, but not all, of the nineteenth century available in the archive and these provide information at transactional level which has been used to validate figures in the summary reports included in the Trustee Minutes. However, the consistency and completeness of the Trustee Minutes, more than all the other Borough Market financial records, make them the primary source used for this financial review of the Market.

Methodology

The financial reports recorded in the Trustee Minutes have been analysed in detail to track financial trends and identify significant activities from 1824 until 1884. This analysis is included as Appendix 2. 1824 has been selected as the start date for the analysis because it provides the first complete twelve months of data from the Trustee Minutes and provides a baseline for the financial status of the Market before the arrival of the railways at London Bridge in 1836. The intervening years track the financial impact of the railways on Borough Market over four decades, whilst the choice of 1884 for the end of the analysis provides for 20 years of data from the opening of the London Bridge to Charing Cross Railway line over the Market in 1864. This time scale will identify any short-term financial effects from railway activity but will also show any longer-term trends which developed. The analysis records every available set of six-monthly accounts, but the figures quoted in this work apply to a twelve-month period ending in the September of the year stated.

It is possible to be confident of the data included in the six-month accounts because the Trustee Minutes rarely show any obvious error and a sample of figures reported have been tracked back to other documents, such as cash books, and verified. Another advantage of this source data is that the reports have been produced in a consistent format which identifies major income streams and cost categories, which makes it easier to identify change.

The financial analysis uses the same income and expenditure major categories as the six-monthly reports recorded in the Trustee Minutes. The Market income falls into five distinct categories:

- Two types of regular income from traders using the Market facilities: standing rents and tolls.
- Income from leases on properties owned by the Market.
- Two irregular but significant sources of income: interest from investments and exceptional receipts, such as railway compensation.

Regular expenditure consisted primarily of providing the services and staff necessary to run the Market and the various taxes and rates charged on the Market land and income. Three specific areas of expenditure are worthy of attention: repayment of annuitants, repairs/capital investment and legal fees, because these costs reflect the changing financial demands on the Market over the years. There has been some amalgamation of costs in the analysis, such as taxes, because they were imposed by third parties and do not reflect management policy, and staff costs, because the number and type of staff varied significantly over the period. However, the overall figures of these costs provide adequate information for the purpose of this analysis.

The completed analysis produces a high-level financial picture of the Market over a sixty-year period and provides general trends, especially in income streams. The analysis also identifies periods of important financial activity which are supported by the Trustee Minutes and which provide details about the people and discussions associated with such financial activity. This is especially relevant during the negotiations with The South Eastern Railway Company during 1859 to 1865 concerning the construction of the London Bridge to Charing Cross Railway Line. All figures quote in this chapter are taken from Appendices 2 and 3.

To ensure that the financial analysis reflects real changes in Borough Market's finances it is important to establish that the data is not significantly affected by inflation or deflation. The Retail Price Index for the period of the financial analysis, 1824–1884, shows virtually no index change between the two dates. Donoghue, Goulding and Allen place movement in the retail price index for the period as 113–116, whilst the Bank of England inflation calculator produced a range of 104–118 with a baseline in 2017.¹⁷⁰ There are fluctuations in the levels of inflation during the period, and also the Retail Price Index does not specifically look at either

¹⁷⁰ Jim O'Donoghue, Louise Goulding, and Grahame Allen, 'Consumer Price Inflation Since 1750', *Economic Trends* 604 (March 2004): 38–46; Bank of England, 'Inflation Calculator', Bank of England, 2018, <https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/monetary-policy/inflation/inflation-calculator>.

rent or fruit and vegetable prices, but these indices do suggest that the figures in the financial reports are not significantly affected by inflation but primarily by other factors.

Borough Market and St Saviour's Parish

Borough Market was intimately linked to St Saviour's parish both physically, administratively and financially. The Trustees of the Market included the churchwardens and the parish overseers of the poor, as well as influential parishioners. The Market clerk was often also clerk to the powerful St Saviour's vestry. Consequently, the same people were often running the parish and Borough Market. The Borough Market Trustees were responsible for the financial and management success of the Market, and whilst the Minute books show that they were assiduous in their roles it is also clear that their decisions were closely linked to the parish needs.

The Market was established by St Saviour's parish to provide a service to the benefit the parish community but was also originally envisaged to provide for "the diminution of any of the Parochial rates of assessments" of St Saviour's parishioners once all loan interest had been covered. However, because the Market had originally been financed by selling annuities, it was obliged, under the 1754 and 1756 Acts of Parliament, to ensure that there were always funds available to fulfil interest payments under the terms of each loan. The 1754 Act also recommended that all savings should be placed in "good and valid" securities until all the annuitants were dead. Following this principal, the Trustees deposited all surplus funds into safe investments and by 1824 the Market had £13,302 placed in 3.5% consoles and bank deposits.¹⁷¹ The Market also earned valuable interest on the savings which, by the 1820's contributed some 17%–20% of its generated income each year. This policy was applied for over fifty years but in 1823 St Saviour's parish sought to change this and imposed demands on the Borough Market finances. At a parish meeting that same year, rate-payers expressed their view that parochial rates had become "very demanding" and they wanted to enforce the provisions of the original 1754 Act of Parliament for Market funds to be given for the benefit of the parish. Under the original Acts this was not possible whilst there were living annuitants but by 1823 there were only six annuitants still alive and therefore Borough Market sought a new Act of Parliament to enable it to immediately comply with St Saviour's parish wishes. Borough Market was able to prove that annuity interest commitment was exceeded by the annual interest

¹⁷¹ British Government, '1754 Act to Enable the Churchwardens, Overseers and Inhabitants of the Parish of St Saviour in the Borough of Southwark in the County of Surrey to Hold a Market within the Said Parish Not Interfering with the High Street in the Said Borough', Section XVIII, 18.

income and the application to Parliament was passed in 1823. Consequently, from March 1824, apart from a period of extensive investment in 1824–31, all Market profits were paid over to the parish every six months.

The 1823 Act is important in the financial history of Borough Market because it meant that after 1824 the Trustees were unable to build up funds to complete any major maintenance or development projects. Since the parish appeared unwilling to forgo its six-monthly income at any time after 1831, Borough Market was forced to obtain loans from banks or third parties to enable it to carry out any expansion or infrastructure plans. However, loans became increasingly difficult to obtain from the middle of the nineteenth century, partly because of the increasing number of investment opportunities, including railways, and because of lack of confidence on the part of the banks. The railway manias in 1837–40 and 1845–7 had attracted much of the available investment money, but they were followed by a liquidity crisis in 1847, which made banks generally more cautious. This was followed a decade later by a world banking crisis in 1857, which saw loan interest rates rise to 8% and then reach 10% by November that year, which made loans both expensive and difficult to obtain.¹⁷² This lack of funds would have had little impact on Borough Market except that the Trustees faced two increasingly problematic issues: the need to expand and the increasing need to maintain the fabric of the Market.

The Need to Expand and Develop the Marketplace

At the start of the nineteenth century, Borough Market was “the only authorised Market on the south side of the river” Thames and had held status for many decades.¹⁷³ The Trustees clearly considered this fact very important to the prestige and success of the Market and opposed any new authorised market which sought to open south of the Thames. In 1834 Parliamentary approval was sought for a new market to be located around St George’s in Southwark. The applicants stated that the population of South London had risen from 45,000 at the time Borough Market was established and had reached 320,000 by 1834, which the applicants felt was too many people for one market to serve properly.¹⁷⁴ Borough Market actively opposed

¹⁷² Gourvish, ‘Railways, 1830–1870: The Formative Years’, 57; K. Theodore Hoppen, *The New Oxford History of England: The Mid-Victorian Generation: 1846–86* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 299; Sheppard, *London, 1808–70: The Infernal Wen*, 74.

¹⁷³ ‘Borough Market Minute Book from 1843’, 3 December 1850.

¹⁷⁴ ‘Reasons and Observations Relative to the Proposed South London Market (Being an Extension and Improvement of St George’s Market) for Meat, Fruit, Vegetables, Fish, Poultry, and Other Provisions,

this proposal and invested over £1,800 in legal fees to fight their case. In fact, the Borough Market site had expanded since its establishment; for example, in 1825 a plan was approved to demolish buildings facing Three Crowns Square and the site was prepared to provide more covered market area which cost over £12,000.¹⁷⁵ This expansion must have helped Borough Market prove that it could provide for the local demands of traders and customers and counter the South London Market application. However, the threat of another market being authorised in the area highlighted the need for Borough Market to keep expanding and improving its marketplace to maintain its status and trade.

Since the Market was no longer able to generate its own savings to pay for exceptional costs, it was forced to use the savings accrued before 1824 and to take out loans to continue to expand. During 1831–1837 the financial analysis shows that the Market obtained several loans, ranging from £1,500 to £7,500 in any one year, which suggest that it was not difficult to raise capital at this time. In addition, the investments accrued before 1824 were used for major capital purchases and development but by 1834 these were significantly depleted and completely gone by the end of 1853. The reduction and loss of the investments also had a direct impact on the valuable investment income derived from the investments.

There were two major capital purchases in 1834 and 1840 financed by the loans and savings. In 1834 the Market purchased a significant area of property adjoining the existing marketplace from Mr Horne for a total outlay of £8,350. A further £925 was spent to pull down the houses standing on the land and converting the area for Market use. In 1837 the Market Trustees started negotiations to purchase the old Grammar School land which also adjoined the Market, just a year after London Bridge Terminus opened. Whilst this was before the effect of railways on local land use was apparent, the Trustees showed foresight in acquiring this property to control the land around the existing marketplace. They realised that other potential uses of the land “could be injurious to the Market,” but this may be a response to the general move towards industry in the area.¹⁷⁶ The purchase of the Grammar School property was completed in 1840 at a cost of £2,250 leaving under £2,000 in Market savings. Significant resources in time and money were also spent to plan the overall marketplace and its walkways to ensure that the maximum number of stands were available and that the Market operated

with Extensive Abattoirs Situated between the Obelisk and the Elephant and Castle in the Parish of St. George the Martyr, Southwark’, 1834, P658.842 ST.G, Southwark Central Reference Library.

¹⁷⁵ ‘Borough Market Minute Book from 1811’, 2 September 1825, ACC/2058/01/02/004, London Metropolitan Archive.

¹⁷⁶ ‘Borough Market Minute Book from 1835’, 16 November 1835, 12 September 1837, ACC/2058/01/02/006, London Metropolitan Archive.

effectively. It is clear from the Trustee Minutes and analysis of the financial reports that the Market was actively improving and extending its infrastructure both before the railways existed and when the railways first arrived in Southwark. Furthermore, the evidence shows that the Market had no problem raising funds to help to fulfil its development plans before 1840.

However, the expansions and Market planning during 1830s and 1840s did not keep pace with the success of the Market and The Trustees wanted to purchase a plot of properties to convert for Market use between Rochester Street and Winchester Street, including two houses on York Street. At a special general meeting held on 14 November 1850 the Trustees stated that “the great and increasing amount of business carried on in the Market renders it absolutely necessary that an enlargement of the same should be made and that such extension will, we think, be highly advantageous.”¹⁷⁷ However it was felt to be “absolutely necessary” that such a plan was passed by the St Saviour’s vestry before Parliamentary approval was sought for this major change. The Trustee Minutes of 22 November record that St Saviour’s vestry gave authority to start the application to Parliament, but would not allow the plan to proceed further without their continued approval. A sub-committee was appointed to look into the options and costs of the expansion plan and they reported back to the main Trustee Board on 29 November 1850 that this would cost some £25,000. The sub-committee believed that the whole amount could be raised by a loan from an “Insurance Office” at 4% interest and anticipated that the annual cost of repayment at £1,000 would easily be covered by expected additional income of £1,200 resulting from the improvements. At a special general meeting called on 3 December 1850, the Trustees stated that “it is not possible to see the crowded state of the Market and streets adjoining & the continual impediments to the Public thoroughfares around the same without being convinced of the absolute necessity of the Market being enlarged.” The matter was returned to St Saviour’s parish for further approval with a warning that such expansion was imperative if the Market was to maintain its unique status, as the “only authorised market on the south side of the river.”¹⁷⁸ The parish response is not recorded but on 6 December the clerk reported to the Trustees that the plan “had been negatived by vestry and had therefore fallen to the ground”.¹⁷⁹ It is clear that not all the Trustees were happy with this decision and a special general meeting was held on 10 December 1850 to decide if the Trustees should proceed to apply to Parliament for authority to implement the plan. The Minutes record that there were long discussions on the subject but eventually it was decided

¹⁷⁷ ‘Borough Market Minute Book from 1843’, 14 November 1850.

¹⁷⁸ ‘Borough Market Minute Book from 1843’, 22 November 1850, 29 November 1850, 3 December 1850.

¹⁷⁹ ‘Borough Market Minute Book from 1843’, 3rd December 1850, 6 December 1850.

not to proceed. This was certainly an optimistic financial plan, because if Borough Market had failed to achieve the anticipated income increase following the proposed expansion, then the cost of servicing the loan would have virtually eliminated any contribution towards St Saviour's rates. Clearly, the parish were not prepared to take this risk, especially since the changing demographic in the parish left fewer ratepayers to cover the same or rising rates assessments.¹⁸⁰ This is an example of the level of influence that the parish could impose on Borough Market financial decisions.

The financial records also raise a question concerning the need for expansion in 1850 because the Market accounts do not reflect any significant increase in overall generated income since the 1830s. Toll income had increased by some 18% by 1850 and was a fixed fee paid to Borough Market by a sub-contractor for the right to collect the market tolls and, after 1847, casual standing rents. The decision to outsource the casual weekly rents in 1847 may have been a good administrative decision, but the additional £54 toll income received in 1848 did not compensate for the loss of weekly stand rent which fell by £208 from 1847 to 1848.¹⁸¹ The toll figures between 1840 and 1850, allowing for the inclusion of rental income, suggest that the volume of goods passing through the Market and subject to tolls was not increasing at this time and that any increase in trade must have come from growers who did not pay tolls. The overall stand income remained fairly constant from 1830 to 1850 despite outsourcing casual rents from 1847. This suggests that the number of traders regularly renting stalls and cart stands did increase at this time and is apparent in the annual stand income column. This may account for the Trustees' views and *The Morning Chronicle*, in December 1850, confirmed the Trustees' impression, describing Borough Market as "greatly crowded," but also "rather gloomy and confused in appearance".¹⁸² This suggests that the Borough Market Trustees were correct in their assessment of the need to expand and reorganise the marketplace to improve the environment, but the accounts suggest that their improvement in income that they anticipated may not have been achieved.

The ambitious expansion plan was not carried out and Borough Market could only consolidate its existing area through small purchases over the next ten years. In 1853, the Market obtained ownership over property previously leased from the Bishops of Rochester at a cost of £3,888 and in 1859 it acquired a wharf from the Bishop of Winchester's estate for £590.

¹⁸⁰ Green, 'The Metropolitan Economy: Continuity and Change, 1800–1939', 19.

¹⁸¹ 'Borough Market Minute Book from 1843', 7 May 1847.

¹⁸² 'Labour and the Poor: Metropolitan Districts: Of the "Green Markets" of London', *The Morning Chronicle*, 5 December 1850, 5.

In order to complete these purchases, the Market had to liquidate its remaining savings and in 1853 obtained a £3,000 loan. However, it was no longer easy to obtain loans and the Market clerk reported that an advertisement for a loan to the Market had yielded only one reply and that the respondent required 5.5% interest, higher than in the past.¹⁸³ The lack of investors and higher interest rates reflected the continued reticence of banks following the liquidity crisis of 1847 and the loss of investors to new technological ventures, such as the railways. Raising funds proved even more difficult in 1856 when the Trustees sought to purchase four houses in York Street and Church Passage and the Globe public house, all of which adjoined the Market, for £4,350. The Trustees could only obtain pay for this property with a mortgage and such an undertaking required Parliamentary approval which was expensive and time-consuming, therefore Messrs Smith and Adams stepped in to raise a mortgage in their own names on behalf of Borough Market.

Thus, by the end of 1850s, the Market was considered over-crowded and the Trustees had been unable to undertake their ambitious expansion plan because of lack of support from St Saviour's parish. Borough Market also had problems obtaining finance to complete some small capital purchases because of general investment problems associated with the mid-nineteenth century. This situation was serious for the Market's future because if it could not offer appropriate market facilities, there was every chance that another Bill would be set before Parliament for a new authorised market south of the Thames, which the Borough Market Trustees had always sought to avoid.

The Problems of a Crumbling Market Infrastructure

The Trustees were attempting to expand the marketplace with limited funds, but they also had to contend with increasing maintenance costs of the marketplace itself and the properties the Market owned and leased out. Many of the Market-owned properties were old and had been purchased in the 1750s and whilst the tenants were often responsible for general maintenance, they expected advantageous leases to compensate them. In 1849 Mr Keith took possession of No 4 York Street and later described the property as in "such a dilapidated condition as to require its being nearly rebuilt."¹⁸⁴ In 1854 Mr Keith applied for a longer lease on good terms in acknowledgement of his work and his intention to spend more on the property, which was duly granted by the Trustees. In 1851 the Market spent over £1,571 on general maintenance and

¹⁸³ 'Borough Market Minute Book from 1852', 1 July 1853.

¹⁸⁴ 'Borough Market Minute Book from 1852', 4 March 1854.

was obliged to sell some of its remaining stocks to afford this, but the maintenance problems continued to increase. Some Borough Market properties were even beyond repair, such as two houses in Green Dragon Square which were condemned as unsafe by the police in March 1857. A survey report presented to the Trustees the following month concerning these houses described them as “literally worn out” and past repair.¹⁸⁵

The marketplace itself was also under public scrutiny. At a special general meeting held in April 1852 the Trustees were advised of an article in the London morning newspapers titled ‘Dangerous State of the Borough Market’.¹⁸⁶ The article referred to the Market roof and the Trustees swiftly requested a report to be obtained on the state of the roof from the district surveyor, Mr Roper. In a letter dated 30 April 1852, Mr Roper reported that the method of constructing the roof was appropriate, but highlighted the need to regularly maintain and check the putty around the glass in the roof and to paint exposed woodwork to keep the roof in good order. This report proved to be optimistic, for by September of the same year there were complaints from stand-holders addressed directly to the Trustees about the roof leaking. Mr Rose, the surveyor in charge of the original roof design and construction, admitted in a letter to the Trustees, that he had only reviewed sample parts of the roof during its construction and complained that he had “been deceived by the Contractors.”¹⁸⁷ The roof was to prove a persistent problem for Borough Market and to be in need of constant maintenance. The Rota and Stands Committee reported that the roof woodwork needed repainting on 7 September 1855 and Mr Habershaw, the market surveyor, described the roof as “in a very bad condition [with] the rain coming through in many places” on 27 September 1859.¹⁸⁸ But the Market did not have the funds to properly resolve these issues until the roof was completely refurbished in the early 1860s.

A Solution to Borough Market’s Funding Problems

A hundred years after the Market was formed the Trustees were facing difficult problems to maintain and expand the Market, because they could not raise capital and were obliged to pass any trading profits over to St Saviour’s parish. This put the continuity of the Market at risk through competition from new or existing markets in London who could provide better

¹⁸⁵ ‘Borough Market Minute Book from 1852’, 8 April 1857.

¹⁸⁶ ‘Borough Market Minute Book from 1843’, 15 April 1852.

¹⁸⁷ ‘Borough Market Minute Book from 1852’, 5 October 1852.

¹⁸⁸ ‘Borough Market Minute Book from 1852’, 7 September 1855; ‘Borough Market Minute Book from 1859’, 27 September 1859.

facilities for traders and their customers. To add to the Trustees' concerns about the long-term survival of the Market, in 1858 the Market clerk first reported rumours of a proposed new railway line from London Bridge to Charing Cross to be built by The South Eastern Railway Company. The original route of the proposed line required the demolition of St Saviour's church, right beside Borough Market, and threatened a devastating effect on the whole area. However, the new line enjoyed public and government support because it offered a solution to increasing congestion on London streets and the opposition from Borough Market Trustees proved unsuccessful. The Borough Market clerk did report in May 1859 that a clause had been inserted into the Bill requiring all the houses in Green Dragon Court to be "given up for the benefit of the Market," should the railway construction impinge on that area, and that the railway line should cross above the Market on iron columns.¹⁸⁹ The Bill therefore respected the property and importance of Borough Market and the railway company was obliged to pay the Market compensation for any of its properties which had to be demolished or damaged during the construction of the railway line.

The Trustee Minutes from 1859 until 1865 contain details of the protracted negotiations with The South Eastern Railway Company and the attitude of the Trustees towards them. The Trustees set up a committee to focus on obtaining as much compensation as possible from the railway company and another committee, in 1862, to superintend the work of the railway company as it passed over the Market. In February 1861 the Trustees proposed to The South Eastern Railway Company that it present Borough Market with the land between Rochester Street and Winchester Street as compensation. This was the land that Borough Market had wanted to buy in 1850, but The South Eastern Railway Company rejected the idea. Instead a final sum of £14,000 was agreed in January 1862 for the compulsory sale and consequential damage of Borough-Market-owned properties, including all the houses in Green Dragon Court. A further £3,000 and four houses were agreed as compensation for access to the Globe public house property in the following month. In addition, it was understood that the new line would cause significant damage to the troublesome Market roof and a contribution of £2,250 was agreed in August 1862 to be paid by The South Eastern Railway Company towards rebuilding it. This was the opportunity for Borough Market to finally resolve its roof problems. Borough Market Trustees also sought to raise extra income through the financial success of The South Eastern Railway Company in April 1862, when they decided to leave the compensation

¹⁸⁹ 'Borough Market Minute Book from 1859', 6 May 1859.

money on deposit with the railway company during 1863–4 instead of investing the cash in consols. This earned Borough Market almost £1,500 in interest.¹⁹⁰

The railway compensation provided the Market with a much needed a cash injection between 1862 and 1865. This enabled the Market Trustees to pay off the third-party mortgage and all other outstanding loans, to buy and build more properties, including proper offices for the Trustees and Market officials, and to fully renovate the roof. Almost £6,000 was spent on the Market roof and another £4,500 on building new houses in Church Street. In addition, many improvements were made to the paving, drainage and general access to the Market to make it easier for the traders and customers. These developments and improvements would have proved impossible without the funds from the railway company compensation.

During 1868–1871, two additional properties were purchased in the Market boundaries to consolidate Borough Market's land ownership and additional work was undertaken on the roof using the last of the railway compensation money and two small loans. In March 1864, Borough Market also sought to rent railway arches from The South Eastern Railway Company for "a moiety of rent" to extend its available facilities.¹⁹¹ After 1871 there was no further significant capital or major maintenance expenditure shown in the accounts analysis until the dome repair of 1882, suggesting that the Trustees were satisfied with the state of the Market property. The benefit of the work done in the Market is also suggested by the successful opposition to a proposal for new market in the area in 1875–6. Undoubtedly, the compensation paid to build the London Bridge to Charing Cross railway line had a positive impact on Borough Market's finances and helped the Market to survive and maintain its unique status as the only authorised market south of the Thames.

The Impact of the Railways on Borough Market's Trade Income

The Borough Market financial reports clearly show the cash-flow injection from The South Eastern Railway Company and how this was utilised. However, the railways also had the potential to affect the trade in the Market and therefore its main income streams. The accounts analysis shows the actual income raised from the Market facilities and properties, and identifies trends and major changes in that income. These different types of income will be examined in detail to understand how much of the changes can be attributed to the railways.

¹⁹⁰ 'Borough Market Minute Book from 1859', 17 April 1862.

¹⁹¹ 'Borough Market Minute Book from 1859', 24 March 1864.

A. Income from Stands in Borough Market

The Market facilities provided income from two primary sources: from rent of standings, cellars and warehousing and from tolls. The standings were marked out in designated areas where goods were sold and were called “pitching stands” which could be rented daily, weekly or annually. There were also cart stands where the transport bringing goods to and from Market was placed, and which were located around the outside of the marketplace. The price charged for a pitching stand depended upon the size and location of the standing and the status of the stand-holder; that is, if they were growers of the goods they sold or middlemen selling goods grown by others. The different areas of the Market and different types of trader are clearly identifiable from the 1849 plan attached as Appendix 1.

Rental income from standings was subject to two factors: the number of stands occupied and the price charged per standing. The number of stands available to rent depended both upon the available area of the marketplace and the popularity of the Market to sellers and buyers. Borough Market Trustees had increased the marketplace area significantly through a policy of expansion and re-organisation from the early nineteenth century. Over £13,500 was invested from 1826–28 to provide additional space for stands and the detailed 1829 plan for the Market shows that considerable thought had been put into the configuration of all the marketplace to provide as many stands as possible with proper access. A further £9,400 was spent in 1836–7 on buying and converting property abutting Three Crowns Square, followed by £3,000 in 1840 to purchase and lay-out the old grammar school property for Market use. This was largely the end of the Market expansion because later plans to extend the Market in 1850 were not carried forward. *The Morning Chronicle* estimated that in 1850 the total area of the marketplace covered three acres with room for 200 stands.¹⁹²

The other factor affecting stand income was the price charged for the Market facilities. The 1829 plan, which formed part of an application to Parliament to authorise various changes to the management of Borough Market, also provided guidance on the levels of rent to be charged. The Act recommended rents for stands at one pound per square foot per annum for growers’ pitching standings rented annually and one guinea per square foot per annum for growers’ annual cart standing. There were also casual standings, those rented for less than a year, which cost a shilling per day.¹⁹³ In addition to the standings, the Market rented out small

¹⁹² ‘Labour and the Poor: Metropolitan Districts: Of the “Green Markets” of London’.

¹⁹³ British Government, ‘1754 Act to Enable the Churchwardens, Overseers and Inhabitants of the Parish of St Saviour in the Borough of Southwark in the County of Surrey to Hold a Market within the Said Parish Not Interfering with the High Street in the Said Borough’, The Schedule, 69.

counting houses, warehousing and cellars for its market traders' use. A detailed review of the inner standing rents documented in the Trustee Minutes of 1833 identifying each of the standings, the name of the trader and rent paid for the stand is shown in Appendix 5a. The table highlights that there is a difference between the rent that Borough Market expected to receive from each stand-holder and the amount that was actually paid; for example, Mr Golding was supposed to pay two shillings and sixpence for standing number 13 but in fact paid two shillings and three pence, whilst Mr Gardiner was supposed to pay five shillings for standing 56 but actually paid four shillings and sixpence.¹⁹⁴ In July 1833 the Market reviewed the rent to be paid for each stand and adjusted most of them to match the amount of rent that was currently being paid, although a few rents were varied. Overall this review created a 1% reduction in potential daily rental income for pitching stands, but despite this there was a brief increase in the rental income from standings in 1833 suggesting higher levels of occupancy.

In general, the accounts analysis shows standing income remained static from the mid-1830s and throughout most of the 1840s. This suggests that the decision to expand did not attract more market traders to the Market and that higher rents could not be charged for stands. The level of rent charged can be proved by a review of the inner stand rental income in 1841 which, after allowing for the loss of stands 70 and 71, confirmed that the stand rents had not varied since 1833,(Appendix 5b). Standing rental did start to rise gradually in the early 1850s, at a time when the Market is noted as very busy in the Trustee Minutes, but shows a sharp decline from 1857, which may have reflected the declining fabric of the Market and the leaking roof. Unsurprisingly, this income stream fell by up to 30% annually from the 1856 level during the building of the London Bridge to Charing Cross railway line because various standings could not be used during construction. The Trustees valued this loss at 88 pounds, twelve shillings and nine pence per annum arising from thirty-four lost pitching stands and fifty-four cart stands, but the accounts show that the overall financial impact on stand income was much higher during this railway construction.¹⁹⁵ However, once the work was completed the income from standings in 1865 almost doubled on the previous year. More importantly, this income continued to increase, by over 32% from 1865 to 1876 and by another 49% to 1884. Since there were no major physical changes to Borough Market after 1865 this suggests that the increased income must have been due to levels of standings occupancy and higher rents. These increases were certainly linked to the improved Market facilities paid for by railway compensation money and also because of the convenient access to railway transportation for

¹⁹⁴ 'Borough Market Minute Book from 1830', 5 July 1833.

¹⁹⁵ 'Borough Market Minute Book from 1859', 30 March 1862.

traders. The ability to increase the standings rent is confirmed in Trustees' Minutes of August 1879, when they were able to increase standing rents by some 15%, (Appendix 5c). The high level of occupancy of standings is confirmed by Mr Ormond, a Borough Market salesman, who reported to the Commission on Market Tolls in 1888 that there was not often empty stalls at Borough Market.¹⁹⁶

B. Toll Income

Another major income stream associated with the Market facilities were tolls which were chargeable on non-grower stand-holders. Stand-holders were defined as growers if they were "carrying on the business of market gardeners", or "being growers of fruit, flowers, vegetables, roots and herbs for sale in public markets."¹⁹⁷ Growers were only required to pay rent for their stands, whilst non-growers also had to pay tolls on all goods entering the Market for sale. The 1829 Borough Market Act provided a list of the toll rates for different types and weights ranging from a shilling for a wagon of root vegetables to one penny for a sack of peas.¹⁹⁸ Borough Market attempted to standardise the payment of tolls for all its market traders in 1875, but the growers objected to this and the matter was dropped.¹⁹⁹

Until 1865 Borough Market tolls were collected by a third-party who paid The Market an agreed, fixed fee for the right. From 1847 the casual stand rent income was also outsourced, and the Market advertised the two options together. The same people applied to collect both types of income; for example, in 1850 Mr Ingledew offered the Market £820 per annum for the toll revenue and £250 for the casual stand rental income.²⁰⁰ The level of payment that the applicants offered to the Market reflected the current and anticipated levels of trade in the Market and therefore the income generated for the third-party collector. It was the toll collector's responsibility to calculate and collect the tolls from the market traders and, because of this, detailed information about the tolls collected before 1865 is not available in the Borough Market archive. The financial reports only record the amount paid to the Market by the toll collector every six months and they show little overall increase in the twenty years from

¹⁹⁶ British Government, 'First Report of the Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls: Vol. II., 1888', 1888, 121, <https://www.proquest.com/>.

¹⁹⁷ British Government, '1829 Act of Parliament to Alter, Amend, and Enlarge the Powers of Several Acts Passed for Holding a Market in the Parish of Saint Saviour in the Borough of Southwark in the County of Surrey, and for Granting More Effectual Provisions for That Purpose', Introduction, 2908.

¹⁹⁸ British Government, The Schedule, 80.

¹⁹⁹ British Government, 'First Report of the Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls: Vol. II., 1888', 163, point 3440.

²⁰⁰ 'Borough Market Minute Book from 1843', 5 April 1850.

1825, which suggests that the tolls themselves were equally static. The period from 1845 to 1856 shows a 20% increase in toll income, but this is primarily accounted for by the addition of casual stand rents. There is a 25% jump in 1858 despite a general fall in stand income during that year which suggests that traders were coming to Borough Market less regularly and instead renting stands occasionally.

The rising tolls income after 1858 is reflected in the rising volume of goods shown in the portage records analysis, (Appendix 4). The increased volume of goods cannot be specifically linked to railway transportation, but its importance is inferred by Mr Williams, the toll collector. In September 1860 Mr Williams complained that he was unable to collect market tolls because he could not obtain proper information about the goods delivered by the railways into the Market from Mr Juppen, The South Eastern Railway Company's goods manager at the Bricklayers Arms depot. Mr Williams urged the Trustees to write on his behalf to the manager of the Bricklayers Arms Railway Depot to ask that Mr Juppen comply, which the Market clerk duly did. Unfortunately, The South Eastern Railway Station Merchandising Department responded in January 1861 that "we must decline to accede to your request" for information and that it did not wish to get involved in this problem.²⁰¹

The other criterion which affected toll income was the number of market trader who had to pay tolls, and this depended upon their status as either growers or salesmen. The Borough Market archive does not provide enough information about the stand-holders or their status, but, as will be discussed in the next chapter, railway goods transportation was especially advantageous to salesmen. It is therefore likely that the increase toll income also reflected the increasing numbers of salesmen working at Borough Market.

Despite the obvious problems associated with collecting tolls, Borough Market Trustees saw the opportunity for income growth in this area. The portage analysis shows significant growth in the volume of goods passing through the Market in 1864 and the Trustees decided to bring toll collection in-house in 1865. Despite an apparent drop in the volume of goods recorded in the portage records for 1865, this seems to have been a good decision by the Trustees. The portage analysis shows that the volume of produce passing through the Market more than trebled between 1865 and 1874 and the accounts show that toll income more than doubled over the same period. Toll income doubled again over the following ten years to 1884

²⁰¹ 'Borough Market Minute Book from 1859', 7 December 1860, 5 January 1861.

and became an increasingly important part of Borough Market's income, contributing 59% of the income in 1884 compared to 35% in 1865.

It is apparent from the financial records that the Market was trading successfully, if statically, before the arrival of the railways, and producing a regular profit. Whilst the increased toll income suggests that there was increased activity in the Market after 1836, there is nothing to suggest that the early years of the railways were influential on the Market trade. The major shift in the income from the Market facilities, both stand and toll income, is only significant after the major capital investment in the Market infrastructure paid for by railway compensation. The decision by the Trustees to bring the tolls in-house was clearly significant, but the success of this choice was dependent upon increased trade in the Market. The financial success in tolls and stand rental suggests a well organised Market appealing to sellers and buyers, where the Market can charge higher rent for its facilities and, as a result, overall the income from trader rents and tolls increased over three times between 1865 and 1884.

The Impact of the Railways on Borough Market's Property Income

The Market's only other regular income stream was from rent received for the properties it owned. The ability to maintain or raise lease income was dependent upon the physical environment and success of the Market as well as the state of the property.

The original Act of Parliament, in 1754, prescribed the area of the marketplace and allowed the Market to purchase the various houses, shops, inns and warehouses within the boundaries. The 1754 Act also allowed Borough Market to lease out any property which was not required for the Market business and defined the maximum length of the lease to 61 years. The 1837 Trustee Minutes provides a list of all the properties owned by the Market and leased to third parties, giving the length of the lease and the annual rent, and show that some properties were indeed leased for 61 years. Other leases were for shorter periods ranging from an annual lease for a house and premises in the Market given to Mr Knightly for £40 per annum to a fourteen-year lease for The Bell public house granted to Mr Garland for £60 per annum.²⁰²

The income from the leases listed in 1837 provided a regular income for the Market but could only be improved when leases were re-negotiated upon renewal. The financial analysis shows a limited 8% increase in property rental income from 1824 to 1834 which includes a new lease for The Bell public house. The rental income increased a further 17% by 1858 and enjoyed

²⁰² 'Borough Market Minute Book from 1835'.

a 14% rise over the following four years, despite the reported overcrowding in the Market and the threat of railway construction over the Market. This improvement in income was not sustained and it became difficult to negotiate new leases whilst The South Eastern Railway Company's plans were still uncertain. In December 1861 the Borough Market Trustees did not "deem it advisable" to consider extending Mr Keighley's lease until they knew "the effect of the Railway and other works may have upon the Market."²⁰³ This uncertainty and the destruction of some Market properties was reflected in the property rental income which fell by 40% between 1861 and 1865 despite some small rent increases in 1863 shown in Table 1 below. However, once the railway construction and the Market's capital work had been completed, the income from property rent started to revive. The maintenance and development of the Market fabric and roof, paid for using the railway company compensation, had improved the marketplace environment and there was increasing activity in the Market. This made it easier to increase the older property rents as leases came up for renewal and, also to obtain good rental for the additional, new houses in Church Street.

The following table (Table 1) provides examples of the movement in annual rent for a selection of Market-owned properties between 1837 and 1885 using information extracted from The Trustees' Minute Books. The first five columns of the table provide the address, lessee and length of the lease for each of the properties in 1837, before the railways had any impact on Borough Market or Southwark. The 1861 and 1863 rents were agreed around the completion of the London Bridge to Charing Cross line, whilst by the 1885 the rents show the varied level of increase imposed on different properties some twenty years later. The final column is interesting because it identifies the tenants in 1885 and shows that in this sample only Mr Keighley remained in his property, which suggests that the Market continued to attract new tenants not simply retain existing ones.

²⁰³ 'Borough Market Minute Book from 1859', 6 December 1861.

Table 1

BOROUGH MARKET - PROPERTY RENT RECEIVED									
EXAMPLES OF RENT MOVEMENT 1837 TO 1885 TAKEN FROM TRUSTEE MINUTE BOOKS									
Source: London Metropolitan Archive				ACC2058/01/02/006		ACC2058/01/02/009		ACC2058/01/02/011	
Property	Lessee in 1837	Lease term	Lease from	1837 £pa	1840 £pa	1861 £pa	1863 £pa	1885 £pa	Lessee
Bell PH	Garland	14 years	1826	60	120	130			
3 Market	Smith	21 years	1836	50				60	
5 Market	Hackney	annual		40				60	
6 Market	Keighley	annual		40			50	80	Keighley
7 Market	Anthill	annual		40			50	60	Jarvis
11 Market	Brooks	21 years	1836	63			80	80	Saul
12 Market	Bean	21 years	1836	40			65	80	Rawlin

Market Costs

The railways clearly had an impact on the income of Borough Market, but it is also appropriate to consider if it forced the Market to incur any extra costs, because it was as important to control costs as it was to increase income to enable the Market to succeed.

The financial analysis shows that the types of expenditure incurred by Borough Market were unexceptional and, apart from capital and maintenance, the major increase in costs was for market staff and taxes. The Market had no control over the taxes it paid because they were enforced by government and local authorities. The rise in staff costs was especially noticeable after 1864, when additional beadles were employed. The beadles’ role was to enforce the rules of the Market and maintain order, and the higher number of beadles suggests that Borough Market was responding to an increasingly busy market. Beadles were also responsible for the security of the Market both day and night. Borough Market porters are not recorded in the financial records until 1882 and their inclusion shows that the management of Borough Market were taking greater control over all activities in the Market.

Borough Market Trustees clearly wanted to project an image of a successful and well-run business through their levels of staffing and in the fabric of the Market. The Trustees also understood that the expanding management team needed better facilities and for the first time they approved the construction of purpose-built administrative offices as part of the capital expenditure in 1864.

Conclusion

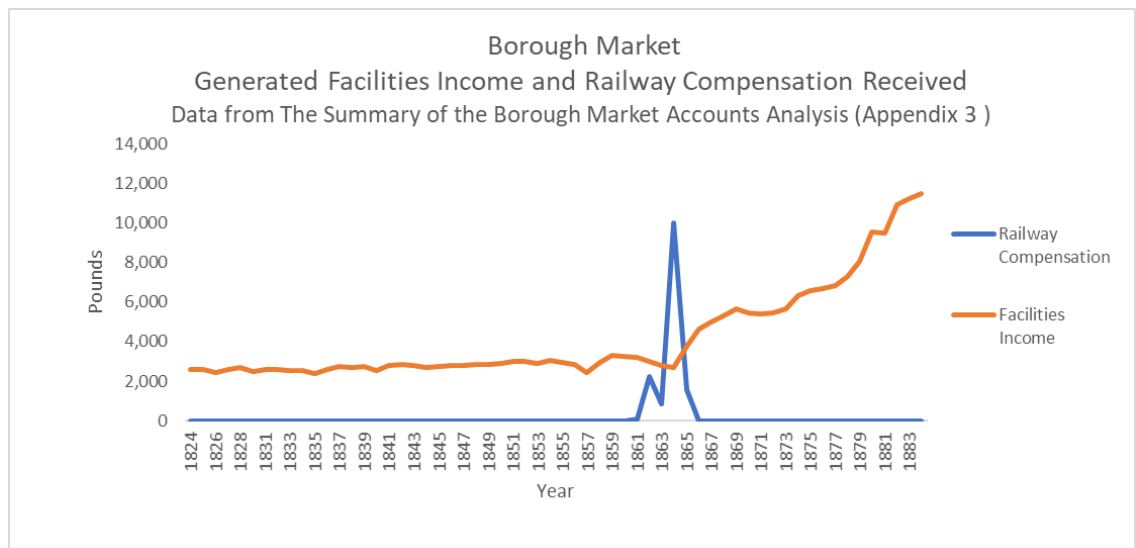
The financial records cannot tell the whole story of the relationship between Borough Market and the railways over a forty-eight-year period, but they do offer some intriguing trends and shed light on the impact of The South Eastern Railway Company's role in the Market's development.

The accounts show that Borough Market was trading successfully before the arrival of railways and enjoyed access to its savings and to loans which enabled it to expand and improve the marketplace prior to 1836. The arrival of the railways shows no significant impact on Borough Market's income from 1836 to 1859, which only generated an overall 20% increase in Market income, despite the Trustees views that the Market was increasingly busy. However, by 1859 the biggest potential barrier to the Market continuing to make a profit was the degeneration of the Market fabric and overcrowding, both of which threatened the popularity of the marketplace and offered the opportunity for new markets to be built south of the Thames.

Despite the careful management of the Trustees, their hopes to improve and expand the Market in 1850 were constrained by the financial control imposed by the Market's ultimate beneficiary, St Saviours Parish. In addition, economic changes in mid-Victorian Britain made it difficult for the Trustees to raise loans because of financial crashes and strong competition for investors from the many engineering and technological opportunities available at home and abroad. The unexpected compensation money paid by The South Eastern Railway Company was a solution to Borough Market's funding problem because the Trustees could use it for the benefit of Borough Market. The railway funds could not be automatically taken by St Saviour's parish because the money was not derived from market trading and the Acts of Parliament had not defined how such a windfall should be spent.

Graph 1 shows the income generated by Borough Market for the sixty years from 1824 and clearly shows that Borough Market's income was relatively static until after the injection of the railway company compensation, which is shown as a blue line on the graph.

Graph 1



This research proposes that without the compensation money, the general deterioration of the environment at Borough Market would have led to its demise during the nineteenth century. This is because Parliamentary approval would have undoubtedly been obtained for a new market in 1875 and traders and buyers would have been attracted away from Borough Market by better facilities. Once Borough Market lost trade and income it could not have provided the parishioners of St Saviour’s with a regular contribution to their rates, and the Trustees would have been encouraged to sell the Market property for a one-off gain. Instead, the railway money was used to revitalise Borough Market which was able to fight off competition and remained a major fruit and vegetable market, and the only authorised market south of the Thames.

The advantages of railway transportation also influenced the continued financial success of Borough Market because it contributed to the increasing volumes of goods passing through the Market, especially for sale by middlemen. This led to a significant rise in the level of tolls collected, which is clearly shown in the financial analysis, and tolls became a progressively more important part of Borough Market’s income after 1865.

CHAPTER 5 – CHANGES IN BOROUGH MARKET TRADE CAUSED BY THE RAILWAYS

Introduction

Borough Market has been especially associated with the sale of fruit and vegetables since its earliest days.²⁰⁴ Transportation was always the factor which influenced what types of produce were sold in Borough Market and in what volumes. Therefore, the most obvious anticipated effect of railways on Borough Market would concern the produce sold.

Borough Market tended to receive its produce from the south and east of the country and particularly encouraged growers to attend by not charging tolls on their produce. Local growers, who lived within a reasonable horse-and-cart drive from the market, could sell perishable fruit, whilst items with greater shelf life, such as apples or potatoes, could be brought into the market from further away. Salesmen, who bought produce from groups of growers, also traded at Borough Market but were required to pay tolls on all the produce they brought into the Market to sell. Borough Market also benefitted from access to produce which passed through the ports of London, either delivered by British coastal shipping or from abroad. However, in general the more exotic fruit and vegetables were sold through Covent Garden Market.²⁰⁵ The arrival of railway freight for all types of goods, including fruit and vegetables, opened-up new sources of supply for Borough Market because train delivery was fast and reliable. Trains also provided a cheap way to transport large quantities of fruit and vegetables and this was to fundamentally change the operation of Borough Market and enabled it to transition to a wholesale market by the end of the nineteenth century.

This chapter will initially examine the challenges facing all city markets before the railways were built and how the advent of a faster, bulk transportation method offered some solutions. These general principals will then be applied specifically to Borough Market and tested against Market records to provide a better understanding of how the theory translated into the real experience of traders and customers.

Markets and Demographic Change in Great Britain

Markets have been an important part of the food distribution system of Great Britain since the early medieval period. Over the successive centuries, local markets provided the predominately agrarian population with an opportunity to sell any food which they grew surplus to their own

²⁰⁴ David Hughson, *London, 1807*, 490.

²⁰⁵ Passingham, *London's Markets: Their Origins and History*, 70.

needs and for larger farmers and market gardeners to make their living. People living in towns depended on markets for their fresh produce. In the eighteenth century two factors changed which affected markets and their customers: the British population grew at a greater rate than in previous centuries and people moved increasingly to live and work in cities. This meant that fewer people were able to grow their own food and by 1850 this applied to half the population of Britain.²⁰⁶ The rising industrial population placed pressure on the delivery of foods into city markets so that they had enough produce to sell to meet public demand. To resolve this ongoing problem, markets required both increased volume of produce and better delivery options.

Sources of Fruit and Vegetables Before Railway Transportation

Before railways most of the fruit and vegetables supplied to a city market was grown in market gardens located in a belt around the city or town.²⁰⁷ This applied to the metropolis as much as to smaller towns and cities in the rest of the country and at the start of the nineteenth century there were 15,000 acres of market gardens within 10 miles of London.²⁰⁸ London enjoyed asparagus, beans, cabbages and radishes grown in Lewisham and Blackheath, large quantities of strawberries from Deptford and Camberwell and potatoes from Wanstead and Ilford.²⁰⁹ London also benefitted from fruit and vegetables grown in the fertile land of the south-east of the country, especially Kent and Sussex, which could be brought to market by road or river.²¹⁰

Dependence on locally grown fruit and vegetables was due to politics as well as transportation. At the start of the nineteenth century, most British food was home grown due to the war with France and the tariff policies of successive governments.²¹¹ When the French wars ended it was physically easier to trade with the Continent, but foreign imports still suffered substantial duties, for example a bushel of imported apples incurred four shillings duty in 1838.²¹² The political move towards free trade eliminated this restriction over time but it was not until the Cobden-Chevalier Treaty of 1860 that all duties were removed on goods from

²⁰⁶ Burnett, *Plenty and Want: A Social History of Food in England from 1815 to the Present Day*, 4.

²⁰⁷ Peter Davies and David Hope-Mason, *From Orchard to Market* (London: Lockwood Press, 2005), 18; Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, 27.

²⁰⁸ Sheppard, *London, 1808–70: The Infernal Wen*, 190.

²⁰⁹ Davies and Hope-Mason, *From Orchard to Market*, 18; Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, 27.

²¹⁰ Burnett, *Plenty and Want: A Social History of Food in England from 1815 to the Present Day*, 7.

²¹¹ Davies and Hope-Mason, *From Orchard to Market*, 17.

²¹² Davies and Hope-Mason, 21.

France. Free trade policy increased access to Continental suppliers of produce, but the problems of slow transportation still limited what was imported.

The restricted sources of fruit and vegetables to serve London were not significant in 1800 because they formed a small part of the national diet for most of the population. People who could afford fruit and vegetables were more inclined to eat meat, fish and bread instead and most vegetables were considered indigestible. The value of fruit and vegetables for health was not understood, indeed *The Family Oracle for Health, 1824*, advised wealthy ladies to only eat potatoes and not too much fruit.²¹³ Furthermore, The London Board of Health linked fruit and vegetables to cholera, an opinion strongly opposed by doctors and horticulturalists alike.²¹⁴ The potato was the only vegetable which formed an established part of the national diet by the eighteenth century and the only vegetable the poorest in society could afford.²¹⁵ Most other fruits and vegetables were out of the budget of the poor or an occasional luxury.²¹⁶

Originally, markets sold all different types of foods, but from as early as the 1660s major London markets started to specialise in specific products and this was a factor in the development of wholesale markets.²¹⁷ London had three primary centres for the distribution of fruit and vegetable in the early nineteenth century: Spitalfield Market, Covent Garden Market and Borough Market.²¹⁸ Covent Garden was the largest of the three, with an annual income of almost £9,000 in 1837 compared to under £3,000 achieved by Borough Market in the same year.²¹⁹

Wholesale Markets

Before the nineteenth century there was no real distinction between wholesale and retail markets. The dichotomies of wholesale and retail were “rather fuzzy” before 1800 and this lack of clarity allowed markets to spread their risk by servicing all types of customer.²²⁰ However, it

²¹³ Burnett, *Plenty and Want: A Social History of Food in England from 1815 to the Present Day*, 69; Addison, *English Fairs and Markets*, 91.

²¹⁴ ‘Meeting of the Growers of Fruit and Vegetables on the Subject of Cholera’, *The Morning Chronicle*, 1 August 1832, 3; ‘Fruit and Cholera: Letter to the Newspaper from London Board of Health’, *West Kent Guardian*, 25 August 1849, 8.

²¹⁵ Davies and Hope-Mason, *From Orchard to Market*, 10.

²¹⁶ Burnett, *Plenty and Want: A Social History of Food in England from 1815 to the Present Day*, 10.

²¹⁷ Smith, ‘The Market Place and the Market’s Place in London, c. 1660–1840’, 36.

²¹⁸ Sheppard, *London, 1808–70: The Infernal Wen*, 190.

²¹⁹ Colin Smith, ‘The Wholesale and Retail Markets of London, 1660–1840’, *The Economic History Review* 55, no. 1 (2002): 41.

²²⁰ Smith, 41.

was becoming more common to classify markets as either wholesale or retail at the start of the nineteenth century, and markets which only provided a retail service tended to decline whilst wholesaling prospered.²²¹ Wholesaling was especially developed in London, which offered the largest customer base in Britain and thus the best opportunity for profit.²²² Wholesale markets also relied on the rise of middlemen, or salesmen, who bought goods from multiple small producers and gathered a large quantity of goods for delivery to city markets. Middlemen made their money from the difference between the price they paid for goods and the price they obtained at market, less transportation and storage, and some became very successful. Some growers considered it worth using middlemen because it passed on the risk of their goods not being sold at market, of failing to achieve a good price or being damaged in transit. Middlemen also saved growers the time they spent going to market to sell their own produce and some middlemen also provided banking facilities for their growers.²²³ The wholesale trade and middlemen ensured high volumes of food were delivered into cities and helped make it possible for markets to meet food demands in the early part of the nineteenth century.

Delivery to Markets Before the Railways

There were two factors which were important when delivering fruit and vegetables to market: speed and price. Speed was important because there were not facilities to keep many types of fruit and vegetables fresh during a journey so that they could be ruined en route and become unsaleable. Even on good roads, a two-horse cart could only move two-to-three tons at three-to-four miles per hour, which limited delivery of tender produce, such as soft fruit, to local markets.²²⁴ The other factor affecting delivery to markets was price of transportation because if it the cost was too high the produce became too expensive to sell. These two limits meant that much of the fruit and vegetables sold in a market was grown relatively close by and generally delivered using the farmer/grower's horse and wagon along often inadequate roads.²²⁵ But as London expanded significantly during the nineteenth century, the market

²²¹ Colin Smith, 'The Wholesale and Retail Markets of London, 1660–1840', *The Economic History Review* 55, no. 1 (2002): 41-2, <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1468-0289.00213>.

²²² Davis, *A History of Shopping*, 257.

²²³ Smith, 'The Wholesale and Retail Markets of London, 1660–1840', 42–43.

²²⁴ E. J. T. Collins, *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 969; Davies and Hope-Mason, *From Orchard to Market*, 24.

²²⁵ Davies and Hope-Mason, *From Orchard to Market*, 18; Sarah Freeman, *Mutton and Oysters: The Victorians and Their Food* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1989), 22; Bagwell, *The Transport Revolution, 1770–1985*, 1.

gardeners were forced to live increasingly further from the city centre and had to travel longer distances to reach the central markets.

In some parts of the country, especially the north-west and midlands of Britain, farmers could use the canals to transport their produce, but these tended to be too slow and expensive for the transportation of fruit and vegetables.²²⁶ There were few canals serving London to provide water transportation, but instead the metropolis benefitted from coastal shipping.²²⁷ Delivery by sea offered a method of moving less perishable agricultural produce around the country once it could be delivered to a port or harbour. London was able to make good use of coastal shipping because of its position on a major river with extensive ports and navigable access to the sea, which also enabled the delivery of foreign goods. Coastal shipping also made it easier for middlemen to organise bulk delivery to wholesale markets.²²⁸ All produce delivered to the London ports was trans-shipped by smaller vessels to the many wharves and stairs along the Thames for delivery to the London markets.

But whilst London markets enjoyed the advantages of delivery by water and from better-maintained roads leading to the metropolis, it also suffered from heavily congested streets. These made it difficult and slow for the delivery wagons and carts to reach the actual marketplace and sometimes people were simply forced to carry goods to the final destination. Women from Wales and Shropshire travelled to London during the soft-fruit season to carry head-baskets of fruit from farms into the major London markets. The women travelled up to thirty miles a day with fifty pounds of fruit in each basket before train transportation because this was the most effective method of delivering soft fruits safely to market.²²⁹

The Benefits of Railway Transportation

As the population of London continued to expand there was an increasing risk of the current delivery systems being unable to meet the demand for food. Sheppard commented that it is surprising that the food distribution system “worked as well as it did” given the lack of any fast delivery option, and the situation was only likely to become more difficult and less manageable over time. The arrival of steam railways into London and other major cities in the 1830s provided the fast delivery option that transformed the supply of food. Burnett considers that

²²⁶ Davies and Hope-Mason, *From Orchard to Market*, 23.

²²⁷ Bagwell, *The Transport Revolution, 1770–1985*, 15.

²²⁸ Bagwell, 60; Smith, ‘The Wholesale and Retail Markets of London, 1660–1840’, 42.

²²⁹ Sheppard, *London, 1808–70: The Infernal Wen*, 190.

without railways the country might not have survived the “mounting pressure of local sources of food supply” without the cheap, fast delivery service provided by trains.²³⁰

Railway transportation of fruit and vegetables had two distinct beneficiaries: the farmer/grower and the markets which sold the produce. The farmer/growers benefitted because railway freight made it economic to travel their produce to city markets and enabled them to send different types of produce to market. The markets enjoyed a reliable and larger source of produce and more variety of goods to sell to their customers. The full impact of railway delivery of fruit and vegetables was not felt until the 1860s by which time the rail network had been extended to cover the more remote and inaccessible parts of Britain and Scotland. Whilst earlier national lines provided the opportunity to move produce between major cities, the development of local lines enabled increasing numbers of farmers to easily send their produce to the cities.

Railways and farmers/market gardeners

Before railway transportation farmers and growers had a limited market for their goods because it was too expensive to send their fruit and vegetables long distances and too slow to ensure that the produce arrived in saleable condition. An exception was potatoes, which would survive a longer period of transit on coastal ships and allowed farmers to access the profitable markets of London. Scottish farmers with reasonable access to a port used this method from the early nineteenth century. But once the railway lines provided a network of inland communications, more farmers were able to send their produce longer distances without the need to reach a port. As early as 1846 James Smith of Perthshire reported that his transport costs had reduced from 6 pennies per ton-mile to one penny per ton-mile because of railway transportation and believed that his farm was consequently worth £300 more per year.²³¹ Potato growers in all parts of the country from the East of Scotland to Cornwall could now reach the valuable London markets and the supply lines to city markets became “increasingly long.”²³² This applied to other root crops, such as carrots and onions, which could now be economically shipped to London markets from across the country and this expanded the

²³⁰ Burnett, *Plenty and Want: A Social History of Food in England from 1815 to the Present Day*, 8.

²³¹ Bagwell, *The Transport Revolution, 1770–1985*, 107.

²³² British Government, ‘First Report of the Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls: Vol. II., 1888’, p192, point 4328; Freeman and Aldcroft, *The Atlas of British Railway History*, 110; Sheppard, *London, 1808–70: The Infernal Wen*, 187.

variety of cheap root vegetables available for the poor.²³³ Lardner, in his 1850 treatise on the railways, already noted the impact of cheap transportation of agricultural produce and suggested that railways avoided prices being “ruinously low” in the countryside whilst “ruinously high” in towns.²³⁴

After the mid–nineteenth century, goods from all over the country and continent were delivered to city markets by train.²³⁵ Lardner recorded that by 1850 up to 20 tons of fruit a day were sent to Birmingham on The North Western Railway line and that London fruit was sold as far afield as Liverpool and Glasgow.²³⁶ Yet, the major effect of railway transportation on agriculture was yet to be felt and it was not until after 1850 that the railways had a major impact on agriculture.²³⁷ Railways became more significant in the countryside over the next twenty years as the lines were extended to less populated and more remote parts of the country.²³⁸ The railway network removed farms from “almost total isolation” and made it economical to farm land which had been considered worthless and which now provided additional acreage for food production to meet growing demand.²³⁹ For example the Vale of Evesham only recorded 600 acres of market gardens in 1850 but this had risen to 10,000 acres by 1901, largely due to better transportation.²⁴⁰

Railways became increasingly important in delivering large volumes of food to cities and in 1864 *The Railway News* described “large portions of the supply of the great London markets rapidly disgorged from night trains.”²⁴¹ In 1865 over 85,000 tons of produce travelled from Lincolnshire and Yorkshire along the Great Northern line alone, carrying such items as rhubarb and peas.²⁴² Clearly farmers and growers benefitted from trains because they could extend their cultivable land and increase productivity and profit.²⁴³ But railway transportation

²³³ Kellett, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities*, 1969, 320.

²³⁴ Dionysius Lardner, *Railway Economy: A Treatise on the New Art of Transport, Its Management, Prospects and Relations, Commercial, Financial and Social*, Making Oif America Books Online (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1850), <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/moa/aes9701.0001.001>.

²³⁵ Freeman, *Mutton and Oysters: The Victorians and Their Food*, 32.

²³⁶ Lardner, *Railway Economy: A Treatise on the New Art of Transport, Its Management, Prospects and Relations, Commercial, Financial and Social*, 134.

²³⁷ Collins, *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, 2000, 2:968.

²³⁸ E. J. T. Collins, *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 973.

²³⁹ Pauline Gregg, *A Social and Economic History of Britain, 1760–1980* (London: Harrap, 1982), 110.

²⁴⁰ Collins, *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, 2000, 1:975.

²⁴¹ Hawke, *Railways and Economic Growth in England and Wales, 1840–1870*, 59.

²⁴² Passingham, *London’s Markets: Their Origins and History*, 115,117.

²⁴³ British Government, ‘First Report of the Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls: Vol. II., 1888’, 192, point 4328.

did not only provide a relatively cheap method of delivering bulk across the country, it also provided another advantage; speed of delivery.

Lardner noted that speed of delivery was as important as the price of delivery because it allowed perishable goods to be moved without deterioration of quality.²⁴⁴ This created a completely new freight traffic which had not existed before railways.²⁴⁵ Orchard and soft fruits were delivered to London in special railway vans from Kent, the Vale of Evesham and Bedfordshire, safely bringing goods from existing sources and from new areas which could not have been accessed before trains.²⁴⁶ This effectively wiped out the advantages of geographic location for farmers and growers located close to towns; yet, despite this, there were still market gardens in Bermondsey and Rotherhithe serving London markets in 1850s.²⁴⁷

Kent provides a typical example of how railways changed the fruit growing industry. In the early nineteenth century, cherries from Kent only reached markets in the north of England in small volumes and were so expensive that only the wealthy could afford them. By 1840, rail freight was used on the main railway lines between London and the major northern cities to enable Kentish farmers to ship many more cherries to the northern markets. The *Maidstone Gazette* attributed improved cherry prices directly to the “great quantity sent by the railway to Liverpool, Manchester, and other manufacturing places.”²⁴⁸ The soft-fruit trade would prove especially important to growers as competition from the Continent increased under free trade agreements. Instead of fighting competition from cheap imported fruit, growers changed their focus to produce which was less easy to import in good condition, such as soft fruit. This led to increased areas of soft-fruit cultivation and over a thousand acres of raspberries alone were planted in north-west Kent between 1855 and 1875.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁴ Lardner, *Railway Economy: A Treatise on the New Art of Transport, Its Management, Prospects and Relations, Commercial, Financial and Social*, 28.

²⁴⁵ Burnett, *Plenty and Want: A Social History of Food in England from 1815 to the Present Day*, 8; Freeman and Aldcroft, *The Atlas of British Railway History*; Gourvish, ‘Railways, 1830–1870: The Formative Years’, 78.

²⁴⁶ Burnett, *Plenty and Want: A Social History of Food in England from 1815 to the Present Day*, 8; Gregg, *A Social and Economic History of Britain, 1760–1980*, 110.

²⁴⁷ Michael J. Freeman, ‘Introduction’, in *Transport in Victorian Britain*, ed. Michael J. Freeman and Derek H. Aldcroft (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 50; Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, 27.

²⁴⁸ David Harvey, ‘Fruit Growing in Kent in the Nineteenth Century’, *Archaeologica Cantiana Online* 79 (1964): 95, 97.

²⁴⁹ Harvey, 104. quoting Webb in G. Webb, ‘Fruit cultivation and management in Kent’, *Trans. of the Royal Inst. of Surveyors*, viii (1876-6)

Railways and Markets

Agricultural interests understood that railways were indispensable to them, and James Caird acknowledged that they were a general benefit to agriculture in his work for the Royal Commission on Agriculture in 1882.²⁵⁰ Railway management had not initially seen the full potential of freight in their business plans and early freight carriage was limited by the difficulties of moving goods between different railway companies.²⁵¹ The establishment of the Railway Clearing House in 1842 eliminated this limitation by managing the inter-company freight revenue of the railway companies and as early as 1852 railway goods income exceeded that from passengers.²⁵² Railways also quickly surpassed a primary competitor in the quantity of goods shipped and by 1856 railway goods volumes exceeded the volume shipped along canals.²⁵³ Lardner considered that freight transportation was a “less striking phenomen[on]” than the “dazzling and unexpected results” of passenger traffic on trains, but equally as beneficial to the country.²⁵⁴ Lardner’s comment reflects the fact that mass transportation of people was a completely new experience without precedent, whilst most contemporary observers would not have recognised how railway transportation had changed their diet.²⁵⁵ However, for the farmers using trains to deliver their produce, the opportunities and profit that railways provided was as equally dazzling.

The main limiting factor for delivery of goods by train was that they arrived at a central terminus and not their final destination, and this involved additional transportation costs and time. For existing markets, the congested roads around them acted as feeders for goods travelling from the stations to the markets and horses remained vital for short-distance transportation.²⁵⁶ The numbers of horses pulling freight vehicles increased massively from 161,000 in 1851 to 500,000 in 1891, with as much as 80% of horse freight transportation in cities. This led to even more road congestion, especially around railway termini.²⁵⁷

Covent Garden is a prime example of the problem facing historic city markets receiving goods delivered by rail. Covent Garden was the premier London market for fruit and was

²⁵⁰ Hawke, *Railways and Economic Growth in England and Wales, 1840–1870*, 101.

²⁵¹ Hawke, 102.

²⁵² Bagwell, *The Transport Revolution, 1770–1985*, 100.

²⁵³ Freeman, *Mutton and Oysters: The Victorians and Their Food*, 102; Bagwell, *The Transport Revolution, 1770–1985*, 100–101.

²⁵⁴ Lardner, *Railway Economy: A Treatise on the New Art of Transport, Its Management, Prospects and Relations, Commercial, Financial and Social*, 182.

²⁵⁵ Olsen, *The Growth of Victorian London*, 86.

²⁵⁶ Bagwell, *The Transport Revolution, 1770–1985*, 127.

²⁵⁷ Sheppard, *London, 1808–70: The Infernal Wen*, 119; Barker, ‘Urban Transport’, 136; Kellett, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities*, 1969, 321.

considered the only place suitable to sell their produce by many growers and farmers. It was conveniently situated within two miles of several main-line goods depots but was surrounded by narrow streets unsuited to large quantities of carts and wagons. The increasing volumes of produce moving from the railway depots to Covent Garden Market aggravated local road congestion and led to calls for the market to close.²⁵⁸ It is fortunate that Covent Garden Market concentrated on specialised and luxury items rather than bulk vegetable sales or the congestion around the market would have been even worse.²⁵⁹

It was clear that the benefits of “proximity, or convenient access” to the railways for the delivery of goods, especially perishable goods, became a vital consideration for all new markets and existing markets who wished to expand.²⁶⁰ Railway companies saw the financial opportunity of establishing their own fruit and vegetable markets conveniently located beside a station because they avoided cartage costs and reduced damage through handling the produce. In 1888 Mr William Birt, manager of The Great Eastern Railway, stated that he “attach[ed] the utmost importance” to future fruit and vegetable markets being “connected to the railway.”²⁶¹ Railway markets were especially useful for large-volume, low-value vegetables consigned into London such as potatoes.²⁶² The Kings Cross Potato Market was established in 1865 by The Great Northern Railway Company and was the largest market of its type in Britain.²⁶³ The Eastern Railway Company also built a fruit and vegetable market in 1879, in response to demands for more access to the London markets by East Anglian farmers. Located at Stratford in East London, it was served by the Whitemore Vegetable Express which left East Anglia at 4.15 a.m. in time to arrive as the market opened for trade.²⁶⁴ It was estimated that in 1880 The Great Eastern Railway delivered 32,000 tons of vegetables to London, increasing to 33,000 tons the following year.²⁶⁵ The rising demand to ship vegetables to London by train experienced by The Great Eastern Railway Company reflects how important railways became to both farmers and markets. Table 2 provides an example of the increased tonnage of vegetables delivered to London by train between 1888 and 1887, specifically showing goods delivered to Bishopsgate

²⁵⁸ Harvey, ‘Fruit Growing in Kent in the Nineteenth Century’, 96, 102.

²⁵⁹ Passingham, *London’s Markets: Their Origins and History*, 70–71.

²⁶⁰ Kellett, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities*, 1969, 320.

²⁶¹ British Government, ‘First Report of the Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls: Vol. II., 1888’, 146, point 3005.

²⁶² British Government, 49, point 726.

²⁶³ Passingham, *London’s Markets: Their Origins and History*, 114.

²⁶⁴ R. Davies and M. D. Grant, *London and Its Railways* (London: David & Charles Publishers Ltd, 1983), 136; Passingham, *London’s Markets: Their Origins and History*, 121–22.

²⁶⁵ British Government, ‘First Report of the Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls: Vol. II., 1888’, 147, points 3022–4.

Market and Stratford Market by The Great Eastern Railway Company. The figures are taken from the evidence given by Mr William Birt to the Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls in 1888.²⁶⁶

Table 2

Year	To Bishopsgate Market (tons)	To Stratford Market (tons)
1880		5,000
1881		9,000
1882	52,000	12,000
1883	66,000	12,000
1884	69,000	16,000
1885	79,000	19,000
1886	82,000	25,000
1887	87,000	33,000

London wholesale markets, with their extensive rail network, became the “central pivot” of food distribution not only within London but far beyond.²⁶⁷ The established London wholesale fruit and vegetable markets benefitted from produce arriving into London by train but also from having a new and cheaper method of distributing their specialist and foreign produce to other cities.

Changing Customers in Markets

Railways also changed the customers who visited markets as the demography of inner cities changed during the nineteenth century and many of the people most able to afford fruit and vegetables moved out of the city to live in suburbs. Hotels and hostelries opened around railway termini to service the many railway passengers, whilst much of the remaining residential areas of cities were filled with people living on cheap food often sold on the streets. In 1850 greengrocery was still primarily sold to individuals through markets, but over the

²⁶⁶ British Government, ‘First Report of the Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls: Vol. II., 1888’, 147, points 3022–4.

²⁶⁷ Sheppard, *London, 1808–70: The Infernal Wen*, 188.

second half of the century, retail shops increasingly replaced market stalls and itinerate street sellers.²⁶⁸

The rise of the retail shop was concurrent with the development suburbs, for example J. Sainsbury opened his first two shops in London in 1869 and 1873, but the third shop was opened in 1882 in Croydon.²⁶⁹ The suburbs also encouraged the establishment of many local greengrocer shops to provide fresh produce for these new communities and employment in British retail greengrocers grew exponentially rising from 8,400 in 1841 to 13,400 in 1851 and reaching 26,300 by 1871.²⁷⁰ Despite some economists describing the years after 1873 as “lean”, this was more a period of steady decline which primarily affected wealthier families and for most people there was an increase in real wages after the mid-century.²⁷¹ This was advantageous for greengrocers because it provided an increased customer base who could afford fresh fruit and vegetables. Suburban greengrocers wanted to offer their customers a variety of quality goods but also wanted the convenience of buying their stock from a single place, and this encouraged the rise of wholesale markets.²⁷² Railway transportation facilitated the collecting of fruit and vegetables from across the country into central city markets, which greengrocers could visit in the early morning and be back home in time to open their shop at 8 a.m.²⁷³ Buyers from further afield, such as the northern cities, also relied on the speed of train transportation to send produce from London to their own shops and markets. These valuable new types of customer helped to fuel the expansion of London wholesale fruit and vegetable markets.²⁷⁴

However, the London wholesale fruit and vegetable markets were not only dependent on the major wholesale traders and greengrocers who finished their business by 6–7 a.m. Any unsold produce was then available at a cheaper price to the 30,000 costermongers who traded

²⁶⁸ Dyos and Reeder, ‘Slums and Suburbs’, 149; Sheppard, *London, 1808–70: The Infernal Wen*, 355; Freeman, *Mutton and Oysters: The Victorians and Their Food*, 22.

²⁶⁹ ‘Introduction to Sainsbury’s History Pack: Factfile 2: History in the High Street’, Sainsbury’s Archive: Virtual Museum, accessed 1 August 2019, <http://sainsburys.lgfl.org.uk/>.

²⁷⁰ Collins, *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, 2000, 1:1187.

²⁷¹ Gregg, *A Social and Economic History of Britain, 1760–1980*, 367,370; Hoppen, *The New Oxford History of England: The Mid-Victorian Generation: 1846–86*, 278.

²⁷² Scola, *Feeding the Victorian City: The Food Supply of Manchester, 1770–1870*, 253.

²⁷³ British Government, ‘First Report of the Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls: Vol. II., 1888’, 88, point 1555.

²⁷⁴ Davies and Hope-Mason, *From Orchard to Market*, 40; Freeman, *Mutton and Oysters: The Victorians and Their Food*, 253; Burnett, *Plenty and Want: A Social History of Food in England from 1815 to the Present Day*, 8.

on the London streets.²⁷⁵ The costermongers were valuable customers for any produce in glut and usually made their purchases before breakfast.²⁷⁶ Street trade was usual before greengrocer shops were commonplace and remained important throughout the nineteenth century, providing cheap food for the poorest in society, many of whom had few or no cooking facilities. Costermongers sold hot and cold produce, a hot potato both filled a stomach and warmed cold hands, whilst sweet fruit, such as oranges, did not need any additional ingredients to make them palatable.²⁷⁷

Some retail trade did survive in even the major London wholesale markets for much of the nineteenth century, as the last unsold or damaged goods were cleared at the end of the day. Saturday night was especially important for the poorest to visit markets to buy their Sunday dinner after they received their weekly wages.²⁷⁸ Mayhew noted this in his work *London Street Markets on a Saturday Night* in 1851 and it was still a familiar sight when Gissing wrote “It is Saturday night, the market night of the poor” in 1880.²⁷⁹ Yet fundamentally the role of the major London markets had changed and had moved from servicing the individual to acting as a middleman.

Borough Market and the Importance of Railway Transportation

Passingham describes the arrival of the railways as “undoubtedly” the greatest event in Borough Market’s history, enabling bulk supplies to be brought in from the south–east of England, the Channel Islands and the continent.²⁸⁰ There is certainly a clear correlation between railway transportation and changes in the availability of fruit and vegetables to London markets, but how much did this affect Borough Market trade and can any change be proved?.

²⁷⁵ British Government, ‘First Report of the Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls: Vol. II., 1888’, 166-7. points 3554-3558; Sheppard, *London, 1808–70: The Infernal Wen*, 180, 365; Smith, ‘The Wholesale and Retail Markets of London, 1660–1840’, 37.

²⁷⁶ British Government, ‘First Report of the Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls: Vol. II., 1888’, 32 point 525.

²⁷⁷ Freeman, *Mutton and Oysters: The Victorians and Their Food*, 40, 46; *The Street Trader’s Lot; London 1851* (London: Published by Readers Union by an arrangement with Sylvan Press, 1947).

²⁷⁸ Burnett, *Plenty and Want: A Social History of Food in England from 1815 to the Present Day*, 45.

²⁷⁹ Mayhew, *London Labour and The London Poor*, 33; George Gissing, *Workers in the Dawn* (London: Remington & Co, 1880), 1, <https://sites.google.com/site/petermortonswebsite/home/george-gissing-homepage/gissing-critical-survey/in-the-night-market>.

²⁸⁰ Passingham, *London’s Markets: Their Origins and History*, 109.

Communications and location had been key to the success of the markets of Southwark and these advantages still existed after the advent of railways. Produce continued to arrive into Borough Market directly from the grower by road, but also continued to be delivered from London ports to the nearby St Saviour's Dock and London Bridge Stairs.²⁸¹ Furthermore, the existing network of good roads in Southwark were essential for delivering goods from the railway depots into the Market.

Railway transportation was an additional delivery method and Borough Market was uniquely placed a few hundred yards from the first railway terminus built in London at London Bridge. More importantly, in 1844 the capacious Bricklayers Arms depot was built a mere two miles away on the Old Kent Road solely for handling freight and offering lower toll rates than London Bridge terminus.²⁸² Unlike Covent Garden, the roads between the depot and Borough Market were former turnpike roads starting in the Old Kent Road and moving via Great Dover Street into Borough High Street. These major thoroughfares provided good roads for horse-drawn vehicles to bring produce to very close to Borough Market, but also brought more road congestion along Borough High Street. In 1860 John Hollingshead believed that total traffic crossing London Bridge had "increased tenfold", especially in cartage, which he attributed to the railways.²⁸³ The small streets around the Market itself were still congested and described as "in a most horrible condition" in 1888, but the distance between a major road and the Market itself was relatively short.²⁸⁴ Borough Market was therefore well situated to take advantage of railway transportation to receive a greater variety and volume of produce.

The Borough Market Trustees were quickly aware of the potential benefits to the Market offered by railway transportation, commenting as early as 7 May 1847 that it offered "a new source of communication with the Market" which secured "great additional supply of fruit and vegetables."²⁸⁵ In fact, fruit and vegetables were already being delivered from the Channel Islands and the Continent by The London and Brighton Railway Company as early as 1841.²⁸⁶ The Trustees also saw the advantage of train deliveries right to the marketplace, even before the Kings Cross Potato Market was opened. In 1863, when the Market roof was being rebuilt as part of the London Bridge to Charing Cross line construction, Mr Bailey, a Trustee, wondered if

²⁸¹ 'Borough Market Minute Book from 1843', 7 May 1847.

²⁸² Passingham, *London's Markets: Their Origins and History*, 46; Baker, *London to Brighton: 150 Years of Britain's Premier Holiday Line*, 47.

²⁸³ Kellett, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities*, 1969, 313.

²⁸⁴ British Government, 'First Report of the Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls: Vol. II., 1888', 165, point 3502.

²⁸⁵ 'Borough Market Minute Book from 1843', 7 May 1847.

²⁸⁶ Jackson, 'Ports', 234.

a railway siding could be built beside the Market as part of the development. Sadly, this proved to be “unadvisable” and was not built.²⁸⁷

Borough Market Move to Wholesale Trading

For Borough Market to move to wholesaling it needed to manage a large volume of goods and have an appropriate customer base. Undoubtedly, the proximity to a major railway goods depot enabled Borough Market to receive and trans-ship more goods more easily, especially bulk items. In addition, because the Market was south of the Thames, in a more industrial environment, it was surrounded by relatively cheap warehousing which made it especially suited for wholesale trade. Local warehousing was essential for the increasingly important potato trade, the staple food of the growing number of poor people, and an important product at Borough Market.²⁸⁸

An analysis of the Borough Market portorage records from 1858–1874 shows a significant increase in the volume of products traded in the Market each year, (Appendix 4). The increase coincides with the completion of the improved national network of railway lines which allowed farmers to move their produce more easily to major cities, which strongly suggests that the extra volume of goods passing through Borough Market was associated with the railways.

The customer base for the Borough Market was also affected by the railways and Reilly believes that some of the new customers came from shops, hotels, restaurants and costermongers.²⁸⁹ Large hotels and various hostelries opened around London Bridge station to serve the many new travellers, clearly shown on the Ordnance Survey map published in 1872, and Borough Market was conveniently located to serve them.²⁹⁰ Borough Market was also easily accessible by greengrocers from the extensive South London suburbs, especially because its location south of the river meant that they could avoid using the congested London Bridge.

Costermongers also remained a valuable wholesale customer. The increased volume of poor people living in cheap housing without cooking facilities created increased demand for street food and encouraged more costermongers on the street. Costermongers serving the poor of Southwark would have been unwilling to travel far from their customers to buy their

²⁸⁷ ‘Borough Market Minute Book from 1859’, 20 January 1863.

²⁸⁸ Davies and Grant, *London and Its Railways*, 136.

²⁸⁹ Reilly, *The Story of ‘The Borough’*, 96.

²⁹⁰ Ordnance Survey, ‘Ordnance Survey Map of London 1869–78’.

stock and would have bought up any surplus from Borough Market. Yet by 1888 Mr Denton, a costermonger for 20 years, told a Royal Commission that there were not usually many goods left for him to buy at Borough Market, suggesting the wholesale market was very successful.²⁹¹ By the end of the nineteenth century, the retail business of Borough Market was fundamentally gone.²⁹²

Problems Proving the Theories in Practice

Whilst contemporary observations and statistics suggest that a great deal of fruit and vegetables were delivered by train to London market, the final proof should come from detailed records from the markets or the railway companies themselves. These would provide the volumes and ranges of goods arriving in markets, the method of delivery and the sources and destinations of all goods. Sadly, such information does not exist and Kellett considers that it is even difficult to “demonstrate specifically” how important railways were in delivering any foods to towns.²⁹³ The railway traffic was too complex to be able to trace commodities and the railway managers were only concerned about reporting the overall company position rather than the details of trading.²⁹⁴

The problem is not just because records have been lost over time. In 1850, Lardner noted that goods traffic receipts were only reported as a lump sum. Government statistics did identify the major commodities transported by train such as coal, iron, meat and grain, but fruit and vegetables were not significant enough in value to be given specific attention.²⁹⁵ It is therefore very difficult to establish the true quantity and variety of fruit and vegetables that were transported by the railways. Scola comments that information about fruit and vegetable retailers was difficult to find because they were an “elusive quarry” who did not need special facilities to trade and were relatively mobile and inoffensive to local officials.²⁹⁶

It is possible to confirm that more fruit and vegetables were grown through government statistics, such as agricultural returns, and the produce must have been sold

²⁹¹ British Government, ‘First Report of the Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls: Vol. II., 1888’, 168, point 3602.

²⁹² Reilly, *The Story of ‘The Borough’*, 96.

²⁹³ Kellett, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities*, 1969, 2; Freeman, *Mutton and Oysters: The Victorians and Their Food*, 102.

²⁹⁴ Hawke, *Railways and Economic Growth in England and Wales, 1840–1870*, 61.

²⁹⁵ Lardner, *Railway Economy: A Treatise on the New Art of Transport, Its Management, Prospects and Relations, Commercial, Financial and Social*, 183.

²⁹⁶ Scola, *Feeding the Victorian City: The Food Supply of Manchester, 1770–1870*, 190.

somewhere for farmers to continue to increase production. The 1884 Return on Agriculture notes that there were 548,000 acres of potatoes and 197,539 acres of orchards in Great Britain and that this was an increase on earlier years, but it offers no information about where or how the produce was sold.²⁹⁷

If there is no information available from the railway companies or government statistics, then the Market records could provide information, but once again, the problem is availability of data. Market traders and goods hauliers were usually individuals or unincorporated companies who did not need to report their results. No such information appears to have survived and it is therefore not possible to interrogate their records to identify their customers or transactions. Borough Market did maintain a great many records, but these primarily relate to the Market's renting facilities to the traders and tenants. Fortunately, the records do offer three areas which can provide insight into changes of trade in the Market: with the tolls and portage records and the Trustee Minutes, which provide a narrative to daily market life.

Borough Market Data

This thesis intends to identify changes in the volume and variety of goods on offer for sale at Borough Market after the availability of railway transportation, with reference to toll income and portage records. Portage records are not available for the whole period of this study but do cover from 1864 to 1874, which are key dates for Borough Market because they span the initial period of income growth. Earlier portage data relating to 1858 provides a baseline before the 1860s railway construction and the capital investment in Borough Market.

The six-monthly accounts provide a complete record of toll income received by Borough Market throughout the nineteenth century. However, because Borough Market did not collect its own tolls until 1865, the monies collected prior to that date do not fully reflect the market activity. Tolls were charged on goods brought into the Market and the level of toll income depended on which market traders were obliged to pay tolls, the rate of tolls and the volume of goods passing through the Market.

From the inception of the Market only non-growers of the produce sold, or salesmen, were expected to pay tolls on goods and this rule remained consistent throughout the period

²⁹⁷ '1885 Agricultural Returns of Great Britain with Abstract Returns for The United Kingdom, British Possessions, and Foreign Countries.', 1885, <https://parlipapers-proquest-com.libproxy.york.ac.uk>.

reviewed. The Market tried to remove this inconsistency and extend tolls to all market traders in 1875 when they submitted a Bill to Parliament, but it was vigorously contested by growers and failed to pass.²⁹⁸ Consequently, there was not a fundamental change in the rules of who should pay tolls during the period of the analysis. But, if the Market was moving towards wholesale trade during the period reviewed, there should have been more toll-paying salesmen, which would increase toll income. However, this expected result may have been offset by traders avoiding tolls and contemporary opinion suggests that many growers were acting as salesmen. In the absence of details about the status of stand-holders, the impact of the number of people paying tolls will not be considered further when reviewing changes in toll income.

Another factor to affect toll income was the toll rates applied to goods and the Market records do provide some for certain items at different dates. The 1829 Borough Market Act noted the following tolls (Table 3).²⁹⁹

Table 3

Bag of peas or beans	1d each
Box of oranges, lemons, onions	2d each
Chest of oranges, lemons, onions	4d each
Bag of nuts	2d each
Round of strawberries or raspberries	1d each
Ton of potatoes	1/6d each

When Mr Holditch, the market clerk, reported to the Royal Commission on Market Tolls in 1888 he confirmed that a charge of 1/6d per ton of potatoes still applied and had been the same for many years and the Commission also noted that peas and beans were charged at 1d per sack.³⁰⁰ Since these items remain the same as 1829 and formed a large volume of the goods sold by Borough Market, it is reasonable to consider that any major changes in the value of toll income was due to changes in volume of produce coming into the Market and not to changes in the level of toll charged.

²⁹⁸ 'Borough Market Minute Book from 1866', 22 January 1875, ACC/2058/01/02/010, London Metropolitan Archive.

²⁹⁹ British Government, '1754 Act to Enable the Churchwardens, Overseers and Inhabitants of the Parish of St Saviour in the Borough of Southwark in the County of Surrey to Hold a Market within the Said Parish Not Interfering with the High Street in the Said Borough', Tolls, 70.

³⁰⁰ British Government, 'First Report of the Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls: Vol. II., 1888', 162–63, points 3384, 3399.

The most detailed record of the toll income was recorded in the Stand Committee Minutes which listed the total value of tolls collected each week but does not provide any details about who paid the tolls or provide a breakdown of the produce charged. There are also some incomplete records relating to individuals who paid the tolls, but equally these documents do not provide the transactional detail to identify to which product the tolls applied. Obtaining complete toll information was a contemporary problem as well as a modern one. In September 1860, Mr Williams, the current toll collector, notified the Market Trustees that he wanted to give up his contract because he was unable to obtain sufficient information about the goods coming into the Market to gather his income. Mr Williams particularly highlighted the lack of co-operation from the railway goods depot at Bricklayers Arms, and his level of concern suggests that a substantial volume of the goods had been delivered by train.³⁰¹

In the absence of more detailed information, the rise in reported toll income can only prove a general trend suggesting increasing volumes of produce passing through the Market. This is supported by an advert for the private sale of a property in York Street in 1878 which commented that “the rapid growth of the trade of the Market is evidenced by the fact that tolls for the year ended Michaelmas 1878 amounted to £3,338 and those for the year ended Michaelmas, 1869, £1,598.”³⁰²

In contrast to the more general toll records, the portage records do provide details of the types of produce sold and volumes which were carried by market porters. It is impossible to be sure that all goods received into the Market were included in these records; however, in 1888 Mr Holditch, the market clerk, confirmed that portage was compulsory under the Market bye-laws. This was supported by Mr Ormond, a Borough Market salesman, who complained that he had to pay portage even if a market porter was unavailable and his own men did the work.³⁰³ Despite this limitation, the portage records do offer detailed records showing changing volumes of good and increasing varieties of goods.

³⁰¹ ‘Borough Market Minute Book from 1859’, 8 September 1860.

³⁰² ‘Advertisement for the Sales of 2 York Street, Southwark: 19 December 1878’ (Ash & Company, 19 December 1878), ACC/2058/3/8/8, London Metropolitan Archive.

³⁰³ British Government, ‘First Report of the Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls: Vol. II., 1888’, 165, point 3512.

Porterage Database (Appendix 4)

In creating a porterage database for analysis there have been two main issues: missing data and uncertain weights for standard market measures to be able to estimate the overall increase in the volume of goods sold.

Generally, the porterage data is regularly recorded but one month is missing in each of the years 1868, 1869, 1870, 1872 and 1873. To be able to predict trends it is important to have a realistic annual figure and therefore speculative data has been added for the missing month in each year and clearly identified in the analysis in red. Since the analysis shows that volumes are generally increasing, the volume of goods added for missing months is equivalent to that recorded in the same month of the previous year, because this should avoid an over-estimation. This technique fails to account for any unusual changes in product delivery which only applied in the missing month/year, but since there is only five months of data missing, this treatment should not significantly affect trends.

The other problem is equating the wide variety of measures of produce reported by the porters to allow the data to be accumulated and compared. Many of the measures quoted in the porterage analysis are strictly standards of volume not weight, but they had become commonly applied for fruit and vegetables as measures of weight. There has been a limited amount of work done on historic weights and the following table (Table 4) provides a conversion rate for different measures recorded in the porterage reports, based on an amalgamation of work done by the University of Nottingham and Ronald Zupko.³⁰⁴

³⁰⁴ University of Nottingham, 'Manuscripts and Special Collections: Volumes or Capacity', University of Nottingham: UK version: Research Guidance, August 2006, <https://www.nottingham.ac.uk/manuscriptsandspecialcollections/researchguidance/weightsandmeasures/volumes.aspx>; Ronald Edward Zupko, *A Dictionary of Weights and Measures for the British Isles: The Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century* (Philadelphia USA: American Philosophical Society, 1985), <https://books.google.co.uk>.

Table 4

Container/Produce	Equivalent to	Pounds weight applied
Bag of onions		60
Bushell of peas		62
Bushell of potatoes (Surrey)		60
Case of apples	Bushel of apples	40
Case of onions		120
Cask of apples	3 Bushels	120
Cartload		Arbitrary weight
Cwt of potatoes/onions		112
Round strawberries	2 Bushels	80 (est.)
Sack of potatoes (Surrey)	3 Bushels	180
Sack of apples (Kent)	3.5 Bushels	160
Sieve of apples (Kent)	1 Bushel	40
Sieve of cherries		48
Sieve of plums		56
Sieve of vegetables	1 Bushel	Varies
Ton of potatoes/onions	20 Cwt	2240

The weight of produce for a 'volume' was not the same weight in all parts of the country but the selected weights applied in the south-eastern part of the country, the region which primarily supplied Borough Market. This table does not cover all the containers and types of produce included in the porterage analysis because it has proved impossible to find this information. However, the conversion table is only relevant because it has been used to produce an overall weight of goods subject to tolls to show overall volume changes for the Market over the period 1864–1874. Where conversion data is not available, assumptions have been made and are recorded on the analysis as estimated poundage. Whilst these figures may be speculative, this will have little effect on general trends because they are applied consistently across the years and products tend to use the same type of container throughout the period.

For the purpose of summarising the portorage analysis (Table 5) certain decisions have been taken for clearer presentation. Soft fruits are reported in different ways in the stand committee minute book, sometimes particular berries are identified and sometimes they are not. Therefore, all soft-fruits and berries volumes have been added together in the summary report and strawberries and raspberries are not considered as separate products when computing the number of products sold. Likewise, nuts come in many varieties but are included as a single item in the summary reports.

The Portorage Analysis and Increasing Volumes of Goods Sold in Borough Market

The portorage analysis shows annual portorage for 1858 and then the eleven years from 1864 to 1874. 1858 provides a baseline and a comparison to 1864 and covers a period of expansion to the railway network across the country. 1864 is also the date that the London Bridge to Charing Cross line was opened, and the following eleven years saw Borough Market’s recovery from the disruption caused by the railway construction and, also the benefits of the work done in the Market itself. Table 5 provides a summary of key data taken from the detailed portorage analysis.

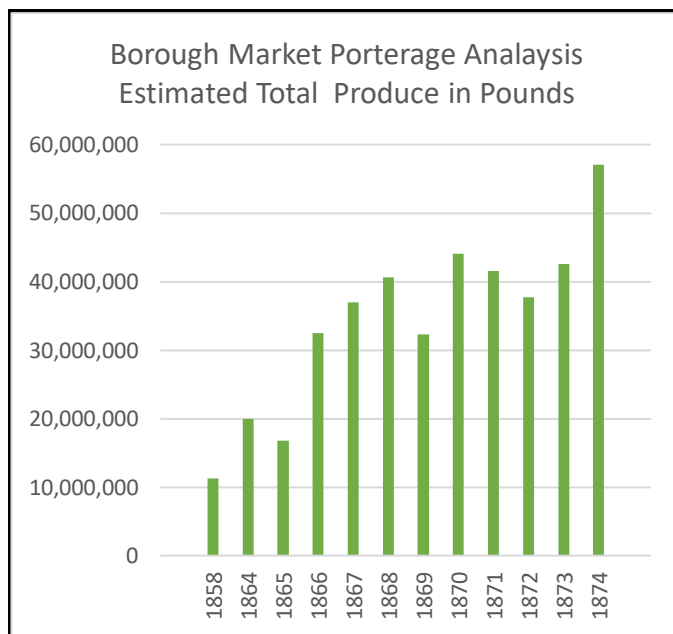
Table 5

Summary of Detailed Portorage Analysis						
Estimated pounds in weight						
	Loads of Veg	Potatoes	Apples	Soft fruits	Onions	Total Produce
1858	2,199,400	860,832	2,381,160	3,602,645	0	11,264,191
1864	2,109,400	2,992,528	4,058,520	5,807,100	238,336	19,932,026
1865	3,264,800	2,667,728	4,453,700	5,122,530	141,164	16,801,950
1866	4,028,200	10,830,376	4,674,720	8,663,130	200,636	32,512,804
1867	4,407,400	15,354,508	5,201,960	7,698,430	490,304	36,925,636
1868	4,414,400	16,594,576	7,345,680	8,736,856	469,376	40,584,152
1869	4,533,000	15,799,504	3,702,000	3,385,580	605,184	32,267,168
1870	3,987,200	17,155,912	5,200,120	11,519,336	1,347,924	44,096,166
1871	3,877,800	19,123,732	3,732,760	5,868,090	1,093,284	41,587,518
1872	4,266,800	20,747,580	2,024,280	3,027,060	1,109,320	37,707,870
1873	3,687,400	22,611,904	5,130,520	4,746,960	1,089,272	42,582,152
1874	3,866,800	22,569,456	6,781,880	10,425,380	1,735,864	57,043,207

The summary in Table 5 shows significant growth in the volume of goods recorded in the porter’s logs. There are occasional reductions in overall sales volume in 1864, 1869 and 1872, but these could be due to difficult economic pressures, poor harvests or specific issues within the Market itself.

When the overall volume of goods sold in Borough Market is presented graphically, (Graph 2) there is a clear upward trend from 1858 to 1874, apart from a dip in the early 1870s. The dip is particularly noticeable in the soft-fruit and orchard-fruit categories, especially in 1869, 1871 and 1872 and this may be associated with the cold and wet summers recorded in that period. Delivery of perishable fruit, such as soft fruits, was particularly associated with rail transportation because of the speed of delivery and the growth in this sector is almost three times since 1858. Railways were also notably suited to bulk delivery at competitive prices and would have contributed to the huge rise in the volume of potatoes sold and the introduction of onions.

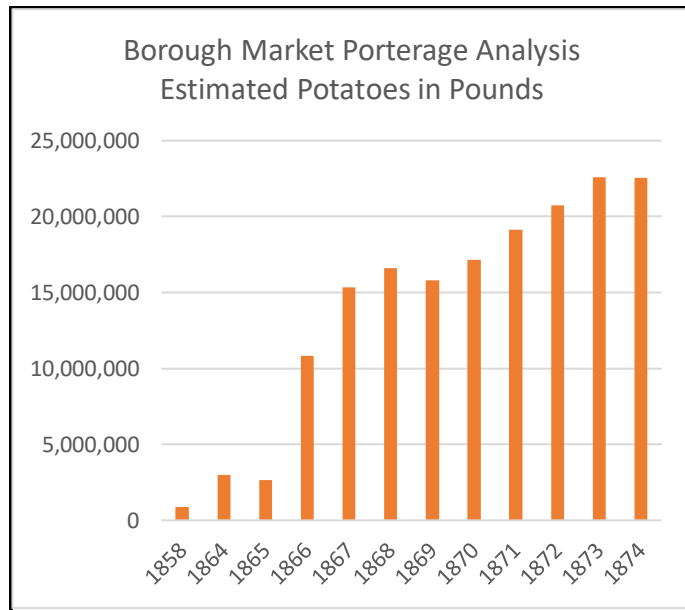
Graph 2



Graph 3 represents the growth in the volume of potatoes sold and is especially interesting for understanding the changes in Borough Market in the second half of the nineteenth century and the move towards wholesaling. By 1874 the reported volume of potatoes accounted for almost 40% of the total volume of goods and this highlights the growing importance of the potato trade to Borough Market. The dramatic change in potato volumes was in 1866 when the analysis shows a 400% increase on the previous year. This date closely relates to the opening of the London Bridge to Charing Cross railway line and the completion of the improvements and construction in and around Borough Market, including

the construction of a potato warehouse on the site.³⁰⁵ This suggests that the work paid for by the railway compensation enabled Borough Market to provide the facilities required for this high-volume trade. The railways were also important because they were the main method of inland delivery of potatoes in the mid–nineteenth century and tons of potatoes were transported across the country by train.

Graph 3



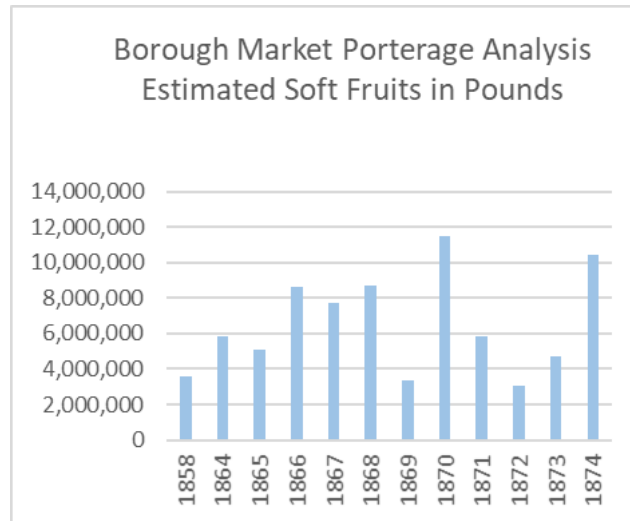
The high volume of potatoes sold also proves that Borough Market was becoming increasingly a wholesale market. Since there is no evidence that the Market substantially increased in size in 1866, the increased volume could only be managed by changes in the method of trading, suggesting large-scale potato wholesaling. Other root crops, carrots and onions, also become important products for the Market with onions becoming a significant product from 1864 and carrots from 1870. This supports the proposition that a wider variety of root vegetables became available in cities as a result of rail transportation.

Whilst the porterage analysis shows that orchard fruits did increase in volume, the most significant rise in fruit volume over the whole period is in the soft-fruits range which is shown in Graph 4. These products show an overall increase of 80% from 1865 to 1875. The increased availability of highly perishable fruit in London markets, such as berries, was directly linked to the benefit of quicker transportation provided by trains. Once again, the ability to

³⁰⁵ 'Borough Market Minute Book from 1859', 19 May 1864.

handle the increasing volume of products suggests a wholesale market rather than a retail market selling to individuals. Borough Market would have provided berries and soft fruits for its new customers, many associated with railway development, the restaurants, hotels and suburban greengrocers, but also found buyers from the rising number of jam factories in the area.³⁰⁶

Graph 4



The other major area where increased volumes are shown in the porterage analysis is in general green vegetables. Broccoli, sprouts and turnip tops are regularly mentioned from 1868. These bulky vegetables would have had a relatively low sales value and would have taken a lot of valuable wagon space using traditional transportation. Also, the fleshy vegetables, such as turnip tops, would also have deteriorated quickly. As a result, such produce was unprofitable to bring to London markets before railway transportation provided quick, cheap delivery of such bulk items. Railways therefore enabled markets to offer a wider range of produce.

The porterage analysis supports the claim that a higher volume of produce was delivered to Borough Market, but the records do not provide documented evidence that this was because of the railways. However, the results of the analysis seem germane to the argument that the delivery of perishable items can be attributed to railway transportation because there were no other forms of transport which could match the speed of trains. Other, less perishable goods could be delivered by water and there is evidence that Borough Market continued to receive some goods from local wharves. However, water transportation did not preclude the use of railways in the delivery chain because the produce had to reach the ports.

³⁰⁶ Thomas Farrell, 'The Fruit of Enterprise: Pink's Jam', Let's Look Again: A history of branded Britain, 2015, <http://letslookagain.com/2015/07/the-fruit-of-enterprise-pinks-jam/>.

There is substantial evidence of increased goods traffic on London roads, but these tended to be short journeys bringing goods from train depots and companies such as Pickford's in Southwark developed to meet this need. Horse-drawn vehicles remained an expensive and slow option for bringing goods from longer distances.

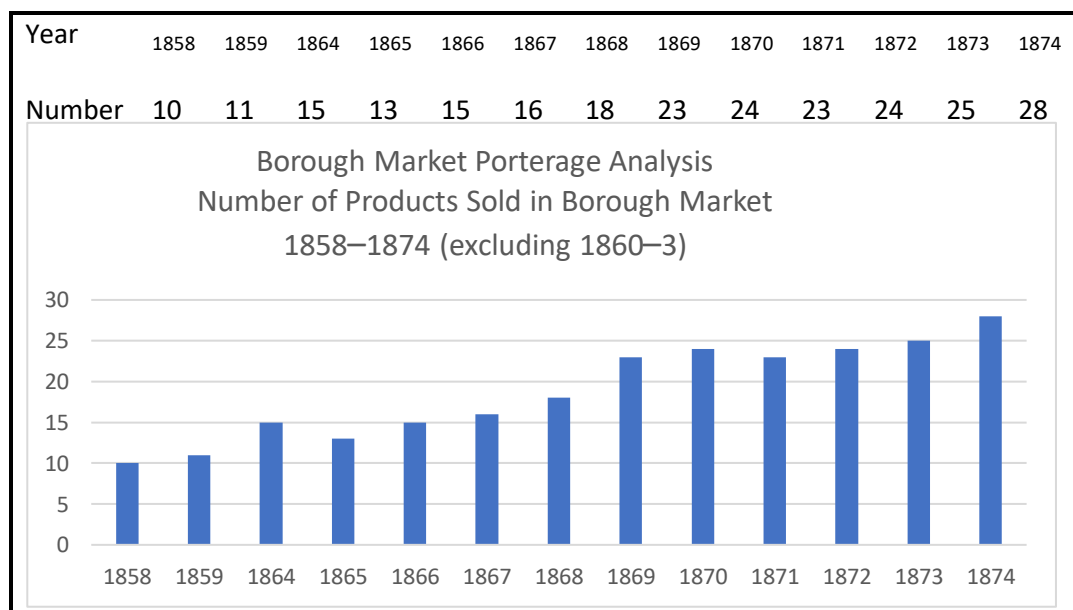
The increasing volumes of produce shown in the analysis also support the view that Borough Market moved towards wholesale trading because it would have been impossible to sell so much more produce in a retail environment given that the Market area did not change significantly over the period.

Does the Porterage Analysis Show an Increased Range of Products at Borough Market?

The porterage analysis identifies the volumes of goods by both the type of produce and the delivery container. It is therefore possible to identify how many different types of produce were sold in Borough Market.

The analysis shows a general increase in the number of products sold in Borough Market from 1858–1874. The years 1860–1863 are not included but there is little variation in the produce sold between 1859 and 1864 apart from the introduction of citrus fruit. Graph 5 shown the number of products traded in each year analysed and a graphic representation of the upward trend.

Graph 5



The new products sold after 1864 included different types of green vegetables and more soft-fruit varieties, and all benefitted from the speed and price of rail transportation over traditional methods.³⁰⁷ The large volume of train wagons made it easier to ship low-value vegetables and still make a profit, whilst the speed of delivery ensured that produce arrived in a saleable state. Without railway transportation, such goods would have remained only available at local markets or a high-value luxury for the wealthy until future technological advances made it possible to keep produce longer.

Conclusion

Mr Robert Horner, owner of Spitalfield's Market, reported to the Royal Commission on Market Tolls in 1888, that the railways had enabled the markets to supply the "wants of a tremendous number of people."³⁰⁸ This comment reflected both the need for more food to sustain the growing population, but also a desire for more variety.

Railway transportation provided a large amount of affordable transportation which could reach across all parts of the United Kingdom, especially after the 1860s when the whole railway network was fundamentally completed. This enabled farmers to extend their areas of production with the confidence that the results of their labour would find a profitable and ready market in a major city. Traditional produce transportation methods were limited by poor roads, the weather, the speed and capacity of horse-drawn vehicles, and access to water transport. In contrast, the railways were fast, unaffected by roads or weather and could increase capacity by adding multiple wagons to each steam engine as required which kept costs low.³⁰⁹

The speed of railways enabled farmers to consider growing more profitable but more perishable produce, because it would arrive at the market in a fit state to sell. This was especially important when the free trade movement increased foreign competition and farmers were able to convert to growing crops which could not easily be imported.³¹⁰

All city markets benefitted from railway transportation of fruit and vegetables because they had the opportunity to sell more volume, and greater variety of products and Borough

³⁰⁷ Burnett, *Plenty and Want: A Social History of Food in England from 1815 to the Present Day*, 8.

³⁰⁸ British Government, 'First Report of the Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls: Vol. II., 1888', 16 February 1888, 90, point 1606.

³⁰⁹ Burnett, *Plenty and Want: A Social History of Food in England from 1815 to the Present Day*, 8.

³¹⁰ Burnett, 118.

Market was no exception. Its location south of the river and close to major railway termini made it especially able to benefit from all the advantages offered by rail transportation, and its accounts and portorage suggest that it did so. Railway transportation also enabled the Market to move to wholesale trading at a time when many retail markets were forced to close as retail shops replaced markets.

CHAPTER 6 – CONCLUSIONS

The history of Borough Market after the arrival of the railways at London Bridge in 1836 reflects some unique features of the Market which have helped it to trade to the present day. Whilst the railway construction in the early 1860s had the potential to destroy Borough Market, the railways instead provided a catalyst which enabled Borough Market to shift into wholesale trading and to preserve its original market site. Improved transportation by trains had both a direct impact on what was sold in the Market and an indirect effect on its customer base. But perhaps the most important event was the receipt of cash compensation in 1864 from The South Eastern Railway Company, which enabled Borough Market to improve its infrastructure and consolidate its financial position, ensuring its future stability.

Communications had always played a vital role in Borough Market and Southwark's history and the area's success, until the early nineteenth century, was based on traditional methods of transportation by road and water. However, the railways were a revolutionary method of transportation which created unprecedented mass transportation of people and goods and the arrival of trains did not have the same impact on Southwark as the expansion of the roads a century earlier. Although Borough Market was intimately linked to Southwark it did not suffer the same impact from the construction of the railways as most of the area, which exhibited many of the classic changes suffered in Victorian cities due to railway construction. Indeed, Borough Market successfully co-existed with the railways throughout the second half of the nineteenth century and continues to benefit from its proximity to London Bridge terminus to the present day.

Borough High Street had been an important thoroughfare from the south of England since the first century AD and a focus for much of the business in Southwark, including market traders. However, the market stalls and carts created such disruption to the flow of traffic onto London Bridge that in 1754 this long-established market was removed, and a new market established nearby. The new market was Borough Market and it started trading during a period of great physical expansion in Southwark when more major roads were built at the southern end of Borough High Street.

Whilst the area of developed land in Southwark was greatly increased between the 1750s and 1830s there is no evidence that they caused any significant changes to the local demographic profile or land use in Southwark.³¹¹ The new roads did not significantly improve

³¹¹ University of Greenwich, 'St George's Fields, Southwark: From a Grand 18th Century Suburb to 19th Century Inner-City Slums'.

the speed or reliability of travelling into London and only the wealthiest people could afford to take advantage of the new road network and live outside the metropolis. However, there was undoubtedly an appetite developing by the early nineteenth century to live just outside the metropolis and the success of the horse omnibus, introduced in 1829, shows that the middle-classes were keen to follow this trend.

The construction of the new roads had no physical effect on Borough Market because they were built too far south on Borough High Street and the Borough Market Trustees commented that they could not observe any direct benefit to the Market resulting from these roads. But the Market Trustees were aware that local communications were important to Borough Market's trade and expressed concerns when the remodelling of the northern end of Borough High Street in the early 1830s caused the destruction of some alleys which led into the Market.³¹² But whilst the physical development of Southwark did not directly affect Borough Market, the expansion of the area did increase the Market's customer base. Borough Market's customers were the people who lived in and around Southwark, ranging from wealthy businessmen in large houses to casual labourers living near the riverside wharves. More residential properties created more customers, and this undoubtedly contributed to the Market's need to expand and improve during the first three decades of the nineteenth century.

Whilst improvements to roads during the eighty years after 1750 had a limited effect on Borough Market or Southwark, the arrival of the train would transform land use and demographics in Southwark. But did the railways have the same impact in Borough Market that they produced in Southwark and if not, why?

The first railway service to London ran from 1837 between Greenwich and London Bridge, and the London Bridge terminus was conveniently placed for access into the City of London. Railways differed from road and water transport options because they provided quick, convenient and affordable travel into London for business or social events and removed the primary reason for many people to live in Southwark. This had a major impact on the demographic of Southwark because train travel escalated the existing trend to live outside of the city and caused the rapid expansion of small settlements such as Clapham and Croydon, which were located only five and nine miles respectively from London Bridge. Railway companies encouraged this exodus by offering fare incentives to London commuters because it boosted their current income and ensured long-term customers. The wealthier middle classes were the first to leave Southwark, attracted by being able to afford better property on their

³¹² 'Borough Market Minute Book from 1830', 2 September 1836.

income and by the greener, healthier environment of the new suburbs. Once the Government enforced cheaper third-class and workmen's fares from 1844 onwards, working-class families with a regular income also moved out of Southwark. As a result, most people left living in Southwark were the poorest members of society, those who had insufficient income for a train fare or needed to live close to the docks and factories to be readily available for any casual employment opportunities.

The construction of railways also inflicted physical changes on Southwark which turned into an increasingly industrial landscape with factories, processing plants and yards slotted amongst the infrastructure of the railway itself. Manufacturers wanted to be located close to a train depot for convenient transportation of their raw materials and finished products, and this led to increased pressure to find suitable properties close to London Bridge terminus. As a result, land values rose around in parts of Southwark and the chance to make a substantial profit encouraged many land owners to sell. The increased amount of industry created many unskilled jobs which encouraged more of the poorest working-class families to move into Southwark and increased the pressure on the diminishing stock of housing, leading to the rise of slums.

In contrast to Southwark, land use in Borough Market was fundamentally unchanged and the Market managed to preserve its property and continue to trade as a fruit and vegetable market on the same site throughout the nineteenth century; indeed, Borough Market accounts show that the Market flourished from the 1860s (Appendix 2). There is also evidence that the demographic of the families leasing the Borough Market property did not reflect the rise in poverty elsewhere in Southwark. The 1871 Census return for Borough Market properties shows that they each remained in the hands of a single family and had not fallen into densely occupied slums. This was important for Borough Market's trade and reputation because the overcrowding, dirt and disease associated with slum properties would have been unsuitable for a trading environment and unattractive to buyers and sellers.

The biggest threat to Borough Market from the railways came in 1858 when The South Eastern Railway Company proposed to build a line through the Market. Borough Market was able to fight to preserve its site because of its legal status as an authorised London market, the fact that the Market owned its property and the Market's financial link to the parish of St Saviour's. The land ownership and Parliamentary authority made it impossible for the railway company to ignore Borough Market's protestations or to force it to move and, as a result, the railway company had to negotiate with the Market Trustees. The agreed settlement was

important for preserving Borough Market because it helped the Market to transform itself physically and move towards wholesale trading.

Borough Market enjoyed the status of an authorised London market under the Acts of Parliament, which established the Market and defined exactly where it was to trade. This is important because whilst St Thomas' hospital was able to accept a substantial compensation payment from The South Eastern Railway Company and moved to a completely different area, this was not an option for Borough Market. The Market would require Parliamentary approval to move and unless a suitable site could be found in St Saviour's parish, then the link to the parish would be broken.

Borough Market had a close association with St Saviour's parish which was defined in the Acts of Parliament. Not only was Borough Market located within the parish, but Borough Market Trustees were often also members of the powerful St Saviour's vestry. Most importantly the Acts stated that profits from the Market, after payment of annuity interest, were to be given to the parish to reduce parochial rates. This became a regular contribution after 1824 and financially benefitted the wealthier and influential rate-paying parishioners. Any contribution to parochial rates would have been especially appreciated once many of the middle-class families left St Saviour's and the number of people paying the rates was reduced. The influential rate-payers were therefore keen to support and protect the continued trading of Borough Market on its original site to preserve this contribution to the local rates.³¹³

The Acts of Parliament also established that Borough Market should own its property and that it was vested in the Market Trustees.³¹⁴ This was relevant for two reasons: the Market could not be forced to move if a third-party landlord decided to sell the property and the Trustees acted as a group answerable to the parish as a whole, which stopped any one or two individuals deciding to sell Market property.

The powers and protection given to Borough Market by the various Acts of Parliament plus the desire to retain valuable income for St Saviour's parish provided the impetus for the Trustees to oppose The South East London Railway Company plans. They negotiated aggressively for compensation whilst Parliamentary protection made it difficult for the railway

³¹³ '1754 Act of Parliament to Enable the Churchwardens, Overseers and Inhabitants of the Parish of St Saviour in the Borough of Southwark in the County of Surrey to Hold a Market within the Said Parish Not Interfering with the High Street in the Said Borough', XVIII, 18.

³¹⁴ British Government, '1754 Act to Enable the Churchwardens, Overseers and Inhabitants of the Parish of St Saviour in the Borough of Southwark in the County of Surrey to Hold a Market within the Said Parish Not Interfering with the High Street in the Said Borough"', Section XVIII, 18.

companies to ignore Borough Market. Ultimately, Borough Market was successful in agreeing a financial settlement with The South Eastern Railway Company and the railway lines were built over the Market resulting in no overall loss of property. Not only did this preserve the site but it also provided a vital cash injection to enable the Trustees to renovate and improve Borough Market.

Some hundred years after it was formed, the fabric of Borough Market was suffering from significant deterioration and the Market was very overcrowded. The Trustees recognised the problems and in December 1850 they presented a plan of action before St Saviour's parish and estimated that it would require a £25,000 investment to properly extend and renovate the Market.³¹⁵ The Trustees asked for support from the parish, however, this proposal was rejected. These problems continued to plague Borough Market and the poor state of the Market roof was the subject of a London newspaper article in 1852, whilst in 1857 two of the Market's houses in Green Dragon Court partially collapsed and had to be demolished because they were "literally worn out" and past repair.³¹⁶ Stand-holders and property leaseholders started to complain directly to the Trustees about the state of the property but, without financial support from St Saviour's parish and with loans becoming increasingly difficult to find and expensive, the Trustees faced a major impediment to resolving the problems of the crumbling and overcrowded Market. The compensation paid to Borough Market by The South Eastern Railway Company was very timely and eliminated the Trustees' financial limitations so that they were able to implement extensive improvement and renovation plans. Whilst the Trustees did not significantly extend the Market site, they were able to make the existing site more effective and attractive and to properly resolve the long-standing problems of the Market roof. The funds from the railway also enabled the Trustees to consolidate the Market's ownership of small parts of its site and to eliminate any outstanding debts which made the Market more financially secure.

This interaction between Borough Market and The South Eastern Railway Company produced a unique benefit for the Market and enabled it to remain on its historic site, whilst so much of the land use around it changed. But the railways had another impact on London food markets generally because of railway freight transportation, and this affected both the volume of goods arriving in Borough Market and the methods of trading to process this higher volume.

³¹⁵ 'Borough Market Minute Book from 1843', 3 December 1850.

³¹⁶ 'Borough Market Minute Book from 1843', 12 April 1852; 'Borough Market Minute Book from 1852', 8 April 1857.

Improved railway goods transportation enabled large volumes of goods to be economically transported into markets, especially the vital staple crop of potatoes. In addition, the speed and reliability of trains made it possible to transport perishable fruit and vegetables to the market from greater areas of production. Together the higher volume and greater variety of goods increase the level of trade at Borough Market and thus increased its toll and stand income. This effect was especially noticeable after the railway network extended to more remote farming areas during the 1850s and 1860s. The rise in reliable toll income must have encouraged the Market Trustees to take the decision to bring toll collection in-house in 1865 and to pay their own staff to collect and manage this part of the Market business. Tolls became progressively a more important and improving part of Borough Market's income, increasing almost seven-fold between 1860 and 1884 in comparison to stand income which only trebled in value over the same time (Appendix 2).

But a higher volume of trade could not have been sustained without new trading methods and the nineteenth century saw major London markets move towards wholesale trade rather than retail. This was partly a response to higher demands for food from the increasing metropolitan population, but also due to the rise in retail shops from the second half of the nineteenth century, which caused a fall in the traditional retail trade of markets. The railways were well suited to bringing bulk goods in and out of the metropolis at an economic rate and this helped London markets move towards wholesale trading. Borough Market was already established as one of London's major fruit and vegetable markets and was well located to receive bulk transportation of goods by train and provide nearby warehouse capacity. As a result, Borough Market moved into wholesale trading and did not suffer when its retail trade fell.

The railways also brought new wholesale customers to Borough Market, including the large hotels built around London Bridge's impressive station entrance but also increasing numbers of costermongers. The rising level of poverty in Southwark, fuelled by the changing land use, ensured that Costermongers had a large local customer base and they were keen for a bargain after the Market's main wholesale trade had finished. The railways were also important in the development of London suburbs and the associated rise of the suburban greengrocer. In this case, Southwark's substantial road system provided the communications which enabled suburban greengrocers to attend Borough Market and still be back at their shops in time to open.

The move to wholesale trading and improved toll income all contributed to the on-going success of Borough Market during the nineteenth century, but this was only possible because Borough Market was able to maintain its reputation and position as the only authorised London market south of the Thames. This would have been impossible if the deterioration of the market fabric and the overcrowding had not been resolved in the 1860s.

This thesis contends that the most significant effect the railways had on Borough Market was the financial compensation paid by The South Eastern Railway Company to the Market and which provided a cash injection at a critical time. Without the renovations and improvements made to Borough Market using the railway funds it is likely that the application for a new market in Southwark in 1875 would have gained Parliamentary support. A new market would have offered more space and better facilities than a crumbling Borough Market and surely taken away much of Borough Market's trade. Once Borough Market became unprofitable and failed to contribute significantly to the parochial rates, the parish would have been more inclined to sell the Market property and Borough Market would have been lost forever. Instead, the improvements completed during the 1860s re-invigorated Borough Market and it successfully fought off the proposed new market.

Following the major re-development in the 1860s, Borough Market remained a successful wholesale fruit and vegetable market for another hundred years and provided local employment. Borough Market expanded south-eastward into Three Crowns Square in the 1930s and built a new entrance and offices for the Trustees in the fashionable art-deco style. But in the 1970s shopping habits changed again with the rise of supermarkets and the need for wholesale fruit and vegetable markets declined. Covent Garden Market moved to modern facilities near Vauxhall at this time, but Borough Market remained embedded in its community. The Market Trustees were keen to maintain the site as a food market and not, as former Trustee Chairman George Nicholson said, to "replicate the model of Covent Garden" whose old marketplace now only sold craft and tourist goods.³¹⁷ The reinvention of Borough Market started with a small fine food fair in 1998 and has developed into a vibrant and bustling daily market. The wholesale days of Borough Market have passed, for whilst as many as 250 wholesalers once traded in Borough Market this was a mere ten by 2005 and now only Grovers Wholesale is the wholly wholesale operation at Borough Market.³¹⁸ Borough Market's present success comes from a return to retail trading and reflects the Market's ability to react, once

³¹⁷ Dean, *The Borough Market Book*.

³¹⁸ Borough Market, 'Trader: Grovers Wholesale', Borough Market, March 2018, [www.https://boroughmarket.org.uk/traders/grovers-wholesale](https://boroughmarket.org.uk/traders/grovers-wholesale).

again, to changing shopping habits. Customers flock to buy quality artisan produce from the Market within a historic marketplace which reflects its story and longevity on the site.

The Market's close association with the railways is still important and visible. Borough Market's proximity to London Bridge station enables millions of people to visit the Market each year using the convenience of trains. Within Borough Market, the Victorian pillars, girders and arches which support the original and subsequent railway tracks give the site its unique character, as does the constant rumble of trains running overhead.

This thesis will help to build a more sophisticated view of the railways' impact on urban social history by highlighting how influential local factors can be. Some important works have been written about railways and cities by academics such as Kellett, Reeder and Dyos, but they have mostly only considered general consequences and predicted generic changes to cities caused by railways. Their work provides valid conclusions and is very valuable as a benchmark against which to judge the observations in this research.³¹⁹ But by examining the different experiences of the arrival of railways between Borough Market and the rest of Southwark, this work highlights how the big picture drawn from general principals can miss more intimate and unexpected results found on a more micro level.

Borough Market provides a unique market to examine because of its location south of the Thames and close to a major railway terminus, but it has been generally disregarded by academics in favour of the larger Covent Garden Market. By researching Borough Market, this thesis provides an insight into the role and management of another major London food market and adds to the limited knowledge of London markets during the nineteenth century. It also provides a link between academic work on food production and retail shops which has largely been ignored.

But does analysing the impact of a technological innovation on a Victorian food market have any resonance today? Yes, because by examining how radically trains changed the physical environment and the life of Southwark, it is possible to anticipate how future technological changes may affect modern society. NASA understood this when it commissioned a study, also on railways, to help it to predict the social and economic impact on the USA of its own technological discoveries.³²⁰ Yet by looking at Borough Market specifically, this work also highlights that different places can be affected differently and that unexpected events occur which cannot be anticipated. This is surely relevant in the twenty-first century when there are

³¹⁹ Kellett, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities*, 1969 ; Dyos and Reeder, 'Slums and Suburbs'.

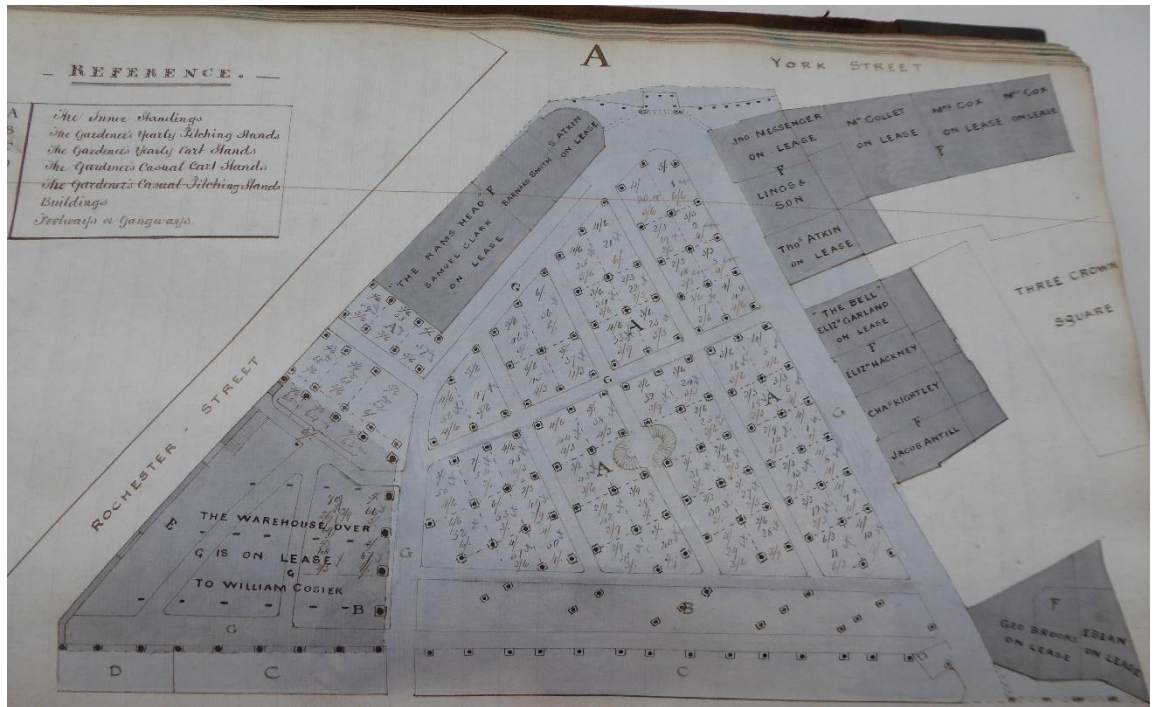
³²⁰ Hawke, *Railways and Economic Growth in England and Wales, 1840–1870*, 5.

daily technological advances and society is often worried by their impact on everyday lives, employment and society.

APPENDIX 1

Plan of Borough Market included in the Borough Market Minute Book on 4th May 1849.

London Metropolitan Archive ACC/2058/01/02/007



APPENDIX 3

Summary of key data taken from the detailed analysis of the Borough Market Accounts 1824–1884 (Appendix 2)

BOROUGH MARKET ACCOUNTS 1824-1884 (TO NEAREST POUND)

Year	Facilities Income	Interest/Other			Railway Compensation	Capital	
		Income	Loans			Investment	Loan Repayments
1824	2,604	534	0	0	0	0	0
1825	2,600	700	0	0	0	0	0
1826	2,457	614	0	0	2,834	0	0
1827	2,603	466	6,000	0	7,236	0	0
1828	2,691	466	7,500	0	3,528	6,000	0
1829	2,495	466	3,500	0	0	4,000	0
1831	2,574	467	4,000	0	0	6,000	0
1832	2,572	467	3,945	0	0	4,999	0
1833	2,540	467	2,500	0	0	3,500	0
1834	2,543	623	1,500	0	7,350	2,000	0
1835	2,362	425	2,000	0	2,059	2,000	0
1836	2,578	156	1,500	0	405	2,500	0
1837	2,741	156	0	0	459	500	0
1838	2,680	156	0	0	83	0	0
1839	2,768	156	0	0	200	0	0
1840	2,551	528	0	0	2,913	0	0
1841	2,775	39	0	0	40	0	0
1842	2,824	65	0	0	28	0	0
1843	2,788	64	0	0	0	0	0
1844	2,703	993	0	0	931	0	0
1845	2,747	31	0	0	0	0	0
1846	2,777	87	0	0	0	0	0
1847	2,818	67	0	0	651	0	0
1848	2,841	67	0	0	0	0	0
1849	2,842	58	0	0	0	0	0
1850	2,892	58	0	0	0	0	0
1851	2,991	58	0	0	1,572	0	0
1852	2,992	11	0	0	0	0	0
1853	2,910	81	3,000	0	3,916	0	0
1854	3,055	3	0	0	431	300	0
1855	2,961	2	0	0	45	300	0
1856	2,841	10	0	0	98	300	0
1857	2,434	85	0	0	435	300	0
1858	2,927	23	0	0	40	300	0
1859	3,306	110	600	0	666	500	0
1860	3,254	78	0	0	12	800	0
1861	3,191	56	0	105	0	600	0
1862	3,023	66	0	2,250	0	1,100	0
1863	2,770	118	0	856	427	400	0
1864	2,713	396	0	9,973	10,074	3,300	0
1865	3,744	367	1,260	1,592	3,998	1,250	0
1866	4,625	358	0	0	0	100	0
1867	4,984	276	2,000	0	0	100	0
1868	5,292	337	2,750	0	3,402	400	0
1869	5,664	28	0	0	526	500	0
1870	5,432	33	0	0	0	510	0
1871	5,384	14	1,260	0	1,594	550	0
1872	5,445	0	0	0	0	415	0
1873	5,638	0	0	0	0	316	0
1874	6,305	0	0	0	0	200	0
1875	6,571	0	0	0	0	200	0
1876	6,653	0	0	0	0	200	0
1877	6,852	0	0	0	0	200	0
1878	7,313	0	0	0	0	0	0
1879	8,076	0	0	0	0	0	0
1880	9,534	3	0	0	0	0	0
1881	9,476	0	0	0	0	0	0
1882	10,924	34	0	0	837	0	0
1883	11,230	42	0	0	0	0	0
1884	11,493	48	0	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX 5

Showing levels of rental charges for Market stands: 1833, 1841 and 1879

a. 1833 – due rent, paid rent and revised rent levels

BOROUGH MARKET											
Inner Stand Rental at 5 July 1833 reported in the Trustee Minute Book											
Source: Metropolitan Archive ACC2058/01/02/005											
Stand	Name	Rent Due pw			Rent Paid pw			Rent Reviewed pw			Pence
		Pounds	Shillings	Pence	Pounds	Shillings	Pence	Pounds	Shillings	Pence	
1	Ramsdale & Butler		5	6.00	4		11.50		5		
2	Dean		3	6.00	3		1.75		3		3.00
3	Dean		3	6.00	3		1.75		3		3.00
4	Hughes		4	6.00	4		0.75		4		
5	James		4	6.00	4		0.75		4		
6	James		3	6.00	3		1.75		3		3.00
7	Price		4	6.00	4		0.75		4		
8	Goldring		4		3		7.25		3		6.00
9	Widdows		4	6.00	4		0.75		4		
10	McGeoy		4	6.00	4		0.75		4		
11	McCormack		7		6		0.75		6		3.00
12	Dann		3		2		8.50		2		9.00
13	Golding		2	6.00	2		3.00		2		3.00
14	Larckboard ?		3		2		8.50		2		9.00
15	Tilley		2	6.00	2		3.00		2		3.00
16	Tilley		4		3		7.50		3		6.00
17	Highe		4		3		7.50		3		6.00
18	Dean?		2	6.00	2		3.00		2		3.00
19	Ramsdale & Butler		2	6.00	2		3.00		2		3.00
20	Ramsdale & Butler		4	6.00	4		0.75		4		
21	Payne James		5		4		6.00		4		6.00
22	Payne James		2	6.00	2		3.00		2		3.00
23	?		4		3		7.25		3		6.00
24	Scoones		4		3		7.25		3		6.00
25	x		2	6.00	2		3.00		2		3.00
26	Reynolds		2	6.00	2		3.00		2		3.00
27	Reynolds		2	6.00	2		3.00		2		3.00
28	Dunn		3		2		8.50		2		9.00
29	Dryborough		4	6.00	4		0.75		4		
30	x		2	6.00	2		3.00		2		3.00
31	Slade		3		2		8.50		2		9.00
32	Scoones		4		3		7.25		3		6.00
33	Collings		5		4		6.00		4		6.00
34	Farrant		4		3		7.25		3		6.00
35	Payne James		5		4		6.00		4		6.00
36	Guire		6	6.00	5		10.25		6		
37	Wm Butler		5	6.00	4		11.50		5		
38	Yeoman		5	6.00	4		11.50		5		
39	Stafford		7	6.00	6		9.00		6		9.00
40	incl in 39										
41	Sendall		3		2		8.50		2		9.00
42	Sendall		3		3		7.25		2		9.00
43	Procter		4		4		6.00		3		6.00
44	Procter		5		5		4.75		4		6.00
45	George		6		5		4.75		5		6.00
46	not readable		6		5		4.75		5		6.00
47	Gardner ?		6		5		4.25		5		6.00
48	Matthews		6		4		6.00		4		6.00
49	Matthews		8	6.00	2		3.00		2		3.00
50	Mable		8		8		1.25		8		
51	incl in 50										
52	Monk		14		12		7.25		12		6.00
53	incl in 52										
54	Matthews		5	6.00	4		11.50		5		
55	incl 54										
56	Gardiner		5		4		6.00		4		6.00
57	Edmeads		6	6.00	5		10.25		6		
58	Edmeads		4		3		7.25		3		6.00
59	Edmeads		4		3		7.25		3		6.00
60	Gardiner		4		3		7.25		3		6.00
61	Gardiner		4		3		7.25		3		6.00
62	Baston		6		5		4.75		5		6.00
63	Beadle		5		4		6.00		4		6.00
64	Beadle		2	6.00	2		3.00		2		3.00
65	x		2	6.00	2		3.00		2		3.00
66	Staples		5	6.00	4		11.50		5		
67	Jackson		4	6.00	4		0.75		4		
68	Jackson		2	6.00	2		3.00		2		3.00
69	Staples		3		2		8.50		2		9.00
70	Wm Payne		4		3		7.25		3		6.00
71	Ryan		4		3		7.25		3		6.00
TOTAL PER WEEK		£14.00	19	0.00	£13	6	4.75	£13	3	3.00	
Rent achieved below standard price							-10.90%				-11.96%
Average Rent Reduction											-1.18%

b. comparison of stand rents 1833 and 1841

BOROUGH MARKET								
Inner Stand Rental at 5 July 1833 compared to 28 September 1841 as reported in the Trustee Minute Book								
Sources: Metropolitan Archive ACC2058/01/02/005, ACC2058/01/02/006								
Stand	Holder	Rent 1841 pw				Rent Reviewed 1833 pw		
		Pounds	Shillings	Pence		Pounds	Shillings	Pence
1	Ramsdale & Butler		5		1	Ramsdale & Butler		5
2	Barnard		3	3.00	2	Dean		3 3.00
3	Barnard		3	3.00	3	Dean		3 3.00
4	Highe		4		4	Hughes		4
5	Keighley		4		5	James		4
6	Keighley		3	3.00	6	James		3 3.00
7	Price		4		7	Price		4
8	Price		4		8	Goldring		3 6.00
9	Golding		4		9	Widdows		4
10	Golding		4		10	McGeoy		4
11	Gunn		6	3.00	11	McCormack		6 3.00
12	Golding		2	3.00	12	Dann		2 9.00
13	Golding		2	3.00	13	Golding		2 3.00
14	Spankshurst		2	9.00	14	Larkboard ?		2 9.00
15	Tilley		2	3.00	15	Tilley		2 3.00
16	Tilley		3	6.00	16	Tilley		3 6.00
17	Hughes		3	6.00	17	Highe		3 6.00
18	Barnard		2	3.00	18	Dean?		2 3.00
19	Ramsdale & Butler		2	3.00	19	Ramsdale & Butler		2 3.00
20	Ramsdale & Butler		4		20	Ramsdale & Butler		4
21	Payne		4	6.00	21	Payne James		4 6.00
22	Payne		2	3.00	22	Payne James		2 3.00
23	Hughes		3	6.00	23	?		3 6.00
24	Scoones		3	6.00	24	Scoones		3 6.00
25	Smith		2	6.00	25	x		2 3.00
26	Smith		2	6.00	26	Reynolds		2 3.00
27	Bunyard		3		27	Reynolds		2 3.00
28	Bunyard		2	6.00	28	Dunn		2 9.00
29	Franklin		4		29	Dryborough		4
30	Franklin		2		30	x		2 3.00
31	Loft		3		31	Slade		2 9.00
32	Scoones		3		32	Scoones		3 6.00
33	Collings		4		33	Collings		4 6.00
34	Farrant		3		34	Farrant		3 6.00
35	Payne		4		35	Payne James		4 6.00
36	Guire		6		36	Guire		6
37	Butler		5		37	Wm Butler		5
38	Yeomans		5		38	Yeoman		5
39	Stafford		6	9.00	39	Stafford		6 9.00
40	incl 39				40	incl in 39		
41	Sandall		2	9.00	41	Sendall		2 9.00
42	Sandall		2	9.00	42	Sendall		2 9.00
43	Proctor		3	6.00	43	Proctor		3 6.00
44	Proctor		4	6.00	44	Proctor		4 6.00
45	George		5	6.00	45	George		5 6.00
46	Gunn		5	6.00	46	not readable		5 6.00
47	Gardiner		5	6.00	47	Gardner ?		5 6.00
48	Matthews		4	6.00	48	Matthews		4 6.00
49	Matthews		2	3.00	49	Matthews		2 3.00
50	Treadwell		4		50	Mable		8
51	Mable		4		51	incl in 50		
52	Monk		12	6.00	52	Monk		12 6.00
53	incl 52				53	incl in 52		
54	Matthews		5		54	Matthews		5
55	incl 54				55	incl 54		
56	Gardiner		4	6.00	56	Gardiner		4 6.00
57	Martin		6		57	Edmeads		6
58	Martin		3	6.00	58	Edmeads		3 6.00
59	Martin		3	6.00	59	Edmeads		3 6.00
60	Gardiner		3	6.00	60	Gardiner		3 6.00
61	Gardiner		3	6.00	61	Gardiner		3 6.00
62	Barton		5	6.00	62	Baston		5 6.00
63	Beadle		6	9.00	63	Beadle		4 6.00
64	incl in 63				64	Beadle		2 3.00
65	not listed				65	x		2 3.00
66	Staples		5		66	Staples		5
67	Wm Payne		4		67	Jackson		4
68	Wm Payne		2	3.00	68	Jackson		2 3.00
69	Staples		2	9.00	69	Staples		2 9.00
					70	Wm Payne		3 6.00
					71	Ryan		3 6.00
TOTAL PER WEEK		£12	13	0.00		£13	3	3.00

c. to show levels of stand rent increase in 1879

BOROUGH MARKET								
Review of Stand Rental Review on 15th August 1879 from Trustee Minute Book								
Source:		Metropolitan Archive ACC2058/01/02/011						
Name	Area	Current Rent-----			Revised Rent-----			
		Pounds	Shillings	Pence	Pounds	Shillings	Pence	
FRONT STANDS								
Widdicombe	185		6	0		7		
Cohen	177		5	6		7		
Heightley	155		6	6		5	6	
Feden	601		16		1	1		
Weaver	737+155	1			1	11	6	
Coutts	604	1	4	6	1	1		
Heightley	419		16	6		15		
Price	749	1	5		1	6	6	
Woolley	358		13			12	6	
Osmond	403		13			14		
Britcher	506		16			17	6	
Harbridge	786	1			1	8		
Sheak	699		19	6	1	4	6	
Chapman	284		8	6		10	6	
Yeomans	792	1	3	6	1	8		
Carnell	389		10			14		
Smith	460		14			16		
Jacobs	554		15			19	6	
Lamb	348		12			12	6	
Wood	392		12			14		
Edmonds	368		10			12	6	
Chambers	667	1	6		1	4	6	
Hemsley	854	1	2	6	1	10		
Ferrier	2189	2	12		3	17		
Weston	599		17	6	1	1		
Searle	581		16		1	1		
Wilkins	320		10			11		
Totals	15176	22	10	6	27	2	6	
BACK STANDS								
Hill	1480	2	4	6	2	12	6	
Levy	982	1	13		1	15		
Treadwell	768	1			1	6	6	
Chapman	251		6			9		
Fisk	325		15			12		
Taylor	499		18			17	6	
Bouldon	205		7			7		
Bloomfield	419		17			15		
Holland	732	1	7	6	1	6	6	
Hathrell	825	1	13		1	10		
Low	239		10			9		
Bath	280		5			10		
Everett	356		10			12	6	
Atkins	315		12			12		
Totals	7676	12	18	0	13	14	6	
Total Income		<u>35</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>	40	17	0	15.31% increase

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