

**People and Place in Moseley, a Middle-Class
Birmingham Suburb,
1850-1900**

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**A Thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham for the Degree
of Doctor of Philosophy.**

College of Arts and Law
School of History and Culture
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Abstract

This thesis is a local history study of a nineteenth-century middle-class suburb which also looks at the wider significance. It asks when, how and why Moseley developed as a suburb in the nineteenth century and who was instrumental in its development. It also investigates what the suburb looked like, who lived there, how homes were divided up and decorated and furnished, how life was lived in the home and how residents operated in the public sphere. The study focuses on space, place and people; involves case studies of individuals, groups, roads and areas; raises issues of class, gender and new technology; addresses the notion of separate spheres - urban-rural, public-private, work-home and male-female; explores local reactions to developments; and compares Moseley to other local and national suburbs. The thesis aims to understand what it meant to be middle class and suburban at the time and in a specific place, draws out connections to broader themes and the impact of external pressures on the local scene. It adds to the literature on suburban development by taking this much broader approach, an approach that goes beyond the how, when and why of Moseley's development as a suburb. A wide range of primary sources are used, including building plans, sanitary assessments, auctioneers' bills, sales catalogues and estate plans, maps, images, bills and receipts, vestry minutes, funerary monuments, wills, annual reports, programmes and posters, newspapers and magazines, trade directories, correspondence, memorial cards and contemporary writings.

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Abbreviations

LBA	Library of Birmingham Archives
LBLH	Library of Birmingham Local History Department
CRL	Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham
MSHGC	Moseley Society History Group, 'The Collection'
SMCA	St. Mary's Church Archives, Moseley
RBA	Reading-Blackwell Archive
PC	Personal Collections:
PCFA	Fiona Adams, Secretary of the Moseley Society
PCRB	Rob Brown, Volunteer Archivist, St. Mary's Church, Moseley
PCRC	Roy Cockel, Committee Member, Moseley Society History Group
PCJE	Joyce Elliot, Member of the Moseley Society

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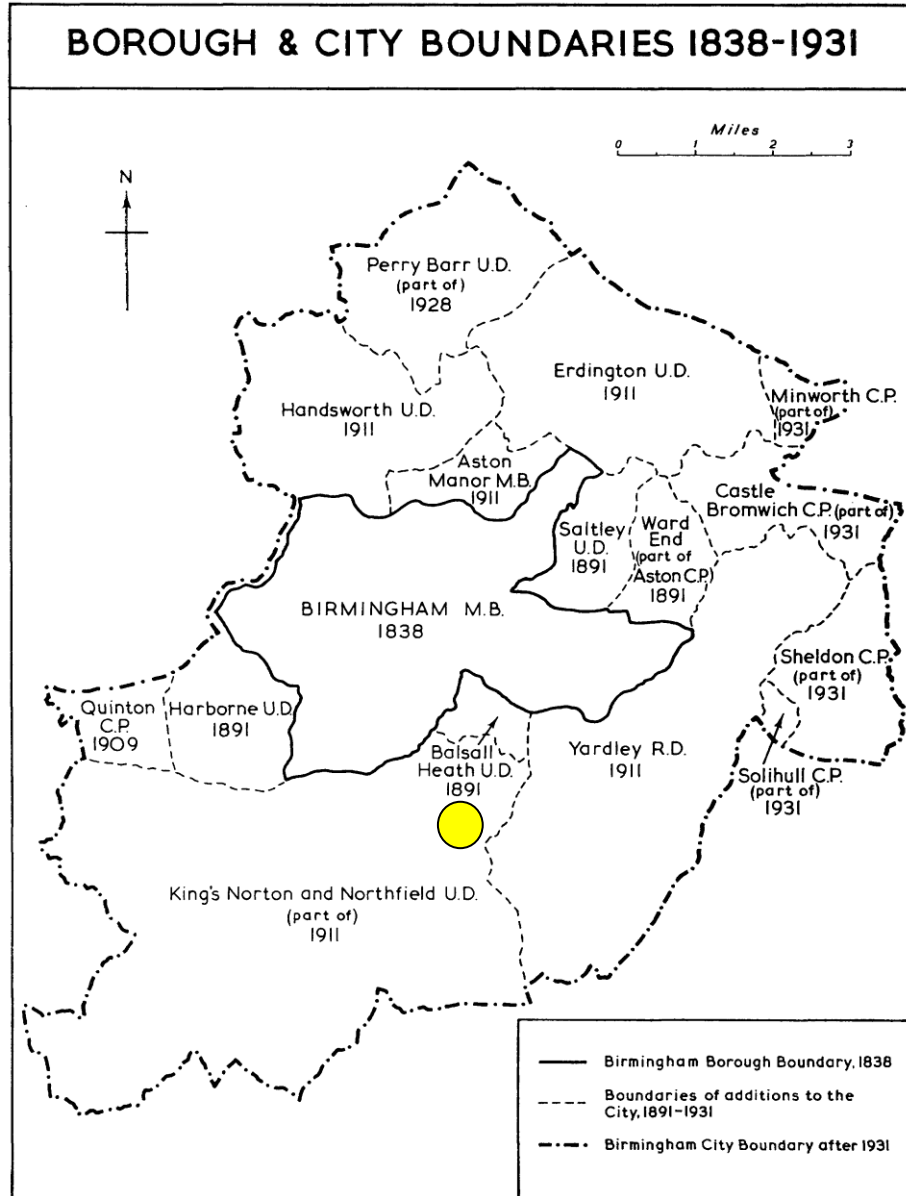
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The Suburbs of Birmingham, 1838-1931¹

(UD: Urban District; MB: Metropolitan Borough; RD: Rural District; CP: Civic Parish)



 **Moseley**

¹ Victoria History of the Counties of England (VCH): Warwickshire.
www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/warks/vol7/pp.1-3. Accessed 2014.

Timeline

Area	1800-1850 'Proto-suburbanisation'	1851-1870 'Initial Suburbanisation'	1871-1880 'Suburbanisation Takes Off'	1881-1890 'Suburbanisation Intensifies'	1891-1901 'A Mature Suburb'
Population	1841 c. 1,000	1861 c. 1,500	1871 c.2,400	1881 c.4,200	1891 c.7,200
Environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 'A pleasant and romantic village'. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cottages, large residences and a few mansions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 'First encroachment into Moseley Park and the open fields. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 'Delightful'. Moseley Hall seriously affected. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 'Rapidly undergoing great changes'. Moseley Park.
Land Sales	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Advantages: location, rural setting, sub-soils and elevation. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Small plots. Building leases on Moseley Hall Estate. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Some larger areas: eg. Anderton Park Estate. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Large estates: eg. Grove. Plots re-advertised: Grove and Anderton Park. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Little open green space. Building on garden plots.
New Roads	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> One 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Four 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nineteen 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nine 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nine
New Houses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Few and far between. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1851: Nine in two roads. Ave: 1 p.a. 1861: Sixty-seven in six roads. Ave 7 p.a. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1871: 160 in fourteen roads. Ave: 16 p.a. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1881: 214 s in nineteen roads. Ave: 21 p.a. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1891: 275 in twenty two roads. Ave: 28 p.a. 1901: 820 in twenty-four roads. Ave: 82 p.a.
Transport Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Coaches 3 days. Horse-buses. Omnibus Service. Railway line. Wooden bridge. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Moseley Station. Six trains Mon-Fri. Omnibuses ten daily. Horse-drawn trams. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Omnibuses very frequent. Fifteen trains daily (1875). Thirty trains daily (1877). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Steam trams 'regular'. Anti-Steam Tram Association Conference. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> New railway bridge.
Institutions Shops	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Moseley National School (1826). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> St. Mary's Church made a district / parish church. Fourteen shops. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> St. Anne's Church. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> St. Agnes Church. Baptist Church. Moseley & Balsall Heath Institute. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Presbyterian Church. Twenty shops. Victoria Parade (1901).
Cultural Societies and Sports Clubs		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cricket Club. Quoit and Bowling Club. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Literary Association. Football (Rugby Union) Club. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dramatic Society. Shakespearian Society. Musical Club. Choral Society. Photographic Society. Moseley Harriers Athletics Club. Moseley Park Lawn Tennis Club. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Golf Club. Ladies Cycling Club. Ashfield Cricket Club

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

In 1850 Moseley village was a small hamlet located south of Birmingham. Over the course of the second half of the nineteenth century this small village became a flourishing suburb. Two images of the village green illuminate this change. In the first, from 1858, the village green is an edged, but uneven mud and grass triangular space with ‘some low-roofed, old-fashioned houses backed by the parish church tower’ and a lone mother and child.¹ Such rural scenes appealed to the urban middle class, because they represented a seemingly idyllic rural environment, but reflects, as Susan Sontag suggests, an ‘aestheticizing tendency’.²



Fig. 1.1: Moseley Village Green, 1858.³

¹ Anderton, Thomas, *A Tale of One City: the New Birmingham* (Birmingham Counties Herald Office, 1900), p.115.

² Sontag, Susan, *On Photography* (UK: Penguin, Random House, 1979), p.109.

³ Moseley Society History Group ‘Collection’ (MSHGC); Private Collection of Roy Cockel (PCRC); Private Collection of Joyce Elliot (PCJE).

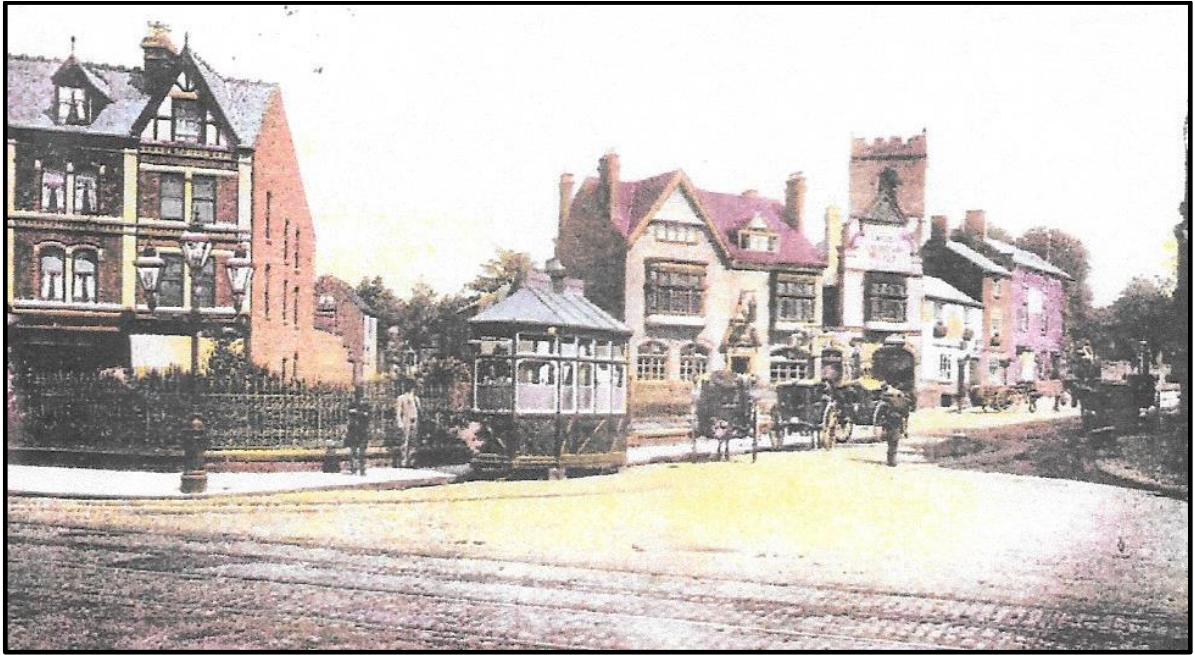


Fig. 1.2: Moseley Village Green, 1895.⁴

In the second image, for 1895, the cottages have gone, replaced by tall shops and the Bull's Head Public House has been rebuilt, but the church still stands proud. The village green is now manicured and enclosed by iron railings. Tram rails are visible in the foreground and growlers alongside a cabmen's hut await passengers off the trams, but horse transport is also there, suggesting the 'carriage class'. There are pavements and street lights, but few people and men only, whereas this would have been a busy mixed-gender streetscape towards the end of the century. This image celebrates suburbanisation and civic pride, newness, modernity and civilisation, and reflects the aspirations of Moseley residents and, perhaps, a powerful, unified culture. Such images represented for suburban dwellers a shared universe.⁵

⁴ MSHGC; PCRC & PCJE.

⁵ Green-Lewis, J., *Framing the Victorians: Photography and the Culture of Realism* (London: Cornell University Press, 1996), p.228.

This thesis investigates the changes these images portray, exploring when, why and how Moseley developed as a middle-class suburb, the key players in its development and the domestic built and green environments. It goes beyond this, though, to investigate the middle-class residents, their homes, gardens and lifestyles and their experiences at home and in the public sphere. The study interweaves themes of class and gender, differentiation and diversity, and positive and negative residential experiences to consider the impact change had on the suburb and its residents. It makes connections between the local and the national and compares Moseley to other Birmingham, provincial and London suburbs, which reveals what was typical and distinctive in suburban development and how and why suburbs differed. This broad approach, and its detailed research into the landscape and social, political and cultural history of the suburb, offers an integrated approach which is different from other suburban studies.

The study looks at what it was like to live in a middle-class suburb over time, and explores in particular, new areas of study, such as gardens, garden design and gardening. It reveals the pace and progress of physical development and transport, and local people. A sense of place and identity emerges through, for example, the examination of gardens, architecture, decorating and furnishing and involvement in the public sphere. The analysis of families and households suggests what might be a typical Moseley family, but reveals considerable variation. The thesis details how class and gender impacted on transport, work, the home and garden, and volunteerism and philanthropy and how these were mediated, managed and diverted. It explores the choices people made and what influenced their choices, for example, about houses and their location, consumer goods and leisure opportunities. It also

examines the contribution of women to the home and the suburb. The research confirms, challenges and extends the historiography. For example, it highlights how the middle class were in control of the development of their own environment and the impact of the influx of lower-middle class residents. It questions the historiography about family and household size, the prevalence of co-residents and co-dependency and the significance of servants as markers of middle class identity. It challenges arguments that women were confined largely to the domestic sphere and spent their time in needlework and craftwork. This study contributes to ways of seeing the suburb and suburbia in the late nineteenth century and shows that Moseley was, in some ways, distinctive, but was also representative of other suburbs.

The term 'suburbia' was supposedly coined in the 1890s though it relates to a phenomenon which precedes this decade.⁶ F.M.L. Thompson claims that 'modern suburban development got properly underway on a significant scale' after the Battle of Waterloo'.⁷ Suburbs proved a solution to urban housing problems for the expanding middle class, and by mid-century every town with more than 50,000 inhabitants had some suburbs.⁸ Common interests drew better-off, successful people together, creating a collective sense of themselves as a separate class. They sought to live alongside their own social group in areas of 'social exclusiveness', proclaim their new financial and social status, and fulfil their social

⁶ Cohen, D., *Household Gods: The British and their Possessions* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press Publications, 2006), p.101.

⁷ Thompson, F.M.L., 'Introduction' in Thompson, F.M.L., (ed.), *The Rise of Suburbia* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982), p.2.

⁸ Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, p.5.

aspirations and 'dreams of self-importance'.⁹ They had the means, the beliefs and the desire that created an effective demand for a new experience of living. Before the 1820s and 1830s there were not enough comfortably-off middle-class families in Birmingham and elsewhere to populate an exclusive residential district, indicating that suburbs developed only after some critical point was reached.¹⁰ Suburbs were not exclusively middle-class, of course, as servants and services were needed by the middle class, which brought in some working-class people. At the same time some contemporaries were critical of suburbs, describing them as 'monotonous', 'indistinguishable from one another', and 'settings for dreary petty lives without social, cultural or intellectual interests ... which fostered a pretentious preoccupation with outward appearances, a fussy attention to the trifling details of genteel living, and absurd attempts to conjure rusticity out of minute garden plots'.¹¹ To test this criticism, the thesis addresses how Moseley people experienced living in a suburb and whether they approached suburban living negatively and whether suburbs were insulated, introverted residential units.

Six aims underpin this thesis. Firstly, it interrogates primary sources to reveal the middle-class suburban experience of Moseley in the second half of the nineteenth century; secondly, it evaluates how the findings correlate with and contribute to the historiography and thirdly, it considers how typical Moseley was of other suburbs. Three general questions ask: how did class and gender and new ideas impact on the development of a middle-class

⁹ Osband, L., *Victorian House Style: An Architectural and Interior Design Source Book* (Singapore: David & Charles, 1992), p.8; Dyos, H.J., *Victorian Suburb: A Study of the Growth of Camberwell* (London: Leicester University Press, 1966), p.23; Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, pp.8 & 13; Carter, H., & Lewis, R.C., *An Urban Geography of England and Wales in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Edward Arnold, 1990), p.123.

¹⁰ Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, p.13; Dyos, *Victorian Suburb*, p.12; Cannadine, D.A., *Lords and Landlords: The Aristocracy and the Towns, 1774-1967* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1980), p.219.

¹¹ Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, p.3.

suburb; how appropriate is the construct of separate spheres to the nineteenth century suburban experience and how did suburbs change over the second half of the nineteenth century? Underpinning these aims and questions are chapter specific questions. For example, what transport form was most responsible for suburban development; to what extent were local people involved in suburban development; was there a typical suburban household; how was middle class enthusiasm for decoration, furnishing and conspicuous consumerism manifested and managed and what was the extent of suburban middle-class philanthropy and volunteerism?



Fig.1.3: Key Roads¹²

Moseley belonged to Kings Norton Parish, Worcestershire, before 1911 and was within the Moseley Yield for tax purposes, along with Kings Heath, Balsall Heath and Brandwood End.

¹² <https://digimap.edina.ac.uk>, 'Digimap', 'Historic', 'Historic Roam'. This map has been constructed using the 1900s historic map by Janet Berry. Accessed 2015; www.metric-conversions.org. Accessed 2021. The square metres 327, 825, 841, 1,023, 1,049, 1,087, 1,197, 1,750 and 4,184 are approximately equivalent to 391, 986, 1,005, 1,223, 1,254, 1,300, 1,431, 1,750 and 5,004 square yards.

The parish church, St Mary's, Moseley, achieved parish status from 1755, but had no defined boundary until confirmed as a District Chapelry in 1853. In 1863 the southern part of this parish was separated into a consolidated chapelry of All Saints, Kings Heath. In 1875 another District Chapelry, St Anne's Church, Park Hill, was created to the north and in 1879 Wake Green was added to St Mary's parish. The study focuses on the central area of the parish and roads and houses around the village green and the church that reflect differing social status and different stages of development (Fig.1.3).

A range of secondary studies underpin the research questions which the thesis asks and how primary sources are explored. The Literature Review evaluates these studies. The Methodology and Sources section which follows, looks at the primary evidence which is interrogated to answer the research questions. Finally, the chapter outlines the Thesis Structure: how individual chapters present the argument.

Literature Review

The key areas of the historiography include suburbanisation, the suburban middle class, suburban middle-class households and families and the notion of separate spheres.

The study of suburbs and suburbanisation began seriously in the 1960s with H.J. Dyos' influential, *Victorian Suburb: A Study of the Growth of Camberwell*, which focussed on how, when and why Camberwell developed as a suburb in the nineteenth century.¹³ He argues that certain general influences were common to the development of all suburbs, but that local circumstances caused differences. Comparisons between Moseley and other suburbs

¹³ Dyos, *Victorian Suburb*.

confirm Dyos' division between the general and local, but reveal considerable diversity and a much wider range of differences. Dyos highlights the importance of landowners and other human agency in the development process, but the thesis shows the significance of local people and strong covenants, the involvement of women and the increase in professionals. A number of historians built on Dyos' work.¹⁴ John Kellett, for example, found that the 'mere' establishment of a rail linkage was not a sufficient explanation for suburban growth and stressed the importance of omnibuses and tramways.¹⁵ Transport was crucial to Moseley's development and substantiates Kellett's findings: omnibuses and horse trams were significant for Moseley's early development despite a railway running through the village, but after a centrally-sited station was built, steam trams and trains brought peak development. F.M.L. Thompson evaluates inter-related theories to understand the causes of suburbanisation which are tested and challenged here.¹⁶ Past suburban studies touch only briefly on how differentiation within the middle class was displayed whilst women's involvement in developing suburbs, architecture and gardens receive little attention. There is no real sense of families and households, family life and house interiors, and the roles of

¹⁴ These include, Reeder, D.A., 'A Theatre of Suburbs: Some Patterns of Development in West London, 1801-1911' in Dyos, H.J., (ed.), *The Study of Urban History* (London: Edward Arnold, 1968); Kellett, J.R., *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969); Olsen, D.J., 'House upon House' in Dyos, H.J., & Wolff, M., (eds.), *The Victorian City: Images and Realities, Vol II Shapes on the Ground: A Change of Accent* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973); Spiers, M., *Victoria Park, Manchester* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1976); Simpson, M.A., 'The West End of Glasgow, 1830-1914' in Simpson, M.A., & Lloyd, T.H., (eds.), *Middle Class Housing in Britain* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1977); Rawcliffe, J.M., 'Bromley: Kentish market town to London suburb, 1841-81' in Thompson, F.M.L., (ed.), *The Rise of Suburbia* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982), pp.27-84; Jahn, M., 'Suburban development in outer west London, 1850-1900' in Thompson, F.M.L., (ed.), *The Rise of Suburbia* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982), pp.93-147; Treen, C., 'The process of suburban development in north Leeds, 1870-1914' in Thompson, F.M.L., (ed.), *The Rise of Suburbia* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982), pp.157-206; Cannadine, D., 'Residential differentiation in nineteenth century towns: From Shapes on the Ground to Shapes in Society' in Johnson, J.H., & Pooley, C.G., (eds.), *The Structure of Nineteenth Century Cities* (London & Canberra: Croom Helm, 1982).

¹⁵ Kellett, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities*, pp.288 & 360-365.

¹⁶ Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, pp.2-25.

men and women in the home and the public arena. This thesis seeks to address this wider perspective.

Moseley itself has not been the subject of previous academic study. Histories of Birmingham pay nineteenth-century Moseley scant attention despite it becoming part of the city in 1911. The short 1912 *The Story of Birmingham's Growth* by William Moughton looks at 'Greater Birmingham' and describes its suburbs as 'limbs' and 'inseparable', but does not mention Moseley.¹⁷ Eric Hopkins mentions Moseley, but only as a predominantly middle-class housing area that developed in consequence of the middle classes leaving Birmingham and Asa Briggs explores the expansion of Birmingham, noting Moseley as an example of the striking growth of residential areas and an exclusive suburb.¹⁸ Gordon E. Cherry mentions Moseley briefly as a new area sought out by those wishing to escape the city and as an example of an exclusive suburb that emulated Edgbaston and was its rival.¹⁹ There is no distinct section on suburbs in *Birmingham: The Workshop of the World* by Carl Chinn and Malcolm Dick.²⁰ This study adds to an understanding of Moseley as a place and the different dimensions of late-nineteenth century suburbanisation.

Local history publications on Moseley are mostly linear narratives with little analysis of context, gender and class. Sources are often listed, but not footnoted, making cross-checking with primary sources difficult. Several, though, provide useful starting points and avenues

¹⁷ Moughton, W., *The Story of Birmingham's Growth* (Birmingham: Davis & Moughton Ltd., 1912), p.89.

¹⁸ Hopkins, E., *Birmingham: The Making of the Second City 1850-1939*, (Stroud: Tempus Publishing Ltd., 2001), p.91; Briggs, A., *History of Birmingham Vol. II Borough and City 1865-1938* (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), Chapter 10, 'Greater Birmingham', pp.135, 138-139 & 141-164.

¹⁹ Cherry, G. E., *Birmingham: A Study in Geography, History and Planning* (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 1994), pp.66, 69-70 & 91.

²⁰ Chinn, C., & Dick, M., (eds.), *Birmingham: The Workshop of the World* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2016).

for research. These include, *A History of Moseley* by Alison Fairn and *The Moseley Church of England National School: A History, 1828-1969* by Fred Price, along with a number of booklets on specific institutions and local guides.²¹ Some local history studies of other Birmingham suburbs are particularly insightful. Relevant chapters in *Edgbaston: A History* by Terry Slater and *Kings Norton, a History* by George Demidowicz and Stephen Price model chronological and thematic approaches that touch on many aspects of nineteenth-century development, although they give no consideration as to how people lived their lives in their new suburban homes.²² Cannadine's academic work on Edgbaston not only provides comparisons with Moseley, but also models an approach to the study of a suburb, particularly in its discussions of class and social zoning.²³

Moseley developed as a middle class enclave, and understanding what was meant by 'middle class' and how this was revealed in the nineteenth-century suburban context was important. Simon Gunn emphasises the cultural aspect of the term, 'middle class' in the period, highlighting middle classness as 'a way of life, a style of living' that involved 'the trappings' of domestic privacy, domesticity and a 'form of home-centred consumerism'.²⁴ This thesis reflects this wider spectrum, but also looks at how this was managed across Thompson's notion of 'layer upon layer of subclasses' within the middle class.²⁵ Gunn connects 'suburban domesticity' and 'the vision of an ordered social life' and this was played

²¹ Fairn, A., *A History of Moseley* (Halesowen: Sunderland Print Ltd., 1973); Price, Fred, *Moseley Church of England National School: A History, 1828-1969* (Birmingham: Wordcraft Print and Design Ltd., 1998).

²² Slater, Terry, *Edgbaston: A History* (Chichester: Phillimore, & Co., Ltd., 2002); Demidowicz, George & Price, Stephen, *Kings Norton, a History* (Chichester: Phillimore & Co., Ltd., 2009).

²³ Cannadine, D., 'Victorian Cities: How Different?', *Social History*, Vol. 2, No. 4, January, 1977, pp.457-482.

²⁴ Gunn, S., 'Class, identity and the urban middle class in England, c. 1790-1950', *Urban History*, Vol. 31, Issue 1, May, 2004, pp.36-37.

²⁵ Gunn, 'Class, identity and the urban middle class in England, c. 1790-1950', pp.30-36; Thompson, F.M.L., *The Rise of Respectable Society* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1988), p.173.

out in Moseley, but the public realm, including political and civic endeavour, education, religion, volunteering and philanthropy and social, cultural and sports clubs and societies, is fully revealed as an integral part of suburban life.²⁶ Gunn's claims that cultural events, such as concerts and exhibitions, became 'public rites for the well-to-do' and places 'to be seen' are evident in the support the Moseley middle-class gave to city and local occasions and associations.²⁷ He suggests that the emphasis on the private and domestic and the codes of behaviour in which women were crucial, brought a 'feminisation of the concept' of middle class, but the home and the domestic were important to the status of middle-class men in the public realm, men were involved in the home in practical ways and their care of the family was integral to their masculine identity, as Joanne Begiato highlights.²⁸ Gunn also emphasises the significance of women in the transmission of cultural capital as mothers raising the next generation and through their accomplishments, dress, deportment and behaviour.²⁹ The thesis deepens this by considering mother-child relationships, educational opportunities and the new modes of behaviour in the public realm required by, for example, public transport and department stores, following work by Temma Balducci and Heather Belnap-Jensen.³⁰ Gunn emphasises the significance of kin and the wider clan in the transmission of cultural capital through inheritance and the study highlights the importance of life-cycle celebrations and reveals the significance of wills.³¹

²⁶ Gunn, 'Class, identity and the urban middle class in England, c. 1790–1950', pp.36-37.

²⁷ Gunn, S., 'Translating Bourdieu: cultural capital and the English middle class in historical perspective', *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 56, Issue 1, 2005, pp.51-52.

²⁸ Gunn, 'Class, identity and the urban middle class in England, c. 1790–1950', pp.36-38; Begiato, Joanne, *Manliness in Britain, 1760-1900: Bodies, Emotion and Material Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020), pp.12, 42-43, 46-47 & 74.

²⁹ Gunn, 'Translating Bourdieu', pp.54-55.

³⁰ Balducci, Temma & Belnap-Jensen, Heather, (eds.), *Women, Femininity and Public Space in European Visual Culture, 1789-1914* (London & New York: Routledge, 2014).p.10.

³¹ Gunn, 'Translating Bourdieu', p.56.

Another important feature of this thesis is how it reveals the pattern of middle-class differentiation across suburbs. David Cannadine emphasises strong class self-zoning tendencies on the Calthorpe Estate, but draws attention to a wider social range than supposed.³² Analysis shows similar strong, but not rigid, self-zoning tendencies in Moseley, but also a mixed social profile in some roads. Harold Carter and Roy Lewis, and Michael Jahn, describe two extremes with some districts far from socially homogeneous and others defined by class, whilst other authors note subtle differentiation within the middle class.³³ House type and size, and plot size, gardens and interiors in Moseley reference a range of subtle differentiation within the middle class, and the study highlights the new technology and mass production that catered to the interior decoration aspirations of the different middle-classes. Cannadine argues that mass transport accentuated a process of segregation already underway that threatened the exclusiveness of suburbs on the periphery and eroded the relative sharpness of earlier class distinctions.³⁴ The Moseley experience shows that an increasing number of the lower-middle class came to the suburb towards the end of the century because of mass transport which impacted on the social and built character of the suburb. However, the middle class of Moseley worked, lived and played together and had interests in common which underpinned cohesion and reflects the 'elasticity' described by Gunn that allowed suburbs to encompass the layers of the expanding middle class.³⁵

³² Cannadine, D., 'Residential differentiation in nineteenth century towns', pp.240 & 457.

³³ Carter & Lewis, *An Urban Geography of England and Wales in the Nineteenth Century*, p.123; Jahn, 'Suburban development in outer west London, 1850-1900'; Edwards, A.M., *The Design of Suburbia: A Critical study in Environmental History* (London: Pembrige Press, 1982); McKenna, J., *Birmingham: The Building of a City* (Stroud: Tempus Publishing Ltd, 2005); Rawcliffe, 'Bromley: Kentish market town to London suburb, 1841-81'.

³⁴ Cannadine, 'Residential differentiation in nineteenth century', p.240.

³⁵ Gunn, 'Translating Bourdieu', p.53.

A third group of studies involves understanding suburban middle-class households and families. The thesis analyses census data from 1851 to 1901 for sample roads and specific families and households to provide an entry into the middle-class household and family and their wider social life.³⁶ Such analyses are rare. Two works in particular are compared to Moseley's findings, a study of census returns for 1851 to 1891 for the Claremont Estate, Glasgow, by Eleanor Gordon and Gwyneth Nair, and Michael Anderson's analysis of a national sample drawn from the 1851 census.³⁷ These have disadvantages: the former uses a Scottish town to represent the Victorian British, ignoring the ethnic diversity of British households and British women; the area scrutinized was wealthier than Moseley and 'part of the westward drift of urbanisation' rather than a suburb; and their analyses do not extend to 1901.³⁸ Anderson's study covers only 1851, but also a broader social group.³⁹ The comparisons with Moseley reveal a range of differences. For example, compared to Claremont, Moseley had fewer extended families and they increased in number rather than fell, there were significantly more composite than stem families and there were more nuclear families with father, mother and offspring.⁴⁰ Compared to Anderson's survey, more Moseley household heads were or had been married, Moseley families were smaller, sisters

³⁶ The Moseley study analyses families and households in four roads of differing social status and established and built-up in different decades which represents 426 households and 2,279 household members.

³⁷ Gordon, E., & Nair, G., *Public Lives: Women, Family and Society in Victorian Britain* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2003), Chapter 2, pp.34-71 and Chapter 6, pp.167-199; Anderson, M., 'Households, families and individuals: Some preliminary results from the national sample from the 1851 census of Great Britain', *Continuity and Change*, Vol. 3, Issue 3, December, 1988, pp.421-438.

³⁸ The Claremont/Woodside estate, immediately west of Glasgow city centre, consisted of large, medium and small terraced houses built in the 1830s and 1840s. The sample included a range of sizes and values of property and a range of occupations. Twelve streets of approximately 250 households (almost 1,400 households and 10,000 individuals over 1851-1891) were involved.

³⁹ Anderson's survey was a national sample drawn from the 1851 census enumerators' books of Great Britain and a systematic one-fiftieth cluster sample, in which the 709 basic sampling units for the non-institutionalised population are complete enumerators' books or entire settlements. In addition, one fiftieth of the institutionalised population was sampled. A number of one-in-forty systematic household subsamples were extracted from the entire data base (which contains in excess of 400,000 persons).

⁴⁰ Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, p.35.

were the largest group of relatives rather than grandchildren, and there were fewer male servants, visitors and boarders.⁴¹ The Moseley experience differs from other secondary sources too. For example, Paula Branca suggests people married between the ages of twenty and twenty-four years, whereas Moseley men married later.⁴² Deborah Cohen suggests families got smaller towards the end of the century, but Moseley families, never on average very large, decreased only slightly.⁴³ Historians vary in respect of the number of servants in middle-class homes. For example, Deborah Gorham considers most middle-class households could only afford one servant, which ties in with Moseley, but John Tosh suggests three and Barrett and Phillips, four to five.⁴⁴ These comparisons add to perspectives on middle-class suburban households and families.

A fourth area of research covers separate spheres, an ideology which was for a long time the dominant historical paradigm for understanding middle class gender relations in the nineteenth century and for explaining the differentiated lives of men and women. The theory placed men in the public world and women in the private world of home and family, and lay at the heart of Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall's 1987 *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850*.⁴⁵ This work reflected a change from the study of women *per se* to the role of gender in the construction of middle-class values and family life, and was 'massive in scope, rich in detail, and ambitious in its claims', but it was

⁴¹ Anderson, 'Households, families and individuals', pp.430-431 & 427-429.

⁴² Branca, P., *Silent Sisterhood: Middle-Class Women in the Victorian Home* (London: Croom Helm, 1977), p.4.

⁴³ Cohen, *Family Secrets*, pp.110 & 130-131.

⁴⁴ Branca, *Silent Sisterhood*, pp.43-44; Gorham, D., *The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal* (London & Canberra: Croom Helm, 1982), p.10; Tosh, John, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), p.19; Barrett, H., & Phillips, J., *Suburban Style: The British Home, 1840-1960* (Boston, Toronto, London: Little, Brown & Company, 1993), p.24.

⁴⁵ Davidoff & Hall, *Family Fortunes*.

subsequently much debated and criticised.⁴⁶ Eleanor Gordon and Gwyneth Nair, for example, emphasise that other discourses cut across separate spheres and supplemented and supplanted it; discourses could be 'resisted, subverted and refused' and identity was formed in multiple ways.⁴⁷ John Tosh claims 'Victorian domesticity was shot through with contradictions' and Lucy Delap, Ben Griffin and Abigail Williams draw attention to the 'multiple relationships which made up 'the domestic'.⁴⁸ Temma Balducci and Heather Belnap-Jensen, Sarah Bilston, Thad Logan and Gordon and Nair, highlight connections between public and private arenas, such as the commodification of the home and garden, new retail opportunities, the desire to project the status of the home and the nature of the domestic material culture, all of which reflect the Moseley experience.⁴⁹ Women in Moseley were found in the public sphere on public transport, shopping, at work, owning and building houses, running businesses and involved in volunteering and philanthropy. This supports and expands the work of other historians, such as Jennifer Aston who shows women producing goods, not just selling them and Aston, Amanda Capern and Briony McDonagh who found many townswomen participating in land and house speculation as part of a complex financial strategy to generate income and invest speculatively.⁵⁰ Kathryn Gleadle and June

⁴⁶ Gleadle, Kathryn, 'Revisiting Family Fortunes: reflections on the twentieth anniversary of the publication of L. Davidoff & C. Hall, *Family Fortunes: men and women of the English middle class, 1780–1850*', *Women's History Review*, Vol. 16, No. 5, November 2007, p.774.

⁴⁷ Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, pp.2-3.

⁴⁸ Tosh, John, *A Man's Place*, p.47; Delap, Lucy, Griffin, Ben and Williams, Abigail, (eds.), *The Politics of Domestic Authority in Britain since 1800* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

⁴⁹ Balducci, Temma & Belnap-Jensen, Heather, (eds.), *Women, Femininity and Public Space in European Visual Culture, 1789-1914*, p.10; Bilston, Sarah, *The Promise of the Suburbs: A Victorian History in Literature and Culture* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2019), pp.46-47; Logan, T., *The Victorian Parlour: A Cultural Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp.124 & 195-199; Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, pp.108, 126 & 132.

⁵⁰ Aston, Jennifer, *Female Business Owners in England, 1849-1901*, (PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, College of Arts and Law, School of History and Culture, 2012); Aston, Jennifer, *Female Entrepreneurship in nineteenth century England: engagement in the urban economy* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); Aston, Jennifer, Capern, Amanda & McDonagh, Briony, 'More than Bricks and Mortar: female property ownership as

Hannam draw attention to women's role in the 'politics of everyday' and the political choices, strategies and decisions related to religious worship, education or sport, arenas in which Moseley women were engaged.⁵¹ These works, and the study of Moseley, open up the lives of Victorian women to possibilities that undermine stereotypical assumptions. They show that the image of the Victorian wife as the 'Angel in the House', the presiding hearth angel of Victorian social myth, was a simplification of a much more complicated phenomenon.⁵²

The debates amongst historians around the application of separate spheres to gardens and home interiors brought fresh perspectives and nuance to the evaluation of Moseley sources. Anne Helmreich claims that marking boundaries in the garden helped the householder 'create his or her own utopia', but Bilston argues that walls and privet hedges marked out residents' modernity and newness as much as signalling a desire for quiet and privacy.⁵³ Rooms in Moseley's smaller homes were of necessity multi-occupational and multifunctional, and Jane Hamlett draws attention to rooms being sometimes set up to ensure people came together.⁵⁴ Gordon and Nair emphasise that footfall, the presence of servants and middle-class sociability meant securing privacy within the home was difficult, but Hamlett and Lesley Hoskins claim privacy was important to the individual even if this

economic strategy in mid-nineteenth century urban England', *Urban History*, Vol.46, Issue 4, November 2019, pp.695-721.

⁵¹ Gleadle, Kathryn, *Borderline Citizens: Women, Gender and Political Culture in Britain, 1815-1867* (London: OUP/British Academy, 2009), pp.903-905; Hannam, June, 'Women and Politics', in Purvis, Jane, (ed.), *Women's History: Britain, 1850-1945: an introduction*, (London: UCL Press, 1995), pp.217-218.

⁵² Coventry Patmore's very popular 1854 poem entitled, *The Angel in the House* holds his angel-wife up as a model for all women. She was passive and powerless, meek, charming, graceful, sympathetic, self-sacrificing, pious, and above all—pure. Branca, *Silent Sisterhood*, p.6.

⁵³ Helmreich, A., *The English Garden and National Identity: The Competing Styles of Garden Design, 1870-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).p.113; Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, p.181.

⁵⁴ Hamlett, Jane, *Material Relations: Domestic Interiors and Middle-Class Families in England, 1850-1910* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), pp.7 & 50.

could only be partially achieved.⁵⁵ Gordon and Nair put forward strong arguments that drawing and dining rooms were not gender-segregated and that decoration and furnishing was often more a matter of design choices.⁵⁶ This applied to Moseley rooms, but specialist rooms in Moseley were more decidedly gender-designated and decorated and furnished. The different ideas proposed by historians helped present a more realistic picture of suburban homes and gardens.

Gender roles in the home have been the subject of a number of studies by historians. Gordon and Nair emphasise women's role as arbiters of taste and managers of display and the innovative use of photographs of Moseley interiors captures this.⁵⁷ The photographs suggest that the home was a place where creativity could flourish, as Deborah Cohen says, but historians differ.⁵⁸ Logan claims pressures to conform to conventional decorating choices left little room for creativity or self-expression, whilst Calder denies any possibility for creative expression in domestic life for middle-class women.⁵⁹ The Moseley images show no evidence of the handicrafts that were supposedly so popular amongst Victorian women, but Bilston suggests that the increasing derision of handicrafts by an emerging Arts and Crafts culture meant that women became more engaged in acquiring objects for the home.⁶⁰ However, as Logan emphasises, many women had little time for leisure, particularly those with few or no servants in Moseley.⁶¹ Labelling the home as 'the woman's sphere' obscured

⁵⁵ Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, p.126; Hamlett, Jane & Hoskins, Lesley, 'Introduction', *Home Cultures*, Vol.8, No.2, 2011, pp.109-117.

⁵⁶ Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, pp.124-125.

⁵⁷ Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, p.6.

⁵⁸ Cohen, *Household Gods*, pp.116 & 137.

⁵⁹ Logan, *The Victorian Parlour*, pp.98, 100-101 & 170; Calder, J., *The Victorian Home* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1977), p.105.

⁶⁰ Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, p.74.

⁶¹ Logan, *The Victorian Parlour*, pp.177-178.

the role of men, according to Tosh, and he stresses that much of the culture of the home was determined by the needs of men and reflected masculine as well as female sensibilities.⁶² Begiato highlights the importance to manliness and male identity of establishing a home, supporting the home and family financially, engagement with the family and maintaining fitness and health.⁶³ Tosh suggests a 'flight from domesticity' from the 1880s on, but Begiato concludes that this was primarily a feature of men's imaginative lives rather than a social practice.⁶⁴ Women's involvement in decorating and furnishing brought them significant responsibility, but also power, which Delap, Griffin and Wills warn could bring them into conflict with others who also had claim to such authority.⁶⁵ The Moseley bills suggest consumption was often a shared experience, which supports Hamlett's view that home decoration was an extension of a woman's management of the home, with men retaining overall control of the finances and women arranging and maintaining the purchases.⁶⁶ On the other hand, Louise Purbrick maintains the domestic material culture was firmly under female control, Cohen that men had control given the costs and status involved and Tosh that men were involved in choosing and arranging furnishings.⁶⁷ These studies raise awareness of men's role in the home, but also interpersonal relations not readily demonstrated in the Moseley sources.

The Moseley sources suggest conspicuous consumption was a significant feature of middle-class suburbs and historians present a number of perspectives. Hamlett connects

⁶² Tosh, *A Man's Place*, pp. 47-50 & 124.

⁶³ Begiato, *Manliness in Britain, 1760-1900*, pp.12, 42-43, 46-47 & 74.

⁶⁴ Tosh, *A Man's Place*, pp.179 & 182; Begiato, *Manliness in Britain, 1760-1900*, pp.12-13.

⁶⁵ Delap, Griffin, & Wills, (eds.), *The Politics of Domestic Authority in Britain since 1800*, p.1.

⁶⁶ Hamlett, *Material Relations*, p.7.

⁶⁷ Purbrick, Louise, *Wedding Present* (Abingdon: Ashgate Publishers, 2007), pp.8-12; Cohen, *Household Gods*, pp.89-92, 97 & 99; Tosh, *A Man's Place*, p.19.

‘conspicuous consumption’ and middle-class empowerment and status, but Louise Purbrick argues that owners could only accept and amend rather than actually create their meaning.⁶⁸ Cohen claims the middle class came to see affluence as a just reward for hard work and that ‘things’ were important in assessing others and in self-fashioning.⁶⁹ Bilston stresses the opportunities for reinvention promoted by moving to suburbia and frequent house moves.⁷⁰ Daniel Miller shows how the home functioned as a theatre for the expression of ‘identity’ and ‘taste’, and communicated cultural values, such as gentility, domesticity and refinement.⁷¹ Lasdun and Michael Paterson consider that ‘things’ and the home were a defence against the insecurity of the world outside, but Logan and Cohen highlight the anxieties around interior decoration and furnishing.⁷² Bilston has a more positive perspective on the challenges claiming that the suburban home was a ‘moral proving ground’ that offered women opportunities to work on themselves and that garden and interior design were springboards to professional spaces.⁷³ These works supported an understanding of the pleasures and challenges the home represented for the Victorian suburban women of Moseley.

These studies offer historians a variety of ways of seeing the material world – its aesthetic value, its role in everyday ritual, the social consequences of the organisation of space and the processes through which the interior is represented. The approaches in this thesis and

⁶⁸ Hamlett, *Material Relations*, p.294; Purbrick, *Wedding Present*, p.20.

⁶⁹ Cohen, *Household Gods*, pp. xi & xv.

⁷⁰ Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, pp.46-47, 51-52, 59,142, 147 & 191.

⁷¹ Miller, D., ‘Behind Closed Doors’ in Miller, D., (ed.), *Home Possessions: Material Culture behind Closed Doors* (Oxford: Bloomsbury Academic, 2001), pp.1 & 3.

⁷² Paterson, M., *Life in Victorian Britain: A Social History of Queen Victoria’s Reign* (Philadelphia PA: Running Press Book Publishers, 2008), pp.71-73; Logan, *The Victorian Parlour*, p.91; Cohen, *Household Gods*, pp. xi & xv.

⁷³ Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, pp.139 & 212.

the primary sources available present a nuanced picture of middle-class suburbs and how life was lived there.

Methodology and Primary Sources

This thesis is a case-study of suburban history in a local context. The local dimension is a significant tool of investigation and far from being narrow and restricted. The focus on people in their social and physical environment - people in their place - reveals a sense of place and identity and is inclusive of the spectrum of society, including the 'middling sort' who are central to this study. It uncovers for a particular area – Moseley - and period - 1850-1901 - how ordinary people lived as individuals, in groups and via networks in all their diversity. C.P. Lewis suggests studying the lives of people who were rooted in a locality in depth provides an authentic contact with the national story.⁷⁴ Christopher Dyer, Andrew Hopper, Evelyn Lord and Nigel Tringham say that local history is a 'seedbed for history as a whole' in which ideas emerge that test 'the broader generalisations of top-down' history', that generalisations can be refined and new evidence brought to bear on assumptions that 'complicate and thicken' them.⁷⁵ Dyer states that 'Understanding a single suburb is very well able to connect political, social, economic, religious and cultural history in a way which takes full account of the physical and social environment'.⁷⁶ Local history also combines the practices of interdisciplinary methods and specialist fields and makes connections between them, whilst focussing on a restricted geographical area provides opportunities to extend the time frame to explore long-term changes and continuities. It offers opportunities to use

⁷⁴ Lewis, C.P., 'The great awakening of English local history, 1918-1939', Chapter 2, in Dyer, C., Hopper, A., Lord, E., & Tringham, N., (eds.), *New Directions in Local History Since Hoskins* (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2011), p.51.

⁷⁵ Dyer, Hopper, Lord, & Tringham, 'Introduction', *New Directions in Local History Since Hoskins*, p.6.

⁷⁶ Dyer, Hopper, Lord, & Tringham, 'Introduction', *New Directions in Local History Since Hoskins*, p.5.

the landscape, buildings and the environment as primary sources, which provide evidence of past societies independently of documents, and to dig out new sources and use them systematically. Thus the study of the growth and development of Moseley and the people who lived there in the second half of the nineteenth century is an important enterprise that adds significantly to the historiography.

The thesis uses a wide range of primary sources to produce a picture of suburbanisation and the suburb that is not replicated elsewhere. Two personal archives helped build up a comprehensive picture of the life and concerns of well-to-do Moseley families, the John Avins Archive at the Wolfson Research Centre, The Library of Birmingham, and the Reading-Blackwell Archive held by the Moseley Society History Group.⁷⁷ The former includes the wills of John Avins and his wife, Eliza; The John Avins Trust Minutes Books 1 and 2, which list the actions of the trust as executors of John Avins' will; and various legal documents. The Reading-Blackwell Archive includes images, bills and receipts, letters, memoriam cards, catalogues and personal reminiscences relating to two local influential families. The bills were particularly useful in revealing what the middle-class bought for their homes and gardens and where they shopped, but many photographs were not labelled, many letters proved indecipherable.⁷⁸ No photographs of John Avins, his wife and children have been located to date. Such personal archives raise questions about management and censorship, including who put them together and why, and what was included or omitted and why. Neither archive has been analysed before.

⁷⁷ LBA, MS 1672 (Add I)(Acc 1991/137), 1927-79, MS 1672/087/8/9/90, MS 1272 (Acc 1995/027); MSHGC, (C3/D2/Artefacts A/1-6), (C3/D2/Artefacts A/7/BRB/1-20) & (C3/D2/A/F10/1-18); Moseley Society History Group, 'The Collection' (MSHGC), Reading-Blackwell Archive (RBA).

⁷⁸ 2017 equivalents for costs involved in these bills and other money amounts are given for 1890 using the National Archives Currency Converter www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currencyconverter. Accessed 2012-2020.

Other well-known local individuals also played an important role, for example, Joseph Chamberlain (1836-1914) and Richard Cadbury (1835-1899). The Cadbury Research Centre at the University of Birmingham holds extensive collections of primary sources for these two individuals and they have been widely studied. They were the super-elite middle class of Moseley who had a significant political, social and cultural impact on the growing suburb. Chamberlain built his very substantial home, Highbury, in 1878 at Moor Green, whilst Cadbury became 'lord of the manor' when he rented Moseley Hall in 1884 and bought it in 1890. He gifted the Hall to the city as a Children's Home in 1891 and moved to Uffculme which he built at Moor Green near to Highbury. Other, less well-known and less well-to-do figures from middle-class social ranks appear in the thesis, helping to people the suburb, but the voices of the lower-middle class and women are less prominent. Few photographs of individuals and families and little personal testimony outside of the famous local residents has survived, but diaries and journals from similar Birmingham middle-class suburbs, such as *the Diary and Scrapbook of Catharine Hutton*, the personal correspondence of individuals and the unwitting testimony inherent in the primary sources compensate for this.

The censuses from 1851 to 1891 are essential in building a picture of families and households. The study analyses five families and families and households in four roads of differing social status that were established and built-up in different decades.⁷⁹ The analysis covers household heads, marital status, women, widows, widowers and singletons, offspring at home, co-residents, occupations, residential servants and places of birth. It provides wide-ranging insights into families and households and data to compare to other suburbs.

⁷⁹ The roads analysed included Church, Ascot, Queenswood and Chantry Roads, which represented a cross-section of the Moseley middle-class, 426 households and 2,279 household members.

Censuses have inherent problems including legibility, accessibility, accuracy and compatibility.⁸⁰ These impinged only in a limited way on this study, but only one road, Ladypool Lane, was specified in the early years, house names and numbers were rarely identified, house numbering changed, and locating the full extent of Church Road, the name later given to the upper part of Ladypool Lane, proved problematic. As snapshots of a particular day, censuses present a limited picture and, given that only offspring at home at the time were listed, they cannot reveal how many children were born to parents. Categorising occupations was complicated by changing labelling over time and, though employers, employees and self-employed were identified in later censuses, there was no differentiation of occupational type or indication of class status.

Print media makes a significant contribution to this thesis. Newspapers reveal local concerns, attitudes, events and charitable contributions, whilst birth, death and marriage columns highlight key moments in people's lives and obituaries describe funeral and burial rituals. *The Dart's* gossip columns on Moseley, such as 'Tittle-Tattle' by 'Mollie' and 'Moseley Gossip', cartoons and ditties present another side to Moseley life.⁸¹ Newspaper advertisements allow insights into the extent of houses for sale and houses and apartments for rent, what was regarded as attractive about Moseley and its properties, the estate

⁸⁰ Mills, D., & Schurer, K., (eds.), *Local Communities in the Victorian Census Enumerators' Books* (Oxford: Leopard's Head Press Ltd., 1996); Lawton, E., (ed.), *The Census and Social Structure* (London: Frank Cass and Co., Ltd., 1978); Lumas, S., *Making Use of the Census* (Richmond: Public Record Office, 1992); Higgs, E., *Making Sense of the Census* (London: HMSO, 1991); Higgs, E., *A Clearer Sense of the Census* (London: HMSO, 1996); Wrigley, E.A., (ed.), *Nineteenth-Century Society: Essays in the Use of Quantitative Methods for the Study of Social Data* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972).

⁸¹ *The Dart* was a Birmingham publication and was also named *The Birmingham Pictorial* and *The Birmingham Pictorial and Dart*.

agents involved, and the importance of different transport forms.⁸² They reveal material goods and services on offer, the types of servants in demand and medications available. However, newspapers were selective and pitched at a well-to-do readership and repetition, access difficulties, inaccuracies and missing addresses made retrieving items sometimes problematic. Trade directories typically provide geographical, historic and statistical information on Moseley, St. Mary's Church and two sister churches, the history of Moseley Hall and its current occupant and other facilities, institutions and associations. They list private residents, traders, trades and professions and postal and transport services and carried advertisements. However, they were published irregularly and record only the names of business proprietorships, not employment. How comprehensive they were and how entries were secured is uncertain.

Other sources were invaluable. The St. Mary's Church Vestry Minutes, 1853-1900, identify Church and People's Wardens, and attendees at meetings, committee membership, particular issues that arose, improvements and extensions to the church, fundraising efforts, controversies and financial transactions.⁸³ St. Mary's Church parish magazines, mostly accessed in Canon Colmore's Diary (1877-1892), name many Moseley residents and show their involvement in the church and its activities.⁸⁴ However, the magazines were the voice of a particular social and religious group in general and of the local religious 'elite' in particular. Local magazines and journals, such as *Moseley Society Journal* and *Moseley and*

⁸² Newspapers were accessed for advertisements for 1881 and 1890 and involved 953 house adverts in 1881, giving information on 136 dwellings and 351 for 1890, which related to 165 dwellings. All 327 adverts for apartments in Moseley in 1890 were accessed and yielded information on fifty-three dwellings.

⁸³ LBA, EP 77/5/2/1 (Acc. 92/92) DRO 77/39, St. Mary's Church, Moseley, Vestry Minutes Book, 1853-1940.

⁸⁴ The Rev. William H. Colmore was the vicar of St. Mary's Church, Moseley, 1876-1907. He pasted copies of the parish magazine into his diary of 1877-1892.

Kings Heath Journal provide information on every aspect of life, including residents and their social and cultural lives, highlighting the interests, attitudes and concerns of the local community.⁸⁵ Their intended readership was the local middle class. Posters and programmes of village events show what entertainments were popular, the location of events, who was participating and the extent of local involvement in performances and entertainment, but their survival was random.

A range of archival sources were crucial to understanding the suburb, including building plans, sanitary assessments for rates, and annual reports produced by voluntary hospitals, children's charity schools and disabled children's institutions. Building plans were accessed for houses in central Moseley and these help trace architectural influences and physical change over time, understand home interiors through the number, size and types of rooms and facilities, and facilitate judgements about Moseley's development through information on owners, architects and builders and materials and construction methods.⁸⁶ However, the plans were unevenly spread across the roads and the period, some could be only partially opened or not opened at all, some were missing and some documentation had not survived. Auctioneer and sales catalogues contribute similar information, but also include estate

⁸⁵ The Library of Birmingham Local History (LBLH), L14.51, *Moseley Parish Magazine*, 'Ourselves', Vol. 15, 1890 & *Moseley and Kings Heath Journal*, Vol. 1, 1892; LBLH, B.COL 08.2, *Birmingham Faces and Places*, Vol. 1; LBLH, *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, *Obituary Index*, Vol. 1, A-B, Number 8, December, 1889.

⁸⁶ LBA, Kings Norton Union Building Plans (BPKNU), BCK/MC/7/3/1. 111 building plans in a number of target roads that encompassed the different middle-class social levels were accessed. These included Chantry Road (sixteen per cent), Church Road (twelve per cent), Anderton Park Road (eleven per cent), Queenswood Road (eleven per cent) and Woodstock Road (eight per cent). There were few building plans for the 1850s and 1860s (one per cent), more for the 1870s (ten per cent) and 1880s (seven per cent) and most for the 1890s (eighty-two per cent). Seventy-four were concerned with dwellings, twenty-eight with alterations, nine with shops and one with a new road and drainage. The building plans represented 452 buildings of which 398 were dwellings, thirty-two were adaptations and twenty-two were shops and other constructions. They related to thirty-seven detached houses, 176 semi-detached houses and 194 terraced houses. Thirteen building plans (sixty dwellings) could only be partially unfolded and twelve building plans (eighty-six dwellings) could not be unfolded.

plans, plot and frontage sizes, covenants and sometimes furnishings and material possessions.⁸⁷ However, these catalogues are limited in number, unevenly spread across roads, involve mostly semi-detached houses and largely come from the later decades.⁸⁸ The language used reflects their purpose for selling property and highlighting its qualities. Rate books make a significant contribution.⁸⁹ The assessments list owners and occupiers, which enable the identification of house ownership, owner-occupiers and those renting and investment in property.⁹⁰ This reveals the involvement of women. They give the rateable value of houses and sanitation costs, suggesting the financial implications of owning or renting housing in Moseley.⁹¹ However, not all books were available, not all roads or houses were available in each type of assessment, no house names were given and house numbers were given infrequently, making identifying specific properties problematic. There were confusing and varied descriptions for entries, changes in costs and entries were not always legible and accuracy was questionable at times. The Annual Reports of voluntary hospitals, children's charity schools and disabled children's institutions reveal the names of subscribers, amounts subscribed and the frequency and longevity of contributions as well as

⁸⁷ LBA, Birmingham: A Collection of Auctioneer's Bills, Vol 1., 1779-1875; LBA, Bham/Sc, Sales Catalogues. Twenty-nine Auctioneer and Sales Catalogues were accessed, giving information on fifty-six dwellings, ten building estates and eight pieces of land. Twenty-eight dwellings (fifty per cent) had information on their make-up.

⁸⁸ The Auctioneer and Sales Catalogues accessed included twenty-six dwellings from the 1880s (forty-six per cent) and thirty from the 1890s (fifty-four per cent). All the Building Estates were from the 1880s and of the land, two were from the 1880s and six from the 1890s. Seven dwellings were detached houses, forty-two were semi-detached houses, one was a cottage and six were terraced houses. The detached and terraced houses were all built in the 1890s. Thirty-eight per cent of auctioneers' catalogues related to building estates.

⁸⁹ Eight Kings Norton and Northfield Urban District Council Sanitary Rates Assessments were analysed for eighteen roads from the central area of Moseley.

⁹⁰ LBA, Sanitary Rate Assessments: BCK/MB/6/13/1, 1873; BCK/MB/6/13/3, 1875; BCK/MB/6/13/6, 1880; Special Expenses Rate Assessments: BCK/MB/6/13/15, 1881; United Drainage Rate Assessments: BCK/MB/6/13/24, 1886; BCK/MB/6/13/11, 1891; BCK/MB/6/13/23, 1896; BCK/MB/6/13/26, 1896.

⁹¹ LBA, BCK/MB/6/13/6 & 11: Sanitary Assessment Rates, April, 1880 & April, 1891; LBA BCK/MB/6/13/15 & 23: Special Expenses, April, 1881 & October, 1896; LBA, BCK/MB/6/13/24 & 26: United Drainage, April, 1886 & April, 1896; LBA, BCK/MB/6/13/1, Sanitary Rate Assessments, January, 1873 for the target roads.

any management involvements.⁹² This reveals who was contributing from Moseley and the pattern of that contribution. Analysis highlights a Moseley philanthropic 'super elite', but also the substantial contribution of other middle-class Moseley residents. However, all years were not necessarily available, some lists contained little subscriber information and others insufficient location information.⁹³ Subscriber start and finish dates differed because of emigration and immigration, death and the practice of subscribing through a firm, for example, and presentation and content varied. Such annual reports have been little used by historians, but the work of J. Reinarz and H. Marland and this study demonstrate their research value.⁹⁴

Images are an important means of accessing different aspects of suburban life. Moseley images show roads, houses and gardens, shops, institutions, transport, people and pupils, appearance and dress, and leisure activities. They illustrate change over time, design, taste and fashion, consumerism, internal divisions within the home, architectural styles, decorative architectural features and the 'eclectic' nature of Moseley's built environment. They highlight the desire for 'individuality', the social hierarchy, and contemporary behaviours, but also alternative perspectives of society and what photographers and their

⁹²LBA, GHB4/14 & HC/GH/1/3/1, The General Hospital, Annual Reports; LBA, HC/GH/1/3/1/ & L46.21, The General and Jaffray Hospitals, Annual Reports, 1779-1843, 1885-1896; LBA, WH/1/10/1-4, The Women's Hospital, Annual Reports, 1871-1902; LBA, HC/BC/1/14/1, The Children's Hospital, Annual Reports, 1862-1901; LBA, HC/RO/A/ 10-15, The Orthopaedic Hospital, Annual Reports, 1874-1900; LBA, L46.315, The Ear and Throat Hospital, Annual Reports, 1862-95; LBA, HC/EY/2/1/3/1, The Eye Hospital, Annual Reports, 1869-1933; LBA, L41.31/19-45 222, The Middlemore Charity Home, Annual Reports, 1892-1912; LBA, MS/622/1/5/1-39, L48.113, Blue Coat Charity School, Annual Reports, 1857-1896; LBA, L48.62, The Deaf and Dumb Institute, Annual Reports, 1836-1883; LBA, L.4861, The Blind Institution, Annual Reports, 1849-1897.

⁹³ For example, the Dental Hospital and the Skin and Lock Hospital Annual Reports: some were missing and some had little subscriber information; Birmingham Children's Hospital and Birmingham Middlemore Home Annual Reports had insufficient location information.

⁹⁴ Reinarz, J., *Health Care in Birmingham: The Birmingham Teaching Hospitals, 1779-1939* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2009); Marland, H., 'Lay and Medical Conceptions of Medical Charity during the Nineteenth Century' in Barry, J., and Jones, C. (eds.), *Medicine and Charity before the Welfare State* (London: Routledge, 1991), pp.152-153 & 155.

customers were interested in and what they wanted to see. Portraits show residents, and specific items and symbols included reveal character and standing, 'the public image of a private person'.⁹⁵ Some interior photographs were taken by the famous Bedford Lemere and Company.⁹⁶ Their client list was wide-ranging and securing their services showed elevated status and demonstrated pride in the home. Images became powerful publicity for an expected lifestyle and the middle class.⁹⁷ They reveal the environment and society that families moving to Moseley aspired to create and inhabit and illuminate the development of a 'powerful, unified culture'.⁹⁸ They have great visual and atmospheric impact, but cannot, as Sontag observes, 'furnish instant history'.⁹⁹ Clarke argues that photographs indicate cultural codes, values and beliefs, and must be *read* like a text; they are 'never...neutral representation[s]'.¹⁰⁰ There are other limitations and problems, including omission, imprecision and subjectivity. Few photographs of Moseley individuals and homes have survived and these were exclusively of the 'elite' and 'super elite'. Only public domains in the home were photographed. Some scenes may have been 'staged', such as the servants in the Uffculme image (Fig.3.21) and Moseley National School pupils shown in pristine clothing (Fig.6.4). Some have been subsequently tinted, and features, such as people, added, giving an unrealistic impression. Dating photographs and postcards is insecure, but postmarks,

⁹⁵ Holland, P., 'Sweet it is to scan...:', in Wells, L., (ed.), *A Critical Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2015), pp.113-158; Clarke, G., *The Photograph: A Visual and Cultural History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p.103.

⁹⁶ <https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/search/archives/>. Accessed 2014.Re-accessed 2020. 'Records of Bedford Lemere & Co., fl.1865, photographers'. Bedford Lemere (1839-1911) established the company in 1861 at 147 Strand, London and it operated from there from 1867 to 1947. His son Henry (Harry) Bedford Lemere (1865-1944) joined the firm in 1881 and was one of the best known photographers, and the principal person behind the firm in its heyday.

⁹⁷ Green-Lewis, J., *Framing the Victorians: Photography and the Culture of Realism* (London: Cornell University Press, 1996), p.228.

⁹⁸ Davidoff & Hall, *Family Fortunes*, p.23.

⁹⁹ Sontag, *On Photography*, p.75.

¹⁰⁰ Clarke, G., *The Photograph: A Visual and Cultural History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p.28.

stamps and style help.¹⁰¹ Survival is dependent on house clearances and ‘family censorship...private propaganda’.¹⁰²

Maps are important in tracing the expansion of Moseley from village to built-up suburb, but they only reveal what mapmakers or their publishers wanted to reveal. Maps from 1840 show tithes, landownership and key residences and highlight how few landowners and residences of note existed in the area just prior to the period under study.¹⁰³ Charles Blood’s Map shows the rural nature of Moseley in 1857.¹⁰⁴ Comparisons between a range of maps across the period reveals changing landownership and the development of communications and housing and help identify house type and size, garden design, conservatories, greenhouses and trees.¹⁰⁵ Missing, though, were equivalent maps for earlier in the second half of the nineteenth century. An online mapping website enabled the creation of maps for specific purposes, but the late nineteenth-century maps were composites and achieving a legible wider area was sometimes difficult.¹⁰⁶

A rich range of primary sources relating to Moseley and Moseley residents has survived. This material is used in this study to test assumptions and build a changing picture of the locality,

¹⁰¹ Sontag, *On Photography*, pp.27-31.

¹⁰² Sontag, *On Photography*, p.94.

¹⁰³ MSHGC, (MC/D3/4), (MC/D2/9) & (MC/D3/4), Maps including the 1840 Tithe Landholding Map, the 1840 Moseley Yield Map; Fairn, *A History of Moseley*, p.2.

¹⁰⁴ MSHGC, (MC/D3/6), Map: Blood, Charles Henry, Birmingham and Environs within a Circle of Five Miles, 1857.

¹⁰⁵ MSHGC, (MC/D2/8) & (MC/D2/13), Maps including the 1888 Land Ownership Moseley, Cannon Hill to Moseley Botanical Gardens and the 1889 Moseley Land Ownership and Yield Map. MSHGC, (MC/D3/F6/1), (MC/D3/F6/2), Bill Hall’s Maps, early OS Maps of Moseley, 1883, 1889, 1890 & 1901; MSHGC, (MC/D2/1), Worcestershire vi 13.19, 10’ to 1 mile, Moseley N.E., St. Mary’s Church & Anderton Park Road, 1889; MSHGC, (MC/D2/5), Worcestershire vi 1.34, 10’ to 1 mile, Moseley Road & Moseley and Balsall Heath, 1889; MSHGC, (MC/D2/3), Worcestershire vi 1.38 10’ to 1 mile, Moseley Park Road (tramlines), N.W. Moseley, 1889; MSHGC, (MC/D3/3), Railway Maps; MSHGC, (MC/D3/3), Maps of area around Moseley Hall.

¹⁰⁶ <https://digimap.edina.ac.uk>, ‘Digimap’, ‘Historic’, ‘Historic Roam’. Accessed 2015.

helping to reveal what was important to Moseley residents and the contributions they made to society. Primary sources enabled sense to be made of the personal and the 'hidden' – a cultural dimension which adds to the thesis – but the survival of evidence was crucial. An awareness not only of what they could contribute, but also of their limitations is essential. Sources mainly exist for the better-off below the 'super elite', and accessing the lower-middle class proved problematic as primary sources for this group were scarce. Nevertheless, it is possible to respond to the research questions and interpret the evidence to create a picture of the development of Moseley over a fifty-year period in the late nineteenth century.

Thesis Structure

Five core chapters, followed by a conclusion create a picture of the ways in which Moseley changed between 1850 and 1900. Chapter 2, 'From Village to Suburb: Explaining Moseley's Growth', explores when, why and how the suburb developed over space and time and identifies phases and the general and local forces influencing development. Road formation, house building and transport developments reveal development patterns, the importance of transport and new behaviours required by public transport, particularly for women. Next, Chapter 3, 'Shaping the landscape: Moseley's Builders, Buildings and Gardens', considers the key players in suburban development, investment in land and houses and the role of women. The chapter explores housing type, size, location, architecture, construction and facilities and the size, design and use of middle-class gardens. Chapter 4, 'The Life Cycle of the Suburb: Families and Households in Moseley', analyses households and families to establish composition, type and size, occupations, age profiles and place of birth, the

economics of buying, renting and maintaining a house and the life-cycle of inhabitants. The interiors of houses are explored in Chapter 5, 'Keeping up Appearances: The Moseley Middle Classes at Home', which focuses on the internal division of houses, interior design, decoration and furnishing, material culture and 'conspicuous consumption', and the roles and responsibilities of men and women in shaping interiors. Chapter 6, 'Entering the Public Sphere: Moseley Men and Women outside the Home', investigates the political, civic, social, cultural and sporting volunteerism of middle-class Moseley residents through case studies of local political figures, civic, religious and educational institutions, societies and clubs, and Birmingham voluntary hospitals, charity schools and institutions for disabled children. The chapter assesses motivation and the degree of involvement and compares the different roles of men and women. The 'Conclusion', Chapter 7, sums up the findings of the thesis and considers the place of this study in the historiography of suburbanisation and urban studies and where further research might focus.

CHAPTER 2

From Village to Suburb: Explaining Moseley's Growth

In 1900 William Spurrier, a Moseley resident, local historian and a Birmingham silversmith and electroplater, described Moseley enthusiastically as 'one of the most beautiful residential districts in the Kingdom... Now we have good and well-lighted roads, three churches, Railway Station etc., etc., with a population of some 5,000 residents in upwards of 1,100 houses'.¹ Others, though, looked back with nostalgic sadness. A regular visitor to Moseley, Thomas Anderton, wrote in the same year: '... the noise and bustle of tram cars, the swarms of suburban residents that emerge from the railway station (especially at certain times in the day), are fast wiping out the peaceful, pretty Moseley of my youthful days'.² This chapter evaluates these two different perspectives, focussing on when and why change occurred, how the changes impacted on residents and the environment, how the village spread geographically and the timescales that were involved. It asks why Moseley developed as a middle-class suburb, the role suburbanisation had in the formation and development of the middle class and what suburbanisation meant to men and women. Key lines of enquiry include the extent to which the development of transport was responsible for middle-class suburbanisation and how far Moseley was typical of other suburbs. The chapter explores phases suggested by increases in Moseley's population, tracing the pattern of land, road and

¹ Spurrier, W.J., 'Moseley of To-day and a Look into the Past', Cannon Colmore's Diary, p.447. This was an article presented with 'Ourselves' from the *Moseley Parish Magazine*. William Spurrier lived at Kingswood House, Moseley.

² Anderton, Thomas, *A Tale of One City: the New Birmingham*, (Birmingham Midland Counties Herald, 1900), p.116.

house development, the introduction and development of transport and the effects of development on people and the environment within each phase. It reveals women's experience of new forms of transport and, by comparing three roads, considers differences in development.

The chapter builds on the work of historians of suburbanisation. It assesses the claims of H.J. Dyos that two aspects drove suburbanisation; firstly, a range of general influences, such as the population growth in a nearby city, commuter travel time, and the influence of turnpike and parish roads and other transport developments; and secondly, local pre-suburban physical and personal development features including a rural setting, sub-soils, elevation, cheap land, and the attitudes of landowners and existing residents.³ It tests F.M.L. Thompson's analysis of the factors in suburbanisation and his continuum of the relative importance of the different factors that extends from 'allowed' to 'causal'.⁴ It explores the debate around the role of transport and, in particular, the findings of John R. Kellett that forms of transport other than the railway were significant in suburban development.⁵ It evaluates the extent of Moseley's distinctiveness as a suburb by comparing it to findings on other suburbs, for example, by David Cannadine on Edgbaston, Michael Jahn on Outer West London and M.C. Carr on Bexley, Kent.⁶ The chapter uses census population figures to

³ Dyos, H.J., *Victorian Suburb: A Study of the Growth of Camberwell* (London: Leicester University Press, 1966), pp.53-56, 60-77 & 83.

⁴ Thompson, F.M.L., in Thompson, F.M.L., (ed.), *The Rise of Suburbia* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982), pp.5-6, 10 & 16-19. Thompson used 'causal', 'critical', 'fundamental', 'essential', 'not decisive', 'a prerequisite', 'permissive', 'sustaining', 'stimulating' and 'allowed' to categorise factors involved in suburbanisation in his 'Introduction'.

⁵ Kellett, J.R., *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969), p.363.

⁶ Cannadine, D., 'Victorian Cities: How Different?', *Social History*, Vol. 2, No. 4, January, 1977; Jahn, M., 'Suburban development in outer west London, 1850-1900' in Thompson, F.M.L., (ed.), *The Rise of Suburbia* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982); Carr, M.C., 'The development and character of a metropolitan

identify phases of development, sales catalogues to reveal the development of land and road formation, and an analysis of roads using the censuses 1851 to 1901 and maps to identify house building. Contemporary writings, images, newspapers, local journals and trade directories, illuminate transport developments and bring the human face to physical development. Moseley was distinctive in many respects and this is revealed by tracking its development, analysing the impact of transport developments and revealing the experiences of residents, particularly women.

Moseley's population grew slowly before 1851, from around 400 in 1811 to about 1,000 in 1841.⁷ Its population increased substantially in the second half of the nineteenth century, from approximately 1,500 in 1861 to 11,100 in 1901, but its pattern of increase differed from other Birmingham suburbs (Appendix A). Moseley developed later than, for example, Aston and Edgbaston, but earlier than Acocks Green. Distance from the city centre for commuters and visitors to Birmingham was important in this: Aston and Edgbaston were within walking distance of the city centre and easily accessed by private transport and later by public transport, whereas Acocks Green was much further out and needed railway development for suburban growth. Birmingham suburbs differed in size and pace of development too, though this varied over time. In 1901 Moseley was smaller than other suburbs except for Acocks Green and Harborne. At times, it grew faster than Acocks Green, Harborne, Northfield, Erdington and Edgbaston. Moseley's population peaked between 1891 and 1901, whilst

suburb: Bexley in Kent' in Thompson, F.M.L., (ed.), *The Rise of Suburbia* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982).

⁷ Hewston, N., *The History of Moseley Village* (Stroud: Amberley Publishing, 2009), p.29; Fairn, A., *A History of Moseley*, (Halesowen: Sunderland Print Ltd, 1973), p.42; Gilbert, C., *The Moseley Trail* (Birmingham: John Goodman & Son, 1986), p.2; Price, F., *The Moseley Church of England National School: A History 1828-1969* (Birmingham: Woodcraft Print & Design Ltd., 1998), p.1.

Acocks Green, Aston, Balsall Heath and Edgbaston peaked between 1871 and 1881. The early growth of London compared to Birmingham meant its suburbs generally developed earlier and faster. For example, the population of Camberwell grew by a factor of four in the early nineteenth century, with each decennial increment bigger than the last.⁸ The population of Bromley, Kent, almost quadrupled between 1841 and 1881 and peaked between 1861 and 1871 when it 'virtually doubled'.⁹

Moseley's pattern of population growth suggests five developmental phases which frame the chapter. The first section explores a pre-development period before 1850 and then further sections the development phases, 1851-1870 - suburbanisation gathering pace; 1871-1880 - suburbanisation taking off; 1881-1890 - suburbanisation intensifying; and 1891-1901 - Moseley becoming a mature suburb. Finally, it compares the experiences in three Moseley roads.

Before 1850: Pre-development

This was a proto-suburbanisation phase in which Moseley demonstrated the general and local influences and developmental features proposed by Dyos and Thompson that show the village was poised for suburbanisation.¹⁰ A key general influence was the population growth in a nearby city. Birmingham was a major general influence in the development of Moseley as a middle-class suburb in the second half of the nineteenth century. Between 1801 and 1851 Birmingham's population increased from nearly 74,000 to around 300,000 and by 1901

⁸ Dyos, *Victorian Suburb*, pp.31 & 33.

⁹ Rawcliffe, J.M., 'Bromley: Kentish market town to London suburb, 1841-81' in Thompson, F.M.L., (ed.), *The Rise of Suburbia* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982), pp.30, 81 & 84.

¹⁰ 'Proto-suburbanisation' is a term devised by the thesis author. Dyos, *Victorian Suburb*, pp.53-56, 60-77 & 83; Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, pp.5-6, 10 & 16-19.

had reached 750,000.¹¹ Little planning, housing legislation and environmental control resulted in piecemeal, high-density housing, appalling insanitary conditions, overcrowding, pollution and disease. The large number of young people in the population that presaged youth crime, and the cultural, moral and physical impoverishment of the working classes were both visible and alarming to middle-class Victorians.¹² Some looked back to a 'Golden Age', a nostalgic, rural idyll of yesteryear where a social hierarchy that had been 'lost' in the process of urbanisation and industrialisation still existed; it was a vision tinged with aspirational upper-class country house living.¹³ Birmingham's successful, well-to-do middle-class businessmen and manufacturers wanted to live in a more salubrious, healthier, rural environment as 'gentlemen' amongst like-minded people, and they set in motion what Donald Olsen describes as 'the flight to the suburbs'.¹⁴ The irony is, of course, that it was Birmingham's industrial and commercial success that enabled the middle class to provide an effective pressure group for suburban development. In any case, suburbs were a new kind of space that was neither city nor countryside and not a reflection of the urban-rural binary. They were not exclusively middle-class either, of course, as servants and services were needed by the middle class, which brought in working-class people.

Location in relation to the city was a crucial general influence. Moseley was close to Birmingham and positioned on a turnpike road leading directly to the city, which meant

¹¹ <https://billdargue.jimdofree.com/glossary-brief-histories/a-brief-history-of-birmingham/victorian-birmingham/>, Dargue, William, 'A History of Birmingham, Places and Place Names from A to Y', 'A Brief History of Birmingham', 'Victorian Birmingham' Accessed 2016.

¹² Owen, D., *English Philanthropy 1660-1960* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p.145; Harvey, E.A., *Philanthropy in Birmingham and Sydney, 1860-1914: class, gender and race* (PhD Thesis, University College London, 2011), p.191.

¹³ Edwards, A.M., *The Design of Suburbia: A Critical study in Environmental History* (London: Pembrige Press, 1982), p.28; Kellett, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities*, p.360; Fishman, R., *Bourgeois Utopias: The Rise and Fall of Suburbia* (USA: Basic Books Inc., 1946), pp.4 &36.

¹⁴ Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, p.13; Dyos, *Victorian Suburb*, p.8.

commuting to and from the city was easy for 'the carriage-class'. Only the better-off could afford the public coaches, horses and private carriages that were the only forms of transport for most this period and this set Moseley on its way to becoming a middle-class commuter enclave. Thompson stresses the importance of ancient routes in the pre-development of suburbs and Figure 2.1 shows how seven ancient highways framed Moseley in this proto-suburban phase, providing access to Birmingham and elsewhere for private transport in the first instance and a basic framework for future road and public transport developments.¹⁵ Forty-three new roads were formed between 1845 and 1900, but the only new road formed in this period was Blaney Road, built in the 1840s, a signal of future development.¹⁶ The distance from the city centre was also important in that it was sufficient to pre-empt fears of encroachment, to engender a sense of distance from the city's problems and to preserve a sense of a country retreat, making the village an attractive option for the middle class. Its location south of Birmingham meant the prevailing north-westerly winds carried away the smells and smogs of the city, ensuring healthy air conditions in the village. Most villages that became Birmingham suburbs, such as Edgbaston and Harborne, also lay on turnpiked roads and were free of Birmingham's fumes. Turnpike roads formed a suburban framework elsewhere too, for example, in Camberwell, Leeds and Glasgow.¹⁷ Moseley's location in respect of Birmingham was crucial to its potential for suburbanisation.

¹⁵ Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, p.4.

¹⁶ Library of Birmingham Archives (LBA), Everson, H. J., 1896 'Directory of Moseley' or titled 'Chronological History of Moseley'.

¹⁷ Treen, C., 'The process of suburban development in north Leeds, 1870-1914' in Thompson, F.M.L., (ed.), *The Rise of Suburbia* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982), pp.162-163; Dyos, *Victorian Suburb*, p.38; Simpson, M.A., *The West End of Glasgow, 1830-1914* in Simpson, M.A., & Lloyd, T.H., (eds.), *Middle Class Housing in Britain* (Newton Abbot, London and Vancouver: David & Charles, 1977), p.45.

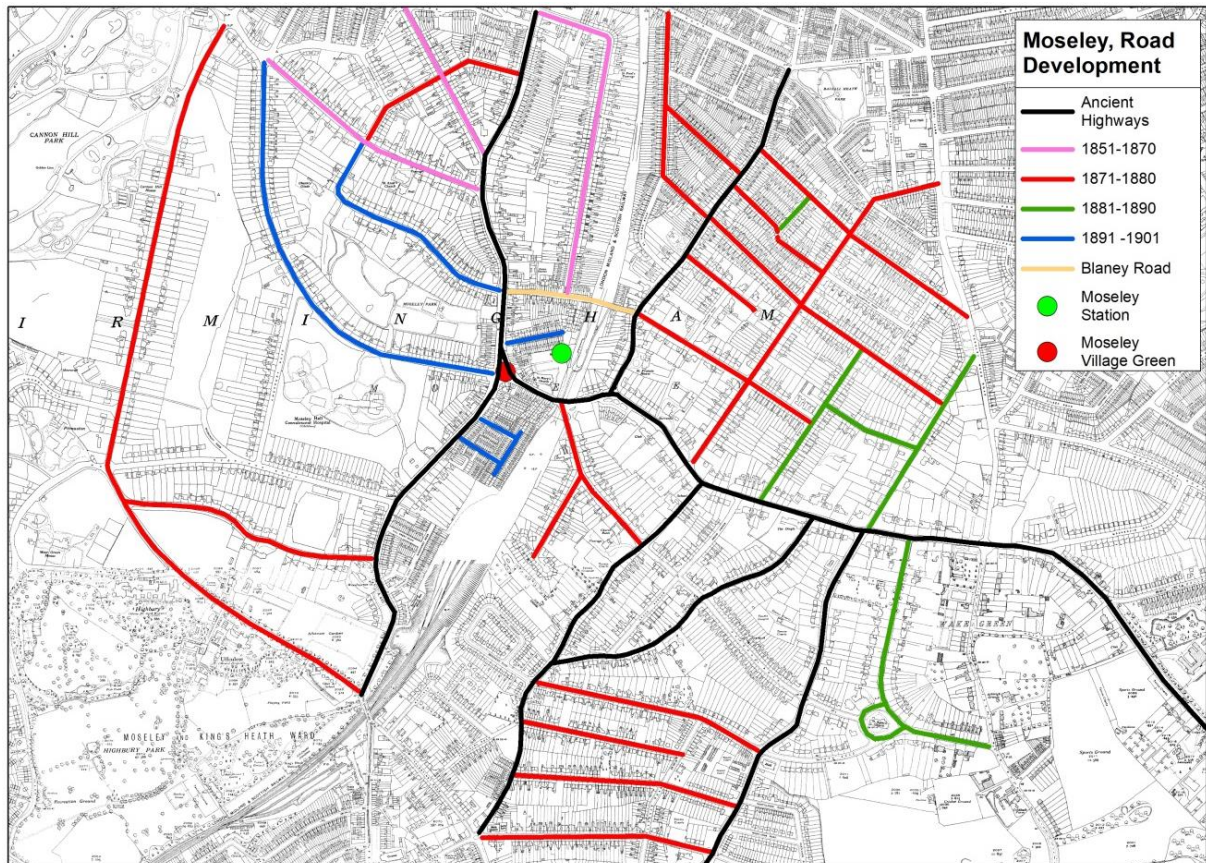


Fig.2.1: Road Development, Moseley.¹⁸

Moseley also enjoyed local physical advantages that made it ideal for suburbanisation. It was an attractive rural location with an established nucleus that the middle-classes were seeking. For example, in 1844, Edward Holmes, a Moseley architect, wrote that School Road was a ‘narrow bye road ... bounded by holly hedge’ and ‘innocently rustic’ with houses ‘few and far between on Alcester and Moseley Road’.¹⁹ Moseley did not have canals that might bring industry to spoil the rural ambience so attractive to the middle class as some other suburbs did. The Birmingham and Stratford canals, for example, introduced factories, including a paper mill and chemical works, in Kings Norton, whereas the first Lord Calthorpe only

¹⁸ © Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited (2020). All rights reserved. (1944-1993). Data added in GIS.

¹⁹ Moseley Society History Group, ‘The Collection’ (MSHGC), (C3/D2/F1/36), *The Moseley Society Journal*, Vol. 1, No 10, November, 1894. Edward Holmes was born and lived in School Road for many years.

allowed the Worcester and Birmingham canal through his Edgbaston estate provided that no factories or warehouses were built.²⁰ Dyos and Thompson highlight the importance of sub-soils and elevation in suburban development, and M.C. Carr the importance of underlying geological conditions, relief and drainage.²¹ Moseley was elevated and height was considered healthy. Height also gave 'plenty of natural fall for drainage', an important factor in house-building, as Spurrier noted.²² Gravel sub-soils also ensured good drainage and there was clean water, particularly important for health, in the many springs, deep wells and natural watercourses. There were splendid views over the surrounding countryside at a time when 'a prospect' was increasingly sought-after. Other suburbs enjoyed these same advantages. Edgbaston stood on high, light, gravelly soil and had 'unbroken rural vistas'.²³ Yardley was dominated by a ridge of high land, had soils of Keuper Marl, sands and gravels and plenty of water at hand.²⁴ Camberwell was elevated with tracts of gravel and sand, natural brooks and springs and Bromley had pebble beds suitable for building and was high.²⁵ Moseley's rural and village ambience and its geology, like that of some other suburbs, were important to its development as a suburb.

²⁰ Demidowicz & Price, *Kings Norton, a History* (Chichester: Phillimore & Co., Ltd., 2009), p.79; Hampson, Martin, *Edgbaston: Images of England* (Stroud: Tempus Publishing Ltd., 1999), p.7; Jones, Douglas, *Edgbaston as it was* (Sutton Coldfield: Westwood Publications, 1986), p.43.

²¹ Carr, 'The development and character of a metropolitan suburb: Bexley in Kent', p.261.

²² St. Mary's Church Archive (SMCA), Canon Colmore's Diary, Spurrier, W.J., *Moseley of Today and a Look into the Past*, accompanied by an original map, 1893, p.447, Courtesy of Rob Brown, Voluntary Church Archivist, (PCRB).

²³ Slater, Terry, *Edgbaston: A History* (Chichester: Phillimore, & Co., Ltd., 2002), p.22; Jones, *Edgbaston as it was*, p.31.

²⁴ Skipp, Victor, *Medieval Yardley* (London: Phillimore & Co., Ltd., 1970), pp.5 & 10.

²⁵ Dyos, *Victorian Suburb*, pp.36-37; Rawcliffe, 'Bromley: Kentish market town to London suburb, 1841-81', p.81.

Another of Dyos and Thompson's local circumstances was the presence of successful businessmen who moved to Moseley in the proto-suburban phase before 1850.²⁶ The 1850 Post Office Directory noted 'some beautiful seats' in Moseley and highlighted the most important, Moseley Hall, 'a stone mansion with good grounds, the residence of James Taylor'.²⁷ Figure 2.2 depicts The Mansion House, a large, gracious dwelling set in extensive informal parkland complete with mature trees, which suggests elegance, stability, security and gentry living. The Andertons, descendants of city ironmongers and slum landlords, lived there on their 596-acre Wake Green Estate.²⁸ From 1801, William Shorthouse, founder of Shadwell Vitriol Works, inhabited the twenty-roomed South Hill House at Greenhill with its 120 acres of grounds and farmland.²⁹ After 1850, the aspiring middle class enjoyed the reflected glory of living alongside wealthy people and substantial houses. This was a pattern in other suburbs: Edgbaston Park was leased by William Withering in 1786 and in 1896 by the city's first Lord Mayor, Sir James Smith. The Grove, Harborne, was the home of Thomas Attwood, the social reformer and Birmingham's first M.P.³⁰ In North Leeds large acreages were held by the aristocracy and by the 1840s in Bromley the estates of the Bishop of

²⁶ Dyos, *Victorian Suburb*, pp.53-56, 60-77 & 83; Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, pp.5-6, 10 & 16-19.

²⁷ *The Post Office Directory of Birmingham with Staffordshire and Worcestershire, 1850*, p.452; *Directory and Gazetteer of the County of Worcester*, M. Billing, 1855, p.388; *The Post Office Directory of Birmingham with its Suburbs, 1867*, p.124. James Taylor lived at Moseley Hall after his father's death in 1814 and died in 1852. He was associated with Messrs Taylor and Lloyds Bank.

²⁸ Fairn, *A History of Moseley*, p.29; McKenna, J., *Birmingham: The Building of a City* (Stroud: Tempus Publishing Ltd, 2005), p.60.

²⁹ McKenna, *Birmingham: The Building of a City*, p.60. They were manufacturing chemists of oil of vitriol and aqua-fortis manufacturers, 64 Shadwell Street and 9 New Market Street, Birmingham.

³⁰ Chitham, Edward, *Harborne: A History* (Chichester: Phillimore & Co., Ltd., 2004), pp.6, 9 & 15; <https://billdargue.jimdofree.com/placenames-gazetteer-a-to-y/places-e/edgbaston/>, Dargue, William, 'A History of Birmingham, Places and Place Names from A to Y', 'Places-e', 'Edgbaston': Accessed 2016.

Rochester brought particular prestige.³¹ The early settlement of well-to-do middle class established the pattern of residential development for the future.



Fig.2.2: The Mansion House, Moseley.³²

Transport was considered both a general and local influence on suburbanisation by Dyos and Thompson and this proved true of Moseley.³³ A key transport development for Moseley in the proto-suburbanisation phase occurred in 1836, when the Birmingham and Gloucester railway was authorised by Parliament.³⁴ The Moseley section opened in 1840, but only after problems which impacted on the environment and residents. The railway company pressed

³¹ Rawcliffe, 'Bromley: Kentish market town to London suburb, 1841-81', pp.30 & 33.

³² MSHGC, (MC/D1/11/7), Image of Mansion House.

³³ Dyos, *Victorian Suburb*, pp.53-56, 60-77 & 83; Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, pp.5-6, 10 & 16-19.

³⁴ Long, P.J., & Audrey, The Reverend W.V., *The Birmingham and Gloucester Railway* (Gloucester: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1987), pp.5 & 12; Fairn, *A History of Moseley*, p.45; PCRB.

ahead with a cutting rather than the proposed tunnel to save £1,500.³⁵ Local people were angered and took the case to the Court of Chancery. The company was compelled to make a tunnel, a move they described as ‘forced’ on them by ‘local opponents in parliament’ and by ‘objectors’.³⁶ Moseley residents thus proved an effective pressure group and in control of their environment. The building of the new line impacted differently on residents, though: part of church glebe land was appropriated and tenants' houses demolished, but landowners received compensation.³⁷ Others were concerned: Thomas Anderson, a local resident, considered the tunnel ‘large’ and ‘dangerous’, many feared railways would bring dirt, fumes and noise, as well as industry and the *hoi poloi*, and the health hazards of train travel were much debated by doctors.³⁸ Four men died working on the track in the parish.³⁹ All of this shows opposition to the ‘degrading’ of the social composition of the suburb and its environment and perhaps to expansion itself, but it laid the foundation for the future.

On the other hand, building the railway line brought benefits. In 1839 Samuel Lloyd conveyed part of the Freehold Estate, Balsall Heath House, to the Birmingham and Gloucester Railway for £3,755 plus £500 paid by the Railway Company in lieu of building a bridge connecting the lands severed by the railway.⁴⁰ Land prices were expected to rise: in his will William Anderton postponed land sales for not exceeding two years in the probability

³⁵ Hazlewood, J., *Moseley Railway* (Birmingham: Jericho Promotions and Publications, 2013), pp.27 & 118. www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currencyconverter: £1,500 in 1890 was c., £123,100 in 2017. Accessed 2012-2020.

³⁶ Hazlewood, *Moseley Railway*, p.28; Turner, K., *The Lost Railways of Birmingham* (Studley: K.A.F. Brewin Books, 1991), pp.27 & 118; Long & Audrey, *The Birmingham and Gloucester Railway*, pp.14 & 118.

³⁷ PCR, A copy of Birmingham to Gloucester Railway Act 1836, Section 8; Fairn, *A History of Moseley*, p.45.

³⁸ MSHGC, (C2/D1/F4/17), Dargue, William, *Moseley*, Article; Burke, T., *Travel in England* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1945-6), p.116.

³⁹ Library of Birmingham Archives (LBA), EP 77/2/4/1, St. Mary's Church Burials, 1813-1850.

⁴⁰ MSHGC, (C2/D1/F4/21), Isgrove, David, ‘A Snapshot of Moseley’, *Bham 13*, Magazine article; LBA, MS39/26/21 - 2 a/ 3/273/17, Conveyance of Samuel Lloyd. £3,755 in 1890 was c., £308,100 in 2017 and £500 was £41,000.

that the Birmingham-Gloucester line would bring a larger profit.⁴¹ A wooden trestle bridge was built over the line in 1849, extending Blaney Street and connecting it with Church Road, which opened up access east of the village green to the main Alcester Road and transport facilities. Blaney Street was renamed Woodbridge Road. The tunnel brought acclaim, because the Moseley cutting was amongst the first and greatest railway works in the Birmingham area and the Gothic-arched tunnel portals were unique.⁴² Figure 2.3 shows the depth of Moseley's cutting and stylish tunnel entrance, accentuated by the steep access paths, and celebrates the construction prowess and technical advance involved. The population of Moseley increased between around 400 in 1811 to about 1,000 in 1841 and to 1,500 in 1861; the marginal increase per year shows the railway had little immediate impact on growth.⁴³ Though the railway was the first public transport to pass through Moseley other than stage coaches, the village cannot be described as a 'railway suburb' at this stage. One reason why the railway had little effect initially is that 'Moseley Station' was at Kings Heath not in the village centre, which meant residents walked to the station, used private transport or hired transport. The location of the station in Kings Heath suggests Moseley people did not want their village disturbed by rail passengers.

⁴¹ LBA, MS/39/26/6, Will of William Anderton.

⁴² Baxter, M., & Drake, P., *Moseley, Balsall Heath and Highgate*, The Archive Photographs Series (Chalford: The Chalford Publishing Company, 1996), p.74; Long & Audrey, *The Birmingham and Gloucester Railway*, p.118.

⁴³ Clive, *The Moseley Trail*, p.2; Hewston, *The History of Moseley Village*, p. 29; Fairn, *A History of Moseley*, p.42.

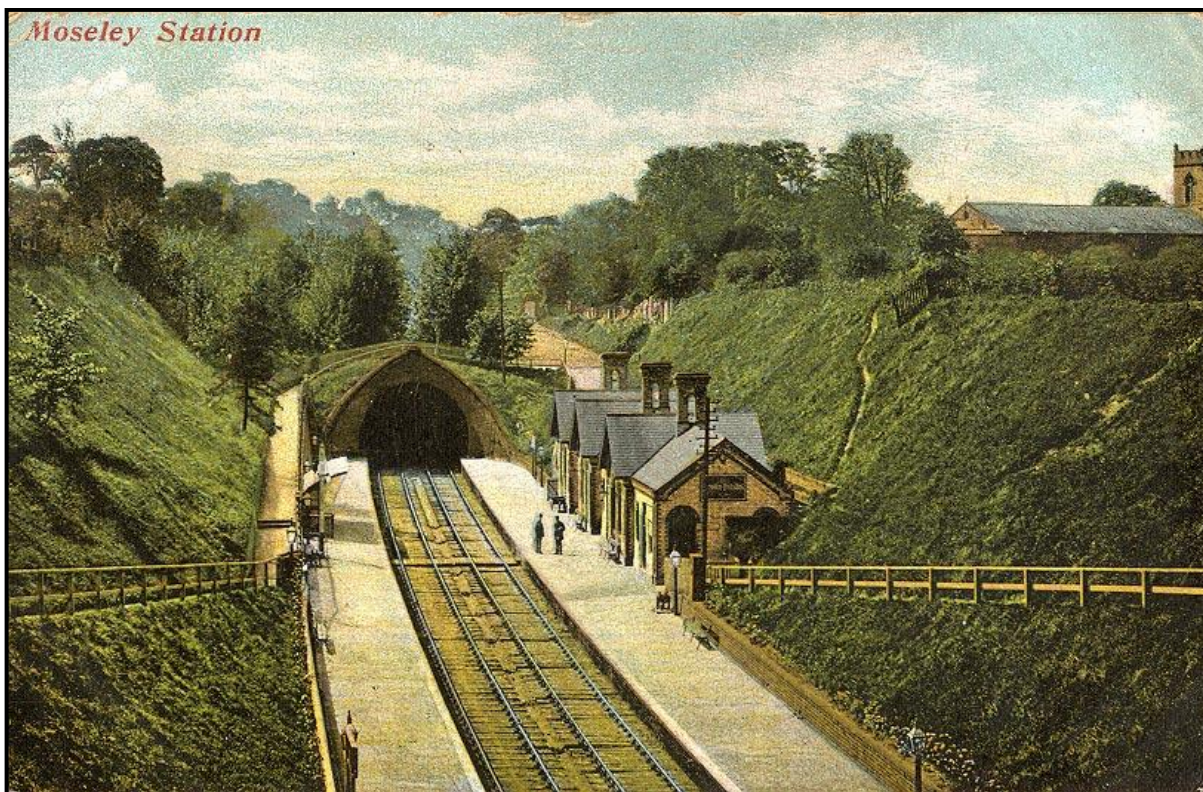


Fig.2.3: The Railway Tunnel and Cutting, Moseley, 1890.⁴⁴

A new form of public transport, the horse omnibus, was introduced to Moseley in 1846 along the Alcester Road, and this, rather than the railway, intensified Moseley's development as a suburb. Omnibuses were crucial to Moseley's development and continued to serve the suburb for some time. There were already some incomers in Moseley, and thus, the introduction of these omnibuses permitted, but did not cause, 'colonisation', as Thompson says.⁴⁵ Omnibuses attracted the affluent middling class, such as professional men, because they were larger and faster than coaches, were covered, had a rear entry for easy access, had increasingly more comfortable seating and the daily services, journey times and lower fares were more convenient.⁴⁶ Improvements to services meant private transport was

⁴⁴ Baxter & Drake, *Moseley, Balsall Heath and Highgate*, p.74; MSHGC, (MC/D1/5), Postcard Album; PCRC, Postcard; PCJE, Postcard.

⁴⁵ Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, p.11.

⁴⁶ Gordon, W.J., 'The Omnibus Horse' in *The Horse World of London* (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1893).

less necessary, which led to a decline in the need for coach-houses and male horse servants and their accommodation. This in turn meant cheaper female servants only were required and houses could be smaller. Moseley was thereby opened up to a wider range of middle-class residents. The introduction of omnibuses varied in other suburbs, but the frequency and costs were similar.⁴⁷ In Wanstead omnibuses were introduced from 1829 and in North Leeds in 1838, but fares and times were beyond the mass of the Leeds populace.⁴⁸ Horse buses were invariably introduced in London suburbs only after suburban development had taken hold, in Camberwell, for example, using existing routes.⁴⁹ Omnibuses were important to early moves towards suburbanisation.

Moseley in its proto-suburbanisation phase enjoyed a number of circumstances presented by Dyos, Thompson and others.⁵⁰ Many of these advantages were common to other suburbs, but not all. Moseley was now ripe for suburbanisation. The following sections consider the extent to which improvements to transport impacted on land sales, road formation and house building, and the rural environment and residents during four phases, 1851-1870, 1871-1880, 1881-1890 and 1891-1901. They explore other factors influencing the development of Moseley and the experience of suburbanisation, including changing attitudes to commuting and transport facilities and the widening of the social profile of Moseley.

⁴⁷ Slater, *Edgbaston: A History*, p.69; Freeman, M.J., & Aldcroft, D.H., (eds.) *Transport in Victorian Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), p.143; Kellett, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities*, p.361; www.handsworth-historical-society.co.uk, 'Handsworth Historical Society', 'Transport', 'Tramways Visits'. Accessed 2016.

⁴⁸ Morrison, Kathryn & Robey, Ann, *100 Years of Suburbia: Aldersbrook Estate in Wanstead, 1899-1999* (London: The Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England and London Borough of Redbridge Libraries Service, 1999), p.6; Treen, 'The process of suburban development in North Leeds, 1870-1914', pp.165-166.

⁴⁹ Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, p.20.

⁵⁰ Dyos, *Victorian Suburb*, pp.53-56, 60-77 & 83; Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, pp.5-6, 10 & 16-19.

1851-1870: Suburbanisation gathering pace

By 1871 the population of Moseley was about 2,400, a significant rise from the 1,000 of 1841.⁵¹ Land and road development was modest between 1851 and 1870. J.R. Kellett suggests 'the ground plan formed by property titles' was the 'key to explaining the whole course of development' and Dyos and Thompson claim the identity and attitudes of landowners were also responsible for differences between suburbs.⁵² This was true of Moseley: land in Moseley was concentrated in the hands of a small number of local families who released it slowly. The Blayney family sold land from 1843 to 1886 when their remaining land, opposite Moseley Park and Pool, was sold.⁵³ A field of freehold land was offered for sale in 1865 following the death of the owner, William Nutt, and the two-acre plots of the Grange Farm Estate and land between Cotton Lane and Bulley Lane (later Billesley Lane) was auctioned in 1868.⁵⁴ The potential was clearly there as land and plots were described as 'A very desirable Freehold Estate' and 'well-adapted for erecting a villa residence'.⁵⁵ Not only that, but land was cheaper outside of the city area. Moseley's land ownership pattern ensured a controlled entry into the market, showing Moseley landowners and developers were keen to protect the village from rampant speculation. They instituted covenants that excluded the less well-off, which helped preserve Moseley for the middle class. Only four roads, ten per cent, were formed in the 1851 to 1871 phase (Fig.2.1).⁵⁶ Few houses were built too, but the numbers were increasing: a census analysis shows that in

⁵¹ The census does not appear to include the population for Moseley in 1851.

⁵² Kellett, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities*, p.462; Dyos, *Victorian Suburb*, pp.53-56, 60-77, 83 & 101; Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, pp.5-6, 10 & 16-19.

⁵³ Gilbert, *The Moseley Trail*, p.11; McKenna, *The Building of a City*.

⁵⁴ LBA, 1 79416, *Birmingham: A Collection of Auctioneers' Bills*, Vol. I, 1797-1875.

⁵⁵ LBA, Sales Catalogues, Bham/Sc 1377 & 383200; LBA, 1 79416, *Birmingham: A Collection of Auctioneers' Bills*, Vol. I, 1797-1875.

⁵⁶ LBA, Everson, H.J., 'Directory of Moseley' or titled 'Chronological History of Moseley', 1896. H.J. Everson was a Moseley resident and local historian.

1851 there were nine new houses in two roads analysed, an average of one per year. In 1861 there were sixty-seven new houses in six roads, an average of seven per year, and increase of six new houses per year compared to 1851. House building increased in the next decade: in 1871 there were 160 new houses in fourteen roads, an average of sixteen per year and an increase of nine compared to 1861. Advertisements for houses for sale or rent, though, show the steady increase in availability: The *Birmingham Daily Post* had no adverts for apartments in Moseley in this period, but adverts for houses for sale or rent increased from seven in the 1850s to fifteen in the 1860s, suggesting an increasing, but modest supply.⁵⁷ Slow housing development over twenty years made little impact on the village except in roads close to the village centre.

Land ownership, road formation and house building patterns were similar in other middle-class suburbs. The Calthorpes owned all the land in Edgbaston, giving them comprehensive control over development, whilst the Smith-Ryland family owned much of the land in Sparkhill, and Benjamin Cook Junior, a brass-founder of Flint Green, developed most of Acocks Green in the Victorian era.⁵⁸ In Bromley four individuals owned sixty-five per cent of the land while a small minority owned over seventy-five per cent, and in Camberwell, seven landowners had one third of the tithe land and twenty possessed well over four fifths.⁵⁹ However, later in the century such control was lost; key owners died and where there were numerous inheritors, land and property in Moseley and elsewhere was divided up. As in

⁵⁷ *Birmingham Daily Post*, Advertisements, 1850s and 1860s.

⁵⁸ Wilmot, Frances, *Around 4 o'clock: Memories of Sparkhill and Acocks Green* (Studley: Brewin Books, 1993), p.141; Demidowicz & Price, *Kings Norton, a History*, p.107; <https://aghs.jimdofree.com/mckenna-history/chapter-three/>, 'Acocks Green History Society', McKenna, Joseph, 'Acocks Green', 1990, Chapters 3 & 4. Accessed 2017; <https://aghs.jimdofree.com>, 'Acocks Green History Society', 'General Pages', 'Pioneers of Acocks Green'. Accessed 2015.

⁵⁹ Rawcliffe, 'Bromley: Kentish market town to London suburb, 1841-81', p.40; Dyos, *Victorian Suburb*, p.41.

Moseley, road development was slow in Harborne between 1851 and 1870 with only three new streets formed there after 1860 and then, as more land became available, three more.⁶⁰ Harborne developed intensely earlier than Moseley, with 637 built in key roads by 1850.⁶¹ Similarly, building peaked in Camberwell between 1850 and 1852, but also again in 1868.⁶² Outer West London's first boom came in the 1860s, with a particular upswing in 1868, but by the mid-1860s five roads and twenty houses were built in Ealing.⁶³ Some suburbs experienced similar patterns of development to Moseley.

This local expansion created a demand for transport and stimulated improvement to omnibus services between 1851 and 1871 and particularly towards the end of the period when more houses were coming onto the market. The 1869 'Liverpool system of quick and frequent journeys at low fares' 'revolutionised' omnibus travel with ten new, luxurious green omnibuses each accommodating some thirty-one passengers, a half-hourly service and very cheap tickets.⁶⁴ Lower fares for short journeys, ten per cent discount tickets for regular travel that facilitated cross-town movement and the possibility of booking through journeys enhanced the service.⁶⁵ This is in line with Thompson's suggestion that demand was a key aspect, with adaptable forms of transport capable of playing their part in enlarging the residential area through the extension of their services as soon as demand arose.⁶⁶ It also reflects Dyos' claims that omnibus services contributed to the great change over the

⁶⁰ Chitham, *Harborne: A History*, p.65.

⁶¹ www.birmingham.gov.uk, 'Harborne Local History', 'Section 3: '19th Century'. Accessed 2017.

⁶² Dyos, *Victorian Suburb*, pp.81 & 124.

⁶³ Jahn, 'Suburban development in outer west London, 1850-1900', pp.102-103.

⁶⁴ <https://birminghamhistory.co.uk/re-peter-walker-archive>, Walker, Peter, 'The Birmingham History Forum', 'Peter Walker Archives', 'Birmingham Steam Trams', 'The Story of the Midland Red'. Re-accessed 2019; Jenson, A.G., *Early Omnibus Services in Birmingham 1834-1905* (Biggleswade: London, An Omnibus Society Publication, 1963), p.6.

⁶⁵ Jenson, *Early Omnibus Services in Birmingham 1834-1905*, p.6.

⁶⁶ Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, p.11.

nineteenth century.⁶⁷ On the other hand, Jahn claims that development between 1850 and 1870 took place in Leeds in spite of rather than because of the introduction of the horse bus, because suburbs there were within walking distance of the city centre.⁶⁸ Moseley, at four miles from Birmingham, was a different prospect. Fishman suggests that fares were relatively high, though, and this preserved suburbs for the middle class.⁶⁹ By 1859 there were omnibus services in most Birmingham suburbs, with more services established in the early 1860s. In Manchester omnibuses were frequent and operated over long hours.⁷⁰

Omnibus improvements underpinned early suburban development, but it came with disadvantages. There was aggressive competition for passengers, overcrowding, furious driving, drunkenness, assault, stone throwing, fighting and passengers having 'ladies on their knees', activities likely to deter the middle class.⁷¹ There were accidents too: a manufacturer, Mr Barrett, a varnish and colour manufacturer of Bradford Street, slipped from an omnibus step and, according to Mr Baker, a local surgeon, dislocated his shoulder.⁷² There was crime: an imposter represented herself as a servant from Leamington robbed of her return ticket to town and all her money while on a Moseley omnibus.⁷³ She appealed for 1s 10d, the fare home, and was so earnest that she managed to get the sum from the chapel-keeper of Newhall Street and the next day from the daughter of Arthur O'Neill of Hall Road,

⁶⁷ Dyos, *Victorian Suburb*, p.66.

⁶⁸ Jahn, 'Suburban development in outer west London, 1850-1900', p.168.

⁶⁹ Fishman, *Bourgeois Utopias*, pp. 26 & 88.

⁷⁰ Fishman, *Bourgeois Utopias*, pp. 26 & 88.

⁷¹ Freeman & Aldcroft, *Transport in Victorian Britain*, p.143; Jenson, *Early Omnibus Services in Birmingham 1834-1905*, p.4. For example, Saltley buses were stoned by its rival's supporters and fighting broke out between William Mayner and his son and their rivals on the Handsworth service.

⁷² *Birmingham Daily Post*, Saturday 20 June, 1868.

⁷³ *Birmingham Daily Post*, Friday 11 December, 1868.

Handsworth.⁷⁴ Different social levels travelled together in close proximity as never before, which might not have been acceptable for some middle-class, but whether it provided opportunities for suburbanites to come together to create community cohesion is a difficult question to answer.

Another transport development had a major impact on Moseley, particularly in the longer term. A railway station opened in 1867, some twenty-seven years after the Moseley section of the railway opened. A local resident, S. Niak, wrote to the *Birmingham Daily Post* in 1864 asking the newspaper to use its influence for a station for Moseley, because the journey time to Birmingham by omnibus took forty minutes.⁷⁵ This shows a change in attitudes from the 1830s when there was resistance to the railway passing through Moseley and a station close to the village. Commuting by public transport became more important to the people now moving into Moseley. The changed attitude is reflected in the proud welcome given to the station: Thomas Lewis claimed, 'There is no prettier station or one more picturesquely situated than that which was opened at Moseley'.⁷⁶ Two postcard images celebrated the new station. Figure 2.3 shows its neat buildings and litter-free platforms and the well-kept, numerous, but steep paths that give access from surrounding roads. The green slopes and trees offset concerns that railways destroyed the landscape. Figure 2.4 shows gas lighting, the wooden bridge and an oncoming train, celebrating the locomotive, but not hinting at the associated smoke and dirt. An 1867 *Birmingham Daily Post* article draws attention to how services privileged middle-class commuters, noting the 'dinner train' that allowed businessmen to have their lunch at home, but there were also later trains home and the

⁷⁴ 1s 10d in 1890 was c., £6 in 2017.

⁷⁵ *Birmingham Daily Post*, Wednesday 25 May, 1864.

⁷⁶ Baxter & Drake, *Moseley, Balsall Heath and Highgate*, p.74.

journey was short.⁷⁷ Thus owning a carriage was no longer necessary to live in Moseley and this, along with cheaper fares for third-class passengers from the 1860s, meant Moseley became more accessible to the lower-middle class.⁷⁸ The relationship between stations and development was complex: other suburbs had stations distant from the centre, such as Harborne, Yardley and Northfield and Acocks Green station consisted of two wooden platforms and two sheds.⁷⁹ Moseley was not alone in not having a station initially and slow subsequent growth: Manor Park Station, Wanstead, was built in 1872, some nine years after the railway and Erdington Station opened in 1862, but subsequent urban development was limited.⁸⁰ The new station at Moseley, though, signalled a decisive change, not only in attitudes, but also in the potential for the development of the suburb.

Prior to the erection of the station, Moseley's suburban development was underpinned by the horse bus and horse tram. This supports Kellett's argument that only in a few exceptional cases could railways be regarded as the single major explanation of suburbanisation and that generally 'the development of suburbs ... preceded the provision of railway services by periods of at least a decade or two for each of the larger cities'.⁸¹ The influence of railways on development in other Birmingham suburbs was limited: in 1866, the railway line to Harborne was opposed, Edgbaston's first railway was not opened until 1874

⁷⁷ Turner, *The Lost Railways of Birmingham*, p.27. The dinner train left New Street at 1 p.m. and returned from Moseley at 2.48 p.m. These later trains left New Street at 5.20 p.m. and 6.30 p.m. or later still at 7.00 p.m. The journey averaged twelve minutes.

⁷⁸ Turner, *The Lost Railways of Birmingham*, p.26; Best, G., *Mid-Victorian Britain 1851-1875* (St Albans: Panther Books Ltd., 1973), p.91.

⁷⁹ Turner, *The Lost Railways of Birmingham*, p.26; <https://aghs.jimdofree.com/mckenna-history/chapter-three/>, 'Acocks Green History Society', McKenna, Joseph, 'Other Histories of Acocks Green', 'Acocks Green', c.1990. Accessed 2017.

⁸⁰ Morrison & Robey, *100 Years of Suburbia*, p.10; <https://billdargue.jimdofree.com/placenames-gazetteer-a-to-y/places-e/erdington/>, Dargue, William, 'A History of Birmingham, Places and Place Names from A to Y', 'Places-e', 'Erdington', 'Descent of the Manor'. Accessed 2017.

⁸¹ Kellett, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities*, pp. 354-76.

and few services were run to Kings Norton.⁸² Railways were important to the development of suburbs further out, such as Acocks Green where distance from the city meant a long, uncomfortable and expensive omnibus journey, but impracticable for suburbs closer to city centres, such as North Leeds.⁸³ Even where distance was a factor, the railway was not essential: Bexley expanded without any immediate railway, confirming that railways made outer suburban dormitories possible, but did not create them.⁸⁴ The railway could produce a genuine railway suburb, such as Bromley, but even there they were not the only factor: development in Bromley proceeded in spite of the inconvenience, inefficiency and inadequacy of train services.

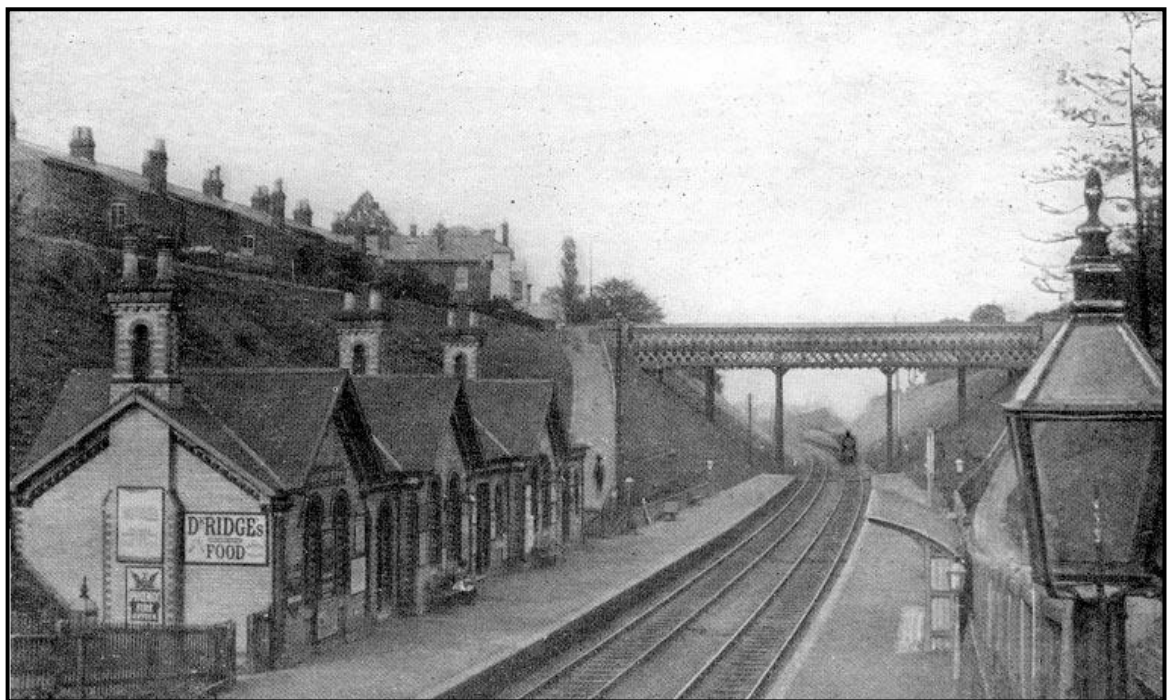


Fig.2.4: Moseley Station, late Nineteenth Century.⁸⁵

⁸² Slater, *Edgbaston: A History*, p.73.

⁸³ Wilmot, *Around 4 o'clock: Memories of Sparkhill and Acocks Green*, p.89; Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, p.19; Treen, 'The process of suburban development in North Leeds, 1870-1914', pp.165-166.

⁸⁴ Jahn, 'Suburban development in outer west London, 1850-1900', p.144.

⁸⁵ MSHGC, (MC/D1/5), Postcard Album; PCRC; PCJE. Laburnum Grove is on the left.

The introduction of horse-drawn trams into Moseley in 1869 only two years after the railway station was built, reinforces the argument that forms of transport other than railways were important in suburban expansion. Made of the new mass-produced steel, they could carry more people, faster and more cheaply and give a smoother ride in more comfortable interiors than horse omnibuses, making them attractive to the better-off.⁸⁶ Barbara Schmucki claims that trams were not readily accepted: the press was critical, as tram lines and 'industrialised transport' were considered a threat to the 'traditional meaning' of streets and 'existing patterns of movement' and an 'intrusion into an essential public space'.⁸⁷ Moseley residents must have found the installation of tram lines destructive, disruptive, noisy and dirty, but there were advantages: rails were laid flush to the road surface roads were widened and gutters, drains, kerbs and footpaths provided.⁸⁸ Fares decreased over time, making them affordable to the less well-off and opening up Moseley further to a wider social group. Fares, though, never became low enough for the working classes.⁸⁹ The introduction and development of horse trams shows that there was a market for a new means of commuting to Birmingham and one aimed at a different social group from the railways. Horse-drawn trams were introduced around the same time in other suburbs, such as Wanstead.⁹⁰ Fears of attracting lower-class residents meant encroachment was resisted in many places: attempts were made to stop the corporation putting tramlines down in

⁸⁶ Semsel, Craig R., 'More than an ocean apart: The street railways of Cleveland and Birmingham, 1880–1911', *The Journal of Transport History*, Vol. 22, No.1, 2001, Department of History, Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland OH 44106, USA., p.48; Freeman & Aldcroft, *Transport in Victorian Britain*, p.151.

⁸⁷ Schmucki, B., 'The Machine in the City': Public Appropriation of the Tramway in Britain and Germany, 1870 - 1915', *Journal of Urban History*, Vol.38, No.6, November 2012, pp.1062-3.

⁸⁸ Barker, T., & Gerhold, D., *The Rise and Rise of Road Transport, 1700 -1990* (Basingstoke: The MacMillan Press Ltd., 1993), p.69.

⁸⁹ Freeman & Aldcroft, *Transport in Victorian Britain*, p.141.

⁹⁰ Morrison & Robey, *100 Years of Suburbia*, p.6.

Harborne and Hagley Roads, for example.⁹¹ Thompson claims that the rapid introduction of horse trams in Outer West London from 1870 had a much more widespread effect than workmen's trains and fares in enabling the lower-middle class and artisans to move to suburbia and threaten middle-class exclusiveness.⁹² He found that places experienced a dramatic transformation in the social character and physical scale as a direct result of 'tramway penetration' and this proved true of Moseley.

Trams, omnibuses and trains brought new spaces that required new behaviours. Passengers were in close and frequent physical proximity with strangers from different social strata. Rules prohibited 'Smoking in the interior', 'drunkenness' and 'using obscene or offensive language', suggesting a desire, and need, to regulate behaviour and attract the respectable. Etiquette books advised middle-class women about getting on and off transport, fare paying and how to deal with fellow passengers.⁹³ The need for this advice confirms women were taking advantage of public transport and were out in the public sphere regularly, undermining the separate spheres construct in which men were placed in the public domain and middle-class women in the private arena of home. Cartoons, as in Figure 2.5, lampooned conflicting standards of manners; the gentleman has given up his seat for a lady and is subtly suggesting a 'Thank You!' is in order. Perhaps her reluctance to speak is connected to managing relationships with men on public transport. As Vanessa Rodríguez-Galindo says,

⁹¹ Cannadine, 'Victorian Cities: How Different?', p.471.

⁹² Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, p.20.

⁹³ Balducci, Temma, 'Aller à pied: bourgeois women on the streets of Paris' in Balducci, Temma & Belnap-Jensen, Heather, (eds.), *Women, Femininity and Public Space in European Visual Culture, 1789-1914* (London & New York: Routledge, 2014), pp.159-160; Bilston, Sarah, *The Promise of the Suburbs: A Victorian History in Literature and Culture* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2019), p.158.

women had to find new ways of safeguarding their privacy and signalling decency.⁹⁴ The child and the way the women are staring straight ahead in this cartoon, as well as their dress, are elements linked to demonstrating respectability.⁹⁵ Using public transport put women in new situations, such as queueing in the street or on railway platforms amongst others and possibly, as in this image, jostling for a seat or even standing until a seat became vacant.⁹⁶

The rural ambience and attractiveness of the village to the middle-class suffered little between 1851 and 1870. The 1850 Post Office Directory described Moseley as ‘a pleasant and romantic village’.⁹⁷ W.R. Bickley, a local historian, described it as ‘elevated, the scenery well wooded and picturesque, the soil is sand and gravelly’.⁹⁸ Well-to-do people dominated. In 1854 thirty-three householders were listed as ‘gentry’ owning substantial properties and in 1862 Spurrier wrote that ‘except for a few groups of cottages, there were only the large residences and a few mansions’.⁹⁹ Other villages were similar. Kings Norton had a parish church and village green, Acocks Green before 1850 was an ‘entrancing spot’ and Harborne in 1851 was ‘a pleasant rural village’.¹⁰⁰ The parishes of Beckenham, Chislehurst and Croydon all developed from small villages.¹⁰¹ Other Birmingham suburbs did not retain their rural

⁹⁴ Rodríguez-Galindo, Vanesa, ‘De Paseo: tracing women’s steps in Madrid’s late nineteenth century illustrated press’ in Balducci, Temma & Belnap-Jensen, Heather, (eds.), *Women, Femininity and Public Space in European Visual Culture, 1789-1914* (London & New York: Routledge, 2014), pp.173-176.

⁹⁵ Balducci, ‘*Aller à pied*’, pp.159-162.

⁹⁶ Balducci, ‘*Aller à pied*’, p.158.

⁹⁷ *The Post Office Directory of Birmingham with Staffordshire and Worcestershire, 1850*, p.452; *Directory and Gazetteer of the County of Worcester*, M. Billing, 1855, p.388; *The Post Office Directory of Birmingham with its Suburbs, 1867*, p.124.

⁹⁸ LBA, 392143, Bickley, W.R., p.155. William Bickley was a local historian living in Moseley.

⁹⁹ Fairn, *A History of Moseley*, p.42; SMCA, Canon Colmore’s Diary, Spurrier, W.J., *Moseley of Today and a Look into the Past*, accompanied by an original map, 1893, p.447.

¹⁰⁰ Demidowicz & Price, *Kings Norton, a History*, p.xiii.

¹⁰¹ Rawcliffe, ‘Bromley: Kentish market town to London suburb, 1841-81’, pp.28 & 77.

image and were absorbed into Greater Birmingham, such as Aston and Handsworth, which reflects a similar experience to expanding London suburbs.¹⁰² Jahn says the sale and lease of land for building began to alter the character of Ealing from an essentially rural to a predominantly middle-class residential suburb.¹⁰³ The railway attracted a broader spectrum of the middle classes to Bromley, Kent, leading to villa development, but there were sufficient estates for the suburb to remain attractive.¹⁰⁴ Whilst the rural environment in Moseley appeared untouched, transport developments were preparing the ground for further expansion.



Fig.2.5: A Cartoon: 'Tram-Car Politeness', 1875.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² Chitham, *Harborne: A History*, p.65; Hearn, *A History of the Church of St Anne, Moseley, Birmingham* (Halesowen: Sunderland Print Ltd.,1974), p.9; Bold, A., *An Architectural History of St. Mary's Church 1405-2005* (Moseley: St. Mary's Church Parish Office, 2004) p.30; Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, pp.3-4.

¹⁰³ Jahn, 'Suburban development in outer west London, 1850-1900', p.102.

¹⁰⁴ Rawcliffe, 'Bromley: Kentish market town to London suburb, 1841-81', p.79.

¹⁰⁵ LBA, *Funny Folks*, Issue 22, 8 May, 1875, p.1079.

1871–1880: Suburbanisation taking off

Between 1871 and 1880 the population of Moseley increased from 2,400 to 4,200, an increase that was twice as great as in the previous phase. More land came onto the market, some of which was smaller, such as a triangle of land between Greenhill Road, Cotton Lane and the future Oxford and Ascot Roads on the Greenhill Estate.¹⁰⁶ Some was larger, for example, the 1871 Birmingham Freehold Land Society development on Greenhill Road which comprised eighty-seven plots and created Prospect and Clarence Roads and Grove Avenue.¹⁰⁷ A key change for Moseley came when, in 1877, the large 596-acre Anderton Park and Woodfield Estates, Wake Green Road, was put on the market following the death of Rebecca Anderton.¹⁰⁸ This Building Estate included a number of roads, 100 plots varying from a quarter of an acre to two acres and the large houses, Woodfield and Mansion House, the latter described ‘a commodious family residence and pleasure gardens’ having ‘noble chestnut trees’ (Fig.2.2). The 1877 Anderton Park Estate sales catalogue pointed to the short distance from Birmingham, the charming situation on the southern side of Birmingham, the ‘proverbially salubrious neighbourhood’, the elevated position and the gravelly subsoil with a natural fall for drainage, all local factors espoused by Dyos and Thomson.¹⁰⁹ It noted how the estate was ‘contiguous with several of the most picturesque roads in rural parts’ and that the plots were ‘suitable for the erection of first-class dwelling houses’. Thus, status, quality, like-minded neighbours and Moseley’s middle-class profile were secured. The systematic development of middle-class Moseley had begun.

¹⁰⁶ LBA, Sales Catalogues, Bham/Sc 1368 & Bham/Sc 1364; Fairn, *A History of Moseley*, p.53.

¹⁰⁷ McKenna, *Birmingham: The Building of a City*, p.70.

¹⁰⁸ McKenna, *Birmingham: The Building of a City*, p.70.

¹⁰⁹ LBA, Sales Catalogue, Bham/Sc 123; Dyos, *Victorian Suburb*, pp.53-56, 60-77 & 83; Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, pp.5-6, 10 & 16-19.

However, plots on the Anderton Park Estate came up for auction again in 1878, suggesting a slowing of the market.¹¹⁰ Twenty-seven lots, clustered around the centre of the estate and described as 'highly valuable building land with ample frontages varying in quality from 1,800 to 4,200 square yards' were re-advertised. They were smaller than before, but still sizeable and their status was emphasised in the description of them as 'contiguous to other building sites on which have been erected Gentlemen's residences of a superior character and the building restrictions are such as will without undue stringency preserve the character of the neighbourhood'. Developers, then, were still determined to maintain the desired social status of purchasers and residents. Thompson suggested developers and builders overestimated the middle-class demand for large and comparatively expensive houses, because 'there were too few of the middle classes to go around'.¹¹¹

This was, though, a period of significant road and house development which undermines any ideas about lack of demand, but possibly reflects over-optimism in a recession. Road formation and house building forged ahead between 1871 and 1881 (Fig.2.1). Of the forty roads analysed in the 1850 to 1901 censuses, nineteen (forty-five per cent) were formed in this phase, significantly more than in the previous phase.¹¹² These roads encircled the village green and the railway station, which highlights the importance of transport and that Moseley developed outwards from the centre of the village. The roads, though, were away from the busy Alcester Road and the railway line itself, and skirted the southern edge of Moseley Hall Estate, suggesting a rural ambience remained at the heart of development and considered crucial to attracting middle-class tenants. The analysis of the 1881 census shows

¹¹⁰ LBA, Sales Catalogue, Bham/Sc 191.

¹¹¹ Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, p.22.

¹¹² LBA, Everson, 'Directory of Moseley', 1896.

214 new houses were built after 1871, an increase of fifty-four on 1871 and an average of twenty-four per road and two per year per road. This is reflected in a sales catalogue claim that villas were 'now springing up in Moseley in every direction'.¹¹³ In the 1870s, there were twenty-one adverts for apartments in the *Birmingham Daily Mail*, and ninety-one for houses, testament to Moseley's increasing popularity.¹¹⁴ Development was intensifying, but not overwhelming. Development in other suburbs varied. Progress in road building after 1873 was slow in Bromley unlike in Moseley, but four more roads were opened later and another eleven were built in 1879, 1880 and 1881.¹¹⁵ Middleton Hall Road, Kings Norton, developed slowly with only sixty houses built between the 1870s and 1901.¹¹⁶ House building fluctuated in London suburbs with the lowest ebb occurring in Camberwell in 1871-1872 and a peak in 1878-80 and a downturn in Outer West London in 1873, but an upswing in 1881.¹¹⁷ Bromley, Outer West London, North Leeds and Bexley suffered from the over-supply of building land and houses, making the development of estates 'frequently protracted and interrupted'.¹¹⁸ Broomhall Estate and Spring Lane Estate in Sheffield took a long time to complete.¹¹⁹ In Camberwell there were numerous roads where forty to fifty years elapsed between the filling of the first and last building plots.¹²⁰ These examples suggest a much more complex and fluctuating pattern than the one experienced by Moseley.

¹¹³ LBA, Sales Catalogue, Bham/Sc 1260.

¹¹⁴ *Birmingham Daily Mail*, Adverts, 1870s.

¹¹⁵ Rawcliffe, 'Bromley: Kentish market town to London suburb, 1841-81', p.77.

¹¹⁶ Demidowicz & Price, *Kings Norton, A History*, p.112.

¹¹⁷ Dyos, *Victorian Suburb*, p.81; Jahn, 'Suburban development in outer west London, 1850-1900', pp.103 & 144.

¹¹⁸ Rawcliffe, 'Bromley: Kentish market town to London suburb, 1841-81', p.62; Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, p.22.

¹¹⁹ Tarn, J.N., *Sheffield* in Simpson, M.A., & Lloyd, T.H., (eds.), *Middle Class Housing in Britain*, (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1977), p.177.

¹²⁰ Dyos, *Victorian Suburbia*, p.126.



Fig.2.6: A Horse Bus outside the Fighting Cocks, Moseley, 1870s.¹²¹

Horse omnibus services improved between 1871 and 1881, supporting Moseley's expansion, but costs were still too high even for skilled workers, which helped secure the suburb for the middle class. In 1871 horse omnibuses going to Birmingham from The Fighting Cocks Inn were 'very frequently throughout the day'.¹²² Figure 2.6 suggests the popularity of the Moseley omnibus with the middle class, but its provenance is unclear. The man holding the reins is very smartly dressed, similarly well-dressed passengers are closely packed on top of a new-looking carriage and women or dignitaries are up-front. Perhaps this is a special event advertising a new service, or intended to raise the profile of horse omnibuses in competition with horse-trams. A small crowd has assembled outside the Inn. Are they attracted by an event or waiting for the inn to open? Horse-drawn trams were popular too. The *Birmingham*

¹²¹ Baxter & Drake, *Moseley, Balsall Heath and Highgate*, p.72.

¹²² LBLH, 1871 *Post Office Trade Directory*.

Daily Post in 1873 praised the motion, ventilation, speed and cheapness and described the carriages as 'light, commodious, comfortable, and convenient. . . . The seats inside are covered and backed with Utrecht velvet . . . canvas rendered waterproof, windows of ornamental stained glass'.¹²³ The middle class supposedly appropriated the horse tram, using them, by the 1880s, as a cheaper alternative to cabs. The early tram routes, such as that to Moseley, followed the 'established traffic flows of a wealthy clientele' from the city to the suburbs.¹²⁴ In 1872 many Birmingham suburbs had tramways. North Leeds introduced horse-drawn trams in the early 1870s and they were more frequent and cheaper than buses and started earlier and finished later, but did not operate early enough for the working class and were largely used by the middle classes.¹²⁵ The middle-class was taking to public horse buses and trams and this was opening up suburbs to a wider middle-class social group.

Rail services further stimulated Moseley's development. Local people, including John Avins, successfully pressed for increases to the service, showing the support the railway had from residents.¹²⁶ By about 1877 thirty trains per day went to Birmingham New Street Station from Moseley, suggesting a popular transport form and significant commuter traffic.¹²⁷ A more convenient service, the provision of third-class carriages by the Midland Railway Company in 1872, and the abolishment of second class in 1875, brought more lower-middle class individuals to the suburb.¹²⁸ Cannadine says that the lower-middle classes and labour aristocracy following the better-off to some suburbs threatened the exclusiveness of the

¹²³ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 'Opening of the Birmingham Tramway', Monday 8 September, 1873.

¹²⁴ Schmucki, 'The Machine in the City', p.1066.

¹²⁵ Treen, 'The process of suburban development in north Leeds, 1870-1914', pp.175-6.

¹²⁶ LBLH, B.COL 08.2, *Birmingham Faces and Places*, 'Moseley Station', Vol. 1, No. 8, 1 December, 1889, p.23.

¹²⁷ Kellett, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities*, p.361; LBLH, *Commercial and Trades Directory of Birmingham*, Francis White & Co., Vol. 11, pp. 1418-1771; Gilbert, *The Moseley Trail*, p.8.

¹²⁸ Best, *Mid-Victorian Britain 1851-1875*, p. 91; Clark, G.K., *The Making of Victorian England* (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1968), p.145.

middle-class suburb and eroded those relatively sharp lines of class distinction established in the earlier period.¹²⁹ This occurred in Moseley, resulting in the building of smaller houses and gardens, closer together and terraced rows. Experiences connected to the development of railways differed elsewhere. The 1874 Harborne railway had a more limited service and the 1871 Birmingham West Suburban Railway to Kings Norton suffered opposition in 1871 and 1881.¹³⁰ On the other hand, as Jahn says, lines to Ealing, Hounslow and Uxbridge were extended in the 1870s and 1880s and the second boom 1875-85 in outer west London suburbs coincided with improvements to railway services.¹³¹ Bromley got a new loop line and station in 1878 and journey times and costs ensured middle-and upper-middle-class residents, but the horse still remained crucial.¹³² Changes to class segregation on trains supported the move out to suburbs by lower middle-class social groups, but Birmingham suburbs were less welcoming to railways than London ones whose distance from the city made railways crucial to their development.

Having a private carriage remained important to successful businessmen and their families, as a status symbol and a more acceptable alternative to public transport, especially for women and social occasions. Figure 2.7 shows the carriage-owning Mason family dressed in their best, outside their substantial house, Windermere, 110 Wake Green Road.

¹²⁹ Cannadine, 'Victorian Cities: How Different?', p.466.

¹³⁰ Cannadine, 'Victorian Cities: How Different?', p.471.

¹³¹ Jahn, 'Suburban development in outer west London, 1850-1900', pp.114 & 144-145.

¹³² Rawcliffe, 'Bromley: Kentish market town to London suburb 1841-1881', pp.38-40.



Fig.2.7: Private Transport, Windermere, 110 Wake Green Road, Moseley, c. 1880.¹³³

The house was built for Samuel Mason, a Dale End manufacturer of pub fittings, and the staff, a groom, coachman-cum-butler and two domestics, are dressed according to their station, alongside a family clearly proud of the wealth and status their carriage, staff and house represent.¹³⁴ Stables and coach houses in building plans peaked in the 1870s to sixteen and fifteen respectively compared to three each between 1850 and 1860, showing the importance of private transport despite public transport innovations and improvements. Private transport could be hired. 'Growlers' were for hire by the village green and there was a carriage-hire firm nearby. Figure 2.8 is a staged photograph set outside the carriage hire depot. It advertises the smartness of its carriages for hire, its well-to-do middle-class clientele, its smartly dressed frontline and extensive backroom staff, which presents pride,

¹³³ MSHGC, (C2/D1/F10/44/9), Postcard, c. 1880; Information from Gilbert, *The Moseley Trail*, p.17.

¹³⁴ Gilbert, *The Moseley Trail*, p.17.

status, quality, efficiency and a service suitable for the middle class of Moseley. Private carriages continued to be important, not only as a status symbol, but also as a means of distancing the better-off from socially more inferior others on public transport.



Fig.2.8: Carriage Hire, Moseley Village, Later Nineteenth Century.¹³⁵

Concerns about the environment were beginning to emerge. Moseley was described in 1875 as ‘a pleasantly situated village’, but Spurrier bemoaned the cutting of Park Road as ‘not only the first encroachment into Moseley Park, but of the open Moseley fields’.¹³⁶ Sale particulars, though, still highlighted proto-suburbanisation features, including closeness to Birmingham (‘only 2 ½ miles’), elevation (‘stands on elevated position’), views (‘extensive views of the adjacent diversified countryside’), health (‘purity of atmosphere’), rural aspect (‘magnificent forest trees’), drainage (‘natural fall for drainage’) and geology (‘gravelly sub-

¹³⁵ MSHGC, (MC/D1/F12/6), Clive Gilbert Photos, (MC/D5/7) & (MC/D6.15-18), Images of early transport.

¹³⁶ *Commercial and Trades Directory of Birmingham*, Francis White & Co., 1875; LBA, Sales Catalogue, Bham/Sc 1260.

soil').¹³⁷ In 1878 Joseph Chamberlain built Highbury at Moor Green and, though he was little involved in village affairs, his presence brought prestige. Experiences varied in other Birmingham suburbs. In the 1870s Edgbaston had 'fine streets, elegant terraces, numerous villas, and ornamental walks', but Erdington remained 'a hamlet'.¹³⁸ However, in the early 1870s a steel mill, a tin-ware works, a spectacles manufactory and a market and strawberry gardens were established in Harborne threatening the rural ambience.¹³⁹ Moseley was on a trajectory similar to that of Edgbaston, which it sought to emulate, but other Birmingham suburbs were less fortunate.

This phase saw an initial expansion of Moseley with larger estates coming onto the market, peak road formation and house building that can be connected to improvements to horse omnibus and rail services, the introduction of horse trams and the impact of the new station. Improved and cheaper transport removed the necessity for private carriages, which impacted on house size and brought in lower-middle class residents. Carriage hire filled the gap, but the status element in owning your own carriage remained and increased. Despite initial critical approaches to railways and other forms of transport, attitudes in this period became more positive.

1881 – 1890: Suburbanisation intensifying

More land came onto the market between 1881 and 1891, including some small plots, but also larger areas, such as Grange Farm Estate, Greenhill Lane, a 125-acre Freehold Building

¹³⁷ LBA, Sales Catalogues, Bham/Sc 1260.

¹³⁸ Slater, *Edgbaston: A History*, p.26; *John Marius Wilson's Imperial Gazetteer of England and Wales, 1870-72*.

¹³⁹ Demidowicz & Price, *Kings Norton, a History*, pp.110-112.

Estate, an 'excellent site for residence in the country'.¹⁴⁰ Land coming onto the market suggests optimism, but Birmingham was in recession and capital was scarce and plot sales were slow.¹⁴¹ A Grove Avenue house deed shows that land was changing hands, which suggests inflation.¹⁴² Some plots up for auction in 1885 near the Grove Estate were modified and put back on the market in 1886, reflecting a slowing of the market.¹⁴³ The sale of plots on the Anderton Park Estate had not picked up significantly: only thirty-nine plots had been sold since they were put on the market in 1877 and 1878 and the last lots were not sold until the 1920s.¹⁴⁴ Moseley now had rivals for buyers, not only Edgbaston, Harborne and Erdington, but also new suburbs like Solihull and Sutton Coldfield.¹⁴⁵ Not everyone, though, was necessarily anxious to capitalise on their land. The 560-acre Pitmaston Estate at Moor Green came up for auction in 1884, but Sir John Holder, the new owner, did not sell the building plots.¹⁴⁶ Richard Cadbury bought Henbury in 1892, to prevent the land from falling into the hands of developers, at the same time adding about sixty-five acres to his home, Uffculme.¹⁴⁷ This shows local landowners preserving the environment from development.

Only nine roads were formed in this phase, twenty-three per cent of those analysed, compared to nineteen between 1871 and 1881 (Fig.2.1).¹⁴⁸ They lay mostly towards the south-east of the village centre showing Moseley spreading out into its rural surroundings.

¹⁴⁰ McKenna, *Birmingham: The Building of a City*, p.71; LBA, MS 183, Grange Farm Building Estate Brochure.

¹⁴¹ Hopkins, E., *Birmingham: The Making of the Second City 1850-1939* (Stroud: Tempus Publishing Inc., 2001), p.33.

¹⁴² Private Collection Fiona Adams (PCFA).

¹⁴³ LBA, Sales Catalogues, Bham/Sc 1669, Bham/Sc 1377, Bham/Sc 856 & Bham/Sc 1883; McKenna, *Birmingham: The Building of a City*, p.71.

¹⁴⁴ LBA, Sales Catalogues, Bham/Sc 1377 & Bham/Sc 856.

¹⁴⁵ Gilbert, *The Moseley Trail*, p.14.

¹⁴⁶ LBA, Sales Catalogues, Bham/Sc 1377 & Bham/Sc 856.

¹⁴⁷ Perrie, M., 'Hobby farming among the Birmingham bourgeoisie: the Cadburys and the Chamberlains on their suburban estates, c.1880–1914', *Agricultural History Review*, Vol.61, June, 2013, pp.111-134.

¹⁴⁸ LBA, Everson, 'Directory of Moseley'.

The population increased by about 3,000, far more than previously, and the number of new houses increased (Appendices A): the 1881 census shows 214 new houses in nineteen roads analysed, an average of twenty-one per year. There were 275 new houses in twenty-two roads analysed in 1891, an average of twenty-eight per year. However, momentum was reduced, possibly because of recession: between 1861 and 1871 the increase in the annual average of new houses in the roads analysed was nine whereas that between 1871 and 1881 was five and between 1891 seven, a slight renewal. On the other hand, adverts for apartments in the *Birmingham Daily Mail* doubled in the 1880s to forty-four and increased for houses by sixty, suggesting more available accommodation or more movement.¹⁴⁹ The 1885 and 1886 Grove Estate plans show few houses had been erected, and villas there were advertised for sale in the *Birmingham Post* twice in 1890 and again in 1891, four to five years after the plots went up for sale. Similar slow development occurred elsewhere: it took until the 1880s before Edgbaston's basic street pattern was completed, and, after building slumped in 1881, only 206 more leases granted before 1914.¹⁵⁰ Edgbaston stagnated as Moseley became fashionable and had more modern houses.¹⁵¹ By 1888 in Kings Norton development was also protracted.¹⁵² The first house was built on The Park Estate, Nottingham, in 1854, but building was only finished by 1887, some thirty-three years later.¹⁵³ Only two out of eight sites in Outer West London were completed by 1900.¹⁵⁴ Moseley was suffering some slowing of development, as were other suburbs, but by 1888,

¹⁴⁹ *Birmingham Daily Mail*, Adverts, 1880s.

¹⁵⁰ Hampson, *Edgbaston: Images of England*, p.7.

¹⁵¹ www.calthorperesidents.org, 'Calthorpe Residents Association', 'Calthorpe Estate', 'History', Thompson, Nigel, 'The Calthorpe Estate - a Short History', Accessed 2017.

¹⁵² *John Marius Wilson's Imperial Gazetteer of England and Wales*.

¹⁵³ Edwards, K.C., 'The Park Estate, Nottingham' in Simpson, M.A., & Lloyd, T.H., (eds.), *Middle Class Housing in Britain* (London: David & Charles, 1977), pp.153-169.

¹⁵⁴ Jahn, 'Suburban development in outer west London, 1850-1900', p.145.

development was such that Moseley was, for the first time, described as a 'suburb of Birmingham'.¹⁵⁵ Similarly, Harborne in 1882 was a 'large and rapidly growing parish' and was incorporated into Birmingham in June 1891.¹⁵⁶

Moseley still had considerable green space and newspaper adverts described it as 'very pleasant', 'charming' and 'delightful'.¹⁵⁷ On moving to Moseley Hall in 1884, Richard Cadbury's children were delighted by the 'spreading lawns, trees and woods, open fields and the beautiful pool with its tree-shaded island'.¹⁵⁸ They nick-named their new home, 'The Bunny House' because of his descriptions of rabbits 'scuttling across the grass'.¹⁵⁹ Views from Moseley Hall were 'very beautiful': a 'thick belt of trees fringed the top of the hill' hiding the Park Hill houses, St Ann's Church spire 'soared' above and there was 'not a house in sight anywhere'.¹⁶⁰ However, the 1884 *Dart* noted 'the felling of trees in the park for a new road' and an old wall 'being pulled down, and a rail being put up'.¹⁶¹ In 1886 W.F. Taylor sold plots which cut across the kitchen gardens of Moseley Hall and planned a grid of roads across the greater portion of the estate.¹⁶² Richard Cadbury bought Moseley Hall and twenty-two acres of land from him in 1890 in consequence and donated the Hall to the city in 1892 as a Children's Convalescent Home.¹⁶³ Other suburbs fared differently. Acocks

¹⁵⁵ Hewston, *The History of Moseley Village*, p.29; Fairn, *A History of Moseley*, p.53.

¹⁵⁶ Francois, Peter, 'Migration into Harborne in the late nineteenth century', *The Midland Ancestor*, Vol. 12, No. 12, June, 2001, pp.492-493. Saltley and Little Bromwich were incorporated into Birmingham at the same time.

¹⁵⁷ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 1881 & 1890, for example, Saturday 22 February, 1890, Tuesday 1 March, 1881 & Wednesday 13 June, 1890.

¹⁵⁸ Cadbury, Helen, *Richard Cadbury of Birmingham* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1906), p.213.

¹⁵⁹ Cadbury, *Richard Cadbury of Birmingham*, pp.213-214.

¹⁶⁰ Cadbury, *Richard Cadbury of Birmingham*, pp.215-216.

¹⁶¹ *The Dart: The Midland Figaro*, 'What We Hear', Friday 6 December, 1884, p.12.

¹⁶² LBA, 355198, Photographs and newspaper cuttings relating to Moseley Hall.

¹⁶³ LBA, 355198, Photographs and newspaper cuttings relating to Moseley Hall; Gilbert, *The Moseley Trail*, p.4; LBA, HC/BCH/1/2/4, Minutes of the Birmingham and Midland Free Hospital for Sick Children, Managing Committee Meeting, 10 November, 1890, plan accompanying Richard Cadbury's proposed gift.

Green was still a small hamlet in the 1880s with only eight shops, but in 1887, a factory opened, 'The Birmingham Woven Wire Mattress Co. Ltd.,' which later expanded to become 'The Pioneer Cabinet Works'.¹⁶⁴ Moseley retained its rural ambience and its controlled deployment of land safeguarded it from industrial development.

The introduction of steam trams was crucial to suburban development. They came to Moseley in 1884 and ran through the village regularly from 1887.¹⁶⁵ Penny stages, introduced from 1885, and a new route in 1886 via Park Road, brought in a wider social group. Steam trams came to other suburbs around the same time as Moseley and provided the most substantial of all contributions to Victorian cities, conveying by the end of the century forty-five per cent more passengers annually than local railways.¹⁶⁶ However, 'Edgbaston carriage folks won't have the tramways at any price', reported *The Dart* in 1884 and there was strong opposition to trams on the Hagley Road.¹⁶⁷ Horse trams along the Bristol Road were later converted to steam and then, in 1890, battery cars were introduced.¹⁶⁸ In 1888 the Handsworth service became a cable car line running every eleven minutes at a uniform 1d fare.¹⁶⁹ In Bexley, from 1880, the tram route provided a 'central artery of movement' and a cable tram was introduced to Wanstead from 1884.¹⁷⁰ Steam

¹⁶⁴ Wilmot, *Around 4 o'clock: Memories of Sparkhill and Acocks Green*, p.89; <https://aghs.jimdofree.com/mckenna-history/chapter-four/>, 'Acocks Green History Society', McKenna Joseph, 'Acocks Green', 1990, Chapter 4. Accessed 2017.

¹⁶⁵ Hardy, P. L., & Jaques, P., *A Short Review of Birmingham Corporation Tramways* (Walsall: H. J. Publications, 1971), p.8.

¹⁶⁶ Kellett, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities*, p.288.

¹⁶⁷ Wilmot Frances, *Around 4 o'clock: Memories of Sparkhill and Acocks Green*, p.146; *The Dart: The Midland Firago*, 'What we Hear', Friday 6 December, 1894, p.12; Jones, *Edgbaston as it was*, p.48.

¹⁶⁸ Jones, *Edgbaston as it was*, p.48.

¹⁶⁹ Jones, *Edgbaston as it was*, p.48; <https://handsworth-historical-society.co.uk>, 'Handsworth Historical Society', 'Transport', 'Tramways Visits Page', 'Tramways in Handsworth'.

¹⁷⁰ Carr, 'The development and character of a metropolitan suburb: Bexley in Kent', p.227; Jahn, 'Suburban development in outer west London, 1850-1900', p.132; Morrison & Robey, *100 Years of Suburbia*, p.6.

trams were a significant introduction that set Moseley on the path to intense development, whilst tram developments in other suburbs gave them a lease of life that, along with electrification, extended their importance into the twentieth century.

Steam trams may have facilitated commuter traffic, but they also disrupted and damaged the environment much to the consternation of some residents. There was disgruntlement about the Tramway Company 'taking up the rails again' in 1884 and a Moseley resident, 'An Old Inhabitant', complained to *the Birmingham Daily Post* about the 'wholesale' cutting down of trees in Moseley Park to widen the road.¹⁷¹ He claimed he would rather do without trams than the beautiful trees and rookery, and asked someone to step in and, at least, arrange to leave a line of trees and the 'busy rookery at the edge of the new footpath'.¹⁷²

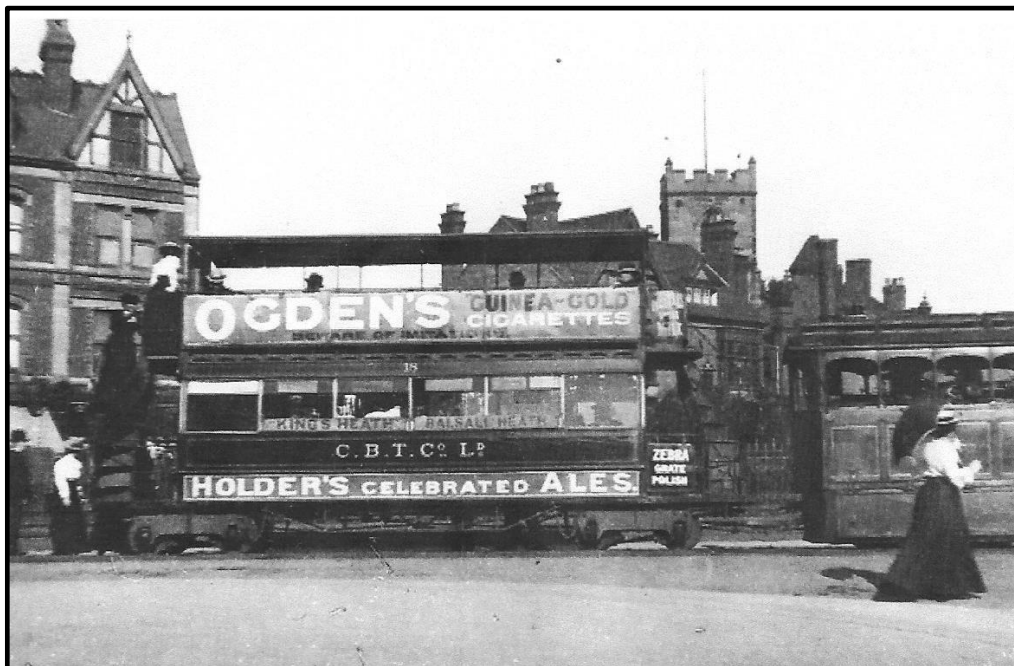


Fig.2.9: A Steam Tram, Moseley Village Green, 1902.¹⁷³

¹⁷¹ *The Dart: The Midland Figaro*, Friday 6 December, 1884, p.12.

¹⁷² *Birmingham Daily Post*, Saturday 15 November, 1884.

¹⁷³ Baxter & Drake, *Moseley, Balsall Heath and Highgate*, p.70; Turner, *Birmingham Transport*, p.51. This is a Falcon Trailer No. 18 probably on Service K to Kings Heath; PCRC, postcard.

'Ode to the Moseley Tram'¹⁷⁴

Ram'em in,
Jam 'em in,
Push 'em in, pack.
Hustle 'em,
Jostle 'em,
Poke 'em in the back.
Tramp on 'em,
Stamp on 'em,
Make their bones crack.
Fat woman,
Slat woman,
Tom, Dick and Jack.
Hang on and
Cling on,
By tooth or by hair.
Hey there!
Now stay there,
And pass up your fare.

Tram locomotives turned round the limited space of the village green and hooked up at the other end of the trailer, which created smoke, sparks, noise and chaos. Trams also caused serious accidents. The 1886 *Birmingham Daily Post* reported that a child under two years of age ran out into the road and was killed by a tram.¹⁷⁵ Figure 2.9 shows their huge size and women climbing to the top deck despite their long skirts, to an area supposedly 'owned' by men, where smoking, a largely male habit, was allowed, demonstrating greater female independence.¹⁷⁶ 'Decency panels' protected women on the top deck, suggesting women were expected to ride there. Trams, according to Schmucki, were 'symbols of emancipation' and 'helped' shape a new female presence in the public environment', giving Moseley women a freedom they had not previously enjoyed.¹⁷⁷ The sides of the tram in the image are

¹⁷⁴ *The Owl*, Friday 8 January, 1886, p.14.

¹⁷⁵ *Birmingham Daily Post*, Wednesday 22 September, 1886; *The Dart*, 'Hoots of the Week', Friday 24 September, 1886, p.10.

¹⁷⁶ Turner, *Birmingham Transport*, p.51.

¹⁷⁷ Schmucki, 'The Machine in the City', pp.1065 & 1067.

emblazoned with adverts for cigarettes, ales and 'Zebra Polish' testament to the commercial world. By 1885 Balsall Heath House 'and its drive and orchards' were demolished to make way for a new terminus opposite the village green.¹⁷⁸ The 'Ode to the Moseley Tram' reveals how crowded, uncomfortable, rough and unpleasant tram journeys were. The language is coarse and the picture that emerges does not reflect the middle-class image of Moseley.

Steam trams caused more distress than any other transport form, because they damaged the rural ambience and reflected the urbanisation of suburbs that many had sought to escape, but they enabled greater freedom for women. Such was the local antipathy to steam trams, though, that Reverend W.H. Colmore, of St. Mary's Church, Moseley, set up an 'Anti-Steam Tram Nuisance Society'. A conference for Kings Heath and Moseley members of the Association was held at Moseley National School to discuss the renewal of the licence to use steam on tramways due to expire on 9 June, 1888.¹⁷⁹ A number of local gentlemen attended, including Messrs Lister Lea and S.B. Allport. The meeting highlighted a range of problems with steam trams, including the effect on rates, property values and rentals. Recommendations were made about noise from alarm-bells, pollution from noxious fumes, the steam emitted and the type of coke to be used, as well as the cars, inspectors and prosecution of rule-breakers. 'The Trolley System', an article in *The Owl*, on 10 March, 1899, refers to 'grumblers against the trolley'.¹⁸⁰ The *Birmingham Mail* of 13 October, 1903, referenced the 'long prejudice against the steam tram' and remarked: 'This gentleman [Rev. Colmore] on the appearance of the first tram registered a vow never to ride in one, a

¹⁷⁸ MSHGC, (C2/D1/F4/21), Isgrove, David, 'A Snapshot of Moseley', Article.

¹⁷⁹ *Birmingham Daily Post*, Wednesday 20 June, 1888.

¹⁸⁰ Semsel, 'More than an ocean apart - The street railways of Cleveland and Birmingham, 1880-1911', p.49.

resolution which, we are told, he has unfalteringly maintained till the present day'.¹⁸¹ This pressure group shows that the middle class were a formidable force in shaping suburbs.

Transport caused other kinds of disruption for residents. In 1886, the *Birmingham Daily Post* reported disturbances created by young men and women coming to Moseley on omnibuses and trams to pick up cabs and traps to go on to Alcester Lanes End Inn and the Billesley Arms, returning late at night and then drinking in Moseley inns.¹⁸² Cabs and traps competed for passengers, causing road safety issues, and tram alarm bells were used very liberally, creating noise pollution. Passengers milled around in the village, jostling pedestrians and singing loudly and some damage was done to fences by blackberry gatherers and apples and turnips were stolen. Trams rumbled over the wooden pavement and bells jangled uninterruptedly from 7.30 a.m. every weekday until nearly 12.00 p.m. Such invasions disrupted the peace and privacy that had underpinned suburbanisation, but an article in *Birmingham Faces and Places* in 1889, presents visitors in a more positive light that emphasises pride in people wanting to visit the suburb and its amenities, whilst still referencing crowds and heavy transport:

The time to observe the present popularity of Moseley is on a fine Sunday afternoon when tramcar and bus vie with each other in depositing their loads of people here, either to attend afternoon service at the church or to make excursions after fresh air in the country lanes and the fields.¹⁸³

¹⁸¹ MSHGC, (C2/D1/F4/22), 'Old Moseley (Worcestershire)', Article.

¹⁸² *Birmingham Daily Post*, Tuesday 5 October, 1886.

¹⁸³ MSHGC, *Birmingham Faces and Places*, 1889; Turner, *Birmingham Transport*, p.15.

The different perspective of Moseley revealed by the impact of transport and visitors to the suburb is also evident in an image related to the Sunday opening hours of Inns (Figure 2.10). Inns were obliged to serve travellers at any time of day and locals only during regulation hours, but this image suggests that this restriction was widely ignored. Rough-looking, drunken men stand outside the inn with fierce dogs. A woman and child sell apples, but the woman holds a bottle and is being accosted by an angry-looking innkeeper. Well-to-do pedestrians look askance at the scene.

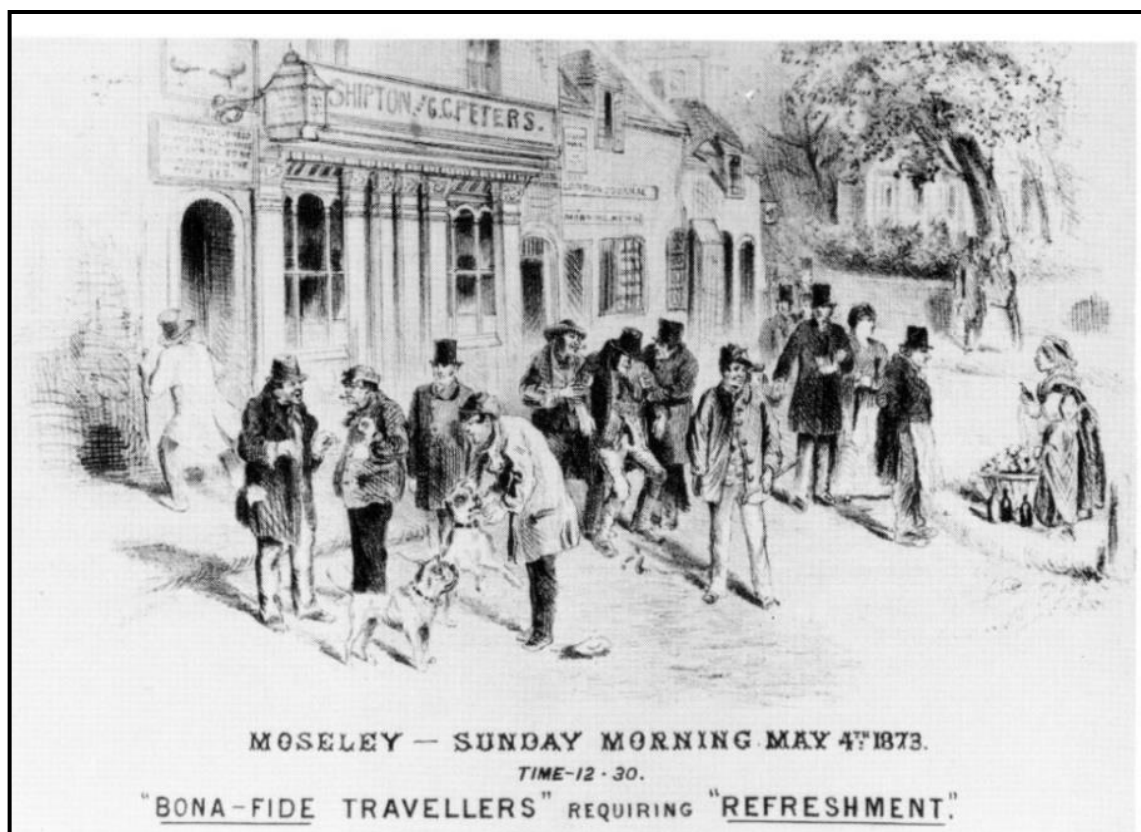


Fig.2.10: 'Bona-Fide Travellers' Requiring 'Refreshment', Moseley, 1873.¹⁸⁴

Rail transport, on the other hand, became an accepted part of everyday life with about thirty trains running every day 'owing to the great and rapid growth of population'.¹⁸⁵ According to

¹⁸⁴ Gilbert, *The Moseley Trail*, p.12.

Cannadine, Edgbaston by the end of the century was 'ravished' by the 1874 Harborne Line and the 1876 Birmingham Suburban West Railway, but services in other suburbs improved as development took hold.¹⁸⁶ Sales particulars for building plots in Westhill Road claimed that the railway had 'made Kings Norton the most accessible suburb of Birmingham and greatly increased demand for residences'.¹⁸⁷ Building in Acton in 1881 was intended to 'suit people who would travel on the District Railway'.¹⁸⁸ Between 1881 and 1891 omnibuses and horse trams were losing ground, though the *Birmingham Mail* of 13 October, 1903, claimed: 'Even after the inauguration of the railway, omnibuses for a long time served the residents'.¹⁸⁹ An 1887 article in *The Dart* claimed entrepreneurs had 'been too speculative' and 'could not make horse trams pay'.¹⁹⁰ By 1884, Ward End's horse-drawn omnibuses had been replaced by horse-drawn trams to the city centre.¹⁹¹ The railway was being widely associated with suburban development, but horse buses and horse trams remained influential.

Between 1881 and 1891, small and large lots of land came onto the market, but road formation and house building slowed, because of economic pressures, concerns about development and competition from newer suburbs. Horse omnibuses and horse trams struggled on, but the railway was now an accepted part of suburban life. The major change was the introduction of steam trams, but these were condemned by many for destroying the

¹⁸⁵ Freeman & Aldcroft, *Transport in Victorian Britain*, p.47; Baxter & Drake, *Moseley, Balsall Heath and Highgate*, p.74. Moseley station masters were Charles Willcox in 1881 and John Belcher from 1886.

¹⁸⁶ Cannadine, 'Victorian Cities: How Different?', p.478.

¹⁸⁷ Demidowicz & Price, *Kings Norton, a History*, p.150.

¹⁸⁸ Jahn, 'Suburban development in outer west London, 1850-1900', p.132.

¹⁸⁹ *Birmingham Mail*, 13, October, 1903; MSHGC, (C2/D1/F4/22), Article.

¹⁹⁰ *The Dart*, 'The Central Tramway Company', Article, 1887, p.1604.

¹⁹¹ www.wardendhistory.org.uk, 'Ward End and Hodge Hill Local History Society', 'Brief history of the area', 'Trams'. Accessed 2017.

environment, causing disruption and accidents and bringing unwelcome visitors to the village. Cannadine suggests that the move of the lower-middle class into suburbs gave rise to a degree of class tension and conflict and this is evident in Moseley in the conflicts between residents and transport companies, confrontations with unwelcome visitors and in the management of the behaviour of passengers from different social groups using public transport.¹⁹² Nevertheless, the population increased and there was still a considerable amount of green space remaining.

1891 – 1901: Moseley becoming a mature suburb.

The population of Moseley reached 11,100 in 1901, an increase of 3,900 on 1891, and the largest increase so far (Appendix A). Newspapers drew attention to the changes: they exclaimed, 'Moseley village is rapidly undergoing great changes' and 'Moseley as a suburb is growing larger and more important every day', which suggest pride in its development, and 'little, if anything, of a century ago remains to save', which suggests nostalgia for a lost era.¹⁹³ They noted Moseley's 'process of transformation' and 'remarkable development' during the last quarter of the century and especially 'within the last decade'.¹⁹⁴ During this phase parts of gardens were offered for sale, such as the 1,562 square yards at 11 Park Hill and the large plot of land at 272 Anderton Park Road, a corner residence that would 'suit a good villa' and which 'at present' was a tennis lawn.¹⁹⁵ The situation was similar elsewhere. The 50 acre grounds of Sir John Brown's house, Sheffield, were put up for sale, large gardens

¹⁹² Cannadine, 'Victorian Cities: How Different?', p.466.

¹⁹³ *The Birmingham Pictorial and Dart*, 'Whispers', Friday 19 January, 1900, p.5; *The Dart: The Birmingham Pictorial*, 'Tittle-Tattle from Moseley', Friday 21 August, 1891, p.5; Hewston, *A History of Moseley Village*, p.46: *Birmingham Post*, 14 November, 1901.

¹⁹⁴ Hewston, *A History of Moseley Village*, p.46: *Birmingham Post*, 14 November, 1901.

¹⁹⁵ LBA, *Property Register Booklet*, 1894.

in Exeter were built on and the Worlingham Road Estate, Camberwell, was built in the gardens of Norland House by 1895.¹⁹⁶ Anderton Park Estate plots came up for auction again, but these were much smaller than those advertised in 1876 and 1877, suggesting they were aimed more at the lower-middle class.¹⁹⁷ By the 1900s open green space for development was limited as Figure 2.11 shows.



Fig.2.11: Green Space in Moseley, 1900.¹⁹⁸

Nine roads (twenty-three per cent) were formed in this phase, the same as the previous one (Fig.2.1).¹⁹⁹ They were located to the north-west of the village green abutting the more rural Moseley Hall Estate, capitalising on the remaining green environment. An ordered street

¹⁹⁶ Newton, Robert, 'Exeter, 1770-1870' in Simpson, M.A., & Lloyd, T.H., (eds.), *Middle Class Housing in Britain* (London: David & Charles, 1977), p.16; Tarn, *Sheffield*, p.190; Dyos, *Victorian Suburb*, pp.106-108.

¹⁹⁷ LBA, Sales Catalogue, Bham/Sc 970.

¹⁹⁸ <https://digimap.edina.ac.uk>, 'Digimap', Historic', 'Historic Roam'. This map has been constructed using the 1900s historic map by Janet Berry. Accessed 2015.

¹⁹⁹ LBA, Everson, 'Directory of Moseley'.

plan had emerged, as Dyos' predicted where there were small numbers of landowners.²⁰⁰

Moseley was becoming rapidly built-up and the enormity of the contrast with the rural hamlet of the early nineteenth century hit home for some.

This final developmental phase saw intense house building, bolstered by the growth of Birmingham, the expansion of the professions and public services and the creation of more senior posts in clerical and executive occupations. *The Dart* reported: 'New houses are being built in nearly every road, and the sound of hammering fills the air from six o'clock in the morning to six at night' and 'Moseley Hall grounds are being surrounded with large villa residences'.²⁰¹ The 1891 census shows 275 new houses in twenty-two roads analysed, an average of twenty-eight per year and a difference compared to 1881 of seven per year. In 1901 there were 820 new houses in twenty-four roads analysed, an average of eighty-two per year and a difference of fifty-four per year compared to 1891, a considerable increase. Twenty-one roads compared to fourteen in 1891 had more than twenty houses. On the other hand, of the twelve houses planned in 1898 in St Albans Road, only six were completed by 1900.²⁰² The increasingly built-up nature of the suburb was too much for some: G.F. Lyndon sold Henburys in 1892 because of building development on the adjacent Grange Estate.²⁰³ Other suburbs varied. 280 houses were built in six months in Sparkhill in 1897.²⁰⁴ A low ebb in house building occurred in Camberwell in 1891, but building peaked

²⁰⁰ Kellett, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities*, p.462; Dyos, *Victorian Suburb*, p.101.

²⁰¹ *The Dart: The Birmingham Pictorial*, 'Tittle-Tattle from Moseley', Friday 21 August, 1891, p.5; *The Birmingham Pictorial and Dart*, 'Whispers', Friday 19 January, 1900, p.5.

²⁰² LBA, BPKNU, BCK/MC/7/3/1, Building Plan, 3340/1/2.

²⁰³ Perrie, 'Hobby Farming among the Birmingham Bourgeoisie', p.113.

²⁰⁴ Wilmot, *Around 4 o'clock: Memories of Sparkhill and Acocks Green*, p.141.

again in 1898.²⁰⁵ In Wanstead the building trade suffered a lull after a boom in the 1870s, but picked up in the late 1890s.²⁰⁶ Chiswick had a third boom in 1895-1900 and Leeds in the early 1890s.²⁰⁷ Many wealthy people, such the Gaskins, did not stay long in Acocks Green.²⁰⁸ This was Moseley's peak period of housing development, a culmination of gradual land sales and road formation.

As the last years of the final decade of the nineteenth century passed, whilst there was pride in the maturing suburb of Moseley, observers showed an awareness of the changes that had befallen the village and a sense that the essence of the village was being lost. In 1893, Spurrier described Moseley as 'one of the most beautiful residential districts in the Kingdom' with 'natural advantages which, in combination with the numerous handsome residences, make Moseley the beautiful place it is'.²⁰⁹ He hailed 'the most charming views and prospects ...'. In the 1890s Moseley's reputation for the purity of its waters was demonstrated by the Pine Dell Hydropathic Establishment, an early Health Farm on Wake Green Road, and the Moseley Mineral Water Co., which flourished for many years.²¹⁰ Austen Chamberlain said he felt like a 'country gentleman' on his farm in Moor Green.²¹¹ However, there were indications of uncertainty. In 1894, when the Chamberlains leased some of the Henbury Estate from Richard Cadbury, retaining a sense of a country estate was becoming difficult. Joe's third wife, Mary, wanted to retain the existing hedges: '... to preserve the countrified

²⁰⁵ Dyos, *Victorian Suburb*, p.81.

²⁰⁶ Morrison & Robey, *100 Years of Suburbia*, p.12.

²⁰⁷ Jahn, 'Suburban development in outer west London, 1850-1900', pp.114 & 135.

²⁰⁸ Courtesy Mike Byrne, Secretary, 'Acocks Green History Society', aghistsoc@hotmail.com, 2017.

²⁰⁹ SMCA, Canon Colmore's Diary, p.448.

²¹⁰ Gilbert, *The Moseley Trail*, p.3.

²¹¹ Perrie, 'Hobby Farming among the Birmingham Bourgeoisie', p.114.

look' and have the new land rather as a farm than a park.²¹² She was 'afraid the iron railings and planting will make it look suburban and like all the houses in Edgbaston which have a few fields'.²¹³ In the same year Edward Holmes, who had lived in Moseley for sixty-two years, bemoaned the loss of the rural environment, remembering the 'Good old days ... when Moseley was noted more for its green pastures than its villas'.²¹⁴ In 1895 when a 'building society' began to construct small houses on the Grange Estate, on the far side of the railway line that marked Highbury's new border, the Chamberlains were quick to express indignation at the intrusion. Towards the end of the century Richard Cadbury's daughter, Helen, wrote that 'the town was fast pushing its long arms into the direction of Moseley and Kings Heath', and their Moor Green around their home, Uffculme, was only 'almost in the country'.²¹⁵ A 1903 *Birmingham Mail* article remembered a time when a pleasant country walk from Digbeth to the village green could be enjoyed, lamented the loss of fields and footpaths and drew attention to the cutting up of important estates, the cutting of new roads, the handsome residences that had been built, the exclusivity of the suburb and its 'chiefly large villa-mansions'.²¹⁶ Similar losses of the rural environment were happening elsewhere. Little of Kings Norton's former rural aspect was left and Selly Oak changed to a manufacturing district with a crowded artisan population.²¹⁷ Sparkhill became part of

²¹² Perrie, 'Hobby Farming among the Birmingham Bourgeoisie', p.114.

²¹³ Perrie, 'Hobby Farming among the Birmingham Bourgeoisie', pp.114-115.

²¹⁴ MSHGC, (C3/D2/F1/36), *The Moseley Society Journal*, Vol 1. No 10, November, 1894.

²¹⁵ Perrie, 'Hobby Farming among the Birmingham Bourgeoisie', p.113.

²¹⁶ *Birmingham Daily Mail*, 15 October, 1903; MSHGC, (C2/D1/F4/22), Article.

²¹⁷ Moughton, William, *The Story of Birmingham's Growth* (Birmingham: Davis & Moughton Ltd., 1912), p.95.

Birmingham.²¹⁸ Houses for skilled artisans were edging further south to Cotteridge, which became a late-Victorian suburb.²¹⁹

The impetus for the growth of Moseley, though, was transport. Some forms of transport continued to develop and impact significantly on development, whilst others declined. The omnibus struggled and horse trams attracted fewer passengers.²²⁰ *The Dart* blamed the railway and the steam tram in an 1891 article:

The Moseley people do not seem to take kindly to buses. One has been seen struggling desperately for the last month from Church Road to town and back again, but it has received so many rebuffs that it has at last given up the struggle. No doubt the excellent train services and the proximity of the steam tram have a great deal to do with this failure. Businessmen have to consider speed and convenience before pleasure.²²¹

Steam trams contributed significantly to Moseley's growth in the final decade: they were very frequent, at every ten minutes, and every nine minutes from 1898, and journeys were short at only ten minutes.²²² They survived well into the age of electricity, the only drawback being the fixed route, though stops were frequent and access easy.²²³ However, they also brought further irritations. Tram noise was found invasive: St Anne's Church was 'situated

²¹⁸ Wilmot, *Around 4 o'clock: Memories of Sparkhill and Acocks Green*, p.133.

²¹⁹ Demidowicz & Price, *Kings Norton, a History*, p.109.

²²⁰ Schmucki, 'The Machine in the City', p.1604.

²²¹ *The Dart*, 'Tittle Tattle by Mollie', Friday 31 July, 1891 & Friday 17 July, 1891, p.5.

²²² Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham (CRL), C1/10/11, *Moseley and Kings Heath Journal*, No. 10, March, 1893, p.9.

²²³ Kellett, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities*, p.188.

so that the sound of trams and vehicles cannot mar the beauty of the service'.²²⁴ Trams brought more troubling visitors. In 1891, *The Dart*, a satirical magazine, described the nuisance of 'match boys', 'lavender-seller boys, and those other little torments so frequently met with in town but who seem out of place in quiet suburban districts' and expresses amazement that 'even aristocratic, sedate Moseley is not free from those little pests'.²²⁵ The fate of trams elsewhere varied. By 1900 Handsworth tramcars were also cheap and frequent.²²⁶ In 1893 Outer West London trams failed, because they could not provide sufficient rapid and direct transport to inner London nor cheap fares or early services.²²⁷ Electric trams assisted the beginning of the third building boom there from 1895 to 1900, but there was strong opposition to tramways in Ealing.²²⁸ In 1897 electric traction was introduced in Leeds and the last horse-drawn tram was withdrawn in 1901.²²⁹ Motor buses were introduced to Wanstead from 1897.²³⁰ The electrification of Moseley trams in the new century brought a new lease of life and less pollution to tram travel.

The railway continued to attract residents, but there were concerns, conflicts and tragedies. A Moseley newsagent, signing himself 'A Daily Reader', wrote to the *Birmingham Daily Post* in 1891 suggesting that GWR reduce the cost of its season tickets like the Midlands had.²³¹ He added, 'if it were not for that curve and tunnel there would be no murmur from Moseley against the Midland Service', which hints at local discomfort with the tunnel and the track.

²²⁴ *The Dart: The Birmingham Pictorial*, 'Tittle-Tattle from Moseley', Friday 28 August, 1891, p.5.

²²⁵ *The Dart: The Birmingham Pictorial*, Friday 17 July, 1891.

²²⁶ <https://handsworth-historical-society.co.uk>, 'Handsworth Historical Society, 'Transport', 'Tramways Visits Page', 'Tramways in Handsworth'. Accessed 2019.

²²⁷ Jahn, 'Suburban development in outer west London, 1850-1900', p.132.

²²⁸ Jahn, 'Suburban development in outer west London, 1850-1900', p.132.

²²⁹ Treen, 'The process of suburban development in north Leeds, 1870-1914', p.176.

²³⁰ Morrison & Robey, *100 Years of Suburbia*, p.6.

²³¹ *Birmingham Daily Post*, Monday 12 October, 1891.

Unpunctuality was also an issue. A man supposedly taught his dog to see him off on the early train from Moseley, then 'trot off down the road to Mr Higgins' newspaper shop, purchase a *Post* and deliver it to his master at Camp Hill when the train reached the station'.²³² The dog 'caught a severe cold through having so frequently to wait the arrival of his master's train at Camp Hill – and he died!' The same newspaper section referred to the train delays to season-ticket holders caused by excursions, saying that 'at the best of times' there was 'always a degree of uncertainty as to what time you will reach New Street, but for the past ten days the unpunctuality of trains down to town has been beyond a joke'. The railway was the butt of much Moseley middle-class humour, which cemented it as part of life. Higher rail fares and limited services had protected the better-off middle-class suburbs like Moseley from those lower down the social scale, but as prices dropped more lower-middle class people moved to Moseley changing the social structure of the suburb. Population expansion and the enhanced status of the suburb prompted Kings Norton Board of Surveyors to request a new larger railway bridge in 1894.²³³ The company would not cover the additional cost of £2,500 or alter its plans unless the extra cost was raised by ratepayers. A public meeting was called to petition the County Council for this extra cost and to start a public subscription list and the new bridge was completed in 1908. These wrangles about the new railway bridge created antipathy. A sad event occurred on Saturday 15 September, 1900, when Charles Burge, a hairdresser of St. Mary's Row attempted suicide by placing himself on the railway line in Moseley tunnel.²³⁴ Burge was brought before Kings Heath Bench where he

²³² *The Dart: The Birmingham Pictorial*, 'Thursday's Gossip', Friday 14 August, 1891, p.3.

²³³ *Birmingham Daily Post*, Tuesday 14 August, 1894.

²³⁴ *Coventry Evening Telegraph*, Saturday 15 September, 1900.

said 'Life's not worth living' and was remanded to see how he went on. The possibility of bankruptcy and dropping out of the middle-class was an ever-present possibility.

Transport facilities were identified in newspaper adverts for apartments and houses and the extent to which they figured there and which types of transport were noted provides insights into the importance of transport and the different forms for commuters and also social differentiation (Appendix A/4). Eighty-one per cent of the ninety-eight apartment adverts in the *Birmingham Mail* from 1850 to 1900 mentioned transport compared to twenty-three per cent for 318 houses.²³⁵ Given that apartments were more likely to be taken by the less well-to-do, this suggests public transport was more important to this social group. Most adverts for apartments mentioned omnibuses (forty-nine per cent), suggesting this was considered the most popular form of transport with the lower-middle class, but others were liked too, including trains (thirty-four per cent) and trams (sixteen per cent), but no advert specifically mentioned steam trams. Of the house adverts, seven per cent mentioned omnibuses, twenty-eight per cent trams and sixty-five per cent trains, making train travel the form considered attractive to house dwellers. Adverts for apartments identifying transport increased from none in the 1850s and 1860s to twenty-one per cent in the 1870s, forty-five per cent in the 1880s and thirty-four per cent in the 1890s. House adverts mentioning transport increased from two per cent in the 1850s, to five per cent in the 1860s, twenty-eight per cent the 1870s, forty-nine per cent the 1880s and twenty-eight per cent the 1890s. This shows the increasing importance of transport in the decision to move to Moseley and suggests that transport was significant particularly in the 1880s, whilst

²³⁵ *Birmingham Mail*, Adverts, 1850-1900.

mentions of particular forms show changing allegiances as new forms were introduced. The 1870s was the peak for omnibus mentions in apartment adverts, and the 1880s for tram and train. For house adverts, omnibuses featured little, trams were important in the 1880s and trains in the 1870s and 1880s. This suggests that house owners were more likely to use trains and lower social groups, trams and trains. Transport with its different class connotations was important to the decision to move to Moseley.

However, private transport was still thriving. *The Dart* commented on 'one of our young Moseley medicals' who was seen 'in company with a well-known city man driving in the country behind the prettiest pair of horses in Birmingham'.²³⁶ Building plans accessed show there was an increase in stables and coach houses being built in the 1890s. These were clearly still important signs of wealth and status, and perhaps more so as the social character of the village changed. They also demonstrated a desire to avoid the now more crowded public alternatives that brought passengers into close contact with lower social groups. Private transport remained important in the status stakes.

Public transport, though, brought many advantages to suburbs. It enabled the middle class, and ultimately a wider range of the middle class, to move to the suburbs and live alongside like-minded people, helped distinguish the middle class as a separate group and consolidate common interests. It connected the suburbs to Birmingham, ensuring access to the city for jobs, shops, parks and amenities. The post came to suburbs via public transport fostering the development of postal services, including, in Moseley, a Post Office and postmaster, daily foot-posts and collection boxes. Residents were more easily able to keep in touch with

²³⁶ *The Dart: The Birmingham Pictorial*, Friday 7 August, 1891.

family, particularly important since suburbanisation meant many were separated from birth families, but also friends and other contacts. Trips and holidays by train became easier and more affordable, leading to the growth of excursions, tourism, resorts and hotels, which opened up a wide range of cultural opportunities and experiences. John Avins of Highfield House, Church Road, for example, visited Liverpool Art Gallery where he saw a painting that influenced his choice for the stained-glass windows he willed in 1891 to St. Mary's Church and Moseley Baptist Church.²³⁷ The Blackwells of Brackley Dene, Chantry Road, toured Scotland by train in June and July 1883, and Italy in 1893.²³⁸ In Scotland they stayed for two days at the St. Cnoch Station Hotel, Glasgow, at a cost of £1 4s 9d and two days at the Highland Railway Company's Station Hotel, Inverness, at a cost of 13s 6d.²³⁹ *The Dart* noted that 'Moseley is very quiet at present, nearly everyone of note are at the seaside. Mr Heath, of 'Armadale', Wake Green Road, and family, have been recruiting their health at Llandudno for some time', the vicar of St Anne's went for 'a long rest and holiday on the continent' and 'Mr and Mrs Johnston are travelling on the continent and have reached Vienna'.²⁴⁰ No record suggests an increase in crime during such absences. *The Dart* also highlighted the importance of newspapers to commuters. The writer of 'Tittle-Tattle from Moseley' was amused when returning on the 6.40 p.m. train to witness 'the scramble by the gentlemen passengers for *Mails* ... the gentleman in charge of Smith's bookstall, No.5 platform, rushed down the steps with an armful of *Mails* ... what amused me was to see gentlemen of every description, old, middle-aged, and young jump nimbly out of the carriage [The train was

²³⁷ Painting identified by Brooke, Xanthe, Curator European Fine Art, National Museums, Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool: Xanthe.Brooke@liverpoolmuseums.org.uk,7/8/2012.

²³⁸ MSHGC, (C3/D2/A/F10/4), Reading-Blackwell Archive (RBA), Bills & Receipts.

²³⁹ Services included teas and coffees, apartments, breakfasts, luncheons, wines, attendance and omnibus. £1.4s.9d and 13s 6d in 1890 were c., £101 and £55 in 2017.

²⁴⁰ *The Dart: The Birmingham Pictorial*, Friday 7 August, 1891, p.13, Friday 14 August, 1891, p.5 & Friday 4 September, 1891, p.11.

about to go], dash to the bookstall, throw down their halfpenny, and return with the speed of greased lightning, bearing triumphantly their precious *Mail*'.²⁴¹ Goods and services came to the village, including mail, London newspapers and magazines, fresh produce and building materials. Thus Moseley was kept in touch with the outside world, which helped to prevent it becoming an insulated, introverted community.

Development varied across the suburb in the second half of the nineteenth century and a comparison of three roads exemplifies this (Figs.2.12-14). The centrally located roads include Park Hill and Chantry Road, both north of Moseley Hall Park and west of the busy Alcester Road, and Queenswood Road to the east of the railway line. All three had easy access to public transport, omnibuses, horse trams and steam trams along Alcester Road and the railway station. The roads were formed at different times. The Taylor family cut Park Hill through their Moseley Hall Estate in 1865 and the first building leases were tendered. An 1865 advert stated that 'A portion of beautiful park attached to Moseley Hall has recently been laid out for the erection on building leases of villa residences exclusively, for which it is admirably adapted'.²⁴² Queenswood Road was formed in 1875 by John Avins and W.H. Taylor lodged a planning application for Chantry Road on 25 March, 1890. The pace of house building differed. Plots in Park Hill were sold off piecemeal over time and houses were built over the second half of the nineteenth century. They were mostly well-spaced to secure views of Moseley Hall Park. Two houses were built in the 1860s in Park Hill, The Shrubbery at the top of the road, the home of George Padmore, a manufacturer of ivory goods, and Park

²⁴¹ *The Dart: The Birmingham Pictorial*, Friday 31 July, 1891, p.13.

²⁴² *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, Saturday 9 December, 1865.

Hill House nearer the bottom of the road, a substantial house with large grounds, the home of John Pickering, a tallow chandler.²⁴³



Fig.2.12: The Development of Park Hill, Moseley, 1860-1900.²⁴⁴

(1860s; 1870s; 1880s; 1890s; 1900s)

The census shows there were twelve houses in 1871 in Park Hill, at least seven houses on the north side and a small group beyond, all substantial detached residences. In 1881 there were eighteen houses in Park Hill, in 1891 thirty-five and in 1901 fifty-one. House building increased by ten, six, seventeen and sixteen, showing most building took place towards the end of the century in the 1880s and 1890s. The census shows there were two houses in in Queenswood Road in 1881, nine in 1891 and thirty-eight in 1901, increases of seven and twenty-nine, showing most houses there were built in the 1890s. Chantry Road was built up

²⁴³ Research by Paul and Pam Rutter, Roy Cockel and Janet Berry (Sources included deeds, building plans and censuses 1841-1901).

²⁴⁴ <https://digimap.edina.ac.uk>, 'Digimap', 'Historic', 'Historic Roam'. This map has been constructed using the 1900s historic map by Janet Berry. Accessed 2015. Research by Paul and Pam Rutter, Roy Cockel and Janet Berry (Sources included deeds, building plans and censuses 1841-1901).

in the last decade of the century.²⁴⁵ The plan for the first house was entered in 1891 and all plans were in by 1900 except for 'No 5'.²⁴⁶ The census shows Chantry Road had fifty-nine houses in 1901, fifty-four of which were built in the 1900s, an average of ten per year, making the road a veritable building site. Thirty-nine houses were built between 1891 and 1895 and seventeen between 1896 and 1900, some fifty-six new houses in a new road.²⁴⁷



Fig.2.13: The Development of Queenswood Road, 1881-1910.²⁴⁸

(1881-1890; 1890-1900; 1904-1910)

Chantry Road, then, was quickly built-up. It had major advantages running as it did along the top of Moseley Hall parkland and close to public transport and other status residences. The quality of its development shows that the well-to-do middle class still wanted to move to Moseley even though it had become a mature suburb. Residents on the north side of the

²⁴⁵ Gilbert, *The Moseley Trail*, p.4.

²⁴⁶ Cockel, R., *A Walk through Moseley Park Visiting the Ice House and Returning via Chantry Road* (Birmingham: The Moseley Society, 2004), pp.4 -5.

²⁴⁷ Cockel, *A Walk through Moseley Park*, pp.14-15.

²⁴⁸ <https://digimap.edina.ac.uk>, 'Digimap', 'Historic', 'Historic Roam'. This map has been constructed using the 1900s historic map by Janet Berry. Accessed 2015.

road were annoyed by the houses built on the south side, because they obscured their views of the Moseley Hall parkland. The building of Chantry Road caused local people to fear that Moseley Hall Park might fall foul to residential development with the loss of the open space and the remaining pool. A small consortium of local businessmen formed Moseley Park & Pool Estate Company and leased about fourteen acres around the Great Pool for forty years.²⁴⁹ A new park was laid out and opened by Austen Chamberlain in 1899. Members of the syndicate had their houses in Salisbury and Chantry Roads, enjoying the views across the park and easy access via their rear gardens.²⁵⁰ This development helped retain Moseley's rural ambience. The differing patterns of development of these three roads illustrate the variables in Moseley's progress to suburbanisation.

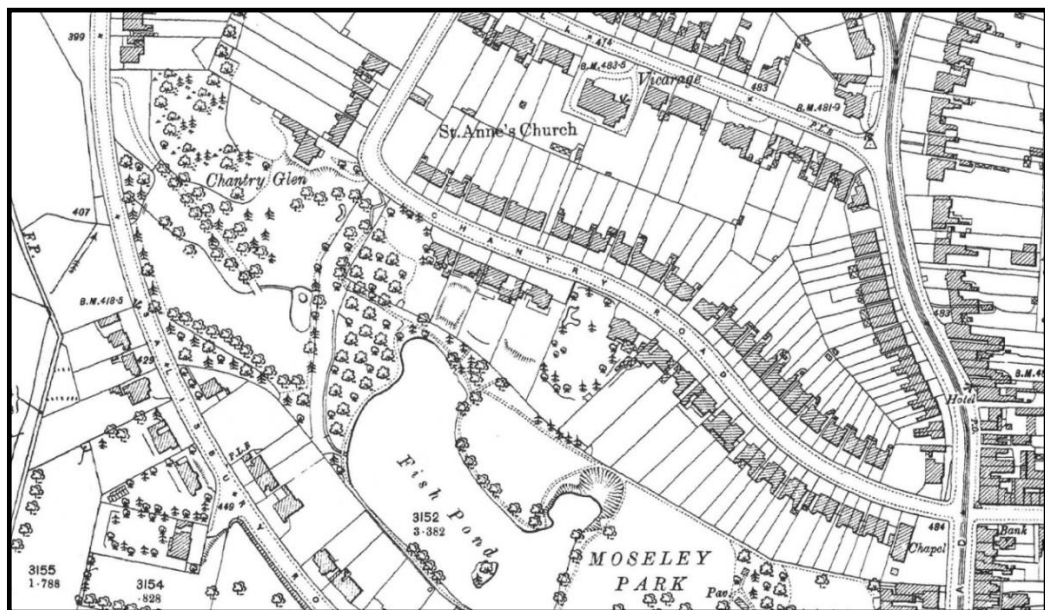


Fig.2.14: Chantry Road, Moseley, 1900s.²⁵¹

²⁴⁹ Cockel, *A Walk through Moseley Park*, p.1.

²⁵⁰ The freehold of Moseley Park was bought in 1958 for £3,500 and the Park can still be enjoyed today.

²⁵¹ <https://digimap.edina.ac.uk>, 'Digimap', 'Historic', 'Historic Roam'. This map has been constructed using the 1900s historic map by Janet Berry. Accessed 2015.

Conclusion

This chapter shows how, when and why a suburb changed over space and time in the nineteenth century. It is important to suburban studies, because it explores a new context and new arenas, adds to the knowledge and evidence base, and details and quantifies its analyses, bringing clarity to the findings and comparisons. This study also integrates personal experiences to illuminate the impact of growth on residents, revealing their concerns, their responses and what generated pride or dismay in their new suburban environment. This chapter reveals middle-class women travelling on omnibuses and trams, which undermines the separate spheres perspective that places them largely in the private domain. It shows how being in the public space, as Temma Balducci, Vanesa Rodríguez-Galindo and Sarah Bilston say, meant women found themselves in new situations that demanded new codes of behaviour and dress.²⁵² The chapter also reveals another side to Moseley in which men and women from lower social groups were involved in less respectable activities.

The analysis of the development of the suburb through phases suggested by population data is a distinctive approach that reveals new perspectives. It highlights the importance of pre-development features and local influences in suburban development that Thompson and Dyos suggest, but it also expands on what these included and shows how some continued to be influential in the longer term.²⁵³ It reveals the connections between land sales, road formation, house building and transport in the development process and the impact of economic downturn on the rate of development. It reveals the last decade of the century as

²⁵² Balducci, *'Aller à pied'*, pp.158-162; Rodríguez-Galindo, *'De Paseo'*, pp.173-176; Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, p.158.

²⁵³ Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, p.17; Dyos, *Victorian Suburb*, pp.53-56, 60-77 & 83.

the peak period of growth shaped by steam trams and the railway. Moseley's development as a middle-class suburb was influenced by landowners controlling the release of land onto the market and holding firm when recession began to bite. It applies Thompson's continuum to show that a number of developments were permissive elements in suburbanisation, but that no one development was causal.²⁵⁴

The chapter reveals the very important role of public transport in developing Moseley as a suburb and in securing it for the middle class. It confirms the significance of forms other than railways in suburbanisation that Kellett emphasised, but also shows that specific transport developments, such as a centrally located station, were significant.²⁵⁵ Research shows that over time developments in transport opened up the suburb significantly to the lower-middle class, changing the social and physical character of the suburb, something Cannadine also found to some extent.²⁵⁶ It suggests people from different social groups were brought together in a new community that fostered middle-class identity and social cohesion. It shows how transport linked Moseley and Birmingham, not only facilitating commuting, but also enabling residents to enjoy city facilities and onward travel and Birmingham citizens a rural environment. It highlights the importance of transport in linking the suburb with the outside world.

The chapter compares the development of Moseley to other suburbs, a new approach to suburban studies. Remarkable diversity and a multiplicity of reasons for the varied experiences emerge from comparisons with other studies, such as Slater, and Demidowicz

²⁵⁴ Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, p.19.

²⁵⁵ Kellett, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities*.

²⁵⁶ Cannadine, 'Victorian Cities: How Different?', p.466.

and Price writing about the Birmingham suburbs, Edgbaston and Kings Norton, and the chapter authors in Thompson's *The Rise of Suburbia* and Dyos on Camberwell writing about London suburbs.²⁵⁷ Moseley is revealed as distinctive in many ways, including, for example, in its pattern of population growth, in the timing, pace, peak periods, spread, ambience, physical character, distance from the city and class profile of its development and in its transport introduction and development. The chapter shows the significance of the absence of canals and industry and draws attention to the differences between London and provincial suburbanisation. The impact of suburbanization on the green environment was significant, but Moseley suffered less than other suburbs, but like them, by the end of the century there was little green space left and the separation of urban and rural was lost.

This chapter provides insights into what it was like to live in a developing and changing suburb, one in which over the fifty years of the half-century, 1850 to 1900, changed beyond recognition from 'a tiny rural village near Birmingham to a bustling, built-up, middle-class' suburb.²⁵⁸ The next chapter explores who built Moseley and what they built.

²⁵⁷ Slater, *Edgbaston: A History*; Demidowicz & Price, *Kings Norton, a History*; Jahn, 'Suburban development in outer west London, 1850-1900'; Carr, 'The development and character of a metropolitan suburb: Bexley in Kent'; Rawcliffe, 'Bromley: Kentish market town to London suburb, 1841-81'; Treen, 'The process of suburban development in north Leeds, 1870-1914'.

²⁵⁸ Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, p.1.

CHAPTER 3

Shaping the Landscape: Moseley's Builders, Buildings and Gardens

Moseley was made by men and women, individually and collectively. The first part of this chapter explores those who were responsible for the suburb's built environment. The second part of the chapter explores house types, size and location, architecture, covenants, building techniques and facilities. It asks what the suburb looked like and why, what features reflected status and differentiation within the middle class and the ways in which this impacted on the character of the suburb. The final section of the chapter investigates what gardens, garden design and gardening meant to the middle class, especially women, how design ideas were interpreted and implemented, what role privacy played and how the new plants coming into the country from across the globe impacted on residents and their gardens. Comparisons with other suburbs suggest the extent to which Moseley was typical.

The chapter tests the views of various historians against the Moseley experience. For example, F.M.L. Thompson notes how contemporaries considered suburbs 'monotonous, featureless, without character', whilst Sarah Bilston suggests that increased demand stimulated developers to produce standardised, architecturally uniform terraces.¹ H.J. Dyos emphasises the significance of human agency in suburban development and sees the average Victorian suburb as 'the product of the unconcerted labour of many men'.² Jennifer

¹ Thompson, F.M.L., (ed.), *The Rise of Suburbia* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982), pp.3 & 12-14; Bilston, Sarah, *The Promise of the Suburbs* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2019), pp.6, 10 & 39.

² Dyos, H.J., *Victorian Suburb: A Study of the Growth of Camberwell* (London: Leicester University Press, 1966) pp.85-127.

Aston, Amanda Capern and Briony McDonagh found that many women in the towns they investigated participated in land and house speculation, which for many was a means of generating income and investing speculatively.³ David Cannadine mapped social zoning in his study of Edgbaston, noting strong self-zoning tendencies but also variation.⁴ Anne Helmreich engages with the social, religious and personal imperatives associated with Victorian gardens and gardening enthusiasm.⁵ She contends privacy was crucial, but Bilston argues boundaries marked out residents' modernity and newness.⁶ This chapter asks how far the reality of Moseley and other suburbs fits with these perceptions by looking at the involvement and impact of individuals and their personal, professional and local connections, including women as owners, occupiers and entrepreneurs, a facet largely absent in the historiography. Gardens, garden design and gardening, the legions of working class and lower-middle class, and the building labourers and skilled workers – the 'invisible' builders of Moseley and other suburbs – and suppliers of services, are distinctive features of this chapter.

The analysis uses building plans and their associated documentation, sanitary rate assessments and sales catalogues to reveal people involved in building and promoting Moseley and house types, facilities, architecture, covenants, construction and materials. The in-depth analysis of Moseley bills and receipts shows what suburbanites bought for their gardens and how much they spent, whilst contemporary comments and writings provide

³ Aston, Jennifer, Capern, Amanda & McDonagh, Briony, 'More than Bricks and Mortar: female property ownership as economic strategy in mid-nineteenth century urban England', *Urban History*, Vol.46, Issue 4, November 2019, pp.695-721.

⁴ Cannadine, D., 'Residential differentiation in nineteenth century towns: From Shapes on the Ground to Shapes in Society' in Johnson, J.H., & Pooley, C.G., (eds.), *The Structure of Nineteenth Century Cities* (London: Croom Helm, 1982).

⁵ Helmreich, A., *The English Garden and National Identity: The Competing Styles of Garden Design, 1870-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p.113.

⁶ Helmreich, *The English Garden and National Identity*, p.113; Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, p.181.

perspectives on what influenced the choices made and historic newspapers present human stories and advertisements relating to the sale and rent of apartments and houses. The chapter considers visual evidence pertaining to Moseley, an element signally important in illuminating architecture and gardens, and which bring an additional perspective to the study of suburbanisation. Case-studies of individuals, homes and gardens bring the suburb to life.

The Builders of Moseley

Moseley was shaped by the middle-class including landowners, speculators, entrepreneurs, architects, builders and building societies. They were supported by estate agents, surveyors and auctioneers. The landowner generally took the first 'overt' step and the favoured approach was building estates, the retention of the freehold and increasing rental by building.⁷ A landowner might lease land with a building agreement for house rents or overall ground rent, whilst the builder created a leasehold ground rent for occupiers. The greatest profitability lay in real estate subdivision and the disposal of building plots to builders, the approach popular in Moseley.⁸ Henry Pickering, for example, bought the land for 30 Park Hill at an annual rent of £7 payable quarterly with the lessee paying land tax.⁹

Most Moseley speculators were the local middle class. The names on the 1877 Anderton Park Estate Plans were almost all local residents.¹⁰ Forty-eight per cent of those named as owners with addresses on building plans were from the Moseley area, with fifteen per cent

⁷ Dyos, *Victorian Suburb*, pp.87-89.

⁸ Dyos, *Victorian Suburb*, p.162; McKenna, J., *Birmingham: The Building of a City* (Stroud: Tempus Publishing Ltd., 2005), p.70.

⁹ Private Collection of Roy Cockel (PCRC), Deed of 30 March, 1896.

¹⁰ Library of Birmingham Archives (LBA), Sales Catalogue, Bham/Sc 919, Anderton Park Estate Plan.

from surrounding suburbs and thirty-six per cent from Birmingham, who were mostly architects with local offices. The situation was similar elsewhere: of the sixteen purchasers on the Bromley Lodge Estate between 1875 and 1881, eleven had Bromley addresses and five London addresses.¹¹ John Avins was a major local Moseley entrepreneur. He bought land and built large houses with extensive gardens around his home, Highfield House, Church Road.¹² His houses had long leases and strong covenants to ensure the maintenance of his properties and gardens and secure middle-class residents and high standards. Sanitary assessments show he owned forty-two of the forty-six houses planned in the 1880s. His 1891 will mentions over twenty-three houses in Church, Forest, Coppice and Oakland Roads and many in Queenswood, Anderton Park, Woodstock and Woodhurst Roads. The extent of speculation and entrepreneurship in Moseley varied: some invested over the whole period, but others mostly in the 1890s, the peak period of development. Over half of owners named on building plans planned more than one house over the period (sixty-three per cent) with fifty-nine per cent of owners planning more than one house in the 1890s.¹³ Several purchasers whose names were hand-written in pencil on the 1877 Anderton Park Estate Plan bought more than one plot, but none more than four.¹⁴ Analysis of sanitary assessments shows that three owners held thirty-five houses in 1888, nine held 100 houses in 1891 and five held forty-three houses in 1896.¹⁵ On the other hand, sanitary assessments show that few owned property other than the one they occupied between 1881 and 1896 (ten per cent

¹¹ Olsen, D.J., 'House Upon House: Estate Development in London and Sheffield' in Dyos, H.J., & Wolff, M., (eds.), *The Victorian City: Images and Realities, Vol II, Shapes on the Ground: A Change of Accent* (London: Routledge, 1973), pp.333-357.

¹² LBA, MS 1672 (Add I)(Acc 1991/137), Box 1, John Avins.

¹³ BPKNU, BCK/MC/7/3/1, Kings Norton Union Building Plans. There were sixty-four different owners on building plans accessed, twelve in the 1870s, three in the 1880s and forty-nine in the 1890s.

¹⁴ LBA, Sales Catalogue, Bham/Sc 919, Anderton Park Estate Plan.

¹⁵ LBA, BCKJ/MB/6/13/6, 7, 9, 15 &24, Sanitary Rate Assessments.

in 1881, six per cent in 1886, six per cent in 1891 and nine per cent in 1896). Small-scale operators predominated in other Birmingham suburbs along with a few big players.¹⁶ Elsewhere the situation varied, with some, such as Chalcots Estate in Camden, London, involving comparatively large-scale professional builders and contractors, and others, such as the Bromley Lodge Estate, one or two purchasers.¹⁷

Women in Moseley owned land and houses, rented houses and were owner-occupiers, but they rarely feature in histories of individual suburbs. A few were listed in building plans accessed as owners of plots planning houses (five per cent). 'Miss Ellis' planned two semi-detached houses in Trafalgar Road in 1877, 'Mrs K. Parker' a detached house in Oxford Road in 1895 and 'Mrs A. Bradley' proposed two semi-detached houses on the corner of Queenswood and Church Roads in 1899.¹⁸ Women were named frequently in sanitary assessments as land and house owners or occupants. In three 1880s sanitary assessments female occupiers were an average of nine per cent of all owners and occupiers and nine per cent were female owners. Of the female occupiers, thirty-seven per cent were owner-occupiers, leaving sixty-five per cent of women occupiers renting, which suggests that many women acted independently of men in the housing market. This increased slightly in the 1890s to eleven per cent of all owners, ten per cent of occupiers and thirty-nine per cent owner-occupiers, respectively, leaving fewer renting (sixty per cent). Out of eighteen roads analysed, five in the 1880s and ten in the 1890s had over ten per cent female owners. Twelve had over ten per cent female occupiers in the 1880s and the 1890s, whilst three in

¹⁶ Ballard, Phillada, (ed.), *Birmingham's Victorian and Edwardian Architects* (Wetherby: Oblong Creative Ltd., 2009). Analysis of data in lists of Architectural Works and information within the text.

¹⁷ Olsen, 'House Upon House', p.353.

¹⁸ LBA, BPKNU, BCK/MC/7/3/1, Building Plans 117 & 119, 2002 and 583.

the 1880s and two in the 1890s had over ten per cent female owner-occupiers. Across the roads there was an average of fifteen female owners in the 1880s and twenty-seven in the 1890s, revealing an increase over time. This quantification of women's contribution supports the work of Aston, Capern and McDonagh on the importance of women playing active business roles in nineteenth-century urban life.¹⁹

Most Moseley women owned only one other house. Many, including Eliza Avins, Jane Yardley and Margaret White, inherited their property from husbands and fathers. Some inherited only the house they lived in, but others inherited more than one property. Some of these kept their inheritance intact or sold properties, but others extended their portfolios. In the 1870s Elizabeth Stett had thirteen houses in Woodbridge Road and in 1886 Elizabeth G. Austin had nine.²⁰ In the last decade of the century some women had large portfolios, varying from four to eighteen houses.²¹ Three examples show an increase in property ownership over time, suggesting deliberate development of their portfolios and entrepreneurship highlighting greater independence for women. The houses Ann Ellis owned increased from two to four, those of Sarah Watson from three to six and Selina Fowler's properties from eight to sixteen. These examples were widows inheriting from husbands, which complements Aston, Capern and McDonagh's findings in towns that women investing in property were not just widows and unmarried women making a safe investment whilst also providing a home, but that it was part of a complex financial strategy to generate income and invest speculatively and that women's involvement was more

¹⁹ Aston, Capern & McDonagh, 'More than Bricks and Mortar', pp.695-721.

²⁰ LBA, BCK/MB/6/13/6, 1, 2, 3 & 24, Sanitary Rate Assessments.

²¹ LBA, BCK/MB/6/13/6, 11, 15, 23, 24, & 26, Sanitary Rate Assessments.

complex than previously acknowledged by the historiography.²² Most of the female owners lived in the roads where they owned other houses and the majority had houses in one road only, which suggests that it was easier to take advantage of nearby opportunities. Only two had houses in more than one road. Whether the women were responsible for managing their own properties and extending their portfolios themselves or others were involved is difficult to establish, but women were clearly a significant force in the suburban property market.

However, no Moseley women have been located working as architects, estates agents or auctioneers. Frustrations with domestic architecture prompted advice writers to suggest a role for women in architecture: in 1893 Jane Ellen Panton asserted that women architects were needed 'to insure one's house being all they should be, in time to come only women architects will be employed for domestic architecture ... they [houses] would be much improved were women trained to the profession'.²³ Architects were crucial to the design of Moseley's built environment. Phillada Ballard identified ten key architects working in Moseley between 1870 and 1900, two in the 1870s, nine in the 1890s and eleven in the 1900s.²⁴ Some architects focussed on particular roads. Nine houses in Park Hill were designed by Newton and Cheadle, five by Cossins, Peacock and Bewlay and five by Essex, Nicol and Goodman.²⁵ E.C. Bewlay of Edwards, Bigwood and Bewlay designed his own house and also two others. T.W.F. Newton designed 96 Park Hill and, according to *The Building*

²² Aston, Capern & McDonagh, 'More than Bricks and Mortar', pp.695-721.

²³ Panton, J.E., *From Kitchen to Garrett* (London: Ward & Downey, 1893), p.6. Jane Ellen Panton was famous as a spokeswoman for suburbia, an interior designer, novelist, poet and journalist.

²⁴ Ballard, *Birmingham's Victorian and Edwardian Architects*. Analysis of data in lists of Architectural Works and information within the text.

²⁵ Ballard, *Birmingham's Victorian and Edwardian Architects*, pp. 216-218, 245-246 & 495-496.

News, had 'done several houses on the estate'.²⁶ Eight different architects operated in Chantry Road building forty-nine houses. Essex, Nicol and Goodman, designed eighteen of them. Many of the multiple purchases were houses next door or nearby. Some of these architects, for example Bewlay, were Moseley residents. Edward Holmes was an architect living in School Road, Moseley. He bought plots on the Anderton Park Estate in 1877 when it came onto market following the death of Rebecca Anderton and the 1885 and 1886 plans of the sales of plots on the Grove Estate show he owned a great deal of land there. Newspaper adverts indicate he was involved in selling land and houses in other Birmingham suburbs, particularly Kings Heath. His sons, Edward Briggs Holmes and John Boulton Brewin Holmes, were also architects and surveyors operating in the area. The situation was similar elsewhere. Eighteen different architects were involved in 591 houses over thirteen other Birmingham suburbs, an average of thirty-three houses per architect. Edgbaston (with fourteen) was the only other suburb featuring more architects than Moseley. Nineteen per cent of architects on building plans were from Moseley and six per cent from surrounding suburbs, but seventy-five per cent per cent were from Birmingham, illustrating the professional link with the city. Developers in Kings Norton used a wide range of Birmingham architects too, but the situation varied elsewhere.²⁷ Local architects were involved in Camberwell and Nottingham, but initially London and Edinburgh architects were used on Kelvinside.²⁸ The small number of architects and firms responsible for Moseley's built

²⁶ *The Building News*, 31 May 1880, Newspaper cutting courtesy of Roy Cockel (PCRC).

²⁷ Demidowicz, George, & Price, Stephen, *Kings Norton, A History* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2009), p.112.

²⁸ Dyos, *Victorian Suburb*, pp.105-106; Edwards, K.C., 'The Park Estate, Nottingham' in Simpson, M.A., & Lloyd, T.H., (eds.), *Middle Class Housing in Britain* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1977), pp.157 & 159; Simpson, M.A., 'The West End of Glasgow, 1830-1914' in Simpson, M.A., and Lloyd, T.H., (eds.), *Middle Class Housing in Britain*, (Newton Abbot, London & Vancouver: David & Charles, 1977), pp.59-60.

environment led to a unified architectural vista that encouraged contemporary comments about the monotony of suburban housing.²⁹

Freehold land societies were also important in suburban development. They advanced money to builders and occupiers and the first one was registered in Birmingham in December 1847 by James Taylor, a nonconformist minister.³⁰ Building plans, though, show few societies operating in Moseley and all were in the 1890s.³¹ On the other hand, sanitary assessments show many entries for the Birmingham Freehold Land Society particularly in the 1880s when it had upwards of thirty-five plots on the Anderton Park Estate, and many in Woodbridge Road.³² Their 1890s holdings, however, were significantly smaller, eight to eleven houses, suggesting most houses had been sold on to their members by then. This society developed land on the other side of Greenhill Road too, providing eighty-seven plots and creating three new roads, Prospect, Avenue and Clarence Roads in the 1870s.³³ Societies were important locally and elsewhere. The Birmingham Freehold Society supported development in Kings Norton, for example, and land societies developed estates in Bromley, Acton Hill and Ealing.³⁴ Freehold Land Societies were an important means of enfranchisement which had a significant impact on suburbanisation.

²⁹ Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, pp.3 & 12-14.

³⁰ 'The Local History of Stoke-on Trent', 'Freehold land Societies', Notes by Andrew Dobraszyc; Ewing-Ritchie, J., *Freehold Societies*, transcribed from the 1853 William Tweedie pamphlet by David Price. The society bought an estate, divided the estate into plots worth 40 shillings and sold them to members with money borrowed from building societies. Following the Reform Act of 1832, the ownership of a freehold with a minimum value of 40 shillings, and the occupation of a house worth at least £10 a year were the two most important voting qualifications: www.thepotteries.org/offices/Freehold_land. Accessed 2016.

³¹ LBA, BPKNU, BCK/MC/7/3/1, Building Plans 2534, 2290 & 1916.

³² LBA, BCK/MB/6/13/6, 9, 11, 15, 23, 24 & 26, Sanitary Rate Assessments.

³³ McKenna, *Birmingham: The Building of a City*, p.70.

³⁴ Demidowicz & Price, *Kings Norton, A History*, p.112; Rawcliffe, 'Bromley: Kentish market town to London suburb, 1841-81' in Thompson, F.M.L., (ed.), *The Rise of Suburbia* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982),

The capacity of the building industry to cope with development demand was crucial. Thompson writes that the building industry underwent major changes with the emergence of the building contractor, but that this was not a precondition for suburban development since the great bulk of this work was done by multitudes of small-scale and ephemeral speculative builders.³⁵ This was the case in Moseley. Building plans and sales catalogues show that a large number of builders operated increasingly in Moseley. Overall, thirty-one different builders constructed 156 houses, an average of five houses each, mostly in the 1890s Moseley's peak period of growth.³⁶ Just over half were involved in only one or two houses, but sixteen per cent were responsible for forty-one houses. The number of different builders in particular roads varied, but they worked mostly in the same or adjacent roads. Only one builder, Parker, worked solely in the same road, Chantry Road, where he built twenty-four houses in the 1890s. John Parker and Fred Charley appeared most frequently and they, along with Richard Folland, built most houses in Moseley. Almost all builders were local, with only fifteen per cent from Birmingham. Builders often designed houses aided by building journals and plan books such as *The Builder*, *The Builder's Comprehensive Director* (1860) and C.J. Richardson's *Picturesque Designs for Mansions, Villas, Lodges*.³⁷ Builders were heavily criticised by contemporary writers. Jane Ellen Panton, for example, describes them as 'the 'demon builder', the cause of so very many of our domestic woes and

p.58; Jahn, M., 'Suburban development in outer west London, 1850-1900' in Thompson, F.M.L., (ed.), *The Rise of Suburbia* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982), pp.102-3.

³⁵ Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, p.10.

³⁶ There were four plans in the 1870s, five in the 1880s and thirty-nine in the 1890s.

³⁷ Dyos, *Victorian Suburb*, p.124; Morrison & Robey, *100 Years of Suburbia*, p.10.

worries'.³⁸ In Camberwell no builders dominated and builders were mostly local.³⁹ In West London small plots were leased to individual, mostly local, builders.⁴⁰

Amongst owners, architects and builders, George Bayliss and his son of the same name, stand out. They operated around Church Road and in the 1890s and worked closely with John Avins.⁴¹ George Bayliss Senior owned twenty-six houses, was the architect for twenty-five, the builder for twenty-six and the owner, architect and builder on twenty-five. His son owned twenty-six houses, was the architect for sixty-three, the builder of twenty-eight and the owner, architect and builder on twenty-six. Sanitary assessments show that George Bayliss Senior's involvement increased significantly from two houses in the 1880s to twenty in 1891 and sixty-eight in 1896, the period of the great expansion of Moseley. No other builders were on the same scale. Bankruptcy was high amongst builders, though, and Bayliss had financial problems.⁴² The John Avins Trust advanced him money in 1892, noting he was 'in difficulties' and £2,500 at five per cent interest in 1894 and stated the Trust was keeping Bayliss 'on his legs' in 1896 and Bayliss was in 'crisis' in 1898.⁴³ Bayliss worked on lower-status housing where, perhaps, margins were tighter. The situation elsewhere varied. A local builder erected many fine houses in Acocks Green after 1852.⁴⁴ Individuals were significant

³⁸ Panton, *From Kitchen to Garret*, pp.156 & 190.

³⁹ Dyos, *Victorian Suburb*, p.124-127.

⁴⁰ Reeder, D.A., 'A Theatre of Suburbs: Some Patterns of Development in West London, 1801-1911' in Dyos, H.J., (ed.), *The Study of Urban History* (London: Edward Arnold, 1968), p.269.

⁴¹ LBA, BCK/MB/6/13/1, 6, 9, 11, 15, 23, 24 & 26, Sanitary Rate Assessments.

⁴² Dyos, *Victorian Suburb*, pp.124-125; Morrison, Kathryn and Robey, Ann, *100 Years of Suburbia: Aldersbrook Estate in Wanstead, 1899-1999* (London: The Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England and London Borough of Redbridge Libraries Service, 1999), p.10.

⁴³ LBA, MS 1672 (Add I)(Acc 1991/137), Minute Book 1, John Avins Trust, Meetings 34-35, 18 August, 1892 & Special Meeting 67, (36), 22 March, 1894, Meetings 43, 51 & 63, 28 January, 1895, 10 January, 1896, 18 July, 1898.

⁴⁴ <https://aghs.jimdofree.com>, 'The Acocks Green History Society', 'Botteville Road', (Thomas Herrivel Bott), Accessed 2014.

entrepreneurs in Bromley, but most Glasgow West End builders were 'incapable of building more than six houses per year'.⁴⁵ The experiences of the Bayliss father and son suggest involvement in small suburban building enterprises was precarious.

Others besides builders were important for the development of Moseley, including auctioneers, estate agents and surveyors. Catalogues from across the period featured ten different firms.⁴⁶ Advertisements for houses for rent or sale in the *Birmingham Daily Post* named twenty-seven different professionals in 1881 and thirty-seven in 1890, showing that these professionals became more important. Sixty-seven per cent of advertisements in 1890 identified professionals compared to thirty-three per cent in 1881, a significant increase. As professionals became more important, applications for properties for sale fell from fifteen per cent in 1881 to four per cent in 1890 and box numbers decreased from half of the individual adverts in 1881 to only twenty-six per cent in 1890. Local families were involved in selling of land and property as agents. The husband of Edward Holme's daughter, Alice, was a house agent in 1881 and an auctioneer and agent employing staff in 1901. Edward's eldest daughter, Gertrude Fanny Holmes, was married in 1882 to George Birch, a House Agent and his son, George Henry Holmes, was a clerk to an Estate Agent. These professionals were active in relation to the commercialisation of housing in Moseley, managing the sale of land and houses, issuing catalogues and advertising in the press. Sarah Bilston draws attention to how mass-produced printing enabled 'speedy suburban construction' through 'the standardised texts stamped out by land developers, speculators and auctioneers'.⁴⁷ Building

⁴⁵ Rawcliffe, 'Bromley: Kentish market town to London suburb, 1841-81', p.71; Simpson, 'The West End of Glasgow, 1830-1914', p.64.

⁴⁶ There was one entry for the 1860s, with five for the 1870s, eleven for the 1880s and six for the 1890s

⁴⁷ Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, p.39.

was certainly encouraged as a capitalist activity in press adverts for land in Moseley and elsewhere. For example, the 1882 Woodbridge House auction documentation stated that building sites were 'certain to be let at remunerative rents. Affords an unequalled opportunity ... to a Capitalist in search of a small ripe and attractive Building Estate possessing all the elements for successful enterprise'.⁴⁸ Land on the Bromley Lodge Estate was advertised as being suitable for 'builders and speculators'.⁴⁹ Bromley houses were 'always sure to be occupied' and, in 1878, would 'command tenants or purchasers'.⁵⁰ Bilston points out that the commercial nature of the many transactions involved in renting, buying and constantly moving house, does not fit with the emerging ideology of the home as a site removed from the world of commerce.⁵¹

A final group of people were the waged-workers employed by the small capitalist building firms run by builders, including labourers and skilled craftsmen such as bricklayers, carpenters, plumbers, glaziers and sanitary engineers. They are the 'invisible' builders of Moseley whose record in history is meagre and they have been little mentioned in other suburban studies. They can be glimpsed in trade directories: the Johns family, for example, were a well-known Moseley family of carpenters, joiners and builders and the Bullock family were plumbers, glaziers and painters. Both were working from the 1850s well into the 1890s, which shows there was much work available in the vicinity. Building workers were mentioned in letters of complaint from architects and builders to Kings Norton Union building authorities, who had to inspect the progress of building at various stages before

⁴⁸ LBA, Sales Catalogue, Bham/Sc 890, Woodbridge House, 1892.

⁴⁹ Rawcliffe, 'Bromley: Kentish market town to London suburb, 1841-81', p.56.

⁵⁰ Rawcliffe, 'Bromley: Kentish market town to London suburb, 1841-81', pp.66-67 & 70.

⁵¹ Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburb*, pp.46-47.

work could continue. For example, letters exclaimed, 'We are at a standstill', 'The men are waiting' and 'Men have been compelled to lose time...It is really too bad'.⁵² Such hold-ups were inconvenient, but also carried financial liabilities. Covenants reveal negative attitudes to workers. For example, the Anderton Park Estate Sales Catalogue stipulated that nothing constituting a nuisance could be on site, such as brick or tile making, the burning of clay or lime and excavating gravel.⁵³ Another important unremarked-on group of workers were the suppliers of materials. John Avins was a retired timber merchant and, no doubt, with his experience and contacts, was instrumental in providing timber. The invasion of numbers of workers, the noise of hammering, sawing and mixing mortar and the many carts bringing gravel, Kings Norton bricks, wood and glass, must have disturbed the peace and serenity of middle-class Moseley.

Human agency created the suburbs. Women as well as men were not only occupiers and owner-occupiers, but also entrepreneurs. Builders, professionals, suppliers and workers were motivated by profit and the need for income, but they also created an environment which protected green space.

What they built

Moseley's houses were mostly detached and semi-detached villas, but included some terraced houses. Building plans show mostly terraced and semi-detached houses (forty-six and forty-two per cent respectively) in the 1890s. Sales catalogues include more semi-detached houses (seventy-four per cent) compared to detached and terraced houses

⁵² LBA, BPKNU, BCK/MC/7/3/1, Building Plans, 2211, 2290, 2340, 2211 & 2290.

⁵³ LBA, Sales Catalogue, Bham/Sc 919, Anderton Park Estate Plan.

(fourteen and eleven per cent). Five roads on the 1901 map show significantly more semi-detached houses (sixty per cent) than detached or terraced (thirty and ten per cent).⁵⁴ Looking at particular roads highlights social differentiation and the change of character of the suburb towards the end of the century as more lower-middle class moved to Moseley. Detached houses made up about a quarter of the housing in Chantry Road and approximately fifty-six per cent of the housing in Park Hill, but there were none in Queenswood Road. There were no terraced houses in Chantry Road or Parkhill, whereas sixty-five per cent of the housing in Queenswood Road was terraced housing. Initially, the houses in Chantry Road were large detached ones, but then groups of semi-detached villas were built. Seventeen of the nineteen houses built in Park Hill in the 1870s and 1880s were detached, but the fourteen built there in the 1890s were mostly semi-detached. The semi-detached houses in Queenswood Road were built in the 1880s and the terraced houses in the 1990s. Wanstead was a mixed estate of detached, semi-detached and terraced houses too and Camberwell semi-detached houses were interspersed with terraces.⁵⁵ The mixed picture of middle-class suburbs such as Moseley and elsewhere undermines the contemporary views highlighted by Thompson, that such residential areas were 'monotonous' and 'indistinguishable'.⁵⁶

Villas, both semi-detached and detached, dominated in Moseley, which supports the claims by Dyos and Thompson that demand for detached and semi-detached houses created the

⁵⁴ The five roads included Park Hill and Church, Ascot, Queenswood and Chantry Roads.

⁵⁵ Morrison & Robey, *100 Years of Suburbia*, p.8; Dyos, *Victorian Suburb*, p.178.

⁵⁶ Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, p.3.

‘prodigal rate of suburban development’.⁵⁷ Thompson suggests the middle class wanted single family houses to distance themselves from the world, to show off to their neighbours and to support a suburban life of individual domesticity and ‘group-monitored respectability’.⁵⁸ Only the middle class could afford these houses and this ensured suburban exclusivity and like-minded neighbours. Birmingham was a successful city and could provide a sufficiently large middle-class to provide effective demand that supported suburbanisation. John Claudius Loudon, botanist, garden designer and author, wrote in 1846: ‘Every man who has been successful in his pursuits, and has, by them, obtained pecuniary independence, may possess a villa’.⁵⁹ Not everyone welcomed the new houses: ‘Villadom’ was denounced by the editor of the 1899 *Moseley and Kings Heath Journal* as spoiling Moseley’s rural nature.⁶⁰ Bilston argues that such negative viewpoints display attitudes to rapid social change, ‘especially the decline of the older elites and the ascendance of a new mobile middle-class, with still emerging tastes, preferences, and practices’.⁶¹ Moseley was substantially an enclave of middle-class villas.

Villas were signifiers of middle-class status. However, the different housing types created a social hierarchy within the middle class, placing owners and tenants ‘on a particular range of the social scale’, because they were ‘finely attuned to different grades of income and

⁵⁷ Detached and semi-detached villas were first used from 1815 by John Shaw, the architect-surveyor of St John’s Wood, London; Dyos, *Victorian Suburb*, p.82; Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, pp.12-14.

⁵⁸ Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, p.8.

⁵⁹ Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, pp.8 & 12; University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library (CRL), Loudon, J.C., *Loudon’s Encyclopaedia of Cottage Farm and Village Architecture, BOOK III ‘Designs for Villas, with Various Degrees of Accommodation, and in Different Styles of Architecture*, p.763. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/17031.

⁶⁰ *Birmingham Daily Mail*, 15 October, 1903; Gilbert, C., *The Moseley Trail* (Birmingham: John Goodman & Son, 1986), p.21.

⁶¹ Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, p.10.

status'.⁶² Detached houses, such as John Padmore's 1875 home, topped the social pyramid as they resembled country houses and were generally larger.⁶³ Semi-detached houses, 'the ultimate reduction of the country house' came next in the status stakes, followed by terraced rows.⁶⁴ Centrally-placed front doors in semi-detached pairs unified the façade to give a large villa-like appearance and terraced rows built in short blocks suggested semi-detached houses.⁶⁵ There were further gradations in size and cost, which made for a more complex and subtle middle-class hierarchy. Detached houses on the Anderton Park Estate were priced at not less than £1,000, £750, £500 and £350 and pairs of semi-detached houses at not less than £1,750, £1,400, £900 and £600.⁶⁶ Houses on the Grove Estate were £1,500, £800 and £500 for a single house and £900 for a pair and in 1893 George Bayliss agreed to spend at least £250 on the lower-middle class villas he planned in Church Road.⁶⁷ The different categories catered for different social groups within the middle class, but suburban houses also gave residents a sense of common identity. The situation was varied elsewhere. Large detached and semi-detached houses were built in Edgbaston, Middleton Hall Road and Harborne.⁶⁸ Housing was mostly detached in Chiswick and Ealing, but mixed detached and semi-detached in Bromley and Chalcots Estate, Camden.⁶⁹ House prices on Wanstead Park

⁶² Dyos, *Victorian Suburb*, p.82; Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, p.20.

⁶³ LBA, BPKNU, BCK/MC/7/3/1, Building Plan, 18.

⁶⁴ Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, p.9.

⁶⁵ Fishman, R., *Bourgeois Utopias: The Rise and Fall of Suburbia* (USA: Basic Books Inc., 1946), p.96; Slater, Terry, 'Family, society and the ornamental villa on the fringes of English country towns,' *Journal of Historical Geography*, Vol. 4, Issue 2, 1978, pp. 130-131.

⁶⁶ www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currencyconverter: £1,000, £750, £500 and £350 in 1890 were c., £82,050, £61,500, £41,000 in 2017 and £28,700 and £1,750, £1,400, £900 and £600 were c., £143,600, £114,900, £73,800 and £49,200. Accessed 2012-2020.

⁶⁷ LBA, MS 718/9, Abstract of the title of George Bayliss and his mortgages on two villa residences in Church Road in 1893. £1,500, £800 and £250 in 1890 were c., £123,100, £65,600 and £20,500 in 2017.

⁶⁸ Demidowicz & Price, *Kings Norton, a History*, pp.109 & 119; Chitham, Edward, *Harborne: A History* (Chichester: Phillimore & Co., Ltd., 2004), p.69.

⁶⁹ Jahn, 'Suburban development in outer west London, 1850-1900', pp.92 & 106; Rawcliffe, 'Bromley: Kentish market town to London suburb, 1841-81', p.80; Olsen, 'House Upon House', pp.337 & 353.

Estate varied between £300 and £500 in 1899 and £600 and £800 in Chiswick and Ealing, but none were under £1,000 in Wimbledon.⁷⁰ Suburban villas were important subtle markers of social status by which suburbanites judged their neighbours and their community.

Plots varied widely between house types, within the same house type and between roads, creating a complex pattern that reinforced, but also undermined and complicated, the subtle layers within the middle class. Plots averaged from 391 square yards in lower status Queenswood Road to 5,004 square yards in high status Wake Green Road.⁷¹ Three substantial detached house plots, Uffculme, Highfield House and Sorrento, ranged from approximately 88,527 square yards down to 4,904 square yards. A semi-detached house in Park Hill at 1,396 square yards was larger than detached Brackley Dene. Semi-detached houses in Trafalgar and Queenswood Roads had much smaller plots than those in Park Hill. Terraced house plots were even smaller. For example, one in Woodstock Road was 354 square yards. Estate development plots varied too. The largest lot on the Anderton Park Estate in 1877 was approximately 11,400 square yards and the smallest, 1,700 square yards – a significant difference.⁷² As in Moseley, some houses in Edgbaston were very large with extensive grounds (approximately 12,258 square yards).⁷³ Locating suburbanites on the middle-class social scale was complex.

⁷⁰ Morrison, & Robey, *100 Years of Suburbia*, pp.10-11; Jahn, 'Suburban development in outer west London, 1850-1900', pp.92 & 106; Kellett, J.R., *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969), p.411. £300 in 1890 was c., £24,600 in 2017.

⁷¹ <https://digimap.edina.ac.uk>, 'Digimap', 'Historic', 'Historic Roam'. Accessed 2016. The plot sizes were measured using the 1900s historic map by Janet Berry.

⁷² LBA, Sales Catalogue, Bham/Sc 919, Anderton Park Estate.

⁷³ Hampson, Martin, *Edgbaston: Images of England* (Stroud: Tempus Publishing Ltd., 1999), p.7; Jones, Douglas V., *Edgbaston as it was* (Sutton Coldfield: Westwood Publications, 1986), p.31.

House type, size and location and plot size feed into a picture of Moseley in which there was strong social zoning (Fig.3.1). However there was also homogeneity and diversity. Wake Green Road was the only central road comprised of detached houses, which identified it as a high-status road. Most roads had a mixture of house types, but differing proportions of the three types affected the status of the roads. Park Hill, for example, had most detached houses (thirty-seven per cent) and Church and Chantry Roads most semi-detached (thirty-two and twenty-seven per cent respectively), whilst Queenswood Road was the only road analysed that had terraced houses. There were more detached than semi-detached in Park Hill (fifty-six per cent), significantly more semi-detached in Church, Ascot and Chantry Roads (sixty-nine, eighty and sixty-eight per cent respectively) and Queenswood Road was evenly balanced between semi-detached and terraced houses (forty-six and forty-eight per cent). This mix brought social diversification that might have contributed to cohesion and reflects what some historians found elsewhere. Cannadine found social zoning much in evidence on the Calthorpe Estate, Edgbaston, but also lower-middle class housing and ‘a far broader social’ spectrum ‘than its overall “tone” suggested’.⁷⁴ Thompson argues that suburban districts were of mixed social character coupled with strong self-zoning tendencies and ‘a social patchwork’.⁷⁵ Strong self-zoning tendencies were found in Bexley, Outer West London, Bromley, North Leeds and Hampstead, but most districts in Merthyr Tydfil in 1851 were far from socially homogenous.⁷⁶ On the Claremont Estate, Glasgow, though, there was distinct

⁷⁴ Cannadine, ‘Residential differentiation in nineteenth century towns’, p.240.

⁷⁵ Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, pp.17 & 20.

⁷⁶ Cannadine, ‘Residential differentiation in nineteenth century towns’, p.240; Thompson, F.M.L., ‘Hampstead, 1830-1914’ in Simpson, M.A., & Lloyd, T.H., (eds.), *Middle Class Housing in Britain* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1977); Edwards, A.M., *The Design of Suburbia: A Critical Study in Environmental History* (London: Pembroge Press, 1982), p.37.

segregation by street.⁷⁷ The ‘right address’ was crucial to suburban respectability and the ‘possession of it a source of indefinable satisfaction’, according to Dyos.⁷⁸

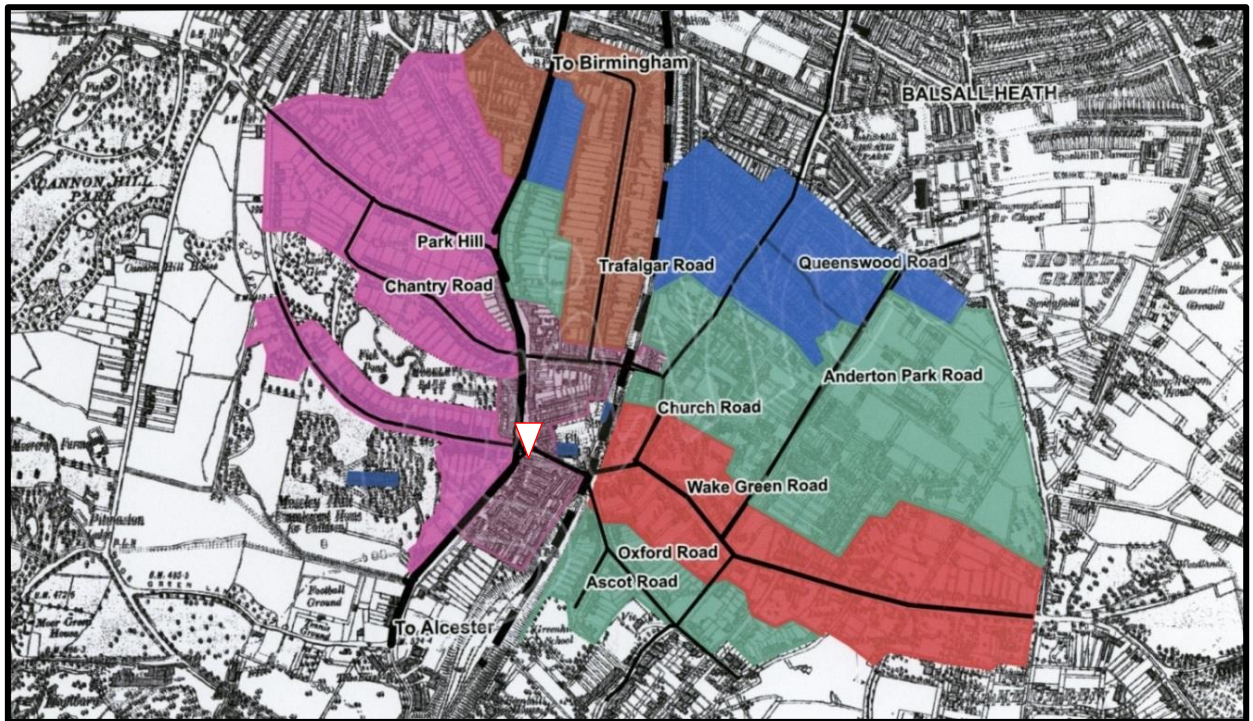
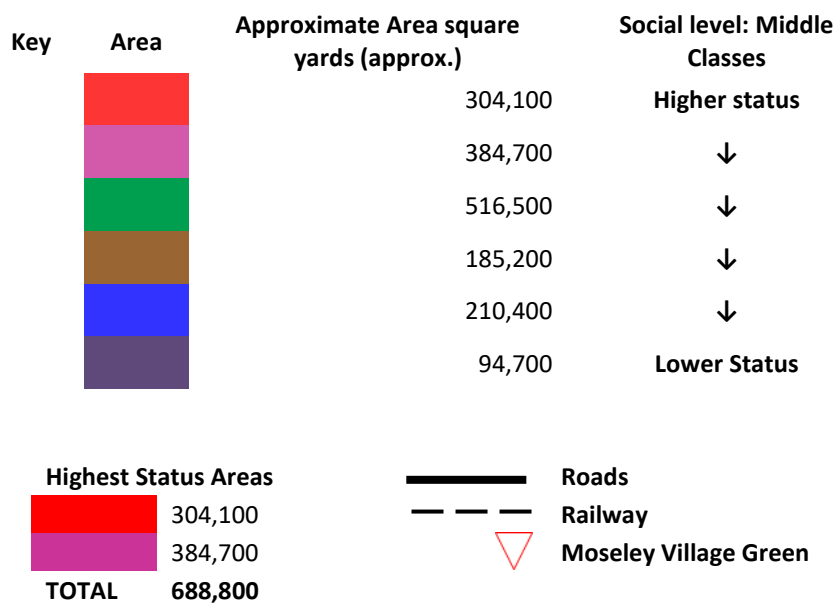


Fig.3.1: Social Zoning in Moseley.⁷⁹



⁷⁷ Gordon, E., & Nair, G., *Public Lives: Women, Family and Society in Victorian Britain* (London: Yale University Press, 2003), p.17.

⁷⁸ Dyos, *Victorian Suburb*, p.23.

⁷⁹ <https://digimap.edina.ac.uk>, ‘Digimap’, ‘Historic’, ‘Historic Roam’. Accessed 2016. This map has been constructed using the 1900s historic map by Janet Berry.

The 'right' address meant higher status, rural areas. The upper and middle-middle classes were drawn to areas around Moseley Hall, with its parkland and Moseley Park and Pool, Moor Green to the south-west and the ancient route, Wake Green Road, where the Andertons already had large mansions with extensive grounds. A lower-middle class area developed to the north of Wake Green Road because of its proximity to Balsall Heath, a less salubrious area nearer to the city. The middle class required the working class to service their needs, but their housing and lower-class terraced housing was built on less attractive plots near the railway line, behind the St. Mary's Row shops and close to the busy Alcester Road. Edgbaston had some good-quality working-class homes built in particular areas, although the Calthorpes kept a tight rein on developments.⁸⁰ Bromley had small working-class districts in the 1860s and 1870s.

The importance of the 'right' address is reflected in advertisement. 1890 newspaper adverts and sales catalogues frequently use phrases such as, 'in the best parts', 'best class', 'very best part of Moseley', 'suitable for all classes' and 'land contiguous on other Building Estates on which have been erected Gentlemen's residences of superior quality'.⁸¹ The number of times a property was advertised reveals the importance of location. In 1881, two properties at the Balsall Heath end of Trafalgar Road were advertised fifty times each, suggesting low status as Balsall Heath was a less salubrious area. Eight other properties in roads close by were advertised between eighteen and forty-eight times. In 1890, though, most houses needed only one or two adverts. The 1881 and 1890 adverts show that properties in roads near to Balsall Heath, such as Church, Trafalgar, Kingswood and Woodstock Roads changed

⁸⁰ Hampson, *Edgbaston: Images of England*, p.7; Jones, *Edgbaston as it was*, p.31.

⁸¹ LBA, Sales Catalogues, Bham/Sc 869 (Lots 6, 7 and 9), 1259 & 919; *The Birmingham Daily Mail*, adverts for apartments and houses for sale and rent, 1881 & 1890.

hands more frequently, suggesting a more transient population than elsewhere. Juxtaposition with less salubrious areas also occurred in the Claremont Estate in Glasgow.⁸² Letting apartments was considered socially lowering and undermined the social status of roads. Apartments were described in the 1890 *Birmingham Daily Post* as 'superior' (sixty-seven per cent), 'comfortable' (fifty-four per cent), 'private family' (twenty-one per cent) and 'widow' (seventeen per cent) to offset disapproval.

Moseley also displayed its social and cultural pretensions in road and house names. The more refined 'road' was used exclusively rather than 'street', which was symbolic of working-class areas. Many of Moseley's road names referenced old country estates, such as Anderton Park Road, Park Hill and Park Road. Others referenced the rural idyll. They were named after trees, such as Forest, Oakland and Coppice Roads, as were roads in George Cadbury's Bournville development, and were tree-lined to help secure the rural ambience. Dyos claimed that planes and horse chestnuts were planted in wide avenues and limes, laburnum and acacia in the roads of middle-income residents.⁸³ Many house names reflected plots, surroundings or the rural idyll, such as Chantry Glen, Holly Bank and The Vale. Many referenced trees, including the Beeches and Birchwood, Oakfield and Forest House. Others demonstrated owners' aspirations, including Ivanhoe, The Grange and Highbury, whilst many referred to holiday places such as Windermere and Sorrento. All the

⁸² Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, p.17.

⁸³ Dyos, *Victorian Suburb*, p.188.

houses in Middleton Hall Road were named in a similar manner.⁸⁴ Road and house names underline the importance of conveying a rural ambience.

The architecture of the house was also crucial to public display and social status. Through architecture residents could express wealth, status, taste, fashion, individuality and the subtleties of class. Houses were described as 'superior' frequently in 1881 newspaper advertisements, but as 'handsome', 'elegant', 'modern' and 'artistically designed' in 1890, suggesting domestic architecture became more important over time.⁸⁵ Sales catalogues described houses as 'handsome and distinguished'.⁸⁶ Bilston draws attention to how contemporary writers used 'stereotypes' in connection with advertisements for houses and condemned the 'use of repetition and puffery', overblown language and jargon that produced false images of houses and which then proliferated and aided in the commodification and 'debasement' of the home.⁸⁷ This was supported by the emergence of mass printing in the nineteenth century and new print practices.

A range of styles developed in the period, which, given that development was frequently protracted and interrupted, created a patchwork of styles by the end of the century. The Italianate style, inspired by Renaissance palaces, included detailing of walls, windows and storeys, rounded Romanesque arches, towers and overhanging eaves supported by scrolled brackets. The mid-century Gothic Revival brought 'eclecticism never seen before' along with

⁸⁴ Demidowicz & Price, *Kings Norton, a History*, pp.119-120.

⁸⁵ *The Birmingham Daily Mail*, adverts for apartments and houses for sale and rent, 1881 & 1890.

⁸⁶ LBA, Sales Catalogue, Bham/Sc 869 (R3 -272, R5 -292), 863 & 1394.

⁸⁷ Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, pp.38-39, 43, 47, 55, 69-70 & 150-151.

increased ostentation and decoration.⁸⁸ Façades displayed, for example, pointed windows, ornamental ridge tiles, finials, carved capitals and stonework, semi-turrets, stained glass, rustic porches, Tudor decoration and Tudor chimneys. In the 1870s, the Queen Anne style, a 'kind of architectural cocktail,' developed, comprising 'a little genuine Queen Anne, a little Dutch, ... Flemish ... Robert AdamWren and ... Francois l'.⁸⁹ This eclectic mix flourished because it satisfied middle-class aspirations and status and was deeply rooted in tradition.⁹⁰ This style included dominant tiled roofs, massive chimneys, dormer windows, decorative brickwork, red brick, smaller panes of glass, curving bay windows, wooden balconies, white paintwork and Dutch gables.⁹¹ At the very end of the century, Arts and Crafts, a simpler architectural form, emerged and became popular.⁹² Catalogue descriptions such as 'artistically built in the Queen Anne style', 'pleasant Gothic residence' and 'Gothic porch' highlight the importance of architectural styles.⁹³

The architecture of Moseley changed as new styles emerged. Roads that developed over the half century, such as Park Hill, displayed a variety of architectural styles. Three house styles were used in Queenswood Road, but houses in Chantry Road, which were all built in the 1890s, projected a picture of 'high Victorian architecture' heralding the Arts and Crafts simplicity. Features from different architectural periods also recurred. This created a domestic built environment in Moseley that was signally varied, indeed 'eclectic', a far cry from 'uniform' and 'monotonous' as described by contemporaries. Other middle-class

⁸⁸ Barrett & Phillips, *Suburban Style*, p.11; Fishman, *Bourgeois Utopias*, p.95; Girouard, M., *Sweetness and Light: The Queen Anne Movement 1860-1890* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1977), p.11.

⁸⁹ Girouard, *Sweetness and Light*, p.1.

⁹⁰ Girouard, *Sweetness and Light*, p.1; Barrett, & Phillips, *Suburban Style*, pp.1 & 86.

⁹¹ Chase, K., & Levenson, M., *The Spectacle of Intimacy* (Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000), p.145.

⁹² Barrett & Phillips, *Suburban Style*, p.88.

⁹³ LBA, Sales Catalogues, Bham/Sc 811, 877, 869 (R3-27, R5-292), 863 & 1394.

suburbs were similar. At the end of the century Edgbaston was a mix of Georgian, Gothic, Italianate, neo-Gothic and early Arts and Crafts.⁹⁴ Houses on Wanstead Estate were similarly 'eclectic', borrowing from a range of styles, especially Queen Anne, the Vernacular Revival and Arts and Crafts.⁹⁵ Architecture expressed and reflected identity for middle-class suburbanites. To many Victorians architecture signalled national character - who people were and how they would be remembered - a means of creating identity. For Ruskin, the poor quality of suburban housing signalled impermanence which was reflected in suburbanites themselves, because of their desire for class mobility and the new practices of moving out of birth communities.⁹⁶ As Bilston phrases it, 'people have begun to lose their emotional as well as geographical and temporal connection to place'. Alternatively, perhaps the wholesale adoption in Moseley and elsewhere of historic architectural styles, was a reaction against uniformity and an attempt at retrieving their heritage. The 'eclectic' architecture references the past glories of Britain and continuity with a past in which Britain was 'Great' and its empire spread across the globe. These historic architectural styles might refute the modern, mass production, industrialisation and 'impermanence' and appeal to a sense of permanence and place, but they were used on new houses and built using new technology, new methods and mass production. Bilston argues that the Queen Anne style was a 'style that embraced and celebrated the lives of the bourgeois' and 'offered a new way of not only building but speaking of suburbia'.⁹⁷ She suggests it rendered suburban building sympathetic, harmonious, English, at once modern and connected to the past', a past of brick and wood long the building material of "ordinary English houses".

⁹⁴ Slater, Terry, *Edgbaston: A History* (Chichester: Phillimore, & Co., Ltd., 2002), pp.27 & 30-31.

⁹⁵ Morrison & Robey, *100 Years of Suburbia*, p.4.

⁹⁶ Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, p.78.

⁹⁷ Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, p.103.

The suburban villa was ideal architecturally for the middle class, because it allowed individuality and variation within a basic pattern. Calder suggests the striking steps and entrances were 'an added bulwark' for privacy, but according to Loudon, 'The porch indicated a superior description of dwelling', colonnades, verandas and arcades were 'evidences of elegant enjoyment' and chimneys produced 'the kind of effect and beauty required in a villa'.⁹⁸ Other structural features, such as balconies, brought kudos, whilst the introduction of plate glass in 1857 and the reduction and then abolition of glass and window taxes, made larger windows like French and bay windows possible.⁹⁹ Façades were enhanced with new gable ends, porch roofs, pillared porches, French doors, bay windows and balconies, signalling the importance of being up-to-date. Thompson claimed the suburban house made 'a show of outward appearances noticed by neighbours' and the extent to which a house had such features differentiated the middle class.¹⁰⁰ Such features and embellishments undermine the contemporary criticism of unvarying uniform facades and lack of character raised by Thompson.¹⁰¹ Suburban villas in Middleton Hall Road were also signally embellished.¹⁰² In Claremont, Glasgow, they were 'usually porched, pedimented and pillared', but the small semi-detached and terraced houses on the Peckham Road had few embellishments except lower-storey bay windows.¹⁰³

Ornamentation was crucial in the quest for individuality, social differentiation and status and helped give Moseley a varied character architecturally (Appendix B/1). The degree of

⁹⁸ Calder, J., *The Victorian Home* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1977), p.172; CRL, Loudon, *Loudon's Encyclopaedia of Cottage Farm and Village Architecture*, p.763.

⁹⁹ Bryson, B., *At Home: A Short History of Private Life* (London: Transworld Publishers, 2010), p.13.

¹⁰⁰ Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, p.8.

¹⁰¹ Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, p.3.

¹⁰² Demidowicz & Price, *Kings Norton, a History*, p.119.

¹⁰³ Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, p.19; Dyos, *Victorian Suburb*, p.178.

ornamentation varied with house type, size and location, but not exclusively. Generally, detached houses were more decorated than semi-detached or terraced houses, but detached houses could be very ornate or simple and vary within the same road. Terraced houses were largely the least decorated, although no houses in Trafalgar Road were very ornamented. Generally, but not always, decoration was greater in higher-status roads. Such ornamentation further challenges views that described suburbs as monotonous and uniform, but also calls into question Bilston's suggestion that terraces were necessarily architecturally uniform because demand required a speedy response.¹⁰⁴ Some terraces were built in Moseley, but these were located in less salubrious areas in response to lower-middle class needs towards the end of the century and were generally larger than tunnel-back versions found elsewhere. The demand for houses in Moseley was almost exclusively satisfied by villas of various sizes, which displayed a high degree of architectural individuality.

Developers were instrumental in securing Moseley for the middle class by attaching strong covenants to building agreements. The building lease for Hillsborough, 30 Park Hill, for example, stated that everything had to be kept in order and good repair and the outside and inside had to be painted every three years. The reversioner or his agent was legally entitled to view the property and any repairs had to be completed within three months. Only a private residence was allowed and this could not be used for manufacture, carrying on any trade or business, the employment of a schoolmaster or school mistress, the instruction of youth, or any hospital, home or charitable institution. No other house or building was to be

¹⁰⁴ Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, p.3; Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, pp.6, 10 & 39.

built on the site. The Lessee had to insure and keep insured against loss by fire in 'the Lancashire or some other respectable office of Insurance' for a sum equal to two thirds of the value of the property and produce the policy of Insurance and receipts for premiums from time to time to the reversioner. Insurance money received in the event of buildings destroyed or damaged by fire, was to be spent on rebuilding, reinstating and repairing the property. Similar rigorous covenants were put in place in Edgbaston, Wanstead, Chalcots in Camden, London, and elsewhere.¹⁰⁵

Building standards in Moseley for middle-class residents were secured through leases and materials. *The Builder* reported that 96 Park Hill was built of dark red bricks with red Broseley tiles for roof and tile hanging, whilst the front fence and gate were of cleft oak.¹⁰⁶ The building lease for Hillsborough, 30 Park Hill, stipulated a frontage space and building line kept clear of any buildings, porch, veranda or other (except for a fence) and be erected in a good and substantial manner with chimney stacks, greenhouses, vineries and hothouses having flues for fire smoke.¹⁰⁷ Materials included oak, red deal or good timber, well-burnt bricks, tiles or slates and good mortar and the outside walls had to be 9" thick. Proper drains and sewers had to be made. New building materials, such as concrete, were used, along with different types of brick and tiles brought by the railway. High standards were required of cheaper houses too. George Bayliss in his 1893 Church Road villas had to use the 'best front bricks, good sound timber and materials of all kinds', make the window sills of stone and

¹⁰⁵ Cannadine, D., 'Victorian Cities: How Different?' *Social History*, Vol 2, No. 4, January, 1977, p.470; Morrison, & Robey, *100 Years of Suburbia*, pp.10-11; Olsen, 'House Upon House, p.352.

¹⁰⁶ PCRC, *The Building News*, 31 May, 1880, Newspaper Cutting.

¹⁰⁷ PCRC, House Deed, 30 March, 1896.

keep them in good substantial repair (painting the outside wood and stone once every three years and inside every seven years).¹⁰⁸

On the other hand, intense public debate surrounded the poor building quality of suburban housing in the mid-nineteenth century. In Moseley, though, the standard of construction and materials was high, a crucial factor in attracting the middle class and demonstrating middle-class wealth and status. Catalogues stressed they were ‘substantially built’, ‘thoroughly well-built’ and ‘well built’, descriptions that were also important in newspaper adverts in both 1881 and 1890.¹⁰⁹ Local sanitary boards set up by the 1875 Public Health Act enforced building standards.¹¹⁰ The Royal Sanitary Authority of the Kings Norton Union checked all stages of building, requiring notices of inspection for commencement, foundations, damp course, drains, sewer connection and building completion, along with a questionnaire. Streets had to be thirty-six feet wide, houses solidly built, adequately ventilated and reasonably fire-resistant with walls of specified thicknesses, particularly party walls in the interests of privacy.¹¹¹ Panton, though, highlighted ill-fitting windows and other problems such as unsuitable fireplaces.¹¹² Bilston says Ruskin saw signs of national disease and impending social disintegration in the poor building practices and hastily constructed homes of suburbs.¹¹³

¹⁰⁸ LBA, MS 718/9, An abstract of the title of George Bayliss and his mortgages on two villa residences in Church Road, 1893.

¹⁰⁹ LBA, Sales Catalogues, Bham/Sc 1260, 1658, 811, R4 & R5; *The Birmingham Daily Mail*, Advertisements for apartments and houses for sale and rent, 1891 & 1900.

¹¹⁰ Edwards, *The Design of Suburbia*, p.67.

¹¹¹ Flanders, *The Victorian House*, pp. lvii & 1; Edwards, *The Design of Suburbia*, p.70; LBA, BPKNU, BCK/MC/7/3/1, Building Plan 3015, Documentation, terraced houses, Kingswood Road, 1897.

¹¹² Panton, *From Kitchen to Garrett*, pp.156 & 190.

¹¹³ Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, p.76.

The introduction of sewerage and new health and hygiene by laws stimulated middle-class uptake of suburban houses. Many Moseley houses were joined to the Birmingham sewerage system such as the main sewer laid by the United Drainage Board on the Anderton Park Estate, and there were many related building controls.¹¹⁴ The 1896 lease for 30 Park Hill, shows the owner had to contribute to the Local Authority for sewerage, paving, curbing and guttering of roads bounding the land and comply with the provisions of the Public Health Act of 1875 and additional Sanitary Acts.¹¹⁵ Drains became a focus of concern, because miasma, bad smells, was thought the cause of disease until germ theory was accepted. George Bayliss had to 'make all proper drains and sewers for carrying off foul waste water and soil from the land and any buildings' on his 1893 Church Road villas, and cleanse, keep in good order and repair sewers and drains.¹¹⁶ Kerr advised siting windows away from outside smells and taking care in the positioning of 'dust heaps', 'gully holes' and 'offensive apartments' in outbuildings.¹¹⁷ The size, fall and position of drains were indicated in building plan documentation along with ventilation methods. Ventilation was secured by 'air bricks', 'ventilating plates', iron ventilators and 'room windows placed high up in walls'.¹¹⁸

Water and gas services in Moseley naturally attracted the middle class. In the 1870s the Birmingham Corporation put down water mains along all the roads intersecting Anderton Park Estate.¹¹⁹ Building plans identified attachment to the mains and building plans referenced 'h & c water', 'rainwater', 'soft water', 'tap water' and 'Corporation tap water',

¹¹⁴ LBA, Sales Catalogue, Bham/Sc 919, Anderton Park Estate, 1878.

¹¹⁵ PCRC, House Deed, 30 March, 1896.

¹¹⁶ LBA, MS 718/9, An abstract of the title of George Bayliss and his mortgages on two villa residences in Church Road in 1893.

¹¹⁷ Kerr, R., *The English Gentleman's House or How to Plan English Residences* (London: John Murray, 1864), p.87.

¹¹⁸ LBA, BPKNU, BCK/MC/7/3/1, Building Plan, 1458.

¹¹⁹ LBA, Sales Catalogue, Bham/Sc 919, Anderton Park Estate, 1878.

testament to concerns about water quality.¹²⁰ Althans Blackwell of Brackley Dene, Chantry Road, received a document in 1892, signed by John Houghton, Inspector to the Rural Sanitary Authority that certified there was 'within reasonable distance of the house an available supply of wholesome water ... sufficient for consumption/use for domestic purposes'.¹²¹ Gas was laid early in the second half of the nineteenth century, but there was no street lighting. A satirical newspaper comment declared that the 'very respectable old gentlemen who composed the Rural Sanitary Authority' were against street lighting.¹²² They feared it 'would completely destroy the beautiful rusticity of the dear old village' and argued that 'The village had been light enough for us and our fathers before these stuck-up Brumagem folk came'. In 1898 *The Moseley Society Journal* announced that Kings Norton Rural District Council could supply electricity for all public and private purposes, but it was not until 1911 that demand was satisfied.¹²³

'Outdoor offices' were integral to house construction and reflected class and status. Up-market homes had a wash house, dairy, wood stores (three per cent), tool stores (nine per cent) and a rainwater cistern room (one per cent). Some had bicycle sheds (four per cent), but only the better-off could afford bicycles until very late on in the century. All building plans accessed had a 'yard' with a W.C., and a range of facilities, including 'Ash,' 'Dust,' 'Soil' or 'Tub' Rooms. By the mid-1870s the dry system of outdoor privies using earth or ash from

¹²⁰ LBA, BPKNU, BCK/MC/7/3/1, Building Plans, 2304, 1535, 627, 532, 1485, 1483, 811 & 1194; LBA, Sales Catalogues, Bham/Sc 1194 & 890.

¹²¹ Moseley Society History Group, 'The Collection', (MSHGC), (C3/D2/A/F10/1), Reading-Blackwell Archive (RBA), Bills & Receipts.

¹²² LBA, MS 579/6 71aE, *Newspaper Cuttings*.

¹²³ Hewston, N., *A History of Moseley Village* (Stroud: Amberley Publishing plc, 2009), p.42.

coal fires were replaced by the pail or tub closet mostly emptied by council dustmen.¹²⁴ Building plans referred to receptacles as 'place', 'pit', 'house', 'tub', 'pails' or 'bins', some of which were galvanised, 'as now required,' and some 'covered' or with 'proper doors and covering'. One had an 'Adams Patent Ash Tub,' but, by 1897, the regulations insisted on 'galvanised pails with lids'.¹²⁵ Only one plan, a terraced house, shared a 'dust' space, testament to the social status of Moseley housing. Before 1875 many suburbs had no regular collection and residents arranged and paid for refuse removal.¹²⁶

Out-buildings associated with private transport differentiated those with rank and wealth and highlighted a male world. Eighteen per cent of building plans analysed identified coach houses and twelve per cent stables, whilst catalogues noted nine coach houses and seven stables. Twenty-one per cent of 1881 adverts had coach houses and twenty-two per cent stables, but they were less frequent in 1890 adverts, perhaps due to improved public transport. Loose boxes and harness rooms were less in evidence, one and four per cent in building plans, seven and one percent in sales catalogues and once in adverts. Manure pits (three per cent) and corn and hay stores (three per cent) were present where houses had private transport. These out-buildings were mostly associated with detached houses (seventy-seven per cent) and all were in higher-status roads. There was, then, a significant 'Carriage Class' in Moseley, and a clear social division between house types and roads with little variation. The staff managing horses and carriages were male and especially

¹²⁴ Eveleigh, D.J., *Privies and Water Closets* (Oxford: Shire Publications Ltd., 2011), p.19; Barrett & Phillips, *Suburban Style*, p.123; Eveleigh, *Privies and Water Closets*, p.23.

¹²⁵ LBA, BPKNU, BCK/MC/7/3/1, Building Plan, 3015.

¹²⁶ Flanders, *The Victorian House*, p.85.

socially impressive as male servants were rare in suburbs and cost more.¹²⁷ They often doubled as footman, groom or coachman. John Avins of Highfield House, Church Road, died in 1891 and left '... horses, carriages, saddlery, harness and stable furniture ... to my wife'.¹²⁸ A 'handsome brown Gelding', reversible Stanhope Wagonette, carriage, harness and saddlery were sold after the death of Thomas Ellis of Sorrento.¹²⁹

Demand for villas, then, was crucial to the development of the suburb, but the mix of types in Moseley was complicated by size and location, which, along with plot size, fed into social zoning. Moseley displayed its social and cultural pretensions in its road names and architecture, and the uptake of the various architectural styles over the period and the embellishments and ornamentation meant that Moseley was not monotonous, featureless, and without character, nor indistinguishable from other suburbs as sometimes claimed by social critics. The covenants instigated by developers, the construction and materials managed by architects and builders and the services introduced to the suburb ensured a quality product that attracted the middle class. Moseley appears to be superior, better built and more varied architecturally than some other suburbs. The nature and style of gardens, the 'natural environment' outside the homes also provided a contrast.

Gardens, Garden Design and Gardening

This section asks what gardens looked like, what influenced design and technology and to what extent residents were involved in their gardens. There have been few studies of nineteenth-century suburban gardens to date, which makes this study distinctive, but, at the

¹²⁷ Barrett & Phillips, *Suburban Style*, p.24.

¹²⁸ LBA, MS 1672 (Add I) (Acc 1991/137), the will of John Avins, d.1891.

¹²⁹ *Birmingham Post*, Thursday 1 May, 1890.

same time, this means that comparative information for other suburbs is unavailable. Gardens provided coveted sanctuary, peace, privacy and safety, fed into the prevailing dream of the rural idyll and the nostalgia felt by those brought up in the countryside, and spoke to images of the life of a country gentleman. Anne Helmreich suggests gardens were seen as protecting the rural environment from damage wrought by England's 'burgeoning market economy and industrialised society' and offering a sense of the natural and virtuous.¹³⁰ She claims suburban gardens allowed each home owner to 'create his or her own utopia within walls and hedges' and were an opportunity to gain prestige by marking the individual apart from others.¹³¹ Gardening was thought a Christian activity with 'the seasonal growth of plants ... God's work on earth made visible and the sign of a civilised country'. By preserving the rural environment and integrating science and technology and the products of the British Empire, gardens and gardening encompassed two opposing visions of England – 'the workshop of the world' and 'a green and pleasant land'. Gardens became 'equated with Englishness', providing a 'reassuring national image' and a 'rooted sense of home'. The middle classes increasingly identified with the countryside, the land and England's past and gardens came to signify middle-class membership. The middle class made a powerful garden lobby. By nurturing plants from around the world, gardeners were interacting with notions of empire, imperialism and 'the Other'. The bond between individuals and nature was crucial to identity and its loss was considered responsible for personal crises, giving gardens an important role in well-being. The suburban garden linked the city and countryside, bridging the city-country dichotomy associated with separate spheres.

¹³⁰ Helmreich, *The English Garden and National Identity*, pp.3, 7-10, 13 & 113.

¹³¹ Helmreich, *The English Garden and National Identity*, pp.7, 13, 113 & 144.



Fig.3.2: Sorrento, the Front Garden, 1899.¹³²

Newspaper advertisements suggest what was important about gardens, though they were marketing propaganda in the same way that adverts for houses were, rather than accurate descriptive statements. Gardens and 'own grounds' were mentioned in eighty-eight per cent of sales catalogues and forty-three and thirty-four per cent of 1881 and 1890 newspaper adverts.¹³³ They were 'good' in nineteen per cent of the 1881 newspaper adverts and eleven per cent of 1890 adverts and 'good' and 'neat' featured in sales catalogues too.¹³⁴ They were described as 'well-stocked', 'exceedingly well-stocked', 'well planted', 'tastefully laid out and arranged', 'lawns tastefully laid out' and 'pleasure gardens'.¹³⁵ Particular plants such

¹³² MSHGC, (C3/D3/F6/3), Photograph, 1899.

¹³³ *The Birmingham Daily Mail*, adverts for apartments and houses for sale and rent, 1881 & 1890; LBA, Sales Catalogues, Bham/Sc 1260, 869, 456, R2 & 1658.

¹³⁴ *The Birmingham Daily Mail*, adverts for apartments and houses for sale and rent, 1881 & 1890; LBA, Sales Catalogues, Bham/Sc 1260, 869, 456, R2 & 1658.

¹³⁵ LBA, Sales Catalogues, Bham/Sc 890, 1260, 877, 1890 & 869.

as 'shrubs' and 'flower beds' were noted.¹³⁶ 'Large' was the most frequent descriptor, appearing in seventeen per cent of adverts in 1881 and fourteen per cent in 1890, and there were frequent references to 'large garden' in sales catalogues too.¹³⁷

Front gardens and side space were important to status, privacy and public display. 'The most sought-after property' was a 'villa set back from the road', such as at Sorrento (Fig.3.2).¹³⁸ A large front garden, hid the house from the prying eyes of passers-by, signalled wealth and allowed for a more impressive drive. Sweeping drives were social indicators, not only because of the space involved, but also because they gave a good aspect of the house and suggested the carriage class and country houses.¹³⁹ Front gardens, though, varied in size and size did not necessarily correlate with the status of house type or road. The majority of Anderton Park Estate frontages varied up to fifty yards in depth (sixty-two per cent), but a significant number exceeded that (thirty-three per cent) and a few were over 100 yards (five per cent).¹⁴⁰ Detached and semi-detached house frontages on building plans averaged about fourteen square yards and terraces about twelve square yards. However, Trafalgar and Woodbridge Roads, less highly ranked areas, had larger average frontages than Chantry Road, a higher-status road. The smallest average frontage was six square yards (Oxford Road) and the largest twenty-two square yards (Coppice Road). Jahn found frontages averaged only ten yards in Outer West London.¹⁴¹ Large front gardens separated the elite from others, but small ones did not necessarily reflect status. Side space, on the other hand,

¹³⁶ LBA, Sales Catalogues, Bham/Sc 179 & 811.

¹³⁷ For example, LBA, Sales Catalogues, Bham/Sc 1260 & 1790.

¹³⁸ Tosh, John, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (London: Yale University Press, 1999), p.33.

¹³⁹ LBA, BPKNU, BCK/MC/7/3/1, Building Plan, 1821.

¹⁴⁰ LBA, Sales Catalogue, Bham/Sc 919.

¹⁴¹ Jahn, 'Suburban development in outer west London, 1850-1900', p.98.

was important. Loudon considered side space essential in a 'perfect villa', not only to preserve privacy from neighbours, but also to avoid contact between the family and the lower social orders.¹⁴² Detached houses were mostly set in their own grounds with plenty of side space, but not always: a detached house in Trafalgar Road, for example, was very close to its neighbours.¹⁴³ Semi-detached houses offered less side privacy, given the shared party wall. Uffculme, a substantial property set in large grounds close to Joseph Chamberlain's Highbury, had a signposted tradesman's entrance and separate rear road or track access, but even smaller houses had tradesmen's entrances labelled on building plans. Terraced housing had no side space or much privacy, though some had 'entries'.¹⁴⁴

The rear garden was more important to status and privacy and significant in preserving the rural environment. Forty-three per cent of newspaper advertisements in 1881 and thirty-four per cent in 1890 and eighty-eight per cent of catalogues mentioned rear gardens.¹⁴⁵ They varied considerably in size, with detached houses in building plans averaging about 0.08 acres, semi-detached about 0.06 acres and terraced houses about 0.3 acres. Width varied from seven to 218 yards for detached properties, five to twenty-nine yards for semi-detached properties and eight to ten yards for terraced properties. Garden areas around detached houses in more superior roads varied from about 0.95 to 17.8 acres and around semi-detached houses from about 0.07 to 0.25 acres.¹⁴⁶ The size of suburban gardens was considered ideal for women: they were not too large and did not require too much done,

¹⁴² CRL, Loudon, *Loudon's Encyclopaedia of Cottage Farm and Village Architecture*, p.768; LBA, BPKNU, BCK/MC/7/3/1, Building Plans, 866 & 2340.

¹⁴³ LBA, BPKNU, BCK/MC/7/3/1, Building Plans, 28 & 26.

¹⁴⁴ LBA, BPKNU, BCK/MC/7/3/1, Building Plan, 1458.

¹⁴⁵ *The Birmingham Daily Mail*, adverts for apartments and houses for sale and rent, 1881 & 1890; LBA, Sales Catalogues, Bham/Sc 1260, 869, 456, R2 & 1658.

¹⁴⁶ The more superior roads include Church, Wake Green and Chantry Roads. The semi-detached houses were in Park Hill and Trafalgar and Queenswood Roads.

but were large enough to give satisfaction and exercise.¹⁴⁷ The 99-year leases on Moseley new builds included strict rules about the upkeep of gardens.

Garden design was an indicator of wealth, status, taste and identity. According to Loudon, 'A fitting arrangement of the grounds' was the means of attaining a 'healthy, agreeable, and elegant country residence'.¹⁴⁸ He considered the 'Italianate Garden', a formal geometric layout, more appropriate for rectangular suburban plots as did James Shirley Hibberd, one of the most popular and successful gardening writers of the Victorian era. The 'vernacular' style, publicised by Hibberd's 'natural' garden style was subsequently restrained by the 'Queen Anne style', 'The Old-fashioned' artist and architectural garden, promoted by John Sedding, an English church architect. This incorporated a large degree of formality rather than the purely natural, and harmonised with 'Queen Anne' architecture. Reginald Blomfield undermined the natural garden further in *The Formal Garden in England*.¹⁴⁹ This 'battle of the styles' generated fiery debates about national identity. What garden style was chosen as the leading style mattered greatly if the garden symbolised Englishness, because 'each form inscribed a different, nearly opposing, appearance and set of meanings on landscape'.¹⁵⁰ Advice writers supported women in engaging in such debates.¹⁵¹ However, gardeners were encouraged to pursue their own ideas, because gardening was about realising the owner's 'individual dream'.¹⁵² Variety and intricacy were the main values of suburban garden design, because they made gardens seem larger than they really were. At the end of the century,

¹⁴⁷ Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, p.135.

¹⁴⁸ CRL, Loudon, *Loudon's Encyclopaedia of Cottage Farm and Village Architecture*, p.763.

¹⁴⁹ Sedding, J.D., *Garden-Craft Old and New* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Trubner & Co., 1892); Blomfield, R., *The Formal Garden in England* (London; Macmillan, 1892), Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (doi.org/10.1093/refodnb/31929). They were architects, garden designers and authors.

¹⁵⁰ Helmreich, *The English Garden and National Identity*, p.135.

¹⁵¹ Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, p.120.

¹⁵² Helmreich, *The English Garden and National Identity*, pp.144-145.

Gertrude Jekyll, the garden designer, and Edwin Lutyens, the architect, formulated the first balancing of architectural and horticultural elements.¹⁵³

Getting garden design 'right' for those who could not afford a garden designer was a cause of anxiety for some. However, many books, magazines, articles and manuals were published to educate and aid the amateur gardener, stimulated by huge advances in printing-press technology and distribution.¹⁵⁴ Many were women, such as Jane Loudon and 'Mrs. Beeton' who claimed that a 'knowledge of garden management is as essential to every possessor of a garden as a knowledge of domestic management to every mistress of a house'.¹⁵⁵ The range of magazines included *Amateur Gardening* published by Hibberd (1884) and still published today, and later titles, such as *The Garden*, *Gardening Illustrated* and *Amateur Gardening*, which appeared as cheap penny weeklies, but maintained their middle-class style and content. Early advice books from Jane Loudon in the 1840s to the early 1880s focussed on pragmatic advice, but the later ones, from the mid-1860s to the 1900s, were more aesthetic in emphasis.¹⁵⁶ Country house visiting grew tremendously in the later nineteenth century, which was facilitated by guide books and railway travel.¹⁵⁷ Wood engravings and photographs presented images of gardens. There was a huge increase in the number of landscape gardeners and indeed some of the design conflicts stemmed from their different

¹⁵³ Girouard, *Sweetness and Light*, p.152.

¹⁵⁴ For example, J.S. Hibberd wrote *The Rose Book* (1864) and *The Fern Garden* (1869), see footnote 81. William Robinson wrote *The Garden* (1871), *The Wild Garden* and *The English Flower Garden* (1883) and John Sedding published *Gardencraft Old and New* (1891), See footnote 81. Gertrude Jekyll wrote *Wood and Garden* (Longmans: Green & Co., 1899), Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (doi.org/10.1093/refodnb/37597); Constantine, Stephen, 'Amateur Gardening and Popular Recreation in the 19th and 20th Centuries', *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 14, No. 3, Spring, 1981, pp.387-406.

¹⁵⁵ Constantine, Stephen, 'Amateur gardening and popular recreation in the 19th and 20th centuries', *Journal of Social History*, Vol.14, No.3, Spring, 1981, Oxford University Press, pp.387-406.

¹⁵⁶ Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, p.115.

¹⁵⁷ Helmreich, *The English Garden and National Identity*, p.34.

approaches. Newspapers also carried gardening articles, for example 'The Villa Garden', that explained how to train plants up walls and fences and which plants to use.¹⁵⁸ These different sources of advice were a boon to suburbanites who were new to gardening.

Provincial horticultural societies emerged organised largely by the middle class and their shows were an important part of the gardening and social calendar. *The Dart* reported on the annual Flower Show at St. Mary's Church which raised money for the Children's Hospital.¹⁵⁹ The Moseley elite opened their grounds to horticultural shows and gardening exhibitions. The first Moseley and Kings Heath Horticultural Show, for example, was held at Moseley Hall in 1880 and the eighth Moseley, Kings Heath and Balsall Heath Horticultural Society Annual Exhibition was held at Henburys and the owner, G.F. Lyndon, opened his conservatory, greenhouses and fernery to visitors.¹⁶⁰ High attendance at these shows testifies to the popularity of gardening. Five thousand people attended the annual show at Highbury in 1883, when Joseph Chamberlain 'threw open' his greenhouses and conservatories, and 3,790 paid for admission there in 1893 for Moseley, Kings Heath and Balsall Heath Horticultural Society's fourteenth annual exhibition when the attractions included a bee tent, exhibits were 'very good' and Chamberlain again opened his orchid houses and conservatories.¹⁶¹ There were flower, fruit and vegetable shows with divisions for professionals, gentlemen's gardeners and 'amateurs or gentlemen who do not regularly employ a gardener'. These titles suggest the competitions were men-only, but Mrs Horton' appeared in the winners' lists frequently along with well-known local men. 'The range of

¹⁵⁸ *Birmingham Daily Post*, Wednesday 8 April, 1874.

¹⁵⁹ *The Dart*, 'Tittle-Tattle by Mollie', Sunday 5 July, 1891.

¹⁶⁰ *Birmingham Daily Post*, Tuesday 31 August, 1880; *Birmingham Daily Post*, Tuesday 2 August, 1887.

¹⁶¹ St. Mary's Church Archive, Moseley (SMCA), Canon Colmore's Diary, Courtesy of Rob Brown, Voluntary Church Archivist (PCRB), p.457; *Birmingham Daily Post* Wednesday 9 August, 1893.

plants, fruit and vegetables was wide, including foliage plants, ferns, palms, orchids, fuchsia, dahlias and carnations, apples and pears, melon and grapes, gooseberries and currants. These shows put gardening and women in the public sphere, as Bilston suggests, along with buying plants and other gardening items, using catalogues and visiting the post office.¹⁶² Local residents could also access Moseley Botanical Gardens established on the corner of Wake Green and College Roads in the grounds of Pine Dell Hydropathic Establishment in the 1890s. There were extensive and varied garden areas and large and small greenhouses holding rare plants. Fig.3.3 shows the entrance lodge and the intricate rustic archway that alludes to the idealised rural myth of the simple, cottage garden that epitomised the Arts and Crafts movement. The adverts on the boards in the image broadcast the leisure activities available to visitors and the lone woman with a pram, the safety and peace of the suburb. The Moseley Botanical Gardens rivalled the Birmingham Botanical Gardens in nearby Edgbaston, long renowned as a very superior suburb, and thus also emphasised Moseley's social exclusiveness. Taking part in horticultural societies, attending shows and visiting botanical and private gardens reveals not only suburban enthusiasm for gardening, but also that gardens and gardening involved making connections in the public sphere with others who had shared interests.

The rustic element seen in the arch in Figure 3.3 was part of the vernacular cottage garden style and was taken up by Moseley's gardeners in the form of seats, trellises, arches and bridges. In 1895, 'Mr Blackwell' bought a rustic seat for £1 from Bayliss & Inman, Builders, Shop and Office Fitters and Horticultural Buildings, Stephenson Street, Birmingham.¹⁶³ Such

¹⁶² Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, pp.116 & 123-124.

¹⁶³ MSHGC, (C3/D2/A/F10/1), RBA, Bills & Receipts. £1 in 1890 was c., £82 in 2017.

bills tie gardening to the public world of commerce, further undermining the supposed desire for privacy. According to Helmreich, Veblen noted in 1899 how late nineteenth-century garden design demonstrated expensiveness, for example, in topiary and flower beds, and the appearance of thrift in rustic or natural arrangements.



Fig.3.3: Moseley Botanical Gardens.¹⁶⁴

Privacy was identified by Simon Gunn as a key component of the ‘trappings’ of the middle-class suburban ‘way of life’ and writers stress the importance of privacy within the middle-class garden.¹⁶⁵ Loudon noted: ‘The great object, whether in small villas or extensive ones has been, to shut out everything belonging to the neighbourhood, which could indicate that

¹⁶⁴ MSHGC, (C3/D1/F11/Old Brum2), Newspaper Photograph.

¹⁶⁵ Gunn, Simon, ‘Translating Bourdieu: cultural capital and the English middle class in historical perspective’, *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol.56, No.1, 2005, p.53.

there was any other proprietor or resident in the vicinity'.¹⁶⁶ Helmreich writes that maximising privacy was an important aspect of garden design, with walls, trees, shrubs, hedges and gates important in protecting and marking all the boundaries of the property and helping the householder 'create his or her own utopia'.¹⁶⁷ A local commentator praised the gardens of houses backing onto Moseley Park, such as Brackley Dene, the home of the Blackwells, writing: 'Tall trees, a vegetable patch, flowering borders and thick hedges made the house completely private, restricting visibility from the park'.¹⁶⁸ George Bayliss, the Moseley builder, was required to 'fence and partition off the premises' from the road with 'substantial brick walls 9" thick and properly coped', when building two villas in Church Road in 1893.¹⁶⁹ Shrubs supposedly shielded dry gravel paths and other family walk areas from servants and the family from observing outdoor servants at work. On the other hand, Bilston argues walls and privet hedges marked out residents' modernity and newness as much as signalling a desire for quiet and privacy.¹⁷⁰ Gardens, though, were 'outside', and as arenas of display could not be totally private.

¹⁶⁶ CRL, Loudon, *Loudon's Encyclopaedia of Cottage Farm and Village Architecture*, p.766.

¹⁶⁷ Helmreich, *The English Garden and National Identity*, p.113.

¹⁶⁸ MSHGC, (C3/D2/A/F10/16), Bham13 Magazine, Article.

¹⁶⁹ LBA, MS 718/9, Abstract of the title of George Bayliss and his mortgages on two villa residences in Church Road in 1893.

¹⁷⁰ Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, p.181.

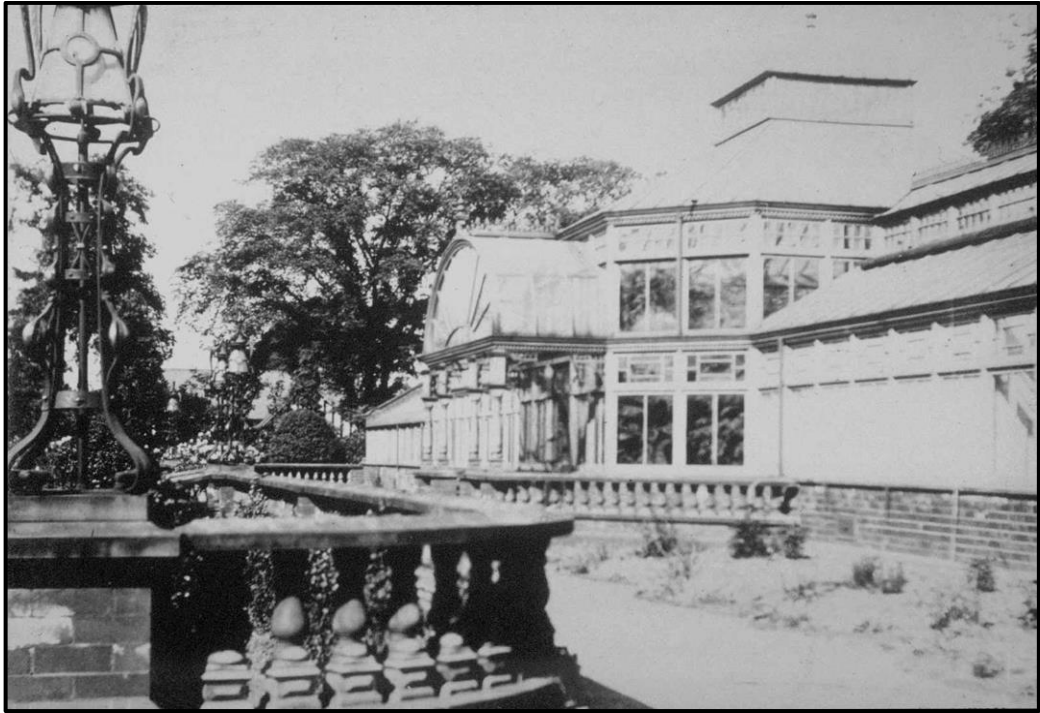


Fig.3.4: Rear Garden, Sorrento, 1899.¹⁷¹



Fig.3.5: Rear Lawn, Uffculme.¹⁷²

¹⁷¹ PCRC.

Photographs reveal how gardeners implemented design ideas. They show that householders responded to contemporary garden styles, whatever the scale of their garden, and that they expressed individualism in their gardens as they did in their architecture (Figs.3.4-15). Overall, they implemented ‘a large measure of eclecticism’, with an emphasis on flowering plants, ‘the overriding theme’ of late-Victorian suburban gardens. The influence of the ‘Italian Garden’ and the more formal aspects of later designs are shown in the terraces, balustrades, stone steps and vases, sundials, urns, and fountains.¹⁷³ Many of these were constructed from new materials such as concrete, older artificial materials such as Coade stone or decorative stone not found locally and brought in by railway.¹⁷⁴



Fig.3.6: Rear Garden from the Dining Room, Uffculme.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷² Private Collection of Fiona Adams, Secretary of the Moseley Society (PCFA).

¹⁷³ CRL, Loudon, *Loudon's Encyclopaedia of Cottage Farm and Village Architecture*, p.763; Barrett & Phillips, *Suburban Style*, pp.170-172; Girouard, *Sweetness and Light*, p.152.

¹⁷⁴ *Birmingham Daily Mail*, Thursday 8 March, 1890, Wednesday 19 February, 1890, Monday 24 February, 1890, Saturday 22 February, 1890 and Saturday 6 September, 1890. Coade stone was often described as an artificial stone in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. It was used for moulding neoclassical statues, architectural decorations and garden ornaments that were of the highest quality and remain virtually weatherproof today.

¹⁷⁵PCFA.



Fig.3.7: Garden Walk, Uffculme.¹⁷⁶



Fig.3.8: Rear Garden, Park Hill.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁶ PCFA.



Fig.3.9: The East Garden, Uffculme.¹⁷⁸



Fig.3.10: Rear Garden, Sorrento, 1899.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁷ Courtesy Mr and Mrs R. Bloxham, Park Hill, 2015.

¹⁷⁸ PCFA.



Fig.3.11: The Lake and Rockery, Uffculme.¹⁸⁰



Fig.3.12: Water Feature, Park Hill.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁹ PCRC.

¹⁸⁰ PCFA.



Fig.3.13: The Rockery / Fernery, Uffculme.¹⁸² Fig.3.14: The Fernery, Brackley Dene.¹⁸³



Fig.3.15: Rear Garden, Brackley Dene.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸¹ Courtesy of Mr. and Mrs. R. Bloxham, Park Hill, 2015.

¹⁸² PCFA.

¹⁸³ MSHGC, (C3/D2/A/3), RBA, Photo Album.

Bedding-out was a Victorian garden fashion that brought to gardens huge amounts of bright and previously unknown colour: Figures 3.5 and 3.9 show this typical close planting of one variety or colour of plant or flower. Here beds were rectangular and circular, but they were often geometrically complex and curved and symmetrical when viewed from an upstairs window.¹⁸⁵ Althans Blackwell ordered fourteen Tradescantias and sixteen Begonias costing 4s for beds at Brackley Dene in Chantry Road.¹⁸⁶ Ribbon bedding along bed edges was popular (Fig.3.10). Bedding-out plants were described as 'gaudy' by the natural garden aficionados and bedding-out was rejected, but this does not seem to have deterred Moseley gardeners.¹⁸⁷ Figures 3.5 and 3.7-8 demonstrate the popular use of specimen plants. Althans Blackwell bought several, including Heuchera, Poppy and Campanula.¹⁸⁸ The advert for the sale of Thomas Ellis' goods after his death listed specimen plants as well as iron hurdles, and outdoor effects.¹⁸⁹ Herbaceous borders filled with 'old-fashioned' flowers such as lilies were particularly recommended. Althans Blackwell bought twenty-nine roses in 1893 and 1894 at a cost of £8 13s 6d and twenty bulbs and seventeen lilies for 15s 8d in 1895.¹⁹⁰ Two rose bushes were 'gratis' making the average price per rose 6s 5d. They were sent by Midland Railways. It was innovative to combine roses with new sub-tropical plants such as yucca and palms.

Shrubberies, evergreens, such as conifers, easily clipped privet and laurel, and topiary were popular 'Italian Garden' formal features. Althans Blackwell bought several shrubs, for

¹⁸⁴ MSHGC, (C3/D2/A/3), RBA, Photo Album.

¹⁸⁵ CRL, Loudon, *Loudon's Encyclopaedia of Cottage Farm and Village Architecture*, p.771.

¹⁸⁶ MSHGC, (C3/D2/A/F10/1), RBA, Bills & Receipts. 4s in 1890 was c., £82 in 2017.

¹⁸⁷ Barrett & Phillips, *Suburban Style*, p.168.

¹⁸⁸ MSHGC, (C3/D2/A/F10/1), RBA, Bills & Receipts.

¹⁸⁹ *Birmingham Post*, Thursday 1 May, 1890.

¹⁹⁰ MSHGC, (C3/D2/A/F10/1), RBA, Bills & Receipts. 13s 6d and 15s 8d in 1890 were c., £712 and £64 in 2017.

example, a *Camelia* for 2s 6d, a *Ceanothus* for 2s and a *Hypericum* at 1s.¹⁹¹ Some Moseley gardens, however, reflected Robinson's ideas about shrubs in their natural unmanicured state (Figs.3.8 & 3.10). Specimen trees were important especially after the 1850s discovery of the California Redwoods and Wellingtonias.¹⁹² They were planted near the house, on lawns and in avenues. Sales catalogues frequently mentioned trees: houses were 'surrounded by mature trees', 'beautifully timbered', 'shaded by fine grown trees' and had 'fruit trees', trees 'at perfection for bearing' and 'trees in full growth'.¹⁹³ 1890 adverts described The Vale, Wake Green Road, as being 'nicely timbered'.¹⁹⁴ Mature trees offered privacy, but also created a sense of the long established country estate rather than 'new build'.

The 'natural' or 'wild garden' was represented in Moseley by ponds, lakes, water rills and streams as well as the popular collections of plants in special 'natural' settings, such as ferneries and rockeries, sized to match the space available. Uffculme had a large wild garden, woodland area and lake and a rockery on a grand scale, a feat of civil engineering, whereas the 'natural' water feature and pond at Park Hill and the rockery at Brackley Dene and Park Hill were small (Figs.3.11-13). 'Ground cover' was also suggested for natural gardens. Althans Blackwell ordered eight *Ficus repens* plants at 6d each, costing him 4s.¹⁹⁵ Building the fernery at Brackley Dene was a considerable enterprise, the cost of which would have excluded many (Fig.3.14). Althans Blackwell bought sixty-seven ferns for a total of £2 9s

¹⁹¹ MSHGC, (C3/D2/A/F10/1), RBA, Bills & Receipts. 2s 6d and 1s in 1890 were c., £10 and £2 in 2017.

¹⁹² Elliot, Brent, *Victorian Gardens* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1986), p.116.

¹⁹³ LBA, Sales Catalogues, Bham/Sc 919, 1861, 890, 811 & 1260.

¹⁹⁴ *The Birmingham Daily Mail*, Wednesday 19 February, Monday 24 February, Saturday 22 February and Saturday 6 September, 1890.

¹⁹⁵ MSHGC, (C3/D2/A/F10/1), RBA, Bills & Receipts. 6d and 4s in 1890 were c. £2 and £18 in 2017.

6d, at about 9d per plant and cement, red sand, sandstone and tufa stone for £12 10s 6d.¹⁹⁶

Fergeries or fern-houses were highlighted in 1881 and 1890 adverts and catalogues.¹⁹⁷

Wide, dry gravel paths linked garden designs and provided convenient private walkways for the family and guests, especially female members. They were straight to meet the demands of the formal garden at Sorrento, sometimes straight as at Uffculme, but mostly curving as at Uffculme and Park Hill (Figs.3.5-10 & 15). Neat lawn edges were important and iron or terracotta rope or scallop-pattern edgings became very popular (Figs.3.5-10 & 15). The lawn was a quintessentially Victorian feature that emerged as a positive design theme in the 1860s.¹⁹⁸ 1890 newspaper advertisements described the large levelled lawn at Treaford Lodge, Anderton Park Road, two lawns at The Vale, Wake Green Road, and the large lawn at Beechwood.¹⁹⁹ Robinson, the 'natural garden' leader, claimed the heart of the garden was a bold informal sweep of lawn, but John Sedding insisted that nature should not be brought right up to the house, although Robinson defended this practice. The widespread devotion to lawns was made possible by the development of lawn mowers.²⁰⁰ Edwin Beard Budding, an engineer from Stroud, Gloucestershire, invented the lawn mower in 1830. From the mid-1850s, lighter and quieter machines were introduced as were models in various sizes with minor modifications, making lawns feasible for a wider social group. Motorised mowers

¹⁹⁶ MSHGC, (C3/D2/A/F10/1), RBA, Bills & Receipts. These totals in 1890 were c. £203 and £1,000 in 2017.

¹⁹⁷ *Birmingham Daily Mail*, e.g., Kingsworth House, Church Road & Charlton Lodge, Oxford Road, May and June 1881; LBA, Sales Catalogues, Bham/Sc 890 & 1260.

¹⁹⁸ Elliot, *Victorian Gardens*, p.16.

¹⁹⁹ *Birmingham Daily Mail*, Thursday 8 March, 1890, Wednesday 19 February, Monday 24 February, Saturday 22 February & Saturday 6 September, 1890.

²⁰⁰ Bryson, *At Home*, p.303.

appeared in the 1890s as lightweight petrol engines and small steam power units became available but, by 1900, petrol-engine mowers were market winners.²⁰¹

Larger gardens and grounds, like those at Uffculme, could easily and more closely imitate country houses and the aristocracy with meadows and hay fields. Even smaller establishments could incorporate a small meadow, like that at Highfield House, where a meadow extended from the house to Wake Green Road. 1881 newspaper adverts featured orchards and fruit trees and sales catalogues advertised gardens with fowl runs, pig pens, an aviary and dog houses.²⁰² A property in Church Road had a cow house for five cows and piggeries attached.²⁰³ Woodfield in 1877 had a large lawn, extensive geometric formal gardens, many trees, three large fishponds and substantial greenhouses. Uffculme, Treaford Lodge, Anderton Park Road, and Beechwood had kitchen gardens.²⁰⁴ However, few suburban villa gardeners grew vegetables to any great extent. Not growing one's own vegetables was an indicator of gentleman status and purchasing ability. Vegetables and fruit were bought in markets where a wide range of good-quality produce from around the world was brought by the railway. Althans Blackwell grew vegetables, but they were specialist types, including cucumbers (two for 1s 6d), asparagus (two for 2s and one for 5s) and tomatoes (two dozen for 8s).²⁰⁵ Vines and fruit bushes were considered suitable because they were a specialist, contained and skilled activity. 1881 and 1890 newspaper

²⁰¹ www.oldlawnmowerclub.co.uk, 'Mower, 'History', 'The Old Lawn Mower Club', 'Mower History'. Accessed 2016.

²⁰² *The Birmingham Daily Mail*, adverts for apartments and houses for sale and rent, 1881 & 1890; LBA, Sales Catalogue, Bham/Sc 1890; LBA, Sales Catalogues, Bham/Sc 1260, 869, 456, R2 & 1658.

²⁰³ LBA, *Birmingham: A Collection of Auctioneers' Bills Vol I 1797-1875*.

²⁰⁴ *The Birmingham Daily Mail*, Thursday 8 March, 1890, Wednesday 19 February, 1890, Monday 24 February, 1890, Saturday 22 February, 1890 & Saturday 6 September, 1890.

²⁰⁵ MSHGC, (C3/D2/A/F10/1 & 16), RBA, Bills & Receipts. 2s.6d and 1s in 1890 were c. £10 and £4 in 2017.

advertisements highlighted vineries, as did sales catalogues.²⁰⁶ Althans Blackwell had fruit bushes. In 1894, he bought gooseberries and currants for 16s 6d and a vine for 7s 6d.²⁰⁷

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries travellers and horticulturalists brought enormous numbers of colourful new exotic species to England from around the globe. Plants bought by Althans Blackwell, for example, came from the New World (Tradescantias), Brazil (Begonias), North America (Heucheras), Japan (Camelias), China (Clematis) and East Asia (Ficus repens), flowers from different countries growing together, a class and cultural dynamic.²⁰⁸ This was stimulated by growing wealth and interest in the British Empire and the wider world, was a major impetus behind much garden enthusiasm and design, and made connections between suburban Moseley, imperialism and exploration.²⁰⁹ It shows that suburbanites were exposed to ideas that Clare Midgley says have been ignored in the historiography, - ethnicity, race and empire.²¹⁰ With the development of small 'Wardian' cases, plants could be brought back alive from around the globe. Vast glasshouses, for example, at Kew and Edinburgh, were built – inspired by the Crystal Palace of 1851 and stimulated by new technology in ironwork and glazing, new techniques in heating and by the abolition of window and glass taxes in 1845 and the brick tax in 1850 and the easing of timber duty in 1851.²¹¹ This enabled the preservation, growth, propagation and hybridisation of exotic specimens that sat amongst

²⁰⁶ *The Birmingham Daily Mail*, adverts for apartments and houses for sale and rent, 1881 & 1890; LBA, Sales Catalogues, Bham/Sc 890 & 1260.

²⁰⁷ MSHGC, (C3/D2/A/F10/1), RBA, Bills & Receipts. 16s 6d and 7s 6d in 1890 were c., £68 and £31 in 2017.

²⁰⁸ Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, p.157.

²⁰⁹ Bilston, Sarah, 'Queens of the Garden: Victorian women gardeners and the rise of the gardening advice text', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, Vol.36, No.1, 2008, pp.1-19.

²¹⁰ Midgley, Clare, 'Ethnicity, "race" and empire', in Purvis, Jane, (ed.), *Women's History, Britain, 1850-1945* (London: UCL Press, 1995), pp.247-277.

²¹¹ Bryson, *At Home*, p.298; Elliot, *Victorian Gardens*, p.17.

English plants in suburban gardens.²¹² Over time a range of plants became available to the middle classes from nurseries and at a low cost, changing the character of gardens.²¹³ Althans Blackwell bought 330 plants at a cost that averages to 1s per plant between 1893 and 1895.²¹⁴ Plants displayed affluence and status. The business, Suttons Seeds, catered for desires by producing packets of flower seed collections.²¹⁵

Plants needing extra protection were housed in conservatories and greenhouses, whilst seeds could be grown, seedlings nurtured and bedding plants raised in greenhouses. Conservatories and greenhouses became cheaper and were produced in a range of sizes, making them accessible to more people. Conservatories were desirable status symbols, both practical and romantic, and 'a public space for consumption and display'.²¹⁶ They symbolised the love of the scientific and botanical exploration, referenced jungle environments and the tropics and represented 'the Empire in metaphor'.²¹⁷ Home owners could flout the rules of nature by creating microclimates, 'naturalising the exotic'.²¹⁸ They impressed visitors with the marvels of their iron and glass construction, through their size and the richness and rareness of their contents, in the views of them from the drawing room and in the vistas of the garden and grounds they allowed.²¹⁹ Conservatories linked the house and the garden.²²⁰ They gave a 'pseudo-aristocratic flourish' to suburban dwellings, being small-scale imitations

²¹² Barrett & Phillips, *Suburban Style*, pp.178 &179.

²¹³ Taylor, W.M., *The Vital Landscape: Nature and the Built Environment in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Co., 2004), p.145.

²¹⁴ MSHGC, (C3/D2/A/F10/1), RBA, Bills & Receipts.

²¹⁵ Helmreich, *The English Garden and National Identity*, p.187.

²¹⁶ Armstrong, I., *Victorian Glass Worlds: Glass Culture and the Imagination 1830-1880* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p.180.

²¹⁷ Paterson M., *Life in Victorian Britain: A Social History of Queen Victoria's Reign* (Philadelphia PA: Running Press Book Publishers, 2008), p.94.

²¹⁸ Paterson, *Life in Victorian Britain*, p.94.

²¹⁹ Lasdun, S., *Victorians at Home* (London: George Weidenfeld and Nicolson Ltd., 1985), p.15.

²²⁰ Lasdun, *Victorians at Home*, p.15; Armstrong, *Victorian Glass Worlds*, p.180.

of the plant-houses and orangeries of country estates.²²¹ According to Loudon, conservatories were the 'most desirable additions to villas, indicating the residence of ease and elegance'.²²² Conservatories in Moseley highlighted middle-class hierarchy in their size, design and contents (Figs.3.4 & 15). Size varied considerably: the Brackley Dene conservatory was much smaller and simpler than that at Sorrento (Figs.3.5 &15). Some, such as Sorrento, took their design from Birmingham Botanical Gardens. 1890 newspaper adverts identified six houses with conservatories in Wake Green and Church Roads and Park Hill, all higher-status roads, but none were mentioned in 1881 adverts.²²³

Greenhouses were work stations, rather than sites for display, but were still status buildings (Figs.3.5 & 15). Thomas Clark, the Birmingham greenhouse manufacturer, promoted Loudon's hope that the greenhouse 'would be an appendage to every villa, ... a mark of elegance and refined enjoyment' and his belief that 'the architectural greenhouse' strengthened the idea of the house 'as the abode of gentility'.²²⁴ Greenhouses were mentioned in eight per cent of adverts in 1881 and twice in sales catalogues.²²⁵ One of the greenhouses was heated with hot water.²²⁶ Cold frames, small versions intended to harden off specimens ready for planting out, were clearly attractive features as they appeared in 1881 newspaper adverts.²²⁷ New building regulations came into force in relation to greenhouses. George Bayliss was required to use a flue or chimney stack for heated

²²¹ Paterson, *Life in Victorian Britain*, p.93.

²²² Loudon, J., *Loudon's Encyclopaedia of Cottage Farm and Village Architecture*, pp.975-6.

²²³ LBA, Sales Catalogue, Bham/Sc 877.

²²⁴ Davidoff, L., & Hall, C., *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2002), p.370; Loudon, J. *Loudon's Encyclopaedia of Cottage Farm and Village Architecture*, pp.975-6 & 849.

²²⁵ LBA, Sales Catalogues, Bham/Sc 890 & 119.

²²⁶ LBA, Sales Catalogue, Bham/Sc 119.

²²⁷ *The Birmingham Daily Mail*, adverts for apartments and houses for sale and rent, 1881 & 1890.

greenhouses when building two villa residences in Church Road in 1893.²²⁸ Conservatories and greenhouses brought a range of exotic luxurious fruits to the table to impress visiting diners. Garden buildings were another construction that spoke to status and differentiated the middle class. 1881 adverts identified many, including summer arbours. Uffculme had a decorative ornamented pavilion and a gothic-style summer house to match the house (Fig.3.6).

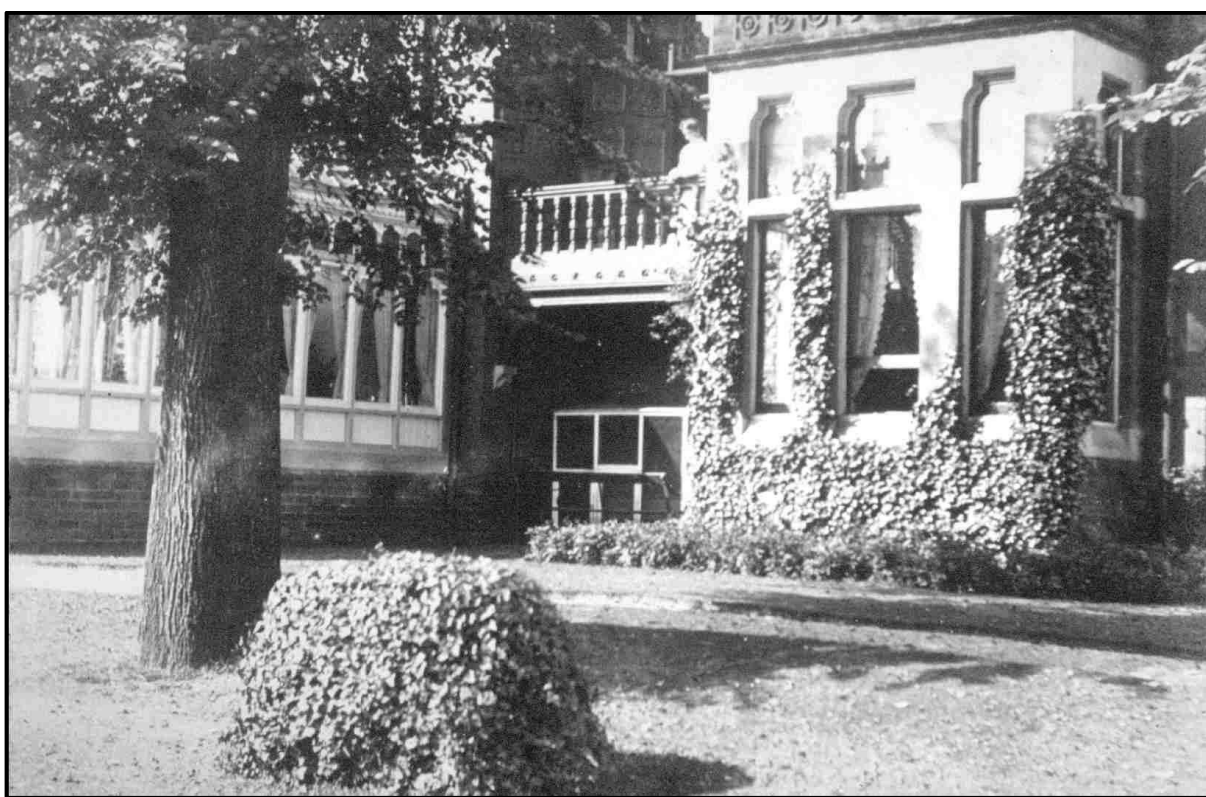


Fig.3.16: Rear Garden Balcony, Sorrento.²²⁹

Vistas of the garden and beyond from inside the house, and views of the house from the garden, allowed visitors to appreciate the wealth, taste and expertise of the family and provided pleasure. The rear garden was an extension of the home, accessed through French

²²⁸ LBA, MS 718/9, Abstract of the title of George Bayliss and his mortgages on two villa residences in Church Road in 1893.

²²⁹ PCRC.

doors, usually from the drawing room or conservatory. Vistas from elevated Moseley gardens and views over the garden from balconies and of the house from the garden could be enjoyed (Figs.3.5-9, 11, 15 & 16-17).²³⁰ Figure.3.16 shows an elegant lady on the balcony, enjoying the view of her garden. It was considered acceptable for the lady of the house to appear on the balcony, watering her plants.²³¹ Brackley Dene backed onto Moseley Park, securing fabulous views of the parkland and lakes. The ground floor of the house was raised, allowing views from all three reception rooms (Fig.3.15).The stylistic harmonisation of house and garden was much discussed and a graduated transition from the architecture to the wilderness was advised with terraces, garden walls, balustrading and walks advancing the line of the house into the garden.²³² The garden was treated as another room or series of rooms extending from the house and the most 'frankly manipulated' features were located near the house, whilst the increasingly naturalistic came as the landscape moved outwards.²³³

The middle class had more time available for leisure and the garden offered them physical, intellectual and leisure opportunities. Health became an increasing concern, leading to an appreciation of fresh air and exercise. According to Constantine, 'the do-it-yourself approach of many publications' shows 'most middle-class gardeners worked in their gardens themselves', but Helmreich suggests that this would not be 'back-breaking' work, just lighter tasks such as design, planting and maintenance.²³⁴ Gardening was considered an acceptable

²³⁰ LBA, BPKNU, BCK/MC/7/3/1, Building Plan, 18 & 3024.

²³¹ Hamlett, *Material Relations*, p.31.

²³² Elliot, *Victorian Gardens*, pp.111-113; Helmreich, *The English Garden and National Identity*, p.113.

²³³ Helmreich, *The English Garden and National Identity*, p.170.

²³⁴ Constantine, 'Amateur Gardening and Popular Recreation in the 19th and 20th Centuries', pp.388-189; Helmreich, *The English Garden and National Identity*, p.118.

form of recreation, because it involved 'physical effort and some intelligence' and was not 'associated with idleness, a corrupting vice'.²³⁵ Families could enjoy walking round, sitting or taking tea in the garden. Figures 3.5-6 and 15 show seats and Figure 3.17 shows that tea in the garden for the family living at Sorrento meant a table complete with white linen tablecloth.

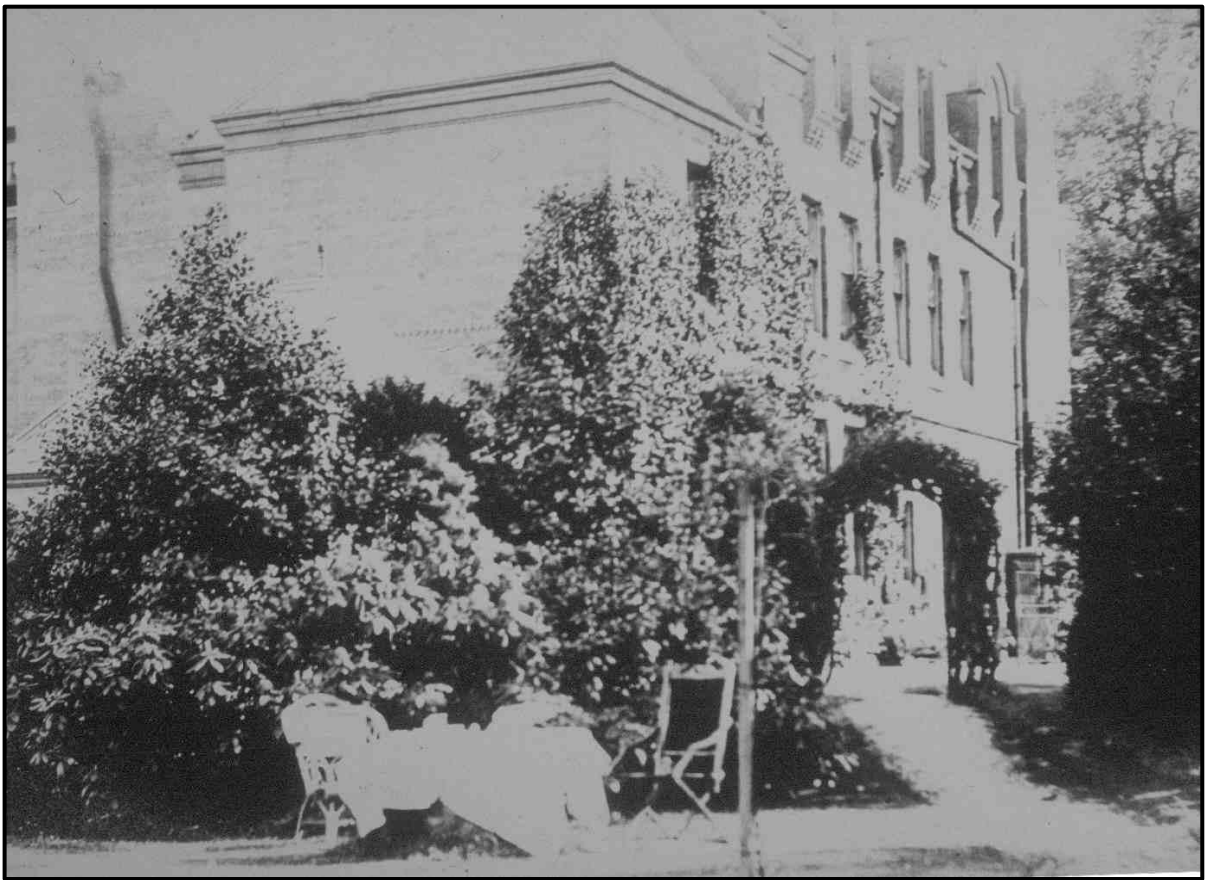


Fig.3.17: Tea in the Garden, Sorrento, 1899.²³⁶

Croquet was a popular Victorian garden game and larger gardens had tennis courts. Gardens offered a contrast to work and satisfaction and pleasure in achievement and were 'out-door studies' where men could converse with business or professional colleagues, and places for

²³⁵ Constantine, 'Amateur Gardening and Popular Recreation in the 19th and 20th Centuries', p.96.

²³⁶ PCRC.

aspects of public work undertaken by men.²³⁷ Loudon wrote his book, *The Villa Gardener*, for grounds from one perch to fifty acres, and claimed that 'a very small portion of land... will contain all that is essential to happiness'.²³⁸

Loudon saw suburban gardens as a locus of 'modernity', integrating technology, science and the intellectual as well as the aesthetic in a new context that was neither city nor country. The market was flooded with new tools and equipment and there were new practical skills to learn, such as pruning, as well as new understandings of science, such as soil type, fertilisers and pest control, and the more theoretical branches of horticulture and botany. A bill for leaf mould in 1893, delivered for 12s from a village shop, T. Hadley & Son, Moseley House, Moseley, shows that Althans Blackwell understood the need to mulch his soil.²³⁹ In 1892, N.C. Reading of Wake Green Road bought two 10" metallic thermometers at a cost of 2s 6d, from Alfred Harper, Aneroid Barometers, Mercurial Barometers and Thermometers of 42 Warstone Lane, showing his interest in temperature management.²⁴⁰

The garden and gardening constituted a gendered arena. Women supposedly had an instinctive aesthetic response to gardens, but they were pictured as a light gardener, matronly garden supervisor or ornament or decorative spectacle, according to Michael Waters.²⁴¹ There was some concern about the 'delicacy' of women, but Jane Loudon, wife of J.C. Loudon and daughter of an Edgbaston businessman, shows a more positive attitude in her 1840 book, *Practical Instructions in Gardening for Ladies*. She wrote that 'digging

²³⁷ Tosh, *A Man's Place*, p.21.

²³⁸ Loudon J. C., *The Villa Gardener* (London: W.S. Orr & Co, 1850). 1 perch is 30¼ square yards, 25.29 square metres and 0.00625 acres.

²³⁹ MSHGC, (C3/D2/A/F10/1), RBA, Bills & Receipts.

²⁴⁰ MSHGC, (C3/D2/A/F10/1), RBA, Bills & Receipts. 2s 6d in 1890 was c. £10 in 2017.

²⁴¹ Quoted in Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, p.116.

appears at first sight a very laborious employment, and peculiarly unfitted to small and delicately formed hands and feet', but she assured her readers that all gardening was possible for 'ladies' and proceeded to unravel its mysteries.²⁴² J.B. Whiting in *The Manual of Flower Gardening for Ladies* (1849) asserted that even if 'ladies' are not doing all the work themselves, they needed to know about every aspect.²⁴³ In a newspaper interview, 'Mrs Grace Harrison' said 'a woman can easily do every part of it except winter digging, the mulching and the pruning'.²⁴⁴ Ruskin saw women as 'guiding' rather than 'determining' agents contained within the private sphere and thereby able to provide a moral dimension to the world of commerce.²⁴⁵ Images 3.16 and 3.4 suggest these different attitudes. One shows a woman admiring the view of the garden from her balcony, the other a woman in the garden seemingly poised for action. Bilston argues that contemporaries saw gardens as sites that might improve the problems wrought by poor suburban housing and provided an opportunity for women to 'grow their own power' and also move towards the professional role of garden designer.²⁴⁶

Garden style became a gender-contested area, with the 'formal', bedding-out and plant forcing associated with the masculine and the 'natural' associated with the feminine.²⁴⁷ On the other hand, Clare Willson suggests the garden was a shared space between husband and wife, a partnership in which women had the vision and men the physical strength.²⁴⁸ She

²⁴² Loudon, Jane, *Gardening for Ladies and Companion to the Flower Garden*, Downing, A.J., (ed.), (New York: Wiley & Putnam, 1840), p.1.

²⁴³ Constantine, 'Amateur Gardening and Popular Recreation in the 19th and 20th Centuries', pp.388-9.

²⁴⁴ *Birmingham Daily Post*, Monday 4 August, 1890.

²⁴⁵ Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, p.116.

²⁴⁶ Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, pp.117 & 214.

²⁴⁷ Bilston, 'Queens of the Garden', p.9.

²⁴⁸ Willson, Clare A.P., 'The lady of the garden, lawn and blackbird': Beatrix Whistler and horticulture', *Women's History*, Special Issue: Gardening, Vol. 2, Issue 13, Summer 2019, pp.15-22.

highlights the garden as a space for creativity and imaginative freedom for women which expanded women's horizons, a space for social encounters and gardening as promoting networking for women. Ruskin's garden blurred any contemporary understandings of the public-private binary: it was 'home and not home', England, society, and the world, and women were urged to 'define those gardens to include all England'.²⁴⁹ The garden was an extension of the private sphere, but outside. Advice texts aimed at women gardeners furthered this vision of suburban garden as not-home, according to Bilston.²⁵⁰ Involvement in, for example, buying plants connected women to the outside public world. Journeys to the city or high street, the use of catalogues and visits to the post office, were required, all of which helped mapped out the suburb as a place of women's leisure and pleasure and public movement. For women with time, the garden had potential as a venue for personal fulfilment, an outlet for physical, intellectual and technical energies, an opportunity for creativity and artistic experimentation and consumerism, an escape from social and cultural expectations and connection to the modern world.²⁵¹

A large gardening industry developed in the nineteenth century stimulated by the new urban middle-class enthusiasm for gardening, with a huge increase in the number of nursery businesses and more sophisticated advertising and sales systems.²⁵² Trade directories list a number of gardeners and landscape gardeners locally, including Joseph Walker, a gardener and landscape gardener, in the 1870 and 1880s, who lived in a small terraced house off

²⁴⁹ Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, pp.116 & 123-124.

²⁵⁰ Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, pp.116 & 123-124.

²⁵¹ Bilston, 'Queens of the Garden', p.8; Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, pp.123-124.

²⁵² Constantine, 'Amateur Gardening and Popular Recreation in the 19th and 20th Centuries', pp.387-406. The number of gardeners employed as domestic servants increased from about 75,000 in 1881 to nearly 120,000 by 1911.

Alcester Road near the village centre.²⁵³ Some households had resident gardeners. Uffculme employed many gardeners to manage their estate. John Avins of Highfield House employed a live-in groom-cum-gardener in 1871 and his widow Eliza Avins a live-in gardener in 1901.²⁵⁴ Althans Blackwell at Brackley Dene employed a gardener, G. Seeley, who in May and June 1893 did five-and-a-half days' work, which included wheeling manure, fixing the vine, weeding the pond, clipping verges and wheeling rubbish from the yard for £2 13s 3d.²⁵⁵ Rapid railway transport of plants and horticultural items meant nurseries and market gardens were increasingly freed from restrictions of locality. Althans Blackwell had seventy-four plants and a bundle of straw delivered by 'Mid Rail at Risk' in 1894 from Richard Smith & Co., Nurserymen and Seed Merchants of Worcestershire, established 1804.²⁵⁶ Bills show that Althans Blackwell bought plants and other garden requirements in Moseley, Birmingham, Worcester and Westgate-on-Sea. Women were professionally employed in designing the suburban landscape, but none have been identified in Moseley.

This section has shown that contemporary attitudes to suburban gardens as the context for 'absurd attempts to conjure rusticity out of minute garden plots' occurred were largely unfounded.²⁵⁷ Moseley gardens engaged with and exhibited the sophistication encouraged by the aesthetic designs promoted at the time, though there were nods to rusticity. How the garden looked was certainly important, which reflected a concern for status, display and privacy, but also genuine interest in garden design and gardening and the benefits they

²⁵³ The 1881 census lists Joseph Walker as household head at 1, Moseley Terrace, a gardener, aged thirty-six years, married to Emma with six children aged 8 years and under. William Cooper, a cousin, a gardener, aged eighteen years, was living with him, as was his fourteen year old nephew, George Turner.

²⁵⁴ The 1901 Census.

²⁵⁵ MSHGC, (C3/D2/A/F10/1), RBA, Bills & Receipts. £2 13s 3d in 1890 was c., £28 in 2017.

²⁵⁶ MSHGC, (C3/D2/A/F10/1), RBA, Bills & Receipts.

²⁵⁷ Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, p.3.

brought. The garden was a gendered space, however, but one which extended women's creative, intellectual, social and public opportunities.

Conclusion

This chapter scrutinises women, the working class, and gardens, garden design and gardening which have not featured significantly in most studies of suburbs. Aston, Capern and McDonagh have made inroads into unearthing women in business and speculation in towns, and this study reveals that many suburban women were owners, occupiers and owner-occupiers, some of whom owned more than one house and some who held large housing portfolios.²⁵⁸ Labourers and skilled craftsmen built suburban houses and others provided essential services, but they are rarely acknowledged. Gardens were crucial to middle-class identity, in developing Moseley as a middle-class suburb and in securing the green environment, and were, as Thompson emphasises, at the root of the demand for suburban living.²⁵⁹ They connected residents to 'Englishness', religion, status and display, as Anne Helmreich suggests, but residents followed, disregarded or modified styles to suit their personal taste and the space available.²⁶⁰ Women were encouraged to be actively involved in national debates and practical gardening, though somewhat restricted by what was acceptable, and, according to Bilston, becoming professional garden designers was a possibility.²⁶¹ The Blackwell bills reveal connections to the wider world through suburbanites buying plants, seeds, materials and garden equipment both locally and further afield. Many plants came from around the globe, changing suburban gardens and exposing residents to

²⁵⁸ Aston, Capern & McDonagh, 'More than Bricks and Mortar', pp.695-721.

²⁵⁹ Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, p.15.

²⁶⁰ Helmreich, *The English Garden and National Identity*.

²⁶¹ Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, pp.117 & 214.

ethnicity, race and Britain's imperial power, an arena traditionally unacknowledged according to Clare Midgley.²⁶² Middle-class enthusiasm and the need for advice are shown in the proliferation of horticultural societies and shows, garden visits, gardening books and magazines and nurseries and garden professionals. Rapidly changing scientific and technological advances brought new techniques, new and better tools, equipment, conservatories and glasshouses. The evidence illustrates that gardens were closely linked to the public sphere and that negative contemporary judgements were signally unjustified.

Local middle-class people, including small-scale speculators, entrepreneurs and builders and architects, were largely responsible for the development of Moseley's built environment. Their activities support Dyos' theory about the significance of human agency and the complex relationships involved.²⁶³ New sales methods developed, such as advertising and catalogues, but they were much condemned by contemporary writers, as Bilston demonstrates.²⁶⁴ Detached and semi-detached villas were crucial, as Thompson suggested, and along with house type and size, plot size and strong covenants secured the suburb for the middle-class.²⁶⁵ A social hierarchy was created that accommodated, divided and displayed a subtly multi-layered middle class which coalesced into social zones similar to those detected by Cannadine in Edgbaston.²⁶⁶ Smaller lower-middle class housing increased later, but higher social groups asserted their status through house improvements. Architecture was an important signifier of class and status and connected to identity through British historic styles. The eclectic nature of the suburb indicates residents responding to

²⁶² Midgley, 'Ethnicity, "race" and empire', 247-277.

²⁶³ Dyos, *Victorian Suburb*, pp.85-127.

²⁶⁴ Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, pp.75-76.

²⁶⁵ Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, p.20.

²⁶⁶ Cannadine, 'Residential differentiation in nineteenth century towns', p.240.

changes in architectural taste and fashion over time, and this variety undermines views of suburbs as monotonous. Moseley echoed other middle-class suburbs in its development in some ways, but social zoning was less rigid, more subtle and focused in smaller sectors, increases in home ownership and entrepreneurship came later than for many and house building was of a higher standard and architecture more varied.

Middle-class suburbanites were making, moulding and preserving their own environment, helping to draw the middle-class together as a group with houses and gardens in common to form a new community with new opportunities that were, as Bilston says, so important given most were away from birth families.²⁶⁷ The next chapter focusses on suburban households and families.

²⁶⁷ Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, p.78.

CHAPTER 4

The Life Cycle of the Suburb: Families and Households in Moseley

This chapter explores who lived in Moseley's middle-class suburban households and their roles, responsibilities, relationships and experiences, how class and gender impacted on households, to what extent the household changed over time and whether a characteristic middle-class household emerges. It examines lifecycle stages - moving to the suburbs and establishing a suburban home, marriage, having and raising children, and death, as well as others who lived in the suburban household besides family members. Firstly it considers where residents were born and the costs involved in moving to suburbs, who headed up households and what occupations supported the middle-class lifestyles. It then investigates the rules, rituals and etiquette of middle-class marriage, the marital status of household heads, and widows and spinsters as household heads, workers and members of the community. It follows with a study of pregnancy, birth, parenting, family size, education, illegitimacy and disability. The chapter then assesses the servant situation and the extent of cohabitation by relatives, visitors and boarders and finally explores how residents responded to the death of family members through funerals, obituaries and material culture. Understanding who lived in Moseley and the variety of their experiences is important in appreciating the character of the suburb and its social, cultural and economic links with Birmingham and elsewhere.

The approach is two-fold, a detailed analysis of the decennial censuses, 1851 to 1901 for four roads representing a cross-section of the middle class and development over time, and case studies of nine families and households in those roads and nearby. Extensive analyses of middle-class households in the period are rare, making this chapter a contribution to suburban and middle-class studies. The roads in the sample include Church Road, an ancient highway of mixed middle-class status; Ascot Road, formed about 1873, and housing those from the middle ranks of the middle class; Queenswood Road, initially created in 1875, but slow to expand, and a lower-status road, and Chantry Road a higher-status route dating from around 1893, which was rapidly built-up.¹

Examples of families enable a number of individual human beings to populate the study. They include John and Eliza Avins and their family living from 1858 at Highfield House, Church Road, a substantial, detached, early Victorian mansion; Thomas and Marion Ellis and family living from 1880, at Sorrento, a well-to-do detached establishment built in the late 1870s in Wake Green Road, a high status ancient highway and William and Martha Adams and their family living there from 1891; Althans and Agnes Blackwell living at Brackley Dene, Chantry Road, a detached house built in 1892; three families at Maycroft, a modest 1870s semi-detached house in Ascot Road, including William and Rosalie Genge and their children in 1881, Charles Tanner, his brother, sister and niece in 1891, and William and Fanny Crompton and their family in 1901; James and Rhoda Barston and their family living in a small semi-detached house, 8, Queenswood Road in 1881, and Ann Cook and family resident there in 1891; and Sarah Powell living at 24 Queenswood Road, a terraced house, with her

¹ 426 households and 2,279 individuals were included in the census analysis. Church and Wake Green Roads were ancient highways. Ascot Road was declared a public highway in 1896, Queenswood Road in 1898 and Chantry Road in 1893.

two sisters in 1901.² Figures 4.1 to 4.6 reveal the differences in status between the nine families. Primary sources include images, maps, bills and receipts, letters, memorial cards, contemporary writings, historic newspapers, trade directories and sanitary assessments.³



Fig.4.1: Highfield House, Church Road, c.1900.⁴



Fig.4.2: Sorrento, Wake Green Road.⁵

² Censuses 1841-1901.

³ Library of Birmingham Archives (LBA), MS 1672 (Add I)(Acc 1991/137), 1927-79, MS 1672/087/8/9/90, MS 1672/087/8/9/90, MS 1272 (Acc 1995/027), The John Avins Trust Minute Books 1-2, John Avins' will and various legal documents; Moseley Society History Group, 'The Collection' (MSHGC), Reading-Blackwell Archive (RBA).

⁴ Courtesy of Mike Rhodes, Postcard.

⁵ MSHGC, (C2/D1/F4/6); (C2/D1/F10/13); (C3/D3/F6/3), Articles and Photographs.



Fig.4.3: Brackley Dene, Chantry Road, 1891.⁶



Fig.4.4: Maycroft, 11, Ascot Road. ⁷

⁶ MSHGC, (C3/D2/Artefacts A/13-14), Reading-Blackwell Archive (RBA), Photo Album.

⁷ Berry, Janet, Photograph, 2015.



Fig.4.5: Numbers 4-10, Number 8 Queenswood Road.⁸



Fig.4.6: Elleslie, Number 24, Queenswood Road.⁹

This study compares the findings of the Moseley analysis with data in other studies, particularly those provided by Michael Anderson and Eleanor Gordon and Gwyneth Nair.¹⁰

Anderson analysed a national sample drawn from the 1851 census to examine household

⁸ Berry, Janet, Photograph, 2015.

⁹ Berry, Janet, Photograph, 2015.

¹⁰ Anderson, M., 'Households, families and individuals: Some preliminary results from the national sample from the 1851 census of Great Britain', *Continuity and Change*, Vol.3. Issue 3, December, 1988, pp.421-438; Gordon, E., & Nair, G., *Public Lives: Women, Family and Society in Victorian Britain* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2003), Chapter 2, pp.34-71 and Chapter 6, pp.167-199.

size and composition, the 'conjugal' family group, residence patterns, the presence or absence of various members of family groups and co-residents.¹¹ Gordon and Nair analysed censuses for 1851 to 1891 for the Claremont Estate, Glasgow.¹² They assessed nuclear and extended families, stem and composite households, female co-residency and female household headship. Gordon and Nair, though, used a Scottish town to represent the Victorian British, the area scrutinized was wealthier than Moseley and their analyses did not extend to 1901. Other historians, including Sally Mitchell, Paula Branca, Deborah Cohen and Deborah Gorham, present statistics related to setting up a middle-class home, age at marriage, family size and servants, which not only vary, but also differ from the Moseley findings, highlighting the range of suburban experiences. Historical writing provides additional perspectives that help understand the implications of the findings. Sarah Bilston draws attention to the opportunities for reinvention promoted by frequent house moves, the commodification of suburbs and contemporaries' views on house adverts.¹³ Joanne Begiato demonstrates the tensions for men in providing for families and being present in the home and, along with John Tosh, raises other issues relating to middle-class male identity.¹⁴ Jennifer Aston highlights the previously unacknowledged contributions by women to the nineteenth-century English urban economy.¹⁵ Simon Gunn stresses the role of the extended family and the 'business of inheritance' in preserving and passing on the benefits of privilege

¹¹ See Chapter 1, footnote 39 for information on Anderson's survey.

¹² See Chapter 1, footnote 38 for information on Gordon & Nair's Claremont/Woodside survey.

¹³ Bilston, Sarah, *The Promise of the Suburbs: A Victorian History in Literature and Culture* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2019), pp.46-47, 51-52, 59,142, 147 & 191.

¹⁴ Begiato, Joanne, *Manliness in Britain, 1760-1900: Bodies, emotion and material culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020); Tosh, John, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (London: Yale University Press, 1999).

¹⁵ Aston, Jennifer, *Female Entrepreneurship in Nineteenth Century England: Engagement in the Urban economy* (London: Palgrave, MacMillan, 2016), p.34.

and cultural capital.¹⁶ Other historians, including Mitchell, Branca, Cohen and Gorham raise issues around pregnancy, illegitimacy, the role of mothers and mental and physical disabilities.¹⁷

Moving to the Suburbs

Residents in Moseley came from a range of places in Britain and abroad. About thirty-seven per cent were born in Birmingham across the second half of the nineteenth century and Birmingham predominated amongst the seven most frequent places of birth (forty-four per cent). This highlights the exodus from the city to the suburb, but also shows that a larger proportion of residents came from other areas and chose to live in an area with easy access to a city rather than live in the city. The findings are similar to those of Peter Francois who found only twenty-four per cent of Harborne household heads were born in Birmingham.¹⁸ They are similar also to Thompson's estimate that two thirds of the south London and Liverpool suburban population moved from neighbouring and largely rural areas, but are very different from Dyos's claim that the majority of Camberwell's population were born Londoners, sixty-five per cent in 1861 and seventy-six per cent in 1891.¹⁹ The proportion moving out of Birmingham to the suburb fell from forty-two per cent in 1861 to thirty-three per cent in 1891, which shows, given the expansion of the suburb, that increasing numbers

¹⁶ Gunn, Simon, 'Translating Bourdieu': cultural capital and the English middle class in historical perspective', *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol.56, No.1, 2005, pp.56-59.

¹⁷ Mitchell, S., *Daily Life in Victorian England* (London: Greenwood Press, 1996); Branca, P., *Silent Sisterhood: Middle-Class Women in the Victorian Home* (London: Croom Helm, 1977); Cohen, D., *Family Secrets: The Things we Tried to Hide* (London: Penguin Books, 2013); Gorham, D., *The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal* (London & Canberra: Croom Helm, 1982).

¹⁸ Francois, Peter, 'Migration into Harborne in the Late Nineteenth Century', *The Midland Ancestor*, Vol. 12, No.12, June, 2001, pp.492-493. He analysed the birthplaces of 119 household heads. Forty-six per cent had migrated more than thirty miles from their birthplace and thirty-two per cent had moved more than fifty miles.

¹⁹ Thompson, F.M.L., (ed.), *The Rise of Suburbia* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982), p.16; Dyos, H.J., *Victorian Suburb: A Study of the Growth of Camberwell* (London: Leicester University Press, 1966), p.59.

were coming from other areas. Twelve per cent of Moseley's residents were born in the suburb over the period, reflecting continuity as the suburb developed. Thirty-one per cent were born in Worcestershire and Staffordshire, suggesting that many moved to suburbia from the local countryside. Only thirteen per cent were born elsewhere, but some were moving long distances and moving around Britain. Just over one per cent of household members were born outside England, twelve in Scotland, including a family of husband, wife, son and six of the eight daughters, six in Ireland and one in South Wales. Others were born in Europe, the British colonies and beyond, including one each in France, Germany, the West Indies, Australia, India and South America, and two in USA and four in Canada.²⁰ This highlights global and imperial connections and brought cultural diversity to Moseley. During the nineteenth century many people left for the colonies. Thomas Ellis of Sorrento emigrated to New Zealand sometime after 1850 and succeeded in business there.²¹ He was the first proprietor of the Golden Fleece Hotel, Christchurch, and also lessee of the Ashley Gorge Station near Oxford. He returned to Moseley in 1878 to educate his family. Spinsters were encouraged to emigrate because of concern about their numbers in the population and the lack of marriage opportunities, according to Clare Midgley.²² These women were seen as having an important maternal civilising role and the colonies provided middle-class women with opportunities for employment, freedom and self-fulfilment.

The majority of case-study families were born in areas beyond Birmingham (sixty-seven per cent), and highlight a wide catchment area. Individuals born in Birmingham included John

²⁰ There were four husbands, seven wives, nine offspring, four servants (two Irish and two from Newfoundland), six pupils, one mother-in-law and one niece.

²¹ Griffiths, A., *The History of the Ellis Family: The Sorrento Connection* (Studley: History into Print, 2013), p.5.

²² Midgley, C., *Women against Slavery: British Campaigns, 1780–1870* (London: Routledge, 1992), p.264.

Avins and his son, Charles, Althans and Agnes Blackwell, Thomas Ellis, the Genge children and Ann Cook and Sarah Powell and their families. Only ten per cent were born in Moseley, including Eliza Parthenia Avins and the youngest child in the Ellis and Adams families, revealing a 'young' suburb. Eliza Avins was born in Kings Heath and Charles Tanner and his family in Lichfield. Others were born further away - William and Martha Adams and three of their children in Sheffield, William Genge in Somerset and Rosalie Genge in Surrey. Some were born much further away - Marion Ellis, in Ireland, Ernestine, Charles Tanner's niece, in France and the other Ellis children in New Zealand. Places of birth indicate that some families moved around the country, revealing a highly mobile population: William Crompton was born in London, his wife, Fanny, in Newport and their sons in Monmouthshire and Liverpool; James Barston was born in Yorkshire, his wife, Rhoda, in Hereford, their older sons in Yorkshire and the youngest one in Surrey. Bilston suggests moving to suburbia and the frequent moves provided opportunities for the middle-class to reinvent themselves; they were places of change where new lives might be acquired, especially for young women.²³ The examples show that Moseley was a diverse suburb.

For many the move to and within Moseley represented upward social mobility, for some it was a final house move, and for others, one of many moves both inside the suburb and beyond. John Avins, having moved to Highfield House, Moseley, in 1858 with his second wife, remained there until his death in 1891 and his wife and daughter continued to live there subsequently. Both Thomas Ellis and William Adams lived out their lives in Sorrento and their wives lived locally after their husbands' deaths. Althans and Agnes Blackwell of

²³ Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, pp.142 & 191.

Brackley Dene moved up in the world: they lived at 341 Moseley Road, Balsall Heath (1876-1888) and then Monterey, 11 Park Hill (1888-1892), before building their new house in Chantry Road where Althans remained after Agnes' death in 1898. Two Park Hill families moved further down the road - Mr Pickering of Park Hill House to Glen Lyn in 1890 and the Arter family of Helvellyn to Mariemont in 1896. In 1901 G.T. Piggott of Clydesdale moved over the road to No.35, Newlands, almost opposite. Maycroft in Ascot Road and the Queenswood Road houses had different occupants at each census and Maycroft was being advertised again in 1892.²⁴ For some, moving house meant falling down the social ladder, a fear that was never far away. In 1892, George William Herbert, a toy manufacturer of Wake Green Road, was in debt, a difficulty he attributed to mortgages on his Moseley house. He assigned his furniture and the equity of redemption in the Moseley house to his wife, Mary, to secure the family home.²⁵ Moving house was a costly business. In 1892, Althans Blackwell paid £3 16s 0d to John Hudson & Son of Balsall Heath for removing furniture from Park Hill to Chantry Road. This involved three men for 14½ hours @ 4s per hour and a small van with three men for 7½ hours @ 2s 6d per hour.²⁶ As Bilston says, constantly moving and the necessary involvement with advertising and estate agents do not fit easily with the emerging ideology of the home as a special site removed from the public world of commerce.²⁷ She also draws attention to contemporary criticisms of adverts as 'fraudulant' and using 'duplicitous language', which she attributes to attempts at limiting the cultural force of the

²⁴ *Birmingham Daily Post*, Tuesday 1 March & Tuesday 2 February, 1892.

²⁵ *Birmingham Daily Post*, Saturday 13 February, 1892. George Herbert was aged fifty-two at the time and his wife Mary, fifty-five. He lived at Backwood, Wake Green Road, Moseley, and had a son, Arthur G, single, aged twenty-three years and also a manufacturer, and a daughter Edith M, single, aged nineteen years. They had two servants, a cook and a housemaid.

²⁶ MSHCG, (C3/D2/A/F10/2-4), RBA, Bills and Receipts. John Hudson & Son, 72 Vincent Street, and 67 Mary Street, Balsall Heath. www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currencyconverter: £3 16s 10d in 1890 was c., £300 in 2017, 4s was c., £16 and 2s 6d was c., £10.

²⁷ Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, p.46.

middle classes.²⁸ Moving house, and moving frequently, highlights suburbs as commercial, but also socially shifting spaces.

Setting up an independent establishment was necessary on marriage for a middle-class man and, as Begiato notes, this was crucial for his sense of manliness.²⁹ Estimates for the smallest sum necessary vary: Mitchell quotes £300 and Branca £100-300.³⁰ Jane Ellen Panton, a contemporary writer on the home, stressed that rent, rates and taxes should cost no more than one tenth of an income.³¹ Most people rented; buying was not considered socially necessary, but a survey of newspaper advertisements shows that house buying increased between 1881 and 1891.³² Moseley rents averaged £55 and ranged from £30-£49 in 1881 to £40-£49 in 1890.³³ Houses cost from £675-£2,075 in 1881 and from £90-£1,270 in 1890, a significant drop that signifies recession and smaller houses built to meet the needs of the lower-middle class moving to Moseley.³⁴ These figures suggest an income in the region of £300-£600 was the minimum necessary for renting or buying a house in Moseley.³⁵ Annual salaries of £200-£700 were considered sufficient in Wanstead.³⁶ Rents and house prices in other suburbs varied significantly, but Moseley appears mid-way in the suburban economic

²⁸ Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, pp.47 & 51-53.

²⁹ Begiato, *Manliness in Britain, 1760-1900*, p.12.

³⁰ Mitchell, *Daily Life in Victorian England*, p.36; Branca, *Silent Sisterhood*, p.40. £100 in 1890 was c. £8,200 in 2017.

³¹ Panton, J. E., *From Kitchen to Garret: Hints for Young Householders* (London: Ward & Downey, 1893), p.2.

³² Kemp, P., 'Some aspects of housing consumption in late nineteenth century England and Wales', *Housing Studies*, Vol.2, No.1, 1987, p.90; Kellett, J.R., *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969), p.409. The newspaper surveyed for 1881 and 1891 was the *Birmingham Daily Mail*.

³³ The data for 1881 represents thirty-six houses in sales catalogues and for 1890, newspaper adverts. £55, £30, £49 and £40 in 1890 were c. £4,500, £2,500, £4,000 and £3,300 in 2017.

³⁴ *Birmingham Daily Mail*, Adverts for houses for sale, 1881 and 1890. £675, £2,075, £90 and £1,270 in 1890 were c. £55,400, £170,300, £7,400 and £104,200 in 2017.

³⁵ £300 in 1890 was c. £24,600 in 2017.

³⁶ Morrison, Kathryn & Robey, Ann, *100 Years of Suburbia: Aldersbrook Estate in Wanstead, 1899-1999* (London: The Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England and London Borough of Redbridge Libraries Service, 1999), pp.5 & 16.

league table. Jahn quotes rents of £30-£50 in Outer West London in 1870, and Gordon and Nair £140-£250 on the Claremont Estate in 1897.³⁷ Houses cost £250-£300 on the Oaklands Estate, Hammersmith, but £2,500-£5,000 on the Claremont Estate.³⁸ Moving to the suburbs represented the first steps away from trade towards a sought after 'quasi-rentier' lifestyle and was, therefore, a sign of economic success and securing greater social opportunities.³⁹

The costs of living in Moseley are shown by the level of rates, but there were other costs as well. Moseley rateable values were £63,000 in 1897, higher than any other Birmingham ward, but rateable values, whilst averaging £43, varied considerably.⁴⁰ On John Avins' properties, for example, they ranged from £10 to £119, the latter for his home, Highfield House.⁴¹ In 1879 Balsall Heath Local Board of Health charged Althans Blackwell £4 16s 0d for a District Rate and in 1879 he paid £5 0s 10d for Income Tax deductible from rent and House Duty.⁴² Other costs included, for example, payment for a water supply, which was expensive – up to 3s per week often for an intermittent supply.⁴³ In 1893, Althans Blackwell paid £6 8s 0d per annum for water and a 'Bath Supply' at 10s per annum in water rent due on

³⁷ Jahn, M., 'Suburban development in outer west London, 1850-1900' in Thompson, F.M.L., (ed.), *The Rise of Suburbia* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982), p.98; Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, p.18. £30, £50, £140 and £250 in 1890 were c. £2,500, £4,100, £11,500 and £20,500 in 2017.

³⁸ Reeder, D.A., 'A Theatre of Suburbs: Some Patterns of Development in West London, 1801-1911' in Dyos, H.J., (ed.), *The Study of Urban History* (London: Edward Arnold, 1968), p.269; Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, p.18. £2,500 and £5,000 in 1890 were c. £205,100 and £410,200 in 2017.

³⁹ Aston, *Female Entrepreneurship in Nineteenth Century England*, p.140.

⁴⁰ Hewston, N., *A History of Moseley Village* (Stroud: Amberley Publishing plc, 2009), p.46; LBA, BCK/MB/6/13/1, 3, 6, 11, 13, 15, 23, 24 & 26, Sanitary Rate Assessments. £63,000 and £43 in 1890 were c. £5,169,100 and £3,500 in 2017.

⁴¹ £10 and £119 in 1890 were c. £820 and £9,800 in 2017.

⁴² MSHGC, (C3/D2/A/F10/2-4), RBA, Bills & Receipts. £4 16s 0d in 1890 was c. £394 in 2017 and £5 0s 10d was c., £414.

⁴³ 3s in 1890 was c. £12 in 2017.

Lady Day and £3 9s 0d for two quarters.⁴⁴ It was costly to establish and maintain an independent middle-class household.

The generally recognised household head was the eldest male, the husband or father, or in their absence, the brother, brother-in-law or eldest son. In the Moseley sample, seventy-eight per cent of household heads were male, which meant that a significant twenty-two per cent of heads were female (Appendix C/1). Female household heads increased from twenty per cent in 1881 to twenty-five per cent in 1901 over three roads. In Claremont, Glasgow, they were more numerous and increased more significantly, averaging thirty-two per cent between 1851 and 1891 and increasing from twenty-three to forty per cent.⁴⁵ This probably reflects the greater wealth of Claremont which meant more women could remain independent. Most of the Moseley case study heads were male, except for two, Ann Cook, a widow, and Sarah Powell, single, in Queenswood Road in 1891 and 1901.

Given the costs involved, a well-remunerated occupation was required for middle-class men to marry and set up and maintain a household consistent with middle-class standards. Begiato claims that for men, providing for his wife and children was considered a demonstration of affection, nurture and devotion and was a compensation for his absence at work.⁴⁶ Most heads in the sample were in work (seventy per cent) and most of these were men (ninety-five per cent) (Appendix C/2). There were no female heads in work in 1891 in any road analysed and none in Queenswood Road across the period. The numbers of female heads in work fluctuated, but did not increase suggesting that enhanced job opportunities

⁴⁴ MSHGC, (C3/D2/A/F10/2-4), RBA, Bills & Receipts. £6 8s 0d and £3 9s 0d in 1890 were c. £525 and £283 in 2017.

⁴⁵ Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, p.169.

⁴⁶ Begiato, *Manliness in Britain, 1760-1900*, p.12.

for women were not significantly taken up by female household heads. Most female heads inherited their property and financial assets from husbands or fathers and may not have needed or wanted to work. In any case, twenty-eight per cent of female heads were over sixty years of age and the average age of female heads was fifty-two years. Male household heads in work were engaged in three groups of occupations: 'Commerce', 'Industry' and 'Professions', with most commercial occupations associated with manufacturing and industry. The balance between these changed over time. In 1891 those in 'Commerce' exceeded those in 'Industry' and the 'Professions' (forty-three, thirty-two and twenty-five per cent). In 1901 those in 'Industry' increased and 'Commerce' remained similar, but the 'Professions' fell (forty-six, forty-two and twelve per cent), which reflects the increase in lower-middle class residents. This picture suggests that commercial and industrial occupations were important income streams in provincial suburbs, as Gunn suggests.⁴⁷ The occupational profile differed between roads: more household heads in higher status roads were engaged in commercial occupations. Female heads in work included nine widows (a manufacturer, food provisions company manager, coach-ironmonger and school mistresses) and seven singletons (a proprietor of houses, laundress, school principal, school mistresses and private hospital matron). The 'the iconic industries of Birmingham' were well

⁴⁷ Gunn, Simon, 'The "failure" of the Victorian middle class: a critique' in Wolff, J., & Seed, J., (eds.), *The Culture of Capital: Art, Power and The Nineteenth Century Middle Class* (Manchester University Press: Manchester, 1988), pp.17-44; Gunn, S., *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class: Ritual and Authority and the Industrial City 1840-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp.19-20.

represented in Acocks Green, whilst Chalcots, Camden, London, comprised small manufacturers and professionals.⁴⁸

Position in the work hierarchy was particularly important to family and household status and the character of the suburb. Censuses label occupations as 'Employers', 'Employed' or 'Workers' and 'Own Account', making the subtle gradations difficult to calculate, but a general and changing picture emerges. In 1881 only Church Road had household heads identified as employers. In 1891 employers and employed were evenly balanced, but independent earners far fewer (forty-two and sixteen per cent). Workers increased significantly at the expense of employers (fifty and thirty-three per cent) by 1901. They exceeded employers, even when the higher-status Chantry Road is included (forty-six and thirty-seven per cent). The increase in workers reflects increased numbers of lower-middle class people in the suburb, a demographic change that impacted significantly on the social and built environment. Female heads in work, on the other hand, were almost exclusively employers with only two female workers, a laundress in 1871 in Church Road and a matron of a Private Hospital in Chantry Road in 1901. The difference in status of these two occupations illustrates how the census can be a 'blunt' instrument in analysis. Residents were not exclusively of one type of occupation in individual roads: employers and workers lived alongside each other, which brought a degree of social mixing. The occupations of the case-study household heads also reflect this complex picture. Althans Blackwell was an employer, part-owning a silversmithing and jewellery factory at 186/7 Warstone Lane in the

⁴⁸ *Showell's Dictionary of Birmingham* (Birmingham: Walter Showell & Sons, 1885); Olsen, D.J., 'Estate Development in London and Sheffield' in Dyos, H.J & Wolff, M., (eds.), *The Victorian City: Images and Reality Images, Vol II Shapes on the Ground: A Change of Accent* (London: Routledge, 1973), p.337.

Jewellery Quarter, Birmingham.⁴⁹ In 1891, Charles Tanner was a local scale and weight manufacturer, an employer. Three case study male household heads were commercial travellers and all were workers, including in 1881, James Barston and William Genge in drapery and in 1901 William Crompton in Iron. Middle-status Ascot Road, then, had both workers and employers, but higher-status Chantry Road only employers and lower-status Queenswood Road only workers. Camberwell was quite different, attracting an unusually large percentage of professionals.⁵⁰

Some household heads, particularly female heads, had independent means (eleven per cent of heads and forty-five per cent of female heads). Some heads were retired (six per cent of heads, six per cent of male heads and three per cent of female heads). Only two female retired heads were identified, both widows, a retired furniture dealer in 1881 and a retired book dealer in 1901. John Avins was a retired timber merchant who made his money in the family timber and japanning business in Bridge Street, Birmingham, where he was born, and in and around Worcester Wharf nearby.⁵¹ He sold up and moved to Moseley in 1858 at the age of forty-two years. Thomas Ellis was a 'Retired Sheep Farmer'. William Adams was from Sheffield. His father, a coal miner there, was a founder member of the Refuge Assurance Company and William became its Midlands Manager and then Director, moving to Birmingham in the 1880s, aged twenty-three years, to manage the Birmingham branch. Retirement did not necessarily mean an end to involvement in business. John Avins was involved in land and property development. He also bought and sold shares in a range of firms, including steamship companies, railways, canals and tramways, but also banks, mining

⁴⁹ MSHGC, (C3/D2/A/F10/2-4), RBA, Letters.

⁵⁰ Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, p.147.

⁵¹ LBA, MS1672, (Acc 1991/137), John Avins Trust Minute Book 1.

companies, construction firms, various manufactories and insurance companies.⁵² He had important business roles.⁵³ For example, he was Chairman of Cannock and Huntingdon Colliery Company, Director of Birmingham Financial Company and part of the provisional directorate launching a campaign for Sutton Coldfield Crystal Palace Aquarium and Skating Rink Co., in Cole's Royal Promenade Gardens adjoining Sutton Park.⁵⁴ He was a committee member investigating the timber accounts and affairs of the Metropolitan Railway Carriage & Waggon Co., Ltd., the assignee to John Vigrass, a Walsall Timber merchant, in an annulment bankruptcy and treasurer to a group petitioning against paying auctioneers fees when buying timber.⁵⁵ His business activities exemplify connections with the wider world.

Some men and women worked from home, showing that the work-home dichotomy was porous. Fiveland's in Alcester Road in 1889 had a separate dispensary and consulting room built for Dr Gosling.⁵⁶ Shops developed with family accommodation attached.⁵⁷ Houses were used as schools run by both men and women or couples, such as the Classical and Commercial Boarding School at Woodbridge House, Woodbridge Road run by Mr G. Sansome and his wife, Hannah.⁵⁸ Pupils were taken into homes, such as the Indian or Orphan children offered a 'happy' home by a lady in Moseley in an 1890 advert, an advert that also

⁵² LBA, MS 1672 (Add I)(Acc 1991/137), 1927-79, MS 1672/087/8/9/90, MS 1672/087/8/9/90, MS 1272 (Acc 1995/027), The John Avins Trust Minute Books 1-2, John Avins' will and various legal documents.

⁵³ *Supplement to the London Gazette*, 'John Avins of the European Bank Ltd., Highfield House, Moseley, Birmingham', 27 February, 1864.

⁵⁴ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 25 August, 1873 & 24 March, 1877; *Birmingham Journal*, 25 November, 1865.

⁵⁵ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 24 December, 1857 and 9 August, 1865; *Birmingham Journal*, 12 August, 1865; *Birmingham Gazette*, 29 April, 1865; *Herefordshire Times and General Advertiser*, 4 November, 1854; *Worcestershire Journal*, 4 and 11 November, 1854.

⁵⁶ LBA, BPKNU, BCK/MC/7/3/1, Building Plans, 1586 & 459.

⁵⁷ LBA, BPKNU, BCK/MC/7/3/1, Building Plan, 459.

⁵⁸ BCLA, *Post Office Directory of Birmingham and its Suburbs, 1867*, Sansome's Boarding School at Woodbridge House on the corner of Church and Woodbridge Roads, pp.670-671; MSHGC, (C2/D1/F10/26), Article.

highlights associations with ethnicity, race and empire.⁵⁹ Lodgers were accommodated. For example, 1890 newspaper adverts read: 'A lady has a nice comfortable home for a lady or gentleman to board with her', 'Apartments to let. Suit city gentleman or two friends' and 'Apartments for gentlemen dining out'.⁶⁰ Working at home also meant for some Moseley individuals, both men and women, commissioning houses and managing property portfolios and for women work opportunities such as dressmaking.

Most Moseley residents were from outside of Birmingham, some originating in other parts of the Britain, Europe and the colonies and frequent moves over long distances were common. Setting up home and supporting the family was important to middle-class male identity, but renting or buying a home and moving was expensive, which resulted in Moseley becoming a middle-class enclave. Most men worked in occupations related to Birmingham's industrial development, but an increase in workers in Moseley reflected the later arrival of lower-middle class residents. Not all heads needed to work and some worked at home. A number of household heads were women, few of whom worked and those who did worked mostly in domestic or educational occupations.

Middle-Class Marriage

Marriage had important economic and social implications for middle-class men and women. On marriage, men assumed economic and legal responsibility for wives and subsequent children.⁶¹ The Married Women's Property Acts of 1870 and 1882 allowed women more

⁵⁹ *Birmingham Daily Post*, Friday 21, Saturday 22, Monday 24 and Wednesday 26 March, 1890.

⁶⁰ *Birmingham Daily Post*, Friday 10 January, Saturday 11 January, Friday 14 March & Friday 11 April, 1890.

⁶¹ Davidoff, L., and Hall, C., *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2002), p.322.

control over their own property and responsibility for their own debts, and men's legal authority over wives was conditional on the extent to which his behaviour was culturally acceptable.⁶² Gunn highlights the transmission of capital – economic, social and cultural – across kin and clan through marriage links.⁶³ Many Moseley marriages were forged locally or through religious, family, business or social connections. For example, in 1893, Miss Ellen Margaret Alabaster, who lived with her parents, Edward and Fanny, at 7 Park Road, married Rev E.J. Bishop also of Park Road.⁶⁴ In 1876 Althans Blackwell advanced his career through marriage to Agnes Reading, who was a partner with her brother Nathaniel Cracknell Reading in the family Jewellery and Chain-Making business in Birmingham's Jewellery Quarter. On his marriage Althans took over Agnes' half of the business. Althans had been an accountant clerk there.

Rituals and etiquette involved in courtship, engagement and marriage were significant in establishing middle-class credentials and marking out the middle-class as a separate group. Books of 'Manners', including Florence Howell-Hall's *Social Customs* and the works of 'Mrs Beeton', guided the middle class in social behaviour, exposing them to a nationally standardised set of ideas about domestic practices.⁶⁵ The process from meeting to marriage offered opportunities to display wealth, status, tradition and style. For example, St. Agnes' Church, Moseley, was 'beautifully decorated' for the wedding of Miss Hookham and Mr

⁶² Logan, T., *The Victorian Parlour: A Cultural Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p.96; Delap, Lucy, Griffin, Ben & Wills, Abigail, (eds.), *The Politics of Domestic Authority in Britain since 1800* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009), p.3.

⁶³ Gunn, 'Translating Bourdieu', p.57.

⁶⁴ CRL, C1/10/11, *Moseley and Kings Heath Journal*, 'District Jottings', No.10, March, 1893, p.7.

⁶⁵ Howell-Hall, Florence, *Social Customs* (Boston: Estes & Lauriat, 1887); Beeton, 'Mrs', *Book of Household Management* (London: S.O. Beeton Publishing, 1866); Paterson, M., *Life in Victorian Britain: A Social History of Queen Victoria's Reign* (Philadelphia PA: Running Press Book Publishers, 2008), p.178; Delap, Griffin & Wills, *The Politics of Domestic Authority in Britain since 1800*, p.3.

Mason in 1891.⁶⁶ Mr Mason's mother wore an 'exceedingly attractive' dress of fawn and green brocade trimmed with green silk' and the Miss Hookham's mother 'a magnificent costume of rich black silk with jet trimmings'.⁶⁷ Turner, Son and Nephew sold 'wedding silks in great variety' in 1887, 'Mrs Sheldon' of Hyam & Co., wedding bonnets in 1859, James Cargory 22-carat wedding rings and William Pearsall a large selection of birthday, christening and wedding presents in 1889, all Birmingham stores.⁶⁸ After the honeymoon the Mason couple moved into a house in Mayfield Road, a road which the Dart's gossip columns considered 'specially attractive to newly married couples ... since no less than four in the last two months have settled in adjacent houses'.⁶⁹ Many Moseley children stayed in the suburb when they married. Three out of the five of Edward Holmes' thirteen children who married remained in Moseley and another lived in Edgbaston. Life-cycle ceremonies were ideal opportunities to cement family relationships and display status, whilst offspring on marriage remaining in the suburb suggests a stable community with strong kin patterns.

Most Moseley household heads were married or had been married (eighty-four per cent), more than the just under three quarters in Anderson's sample (Appendix C/1), which suggests marriage rates increased over time.⁷⁰ Sixty-one per cent were in a marital relationship on census day, leaving a significant thirty-nine per cent as widowers, widows or singletons. Widowers and single male heads were few, averaging six and sixteen per cent of male heads respectively. All the case-study male household heads were married or had been

⁶⁶ *The Dart*, 'Tittle-Tattle by Mollie', Friday 10 July, 1891, Friday 1 July 1891 & 25 May 1900.

⁶⁷ *The Dart*, 'Tittle-Tattle by Mollie', Friday 10 July, 1891.

⁶⁸ *Birmingham Post*, Tuesday 26 April, 1887. Turner, Son and Nephew, 132 and 133 New Street, Birmingham; *Birmingham Post*, Tuesday 6 December, 1859; *Birmingham Post*, Thursday 13 June, 1889. 'Mrs Sheldon' of Hyam & Co., Union Passage, Birmingham, James Cargory of 41 Bull Street, Birmingham and William Pearsall of 29 High Street, Birmingham.

⁶⁹ *The Dart: The Birmingham Pictorial*, Moseley Gossip (by Carlotta), Friday 7 August, 1891.

⁷⁰ Anderson, 'Households, families and individuals', p.430.

married, except for Charles Tanner, aged forty years in 1891. Most female household heads in Moseley were widows (seventeen per cent of all heads and seventy-nine per cent of female heads). Their numbers fluctuated, but increased towards the end of the century, suggesting widows were increasingly left with sufficient means to live independently. When John Avins died in 1891, his widow, Eliza, continued to live in their home, Highfield House, as household head. Ann Cook in a lower middle-class home was a widow aged sixty-seven in 1891.⁷¹ She too had inherited her assets from her husband. Single female heads were few in Moseley (five per cent of heads and twenty-one per cent of female heads), but increased over the period suggesting greater female independence. Single heads increased in Claremont too, and not just in lower middle-class households. Sarah Powell, living at Elleslie, Queenswood Road, and aged thirty-six years in 1901, was the only case-study example of a single female household head. She inherited her assets from her father.

There were many widows living in suburbs, given that women were likely to outlive husbands because they were younger. Just over half of Moseley husbands averaged between one and ten years older than their wives with only about seventeen per cent of wives older than their husbands. The average age of widows in Moseley varied between fifty-eight and sixty years, but not all widows were particularly elderly; only twenty-two per cent were over sixty years of age whilst thirty per cent were fifty and under. Death was ever-present for the middle class. Discovering remarriage amongst widows proved difficult, but Gordon and Nair suggest that many did not remarry, because men married younger women and widows were often not an attractive prospect financially. They might choose not to

⁷¹ LBA, MS1672, (Acc 1991/137), John Avins Trust, Minute Book 1.

remarry, of course, if they were well provided for. The ability of women to continue as household heads when older differed between Moseley and Claremont. There were more male heads over sixty than female heads in Moseley (sixty and forty per cent), but in Claremont by 1891 the opposite was the case. There were fewer single and widowed female heads over sixty in Moseley compared to Claremont (one and twenty-two per cent) and (thirty-seven and fifty-six per cent) and more over sixties were married in Moseley than in Claremont (sixty-one and twenty-one per cent). These differences reflect greater numbers of female heads in Claremont and greater wealth there. Having servants, for example, meant older people could stay independent for longer.

There were a number of spinsters in the population. Gordon and Nair claim there were just over a million unmarried women of twenty-five years and over in Britain in 1851 and suggest this meant over 400,000 'surplus women'.⁷² The proportion of unmarried women over thirty years of age in the Moseley survey between 1851 and 1901 was considerably lower than in Claremont (twenty-three to forty-four per cent), which highlights the greater wealth of Claremont that meant less economic pressure on spinsters to marry. The number of spinsters increased significantly in Moseley between 1891 and 1901, as they did in Claremont in 1891.⁷³ This was a period when Moseley expanded greatly, but also might reflect greater independence for women. Some women married in their thirties and forties, of course, but twenty per cent of all men and eighteen per cent of all women over thirty years never married in the Moseley sample in 1891, which suggests there was no shortage of men available for marriage, an outcome echoed in Claremont. Spinsterhood was the

⁷² Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, p.172.

⁷³ Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, p.173.

outcome of, for example, disparity in mortality rates, especially in infants, higher emigration rates for men, men delaying marriage and men choosing younger brides.⁷⁴ Gordon and Nair suggest some women chose not to marry, because of the loss of independence, scepticism about marriage, legal, social and financial restrictions, a growing sense of independence, the influence of suffrage and the 'New Woman', and opportunities for higher education.⁷⁵ Middle-class values of independence, self-reliance and industriousness along with religious and political ideology provided other alternatives to domesticity. Well-to-do women were better able to resist marriage and, as household heads, could wield power in the community. Rebecca Anderson, for example, was independently wealthy, maintained a large household and contributed generously through money and gifts to the Anglican churches in Moseley.

Single women and widows were expected to live with a male relative. Gordon and Nair claim that for Victorians, dependence on men was 'not only regarded as the norm, but as a badge of respectability, the natural and proper state of womanhood'.⁷⁶ John and Eliza's daughter, Eliza Parthenia, never married and lived at home with her parents until her father's death and afterwards with her mother. This cultural convention was not necessarily the case in Moseley. Some widows lived with male heads, but these were few, which suggests widows were able to remain socially and financially independent. The same was true of Claremont where they were never more than a quarter of all widows.⁷⁷ However, widows who co-resided in Moseley invariably lived with a male household head, which suggests widows left with limited resources had little choice and male household heads were a more socially

⁷⁴ Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, pp.173-174.

⁷⁵ Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, pp.173-175.

⁷⁶ Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, pp.167-169.

⁷⁷ Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, pp.167, 170-171, 187 &189.

acceptable option. There were few Moseley widows living as 'mothers' or 'mothers-in-law' in households, however, and they mostly lived with female heads. In Claremont six or seven per cent of widows were living as such between 1851 and 1881 and Gordon and Nair suggest this shows widows moved in with family only when elderly. Many Moseley spinsters aged thirty years and over lived with female household heads (forty-six per cent), slightly fewer than in Claremont (fifty-one per cent in 1851). The number in Moseley declined significantly between 1881 and 1891 (ninety-two to thirty-one per cent), which might highlight a rapidly expanding suburb and increased independence for female singletons or female heads less able to support others. In Claremont, on the other hand, the number rose steadily to sixty-seven per cent in 1891, suggesting greater dependence and more economically viable female-headed households.

The independence of widows and single females is also evident from the number of men under the protection of women household heads. In Moseley eight per cent of sons and three per cent of others (relatives, visitors and boarders), including twelve per cent of boarders, lived in households headed by women. This is much less, though, than in Claremont where thirty to thirty-eight per cent of single men over thirty were living in female-headed households. Gordon and Nair question whether men in female headed households were seen as subordinate or dependent as women in male household heads mostly were. This is especially cogent given that most of these men were a generation younger than the female heads, and boarders were in an economic relationship with them. Female household heads gave protection to unmarried women too, housing some forty-six per cent of them in Moseley as well as younger relatives and visitors.

Single and widowed women could exercise agency and choice by working outside the home. Few widows were in work in Moseley, but nineteen per cent of unmarried women, sixteen and over, were, and their numbers increased over time.⁷⁸ Rather more women in Claremont (thirty-four single women between twenty-five and sixty years) were in work, highlighting greater independence there. The majority, both in Moseley and Claremont, were governesses, teachers, dressmakers, milliners and clerks, but occupations became more diverse over time, with a particular increase in the range of clerks. Most commercial entries in trade directories for Moseley women were for school teachers, but other types of work increased from three to eight between the 1870s and the 1890s. Boarders were involved in occupations associated with industry, but otherwise occupations continued to reflect 'womanly characteristics', the 'natural' role, that justified independence.⁷⁹ Many more women in Claremont were in positions of power as employers and self-employed (nineteen and forty-three per cent) leaving employees at thirty-nine per cent. This many women in work undermines R.J. Morris's claim that women moving to suburbs 'intensified the increasing separation of workspace and domestic space' and resulted in women having less opportunities to engage in the economy.⁸⁰ Jennifer Aston points out that women's contribution to the nineteenth-century English urban economy, particularly the world of business, is unacknowledged and hidden from history.⁸¹ She shows that women in business were commonplace beyond 1850, and that they could cultivate and maintain family life and their middle-class status whilst also acting as independent economic agents. Aston also

⁷⁸ These included single female household heads (seventeen per cent), daughters (two per cent), female relatives (thirteen per cent), boarders (seventy-seven per cent) and visitors (fifty-seven per cent).

⁷⁹ Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, p.184.

⁸⁰ Quoted in Aston, *Female Entrepreneurship in Nineteenth Century England*, p.140.

⁸¹ Aston, *Female Entrepreneurship in Nineteenth Century*, pp.13, 23-24, 34, 40 & 140.

highlights how women often achieved trading in a semi-private fashion from home, but disputes that they got involved in business out of financial despair, arguing that being able to combine paid work with home life had advantages. Indeed she found only twelve per cent lived away from their business. In 1901 in Moseley, Mary Holmes, aged thirty-five, was a governess teaching morning pupils at home and Margaret Holmes, aged twenty-eight, was a music teacher. Aston notes the difficulties in retrieving information for women business owners and this also proved so in Moseley, but some experiences can be charted. One Moseley business owner, Mary Sparkes, a young widow aged twenty-seven, living with her parents and her one year old son in 1871 in 'the village', was working as a dressmaker. In 1881 she was a draper with a shop in Woodbridge Road and living alone except for her son. In 1891 Clara Evans was the household head at 40 Woodbridge Road, aged thirty-four, and a stationer living with her mother, a widow aged seventy-five with her 'own means', and her niece aged five. She featured in trade directories as a stationer throughout the 1890s. The Blackwell bills reveal women in business in Birmingham: In 1895, the Blackwells bought a 40-piece tea set and a trinket set costing £1 18s 0d from Marion Bishop, Wholesale and Retail Glass, China and Earthenware Depot, Martineau Street, Corporation Street, Birmingham.⁸² Newspaper adverts show others: 'Mrs Sheldon' of Hyam & Co., sold wedding bonnets in 1859.⁸³

Women were prominent, however, as proprietors of Moseley's many small private schools. Of twenty private schools, seventy-one per cent of the proprietors named were female, most of whom were single (seventy-seven per cent) and the rest married. Wives may well

⁸² MSHGC, (C3/D2/A/F10/2-4), RBA, Bills & Receipts. £1.18s 0d in 1890 was c. £156 in 2017.

⁸³ *Birmingham Post*, Tuesday 6 December, 1859. Hyam & Co., was in Union Passage, Birmingham.

have had a significant role in couple-run schools and many succeeded their husbands. 'Mrs May Davis', for example, ran the long established Greenhill School after the death of her husband. Taking over a family business was one of the ways in which women became business owners along with buying an established business or setting up a new business.⁸⁴ These schools, though, were not necessarily financially secure; only two ran from the 1860s to the end of the century. Gordon and Nair suggest that the formalisation and professionalization of female occupations, such as teaching and nursing, together with courses and qualification in, for example, millinery, dressmaking and art, helped expand job opportunities for women.⁸⁵ Aston suggests that legislation paved the way for women to take an independent active part in business as owners.⁸⁶ The expansion of the lower-middle class in Moseley towards the end of the century brought in more women who needed to work. More job opportunities were crucial for them and for those women who delayed or rejected marriage.⁸⁷

Mitchell claims that middle-class males tended to marry later, when they were financially secure and established, whereas Branca puts age at first marriage between twenty and twenty-four years.⁸⁸ Quantifying age at marriage in Moseley was complex, but average ages suggest Moseley men married later: the average age of Moseley male household heads varied between thirty-eight and sixty-four years and averaged forty-nine years, whilst female heads varied similarly between forty-four and sixty-four years and averaged a slightly older

⁸⁴ Aston, *Female Entrepreneurship in Nineteenth Century*, p.107.

⁸⁵ Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, p.180.

⁸⁶ The Married Women's Property Acts, 1870 and 1882, the Divorce & Matrimonial Causes Acts, 1857 and 1873, and the Infant Custody Act, 1873, which enabled women to protect earned assets.

⁸⁷ Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, p.178.

⁸⁸ Mitchell, *Daily Life in Victorian England*, p.142; Branca, *Silent Sisterhood*, p.4.

fifty-two years. A younger wife was typical in the Moseley survey. Most were younger than their husbands by one to five years or six to ten years (forty-three and thirty-seven per cent). Their average age was forty-two years and the majority were between thirty-one and forty (thirty-two per cent). Age at marriage and the age gap between case study couples varied. John Avins married his first wife in his twenties, whilst Thomas and Marion Ellis were forty-two and nineteen respectively and Althans and Agnes Blackwell were twenty-eight and twenty-nine when they married. The Adams couple were the same age, the Blackwells and Barstons were between one and five years different in age and the Genge and Crompton couples were between six and ten years. John Avins was ten years older than his second wife, Eliza, and Thomas Ellis twenty-three years older than his wife, Marion, a significant gap. These differences show how widely patterns of marriage varied.

Marriages were not always successful. Divorce became possible for ordinary people after the 1857 Matrimonial Causes Act and from 1895, judicial separations and maintenance in cases of persistent cruelty could be granted.⁸⁹ Locating divorced or separated couples in Moseley was difficult. Some women were listed in the census as married with no note of an absent husband. For example, in 1881 in Ascot Road, a married mother, aged thirty-five, with a five-month-old son was living with her parents and in 1891 a married sister-in-law with her two children aged one and four years lived with her brother-in-law. In 1890, the *Birmingham Daily Post* reported on the divorce proceedings of Kate Collins of Moseley, describing in detail her husband's drunkenness and various acts of violence, cruelty and adultery. She was granted a decree on the grounds of the adultery and cruelty by her husband, a commercial

⁸⁹ Cohen, *Family Secrets*, p.65.

traveller.⁹⁰ Divorce brought disgrace and public humiliation exacerbated by open courts and such salacious newspaper publicity.

Marriage was central to the identity of Victorian middle-class men and women. The range of rituals and traditions in the run-up to a wedding and the ceremony itself were markers of middle classness as were other aspects, such as men marrying later. Spinsters and widows, though, were not necessarily dependent and indeed often supported others. Opportunities existed for women who wanted or needed to work.

Having and Raising Children

After marriage and setting up a home, a stage in the middle-class Victorian life-cycle was having and raising children. New-borns appear to have been welcomed, given the letters and cards sent out announcing the birth and the birth columns in newspapers. The birth notice of a son to George T. Piggott and his wife of Clydesdale, Park Hill, in 1892 appeared in the *Birmingham Daily Post* and, in the same edition, the birth of a daughter to Frank H. Westwood and his wife at Hanover House in Trafalgar Road on 1 February was celebrated.⁹¹ 'Frank' wrote to his sister Ada from Moseley on 25 May, 1888, to congratulate her on her 'beautiful,' 'very kissable' daughter, possibly to be named 'Frances Emily'.⁹² An awareness of high maternal and infant mortality rates is shown in his advice that 'it is full early to be up' and the 'nurse must not let too many people see you or let them stay long' and his hope that she 'will soon be strong again'. Christenings were an important life-cycle ceremony and

⁹⁰ *Birmingham Daily Post*, Friday 8 August, 1890.

⁹¹ *Birmingham Daily Post*, Saturday 6 February, 1892.

⁹² BCA, MS220/E/1/3, Letter 5, Miscellaneous Pages, Stevens/Matthews Family (letter written by Frank from Moseley to sister Ada, 25 May, 1888).

offered another opportunity for family and kin to congregate, form close bonds and display status. William Pearsall of Birmingham advertised christening presents in 'gold, silver and electro-plate at lowest prices' in 1884.⁹³

Patricia Branca traces significant changes relating to pregnancy and childbirth in the period.⁹⁴ By the 1860s doctors were preferred over midwives because obstetrics and gynaecology had become medical specialties and doctors received midwifery training and had new instruments. Maternal and infant mortality, though, declined little despite this medical intervention, falling only slightly from 5/1,000 births in 1838 to 4.9/1,000 births in 1892. Ten per cent of children of the upper and professional classes died before the age of one and another five per cent by the age of five. Edward Holmes' daughter, Constance, had a daughter, Ella Margaret, who died within the year. Discussions in guides suggest some middle-class women were reluctant to breastfeed even though it was considered best for the baby's health and for preventing annual pregnancies. This may relate to the safer alternatives that developed: condensed milk in about 1870 and pasteurised milk and boat-shaped bottles in the late 1890s. Artificial feeding, though, brought fears about the lack of nutrition, over-feeding and the too early introduction of solid food.⁹⁵ Raising children was beset by fears for their survival and health.

Childbearing and giving birth frequently and at close intervals was a physical and mental strain on women, often compounded by late marriage and re-marriage. Most married

⁹³ *Birmingham Daily Post*, Monday 16 June, 1884 & Friday 28 August, 1885. William Pearsall, 29, High Street, Birmingham.

⁹⁴ Branca, *Silent Sisterhood*, pp.63-65, 71, 75-78, 80, 82-83, 87, 90-91, 98 & 100-102.

⁹⁵ Procter, *Infant Mortality: A Study of the Impact of Social Intervention in Birmingham 1873 to 1938* (PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham, January 2011), p.23; Branca, *Silent Sisterhood*, pp.101 & 106-7.

couples had a child within the first year of marriage at the same time as first managing a house, which naturally put strain on the couple.⁹⁶ Pregnancy after the age of thirty-five was considered unwise. Some case study wives were over this safe age when they gave birth including Ann Cook, Eliza Avins and Rosalie Genge.⁹⁷ Other case-study mothers were younger at first and last births. The average interval between births was reported to be about twenty-three months when a child had survived more than two years, and eleven months when a child died.⁹⁸ Thirty-six per cent of the babies born to case-study mothers had two-year gaps, but twenty-nine per cent only had a one-year gap. Other gaps were longer: fourteen per cent had three-year gaps whilst seven per cent each had gaps of four, five and six years. Mary Lavinia Holmes, Edward Holmes' second wife, bore ten children over twenty-eight years, an average of a birth about every two years. She was twenty-eight at the first birth and forty-three at the last one. This evidence suggests one- or two-year gaps between births were typical in Moseley and many wives were over the 'safe age' for pregnancy.

Nursing help was crucial to middle-class mothers when they gave birth. Estimating the popularity of wet-nurses is difficult, because the census does not give the type of nurse employed, though fewer adverts appeared and they were frequently criticised.⁹⁹ Nurses in Moseley varied from nought-eighteen per cent of servants across the period, but most were young which suggests they assisted mothers in caring for babies. With illness rife, despite vaccination, the medical man became advisor beyond childbirth and many manuals were

⁹⁶ Branca, *Silent Sisterhood*, p.75.

⁹⁷ Eliza Avins was thirty-six years old when she had her daughter, Eliza Parthenia Avins, and Rosalie Genge was thirty-six and thirty-eight years old when she had two of her offspring named in the 1881 census. Ann Cook was thirty-six, forty-two and forty-five years old when she was pregnant with three offspring at home named in the 1891 census.

⁹⁸ Davidoff & Hall, *Family Fortunes*, p.336.

⁹⁹ Branca, *Silent Sisterhood*, p.101.

available to support mothers in childcare, including ones by Pye Chavasse of Edgbaston, a popular Birmingham doctor.¹⁰⁰ However, patent and quack medicines costing 1 or 2s such as 'soothing syrups' which contained opiates, were used widely. 'Dr J. Collis Browne's *Chlorodyne*' purported to rapidly cut short 'all attacks of epilepsy, spasms, colic, palpitation, hysteria ...' and to be a 'true palliative in neuralgia, gout, cancer, toothache, rheumatism'.¹⁰¹ Fear of a child's death can be seen in the anxious tones of manuals on childcare.

Illegitimacy was difficult to identify in the censuses. Cohen puts illegitimate births at around 65,000 annually, but Mitchell suggests that the illegitimacy rate was low.¹⁰² For mother and child illegitimacy was a 'life-wrecking disaster' and the most common of family secrets.¹⁰³ Illegitimate children were 'parent-less-at-law' and unable to inherit automatically. Many children's institutions, such as *Barnardo's*, as well as individuals and 'experts', were opposed to the adoption of illegitimate children. Unrelated couples did adopt, but the adoption was mostly kept secret. However, one well-known family in Moseley did not hide their adoption; a marriage announcement in the *Birmingham Daily Post* clearly stated that the bride was adopted.¹⁰⁴ Anderson suggests illegitimate children were hidden as 'parent-less' grandchildren.¹⁰⁵ There were several 'parent-less' grandchildren in Moseley, such as the grandson, aged two years, living alone with the household head and his wife in 1851, or a six-year-old grandson living alone except for two servants with the sixty-eight-year-old

¹⁰⁰ Chavasse, P., *Advice to a Mother on the Management of her Children, and on the Treatment on the Moment of some of their more pressing Illnesses and Accidents* (Philadelphia: J. B., Lippincott, 1868). Dr Fennings wrote *Every Mother's Book: or the Child's Best Doctor* (London: Alfred Fennings, 1858).

¹⁰¹ *Birmingham Daily Post*, Friday 3 February, 1882.

¹⁰² Cohen, *Family Secrets*, p.113; Mitchell, *Daily Life in Victorian England*, p.143.

¹⁰³ Cohen, *Family Secrets*, pp.113, 116 & 119.

¹⁰⁴ *Birmingham Daily Post*, Thursday 30 April, 1891, 'Heaven - Waterhouse. On the 29th at St. Agnes by Rev. W.H. Colmore, George F. Heaven to Mary F. Whitehouse (Pollie), adopted daughter of George Walker of Moseley'.

¹⁰⁵ Anderson, 'Households, families and individuals', p.432.

widowed grandmother household head. However, children often went to live with grandparents or relatives when their mother died or there were difficulties at home. Cohen claims that keeping a secret was one way, like keeping a servant, of defining the middle class.¹⁰⁶



Fig.4.7: Agnes Blackwell.¹⁰⁷



Fig.4.8: Alice, Sybil and Eric Blackwell, 1910.¹⁰⁸

Branca suggests that by the end of the century, new attitudes meant that mothers were seen as important in satisfying the particular needs of children as individuals and ensuring their happiness.¹⁰⁹ This was a more intimate relationship and one considered natural for women, but the seeming reluctance to breast feed does not fit with these new ideas. The change is, though, suggested in images. The portrait of Agnes Blackwell, Althans Blackwell's

¹⁰⁶ Cohen, *Family Secrets*, p. xviii.

¹⁰⁷ MSHGC, (C3/D2/A/3), RBA, Photo Album.

¹⁰⁸ MSHGC, (C3/D2/A/3), RBA, Photo Album.

¹⁰⁹ Branca, *Silent Sisterhood*, pp.101-102, 108-110 & 338.

first wife, is a formal studio image in which she looks stiff and rigidly corseted and has her hair drawn tightly back (Fig.4.7). The portrait of Althans Blackwell's second wife, Alice, in the early twentieth century taken with their two children is very different (Fig.4.8). This image suggests the new relationship. It is informal, taken in the home, not in a studio, and they are standing rather than sitting and are on the stairs, giving a sense of movement and animation to the image. Alice has her arms around the children holding them towards her, indicating affection and attentiveness. They are casually dressed with Eric, the young son, not yet 'breached'. There is softness about Alice shown in her hair style and her dress that is far from the corseted rigidity of earlier decades. She reflects the fashionable urban bourgeois mother that Belnap-Jensen finds in fashion plates.¹¹⁰ These images, though very different, show the importance of women in transmitting cultural capital by embodying it in their own person, dress and deportment, as suggested by Gunn.¹¹¹ Mothers with large numbers of children born close together could not give their children the individual attention and watchfulness felt particularly necessary for spiritual and moral development. Thus, nurses and servants were often mother-substitutes. Ginger Frost says fathers in 'the respectable classes' helped rear their children and Begiato that fathers were considered important in creating happiness through the care, nurture and affection they gave their children when

¹¹⁰ Belnap Jensen, Heather, 'Marketing the maternal body in the public spaces of post-Revolutionary Paris' in Balducci, & Belnap-Jensen (eds.), *Women, Femininity and Public Space in European Visual Culture, 1789-1914*, pp.17-35.

¹¹¹ Gunn, 'Translating Bourdieu', p.54.

they were home from work.¹¹² The father was the ultimate legal and social authority, though.

Most married or once-married case-study families had offspring at home. There were more young families than older ones in a growing suburb. At Sorrento in 1881, the four Ellis children ranged between seven and twelve years old and in 1891 the four Adams children were between one and ten years. In 1881, the three Genge children at Maycroft were four to eight years old and the three Barston sons in Queenswood Road, seven to ten. There were families with older children at home too: in Queenswood Road in 1901 the Crompton sons were twenty-two and twenty-three years old, in 1891 the four Cook children were between eighteen and thirty-one and in 1881 Eliza Parthenia Avins in Church Road was eighteen. These examples suggest a mixed-age suburb, with both young and older families, but slightly more young families that would typify a growing suburb. The Blackwells were married for twenty-two years, but had no children. Childlessness was regretted, and came to be a source of shame, but many such couples informally adopted nephews, nieces or friends' sons.¹¹³ The Blackwells had their nephew Walter living with them. Several nephews and nieces lived in Moseley households. There was no legal adoption until 1925.¹¹⁴

In fact, many Moseley households did not have offspring at home (thirty-two per cent overall varying between nought and forty-five per cent across the period)(Appendix C/3). This might reflect the generally older profile of wives; fifty-four per cent were over forty. The

¹¹² Frost, Ginger, 'Violence and the Law', in Delap, Lucy, Griffin, Ben & Wills, Abigail, (eds.), *The Politics of Domestic Authority in Britain since 1800* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009), p.27; Begiato, *Manliness in Britain, 1760-1900*, p.12.

¹¹³ Davidoff & Hall, *Family Fortunes*, p.223; Cohen, *Family Secrets*, p.119.

¹¹⁴ Cohen, *Family Secrets*, p.115.

Victorian family is commonly associated with large numbers of offspring. Cohen states that a quarter of all British children lived in families with at least eleven siblings in the 1870s, but that having no children was as common as having three or more.¹¹⁵ The majority of Moseley households with children at home had between one and two children averaged over the period (seventy-three per cent), with twenty-six per cent having one, twenty-eight per cent two and nineteen per cent three (Appendix C/3). Anderson's 1851 sample was similar with twenty-four per cent with one offspring at home and forty-four per cent with one or two, suggesting little change occurred.¹¹⁶ Anderson found no sibling groups larger than ten and only two of that size. In the Moseley survey there were fifteen households with over five offspring at home, but the largest two had nine. Many widows and widowers had offspring at home (Seventy-four per cent of widows and sixty-one per cent of widowers). There were more daughters over thirty than sons in the home in both Moseley and Claremont, suggesting that many unmarried daughters remained at home in the longer term.¹¹⁷ John Avins' son from his first marriage does not appear in any census until 1891 when he was aged forty-six years, single, and living on his own means. He may well have been visiting as his father died that year, though the census does not say that. He married Alice, youngest daughter of the late Thomas Toon of Sugnall, Staffordshire in 1892 and was living in Chebsey, Staffordshire in 1901.¹¹⁸ In 1901 three sons and two daughters in their late twenties and thirties were still living at home with their parents, Edward and Mary Lavinia Holmes. Mitchell, Cohen and Branca suggest families got smaller towards the end of the

¹¹⁵ Cohen, *Family Secrets*, p.110.

¹¹⁶ Anderson, 'Households, Families and Individuals', p.431.

¹¹⁷ Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, p.40.

¹¹⁸ *Birmingham Daily Post*, Thursday 2 June, 1892.

century, but in Moseley the decline was slight (thirty-eight to thirty-three per cent).¹¹⁹ The national birth rate fell from an average of 34.1 per thousand of the population in 1851-1860 to 29.9 in 1891-1900, and in Birmingham from 42.5 in 1876 to 29.2 in 1905.¹²⁰ Mitchell and Cohen cite later marriages, contraception, the unfeasibility of large families given demands for increased and elaborate child care and the costs of education.¹²¹ Contraception became more acceptable, and uptake increased because of new devices, mass production and mass advertising.¹²² Advertising was directed at women putting them in control and thus middle-class women contributed significantly to female emancipation.¹²³

Widowers frequently remarried, partially motivated by the need for someone to run the household and look after children, which could lead to complicated stepfamilies and half-families. John Avins remarried following the death of his first wife, Hannah, in 1847, but his son, Charles, from this first marriage was eighteen years old when his stepsister, Eliza Parthenia, was born. Edward Holmes remarried after the death of his first wife and had a further ten children to add to the three he had had with his first wife. Althans Blackwell's first wife, Agnes, died in 1898, but they were childless. He remarried in 1901 and subsequently had two children. In 1891 a twelve-year-old stepson lived in a family with an eleven-month-old son of the new marriage in Church Road. In Chantry Road in 1901, the household head was a retired builder, aged sixty-nine, his wife was thirty-nine years old, a

¹¹⁹ Mitchell, *Daily Life in Victorian England*, pp.142-143; Cohen, *Family Secrets*, pp.130-131; Branca, *Silent Sisterhood*, pp.110, 114, 116-117. Mitchell and Cohen claim that families grew smaller in the second half of the nineteenth century and Branca agreed.

¹²⁰ Procter, *Infant Mortality*, p.32.

¹²¹ Mitchell, *Daily Life in Victorian England*, pp.142-143.

¹²² Mitchell, *Daily Life in Victorian England*, pp.142-143; Cohen, *Family Secrets*, p.130.

¹²³ Cohen, *Family Secrets*, pp.130-131.

son, a marine engineer, was aged twenty-one and there were two daughters aged nine and eleven years.

The home was considered a crucial site for educating children. Samuel Smiles wrote: 'The Home is the crystal of society – the nucleus of national character and from that source issue the habits, principles and maxims which govern public as well as private life'.¹²⁴ Gunn points out how women had a crucial role in transmitting cultural capital through educating the next generation in middle-class codes and competences.¹²⁵ Middle-class education was gender-differentiated. Many girls were educated at home by their mother and as they grew older girls were expected to help in the home and develop domestic skills. Even the least expensive girls' boarding schools were well beyond the financial means of most (£25 per annum).¹²⁶ Edward Holmes' sister, Julia, attended a girls' school, Manor House, Rugby, in 1841, which was run by Harriet Thrupp. Charlotte Thrupp ran a school in School Road where the Holmes family lived, which suggests a connection. His daughter, Elizabeth boarded at a girls' school in Spring Hill, Yardley in 1871. Some girls attended day schools, of which there were several in Moseley, including The Vale, Wake Green Road.¹²⁷ Boys on the other hand, mostly had schooling from six to fourteen years or so. Greenhill School, Ascot House, off Ascot Road, was a typical large, elegant boarding school for boys set in its own grounds. Edward Holmes' son, Edward Briggs Holmes, attended a boy's school in Rugby. Advertisements for girls' schools highlighted languages and music, whereas those for boys'

¹²⁴ Quoted in Cordea, D.A., 'The Victorian household and its mistress: social stereotypes and responsibilities', *Journal of Humanistic and Social Studies*, Year II, No.4, 2011, p.14.

¹²⁵ Gunn, 'Translating Bourdieu', p.55.

¹²⁶ Cordea, 'The Victorian Household and Its Mistress', pp.9 & 14.

¹²⁷ LBA, F/6 LF 55.4 LF 55.4260592, Programme; *Birmingham Daily Post*, Saturday 15 September, 1888, Advert: 'The Vale, Wake Green Moseley, the Misses Hudson and Simmons. Resident French and German teachers. Visiting Masters and Mistresses Music and singing – Mr Gaul and Miss Cooper. Kindergarten entirely separate from higher school. Winter Term begins Tuesday September 16'.

schools emphasised the quality of staff, education, facilities, moral training, exams and the classics and preparation for public schools and Cambridge and Oxford Universities.¹²⁸ Going away to school could be stressful and returning home for the holiday necessitated adjustments for both offspring and families. Walter Reading wrote that 'Charles' was starting at Bishop Stortford and 'facing it bravely'.¹²⁹ After schooling, boys were trained as apprentices, or worked in the family business. Some boys went on to university, especially in an ambitious family. Gunn stresses that the expectation of high educational qualifications were forms of cultural inheritance to be passed on to the next generation, particularly for the lower-middle class.¹³⁰

Gender differentiation carried on into adulthood and work (Appendix C/5). More sons were in work than daughters (thirty-two and thirteen per cent) and the numbers of sons and daughters working increased, though less markedly for daughters than sons (forty-seven and twenty-one per cent). More lower-middle class moved to Moseley and this opened up job opportunities for women. Daughters in work were all workers, but fourteen per cent of sons in 1881 were employers, increasing by 1901 to twenty-two per cent, highlighting male status advantages. Fourteen per cent of sons, but no daughters, operated their own account in 1881, but by 1901, fewer sons, but more daughters did (two and four per cent), showing increasing numbers of daughters establishing themselves independently in work situations

¹²⁸ *Birmingham Daily Post*, Monday 16 June, 1884 & Saturday 15 September, 1888, Adverts: '*Greenhill School*, led by May Davis BA and 'Mrs Davis', formerly Miss Thrupp, and by competent masters. Boys from 8 prepared for Public Schools. Especial attention to home comforts. Large house, beautifully situated on deep gravel soil and good cricket field and gymnasium. Half-term commences June 17'; '*Arnold School*, Moseley near Birmingham affords thorough and comprehensive education and careful Moral training, Liberal arrangements for boarders. RE-OPENS September 17. Prospectus etc., upon application. Jos. G. Bullivant MCP, First- Class Government Certificate'.

¹²⁹ MSHGC, (C3/D2/A/F10/2-4), RBA, Letter.

¹³⁰ Gunn, 'Translating Bourdieu', p.56.

and greater female liberation. Most sons and daughters in work were twenty years of age and over (twenty-five and sixteen per cent). Sons were in commercial and industrial occupations, but daughters were mostly in educational, artistic, and secretarial roles, reflecting contemporary gender attitudes. All the sons in the case-study families were in work, both as employers and workers. Employers included William Crompton, a manufacturer of cardboard boxes, and William Cook, a shoe manufacturer, whilst workers included James Crompton, an insurance clerk, and Thomas Cook, a wholesale hosier's assistant. Eliza Parthenia Avins was dependent on her parents, as were Alice and Emily Cook. Gunn emphasises that, for the lower middle-class, the passing on of social position was more important than passing on family businesses and the transmission of cultural capital involved encouraging children to enter stable white collar occupations.¹³¹

Establishing the prevalence of mental and physical disabilities amongst children and adults in Moseley proved problematic. None were identified in census returns.¹³² Cohen claims that 'For Victorians an imbecile child was certainly an affliction, but not one that would be hidden away from friends and neighbours'.¹³³ The introduction of compulsory education highlighted learning difficulties and initially advances in 'training' mentally handicapped children were reported on in the same way as other great scientific marvels of the age.¹³⁴ However, many physicians came to believe that 'feeble-mindedness' was hereditary and this introduced shame and embarrassment as it reflected badly on the family's genetic stock.¹³⁵ During the

¹³¹ Gunn, 'Translating Bourdieu', pp.56-57.

¹³² The 1851 and 1861 forms had 'Blind, deaf or dumb', 1871 and 1881 'Imbecile and lunatic', 1891 'Idiot' and in 1901 'Feeble-minded'.

¹³³ Cohen, *Family Secrets*, p.78.

¹³⁴ Cohen, *Family Secrets*, p.80.

¹³⁵ Cohen, *Family Secrets*, pp.84 & 93.

second half of the nineteenth century there was a dramatic shift to purpose-built institutions, such as The Midland Counties Asylum for Idiots at Knowle.¹³⁶ This institution largely catered for children and adults from the middle class and Moseley residents of standing, such as T.C. Sneyd-Kynnersley, supported it, which suggests Moseley families might have used its facilities.¹³⁷

Fear of maternal, infant and child mortality stalked even the middle class despite medical improvements. Frequent births strained mothers, and nurses, often untrained, were employed to help out. The relationship between mothers and children was elevated, but some reluctance to breastfeed questions how far this reached. Most families were small and many did not have children at home. Gender differentiation dominated child rearing, and education and work opportunities for offspring.

Others in Suburban Households

The analysis explored the range of other people who made up some Moseley households - servants, relatives, visitors and boarders, an aspect of Victorian middle-class life that has not been investigated to any extent previously (Appendix C/6-7). Servants were crucial to the middle class. They were a status symbol and not only necessary to good housekeeping, but also to 'self-respect and social dignity'.¹³⁸ Live-in servants helped shape the character of

¹³⁶ Jackson, M., *The Borderlands of Imbecility: Medicine, Society and the Fabrication of the Feeble Mind in Victorian and Edwardian England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p.23.

¹³⁷ *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, Saturday 22 May, 1869 & Saturday 1 July, 1871. Press articles and adverts named this institution as *The Midland Counties Middle-Class Idiot Asylum* in 1869 and 1871. 'Middle-Class' appeared in its title in 1869 and 1871 and in 1882, the institution was described as for those 'above the pauper class' and 'the poor artisan or small shopkeeper'. In 1893, it was 'intended for the reception, care and education of imbecile persons, especially children of the necessitous middle class'; *Birmingham Daily Post*, Wednesday 8 November, 1882; *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, Saturday 22 July, 1871.

¹³⁸ Lochhead, M., *The Victorian Household* (London: John Murray, 1964), p.30.

households and suburbs by bringing significant numbers of working-class people into the middle-class home and community.¹³⁹ Between 1851 and 1881, eleven million of the fourteen million working population were employed in domestic service (seventy-nine per cent) and this number rose in 1891.¹⁴⁰ However, twenty-per cent of Moseley households did not have a residential servant, a surprising finding given that having a servant was such a key marker of middle-class status (Appendix C/6). Fifty-seven per cent had only one servant, another surprising factor given that many houses in Moseley were large. Only thirty-six per cent had two servants and three per cent three. This does not reflect the relationship between the number of servants and the nature of the home suggested by historians. Households with fewer than three servants meant modest establishments according to Gorham.¹⁴¹ Calder and Tosh claim three servants were necessary for a 'standard establishment', whilst Barrett and Phillips consider that four meant well-to-do establishments.¹⁴² Estimates of income necessary do not tally with the Moseley experience either. Branca and Gorham claim that £100-£300 was necessary for one servant, £300-£400 for two, and £400-£500 for three.¹⁴³ The estimate of income necessary to live in Moseley was £400-£600. The number of servants connects with social status: there were fewer servants across the period in Queenswood Road, a lower status area.

¹³⁹ Barrett, H., & Phillips, J., *Suburban Style: The British Home, 1840-1960* (London: Little, Brown and Company, 1993), p.24.

¹⁴⁰ Bryden, I., & Floyd, J., (eds.), *Domestic Space: Reading the Nineteenth-Century Interior* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), p.104.

¹⁴¹ Gorham, *The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal*, p.10.

¹⁴² Calder, J., *The Victorian Home* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1977), p.167; Tosh, *A Man's Place*, p.19; Barrett & Phillips, *Suburban Style*, p.24.

¹⁴³ Branca, *Silent Sisterhood*, pp.43-44; Gorham, *The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal*, p.10. £100 in 1890 was c., £8,200 in 2017.

Moseley's residential servants were almost all women (ninety-seven per cent). Domestic service was one of the few occupations available to working-class women and before 1900 half of all women in the workforce were in domestic service.¹⁴⁴ Male servants were higher-status, but more expensive and mostly associated with the carriage class and gardening. Male servants were few in Moseley, suggesting the carriage class and houses with large gardens were less frequent. The thirty-three per cent in Anderson's survey suggests very different suburban social profiles.¹⁴⁵ Almost all Moseley servants were single (one per cent married and one per cent widows) and mostly young. Male servants were from fifteen to thirty-eight years old and female servants nineteen to thirty years, and they averaged twenty-four and twenty-three years respectively. Most servants fell into the fourteen to twenty age group (fifty per cent of males and thirty-three per cent of females), but thirty-one per cent of female servants were twenty-one to twenty-five years of age. The most popular residential servant was the 'General' servant (forty-four per cent). Cooks were the second most popular (nineteen per cent), closely followed by housemaids (seventeen per cent). Nurses were frequent (eight per cent), but other female servants less so.¹⁴⁶ Of the male servants, farm workers and coachmen were twenty per cent each, pages thirteen per cent and the rest seven per cent.¹⁴⁷ Combinations of servants indicated well-to-do homes: for example, the governess, housemaid, cook and nurse in Church Road in 1871, the parlour maid, cook and three housemaids in Ascot Road in 1891 and the lady's companion, nurse, parlour maid, cook and housemaid in Chantry Road in 1901. Governesses were not typical,

¹⁴⁴ Barrett & Phillips, *Suburban Style*, p.24.

¹⁴⁵ Anderson, 'Households, Families and Individuals', p.427.

¹⁴⁶ Domestic workers were five per cent and servants two per cent, whilst the rest (sewing, governesses, housekeepers, parlour maids and lady's/mother's helps) were one per cent or less (kitchen maids and lady's companion).

¹⁴⁷ The rest included errand boy, groom, groom/gardener, gardener, stable boy and valet.

because they cost about £15-£100 per annum.¹⁴⁸ Nineteen were identified in Moseley. The gender, age and type of servants carried important messages about middle-class suburban households.

Most of the case-study families had servants and this reflected social and financial status and changing circumstances, but not necessarily family size. The Avins family of three at Highfield House employed three servants in 1861, a cook, general domestic and groom. They had four servants in 1871, a cook, governess for Eliza then aged eight years, housemaid and groom-cum-gardener. In 1881 they had four servants, a cook, two housemaids and a coachman. In 1891 they had four servants, a cook, parlour maid, housemaid and a stable boy-cum-groom and in 1901 they had five servants, a cook, parlour maid, housemaid, a gardener and a companion for Eliza Avins following her husband's death. Servants, a governess, companion and resident gardener mark them out socially as well-to-do and the grooms, stable-boy and coachman show they were 'carriage class'.¹⁴⁹ The Ellis family of six at Sorrento had two servants, both labelled 'servants' in 1881, but the Adams family, also of six, there in 1891 had three servants, a cook, housekeeper and a 'servant'. Having a housekeeper was the sign of a more refined and well-to-do household. The two Blackwells at Brackley Dene had two servants in 1901, a cook and housemaid. The Maycroft household of five in Ascot Road had two servants in 1881, a governess and a general servant, but the smaller family of three there in 1891 also had two, a cook and housemaid, and that of four in 1901 had only one, a general servant. The Barston and the Powell households of five and three members in the lower-middle class Queenswood Road, in 1881 and 1901 had a general servant, but Ann

¹⁴⁸ Branca, *Silent Sisterhood*, p.46. £15 and £100 in 1890 were c., £1,200 and £8,200 in 2017.

¹⁴⁹ Most in Church Road had one servant in 1861, two in 1871, one in 1881 and 1891 and one or two in 1901.

Cook and her two sisters in 1891 did not have a servant. The ages of these family servants varied: the Avins' female servants averaged twenty-eight years and their male servants twenty-three years, five others were fourteen to twenty years old, eight were over twenty, and the oldest was thirty-nine. Wealthy Moseley residents with very large establishments, such as Uffculme, Richard Cadbury's home, kept a great many servants (Fig.3.20). In Bromley, Kent, the large detached villas accommodated three or more servants, but Camberwell attracted a substantial one-servant class.¹⁵⁰ No information was available on non-residential servants coming into Moseley homes. The variety in the number and type of servants in the home had serious implications for women's work load and leisure time.

Servants did not always remain long which was disruptive for the family and a source of anxiety for the mistress of the house. The Hawthorns, Ascot Road, had two adverts for servants in the *Birmingham Daily Post* within three years.¹⁵¹ The Maycroft household was again looking for a general servant in 1895.¹⁵² The language of newspaper adverts shows that attracting servants was difficult and signals what enticements were thought necessary. Terms used included 'small family', 'family of four', 'family of three', 'girl kept', 'nurse kept', 'plain cooking', and 'good wages', although one states sternly that 'only steady girls who know their work need apply', which suggests negative experiences.¹⁵³ Establishing and

¹⁵⁰ Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, 1982, p.44; Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs* p.147.

¹⁵¹ *Birmingham Daily Post*, Wednesday 14 May, 1884, Monday 3 February, 1890, & Wednesday 1 November, 1893.

¹⁵² *Birmingham Daily Post*, Monday 8 April, 1895, Advert: 'General servant wanted, about 16 years, must wash, 2 in the family, Maycroft, Ascot Road (by Moseley Station)'.

¹⁵³ *Birmingham Daily Post*, Wednesday 14 May, 1884, Monday 3 February, 1890 & Wednesday 1 November, 1893, Adverts: 'General servant (experienced) wanted immediately for a small family, nurse kept, good wages, Ivythorpe, Ascot Road, Moseley'; 'Woman (25-30) wanted to do plain cooking, family of 3, young girl kept, The Hawthorns, Ascot Road. Apply after 6 p.m.'; 'General servant (good) wanted, four in family, part washing, Gordon house, Church Road, Moseley'; The Hawthorns, 6, Ascot Road, cook and housemaid, 'only steady girls who know their work need apply, family of 4, wages £18 and £14'.

maintaining authority on the part of the mistress of the house was sometimes problematic. Margaret Beetham shows that mistresses attempted to control servants' reading matter to minimise the opportunities for interiority as a strategy for asserting domestic authority.¹⁵⁴ The workload was also a source of great tension and though the relationship between mistress and servant could be 'very intimate and intense', servants could also feel socially isolated within the household.¹⁵⁵ Separation from their families must have underpinned a sense of isolation too. Most Moseley servants were born in Birmingham and local counties including Staffordshire, Worcestershire and Warwickshire as well as Gloucestershire and Shropshire. Servants from outside England and Britain brought a sense of ethnicity, race and imperialism to the suburb. In Chantry Road in 1901 there was a general servant born in Peshawar, India, working for Thomas Carter, a Presbyterian Minister. There were two Irish servants. Midgley draws attention to how Irish women coming over to England were mostly in low income jobs.¹⁵⁶ The case study family servants were born in the West Midlands area, Staffordshire, Worcestershire, Gloucestershire, Nottinghamshire and London. Servants were typical in their gender, age, types and place of birth, but were not necessarily the indicator of middle-classness that has been supposed.

Others in suburban middle-class home included relatives, visitors and boarders. However, surprisingly few of these were found in the Moseley households surveyed. They resided in eight to twenty per cent of households across the censuses and eleven per cent overall (Appendix C/7). There were slightly more females (fifty-seven per cent) than males, but men

¹⁵⁴ Beetham, Margaret, 'Domestic Servants as Poachers of Print: Reading, Authority and Resistance in late Victorian Britain', Chapter 8, pp.185-204, in Delap, Lucy, Griffin Ben & Wills, Abigail, (eds.), *The Politics of Domestic Authority in Britain since 1800*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009), pp.2 & 186-196.

¹⁵⁵ Branca, *Silent Sisterhood*, p.56.

¹⁵⁶ Midgley, 'Ethnicity, "race" and empire', p.253.

increased over time, which might reflect widening job opportunities in Birmingham, whereas women declined from 1881 suggesting there were more opportunities for independent living. There were, though, significantly more relatives and boarders in Queenswood Road, but fewer visitors, which suggests additional income from boarders and relatives was more necessary in lower status roads, that relatives of lower-middle class families were less able to support themselves economically and visitors could not easily be accommodated. A surprising number of 'others' were in work, twenty-eight to fifty per cent and forty-one per cent overall enabling many to contribute to the home financially. They were involved in a variety of jobs, with women mostly in educational and fashion-related roles.

There were many reasons why relatives might go to live with family, including death or illness of partner or parent, infirmity, financial difficulties, joblessness, a work opportunity in the family firm and to help those with young children and the elderly, lonely, sick, widowers or male singletons. Single women or widows could enjoy some authority in this way but, if financially dependent, they were vulnerable. Relatives in the home were fewer than expected in Moseley, varying between nought and twelve per cent (Appendix C/7). Queenswood Road had most in 1891 and 1901 (twelve per cent), but many were financially independent (sixty-seven and forty-seven per cent), providing welcome financial support in a lower-status road. Ascot Road had most relatives in 1881 (nine per cent), eighty-three per cent of whom were dependent, but this more affluent road could more easily sustain the financial burden. There were more female relatives in the home than males overall (sixty-five per cent), which supports the convention of giving women a home when needed, but also points to women helping family out. However, the percentage of males increased

(twenty-six to thirty-six per cent), which might reflect more male relatives living with family to take advantage of Birmingham job opportunities. Female relatives outnumbered men by almost two to one in the Anderson sample too and predominated in Claremont.¹⁵⁷ Most relatives (forty-nine per cent) lived with married household heads, but many widows had the resources to support others (twenty-two per cent).

All types of relatives were represented in the home in Moseley, except for uncles and male cousins (Appendix C/4). The most frequent male relatives were brothers, nephews, grandsons and brothers-in-law (thirty-four, eighteen, sixteen and fourteen per cent), and the most frequent female relatives were sisters, nieces, granddaughters and sisters-in-law (thirty-three, twenty-two, ten and ten per cent). Anderson found six uncles, five aunts, twelve cousins and two great-grandchildren.¹⁵⁸ 'In-laws' in Moseley were twenty-one per cent, grandchildren twelve per cent with a slight majority for girls, and parents of household heads six per cent. In Anderson's sample, grandchildren were a far more significant group, the largest group of relatives, almost forty per cent, with girls forming a very slight majority. Anderson's 'parent-less' young persons living separately from their parents included nieces, nephews and grandchildren, and were sixty-one per cent. In Moseley nieces, nephews and grandchildren under fifteen years accounted for far less (twenty-one per cent), possibly because improved medical interventions after 1851 meant fewer parental deaths or families were more able to maintain independent households and employ servant support. In 1871 three of Edward Holmes' daughters were sent to stay with others including maternal grandparents, an aunt and uncle and friends: his wife, Mary Lavinia, had given birth to

¹⁵⁷ Anderson, 'Households, Families and Individuals', p.426; Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, p.41.

¹⁵⁸ Anderson, 'Households, families and individuals', p.426.

children in 1869, 1870, and 1871. In Moseley, nieces exceeded nephews considerably, and together they accounted for twenty-one per cent of relatives, whereas in Anderson's sample, whilst nieces exceeded nephews, together they were only almost seventeen per cent. This might suggest an increase in older people living independently and nieces and nephews giving support or companionship or perhaps young relatives taking advantage of accommodation when working away from home. Unmarried daughters and sisters were the most frequent co-residing categories in Moseley, and also in Claremont, which tallies with the conventional picture of spinsters living with parents or siblings to look after children or keep house.¹⁵⁹ However, the majority of daughters and sisters lived in female-headed households and were not social dependents of men. They were often living and working with one or more sisters, on a more equal footing, such as the three sisters and an aunt who ran Woodrough School in 1881. Aston also found women in business partnerships and frequently with sisters and relatives.¹⁶⁰ In any case, a daughter who remained at home was likely to spend longer living with the mother than the father given men's early death, and ultimately became household head. Not all unmarried women lived as daughters or sisters in households: some were closely involved with children as surrogate mothers, especially to nephews and nieces.¹⁶¹ Living in female-headed households shows that not all kin were taking economic and social shelter.

Relatives in the home covered a wide age span: one to eighty years for male relatives and two to seventy-seven years for female relatives. Male relatives averaged twenty-five years and females thirty-one years. Most male relatives were aged between one and ten years

¹⁵⁹ Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, p.177.

¹⁶⁰ Aston, *Female Entrepreneurship in Nineteenth Century England*, p.120.

¹⁶¹ Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, p.178.

(twenty-six per cent) and twenty-one to thirty (twenty-four per cent), whilst most female relatives were spread more evenly. Mixed ages lived together and could be a support and companion for each other. In Chantry Road in 1901, a single granddaughter, aged twenty, lived with her grandmother, Anne Green, a widowed head, aged seventy-two. Where there were wider age ranges such as the elderly and young children living together, more complex problems might have arisen. The number of co-residing relatives in work varied from one to sixty-three per cent and averaged thirty-three per cent. Far more of those in work were male relatives (sixty per cent), particularly in 1891 and 1901 as the suburb expanded. This suggests that in many cases this was primarily an economic or occupational arrangement with regard to male relatives, but a domestic arrangement for women. Many relatives, though, were financially dependent (sixty-seven per cent).

The case study households represent many of these patterns of kin co-residency. Althans Blackwell, a widower in 1901, gave a home to his nephew, Walter Reading, aged twenty-six whilst he worked in the family firm. In 1891, Charles Tanner, a single household head at Maycroft, Ascot Road, had his widower brother, Ernest, aged thirty-seven years, a niece, Ernestine, Ernest's daughter, aged eight years, and Charles's spinster sister, Fanny, aged thirty-four, living with him. However, Charles's brother and sister were financially independent. His brother, Ernest, was a wholesale jeweller of gold, an 'employer', and Fanny had her own income. Anderson says lone parents were more likely to appear as secondary families within households, like Ernest and Ernestine, than to have their own household.¹⁶² Sarah Powell, a single household head, had her two spinster sisters, Emily and Rose, aged

¹⁶² Anderson, 'Households, families and individuals', pp.428-429 & 431.

thirty-four and twenty-eight respectively, living with her in 1901 in Queenswood Road. They did not work, but had their own means.

There were few visitors living in Moseley households. They varied from nought to seven per cent and were only three per cent overall (Appendix C/7). They were far less than Anderson's twelve per cent.¹⁶³ They were mostly female (seventy-six per cent). Visitors increased between 1891 and 1901, particularly women, suggesting greater freedom for women. A surprising number of visitors were in work (forty per cent), which belies the conventional description of visitor. Governesses, lady's companions and housekeepers were frequently listed as visitors, separating them socially from less educated servants. One housekeeper (Ascot Road, 1901) and two lady's companions (Ascot Road, 1881 and Chantry Road, 1901) were listed as visitors, for example. Other visitors in work, though, were involved in a variety of occupations. Sixty per cent of visitors in Church Road were independent, but in 1891 no visitors to any of the roads were in work. In 1901 the largest proportion of visitors in work was in Queenswood Road (seventy-five per cent), a lower-status road where households needed economic support. Some visitors had their own means, but sixty per cent were dependent overall, a significant drain on family finances. Visitors also varied in age. Male visitors ranged from eight to fifty-two years old and averaged twenty-six years, while female visitors ranged from nineteen to forty-seven years and averaged an older thirty-two years, and surprisingly did not include older groups. There were more male visitors in the twenty-one to thirty age group (twenty-five per cent) and more females in the older thirty-one to forty group (twenty-seven per cent), perhaps

¹⁶³ Anderson, 'Households, families and individuals', p.429.

signalling different motives for visiting – work as opposed to friendship and practical support. Eighty-two per cent were spread singly, with ten per cent of households having two visitors and eight per cent three. Anderson found far more visitors in groups of two or more (fifty-six per cent). In smaller houses such numbers may have been difficult to accommodate comfortably. Married household heads in Moseley were most likely to welcome visitors (sixty-five per cent), but many were with widows (twenty-two per cent), whereas only six per cent were with widowers. None of the case-study households had visitors at any census time.

Taking in boarders was essential to relieve the financial strains of maintaining a household for some, particularly in less affluent roads. Boarders were unusual in Moseley, accounting for only two per cent of household members across the period, highlighting the suburb as well-to-do (Appendix C/7). This was far fewer than the twelve per cent in Anderson's sample.¹⁶⁴ Queenswood Road had significantly more boarders in 1881 (thirteen per cent) than other roads, suggesting a lower-status road and the need for financial support. The proportion of boarders overall varied across the period between nought and thirteen per cent with male boarders increasing particularly in 1891 and 1901 as Moseley developed. Boarders included those unable or unwilling to set up their own homes, those too young or elderly to live independently or those taking advantage of accommodation accessible to work and this is reflected in the profile of Moseley boarders. There were far more male boarders (sixty-nine per cent) than female boarders. Most boarders were in their twenties, but most male boarders were eleven to thirty years (sixty-eight per cent), suggesting some

¹⁶⁴ Anderson, 'Households, families and individuals', p.428.

were scholars or apprentices. Female boarders were on average slightly older than male boarders (thirty-four and twenty-nine years). Living as a boarder may have been more acceptable for older women. Boarders were mostly single (sixty-seven per cent), with single females seventeen per cent, but some were married males, widowers or widows, (seven, five and five per cent). For singletons, widows or widowers, being a boarder was a practical option compared to maintaining an independent home or living with family and necessary for those working away from home. Almost all boarders lived singly in households (ninety-two per cent). A few lived with one other boarder (six per cent), but only two per cent of households had three boarders. Many boarders were in work (sixty-four per cent) in a variety of occupations and these were mostly men (seventy per cent). Female boarders in 1881 and 1891 were teachers, two in 1881 (a twenty-year old assistant school mistress and a twenty-eight year old school mistress), and one in 1891 (the principal of a Girls' Day school aged fifty-seven years). By 1901, there were three female boarders in work, a dressmaker's assistant aged sixteen, an assistant warehouse worker, aged twenty-two, and a manufacturing clerk, aged twenty-five, very different occupations from earlier years showing how jobs for women had expanded and that young women could take jobs and live independently. Others were residential teachers in schools, in superior servant positions such as governesses, or had their 'Own Means'. All the Queenswood Road householders had boarders. The Barston family in 1881 had two boarders, a single schoolmistress, aged twenty-three years, and a single assistant schoolmistress, aged twenty. Ann Cook in 1891 had a single male lodger, aged twenty-five years, a Provisions Agent and Broker. Sarah Powell in 1901 had a single female boarder, Rebecca Weavell, aged twenty-five years, a Manufacturer's Clerk, a worker.

The prevalence of extended families and their relationship to class has been explored by historians. Anthony Howe found extended families comprised twenty-three per cent amongst Lancashire cotton masters in 1851 and Stephen Ruggles, twenty per cent in 1871 in Wisconsin and Lancashire.¹⁶⁵ Ruggles designated the high Victorian period the 'golden age' of the extended family, but the situation in Moseley was not clear cut.¹⁶⁶ In Church Road the proportion of extended units fell from fifty-three to five per cent between 1851 and 1891, whilst Church, Ascot and Queenswood Roads together show extended families in 1881 and 1891 rising from thirteen to twenty-three per cent (Appendix/9). This supports the thesis by Delap, Griffin and Wills, who suggest there was a move towards a nuclear family structure.¹⁶⁷ The Moseley data averages out to twenty-four and eighteen percent, similar to the Howe and Ruggles figures. Claremont, a better-off suburb, exhibited higher figures (between twenty-eight and thirty-one per cent).¹⁶⁸ Ruggles claims that the incidence of extended family households among the middle class was an interaction between rising incomes making families more able to support kin, rising life expectancy, which meant there were more relatives surviving, and a cultural preference for living with extended kin. Gordon and Nair suggest that variations in kin in households, such as, aunts, uncles, nephews, nieces and cousins, confirm that economic hardship alone is not an adequate explanation and this also applies to Moseley.

¹⁶⁵ Quoted in Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, p.35. Howe, Anthony, *The Cotton Masters, 1830-1860* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984).

¹⁶⁶ Quoted in Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, p.35; Ruggles, Stephen, *Prolonged Connections: The Rise of the Extended family in Nineteenth Century England and America* (London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987).

¹⁶⁷ Delap, Griffin & Wills, *The Politics of Domestic Authority in Britain since 1800*, p.13.

¹⁶⁸ Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, p.35.

Households varied significantly. Moseley's non-extended family units dominated. They were generally smaller than expected, averaging three to six members over the period and four overall, but many households comprised only two to four members (nineteen to thirty-three per cent) and two overall (twenty-three per cent). Some were larger, though, at six to eight members (sixteen per cent). However, as Gordon and Nair point out, families designated as not-extended were not necessarily the traditional nuclear families of two parents and offspring. As we have seen, there were many single parent families in Moseley and in Claremont.¹⁶⁹ Some historians, such as Anderson, argue that extended households, and in particular extended families incorporating three or four generations, were more common amongst the working class.¹⁷⁰ However, the Moseley sample showed more stem than composite units in 1881, but more evenly spread stem and composite in 1891. This undermines the theory that horizontally extended family forms were characteristic of middle-class families, but also suggests the social profile of Moseley was changing as lower-middle class residents increased. The Gordon and Nair survey was more decisive, showing significantly more composite families than stem across the censuses, which supports the thesis and shows Claremont holding on to its higher social levels. Even when incorporating servants and others, many Moseley households were surprisingly small with the majority having four or five members, but a significant proportion (twenty-four per cent) were smaller with one to three members.

The gender make-up of households was significant (Appendix C/8). When servants are included, women far outnumbered men (fifty-three to seventy-seven per cent and sixty-five

¹⁶⁹ Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, p.35.

¹⁷⁰ Stem units are vertically extended units – three or four generations - and composite are horizontal extensions, wider kin of the same generation.

per cent overall). Bilston points out that the association of the suburban domestic with the feminine became particularly familiar and particularly significant in the second half of the nineteenth century as the world of suburban living was said to be dominated – in the daytime particularly - by women and women’s work.¹⁷¹ Delap, Griffin and Wills also describe the suburb as a feminised sphere, particularly during the day time.¹⁷² This correlates with contemporary concerns that middle-class men were being marginalised in the domestic sphere and Tosh’s contentions about a ‘flight from domesticity’ from the 1880s onwards.¹⁷³ Begiato concludes, though, that this was an era when domesticity was projected beyond the home and family; displaced and postponed while men endeavoured to make their living rather than rejected outright. She claims the place of the home remained significant for manliness throughout and that the flight was primarily a feature of men’s imaginative lives rather than a social practice.¹⁷⁴ However, attachment to home became seen as a marker of inadequacy and individuals were lauded for launching selves into the unknown imperial world.

A characteristic household emerges, but there was considerable variation. Many homes did not have a servant and those who did mostly only had one. They were invariably female, young and from the surrounding countryside and there was a high turnover. Relatives, visitors and boarders were few, making household units largely non-extended. Households were significantly female and small.

¹⁷¹ Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, p.62.

¹⁷² Delap, Griffin & Wills, *The Politics of Domestic Authority in Britain since 1800*, p.7.

¹⁷³ Tosh, *A Man’s Place*, pp.179 & 182.

¹⁷⁴ Begiato, *Manliness in Britain, 1760-1900*, pp.12-13.

Death

Death was an ever-present part of life, although a meeting in 1877 about a proposed Local Board for Moseley and Kings Heath claimed that 'they would not find a district in the United Kingdom which was more healthy than Moseley'. In the same newspaper edition, Mr Ross-Jordan, a surgeon of Manor House, Moseley, confirmed that a good state of health prevailed in Moseley, since over the course of one day he had visited eleven patients each over eighty years of age.¹⁷⁵ The meeting reported thirty-four deaths in Moseley village for 1876, seventeen of whom were over sixty years of age, with only one death from preventable disease. Althans Blackwell took out life insurance in 1896 from Railway Passengers Assurance Company, London, through their local agents, James C. Percy & Deakin of Birmingham for £3 12s Od.¹⁷⁶ Some residents lived a full life-cycle. Walter Reading's widow, Sarah Ann, for example died aged sixty-nine years in 1886. At the 1881 census she had her six-year-old grandson, Walter Reading, living with her as well as her sister, Maria Brocklington, a widow aged sixty-seven years with one servant, Sarah Hunt, aged twenty-two years.

In the Victorian period 'the funeral industry became a component of British culture and economics'.¹⁷⁷ People commemorated the dead through funerals, obituaries and material culture. These reveal how family and associates wished 'the deceased to be remembered'

¹⁷⁵ *Birmingham Daily Post*, Monday 5 February, 1877.

¹⁷⁶ Railway Passengers Assurance Company, 64 Cornhill, London and James C. Percy & Deakin, 32 Paradise Street, Birmingham. Assurance Number 1667.

¹⁷⁷ Dick, M., 'The Death of Matthew Boulton, 1809: Ceremony, Controversy and Commemoration', pp.247-266, in Quickenden, K., Baggott, S., & Dick, M., (eds.), *Matthew Boulton: Enterprising Industrialist of the Enlightenment* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Co., 2013), p.247.

and 'broader issues such as attitudes to death and the deceased and social status'.¹⁷⁸ Funerals 'provided opportunities for display and consumption', showed 'the rise of a self-conscious middle class, eager to demonstrate its importance' and 'could reinforce an individual and family's place in society'.¹⁷⁹ Funerary expenditure indicated financial worth and families displayed their wealth, respectability and gentility through the correct mourning etiquette. The choice of a church service and a religious graveyard demonstrated the importance of religion and particular denominations. The undertaking trade and the funeral industry grew enormously. Birmingham became the centre for the manufacture of decorative coffin plates and handles at, for example, Newman Brothers, 13-15 Fleet Street, Birmingham.¹⁸⁰

There were numerous rituals around death. Mirrors were covered, curtains drawn and black-edged mourning cards and letters sent out. Mourning cards highlight how typical early death was in Moseley, often leaving young families without a parent. Joseph Piggott died aged thirty-four years and Edward Holmes' wife, Mary Anne, died in 1861 at thirty-one years of age leaving him with two young children, Elizabeth, aged three years, and Edward Briggs, aged two, and a ten-day-old baby with help in the home from only two servants, a general domestic and a nursemaid.¹⁸¹ Death announcements, obituaries and 'In Memoriam' columns appeared in the press, marking and evaluating the life of important residents and

¹⁷⁸ Dick, 'The Death of Matthew Boulton, 1809', pp.248-9 & 250.

¹⁷⁹ Dick, 'The Death of Matthew Boulton, 1809', pp.248-9 & 250.

¹⁸⁰ www.coffinworks.org, 'Coffin Works', 'History: Newman Brothers', 'History'. Accessed 2018. Newman Brothers was established in 1882 by Alfred and Edwin Newman. It ceased trading in 1998 and is now a museum, The Coffin Works.

¹⁸¹ Library of Birmingham Local History (LBLH), MS/559, 'In Memoriam' Cards.

'transmitting reputation'.¹⁸² The death of George Piggott of The Lions, Park Hill, on Tuesday 19 September, 1871, at the age of thirty-eight years, was described in the press as 'deeply lamented'.¹⁸³ A loving daughter records 'the anniversary of the death of David Archer at Moseley, 14th July 1890'.¹⁸⁴ The lengths and stages of mourning were dictated, with wives expected to be in mourning for two years. Special mourning clothes were essential. Men wore black crêpe arm bands. Women wore black crêpe with no lace or decoration and mourning jewellery, lockets containing the hair of the deceased and brooches and other items of Whitby jet, as advertised by James Cargory of Birmingham.¹⁸⁵ On 12 October 1893, Agnes Blackwell bought a 'Black Plush Mantle' and a 'trimmed felt bonnet' costing £5 15s 6d and £1 9s 3d respectively, totalling £7 4s 9d, from Birmingham General Mourning Warehouse.¹⁸⁶ The new aniline dyes of the 1850s brought 'Tyrean Purple,' a mauve that in 1856 was a sufficiently fashionable colour to pass quickly into Victorian funeral cultures, later along with magenta.¹⁸⁷ In 1891, Bach & Barker of Birmingham advertised 'Every requisite for Ladies' Mourning, Mantles, Millinery, Costumes and Dressmaking. Funerals conducted to meet the wishes of all classes', a firm clearly now attracting a wide clientele.¹⁸⁸

The funeral procession was important. Neighbours watched the funeral cortège and family and associates joined the procession in a public display of mourning and status. Funeral services were solemn and shared experiences with the church interior and the bier draped in

¹⁸² Dick, 'The Death of Matthew Boulton, 1809', p.253.

¹⁸³ *Birmingham Post*, Thursday 21 September, 1871. In 1891, the charge for adverts relating to births, deaths and marriages was 1s, not exceeding 20 words and 6d for every additional line plus postal rates.

¹⁸⁴ *Birmingham Post*, Tuesday 14 July, 1891.

¹⁸⁵ MSHGC, (C3/D2/A/F10/2-4), RBA, Bills & Receipts. James Cargory of 41 Bull Street, Birmingham.

¹⁸⁶ MSHGC, (C3/D2/A/F10/2-4), RBA, Bills & Receipts. Birmingham General Mourning Warehouse, 42 New Street, Mourning Drapers and Undertakers. £5.25s.6d and £1 9s 3d in 1890 were c., £474 and £120 in 2017.

¹⁸⁷ Briggs, A., *Victorian Things* (London: Penguin, 1988), pp.22 & 265.

¹⁸⁸ *Birmingham Post*, Monday 8 June, 1891. Bach & Barker, Birmingham Mourning and Funeral Warehouse, 42 New Street, Birmingham.

black silk. The death of T.C. Sneyd-Kynnersley of Moor Green House, aged eighty-eight years, J.P., and Stipendiary Magistrate for Birmingham, was listed in the *Moseley and Kings Heath Journal* in 1892.¹⁸⁹ The obituary gave the reason for his death (following an operation for strangulated hernia) and detailed his family, education, achievements, titles and interests. The report listed all the important mourners, including his servants, two of whom were bearers. The numbers of participants and the size of the audience indicated civic worth and the presence of important attendees revealed status.¹⁹⁰ Middle-class women did not attend burials and gravesides, but did attend the meal afterwards.¹⁹¹

Most Moseley residents were buried locally and gravestones were expensive status items important in 'preserving, celebrating and enhancing memory'.¹⁹² John Avins died in 1891 at Highfield House. His memorial in St. Mary's Churchyard is very prominent, alongside the main path and in red granite, a very long-lasting material (Fig.4.9). The monument was raised by the Trust he set up in his will and the inscription notes his contribution to the community and society, and shows they wanted him to be remembered as an important local benefactor (Fig.4.10). Althans Blackwell's first wife, Agnes, died in Italy and was buried there. Correspondence reveals the concern of the hotel staff to mark her burial and Althans' involvement. Family graves required maintenance. A bill shows that, in 1893, Mr Blackwell paid 2s to The Birmingham General Cemetery for cleaning graves.¹⁹³

¹⁸⁹ LBA, JC6/7/1-173, *Moseley and Kings Heath Journal*, No.1, June, 1892, pp.7 & 11.

¹⁹⁰ Dick, 'The Death of Matthew Boulton', 1809, p.252.

¹⁹¹ Davidoff & Hall, *Family Fortunes*, p.408.

¹⁹² Dick, 'The Death of Matthew Boulton', 1809, p.249.

¹⁹³ MSHGC, (C3/D2/A/F10/2-4), RBA, Receipts & Bills.



Fig.4.9: John Avins' Memorial, St. Mary's Churchyard, Moseley.¹⁹⁴

HIS TRUSTEES
DESIRE TO PERPETUATE
(BY PERMISSION OF THE FAMILY)
THE MEMORY OF JOHN AVINS
AS THE FOUNDER OF THE
JOHN AVINS TRUST
FOR THE BENEFIT OF CERTAIN
CHARITIES OF THE CITY OF
BIRMINGHAM

Fig.4.10: The Dedication on John Avins' Headstone.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁴ Berry, Janet, Photograph, 2013.

¹⁹⁵ Berry, Janet, Photograph, 2013.



**Fig.4.11: Fragment, the Avins Window, *Moses in the Bulrushes*,
St. Mary's Church, Moseley.¹⁹⁶**

Many well-to-do Moseley residents commemorated their family dead in stained-glass windows, publicising their family name, raising their status and ensuring that the deceased's reputation was carried forward. John Avins left £500 to St. Mary's Church and £200 to the recently erected Moseley Baptist Church for stained-glass windows, based on *Pharaoh's Daughter* after a painting he saw at an 1887 Liverpool Art Exhibition.¹⁹⁷ This was not illustrated in the exhibition catalogue, but *Finding Moses*, by the sixteenth-century Venetian artist, Paolo Veronese, has been suggested as the likely inspiration.¹⁹⁸ The painting was then in the Liverpool Royal Institution collection and was later presented to the Walker Art

¹⁹⁶ Berry, Janet, Photograph, 2015. Access courtesy Rob Brown, Volunteer Archivist, St. Mary's Church, Moseley.

¹⁹⁷ LBA, MS 1672 (Add I) (Acc 1991/137), John Avins' will. £200 and £500 in 1890 were c., £16,400 and £41,000 in 2017.

¹⁹⁸ By email from Brooke, Xanthe, Curator European Fine Art, National Museums, Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool: Xanthe.Brooke@liverpoolmuseums.org.uk, 7/8/2012.

Gallery. Unfortunately, the St. Mary's window, *Moses in the Bulrushes*, was destroyed by bombing in the Second World War and only a fragment survives (Fig.4.11).¹⁹⁹

The well-to-do middle-class of Moseley demonstrated their status and wealth through their wills – documents that shed light on how the deceased wanted to be seen by others. They highlight the importance of the family and concern for the continuity of the family in passing on possessions. Gunn stresses the role of the extended family, the kin and clan, in the 'business of inheritance' through which the benefits of privilege were preserved and passed on.²⁰⁰ He cites material inheritance as cultural inheritance, and emphasises that cultural capital was an essential part of the family legacy. John Avins left an estate valued at £80,000 and, after securing his immediate family's financial security, left money legacies to the wider family.²⁰¹ He bequeathed items of jewellery, clothes, furniture and objects, horses, carriages and their paraphernalia, stables, stock, wines, liquors and provisions, possessions that illustrate the standard of living and lifestyle of a gentleman and his household and the position and power of a male household head.²⁰² Gunn emphasises that social position was also cultural capital to be passed on.²⁰³ John Avins perpetuated his name and that of his family and established his and their social status by donating significant monies to voluntary hospitals and by setting the John Avins Trust to distribute money annually to medical and quasi-medical charities, a trust that continues to this day.²⁰⁴ He left money to other causes

¹⁹⁹ Bold, *An Architectural History of St. Mary's Church, Moseley 1405-2005* (Moseley: St. Mary's Church Parish Office, 2004), p.25.

²⁰⁰ Gunn, 'Translating Bourdieu', pp.56-57.

²⁰¹ LBA, MS 1672 (Add I) (Acc 1991/137), John Avins' will. £80, 000 in 1890 was c., £6, 563, 900 in 2017.

²⁰² LBA, MS 1672 (Add I) (Acc 1991/137), John Avins' will.

²⁰³ Gunn, 'Translating Bourdieu', pp.56-57.

²⁰⁴ LBA, MS 1672 (Add I) (Acc 1991/137), the John Avins Trust Minute Book 1, Meeting 1, 1891, pp.1-11. The core charities were Days Home, Deritend, Middlemore Emigration Home, Birmingham Blue Coat Charity School, Birmingham Royal School for Deaf Children, Birmingham Royal Institute for the Blind, Royal Wanstead School

that simultaneously advertised his name locally and nationally: for example, £50 for a John Avins Science Scholarship to Birmingham University, £50 for an Eliza Avins Music Scholarship for girls and £1,000 to the Royal National Lifeboat Institution sponsoring two named boats, the 'John Avins' and the 'Eliza Avins'.²⁰⁵ Women had relationships beyond the family as executors, trustees and beneficiaries thereby influencing inheritance.²⁰⁶ Eliza Avins, for example, sat on the John Avins Trust and was significant in the execution of her husband's will.

Moseley residents venerated their dead, memorialising them in a variety of ways, perpetuating their memories and presenting them as they wished to be remembered. The many rites and rituals of death reflected middle-class values and differentiated them as a social group.

Conclusion

This chapter contributes significantly to the historiography by engaging in a detailed way with the full breadth of information on households in the censuses 1851-1901 and case-study families. It compares its findings to the limited amount of data published by historians to date, confirming, challenging and extending the understanding of the Victorian middle-class suburban family and household. It goes behind the façade and reveals, in a new way,

and the Fund for Supplying Cheap Dinners to poorer children in Moseley and District, which may be associated with the Movement for Free School Dinners.

²⁰⁵ LBA, MS 1672 (Add I) (Acc 1991/137), the John Avins Trust Minute Book 1, Meeting 60, pp.140-42, 1897; Owen, D., *English Philanthropy 1660-1960* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p.176; <https://sites.google.com/site/wickliffeboat02/thejohnavins>. Accessed 2013. By email from Chainey, Elise, RNLI Heritage Support Coordinator, Chainey@rnli.org.uk. The 'John Avins' (1895-1905), a 34-foot, ten-oared, self-righting lifeboat, was the first RNLI Lifeboat for winter service in Wick, whilst the 'Eliza Avins' was stationed at Plymouth (1888-1920). £50 and £1,000 in 1890 were c., £4,100 and £82,000 in 2017.

²⁰⁶ Aston, *Female Entrepreneurship in Nineteenth Century England*, p.3.

the structure and composition of households, undermining stereotypes and challenging assumptions. The framing around life-cycle events, the focus on particular individuals and families and personal experiences provide context and a human face, bringing the suburb to life.

There were shared characteristics for a middle-class suburban household, but with significant variations and some findings question stereotypes of the Victorian middle-class family. Many suburban homes were without the key middle-class marker of a servant and most of those employing live-in servants only had one. Families were small and many had no children at home. The chapter challenges Branca's case for earlier marriage, a significant decline in family size suggested by Mitchell, Cohen and Branca and the proposal by Anderson and Gordon and Nair that horizontally extended family forms were necessarily characteristic of middle-class families.²⁰⁷ It highlights a surprising number of female household heads, many female household heads supporting others and low levels of co-residency by older children, relatives, visitors and boarders. It extends Dyos and Thompson's claims about the nature of geographic mobility, stem and composite families investigated by Howe, Ruggles and Gordon and Nair, and ethnicity, race and the colonies noted by Clare Midgley.²⁰⁸ It confirms Gordon and Nair's findings on spinsters and widows and the generational spread of kin in the home, Delap, Griffin & Wills' claims of a move towards a nuclear family structure, and Aston's business partnerships amongst sisters and the existence of business women.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁷ Branca, *Silent Sisterhood*; Mitchell, *Daily Life in Victorian England*; Cohen, *Family Secrets*; Anderson, 'Households, families and individuals'.

²⁰⁸ Dyos, *Victorian Suburb*; Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*; Howe, *The Cotton Masters, 1830-1860*; Ruggles, *Prolonged Connections*; Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*; Midgley, 'Ethnicity, "race" and empire'.

²⁰⁹ Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*; Delap, Griffin & Wills, *The Politics of Domestic Authority in Britain since 1800*; Aston, *Female Entrepreneurship in Nineteenth Century England*.

It moves beyond existing studies by investigating areas little explored elsewhere, such as visitors and boarders in the home, younger widows in the suburb and sons and daughters in work.

Comparisons with the studies of Gordon and Nair and Anderson reveal a range of subtle similarities and differences, which generate new understandings. Claremont, for example, had more female heads and they increased more over the period. It also had more male and female household heads over sixty years of age, but fewer single female and widow household heads over sixty. There were fewer unmarried women over thirty years too, and numbers increased, whereas this group declined significantly in Moseley. There were fewer men under the protection of female household heads in Moseley and fewer females working outside the home of whom fewer were employers. Moseley and Claremont had much in common, though, including increasing numbers of single heads, few widows living with male heads and spinsters over thirty living with female household heads and daughters and sons remaining at home. Comparison with Anderson's 1851 study highlighted more families with only one or two children in Moseley, considerably more nieces, but fewer grandchildren and parentless children, fewer visitors in groups of two and three and far fewer boarders.²¹⁰ These differences revealed the impact of affluence on outcomes and change over time.

The chapter shows how the costs involved in renting and buying houses in Moseley underpinned the economic argument for membership of the middle class and compounded differentiation within the middle class. It reveals that the increasing numbers of lower-middle class incomers brought more workers to the suburb than employers and

²¹⁰ Anderson, 'Households, families and individuals'.

professionals and more lodgers and boarders, but also more women in work and the widening of female job opportunities. The chapter also highlights differentiation, with lower middle-class homes having more heads in work, more workers, fewer servants and more relatives and boarders. It shows the agency of middle-class women - women living independently, choosing not to marry, heading-up households and offering shelter to others including men and daughters, sisters co-residing in more equal relationships and women working in increasingly varied roles. Change over the half century other than general trends was not always easy to detect as data frequently fluctuated, but women were increasingly part of the workforce and involved in business and female household heads increased, particularly spinster heads, whereas family size and servant numbers decreased. The number of men and women working at home and women in work undermines notions of separate spheres. How people experienced the household depended on their position on the socio-economic scale, life-stage, marital status and the familial and cultural lives they inhabited, all of which could change during an individual's life.

Life-cycle events and celebrations drew the middle class together, consolidating middle-class identity and setting them apart from other social groups. They were integral to the development of family, kin and clan and the transmission of cultural capital that Gunn explores.²¹¹ Examining the lives of individuals and families enhances how the suburb is seen. This chapter extends the picture of the suburban middle-class household and adds to the historiography. The next chapter explores the suburban middle-class at home.

²¹¹ Gunn, 'Translating Bourdieu', pp.56-59.

CHAPTER 5

Keeping up Appearances: The Moseley Middle Classes at Home

In the second half of the nineteenth century most middle-class suburban men commuted to work and most middle-class women supposedly stayed at home. This promoted the notion of separate spheres for work and home where the domestic became particularly associated with the feminine and the private, and the public with men and the outside world. For twentieth century historians separate spheres was the dominant historical paradigm for understanding nineteenth century middle-class gender relations and for explaining the differentiated lives of men and women. Contemporary writers on domesticity assumed that the separation between work and home had taken place by the 1830s and 1840s so that the home as a retreat from the public or the world of work became a broadly circulated idea across the nineteenth century.¹ A related notion was the view that the woman was ‘The Angel in the House’, an ideal wife/woman who was expected to be devoted and submissive to her husband, passive and powerless, meek, charming, graceful, sympathetic, self-sacrificing, pious, and above all—pure.² This chapter interrogates how far the separate spheres constructs, public-private and male-female, actually operated in the suburban home and explores the roles of men and women in shaping the organisation, decoration and furnishing of it. It questions the extent to which privacy was possible and how it was achieved, explains how internal space was divided, how rooms were used and by whom and

¹ Davidoff, L., & Hall, C., *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2002).p.181; Hamlett, Jane & Hoskins, Lesley, *Home Cultures*, Vol.8, No.2, 2011, pp.109-117.

² The ‘Angel in the House’ refers to a narrative poem by Coventry Patmore inspired by his wife, Emily, which charts their traditional courtship and marriage. It was published in parts between 1854 and 1862.

why they were used in this way. It investigates what and who drove decoration, furnishing and conspicuous consumerism, and what changes occurred over time. The way the home was divided, decorated and furnished separated the middle class from those above and below and became a signifier of identity. The chapter considers how this was manifested.

Using the evidence from Moseley this chapter deconstructs messages that were conveyed by the reality and representation of interiors. Works by historians raise issues that help inform these enquiries. Simon Gunn points out that the element of public display undermined the home as wholly private and John Tosh that 'Victorian domesticity was shot through with contradictions'.³ Temma Balducci and Heather Belnap-Jensen show that the commodification of the home associated it with the public sphere and took women into the public realm, where new purchasing opportunities, such as department stores, created safe and sociable shopping havens, but demanded new behaviour patterns.⁴ Thad Logan connects the home to the public world through its material culture and Gordon and Nair question the possibility of privacy within the home given the footfall, presence of servants and middle-class sociability.⁵ Jane Hamlett notes some segregation, particularly in relation to children and servants, but suggests that residents chose to come together and that children were not necessarily excluded from adult spaces and found their own spaces.⁶ Eleanor

³ Gunn, Simon, 'Translating Bourdieu: cultural capital and the English middle class in historical perspective', *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol.56, No.1, 2005, p.53; Tosh, John, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), p.47.

⁴ Balducci, Temma & Belnap-Jensen, Heather, (eds.), *Women, Femininity and Public Space in European Visual Culture, 1789-1914* (London & New York: Routledge, 2014).p.10; Bilston, Sarah, *The Promise of the Suburbs: A Victorian History in Literature and Culture* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2019), p.74.

⁵ Logan, T., *The Victorian Parlour: A Cultural Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp.124 & 195-199; Gordon, E., & Nair, G., *Public Lives: Women, Family and Society in Victorian Britain* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2003), p.126.

⁶ Hamlett, Jane, 'The Dining Room Should Be the Man's Paradise, as the Drawing Room Is the Woman's: Gender and Middle-Class Domestic Space in England, 1850-1910', *Gender and History*, Vol. 21, No.3, November, 2009,

Gordon and Gwyneth Nair explore the gender designation of particular spaces, but argue that the decoration and furnishing was often more a matter of design choices than gender.⁷ Logan, Jenni Calder and Bilston debate what, if any, satisfaction and opportunity women gained through interior design, but also the insecurities experienced by some.⁸ Lucy Delap, Ben Griffin and Abigail Wills raise issues around authority in the home.⁹ Joanne Begiato and John Tosh remind us of the importance of the home to men's public image and to manliness, though they disagree about who was primarily responsible for design and commodity choices.¹⁰ Helena Barrett and John Phillips and David Eveleigh are crucial in identifying the new technology and mass production that made cheaper decorating and furnishing options available, improved techniques and developed facilities that enhanced health and hygiene.¹¹ F.M.L. Thompson claims contemporaries saw suburbs as settings 'which fostered a pretentious preoccupation with outward appearances, a fussy attention to the trifling details

pp.576-591; Hamlett, Jane, 'Tiresome trips downstairs: Middle-Class Domestic Space and Family Relationships in England, 1850-1911' in Delap, Lucy, Griffin, Ben & Wills, Abigail, (eds.), *The Politics of Domestic Authority in Britain since 1800* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009), pp.113-119, 121-122 & 124; Hamlett, Jane, *Material Relations: Domestic Interiors and middle-class families in England, 1850-1910* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), pp.7-9, 50, 111-117 & 120-21.

⁷ Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, pp.124-125.

⁸ Logan, *The Victorian Parlour*, pp.6, 93, 96-97, 100-101, 105, 107, 127-8, 140, 170, 189 & 207; Calder, J., *The Victorian Home* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1977), p.105; Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, p.74; Delap, Lucy, Griffin, Ben & Wills, Abigail, (eds.), *The Politics of Domestic Authority in Britain since 1800* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009), p.1.

⁹ Delap, Griffin & Wills, *The Politics of Domestic Authority in Britain since 1800*, p.1.

¹⁰ Begiato, Joanne, *Manliness in Britain, 1760-1900: Bodies, emotion and material culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020), pp.10 & 13; Tosh, *A Man's Place*, pp.47-50 & 124.

¹¹ Lasdun, S., *Victorians at Home* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1981); Barrett, H., & Phillips, J., *Suburban Style: The British Home, 1840-1960* (Boston, Toronto, London: Little, Brown & Company, 1993); Osband, L., *Victorian House Style: An Architectural and Interior Design Source Book* (Singapore: David & Charles, 1992); Eveleigh, D.J., *Firegrates and Kitchen Ranges* (Aylesbury: Shire Publications Ltd., 1986); Eveleigh, D.J., *Privies and Water Closets* (Oxford: Shire Publications Ltd., 2011).

of genteel living'.¹² This chapter takes a journey through the suburban middle-class home to test how far these notions raised by historians make sense in real time and in real places.

Photographs of Moseley interiors are key to this journey: they show rooms in houses that range from Uffculme, Moor Green, the substantial home of Richard Cadbury and family built in 1890, to a small semi-detached house, Greengate, Park Hill, lived in by Eliza Muntz and her daughter, aged twenty-seven years, her sister, a visitor, and one servant in 1901.¹³ The images offer a glimpse into the homes of Moseley's middle class in the last decade of the nineteenth century, but they give only a partial view: they reveal decorating and furnishing taste and style, wealth and status, and consumption patterns, but they are snapshots of a moment in time, feature better-off homes, only show certain rooms, do not show people and have the un-lived-in appearance of a 'show-home' which hides how people lived in them. A second key primary source is the collection of Moseley household bills belonging to Agnes and Althans Blackwell.¹⁴ These are mostly from the 1890s and reveal what middle-class suburbanites bought for their homes, but they are from a well-to-do family, their survival is haphazard and it is unclear actually who made the choices they illuminate.¹⁵ Other primary sources support these. Building plans and sales catalogues reveal the different rooms and the names they were allotted, storage facilities, the number of bedrooms, children's rooms

¹² Thompson, F.M.L., 'Introduction' in Thompson, F.M.L., (ed.), *The Rise of Suburbia* (Leicester: The Leicester University Press, 1982), p.3.

¹³ The other houses are Sorrento, Wake Green Road; Glaisdale, Park Hill, a detached house built in 1891 and lived in by W.E. Adlard, his wife, three children and three servants; and The Dell, a smaller detached house built in 1889 for Rose Fuller by her husband T.N. Fuller of 23 Park Hill. James Barteley lived there with his wife, five children and servants in 1891. Sarah Levetus lived there with her five older children, her sister and two servants in 1901.

¹⁴ Moseley Society History Group, 'The Collection', (MSHGC), (C3/D2/A/F10/2-3), Reading-Blackwell Archive, (RBA), Bills & Receipts. Agnes and Althans Blackwell lived in Park Hill and then moved to a larger house, Brackley Dene, Chantry Road, in 1892.

¹⁵ They total ninety-four bills, eighteen from the 1870s, fifteen from the 1880s and sixty-one from the 1890s.

and bathrooms and W.C.s. Advertisements for houses for rent and sale in historic newspapers suggest which rooms were considered of particular interest to people and show how this changed over time. Contemporary advice books, such as Jane Ellen Panton's *From Kitchen to Garret: Hints for Young Householders*, reveal how the middle-classes decorated their homes and what they were buying, but more particularly the need to make the right and acceptable decisions.¹⁶

The chapter presents the findings in two sections. The first section, 'The Making of the Middle-class Suburban Home', explores where the responsibility for furnishing and decorating lay, expectations of the decision-maker, anxieties provoked and pleasures evoked and the retail revolution that underpinned conspicuous consumption. The second section, 'A Journey through the Middle-Class Suburban Home', begins in the hall where decorating and furnishing connections are made to other rooms, and then takes us into ground floor spaces and on upstairs, exploring how homes were divided up, decorated and furnished and the impact of class, gender and change over time.

The Making of the Middle-Class Suburban Home

Decision making involved in the decorating and furnishing of the middle-class home reveals how the power and influence of men and women operated within the home. Cohen claims men had total responsibility for home furnishing until the 1880s, but sees a collaborative approach after the 1880s.¹⁷ Most of the Moseley Blackwell bills analysed (eighty-nine per cent) were directed to Mr Blackwell, whilst only a quarter of specifically household goods

¹⁶ Panton, J. E., *From Kitchen to Garret: Hints for Young Householders* (London: Ward & Downnet, 1893).

¹⁷ Cohen, D., *Household Gods: The British and their Possessions* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), pp.90 & 92.

(for example, furniture, fittings, ornaments, china, lights, blinds and miscellaneous) went to Agnes Blackwell. Some of the Blackwell purchases were made whilst they were travelling, which suggests a collaborative approach. Agnes Blackwell may have ordered on credit in her husband's name, whilst being responsible for the actual shopping and decision-making. This reflects Hamlett's argument that domestic decoration was an extension of women's management of the home and, whilst men retained overall control of the finances, women arranged and maintained the purchases.¹⁸ Cohen, however, suggests that the financial investment involved obliged men to 'attend to even the most minute details of room decoration'.¹⁹ As Begiato shows, the home, and the emotions it generated for men and manliness, was significant in the nineteenth century, which challenges any conception that men were peripheral.²⁰ Tosh agrees, noting that much of the culture of the home was determined by the needs of men and reflected masculine as well as female sensibilities.²¹ On the other hand, Robert Kerr, the contemporary writer on houses and homes, writing in 1864, considered women better suited to decision-making about decorating and furnishing:

It must be acknowledged, certainly, that the more graceful sex are generally better qualified, both as respects taste and leisure, to appreciate the decorative element in whatever form of development; and it is, perhaps, frequently the case in these days of universal hard work, that the master of the house finds a relief in relinquishing to the hands of his wife the control of all that is artistic.²²

¹⁸ Hamlett, *Material Relations*, p.7.

¹⁹ Cohen, *Household Gods*, pp.91-92, 97 & 99.

²⁰ Begiato, *Manliness in Britain, 1760-1900*, pp. 10 & 13.

²¹ Tosh, *A Man's Place*, pp.47-50 & 124.

²² Kerr, R., *The English Gentleman's House or How to Plan English Residences* (London: John Murray, 1864), p.96.

The capacity to create and beautify the home became an expectation of natural feminine identity, according to Cohen, with women considered capable of achieving a distinctive effect.²³ This brought women significant responsibility, but also power, which Delap, Griffin and Wills warn could bring them into conflict with others who also had claim to such authority.²⁴ Women, then, were significantly involved in decisions about the decoration and furnishing of the home and in purchasing goods as well as supervising and managing contractors, taking deliveries and arranging and maintaining the furniture and objects acquired. This does not reflect the 'submissive' or 'passive and powerless' image portrayed in the notion of 'The Angel in the House'.

Moving to an affluent suburb such as Moseley brought a range of decorating and furnishing expectations. Wealth became a sign of just rewards for a productive life and the display of wealth not only acceptable, but justified. The home displayed the family to the outside world, conveying their social, economic and cultural status and who they were. It needed to impress the extended family, neighbours, visitors and servants. However, as Gordon and Nair and Gunn argue, by being 'paraded and displayed' to 'vaunt' superiority and gain status in the public world the home was never wholly private.²⁵ It was also important, though, to spend money wisely and get the balance right between ostentation and meanness. Kerr emphasised that 'the effect to be aimed at must be that of solid value for the money spent, nothing more, but certainly nothing less'.²⁶ This was especially significant given that outfitting the home was expensive and possibly took up to a year's salary. Decorating and

²³ Cohen, *Household Gods*, p.140.

²⁴ Delap, Griffin & Wills, *The Politics of Domestic Authority in Britain since 1800*, p.1.

²⁵ Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, pp.108 & 132; Gunn, S., *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class: Ritual and Authority and the Industrial City 1840-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p.26.

²⁶ Kerr, *The English Gentleman's House or How to Plan English Residences*, pp.97-98.

furnishing the home involved choosing what style or fashion to take up and how to project artistic ideas, taste and individuality. Displaying taste was especially important: according to Cohen, middle-class identity was marked by the acquisition and public display of 'good taste' in which an artistically furnished room 'expressed and conferred status' and defined and displayed the owner as connected to an 'artistic' way of life.²⁷ Certain objects, such as Japanese fans, communicated artistic flair and others were prized for their beauty or quaintness.²⁸ Material goods were believed to influence people for good or ill, and provide opportunities to 'mould the man'.²⁹ Women writers of the 1870s claimed a beautiful home acted as counterweight to the iniquities of the public sphere and beauty and good taste revealed and emphasised a moral self-denying, self-disciplined character.³⁰ Displaying individuality was another pressure and was urged on readers by writers such as 'Mrs Haweis' and 'Mrs Panton'.³¹ In the 1890s, interiors were seen as revealing personality and the inner self, especially in the case of women. 'Mrs Talbot-Coke' wrote: 'the house is one's mind, the home of one's soul: one's ego', whilst in 1898 columnist 'Penelope' added: 'Show me your room and I will tell you who you are'.³² 'Things' became important in assessing others and conferred belonging to the middle classes irrespective of education and income, which made how people spent money more important than how they earned it. ³³ These ideas underpinned conspicuous consumption and made women arbiters of taste. By creating an appropriate domestic environment, the so-called 'Angel in the House' performed an

²⁷ Cohen, *Household Gods*, p.86.

²⁸ Cohen, *Household Gods*, pp.65-66, 84 & 133.

²⁹ Cohen, *Household Gods*, pp. x, 13 & 24.

³⁰ Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, pp.82/83.

³¹ Cohen, *Household Gods*, p.134; Panton, *From Kitchen to Garret: Hints for Young Householders*, p.11.

³² Cohen, *Household Gods*, p.137.

³³ Cohen, *Household Gods*, p.86.

influential economic and political role in the household and ensured the private sphere was an 'effective indicator of status in the public sphere'.³⁴

Homes were also sites for showing knowledge of and a connection to the exterior world, another facet undermining the middle-class home as a private space. Many items were the outcome of industrialisation, mass production, new technology and science and the home was important in expressing modernity through these. Other items were made from natural materials found in the outside world, such as marble and slate, and nature was reflected in cut flowers, potted plants, wallpaper, textiles, china and ornaments and was the subject of paintings and prints. The exotic brought to Britain via the empire and overseas trade penetrated the home through plants, such as palms, natural materials, such as bamboo, man-made items such as carpets from the far-east, decorative items, such as oriental porcelain, Japanese fans and Moorish room designs and pottery.³⁵ Stags heads, bears and stuffed birds brought in the wild. Logan argues that this suggests a desire to connect with the natural or public world whilst safely within the culture of privacy and that it had an important role in forming 'Englishness' in opposition to 'otherness'.³⁶ Foreign elements, he maintains, served to reinforce perceptions of Anglo-American superiority, European dominance, and material and cultural victories over 'the Other'. Furthermore, he suggests colonial goods conveyed the idea of a benign relationship to colonisation, effacing or sublimating the violence and threats of violence that characterised British foreign policy. He

³⁴ Branca, P., *Silent Sisterhood: Middle-Class Women in the Victorian Home* (London: Croom Helm, 1977), p.8; Logan, *The Victorian Parlour: A Cultural Study*, p. 91; Langland, E., 'Nobody's Angels: Domestic ideology and Middle-Class Women in the Victorian Novel', *PMLA* (Publications of the Modern Language Association of America), Vol.107, No.2, March 1992, pp.290-304.

³⁵ Midgley, Claire, 'Ethnicity, "race" and empire' in Purvis, June, (ed.), *Women's History: Britain, 1850-1945* (London: UCL Press, 1995), pp.247-277.

³⁶ Logan, *The Victorian Parlour*, pp.124 & 195-199.

also points to foreign goods distancing the owner from mainstream culture and providing an avenue of escape from Victorian taste. For women, he suggests, such goods afforded 'imaginative access to realms of experience otherwise closed off and an opening into a wider world'. The Great Exhibition, museums, new department stores with their global products, and post-Grand Tour middle-class tourism were important influences. Material possessions revealed an awareness of people, places and culture across the globe, but one which emphasised the superiority of the English relationship to the outside world where the sufficiently wealthy could possess external nature and the products of exotic societies. Bringing items from all round world into the home removed them from their context and absorbed them into middle-class culture, making them safe and acceptable, but different from what they were in their original environment.

Some families took on the challenge of decorating and furnishing the middle-class suburban home with confidence or with the aid of a design consultant. However, for others it was fraught with insecurity and anxiety, particularly first time buyers and those new to the middle class, marriage and the suburb or living away from their birth-family support networks.³⁷ Many were concerned about getting it 'right', displaying 'good taste', not overstepping the bounds of good 'taste', keeping up with 'the fashion system', 'knowing your place', 'fitting in', making the 'right impression' and keeping up appearances.³⁸ Familiarity with the codes and being able to absorb and take on board new ideas was essential. Artistic taste, for example, was considered a trait that could be cultivated and was

³⁷ Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, pp.18, 80, 84, 88, 90, 108, 111, 113, 181, 198, 212 & 215-216.

³⁸ Logan, *The Victorian Parlour*, pp.93 & 207; Cohen, *Household Gods*, pp. xv, 86, &140; Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, pp.9-10; Panton, *From Kitchen to Garret: Hints for Young Householders*.

available to all, according to Cohen.³⁹ The ever-present danger that the middle-class lifestyle could not be maintained went hand-in-hand with anxieties over expectations of changes to décor when prosperity increased. A powerful advice lobby grew up in response to these fears. 'Mrs Panton', for example, told her readers what colours and materials to use in different rooms, what furniture and material goods to buy and where to buy them.⁴⁰ Design ideas were appropriated from the wider culture – from catalogues, guides, periodicals, lectures, visiting others, family, friends and neighbours.

Never-the-less, whatever the experiences of the householder, the decoration and furnishing of the suburban middle-class home brought many advantages. Logan points to women writing about the 'pleasure' involved.⁴¹ Cohan, Logan and Branca claim interior design and acquiring and displaying commodities, enabled women to receive the approbation of others, achieve self-fulfilment, exercise authority, be part of an acceptable and encouraged behaviour and enjoy their harmonious surroundings.⁴² The decorative arts were a powerful form of self-expression and self-fashioning. Bilston claims that the suburban home was a 'moral proving ground' that tested and staged a woman's character, offered them opportunities to work on themselves and actively pursue the 'best'.⁴³ She suggests that women's experiences in designing their own suburban homes and the duplicated floor plans of their houses, gave them considerable expertise in design and commerce that enabled them to move towards becoming professional interior designers and architects and paid

³⁹ Cohen, *Household Gods*, pp. xiii & 71.

⁴⁰ Panton, *From Kitchen to Garret: Hints for Young Householders*.

⁴¹ Logan, *The Victorian Parlour*, p.98; Cohen, *Household Gods*, p.116.

⁴² Cohen, *Household Gods*, p.140; Logan, *The Victorian Parlour*, pp. xiii, 26, 36, 91 & 96; Branca, P., *Silent Sisterhood: Middle-Class Women in the Victorian Home* (London: Croom Helm, 1977), p.8.

⁴³ Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, p.212.

labour. There was support for this amongst advice writers: 'Mrs Panton', who was a paid design consultant herself, saw women architects as crucial to better designed homes that met the needs of family and was aware of the widespread need for advice on interior design.⁴⁴ Bilston suggests that acquiring objects for the home allowed women to remain engaged in the domestic sphere and stage the family's modernity and affluence given that handcrafts were being denigrated by the Arts and Crafts culture.⁴⁵ However, Logan considers that for some decorating and furnishing represented boredom and limited room for creativity or self-expression.⁴⁶ Women's experiences of decorating and furnishing varied: some enjoyed the challenge, gained satisfaction and welcomed the opportunities it presented, but some found it neither stimulating nor creative.

Decorating, furnishing and conspicuous consumption was facilitated by a retail revolution that brought new ways of buying and selling, through department stores, emporia, catalogues and mail-order and new systems of store credit, which connected the middle-class home to the public realm. The bills illustrate enthusiastic consumers who spent a great deal of money on their homes.⁴⁷ The Blackwells shopped mostly in Birmingham (seventy-two per cent of the bills analysed), but also in the immediate local area, the West Midlands, London and Europe (fourteen, four, seven and eleven per cent of the bills analysed). By the last decade of the nineteenth century Birmingham had well-developed retail areas: its streets were renovated into sites of consumption and display with department stores and distinct shopping districts, such as arcades. The House of Fraser, for example, opened in

⁴⁴ Panton, *From Kitchen to Garret*, pp. 8-9, 198, 200 & 299.

⁴⁵ Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, p.74.

⁴⁶ Logan, *The Victorian Parlour*, pp. 100-101 & 170; Lasdun, *Victorians at Home*, p.133; Calder, *The Victorian Home*, p.105; Cohen, *Household Gods*, p.116.

⁴⁷ MSHGC, (C3/D2/A/F10/2-3), RBA, Bills & Receipts.

1851 in a retail drapery shop at 78 Bull Street, Birmingham, and in 1898 was extended into the North Western Arcade.⁴⁸ Balducci and Belnap-Jensen argue that department stores gave women new freedoms, facilitated by the introduction and development of transport.⁴⁹ They suggest department stores were a 'modified intermediary space for women in the city', public, but safely enclosed, and respectable places for women that were central to their shopping and social life.⁵⁰ Increased employment for women brought more women onto city streets commuting to and from work with new buying power and this stimulated the development of such stores. Moseley residents could shop locally, though, at such as the Ironmonger, the Fancy Repository, and the Artists Repository, and engage services locally, such as housepainters, decorators, carpenters and cabinet makers, a piano tuner and a music teacher.

Shopping in the public realm required new behaviours. Etiquette manuals told women how to dress, behave and carry themselves on public streets, which, as Temma Balducci points out, confirms that women were expected to be out and about, and shows that advice writers were endeavouring to regulate what was becoming common.⁵¹ Justine De Young highlights how the demands of a more active lifestyle changed fashions in dress, with bustles replacing crinolines and becoming smaller and, according to C. Willett Cunnington, skirts becoming

⁴⁸ The House of Fraser, (Rackhams Ltd.), for example, was opened in 1851 by William Winter Riddell and Henry Wilkinson in 1851. In 1881 John Rackham and William Matthews, apprentices to Wilkinson, took over. In 1890 Charles Richards acquired Rackham & Co., extended the premises in 1898 and managed the store until 1907.

⁴⁹ Balducci & Belnap-Jensen, *Women, Femininity and Public Space in European Visual Culture, 1789-1914*, p.3.

⁵⁰ Belnap-Jensen, Heather, 'Marketing the maternal body in the public spaces of post-Revolutionary Paris', in Balducci & Belnap-Jensen, (eds.), *Women, Femininity and Public Space in European Visual Culture, 1789-1914*, (London & New York: Routledge, 2014), p.18.

⁵¹ Balducci, Temma, 'Aller à pied: bourgeois women on the streets of Paris' in Balducci, Temma & Belnap-Jensen, Heather, (eds.), *Women, Femininity and Public Space in European Visual Culture, 1789-1914* (London & New York: Routledge, 2014), pp.153-155.

simpler, shorter and gored.⁵² Gunn highlights the importance of the way women dressed, carried themselves and behaved in transmitting middle-class cultural competence.⁵³ Women's engagement with shopping made them an important part of the English economy and set them centre stage, but this undermines any notion of the home as separate from the practices and values of the public sphere.⁵⁴ Bilston suggests this consumerism helped shape the evolving suburb and provide a sense of connection with the modern world.⁵⁵ She shows how interior design brought suburban women together in new interest groups, who read the same advice books and shopped together. These relationships helped forge new communities and design choices with furniture arrangement a sign of community and shared values. Suburbs certainly facilitated conspicuous consumption, not only in the initial setting up of a home, but also in the restructuring of the home that followed the frequent moves, and in the need to 'keep up appearances' and respond to changing design fashions.⁵⁶ Other factors underpinned conspicuous consumption. Income per head doubled between 1851 and 1901, whilst the cost of necessities, especially food, fell, leaving more people with more to spend on luxuries. The middle classes expanded, increasing from twelve and half per cent of the population in 1851 to twenty-five per cent in 1901, bringing new middle-class purchasing power, and demand was fostered by the Great Exhibition of 1851.

⁵² De Young, Justine, 'Representing the Modern Woman: the fashion plate reconsidered (1865-75)' in Balducci & Belnap-Jensen, (eds.), *Women, Femininity and Public Space in European Visual Culture, 1789-1914*, (London & New York: Routledge, 2014), p.98; Cunnington, C., Willett, *Fashion and Women's Attitudes in the Nineteenth Century* (Mineola, New York: Dover Publications, 2003), pp.268-288. The gored skirt is a type of A-line skirt with many different triangular panels sewn together to produce a loose, flowing bell shape at the hem.

⁵³ Gunn, 'Translating Bourdieu', pp.55 & 61.

⁵⁴ Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, p.52; Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, pp.21 & 123.

⁵⁵ Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, p.124.

⁵⁶ Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, pp.23, 53, 93 & 99-100.

Decorating, furnishing and consumption were an important part of women's role in the home and crucial to the family's status in the public world. Their responsibilities gave them agency, which undermines the ideal of the Victorian wife/woman as 'The Angel in the House'. Many derived pleasure from the activities involved and the challenges and opportunities presented, but others suffered anxiety and boredom. Men were also involved as income generators, in monitoring acquisitions and in purchasing items for the home. Decorating and furnishing connected the home to the public realm in diverse ways and was significant in cultivating an awareness of people, places and cultures across the globe.

A Journey through the Middle-Class Suburban Home



Fig.5.1: Entrance Hall, Uffculme.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ Private Collection of Fiona Adams, Secretary of the Moseley Society (PCFA), Photograph.

Vestibules and halls were a cordon sanitaire between the noise, dirt, heat, cold and stress of the world and the safety, seclusion and warmth of the private space of the home. Halls were also important as the first interior spaces accessed by the public and therefore initial indicators of wealth, status and taste. Only one house in the building plan sample did not have a hall, a terraced house in Trafalgar Road, a lower-status road, which suggests the high status of other roads in the suburb.⁵⁸ The size, shape and layout of halls varied, highlighting differentiation within the middle class. Narrow passages with staircases showed a 'want of ease and ample means on the part of the occupant', according to Kerr, whilst '... the entrance at once to a large hall has a good effect, and immediately stamps the house as the abode of gentility'.⁵⁹ The Uffculme hall was huge, whereas Sorrento's was much smaller though larger than many (Figs.5.1-2). Halls in larger semi-detached houses could accommodate a small table with a drawer for visitors' cards and a hard chair. Smaller halls, by contrast, could only accommodate a coat and hat stand or pegs for coats and hats. The layout of Sorrento's hall was important because it prevented vistas of what lay beyond, ensuring privacy, a notion associated with Simon Gunn's definition of the suburban 'way of life'.⁶⁰ Similarly, the stairs in a large semi-detached house in Chantry Road were tucked away off to the side, whereas in most semi-detached and terraced houses stairs led upstairs directly from the entrance, even in higher-status roads where the hall was wider. The variation in middle-class homes highlights Gunn's notion of the 'elasticity' of middle-class

⁵⁸ Library of Birmingham Archives (LBA), BPKNU, BCK/MC/7/3/1, Building Plan, 1458.

⁵⁹ Kerr, R., *The English Gentleman's House or How to Plan English Residences* (London: John Murray, 1864), p.109.

⁶⁰ Gunn, 'Translating Bourdieu', p.53.

suburban culture, which accommodated residents from the very wealthy to the small-villa contingent, who were increasingly swelling the ranks of the middle class.⁶¹

The Sorrento hall was large enough for an occasional table and seating, which enabled visitors to rest comfortably while waiting for the family and absorb the impressive surroundings. Seating comfort was enhanced by the technical development from the 1850s of deep buttoning and coil springs.⁶² The presence of such comfortable 'patterned, padded and puffed out' seating in the Sorrento library, billiard and smoking rooms and Glaisdale drawing room testifies to its popularity with the middle classes (Figs.5.3-6). Richly upholstered seating highlighted wealth: in 1895, Althans Blackwell bought a large settee 'covered in best English velvet and stuffed with hair' for £15 from John Ward and a round settee upholstered in silks and wool tapestry and silk trimmings for £10 10s 0d from Chamberlain, King & Jones, both Birmingham firms.⁶³ Industrialisation, mass production, mechanisation and technological innovation made the 'production and consumption of material goods possible on an unprecedented scale' and in a wide range of qualities and prices to suit all pockets, which fostered conspicuous consumption. The central occasional table seen in the Sorrento hall was fashionable and similar ones are evident in the Sorrento, Glaisdale and Dell drawing rooms, showing fashion permeating different layers of the middle class (Figs.5.6-8). The rapid development of new manufacturing techniques also produced numerous furniture styles in many different materials, which made up-to-date furniture

⁶¹ Gunn, 'Translating Bourdieu', p.53.

⁶² Lasdun, *Victorians at Home*, p.10; Paterson M., *Life in Victorian Britain: A Social History of Queen Victoria's Reign* (Philadelphia PA: Running Press Book Publishers, 2008), p.90.

⁶³ MSHGC, (C3/D2/A/F10/2-3), RBA, Bills & Receipts. John Ward, Architects, Ironmonger and Art Cabinet Maker was at Colmore Chambers, 3 Newhall Street, Birmingham, and Chamberlain, King & Jones, Designers and Manufacturers of Artistic Domestic Furniture, Interior Decoration and Upholstery, English and Foreign Carpets etc., at Union Passage, Birmingham. £15 in 1890 was c., £1,200 in 2017 and £10 10s 0d was c., £820.

accessible to a wider group.⁶⁴ New designs came to market regularly, fostering rapid changes in fashion and the desire for newness that intensified consumerism. Conversational furniture groupings replaced the perimeter arrangement and this is evident in all the photographs. Dining chairs, previously ranged along the wall were later placed around the dining table, as in the Sorrento dining room (Fig.5.13).



Fig.5.2: Entrance Hall, Sorrento, 1899.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Lasdun, *Victorians at Home*, p.10; Paterson, *Life in Victorian Britain*, p.90; Barrett & Phillips, *Suburban Style*, pp.62-63. Liberty & Co., Regent Street, London.

⁶⁵ English Heritage Archive, bl15542, Photograph.



Fig.5.3: Library, Sorrento, 1899.⁶⁶

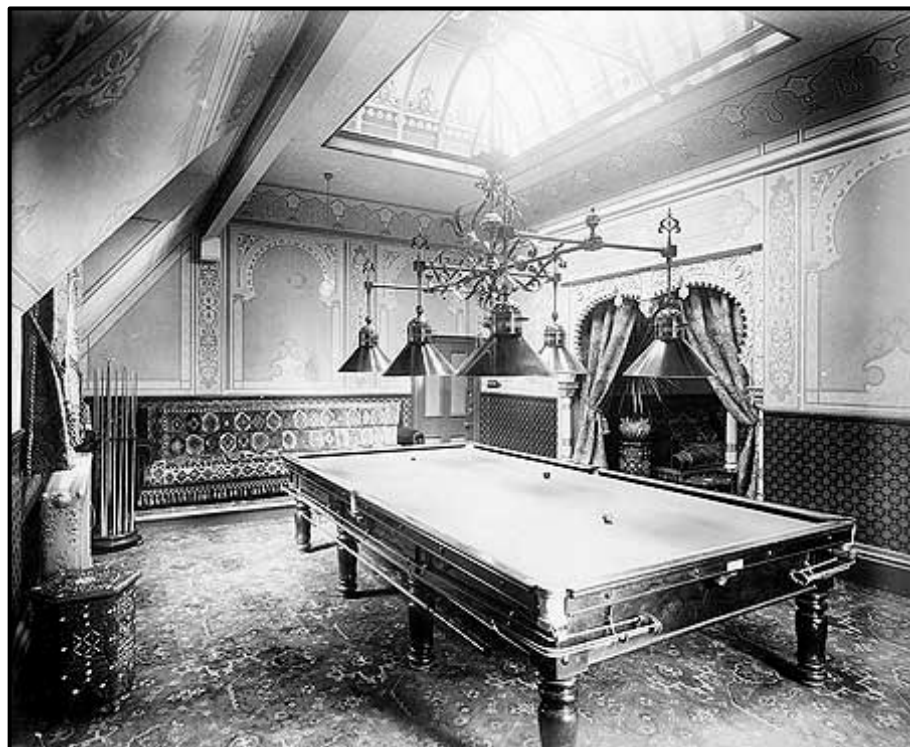


Fig.5.4: Billiard Room, Sorrento, 1899.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ English Heritage Archive, bl15544, Photograph.

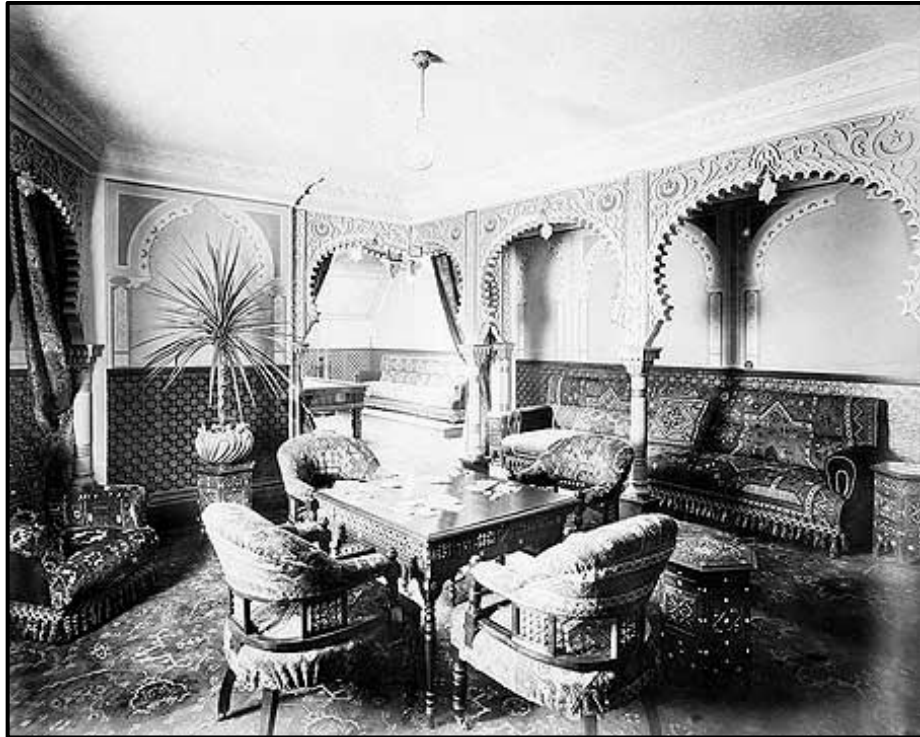


Fig.5.5: Smoking Room, Sorrento, 1899.⁶⁸



Fig.5.6: Drawing Room, Glaisdale, 1891.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ MSHGC, (C3/D2/A/F10/1), Photograph.

⁶⁸ MSHGC, (C2/D1/F10/13), Photograph.



Fig.5.7: Drawing Room, Sorrento, 1899.⁷⁰



Fig.5.8: Drawing Room, The Dell, 1891.⁷¹

⁶⁹ English Heritage Archive, bl10873, Photograph.

⁷⁰ English Heritage Archive, bl15545, Photograph.



Fig.5.9: Boudoir, Sorrento, 1899.⁷²

The Sorrento hall was also large enough for a fireplace. The size of fireplaces and the materials they were made of denoted the status of the room and the home. They were available in cast iron, wood, plaster and marble, and a range of decorative features, including carved columns and encaustic tiles, which made them accessible to all layers of the middle class. Contemporary advice writers were critical of what they saw as pretentious fireplaces, which suggests that some middle-class householders overstepped contemporary bounds of good taste. Jane Ellen Panton, for example, preferred simple unobtrusive wooden mantelpieces rather than 'staring white marble', especially in smaller homes, particularly disliked fireplaces aping stone or 'the aesthetic of the Stately Home' and recommended covering fireplaces as in the Sorrento Boudoir (Fig.5.9).⁷³ Uffculme's huge drawing room

⁷¹ English Heritage Archive, bl11015, Photograph.

⁷² English Heritage Archive, bl15550, Photograph.

⁷³ Panton, *From Kitchen to Garret*, p.7.

fireplace and Sorrento's white ensemble featuring marble neo-classical fireplace, tall mirrored over-mantel and door architraves, might come into this category, but show the importance of grand fireplaces in the status stakes and highlight the upper-middle-class status of these homes (Figs.5.7 & 10). Fireplaces in Glaisdale and The Dell were smaller, though delicately carved, whilst the fireplace at Greengate was modest: they were more in keeping with the size of their rooms and the status of the home (Figs.5.6, 8 & 11). Bedroom fireplaces were small, as at Sorrento, but those in servants' rooms were smaller still, possibly with a painted wooden surround, highlighting class differentiation. (Fig.5.12a/b).

Fireplace mantels and over-mantels became fashionable in the 1870s and were 'shrines' to middle-class culture.⁷⁴ They displayed chinaware, glassware, candlesticks, clocks, plates, figurines and bronzes that revealed the owners' artistic erudition, taste and style, their skills in arrangement and conspicuous consumption. This is reflected in the two Satsuma Vases costing £1 17s 6d and £3 10s 0d and a Bronze Pot costing £2 0s 0d the Blackwells bought from Liberty & Co., Regent Street, London in 1895.⁷⁵ Decorative objects came in different qualities, highlighting the social hierarchy: china and porcelain were relatively cheap whilst porcelain and French bronze figures were at the upper end of the market, and coloured over-glaze and Parian ware were marble substitutes for the masses.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Logan, *The Victorian Parlour*, p.117.

⁷⁵ MSHGC, (C3/D2/A/F10/2-3), RBA, Bills & Receipts. The total of £7 7s.0d in 1890 was c., £605 in 2017.

⁷⁶ Logan, *The Victorian Parlour*, pp.93, 107, 127-8 & 189.



Fig.5.10: Drawing Room, Uffculme.⁷⁷



Fig.5.11: Dining Room, Greengate, 1891.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ PCFA, Photograph.

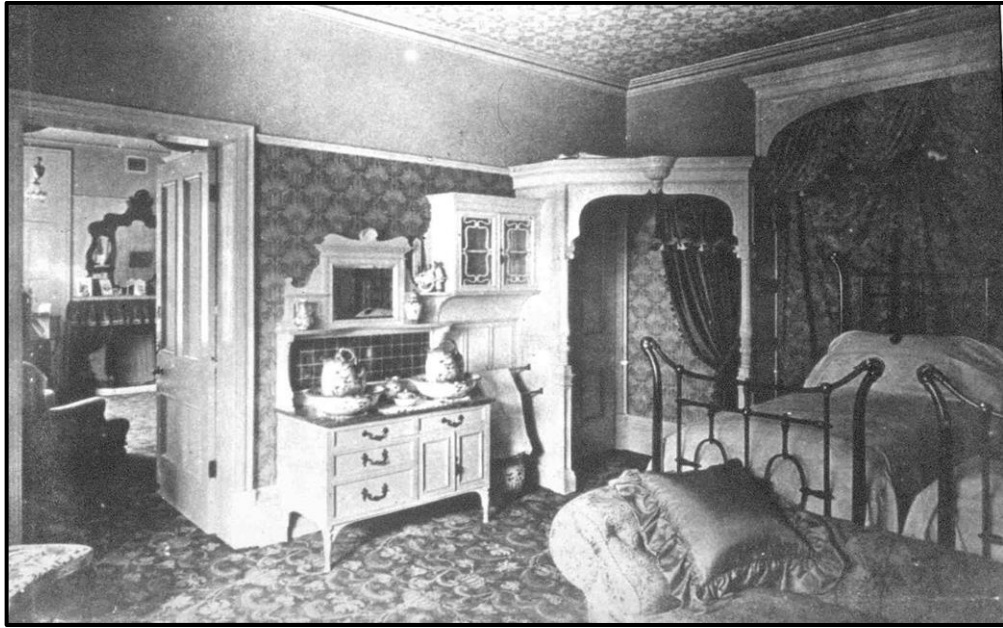


Fig.5.12a: Main Bedroom, Sorrento, 1899.⁷⁹



Fig.5.12b: Main Bedroom, Sorrento, 1899.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ English Heritage Archive, bl10874, Photograph.

⁷⁹ MSHGC, (C2/D1/F10-/13), Photographs.

⁸⁰ MSHGC, (C2/D1/F10-/13), Photographs.



Fig.5.13: Dining Room, Sorrento, 1899.⁸¹

Cohen claims that inhabitants of even £35 houses could equip themselves with ‘the little luxuries and little refinements of modern civilisation’.⁸² The integrated mirrors seen in Figures 5.2-3, 9 & 13 and particularly Figures 5.6 & 10, were important, because visually they doubled room contents, contributing to the impression of material wealth. Coal-fires produced mess, smoke and smells, outcomes that photographs cannot depict. According to Bryson, a ‘typical’ middle-class family would burn about a ton of coal per month.⁸³ The Blackwells spent £42 14s 8d in 1893 on coal, coke and slack, an average of approximately £3 11s 3d per month from a local coal merchant, costs which testify to the size of their home

⁸¹ MSHGC, (C2/D1/F10-/13), Photograph.

⁸² Cohen, *Household Gods*, p.133. £35 in 1890 was c., £2,900 in 2017.

⁸³ Bryson, B., *At Home: A Short History of Private Life* (London: Transworld Publishers, 2010), p.220.

and their financial status.⁸⁴ Central heating developed towards the end of the century and cast-iron radiators that highlight social status and technical innovation are visible in the Sorrento drawing and billiard rooms (Figs.5.4 & 7).

The decoration of halls demonstrated differentiation within the middle class. The Uffculme and Sorrento halls had elaborate ornamental plasterwork cornices and ceilings and the drawing room at Brackley Dene 'a beautiful moulded ceiling', but cornices in the less-well-to-do Park Hill homes, were much simpler (Figs.5.6, 8 & 11).⁸⁵ The invention of fibrous plaster enabled the mass-production of lengths of cornice, making fancy cornicing within the province of the less-well-to-do, and new light-weight anaglypta wallpapers gave the impression of plasterwork.⁸⁶ The wood panelling below the dado in the Sorrento hall and library was expensive, but could be substituted by cheaper heavy-weight wallpapers (Figs.5.1 & 3). Scrolled plaster work, such as embellishments and arches, added interest to confined hallways, raising their status. Chemical dyes introduced in the 1850s enabled the production of patterned and flocked wallpapers and richer colours, and improvements in wallpaper manufacture subsequently made patterned wallpaper inexpensive and widely available.⁸⁷ The removal of excise taxes on paper helped lower the price of wallpapers too. The Park Hill drawing rooms have the five sections of skirting, dado, 'filling', frieze and cornice, popular from the 1880s and, at the time, considered essential in any house with a pretension to artistic and aesthetic taste (Figs.5.6, 8, & 11).⁸⁸ The Sorrento hall, library and billiard and

⁸⁴ MSHC, (C3/D2/A/F10/2-3), RBA, Bills & Receipts. J. Hudson, Coal dealer, 72 Vincent Street, Balsall Heath. £42 14s 8d in 1890 was c., £3,500 in 2017 and £3 11s 3d was £300.

⁸⁵ MSHGC, (C3/D2/A/F10/1), RBA, Contemporary comment.

⁸⁶ Barrett & Phillips, *Suburban Style*, p.57; Osband, *Victorian House Style*, p.127.

⁸⁷ Paterson, *Life in Victorian Britain*, p.91; Osband, *Victorian House Style*, p.140.

⁸⁸ Barrett & Phillips, *Suburban Style*, p.108.

smoking rooms still had a dado in 1899 even though by then they were mostly considered old-fashioned, showing Moseley residents held onto approaches they liked regardless of fashion (Figs.5.2-5). Dado rails were originally intended to protect the walls from chairs arranged around the edge of the room, but as furniture moved into the room they became redundant. Wall treatments were another area where status was displayed, but the less well-off could emulate their social superiors thanks to new technology.

Floorings too highlighted differentiation, but again new technology brought cheap substitutes. Superior homes might have a costly fitted carpet, as in the Sorrento hall, expensive 'heavy, solid wood floors', in which a decorative pattern was set, as at Brackley Dene, or comparatively expensive Turkish, Persian and Axminster rugs as in the drawing and dining rooms photographed (Figs.5.6-8 &11).⁸⁹ However, new machine-weaving techniques and power-loom weaving mass-produced carpet designs brought carpet squares within reach of most villa dwellers.⁹⁰ The less affluent opted for plain wooden floors, drugget or oilcloth and alternative hall flooring included stone, slate, tiles, wood and linoleum.⁹¹ Charles Eastlake believed that encaustic tiles were the 'best mode of treating a hall floor'.⁹² More modest homes commonly had patterned tiled porches and halls, and oilcloth in geometric designs imitated the encaustic tiles of grander houses. The small long-haired rugs in the Sorrento hall show that the occupiers were followers of fashion: they were recommended by contemporary advisors to give a 'homely' feel and were also found in homes of the wealthy

⁸⁹ MSHGC, (C3/D2/A/F10/1), RBA, Contemporary comment.

⁹⁰ Barrett & Phillips, *Suburban Style*, p.68; Paterson, *Life in Victorian Britain*, p.91.

⁹¹ Osband, *Victorian House Style*, p.148; Barrett & Phillips, *Suburban Style*, p.68. Oilcloth was a type of linoleum made from cork and linseed oil on a hessian backing. Drugget was an inexpensive coarse cloth.

⁹² Barrett & Phillips, *Suburban Style*, p.68. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (odnb 8414): Charles Eastlake (1793 – 1865) was an early nineteenth century British painter, gallery director, collector and writer. He wrote *Hints in Household Taste* in 1868 and was the nephew of the first director of *the National Gallery* and later keeper of the Gallery.

as at Uffculme (Figs.5.1 & 10). Visitors to middle-class suburban homes could quickly place the home within the social hierarchy through the quality of the flooring.

Window treatments were important for exhibiting wealth, style and taste, but also in preserving privacy and status. The Sorrento hall curtains were elaborately draped, tasselled, ruched and festooned and had an ornamental scalloped valance (lambrequin). The large front drawing-room bay windows in the Sorrento drawing room had three rich-looking curtain layers, including a ruched 'blind', probably muslin and known as the 'glass curtain', a lace curtain, and heavy, highly patterned, elaborate velvet drapes (Fig.5.7).⁹³ This popular layering provided security and privacy, insured against draughts, and prevented direct light fading precious hardwoods, 'grained' finishes or wallpapers. Faded finishes were 'down at heel' and signalled failure to keep up middle-class standards or economic difficulties.⁹⁴ Excessively ornate curtain arrangements drew criticism, though: they were 'symptomatic of the desire for everything in one's villa to be just a little more than it seemed', according to Charles Eastlake, which implies an insecure seeking after status and concerns about excess.⁹⁵ In 1890 when living in Park Hill, Agnes Blackwell bought 46 yards of Madras Muslin for £4 1s 4 ½d, had 'dwarf curtains' made for £2 15s 0d, bought cream Holland Blinds with lace edging and tassels and sun-blinds in 'best linen' for £15 3s 4d.⁹⁶ When moving up in the world in 1894, she bought Guipure lace curtains for £1 12s 3d and in 1896 blinds for £3 13s 0d for her

⁹³ Lasdun, *Victorians at Home*, p.10; Paterson, *Life in Victorian Britain*, p.84.

⁹⁴ Lawrence & Chris, *The Period House*, p.73.

⁹⁵ Barrett & Phillips, *Suburban Style*, p.68.

⁹⁶ MSHGC, (C3/D2/A/F10/2-3), RBA, Bills & Receipts. This total amount in 1890 was c., £1,800 in 2017. She bought this curtaining from William Hopkins & Son, Seymour Works, Albert Street, Birmingham.

new and more prestigious home, Brackley Dene, Chantry Road.⁹⁷ Residents of suburban terraces satisfied their need to make an impression with, for example, ferns in giant eggshells or a stuffed cockatoo on bamboo stands in their front windows.⁹⁸

Doors and doorways had curtains too – portières – which varied according to social station. Those in The Dell drawing room were much simpler than those in Sorrento (Fig.5.7-8). In boudoirs and bedrooms they covered doors leading into halls or corridors to protect the privacy of the master and mistress from servants (Figs.5.9 & 12). Kerr proclaimed privacy ‘a first principle with the better classes of English people’ and that ‘Family Rooms’ should be ‘essentially private’ and ‘as much as possible the family thoroughfares’ too.⁹⁹ Delap, Griffin and Wills note how servants pervaded many or all domestic space, and suggest uniforms were attempts to render them invisible.¹⁰⁰ Hamlett claims an ‘elaborate and tightly organised timetable’ ensured servants and employers never met in the same room.¹⁰¹ Privacy from servants was easier in larger houses, but servants lived close to family members in smaller homes, although they were expected to be unobtrusive. Larger homes had separate staircases, but there were few of these in Moseley. Having only one servant did not necessarily mean warmth and intimacy, although distinctions between family and servants could become blurred. The presence of servants meant the middle-class home was never wholly private or socially restricted.

⁹⁷ MSHGC, (C3/D2/A/F10/2-3), RBA, Bills & Receipts. This total amount in 1890 was c., £1,800 in 2017. She bought these from Chamberlain, King & Jones, Union Passage, Designers and Manufacturers of Artistic Domestic Furniture Interior Decoration and Upholstery, English and Foreign carpets etc; and Holliday & Co., Silk Mercers, Drapers, Haberdashers, Hosiers, etc., Complete House Furnishers, New Street, both of Birmingham.

⁹⁸ Cohen, *Household Gods*, pp.6 & 135.

⁹⁹ Kerr, *The English Gentleman's House or How to Plan English Residence*, p.74.

¹⁰⁰ Delap, Griffin & Wills, *The Politics of Domestic Authority in Britain since 1800*, p.4.

¹⁰¹ Hamlett, *Material Relations*, pp.55-58.

Lighting was another vehicle for status and differentiation in the middle-class home. The Sorrento hall was lit by an elegant stained-glass lantern, the Uffculme drawing room featured splendid central gas lighting, whilst the Sorrento drawing room had gas brackets alongside the fireplace, wall-mounted because of the necessary piping (Figs.5.7 & 10). Gas table lamps became possible later, joined to gas taps by tubes. Gas was more widely used by the late 1880s and was considered reliable by the 1890s when incandescent gas mantles producing a brighter light were developed.¹⁰² Gas lighting created dirt and dust, though, - another aspect not visible in photographs. Better lighting impacted considerably on interior decoration; it led to rich dark colours such as the popular hall colours Prussian blue, sage green and burgundy, and was multiplied in the polished surfaces and mirrors, enhancing impressions of wealth. Althans Blackwell had gas tubes fitted by William Southall, a Birmingham Gas Fitter, at a cost of £25 10s 6d to fifty locations in 1892 in his new home, Brackley Dene.¹⁰³ Electric lighting became available in 1899. Sorrento had an engine room installed, which suggested that they were using electricity, showing their social and economic superiority.¹⁰⁴ Lighting improvements lengthened the day for leisure and time spent with the family after dark, impacting significantly on the domestic lives of the middle class.¹⁰⁵

The Sorrento hall and the area immediately beyond displayed an array of art works that reflected the aristocratic long gallery. Displaying art was important to the status of the

¹⁰² Lasdun, *Victorians at Home*, pp.111 & 162.

¹⁰³ MSHGC, (C3/D2/A/F10/2-3), RBA, Bills & Receipts. William Southall, Gas Fitter, 100 Upper Tower Street, Birmingham; John Hunt & Co., Manufacturers of Gas Chandeliers, Sampson Road, Birmingham. £25 10s 6d in 1890 was c., £2,100 in 2017.

¹⁰⁴ LBA, BPKNU, BCK/MC/7/3/1, Building Plan, 3435, Alterations (additions to stables etc), Sorrento, 1898.

¹⁰⁵ Bryden, I., & Floyd, J., *Domestic Space: Reading the Nineteenth-century Interior* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), p.9.

middle-class home and family as it signalled educated refinement. Thomas Ellis' valuable oil paintings and water colours were described as 'formed with great care and judgement' when his possessions at Sorrento were sold following his death in 1890.¹⁰⁶ The better-off invested in oils, whilst prints and engravings were a cheaper alternative. In Glaisdale and Greengate art works were smaller and fewer, but they too demonstrate artistic erudition, showing that culture was not necessarily the province only of the better-off (Figs.5.6 & 11). In his will in 1891 John Avins of Highfield House, Church Road, Moseley, left family portraits, ten oil paintings, two bronzes of Columbus and Galileo and a timepiece with a figure of Lucretia to the Mayor and Aldermen and the City Art Gallery for the citizens of Birmingham, but these were refused, because they were not of sufficient merit to justify the limited storage space.¹⁰⁷ This refusal highlights the presence of an artistic hierarchy that showed that even the Moseley well-to-do could be found wanting.



Fig.5.14: Sculpture bought by Althans Blackwell, 1893.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ *Birmingham Daily Post*, Thursday 1 May, 1890.

¹⁰⁷ LBA, MS 1672 (Add I)(Acc 1991/137), the will of John Avins, d.1891.

¹⁰⁸ MSHGC, (C3/D2/F10/18), RBA, Sales Catalogue, 1991, Lot 560.

The artistic acquisitions of Althans and Agnes Blackwell reveal the importance of art works to the better-off in Moseley. In 1893 whilst in Florence, they bought an important original figure group of a young man and girl, 'Mi vuoi bene' or 'Declaration of Love' (Fig.5.14).¹⁰⁹ It was carved in best Carrara marble with jasper and came with a revolving column stand from Fabrique de Mosaïque de Florence de Ferdinand Vichi. It cost £2,100 and £700 was paid on account with the balance paid on delivery.¹¹⁰ This was a high status purchase that signalled their position in the social hierarchy. They bought a range of art works: an oil painting by the American artist Walter Blackman for £16 in 1895 and, in 1897, a water colour by Helena Maguire (£20) and a painting by A. Glendenning (£11), all from Frank Kendrick of Birmingham.¹¹¹ Elizabeth Mansfield argues that nineteenth century Britain sought material confirmation of their social attainments and aspirations through art and that the staggering growth of the art market was a response to middle-class attempts to emulate the aristocracy.¹¹² The Blackwells favoured rural scenes (fifty-one per cent), interior domestic scenes, both middle-class and cottage (nineteen per cent) and foreign scenes (nineteen per cent). Rural scenes and cottage interiors signalled idealised nostalgia for an imagined past rural idyll. Justine De Young's survey of fashion plates reveals that many 1860s plates show women in interiors and enclosed natural spaces engaged in acceptable domestic activities, such as the artwork from the Blackwell collection showing a young girl arranging flowers

¹⁰⁹ MSHGC, (C3/D2/F10/18), RBA, Sales Catalogue, 1991, Lot 560.

¹¹⁰ £2,100 in 1890 was c., £172,300 in 2017 and £700 was £57,400.

¹¹¹ MSHGC, (C3/D2/F10/2-3, RBA, Bills & Receipts. Frank Kendrick, Dealer in Modern Paintings and Water Colour Drawings, Carver and Guilder, 39 Newhall Street and 120 Edmund Street, Birmingham. The total, £47, in 1890 was c., £3,900 in 2017.

¹¹² Mansfield, Elizabeth C., 'Women, art history and the public sphere: Emilia Dilke's eighteenth century' in Balducci & Belnap-Jensen, (eds.), *Women, Femininity and Public Space in European Visual Culture, 1789-1914*, (London & New York: Routledge, 2014), p.193.

(Fig.5.15).¹¹³ This can reflect notions of separate spheres for women, but De Young also found a 'persistent, if limited, repertoire of outdoor and more active scenes' that increased in number, variety and inventiveness over time, showing 'women's agency and active engagement with world'.¹¹⁴



Fig.5.15: George Goodwin Kilburne R.I., R.O.I. (1839-1924).¹¹⁵

The analysis highlights how new technology and mass production allowed the less-well-off to emulate their social superiors and brought improvements to decorating and furnishing. Halls prefigured the decoration and furnishing of other spaces in the home, setting the home's social status. The Moseley images show well-ordered, clutter-free spaces in which furniture and objects were arranged with discernment and decoration and furnishings which exhibited taste and style and were well-maintained and new-looking, which testified to frequent

¹¹³ De Young, 'Representing the Modern Woman', pp.100-102.

¹¹⁴ De Young, 'Representing the Modern Woman', pp.103-107.

¹¹⁵ MSHGC, (C3/D2/F10/18), RBA, Sales Catalogue, 1991, Lot 196, Water colour, 17 ½" x 23".

renewals.¹¹⁶ The commitment to decorating and furnishing suggests that suburban homemakers were preoccupied with outward appearances and ‘trifling details of genteel living’.¹¹⁷ Images, though, are snapshots and show little of the life that went on in the home.

After leaving the hall, residents and visitors entered the drawing and dining rooms. Almost all of the Moseley plans (ninety per cent) and just over half of catalogues sampled (fifty-four per cent) identified separate ‘drawing’ and ‘dining’ rooms – spaces that emphasised status and were not part of the homes of the lower classes. 1890 house adverts mentioned ‘dining’ and ‘drawing’ or ‘sitting’ rooms far more than 1881 adverts, suggesting their increased importance. However, ten per cent of Moseley plans, all located near Balsall Heath, a less salubrious area, used ‘parlour’, ‘sitting room’ and ‘living room’, which were working-class terms. Only three per cent, which were all in Trafalgar Road, a lower-status road, had only one reception room.

Though photographed around the same time, the drawing and dining rooms display striking differences in taste and style that do not necessarily relate to economic status. The rooms reveal two popular architectural styles, the Queen Anne Revival style evident in the Uffculme and Sorrento drawing rooms, and the Arts and Crafts Movement in The Dell and Greengate rooms (Figs.5.7-8 & 10-11). Bilston suggests that the Queen Anne style was popular because it embraced the domestic, art and enlightenment, and was a reaction against the heaviness of the mid-Victorian era.¹¹⁸ The Arts and Crafts movement came to the fore through links between the ‘spheres of high art, home decoration and shops’ and a

¹¹⁶ Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, p.74.

¹¹⁷ Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, p.3.

¹¹⁸ Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, pp.99-100.

powerful web of connections by the artistic elite of the period, Henry Cole, John Ruskin, William Morris and Charles Eastlake, and a sense of the genuine allied to Morris's vernacular ideals surfaced.¹¹⁹ The advice writer 'Mrs Panton' strongly criticised fake finishes – the fireplaces made to look like marble, for instance, signalling an inherent snobbery and the necessity of 'knowing your place'.¹²⁰ Decorating and furnishing was also influenced by nostalgia for the past and sanctuary from the fast-moving present, which fuelled particular tastes. By the turn of the century possessing antiques was no longer considered to be eccentric: 'Chinamania', for instance, beginning in the 1860s, signalled a taste for the old and exotic and the mania spread to silver, pewter and other items of *bric-à-brac*.¹²¹ Bilston claims that the uptake of antiques replaced the much derided obsession with handmade objects, and the rich imported objects assessed and guaranteed by experts and connoisseurs.¹²² The striking differences in the Moseley drawing and dining rooms show that suburbanites were able to take up different styles and express new ideas about taste and individuality in many ways.¹²³ The Japanese fan in The Dell drawing room communicated the artistic flair that was so important. Uffculme and Sorrento drawing rooms were formal, elegant and luxurious-looking, but very different in the way they were decorated and furnished (Figs.5.7 & 10). The Park Hill drawing rooms were more informal and less luxuriously furnished, but still differ widely. The antique ambience of the Sorrento drawing room contrasted with the other drawing rooms (Fig.5.7). Suburban homes varied

¹¹⁹ Cohen, *Household Gods*, pp. xiii, 14, 64 & 72. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (odnb 5852, 24291 and 19322: Sir Henry Cole (1808 – 1882) was the first director of the South Kensington Museum. John Ruskin (1819 –1900) was a Victorian art critic, water colourist, social thinker and philanthropist. William Morris (1834 –1896) was a British textile designer, poet, novelist, translator, and socialist activist associated with the British Arts and Crafts Movement. He opened a decorating business in 1861.

¹²⁰ Panton, *From Kitchen to Garret*.

¹²¹ Cohen, *Household Gods*, pp.133, 150 & 154.

¹²² Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, pp.99 & 111.

¹²³ Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, p.79.

significantly irrespective of size and economic status, which counters contemporary ideas signalled by Thompson that suburbs were 'indistinguishable from one another'.¹²⁴



Fig.5.16: Dining Room Fireplace, Uffculme.¹²⁵

How far the designation of space and decoration and furnishing were influenced by gender is a debated question. Kerr associated drawing rooms with the feminine, writing that they, 'like other female spaces', needed 'cheerfulness, refinement of elegance, lightness' and 'comparatively delicate' decoration.¹²⁶ Male spaces were supposedly darker and heavier-looking. The Moseley photographs give a mixed impression. The drawing rooms were lighter than the dining rooms and had floral wallpapers and textiles and more delicate furniture,

¹²⁴ Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, p.3.

¹²⁵ PCFA.

¹²⁶ Osband, *Victorian House Style*, p.83.

though Uffculme's drawing room fireplace and over-mantel was large and dark (Fig.5.16). The dining rooms were more heavily patterned with darker, imposing furniture and fireplaces and large paintings sporting heavy frames (Figs.5.13 & 16). The Greengate dining room, though, was lighter and less heavily patterned (Figs.5.11). As Gordon and Nair argue, the ways these rooms are presented might reflect style choices rather than gender and indeed the Moseley drawing and dining rooms differ considerably in style, which supports this thesis.¹²⁷ They are not conclusively different either in terms of what might be considered male or female decoration and furnishing, which accords with Gordon and Nair's suggestion that such differences might not even exist.

Some items in the Moseley rooms, however, have gender associations. A stag's head that bespoke 'the country gentleman' hung above the Sorrento fireplace, and similar features furnished the Uffculme hall (Figs.5.1 & 2). In 1890, Althans Blackwell bought 'gents chairs' with pillow seats upholstered in tapestry and silk trimmings for £7 7s 0d and a 'lady's chair' with 'soft pillow seat upholstered in rich silks and tapestry ensuite with trimmings' for £9 9s 0d from Chamberlain, King & Jones.¹²⁸ Copious chairs are visible in Glaisdale drawing room, Greengate dining room and Sorrento Library (Figs.5.3, 6 & 11). Small armless chairs were considered more appropriate for women's skirts and crinolines, and can be seen in the Uffculme and Glaisdale drawing rooms (Figs.5.6 & 10). The dining and drawing rooms had plants and vases of flowers, The Dell drawing room a shawl thrown over the back of a chair and the Greengate dining room and the Sorrento bedroom each had a chaise longue, which

¹²⁷ Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, pp.124-125.

¹²⁸ MSHGC, (C3/D2/A/F10/2-3), RBA, Bills & Receipts. Chamberlain, King & Jones of Union Street, Union Passage, 'Designers and Manufacturers of Artistic Domestic Furniture Interior Decoration and Upholstery / English and foreign carpets etc'. £9 9s 0d in 1890 was c., £800 in 2017.

suggests women's presence (Fig.5.6-8 & 10-13). Music-making was supposedly a female accomplishment, particularly playing the piano, and according to Aston, owning a piano was an important mark of gentility.¹²⁹ Uffculme and Glaisdale drawing rooms contained pianos (Figs.5.6 & 10). Amongst the possessions of Thomas Ellis of Sorrento sold following his death in 1890 were a grand piano by Brinsmead and Sons' (a London firm) and two cottage pianofortes by Kirkman'.¹³⁰ 'Mrs Panton' described pianos as 'very ugly pieces of furniture' and recommended draping material over them.¹³¹ Althans Blackwell bought violas in 1896 for 5s from William Sydenham of Tamworth, Staffordshire, and had a Victorian inlaid music cabinet with shelves for 'Songs', 'Sacred' and 'Operas'.¹³² Gunn suggests musical performance was one way in which women transmitted cultural capital, because this signalled the socio-cultural status of the household.¹³³

Gordon and Nair emphasise that drawing and dining rooms were used by both men and women and that the drawing room was a family space for intellectual and creative activities.¹³⁴ The family photographs in the Uffculme drawing room support this: they show pride in the family and a desire to display them to visitors. Hamlett, Osband and others see the drawing room as the domain of women, particularly during the day-time when most men were out at work, but also as the primary social space used for public entertaining,

¹²⁹ Aston, Jennifer, *Female Entrepreneurship in Nineteenth Century England: Engagement in the Urban economy* (London: Palgrave, MacMillan, 2016), p.155.

¹³⁰ *Birmingham Daily Post*, Thursday 1 May, 1890. John Brinsmead & Sons was one of England's premier piano manufacturers, established in 1836. Their pianos were often elaborate and costly. Kirkman was a very successful builder of harpsichords and forte-pianos in the eighteenth century and his sons continued the business into the nineteenth century.

¹³¹ Panton, *From Kitchen to Garret: Hints for Young Householders*, p.110-111.

¹³² MSHGC, (C3/D2/A/F10/2-3) & (C3/D2/F10/18), RBA, Bills & Receipts.

¹³³ Gunn, 'Translating Bourdieu', p.55.

¹³⁴ Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, p.126.

family interactions and the setting for the daily 5 o'clock tea.¹³⁵ Hamlett shows that parents controlled and constructed relationships with their children by permitting or restricting children's access to the drawing room: granting access built warmth and intimacy between children and parents and was a mark of favour, but brought the possibility of favouritism and sibling rivalry.¹³⁶ Where there were only two reception rooms, the drawing and dining rooms were inevitably multi-purpose, multi-occupational and non-gendered spaces. The books in the Glaisdale drawing room and the Greengate dining room and the bookcase in The Dell drawing room, suggest these families read in these rooms in the absence of a library (Figs.5.6, 8 & 11). The mistress of The Dell had her writing desk in the drawing room, whereas the mistress of Sorrento had hers in her boudoir (Figs.5.8-9). There is, however, no evidence of creative activities in any image. Such evidence may, of course, have been tidied away when the rooms were photographed in the interests of presenting a 'show home'. Moseley women certainly did sewing: the Middlemore Charity Home Annual Reports show Eliza Avins and her daughter, Eliza Parthenia, donated 270 items sewn by them between 1894 and 1904.¹³⁷ Bilston says handicrafts were being increasingly derided by an emerging Arts and Crafts culture, though manuals, 'ladies' journals, specialist craft departments, shops and mail order firms show them flourishing.¹³⁸ The homes photographed had servants so the question of leisure-time was not an issue for them, but women with little help in the home would not have had much spare time. Being 'a lady of leisure', so much part of the

¹³⁵ Hamlett, 'Tiresome trips downstairs', p.118; Osband, *Victorian House Style*, p.83; Logan, *The Victorian Parlour*, p.26; Barrett & Phillips, *Suburban Style*, p.36.

¹³⁶ Hamlett, *Material Relations*, pp.8, 111, 113-116; Hamlett, 'Tiresome trips downstairs', pp.114-119 & 124; Hamlett, 'The Dining Room Should Be the Man's Paradise, as the Drawing Room Is the Woman's', pp.576-591.

¹³⁷ LBA, Middlemore Charity Home, Annual Reports, 1892-1902 and 1903-1912, L41.31/19-45.

¹³⁸ Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, p.74; Logan, *The Victorian Parlour*, p.163.

stereotype of Victorian middle-class womanhood, would have been difficult.¹³⁹ Drawing and dining rooms were key family rooms and used at different times as female, parental, family and entertaining spaces.

Drawing and dining rooms were not private rooms, because, as Gordon and Nair argue, in many families a number of people used them, as well as visitors and guests.¹⁴⁰ The Sorrento dining table set for a party of people and displaying the family silver and glassware on a sparkling white linen tablecloth, highlights the family wealth, but also shows this was a social space for both men and women. Delap, Griffin and Wills argue that one aspect of 'character' that became a crucial component of respectable manliness, was more exclusive and intimate forms of sociability within the home, resulting in drawing and dining rooms becoming key locations for genteel contact.¹⁴¹ Gordon and Nair describe the Victorian home as 'an ocean of sociability', but categorises it as 'private socialisation' since entertaining was mainly limited to family, friends and acquaintances.¹⁴² They claim entertaining in the home forged a common middle-class identity and affirmed status and standing by displaying conspicuous consumption.¹⁴³ The suburban middle-class home was thus far from a confined and confining private or gendered arena.

The smooth-running of the service areas was crucial to the organisation of the home. Service areas included the kitchen, scullery, pantry and larder, and various storage rooms. They were the domain of servants, but supervision of servants, particularly the kitchen, was

¹³⁹ Langland, 'Nobody's Angels', p.294.

¹⁴⁰ Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, p.126.

¹⁴¹ Delap, Griffin & Wills, *The Politics of Domestic Authority in Britain since 1800*, p.6.

¹⁴² Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, pp.131-132.

¹⁴³ Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, p.6.

considered essential to a wife's authority, though housekeepers often fulfilled this role in large establishments.¹⁴⁴ The separation of the service areas and its sights, sounds and especially smells from the family and visitors was essential: Brackley Dene's domestic areas were divided from the hall by swinging doors with two round glazed insets.¹⁴⁵ Segregation within the service area was important too: all Moseley building plans had separate kitchens and sculleries, an essential hallmark of respectability. Kitchens were for cooking and sculleries for activities that involved water.¹⁴⁶ Decoration was practical and hygienic: kitchen walls were regularly whitewashed or distempered; laundry blue was added to paint to repel flies and impart an atmosphere of coolness; tongue-and-groove boarding painted with washable gloss paint or tiled covered the lower part of walls; and floors were stone slabs or unglazed tiles.¹⁴⁷ Innumerable items were needed for the service areas. In 1895, Althans Blackwell bought items for the kitchen and handyman from James Williams of Moseley, including oil (7½d each time), various brushes including a bannister brush at 1s 3d, a scrubbing brush (5d) and a carpet broom (3s), string (6d per ball), a lid for a kettle (7d), needles, a saw file, hooks, screws and a frying pan (6½d), which cost 17s 10d.¹⁴⁸

New technology made a significant impact upon service areas. The kitchen range developed considerably in the later nineteenth century.¹⁴⁹ By 1888 most ranges had open and closed facilities that provided the best all-round cooking options. Cheap models were made,

¹⁴⁴ Hamlett, *Material Relations*, p.54.

¹⁴⁵ MSHGC, (C3/D2/F10/16), RBA, Contemporary comment.

¹⁴⁶ www.victoriansociety.org.uk, 'The Victorian society', 'Kitchens'. 'What was the Purpose of Sculleries?' Accessed 2015.

¹⁴⁷ www.victoriansociety.org.uk, 'The Victorian Society', 'Kitchens', 'How did the Victorians decorate the walls of their kitchens?' Accessed 2015.

¹⁴⁸ MSHGC, (C3/D2/A/F10/2-3), RBA, Bills & Receipts. James Williams, General Furnishing Ironmonger, Moseley. This total in 1890 was c., £73 in 2017. 1d in 1890 was c., 34p in 2017 and £17.10 was £73.

¹⁴⁹ Eveleigh, *Firegrates and Kitchen Ranges*, pp.24-25, 28 & 31.

allowing the less well-off to take advantage of better cooking facilities. Domestic plumbing improved and ranges increasingly provided hot water for the house. Cleaning kitchen ranges and iron drawing room grates was tedious and unpleasant, though, and flues had to be cleared regularly of soot, activities not evident in photographs.¹⁵⁰ Open ranges generated huge amounts of heat, and so kitchens had high ceilings and windows set as high as possible.¹⁵¹ By the beginning of the twentieth century gas, and later electricity, became serious rivals to coal. However, fear of explosions and eating food impregnated with harmful fumes delayed the widespread introduction of gas ranges and they were only beginning to replace solid fuel ranges in any numbers in the 1890s.¹⁵²

A range of storage rooms helped ensure good management. Larders and pantries stored meat and other foodstuffs respectively. Fifty-eight per cent of plans labelled 'pantry' and twenty-six per cent showed more than one. Catalogues had seventeen pantries and larders, but also china, butler and cook's pantries.¹⁵³ Twenty-seven per cent of building plans had a 'larder' and four per cent had both 'pantry' and 'larder'. Three per cent of plans had a 'Knife Room', twenty-seven per cent had walk-in rooms for china, and others cupboards for linen and tools, whilst catalogues had a boot store, 'excellently fitted wardrobes and other cupboards', work and store rooms and closets for clothes.¹⁵⁴ There were separate spaces for ashes, coals and a W.C. in the yard. Wine was a high-status drink and twenty-four per cent of

¹⁵⁰ The maid collected cinders in a housemaid's box in which she carried stove brushes, black-lead to polish the iron parts and emery cloth or brick dust and paraffin for the bright parts.

¹⁵¹ www.victoriansociety.co.uk, 'The Victorian Society', 'Kitchens'. 'Why were the windows in Victorian kitchens so high?' Accessed 2015.

¹⁵² www.victoriansociety.co.uk, 'The Victorian Society', 'Kitchens'. 'When did gas cookers become available?' Accessed 2015.

¹⁵³ LBA, Sales Catalogues, Bham/Sc 890, 811 & 1194.

¹⁵⁴ LBA, BPKNU, BCK/MC/7/3/1; LBA, Sales Catalogues Bham/Sc 890, 1260 & 456.

¹⁵⁴ LBA, Sales Catalogues, Bham/Sc 890, 1260, & 456.

plans showing cellars had a specified wine cellar. Twenty per cent of catalogues mentioning cellars identified wine and beer cellars, and one had 'enclosed bins and vaults for storage and ventilation'.¹⁵⁵ Cellars also stored tools or wood (one and four per cent). Later in the century, concern about the damp and smells that signalled miasma in cellars, meant that many houses were built without them, but they did not go totally out of fashion.¹⁵⁶ Storage facilities were important to the smooth-running of the home, an impression important to the family's public image.

Larger middle-class houses had specialist rooms which signalled the high status of the residents. These included morning or breakfast rooms, studies, libraries, billiard and smoking rooms, boudoirs and dressing rooms. Only three per cent of Moseley building plans accessed had all these specialist rooms, suggesting this was not typical of Moseley.¹⁵⁷ Many middle-class houses, though, had a third reception room. According to Shirley Murphy 'every house of any pretensions above those of a cottage has nowadays its third room, called either morning or breakfast room, study or library'.¹⁵⁸ Nineteen per cent of the building plans and seven per cent of catalogues had breakfast rooms and in some the third room was a study. Adverts highlighted the number of reception rooms, showing that this was an important feature, and breakfast rooms featured more frequently in 1890 newspaper adverts than in 1881, which suggests their importance increased. Breakfast or morning rooms were sometimes contested spaces, but advice writers urged that the mistress should hold sway.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁵ LBA, Sales Catalogue, Bham/Sc 890.

¹⁵⁶ Barrett & Phillips, *Suburban Style*, p.54.

¹⁵⁷ LBA, Sales Catalogues, Bham/Sc 890 & 1890.

¹⁵⁸ Logan, *The Victorian Parlour*, p.23.

¹⁵⁹ Hamlett, J., 'Gender and Middle-Class Domestic Space in England, 1850-1910', *Gender and History*, Vol 21, No.3, pp.576-591, November 2009, p.578.

'Mrs Panton' argued strongly that the third room, a morning room, should 'be set aside emphatically for the mistresses' own room'.¹⁶⁰ Hamlett suggests that such rooms, when colonised by women, contributed to female freedom as an important site for female work.¹⁶¹ The Brackley Dene morning room was an intimate space and its light and airy feel and its material culture suggest a private female room (Fig.5.17). Hamlett, however, also claims that breakfast rooms were places where the family came together, for example, for the morning meal and as a sitting room later in the day.¹⁶² Delap, Griffin and Wills see the struggle for domestic authority as taking place in a domestic sphere whose boundaries were uncertain, changing and constantly contested.¹⁶³ The middle-class home certainly involved much negotiation.

The form and function of some specialist rooms suggest that they were primarily male spaces. The Uffculme study was dark with heavy leather seating and a sturdy desk (Fig.5.18). The Sorrento library had dark, varnished wood panelling below the dado rail, a dark fireplace and mantel, a dark table cover, padded seating, highly decorative cornice and landscape paintings in large gilt frames (Fig.5.3). The books on the table in the Sorrento drawing room, though, suggest people read there, which implies the Sorrento library was a male preserve (Fig.5.3). However, the Blackwell library contained *Cassells Household Guide* and copies of *Cassells Family Magazine* from 1881-1885, *Weldons Encyclopaedia of Needlework* and *Mrs Beeton's Everyday Cookery Book*, suggesting female readers. This complies with Hamlett's claim that many male specialist rooms were not private spaces, but set up to enable people

¹⁶⁰ Panton, *From Kitchen to Garret*, p.92.

¹⁶¹ Hamlett, 'Gender and Middle-Class Domestic Space in England, 1850-1910', p.582.

¹⁶² Hamlett, *Material Relations*, pp.49-50.

¹⁶³ Delap, Griffin & Wills, *The Politics of Domestic Authority in Britain since 1800*, p.8.

to come together in a desire for intimacy.¹⁶⁴ The many seats in the Sorrento library also support this claim. Owning and displaying the right books was very important for middle-class aspirations of gentility. In 1896, Althans Blackwell bought five different titles at a cost of £1 4s 6d from C. Combridge of Birmingham, including *Days of Auld Lang Syne*, *Pleasure of Life*, *Beauties of Nature*, *Knight of White Cross* and *St Nicholas*.¹⁶⁵ The 1991 sales catalogue showed he owned classic novels and books on history, travel, politics and art. Libraries appear to serve the literary needs of both men and women.



Fig.5.17: Morning Room, Brackley Dene, 1991.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁴ Hamlett, *Material Relations*, pp.7 & 50.

¹⁶⁵ MSHGC, (C3/D2/A/F10/2-3), RBA, Bills & Receipts. C. Combridge, Bookseller, Publisher Stationers, Bookbinder, Printer etc., 5 New Street, Birmingham. £1 4s 6d in 1890 was c., £100 in 2017.

¹⁶⁶ MSHGC, (C3/D2/F10/18), RBA, Sales Catalogue, 1991.



Fig.5.18: Study, Uffculme.¹⁶⁷

Billiard rooms provided a home-based leisure activity for the family and guests. Sales catalogues advertised a billiard room and library divided by sliding doors and one lit by ‘7 skylights and 5 windows’ and approached by separate stairs – clearly a significant status symbol.¹⁶⁸ Brackley Dene had a billiard room, which, because of the variation in ground level, was partly on a level with the rear garden.¹⁶⁹ The Sorrento billiard room was linked to a smoking room and their Moorish design, a popular décor from the 1880s and considered ‘rakish’, suggests these were largely male rooms (Figs.5.4-5).¹⁷⁰ The design involved geometric patterns on the carpet, upholstery, *portières* and walls, velvet coverings (thought to absorb smoke), inlaid mother-of-pearl, fretted decoration, eastern arched alcoves and

¹⁶⁷ PCFA.

¹⁶⁸ LBA, Sales Catalogues, Bham/Sc 890 & 1890.

¹⁶⁹ MSHGC, (C3/D3/F10/16), RBA, Contemporary comment. By 1850, the billiard table had evolved into its current form and English Billiards, played with three balls and six pockets, dominated from about 1770 until the 1920’s.

¹⁷⁰ Osband, *Victorian House Style*, pp.95 & 130.

fashionable *trompe l'oeil* wallpaper. *The Lady's Companion* of 1897 noted that oriental style rooms could be created for less than £50.¹⁷¹ Painted wooden fretwork arches were a cheap and easy way to achieve an 'architectonic effect' as they could be bought as a single piece.¹⁷² Particularly impressive in the Sorrento Billiard room were the natural light from the stained-glass atrium and the elaborate, brass overhead light fixture that could be raised and lowered that was testament to new lighting technology. The large potted palm in its *jardinière* referenced the global reach of Britain's plant explorers. Specialist furniture was available for these types of rooms: in 1895 Althans Blackwell bought two smoking chairs 'with stuffed seats and backs covered with best English velvet and stuffed with hair' for £9, two smoking chairs with 'stuffed rail and wood seats' for £8 and a smoking or card table in oak for £2 10s 6d, a total of £19 10s 6d, from John Ward of Birmingham.¹⁷³

Cheap cigarettes were available from the 1880s and, with the expansion of smoking towards the end of the nineteenth century the smoking room became common in larger houses.¹⁷⁴ Men congregated there after dinner to enjoy cigars and play cards. Smoking was 'a serious social rite' and special male clothing and smoking rooms protected the rest of the family from cigarette and cigar smells.¹⁷⁵ Begiato claims manliness required the clean, pure life, which meant smoking was an unacceptable habit, but the continued presence of the Sorrento smoking room in 1899 suggests this message did not influence everyone.¹⁷⁶ 'Mrs Panton' was opposed to smoking describing it as 'a habit that ... has not one merit to

¹⁷¹ Cohen, *Household Gods*, pp.6, 128-130 & 135. £50 in 1890 was c., £4,100 in 2017.

¹⁷² Lasdun, *Victorians at Home*, p.133.

¹⁷³ MSHGC, (C3/D2/A/F10/2-3), RBA, Bills & Receipts. John Ward, Architects, Ironmonger and Art Cabinet Maker, Colmore Chambers, 3 Newhall Street, Birmingham. £19 10s 6d in 1890 was c., £1,600 in 2017.

¹⁷⁴ Hamlett, *Material Relations*, p.68.

¹⁷⁵ Panton, *From Kitchen to Garret*, pp.80-81.

¹⁷⁶ Begiato, *Manliness in Britain, 1760-1900*, p.74.

recommend it' and asked 'if men ever reflect on what their smoke costs them'. Over the course of 1895 Althans Blackwell bought 325 cigars at a total cost of £7 4s 6d from John Hollingsworth & Son, Birmingham.¹⁷⁷ Smoking and billiard rooms were also sites for drinking. Althans Blackwell bought barrels of beer in 1892 at £3 12s 0d and whisky and wine in 1893 at £14 8s 0d, from Birmingham and Edinburgh.¹⁷⁸ Billiard and smoking rooms were more clearly gendered spaces than other rooms and were areas to which, according to Tosh, men 'fled' to escape domesticity.¹⁷⁹

Conservatories were status additions that bridged the inside and outside. Elegant doorways either side of the Sorrento drawing room fireplace led to a large conservatory, giving tantalising glimpses of foliage and the garden beyond (Fig.5.7). Iron tracery, highly decorative floor tiles, rugs, stained and etched windows, wicker, statues, urns, rock gardens and caged song birds featured in conservatories, making them exotic spaces.¹⁸⁰ Conservatories were spaces where people could socialise informally, sit out during dances and be photographed in winter. The availability of different sizes meant that all levels of the middle class could have a conservatory. Improvements in glass techniques not only brought conservatories, but stained glass, a particular signifier of status, which was used in doors and windows. Stained-glass elements came within the reach of the lower-middle classes when the tax was removed from glass. Chance Brothers & Co., of Birmingham, was a popular producer of stained glass; they focused on 'Modern Glass', a more lightly tinted glass that

¹⁷⁷ MSHGC, (C3/D3/A/F10/2-3), RBA, Bills & Receipts. John Hollingsworth & Son, Birmingham, Importers of Cigars. £7 4s 6d in 1890 was c., £600 in 2017.

¹⁷⁸ MSHGC, (C3/D3/A/F10/2-3), RBA, Bills & Receipts. Edward Cartwright, Wine & Spirit Merchant, Maltster and Brewer, 2 Summer Lane, Holt Street, Birmingham and Alexander Dickson, Wine Merchant and Italian Warehouseman, 175 High Street, Edinburgh. £3 12s 0d in 1890 was c., £300 in 2017 and £14 8s 0d was c., £1,200.

¹⁷⁹ Tosh, *A Man's Place*, pp.179 & 182.

¹⁸⁰ Lawrence & Chris, *The Period House*, p.69.

reflected a change in public taste.¹⁸¹ Conservatories exposed viewers to plants and fruits that connected them to exotic places around the globe and spoke of ethnicity, race and colonialism.

The upper floors were mostly private areas. The number of bedrooms in Moseley homes varied, highlighting differentiation and the variety of housing stock in the suburb. Most building plans featured houses with three bedrooms on the first floor (fifty-eight per cent), but thirty-one per cent had four. Some roads had houses with only two first-floor bedrooms, Oxford and Trafalgar Roads, for example, but others in high-status roads, such as Chantry and Wake Green Roads, had five, six and eight. Most houses had around six bedrooms in total, but terraced houses had four. The houses in high-status roads had most bedrooms, such as Wake Green Road (eight to ten), Chantry Road (seven to nine) and Church and Oxford Roads (seven to eight). All building plan houses had attic storeys, with varying numbers of rooms: forty-two per cent had two attic bedrooms and twenty-eight per cent three. Larger houses had four to five. Only six plans had a single attic bedroom, all in low-status roads. Servants often slept in attic rooms, separating them vertically from the family. Wealthy establishments often had separate wings for servants and some servants had their own designated work, living or bedroom accommodation, a sign of a larger, high-status establishment and of a social hierarchy amongst servants. Houses in Wake Green and Church Roads named a 'Housekeeper's Room' and 'Man's Room' and one 1881 advert identified a

¹⁸¹ www.revolutionaryplayers.org.uk, 'Revolutionary Players', 'Making the modern world', 'Chance'. Accessed 2016. 'Chance Brothers & Company' and 'Chance Brothers & Co., Glass Works, Smethwick, Registered designs for Ornamental Modern Window Glass, 1867'. The firm existed from 1824 to 1976 and the move into lightly tinted glass began in 1864. Chance Brothers & Co., Glass Works, Smethwick, Birmingham.

'Gardeners' Cottage'.¹⁸² Servants had little privacy, and had to negotiate space throughout the house, but in service they might have their own bedroom which was unlikely in their own home.

Some upstairs rooms were gender designated and this was reflected in their decoration and furnishing. Kerr wrote that 'In every instance of what we call a Gentleman's House, however small, there will surely be at least one of the chief bedrooms which had a Gentleman's Dressing Room attached'.¹⁸³ Larger houses might have a suite of two dressing rooms, which, he says, marked 'a point of a very considerable advance in dignity'.¹⁸⁴ The main Sorrento bedroom had a feminine look introduced by the light wallpaper, white furniture and the floral designs on the water jugs (Fig.5.12a/b). Lighter bedroom furniture was popular: Althans Blackwell bought a 'white painted wardrobe with hanging space and shaped and bevelled mirror' in 1890 for £27 16s 5½d and a bedroom overmantel in pine with shaped mirror to a special design at £37 15s 0d, both from Chamberlain, King & Jones.¹⁸⁵ The boudoir was the domain of the lady of the house, sometimes accessed from the main shared bedroom, as at Sorrento (Figs.5.9 & 12). This boudoir had a writing desk, frills to the door and fireplace drapes, light and airy wall treatments, small and dainty furniture, flower arrangements and numerous personal photographs, all of which suggests a feminine space for writing letters, invitations, calling cards and a diary and reading and relaxing. Gendered furniture for bedrooms was available: In 1890 Althans Blackwell bought a lady's chair with 'soft pillow seat upholstered in rich silks and tapestry ensuite with trimmings' for £9 9s 0d

¹⁸² LBA, BPKNU, BCK/MC/7/3/1, Building Plan, 527; LBA, Sales Catalogue, Bham/Sc 877; *Birmingham Daily Post*, May and June, 1881, Kingswood House, Church Road.

¹⁸³ Kerr, *The English Gentleman's House or How to Plan English Residences*, pp.122 & 151.

¹⁸⁴ Kerr, *The English Gentleman's House or How to Plan English Residences*, pp.122 & 151.

¹⁸⁵ MSHGC, (C3/D2/A/F10/2-3), RBA, Bills & Receipts. The total, £65 11s 6d, in 1890 was c., £5,400 in 2017.

and a 'Boudoir overmantel with panelled centre painted' for £3 8s 6d from Chamberlain, King & Jones, Birmingham.¹⁸⁶ Male wardrobes were monumental, the most desirable being the 'winged' type, a double wardrobe with a central mirrored section.¹⁸⁷ Health and hygiene were important in bedrooms. The beds in the main Sorrento bedroom were brass, which was considered healthier than wood, and the arched recess in Sorrento replaced half testers because of concerns about dust and the availability of fresh air during sleep.¹⁸⁸ Birmingham was the centre of brass bedstead making: Hoskins and Sewell of Bordesley, founded in 1850, were one of the nineteenth century's most renowned. Gender and health, then, were important considerations for the suburban middle class in relation to adult first-floor spaces.

The new more permissive caring attitudes to child-rearing, highlighted by Hamlett, were mirrored in the specific spaces for children, including bedrooms, night and day nurseries, playrooms and schoolrooms.¹⁸⁹ Ideally, children slept in separate rooms and beds or same-sex rooms, with older children separated from babies.¹⁹⁰ Many middle-class houses were too small for much segregation, but a lower-middle class aspirational family might call the children's bedroom a 'nursery', though others might not wish to be segregated from their children.¹⁹¹ Contemporary writers and the elite had no doubts. Kerr wrote that 'In every

¹⁸⁶ MSHGC, (C3/D2/A/F10/2-3), RBA, Bills & Receipts. Chamberlain, King & Jones, Union Street, Union Passage, 'Designers and Manufacturers of Artistic Domestic Furniture Interior Decoration and Upholstery / English and foreign carpets'. The total, £12 17s 6d, in 1890 was c., £1,100 in 2017.

¹⁸⁷ Barrett & Phillips, *Suburban Style*, p.78; MSHGC, (C3/D2/F10/18), RBA, Sales Catalogue, 1991.

¹⁸⁸ Barrett, & Phillips, *Suburban Style*, p.78.

¹⁸⁹ Hamlett, *Material Relations*, p.112; Hamlett, 'Tiresome trips downstairs', p.114; Morris, R. J., & Rodger, R., (eds.), *The Victorian City: A Reader in British Urban History, 1820-1914* (Harlow: Addison Westley Longman Ltd., 1993), p.317.

¹⁹⁰ Gorham, D., *The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal* (London & Canberra: Croom Helm, 1982), pp.1 & 10; Flanders, J., *The Victorian House: Domestic Life from Childbirth to Deathbed* (London: HarperCollins Publishers, 2003), p.29.

¹⁹¹ Flanders, *The Victorian House*, p.29; Gorham, *The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal*, p.10; Hamlett, 'Tiresome trips downstairs', pp.118 & 122.

house, however small ... the special provision of appropriate Nursery Accommodation is a vital point'.¹⁹² Lord Shaftesbury adamantly claimed '... no decent family could possibly be accommodated with fewer than three bedrooms – one for the parents, one for the boys and one for the girls'.¹⁹³ Building plans sampled included only two houses with two nurseries and a playroom and one with day and night nurseries, showing these were infrequent in Moseley.¹⁹⁴ Hamlett demonstrates that children accessed supposedly out-of-bounds adult spaces, such as studies, boudoirs and dressing rooms, and that such encounters in spaces with distinctive gendered material culture were important in forming early gendered identity.¹⁹⁵ She suggests that the choice of illustrations and toys fashioned gendered identities and children learned about social identity and morality from nursery material culture.¹⁹⁶ Cohen connects the specially designed wallpapers and furniture, the many cheaply produced pictures and nursery goods, to the increased concern about children's happiness and individual needs.¹⁹⁷ The social well-being of children was important to middle-class suburban families.

Children's spaces were important. Relationships with siblings were mediated in the nursery, schoolroom and child-only spaces through material objects, such as natural history collections, for example, birds' eggs.¹⁹⁸ Relationships with servants developed there. According to Hamlett the nineteenth century nursery system meant children spent a

¹⁹² Flanders, *The Victorian House*, p.28; Kerr, *The English Gentleman's House or How to Plan English Residences*, p.159.

¹⁹³ Chase, K., & Levenson, M., *The Spectacle of Intimacy* (Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000), p.171.

¹⁹⁴ LBA, BPKNU, BCK/MC/7/3/1, Building Plans, 18, 374, 1456 & 2139.

¹⁹⁵ Hamlett, Jane, *Material Relations* (Manchester; Manchester University Press, 2010), pp.115-116.

¹⁹⁶ Hamlett, *Material Relations*, p.9; Hamlett, 'Tiresome trips downstairs', p.117.

¹⁹⁷ Cohen, *Household Gods*, p.138; Hamlett, *Material Relations*, pp.112 & 120-21. Nursery wallpaper was available from the 1850s.

¹⁹⁸ Hamlett, 'Tiresome trips downstairs', p.124.

considerable amount of time in the same space with servants.¹⁹⁹ They were looked after by governesses, nannies, nurses or nursemaids for long periods and the shared time and space helped forge 'separate and distinctive' relations between children and servants, though this also offered opportunities for abuse. Frequently servants who were responsible for children were young, untrained, uneducated and did not stay long, a less than ideal environment for developing children. Hamlett's research reveals other aspects of the position of children in the middle-class home: that children learned the ideals of class and status in the home from servants and that those with least power, children and servants, found spaces of their own, thereby escaping the gaze of parents and employers; in houses with only one or no servants children were often left to their own devices; and children were mostly only brought together with family at certain times and the separation from parents, although they visited regularly, could make parents seem glamorous and children feel lonely.²⁰⁰ Thus servants often had a crucial role to play in raising, supporting and educating suburban middle-class children.

The preoccupation of many Victorians with health and hygiene was reflected in the provision of bathrooms and the extent and quality of that provision highlights differentiation. 'No house of any pretensions will be devoid of a bathroom,' wrote Kerr, whilst Loudon concluded that bathrooms were 'a cheap and useful luxury, which would be considered by many persons an indispensable requisite for a perfect villa'.²⁰¹ By the 1870s, houses with an annual

¹⁹⁹ Hamlett, 'Tiresome trips downstairs', pp.113, 119 & 121-122.

²⁰⁰ Hamlett, 'Tiresome trips downstairs', pp.113, 118-119 & 121-122.

²⁰¹ Loudon, *Loudon's Encyclopaedia of Cottage Farm and Village Architecture*, New Edition, (ed.), 'Mrs Loudon' (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1846), Paragraph 1695, p.803; Kerr, *The English Gentleman's House or How to Plan English Residences*, p.168.

rent above £35 usually had a bathroom with running hot water and flush toilets.²⁰² Installing hot-water pipes cost about £50-£60 in the 1880s, but this outlay was easily recouped in rents, according to Judith Flanders.²⁰³ Birmingham supplied piped water and attachment to the mains was identified in all building plan documentation. Seventy-eight per cent of building plans had bathrooms, all on the first floor. There was an increase over the decades: the 1893-1899 plans had fifty-seven per cent more bathrooms than the 1880s ones, fifty-eight per cent more adverts mentioned bathrooms in 1890 adverts than in 1881, and there were eleven per cent more mentions in 1890s catalogues. Better-off middle-class homes had free-standing cast-iron roll-top baths in their bathrooms, but the less well-off and those without indoor plumbing used copper and tin baths.²⁰⁴ The Brackley Dene bath was designated superior because of its surrounding polished wooden seat.²⁰⁵ However, like many larger homes, Brackley Dene with eleven bedrooms had only one bathroom, which highlights the necessity of the Toilet Set, a Toilet Pail, two water sets and two water jugs that the Blackwells bought from Marian Bishop of Birmingham in 1893 for £7 16s 0d.²⁰⁶ The Sorrento bedroom has a washstand, jugs and bowls and towels. The ever-present fear of illness and death and concern for personal hygiene underpinned the importance of bathroom facilities in the home.

²⁰² Flanders, *The Victorian House*, p.91. £35 in 1890 was c., £2,900 in 2017.

²⁰³ Flanders, *The Victorian House*, p.287. £50-60 in 1890 was c., £4,100 - £5,000 in 2017.

²⁰⁴ Barrett & Phillips, *Suburban Style*, p.79.

²⁰⁵ MSHGC, (C3/D2/F10/16), RBA, Contemporary Comment.

²⁰⁶ MSHGC, (C3/D2/A/F10/2-3), RBA, Bills & Receipts. Marian Bishop, Glass, China and Earthenware Depot, Martineau Street, Birmingham. £7 16s 0d in 1890 was c., £640 in 2017.

Having a flush toilet was an important status symbol and was inspired by those in the Crystal Palace 'retiring rooms' at the 1851 Great Exhibition.²⁰⁷ W.C.s improved over the half-century. After 1884, the free-standing 'Pedestal Vase' style emerged, a 'wash-out', one-piece earthenware type with a small overhead, single-flush cistern with a chain pull that was easier to clean, because there was no wooden enclosure.²⁰⁸ It was joined quickly by a popular new wash-down system. Quality ranged from 'cane and white' fireclay to highly ornate models complete with decoration in relief, colour or a combination of both with mahogany seats polished to a high sheen for the family, and inexpensive untreated scrubbable white pine for the servants.²⁰⁹ Concerns for health led to the ceramic tiling of bathrooms and W.C.s, frequently in rich colours such as dark green, blue, mustard or claret. Wall tiles were mass-produced from the 1870s, making them more widely available.²¹⁰ Maw & Co., was formed in 1850 at Worcester, relocated in 1852 to Broseley and moved to Jackfield, Ironbridge, in 1883 and quickly gained a high reputation for encaustic tiles of ever more complex decoration.²¹¹ At the height of the tile boom, the company produced over twenty million tiles a year and published lavishly printed catalogues and by the end of the century, was the largest tile factory in the world. New technology not only improved health and hygiene for the suburban middle classes, it also brought colour and design to the 'smallest room'.

The proportion of Moseley houses with a W.C. increased significantly in adverts from seventeen per cent in 1881 to fifty-three per cent in 1890, highlighting their importance over time. All building plans had outside W.C.s, ninety-six per cent of which were water closets,

²⁰⁷ Flanders, *The Victorian House*, p.286; Bryson, *At Home*, p.26.

²⁰⁸ Eveleigh, *Privies and Water Closets*, pp.51 & 57.

²⁰⁹ Lawrence & Chris, *The Period House*, p.95.

²¹⁰ Osband, *Victorian House Style*, p.11; Lawrence & Chris, *The Period House*, p.89.

²¹¹ www.mawscraftcentre.co.uk, 'Maws Craft Centre', 'History'. Accessed 2016.

but surprisingly twenty-five per cent had no internal ones, a particular status marker. It was usually on the first floor, but in a 'more advanced house' there would be a ground-floor W.C. too.²¹² Two substantial houses in Anderton Park Road and Park Hill had downstairs W.C.s and a catalogue notes another.²¹³ Indoor W.C.s were usually for the family, but where there were two, men and women used separate facilities.²¹⁴ Outside W.C.s were used by servants always and by men if there was only one internal W.C. One catalogue had an internal W.C. just for servants, which was very unusual.²¹⁵ Status came from having W.C.s separate from or partitioned off from bathrooms to prevent 'the sound of apparatus being transmitted'.²¹⁶ Seventy-eight per cent of W.C.s were separate or partitioned off in plans. Plan documentation specifies 'Twyford's Water Closet', 'Flush-out closets' and 'Earthenware with flushing system'.²¹⁷ The terms 'lavatory' and 'privy' reflected lower social groups, but these were used in six semi-detached plans in high-status Chantry Road and Park Hill. Toilet provision revealed a subtle social hierarchy in the suburb.

The images of middle-class suburban interiors display considerable variety, homes that were well organised, clutter-free spaces in which furniture and objects were arranged with discernment and decoration and furnishings that were well-maintained and new-looking, testifying to frequent renewals. Gender was implicated in how some rooms were decorated, furnished and used, but not to the extent previously thought and not in ways that

²¹² Kerr, *The English Gentleman's House or How to Plan English Residences*, p.170.

²¹³ LBA, BPKNU, BCK/MC/7/3/1, Building Plans, 1821 & 1826; LBA, Sales Catalogue, Bham/Sc R1.

²¹⁴ Flanders, *The Victorian House*, p.296; Kerr, *The English Gentleman's House or How to Plan English Residences*, p.170.

²¹⁵ LBA, Sales Catalogue, Bham/Sc 890.

²¹⁶ Flanders, *The Victorian House*, p.286; Kerr, *The English Gentleman's House or How to Plan English Residences*, p.170; LBA, BPKNU, BCK/MC/7/3/1, Building Plans, 1976 & 1721.

²¹⁷ LBA, BPKNU, BCK/MC/7/3/1, Building Plans, 1821, 1484 & 2331.

necessarily excluded particular individuals. New technology and mass production had a profound impact on home décor and the facilities available to the middle class.

Conclusion

This chapter highlights differentiation within the middle class showing how key rooms in smaller homes were of necessity multi-occupational and multi-functional, but that new styles and new design ideas were taken up and adapted to suit the space available as occurred with gardens. It shows, using examples furnished by Helena Barrett and John Phillips and David Eveleigh, how new technology and mass production enabled the less-well-off middle class to take part in decorating and furnishing the home, an important signifier of middle-class identity. This marked them out as lower down the social scale, whilst also testifying to the 'elasticity' of the middle class to which Gunn refers.²¹⁸ The chapter reveals strikingly different design outcomes, which differentiated the suburban middle class culturally, and undermined any accusations of suburban uniformity, that Bilston and Thompson explore.²¹⁹ Decorating and furnishing thus became an indicator of status and a framework for assessing others, but also a means of self-fashioning, that was important to people frequently on the move.

The chapter highlights some segregated spaces, such as separate drawing and dining rooms, a third reception room and the children's rooms that referenced new ideas about the importance of the mother-child relationship signalled by Branca.²²⁰ New technology brought

²¹⁸ Barrett & Phillips, *Suburban Style*; Eveleigh, *Firegrates and Kitchen Ranges*; Eveleigh, *Privies and Water Closets*; Gunn, 'Translating Bourdieu', p.53.

²¹⁹ Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, p.84; Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, p.3.

²²⁰ Branca, *Silent Sisterhood*, pp.101-102, 108-110 & 338.

improvements and new facilities, but bathroom and toilet provision was neither necessarily adequate nor universal. The research shows that securing privacy, particularly in smaller homes was difficult, but, more importantly, that privacy was not necessarily a priority: homes were busy social spaces and people shared space by choice as Hamlett suggests.²²¹ For some, though, privacy from servants was more of an issue, something Delap, Griffin and Wills highlight.²²² In any case, the home could not be private given its associations with the public world through its material culture outlined by Logan, its commodification and the new shopping opportunities described by Balducci and Belnap-Jensen, and the desire to project status that Gunn and Gordon and Nair note.²²³ The chapter highlights the pride and sense of achievement many felt in their homes, but also the anxiety induced that Logan, Jenni Calder and Bilston explore.²²⁴ It reveals how the advice industry, such as works by 'Mrs Panton', was prescriptive and resulted in more uniform outcomes, fostering negative reactions to suburbs.²²⁵

The chapter reveals that gender was sometimes, but not always, an important factor in the division of space and the decorating and furnishing of the middle-class suburban home. Differences in styles and the mixed use of drawing and dining rooms suggest that style choices were more important than gender, as Gordon and Nair also argue.²²⁶ However,

²²¹ Hamlett, 'The Dining Room Should Be the Man's Paradise, as the Drawing Room Is the Woman's', pp.576-591; Hamlett, 'Tiresome trips downstairs', pp.117-118 & 122; Hamlett, *Material Relations*, pp.9, 112, 117 & 120-21.

²²² Delap, Griffin & Wills, *The Politics of Domestic Authority in Britain since 1800*, p.4.

²²³ Logan, *The Victorian Parlour*, pp.124 & 195-199; Balducci & Belnap-Jensen, (eds.), *Women, Femininity and Public Space in European Visual Culture, 1789-1914*, p.10; Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, p.108 & 132; Gunn, *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class*, p.26; Gunn, 'Translating Bourdieu', p.53.

²²⁴ Logan, *The Victorian Parlour*, pp.6, 93, 96-97, 100-101, 105, 107, 127-8, 140, 170, 189 & 207; Calder, *The Victorian Home*, p.105; Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, p.74.

²²⁵ Panton, *From Kitchen to Garret*.

²²⁶ Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, pp.124-125.

specialist rooms, such as boudoirs and smoking rooms, were notably gendered in form and function, the Blackwell bills show some seating was labelled in gendered terms and some furnishings had gender connotations. Handicrafts, supposedly enthusiastically produced by middle-class women, did not feature in the Moseley photographs, which might reflect, as Bilston suggests, the disdain for handicrafts associated with an emerging Arts and Crafts movement or the desire to project a magazine-inspired show-home image that added to public status.²²⁷ The photographs show discernment and taste in the choice and maintenance of the decoration and furnishing and the arrangement of commodities, which suggests that this was a positive activity for women to which Logan, Jenni Calder and Bilston allude.²²⁸ The Moseley building plans show the uniformity that Bilston says enabled women to gain expertise to empower them in moving towards involvement in interior design as a profession.²²⁹ The Blackwell bills suggest men dealt with the financial side of decorating and furnishing the middle-class home, though some were addressed to Agnes Blackwell and some purchases were made in London and abroad whilst they were away, which supports Hamlett's suggestion that men and women collaborated.²³⁰ The Blackwells shopped mostly in Birmingham, which highlights the well-developed retail amenities there.

This chapter explores class, gender, privacy and change over time in relation to the division of space and decorating and furnishing of the suburban home. It reveals the varied experiences involved in what Gunn describes as the suburban 'way of life' and its 'trappings' - privacy, domesticity and 'a form of home-centred consumerism' - and how, as Tosh says,

²²⁷ Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, p.74.

²²⁸ Logan, *The Victorian Parlour*, p.105; Calder, *The Victorian Home*, p.105; Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, p.74.

²²⁹ Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, p.74.

²³⁰ Hamlett, *Material Relations*, p.7.

middle-class homes were 'shot through with discrepancies'.²³¹ It challenges the notion of separate spheres, showing that this impacted only to a limited extent and that women were heavily involved in decorating and furnishing the home, thereby undermining ideas about the wife and woman as 'The Angel in the House'. Whilst middle-class suburban homes may also have exhibited a 'pretentious preoccupation with outward appearances', they were not 'indistinguishable from one another'.²³² The Moseley middle classes were keeping up appearances but not in identical ways. The next chapter investigates men and women in the public sphere.

²³¹ Gunn, 'Translating Bourdieu', p.53; Tosh, *A Man's Place*, p.47.

²³² Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, p.3.

CHAPTER 6

Entering the Public Sphere: Moseley Men and Women outside the Home

The notion of separate spheres - men in the public sphere of work and public engagement and women at home in the domestic sphere – provided a powerful ideology for contemporaries and historians that framed how women were seen to relate to spaces outside the home and explain their absence from public institutions.¹ Lucy Delap, Ben Griffin and Abigail Wills claim this public and private division ‘shaped the terms in which men and women understood their social world’ in the nineteenth century.² Previous chapters have shown that middle-class Moseley women were in the public sphere in the streetscape, on public transport, shopping, traveling, at work and as businesswomen. They connected to the public arena through working from home, having boarders in the home, socialising with guests and visitors at home, as arbiters and carriers of status through home decoration and furnishing and home management and through material goods that came from or depicted the outside world. The home was not necessarily a female domain even in the daytime: not all middle-class men went out to work - some worked at home, some were retired and some came home on the ‘dinner train’ for lunch. Men were involved in family life, decorating, furnishing and socialising within the home, contributions that were part of middle-class masculine identity. This chapter explores how middle-class Moseley men and women in the

¹ Balducci, Temma & Belnap-Jensen, Heather, ‘Introduction’ in Balducci, Temma & Belnap-Jensen, Heather, (eds.), *Women, Femininity and Public Space in European Visual Culture, 1789-1914* (London & New York: Routledge, 2014), p.2.

² Delap, Lucy, Griffin, Ben & Wills, Abigail, (eds.), *The Politics of Domestic Authority in Britain since 1800* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009), pp.7-8; Hamlett, Jane & Hoskins, Lesley, ‘Introduction’, *Home Cultures*, Vol.8, No.2, 2011, pp.109-117.

second half of the nineteenth century operated in the public sphere in politics, local government, religion, education, philanthropy and social, cultural and sporting arenas, an aspect of suburbanisation not a significant part of previous suburban studies. The chapter explains why they became involved, the extent to which they participated and how that participation shaped them and the suburb. It examines how the experiences of middle-class men and women differed and questions the viability of the separate spheres construct in this context.

Various historical studies are significant to the understanding of the volunteerism and philanthropy explored in this chapter. David Owen, F.K. Prochaska, Sandra Cavallo and Martin Gorsky suggest a range of motivations.³ Alan Gilbert and Hugh McLeod explore the social, political and philanthropic role of the Victorian Church and Phillip McCann and the contributors to his book, the importance of the socialisation of the working class in education provided by philanthropy.⁴ Jonathan Reinartz details Birmingham's voluntary hospitals, their histories and the role of subscribers.⁵ Delap, Griffin and Wills question fundamental assumptions around the public-private dynamic, women's role in taking up

³ Owen, D., *English Philanthropy 1660-1960* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965); Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse* (Chatham: Faber & Faber Ltd., 1988); Prochaska, F.K., 'Philanthropy' in Thompson, F.M.L., (ed.), *The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750-1950*, Volume 3 (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 1990); Prochaska, F.K., *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-century England* (London: Clarendon Press, 1980); Cavallo, S., 'The Motivations of Benefactors' in Barry, J., and Jones, C. (eds.), *Medicine and Charity before the Welfare State* (London: Routledge, 1991); Gorsky, M., *Patterns of Philanthropy* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999).

⁴ Gilbert, Alan D., *Religion and Society in Industrial England: Church, Chapel and Social Change, 1740-1914* (London: Longman, 1976); McLeod, Hugh, *Religion and Irreligion in Victorian England* (Dorchester: Headstart History, 1993); McCann, Phillip, 'Popular Education, socialisation and social control: Spitalfields, 1812-1824' in McCann, Phillip, (ed.), *Popular Education and Socialisation in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1977).

⁵ Reinartz, J., *Health Care in Birmingham: The Birmingham Teaching Hospitals, 1779-1939* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2009).

positions outside the home and the public role of philanthropic societies.⁶ Simon Gunn highlights the importance of cash payment, public visibility and public culture in middle-class identity and the role of women in embodying and transmitting cultural capital.⁷ Temma Balducci and Heather Belnap-Jensen stress the importance of actual practices, the participation of women and how they negotiated new situations and Joanne Begiato reviews concepts of manliness through images.⁸ F.M.L. Thompson claims that contemporaries saw suburbs as 'settings for dreary, petty lives without social, cultural, or intellectual interests'.⁹ This body of work presents perspectives that the chapter tests in the context of middle-class Moseley in the second half of the nineteenth century.

A range of primary sources opened up areas of research. Canon Colmore's Diary of 1879 to 1893 was a record of activities at St. Mary's Church. It largely consists of reports from The Parish Magazine, which detail developments, activities and events and records those involved, what they did and what they contributed. Images play an important part in this chapter: they show people, children and places involved. St. Mary's Church Vestry Minutes list church wardens, attendees at meetings, what was discussed and decided, who took on responsibilities and parishioners' concerns. Annual reports and subscription and membership lists show who belonged to the different organisations and institutions and how much this cost and how much people contributed through subscriptions to good causes

⁶ Delap, Griffin & Wills, 'Introduction', *The Politics of Domestic Authority in Britain since 1800* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009).

⁷ Gunn, Simon, 'Translating Bourdieu: cultural capital and the English middle class in historical perspective', *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 56, Issue 1, 2005.

⁸ Begiato, Joanne, *Manliness in Britain, 1760-1900: Bodies, emotion and material culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020); Balducci & Belnap-Jensen, 'Introduction', *Women, Femininity and Public Space in European Visual Culture, 1789-1914*.

⁹ Thompson, F.M.L., 'Introduction' in Thompson, F.M.L., (ed.), *The Rise of Suburbia* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982), p.3.

and how regularly, as well as donations and legacies. Posters and programmes provide details about entertainments and events and what and who was involved. These were supported by articles in contemporary newspapers and journals.

The chapter opens with a discussion on the general motivations for volunteerism and philanthropy and then moves on to case studies. It focusses on political engagement around Joseph Chamberlain, civic and legal roles, local institutions, including St. Mary's Church, Moseley National School and Balsall Heath Institute, Birmingham voluntary hospitals, disabled children's institutions and children's charity schools, and local social, cultural and sporting clubs and societies.¹⁰

Middle-class involvement in volunteerism and philanthropy reflected various motives. Altruism was seen in the desire to improve the lot of the less fortunate. As Sarah Bilston argues, the Victorians valued morally exemplary actions and believed that doing one's duty required service to others which were deemed inappropriate for the state to provide.¹¹ However, there was another agenda. Status, self-image and an obsession with improvement, all characteristics of a public culture that embodied middle-class identity, were crucial elements. Involvement established identity, demonstrated religious credentials and memorialised individuals and family. It was possible to develop political, economic and social networks, mix with people of higher status, re-inforce professional identities and exercise power over others. Using and developing skills, enjoying social interactions and performance

¹⁰ The hospitals, disabled children's institutions and charity schools analysed included The General Hospital, Queen's Hospital, The Women's Hospital, The Orthopaedic Hospital, The Eye Hospital, The Ear and Throat Hospital, The institute for Blind Children, The Institute for Deaf Children and Blue Coat School.

¹¹ Bilston, Sarah, *The Promise of the Suburbs: A Victorian History in Literature and Culture* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2019), p.152.

opportunities and improving health and fitness were other benefits. Undertaking voluntary duties demonstrated suitability for other claims to influence and power, such as becoming trustees or public officers. Involvement helped develop a sense of independence and satisfaction and, for women in particular, provided opportunities to take part legitimately in public service. Taking part brought people of different social classes together, promoting inter-class co-operation and middle-class values, though they also sometimes reinforced paternalism and deference.¹² Bilston draws attention to suburbs as places where, because of social and geographic mobility, new residents looked for connections and interest groups.¹³ Volunteering offered opportunities.

Political and Civic Endeavour

Political and civic endeavour was central to local middle-class identity. Moseley was at the heart of national and local politics, because Joseph Chamberlain lived at Highbury, Moor Green, Moseley, a house he built in the 1870s using the noted Birmingham Civic Gospel architect, J.H. Chamberlain, and which he occupied until his death in 1914. Highbury was a substantial mansion that became associated with his name like the great houses of the political elite, raising his social status and making 'his power effective at national level'.¹⁴ The house was the hub of his political career; important members of the national and local elite were welcomed at Highbury, political ideas debated and formulated and significant connections between Birmingham and national politics made. The house provided space for

¹² Gorsky, *Patterns of Philanthropy*, p.178; Harvey, E.A., *Philanthropy in Birmingham and Sydney, 1860-1914: Class, Gender and Race* (PhD thesis, University College London, 2011), p.52; Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse*, p.31.

¹³ Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, pp.55 & 181.

¹⁴ Marsh, Peter & Pick, Justine, *The House where the Weather was Made: a biography of Chamberlain's Highbury* (Alcester: West Midlands History Ltd., 2019).

rallies and fundraising and helped him remain ‘identified with Birmingham’. These events included large social gatherings, such as receptions, dances, horticultural shows and the annual garden parties for his West Birmingham constituents and West Birmingham Liberal Union. Moseley people were ‘justly proud of him’ and there were ‘not many people in the neighbourhood who have not on some occasion or other had a glimpse of the interior of Highbury’.¹⁵



Fig.6.1: Postcard Celebrating Joseph Chamberlain’s 70th Birthday, 1906.¹⁶

Highbury is one of the images on a souvenir postcard issued for Joseph Chamberlain’s seventieth birthday in 1906, which draws attention to his four local areas of influence and achievements, cements his association with Moseley and Birmingham and highlights his

¹⁵ University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library (CRL), C1/10/11, *Moseley and Kings Heath Journal*, ‘Our Public Men’, No.10, March, 1893, pp.237-244.

¹⁶ www.bbc.uk/news/politics-politics, Getty Images, Lewis Goodall, BBC Newsnight. Accessed 2016.

lengthy political representation (Fig.6.1).The card celebrates his civic building programme and improvement schemes that saw the renovation of city streets into sites of consumption and display and cleared away slum areas that were considered unhealthy and dangerous. It confidently expresses and confirms the public culture that symbolised the middle class in the second half of the nineteenth century. Moseley's association with the Chamberlain family brought national attention and local prestige to the suburb.

Chamberlain brought prestige to Moseley, but his presence also drew local people into politics. A Moseley Liberal Association was formed at the Trafalgar Hotel in Moseley in 1874.¹⁷ The Chamberlains, Joseph, Arthur and Austen, were leading lights in the Moseley branch of the East Worcestershire Liberal Unionist Association, which was formed following Chamberlain's split from the Liberals in 1886.¹⁸ N.C. Reading of Wake Green Road, Moseley, was its first Honorary Secretary.¹⁹ He served as Honorary Secretary to M.P. Austen Chamberlain in 1892 and became a 'Familiar Figure' for his political and civic activities, whilst other Moseley residents were assentors.²⁰ Associations with the Chamberlain family fostered political awareness and personal involvement, raising the profile of individuals within the suburb.

¹⁷ Library of Birmingham Archives (LBA), MS 579/4 Acc 71aE, Fighting Cocks, Documents; Fairn, A., *A History of Moseley* (Halesowen: Sunderland Print Ltd., 1973), p.56.

¹⁸ *Some Moseley Personalities*, Vol. II, (Birmingham: Moseley Local History Society, 1994), pp.37-40.

¹⁹ *Some Moseley Personalities*, Vol. II, pp.37-40.

²⁰ *Some Moseley Personalities*, Vol. II, pp.37-40; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 31 March, 1892. N.C. Reading, (1849 - 1924) lived at Inglewood, Wake Green Road, Moseley. He worked in the family's jewellery firm, which he took over with his sister Agnes on the death of his father. He was a manufacturer of 'watch alberts, necklets, pendants and guards in rolled gold, best gilt and white metal' at 186/7 Warstone Lane in the Jewellery Quarter, Birmingham. Althans Blackwell was his brother-in-law, married to Agnes Reading.

The Moseley suburban middle class were active in city, district, local, legal and trades union institutions. For example, James Smith was the Mayor of Birmingham in 1895 and 1896 for four terms and several Moseley men, such as Sir John Holder, became local councillors and district councillors following the 1894 Local Government Act.²¹ Others, for example, F. Elkington, were Justices of the Peace.²² Several Moseley men sat on the Kings Norton School Board, including, from 1877, Rev. William H. Colmore who was its chairman in 1895.²³ John Avins of Highfield House was Guardian to Kings Norton Union Parish, surveyor for Kings Norton, on the Grand Jury at Kings Norton and overseer and surveyor at Kings Heath Petty Session.²⁴ Edward Holmes was a member of the Kings Norton Board of Surveyors and chairman for a period, when 'he filled the important capacity of chairman with an impartiality and success which is truly enviable'.²⁵ He took great interest in labour disputes, especially those connected with the building trades, acting often as a very successful arbitrator.²⁶ W.J. Davies of Trafalgar Road, Moseley, was the General Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Brass Workers, whilst William Adams of Sorrento was associated

²¹ Fairn, *A History of Moseley*, pp.51, 56 & 62; MSHGC, *Some Moseley Personalities*, Vol. I (Birmingham: Moseley Local History Society, 1991), pp.11-12; LBA, EP 77/5/2/1 (Acc.92/92) DRO 77/39, St. Mary's Church, Moseley, Vestry Minutes Book, 1853-1940. James Smith lived at The Dingle (Gracie Hall), Wake Green Road, Moseley, and was an iron bedstead maker. Sir John Holder (1838-1923) of Pitmaston, Moor Green, was a conservative and served on the councils of Balsall Heath and Kings Heath. N.C. Reading was an original member of Kings Norton Parish Council and its vice-chairman from 1896 to 1899.

²² Price, Fred, *The Moseley Church of England National School: A History 1828-1969* (Birmingham: Woodcraft Print & Design Ltd., 1998), p.24; Hearn, A., *A History of the Church of St. Anne, Moseley, Birmingham* (Halesowen: Sunderland Print Ltd., 1974), p.13; LBA, EP 77/5/2/1 (Acc.92/92) DRO 77/39, St. Mary's Church, Moseley, Vestry Minutes Book, 1853-1940; Gilbert, C., *The Moseley Trail* (Birmingham: John Goodman & Son, 1986), pp.9-10.

²³ CRL, JC6/7/1-173, *Moseley and Kings Heath Journal*, No.1, June, 1892, p.7; CRL, C1/10/11, *Moseley and Kings Heath Journal*, No.10, March, 1893, p.268.

²⁴ *Worcestershire Chronicle*, 6 April, 1870; *Birmingham Gazette*, 7 April, 1866; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 3 April, 1868 & 8 April, 1872.

²⁵ *Some Moseley Personalities*, Vol. II, pp.27-29; MSHGC, (C3/D2/F1/36), *The Moseley Society Journal*, Vol. I, No.10, November, 1894.

²⁶ MSHGC, (C3/D2/F1/36), *Moseley Society Journal*, Vol. I, No. 10, November, 1894.

with Joseph Rich, the founder of the National Agricultural Labourer's Union.²⁷ Moseley individuals contributed significantly to local civic endeavour, providing an army of unpaid volunteers who upheld the status quo and the interests of ratepayers and kept the machinery of local government working smoothly.

Middle-class enthusiasm for improving the environment is shown in the many residents involved in enhancing Moseley. For example, Edward Holmes was instrumental in widening Woodbridge Road and improvements to Moseley Station.²⁸ John Avins persuaded the Midland Railway Company to provide more trains to Moseley and sat on the committee for Moseley Public Lighting and on the Moseley Village Green Trust.²⁹ A group of Moseley men acquired the village green when villagers feared it would be built on and formed a trust.³⁰ However, they had on-going maintenance issues. In September 1885, the *Birmingham Gazette* reported: 'Again of Moseley Green, it is still a wilderness and inhabitants are hinting that the committee have lost heart and despair of beautifying a spot which is so hopelessly disfigured by those hideous tall Scotch railings'. *St. Mary's Church Magazine* noted in January 1893 that 'no funds exist for the maintenance of the Green'.³¹ These comments and the struggle to maintain the green are surprising in the context of a well-to-do, status-obsessed suburb and the middle-class Victorian faith in the importance of parks. Kings Norton Parish Council took over responsibility for the village green on 23 June, 1897 'to be dedicated for the use and benefit of the inhabitants of Moseley as open space', which

²⁷ Fairn, *A History of Moseley*, p.51; *Some Moseley Personalities*, Vol. II, pp.2-3.

²⁸ Moseley Society History Group 'Collection' (MSHGC), (C3/D2/F1/36), *Moseley Society Journal*, Vol. I, No.10. November, 1894, pp.293-294; *Some Moseley Personalities*, Vol. II, pp.27-29.

²⁹ Birmingham Library Local History (LBLH), B.COL 08.2, *Birmingham Faces and Places*, 'Moseley Station', Vol. I, No. 8, 1 December, 1889, p.123; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 5 July, 1883.

³⁰ St. Mary's Church Archives (SMCA), Canon Colmore's Diary, courtesy Rob Brown, Volunteer Archivist, pp.141, 146, 172, 234, 439 & 445.

³¹ SMCA, Canon Colmore's Diary, pp.439 &445.

secured the area for the future, but which suggests a failure of local philanthropy and a move towards local government intervention.³² However, Moseley resisted being absorbed into Birmingham until 1911, whereas Balsall Heath and Harborne were incorporated in 1891.

The number of Moseley people identified as involved in local political and civic endeavour was significant - sixty-two individuals - but they were all men, even though women were permitted to serve as district councillors under the 1894 Local Government Act. Twenty-nine men were members of the Trafalgar Hotel Liberal Party, twenty-six as members of the East Worcestershire Liberal Unionist Association and thirteen were associated with the village green developments.³³ Balducci and Belnap-Jensen claim that middle-class women had little political power, but Kathryn Gleadle argues that many middling women were engaged in a range of day-to-day political activity and that opportunities were far more than scholars have suggested.³⁴ June Hannam also draws attention to a broader definition of political activity, the 'politics of everyday', in which political choices, strategies and decisions are related to, for example, religious worship, education or sport, and are part of the process by which women became politicised.³⁵

Moseley, then, benefitted politically, socially and in terms of status from the presence of Joseph Chamberlain and his family in the second half of the nineteenth century and local

³² MSHGC, *Victorian Moseley*, (Birmingham: Jericho Print & Promotion, 2013), Booklet, p.21.

³³ MSHGC, (C3/D1/F8/1), Document, East Worcestershire Liberal Unionist Association Subscription List, 1900; MSHG, *Personalities Booklet*, Vols,1 & II; SMCA, Canon Colmore's Diary, pp.141, 146, 172, 234, 439 & 445; Fairn, A., *A History of Moseley*.

³⁴ Balducci & Belnap-Jensen, 'Introduction', *Women, Femininity and Public Space in European Visual Culture, 1789-1914*, p.6; Gleadle, Kathryn, *Borderline Citizens: Women, Gender and Political Culture in Britain, 1815-1867* (London: OUP/British Academy, 2009).

³⁵ Hannam, June, 'Women and Politics' in Purvis, Jane, (ed.), *Women's History: Britain, 1850-1945: An Introduction*, (London: UCL Press, 1995), p.217-218.

middle-class men were signally involved in formal politics and civic endeavour. Women had yet to make their mark in formal politics, but the following sections will assess the extent of their involvement in the 'politics of everyday'.

St. Mary's Church, Moseley



Fig.6.2: St. Mary's Church, Moseley, circa 1870-1880.³⁶

Religious faith was central to the lives of many middle-class suburbanites. For many, it was 'the ultimate judge of stature', salvation was the 'mark of gentility' and religious belief systems and their moral and behavioural codes and practices framed daily life.³⁷ Religious sites marked life-cycle stages, such as marriage, baptism, confirmation, funerals and burials, and memorialised people after death in gravestones, tablets and stained-glass windows.

³⁶ MSHGC, (MC/D1/F12/6), Clive Gilbert Photographs.

³⁷ McLeod, *Religion and Irreligion in Victorian England*, p.2; Census of Great Britain, 1851, *Religious Worship in England and Wales*, Abridged from the Official Report by Horace Manners to George Graham Esq, Registrar-General (London: George Routledge, 1854), p.95.

Religion was central to masculine and feminine identity and self-worth with involvement giving personal comfort and security in a rapidly changing and unstable world where death and bankruptcy were frequent.³⁸ Poorer individuals could make up for any lack of success and wealthy members help out the aged and needy. Young men away from home could find a 'religious family', single women build a life and others meet contacts outside kin.

The Church of England was the dominant faith in England and the 'Established Church' and membership conferred a sense of 'Englishness'. Church of England places of worship far outnumbered individual Non-conformist Protestant, Roman Catholic and Jewish ones in Birmingham.³⁹ St. Mary's Anglican Church, dating from the fifteenth century, dominated Moseley given its imposing position on a rise and location close to the village green (Fig.6.2). Its importance rose when the chapelry became a district or parish church in 1853. It was the only place of worship in Moseley initially, but two sister churches were built later, St. Anne's, Park Hill, in 1874 and St. Agnes', Colmore Crescent, in 1888. Few other religious denominations were represented in Moseley until Moseley Baptist Church was built in 1888 in Oxford Road and the modest Moseley Presbyterian Church on the corner of Alcester and Chantry Roads was begun in 1898. Althans Blackwell, a Baptist, previously worshipped at Kings Heath Baptist Chapel, paying 6s per quarter in 1876 for the rent of two sittings.⁴⁰ There

³⁸ Gordon, E., & Nair, G., *Public Lives: Women, Family and Society in Victorian Britain* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2003), p.29.

³⁹ Census of Great Britain, 1851, *Religious Worship in England and Wales*, p.13; Stephens, W.B., (ed.), 'Religious History: Protestant Nonconformity', in *A History of the County of Warwick: Volume 7, the City of Birmingham* (London, 1964), pp.411-434. There were twenty-five Church of England, fifty-four Protestant Non-conformist and four Roman Catholic places of worship in Birmingham in 1851. This increased to forty-six, ninety and seven in 1872 and 152, 220 and thirteen in 1892. Three synagogues were established in Birmingham in the nineteenth century.

⁴⁰ MSHGC, (C3/D2/A/F10/2-3), Reading-Blackwell Archive (RBA), Bills and Receipts. Stephens, 'Religious History: Protestant Nonconformity'. There were ten Baptist churches in Birmingham in 1851, nineteen in 1872 and forty-eight in 1892.

was a substantial Methodist group in Moseley including William Adams of Sorrento, Wake Green Road.⁴¹ Forty-one Moseley families and twenty-seven individuals, 214 people in all, donated money to the Central Methodist Hall between 1898 and 1904.⁴² Joseph Chamberlain was a Unitarian. He joined the New Meeting congregation when he came to Birmingham, which later became the Church of the Messiah. Whilst there he became part of a network of people who wielded power and influence within the city.

Attending church services was a social necessity for many of the middle class, because it signalled membership of the respectable middle class and was an opportunity to see and be seen and display status. Attendance was high at St. Mary's Church. According to the 1851 Religious Census, 282 people (fifty-six per cent of the population) attended in the morning plus sixty-five scholars (thirteen per cent) and 190 (thirty-eight per cent) in the afternoon, together with forty-three scholars (nine per cent).⁴³ Only three out of the fourteen Birmingham suburban Anglican churches analysed (twenty-one per cent) had higher adult morning attendances and only two higher adult afternoon attendances (fourteen per cent). The lack of lighting meant there were no evening services at St. Mary's Church in 1851. The scholars were Moseley National School pupils as middle-class children were unlikely to be at Sunday School Meetings. In 1892, Edgbaston had four churches with ten clergy for a population under 25,000. It was a wealthy area and better-served with places of worship

⁴¹ Stephens, 'Religious History: Protestant Nonconformity'. In 1851 there were thirteen Wesleyan Methodist, three Methodist New Connection, three Primitive Methodist, three United Methodist and one Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Chapels in Birmingham, a total of twenty-three. This increased to thirty-five in 1872 and eighty-one in 1892.

⁴² www.mywestleyanmethodists.org.uk, *Wesleyan Methodist Historic Roll*, 'Birmingham Moseley Road Circuit'. Accessed 2015. Thirty-three people lived in Anderton Park Road, twenty-six in Trafalgar Road, twenty-two in School Road, and sixteen in Park Road. There were thirteen Wesleyan Methodist Chapels in Birmingham.

⁴³ 'Census of Religious Worship, 1851: The Returns for Worcestershire', Worcestershire Historical Society, (ed.), John Aitken (Worcester: J.W. Arrowsmith Ltd., 2000), Entry 486, p.100.

and clergy than elsewhere. Most of the membership of St. Mary's Church was middle-class.⁴⁴ The hierarchical system of rented and free pews created a sense of social inferiority amongst the working class, and was a factor in their absence.⁴⁵ St. Mary's, like seven out of thirteen Birmingham suburban churches analysed, had fewer than fifty per cent free sittings. St. Edburgh's, Yardley, and Marston Chapel, Hall Green, had the highest number (ninety-six and eighty-five per cent respectively) and St. Peter's & St. Paul's, Erdington, the lowest (three per cent).⁴⁶ Sitting in a private pew brought social visibility and status. Social status was a significant factor in church attendance.

Members of St. Mary's Church were extensively involved in volunteering and philanthropy (Appendix D). Men took on particular roles. They served as Church, People's or Parish Wardens, who oversaw church finances, managed investments, and represented the church in the diocese, for example, on the Ruridecanal Chapter to the Diocesan Conference in 1893.⁴⁷ The wardens, those attending vestry meetings and the lay members representing the church were all middle-class men. Twenty-two men served as Church Wardens and fifteen as Parish or People's Wardens (1850s-1890s). They were very committed. Four men served more than twenty times as Church, Parish or People's Wardens between 1850 and 1890, six between ten and nineteen times, sixteen between five and nine times, and twenty-nine between one and four times. John Avins served for six years (1862-1868), Francis Willmott for eight years (1869-1876) and John Arnold for fourteen years. Between 1853 and 1899

⁴⁴ Census of Great Britain 1851, *Religious Worship in England and Wales*, p.114. There were some 14,077 Anglican churches listed in the 1851 Religious Census, many more than other denominations.

⁴⁵ McLeod, *Religion and Irreligion in Victorian England*, p.13.

⁴⁶ Census of Great Britain, 1851, *Religious Worship in England and Wales*, Table F, p.114. There were 247 free seats (forty-nine per cent) and 253 others, making a total of 500 seats in St. Mary's Church, Moseley in 1851. The new North Aisle added 326 sittings of which 150 (forty-eight per cent) were free.

⁴⁷ LBA, EP 77/5/2/1 (Acc. 92/92) DRO 77/39, St. Mary's Church, Moseley, Vestry Minutes Book, 1853-1940; SMCA, Canon Colmore's Diary, p.422.

annual attendance at the annual Vestry Meetings averaged thirteen and 157 attendees were involved.⁴⁸ John Avins was mentioned forty-eight times in the Vestry Minutes between 1862 and 1887. Forty-five men were engaged in various management and financial roles. This represents a considerable amount of time for voluntary church responsibilities, but brought status and prestige to those involved.

Men dominated improvement and extension to the facilities and fabric of St. Mary's Church. They supervised the laying on of gas and lighting in 1866, fencing footpaths in 1869 and building a new access roadway alongside the Bulls Head in 1878.⁴⁹ They raised money through voluntary subscriptions in 1870 to meet a liability of £70 and invested £360 15s 1d produced by the burial fees fund in the East India Railway Stock in 1873 and 1874.⁵⁰ They purchased land from Dyke Wilkinson for the extension of the graveyard and raised money by £50 shares, and negotiated with Mr Hadley about purchasing land for further graveyard extensions in 1882.⁵¹ From 1872 a committee of men solicited subscriptions for church extensions and C.M. Sneyd-Kynnersley made a loan to St. Mary's which was repaid annually at £170.⁵² In 1874, Sir John Holder contributed a ring of steel bells from Sheffield.⁵³ In 1884 a committee of men received the tender for the enlargement of the church.⁵⁴ Seventy per cent of subscribers to the Parish Organ Fund between 1886 and 1888 that raised £800

⁴⁸ Attendance at Vestry meetings varied, averaging six in the 1850s (1853-59), eleven in the 1860s (1860-64 & 1866-69), thirteen in the 1870s (1870-79), fifteen in the 1880s (1880-89) and eighteen in the 1890s (1890-99).

⁴⁹ LBA, L14.51, *Moseley Parish Magazine*, 'Ourselves', Vol. 15, 1893, p.6.

⁵⁰ www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currencyconverter, £70 in 1890 was c., £5,700 in 2017 and £360 15s 1d was c., £29,600.

⁵¹ LBA, L14.51, *Moseley Parish Magazine*, 'Ourselves', Vol. 15, 1893, p.6; LBA, EP 77/5/2/1 (Acc. 92/92) DRO 77/39, St. Mary's Church, Moseley, Vestry Minutes Book, 1853-1940. £50 in 1890 was c., £4,100 in 2017.

⁵² LBA, EP 77/5/2/1 (Acc. 92/92) DRO 77/39, Statement of Accounts for 1885-6, 1886-7, 1890-91, 1891-2, 1892-3, 1893-4, Printed Accounts. £170 in 1890 was c., £14,000 in 2017.

⁵³ Bold, A., *An Architectural History of St. Mary's Church 1405-2005* (Moseley: St. Mary's Church Parish Office, 2004), p.26.

⁵⁴ SMCA, Canon Colmore's Diary, p.422.

were men (forty men and seventeen women).⁵⁵ Eighty-nine per cent of subscribers to the New Vestry between 1890 and 1892 that raised just over £750 were men (183 men and twenty-three women).⁵⁶ Mr T. Walker gave a small organ in 1887 and E.M. Sneyd-Kynnersley provided hymn books in 1888 and in 1891, a piano and a print of the late Walter Farquhar Hook, perpetual curate at St. Mary's Church between 1826 and 1828.⁵⁷ In 1892 J.C. Holder gave a cheque for £500 for rebuilding the parish church.⁵⁸ As Moseley expanded, St. Mary's Church needed more space for worshippers and their dead, but it was also important to beautify the building and improve facilities.

Saving souls and providing worship was a middle-class religious imperative. Moseley's increasing population and concerns about competition from other denominations, prompted the building of the two sister churches, St. Anne's and St. Agnes', and a temporary church on the corner of School and Oxford Roads whilst St. Agnes' was under construction. Men took a prominent role in the establishment and furnishing of these new churches, but wealthy women had an important place too. The land for St. Anne's was donated by W.F. Taylor of Moseley Hall and Mr F. Wilmott, a prominent member of St. Mary's Church, gave the land for St. Agnes'. Miss Rebecca Anderton, a local landowner of independent wealth, bore the building costs of St. Anne's in 1872 and donated several windows, four bells, the

⁵⁵ £800 in 1890 was c., £65,600 in 2017.

⁵⁶ SMCA, Canon Colmore's Diary, Information used for analysis: pp.245, 259, 273, 274, 278, 280, 299, 307, 368-370, 407 & 409. £750 in 1890 was c., £61,500 in 2017.

⁵⁷ SMCA, Canon Colmore's Diary, August 1891, p.396; Fairn, *A History of Moseley*, pp.61 & 65; Bold, *An Architectural History of St. Mary's Church, Moseley, 1405-2005*, p.25; Hearn, *A History of the Church of St. Anne, Moseley, Birmingham*, p.13.

⁵⁸ *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 10 April, 1858. The Mayor was Sir John Radcliffe; LBA, L14.51, *Moseley Parish Magazine*, 'Ourselves', Vol. 15, 1890; Bold, *An Architectural History of St. Mary's Church, Moseley, 1405-2005*, p.26; SMCA, Canon Colmore's Diary, p.415.

Communion Vessels and the 1737 silver Alms Dish.⁵⁹ Miss Sarah Taylor of Moor Green Hall donated a new barrel-organ.⁶⁰ In 1879 and 1882, thirty-seven women organised new surplices.⁶¹ Fifty-seven per cent of the people giving gifts to St. Agnes' Church in 1884 and 1885 were women.⁶² The middle class were inspired by 'piety and local attachments – benevolence and longing for perpetual remembrance – principally, doubtless a sincere desire to honour God and a natural desire to raise a lasting monument to themselves'.⁶³ For some, gifts were a means of demonstrating their religious belief and memorialising their name. Women wealthy in their own right were able to act independently.

The money for these new churches came from the membership. They were involved at all stages of development, but men dominated. Eighty-five per cent of the subscriptions that brought in just over £17,800 for the temporary church in 1878 were from men (ninety-four men and seventeen women).⁶⁴ The St. Agnes' Church committee in 1881 and 1885 were all male, as were its trustees in 1883 and those giving further subscriptions in 1884 and bank loans in 1885. This involved twenty-seven men between 1879 and 1880, and 103 men and thirty-two women (seventy-six per cent men) who subscribed to the new church between 1885 and 1889.⁶⁵ They raised just over £640 for the St. Agnes' Building Fund. In 1892 a meeting about extending St. Agnes' Church attracted only men.⁶⁶ Slightly more women gave to the St. Agnes' Church Organ Fund through collecting boxes in 1886, raising a total of almost £160 (five men and eight women), whereas 161 men and fifty-three women

⁵⁹ Bold, *An Architectural History of St. Mary's Church, Moseley, 1405-2005*, p.25.

⁶⁰ Hearn, *A History of the Church of St. Anne, Moseley*, p.13; Fairn, *A History of Moseley*, p.65.

⁶¹ SMCA, Canon Colmore's Diary, pp.66 & 145.

⁶² SMCA, Canon Colmore's Diary, pp.255 & 257.

⁶³ Census of Great Britain, 1851, *Religious Worship in England and Wales*, p.65.

⁶⁴ £17,800 in 1890 was c., £1,460,500 in 2017.

⁶⁵ SMCA, Canon Colmore's Diary, pp.215, 217, 220-21, 245, 249, 273, 299, 307, 311, 317 & 338.

⁶⁶ SMCA, Canon Colmore's Diary, pp.414, 450 & 457. £640 in 1890 was c., £52,500 in 2017.

(seventy-five per cent men) gave £1,575 towards enlarging St. Agnes' Church between 1892 and 1893.⁶⁷ The naming of male contributors shows men representing their families and reflects their role as household heads and control over family finances. The presence of women, however, suggests financial independence.

The members of the church also supported a range of charities. Between 1879 and 1893, St. Mary's Church gave nearly £800 to the National School, nearly £1,000 to hospitals, £357 to the poor and £50 to the Indian Famine Relief through their offertories and special collections.⁶⁸ The church also oversaw the Moseley Charity Estate.⁶⁹ The parish became a 'scene of ceaseless effort to win souls' in which the clergy and lay congregation played a new public and vigorous role.⁷⁰ This was reflected in collections for the Newfoundland Mission, the Additional Curates' Society and the Home and Foreign Missions.⁷¹ A total of £168, an average of £16 in total per annum, was collected between 1879 and 1893 for these using collection boxes primarily by women (ninety-four per cent).⁷² The small amounts collected, and the social interactions and time necessary might have made them more acceptable activities for women. People also acted independently. John Avins, for example, contributed to a fund supplying cheap dinners for poorer children specifically in Moseley and District and

⁶⁷ SMCA, Canon Colmore's Diary, pp.255 & 257. £16 in 1890 was c., £13, 100 in 2017 and £1,575 was c., £129, 200.

⁶⁸ SMCA, Canon Colmore's Diary, pp.26, 52, 78, 81, 103-4, 129-30, 155-56, 182, 209-10, 238, 266, 294, 321-322, 349, 379, 406 and 438. Just over £71 went to the poor in the parish, over £26 to the poor in Birmingham, £136 to the poor and £110 to the amalgamated charities. £800 in 1890 was c., £65,600 in 2017, £1,000 was c., £82,000 and £50 was c., £4,102.

⁶⁹ *Birmingham Journal*, 19 September, 1863; Fairn, *A History of Moseley*, p.49.

⁷⁰ Gilbert, *Religion and Society in Industrial England*, p.167.

⁷¹ SMCA, Canon Colmore's Diary, pp.110 & 135, 162, 166, 194, 278, 336, 338, 363, 388, 421 & 452; Fairn, *A History of Moseley*, p.63. The expenses were recorded in the printed Church accounts.

⁷² SMCA, Canon Colmore's Diary, pp.75, 99, 110, 135, 152, 162, 166, 178, 194, 207, 231, 278, 317, 336, 338, 345, 363, 377, 388, 401, 421, 435 & 452; Fairn, *A History of Moseley*, p.63. £168 in 1890 was c., £13,800 in 2017 and £16 was c., £1,300.

the 'Birmingham Schools Cheap Dinner Fund' and gave £10 to the 'Special Fund for the Unemployed' in 1886 and two guineas to the 'Chicago Fire Daily Post Fund'.⁷³ Members of St. Mary's Church gave to charity, reflecting a view that the Victorian Period was a philanthropic 'Golden Age'.⁷⁴

Middle class church-goers demonstrated their presence as local leaders by organising and funding local events. The Moseley Annual Parish Tea Parties ran from 1879 and provided tea and entertainment for 200 to 400 people and were occasions that involved both men and women more or less in equal proportions (sixteen men and seventeen women).⁷⁵ This supports Balducci and Belnap-Jenson's suggestion that such events 'normalised' the presence of women in public and were territories to be shared by men.⁷⁶ On other occasions, however, men's contribution was lauded and that of women hardly mentioned. The eighteen men listed on the circular as organising the Queen's Golden Jubilee celebrations on 21 June 1887 were described as Moseley's 'great and good'.⁷⁷ 200 adults and 400 children enjoyed tea and entertainment, costing about £100, in the grounds of Moseley Hall, prizes and presents were distributed, paper balloons soared in the sky, including an elephant and a colossal policeman and the day ended with a firework display.⁷⁸ Such events were opportunities for Dissenters and Catholics excluded from positions of power and

⁷³ LBA, L14.51, *Moseley Parish Magazine*, 'Ourselves', Vol. 15, 1890; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 10 March, 1886, 14 October, 1871, 17 October, 1871 & 18 September, 1889. £10 in 1890 was c., £820.

⁷⁴ Davidoff & Hall, *Family Fortunes*, pp.73 & 147; Prochaska, 'Philanthropy', pp.357 & 378; Gorsky, *Patterns of Philanthropy*, p.179.

⁷⁵ SMCA, Canon Colmore's Diary, pp.277, 279, 281 & 455.

⁷⁶ Balducci & Belnap-Jensen, 'Introduction', *Women, Femininity and Public Space in European Visual Culture, 1789-1914*, p.7.

⁷⁷ SMCA, Canon Colmore's Diary, pp.277, 279, 281 & 455.

⁷⁸ SMCA, Canon Colmore's Diary, pp.54, 80, 106, 132, 158, 214, 270, 277, 279, 297, 325, 354, 381, 409 & 439; Hewston, N., *A History of Moseley Village, Volume I* (Stroud: Amberley, 2009), pp.39-40. £100 in 1890 was c., £8,200 in 2017.

influence to gain entry into society, creating common ground that defused conflict.⁷⁹ The Queen's Diamond Jubilee in 1897 was celebrated by 600 children in the grounds of Moseley Hall, then the home of Richard Cadbury, a Quaker. 'The ladies' and the Amusement Committee provided a special tea, 'balloons were sent up and each child was given a toy and a medal' by 'Mrs Heaven' of Chantry Road.⁸⁰ Women's contribution seems to gain more attention towards the end of the century, testifying to greater independence. The entertainments included the church choir, violin solos, recitations, songs, short plays and operettas and the Moseley Handbell Ringers. The dancing of 'little Miss Thomas' 'electrified the company' at one concert and in January 1890, the 'eminent conjuror', Herr Blitz 'astonished and amused his audience'.⁸¹ Seventy-nine per cent of those taking part were men.⁸² Gunn lists cultural events, such as concerts, as significant characteristics of middle class identity, public rites for the well-to-do and 'a place to be seen'.⁸³ They brought people together from different social levels, which aided cohesion, as Gordon and Nair suggest, but also could heighten difference and division.⁸⁴

Women were involved in fundraising, an activity for which they received recognition.

Seventy-eight per cent of those named in relation to fundraising in 1879 and the 1880s were

⁷⁹ Gorsky, *Patterns of Philanthropy*, pp.5- 6, 122 & 192; Prochaska, 'Philanthropy', pp.359, 361, 369 & 378; Cavallo, 'The Motivations of Benefactors', p.52; Adam, T., *Buying Respectability: Philanthropy in Urban Society in Transitional Perspective, 1840s to 1930s* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009), pp.103-5; Porter, R., 'The Gift Relation: Philanthropy and Provincial Hospitals in Eighteenth-Century England' in Granshaw, L.P., & Porter, Roy, (eds.), *The Hospital in History* (London: Routledge, 1990), p.156; LBA, L14.51, *Moseley Parish Magazine*, 1890-1907; Waddington, Keir, *An Introduction to the Social History of Medicine: Europe since 1500* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p.150,

⁸⁰ Hewston, *A History of Moseley Village, Volume I*, pp.39-40; SMCA, Canon Colmore's Diary, pp.145, 228 & 270.

⁸¹ SMCA, Canon Colmore's Diary, pp.106, 132, 214, 270, 354 & 409.

⁸² SMCA, Canon Colmore's Diary, pp. 57, 112, 148, 160, 179, 377, 401 & 411 (Concerts etc) and pp.70, 95, 122, 198-200, 229, 251, 282, 285, 313-4, 333, 340, 367, 371, 397, 429 & 455 (Choir excursions).

⁸³ Gunn, 'Translating Bourdieu', p.52.

⁸⁴ Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, p.26.

women. 'Mrs J. Milton James' and other ladies' held a Sale of Work in Moseley in 1873 and many others followed.⁸⁵ The stalls in 1885 were 'manned' by thirty-nine 'ladies'.⁸⁶ In 1887 a meeting called on 'ladies' to help run a large bazaar: '... we feared Moseley would have sooner or later, to appeal to the ladies to get the parish out of debt by means of a large bazaar'.⁸⁷ This reveals male assumptions about women's strengths and status which was also shown in the allocation of responsibilities: women planned the stalls and men managed the printing, decorating and amusements. Sixty-three per cent of the people involved were women. Stalls were named after holders' favourite flowers and goods included kittens, babies' shoes, antimacassars, dog biscuits and strawberries.⁸⁸ A bazaar in 1894 ran over three days and all thirty-two 'ardent saleswomen' were named in the *Birmingham Daily Post*, bringing a greater public face for women.⁸⁹ 'Miss Louise Thomas' organised historic productions and the bazaar was opened by 'Mrs Smith-Ryland', making this very much a woman's affair. Women were 'ever to the front in well-doing' at a 'Sale of Work' in 1900 to raise money for the Indian Famine Fund, which demonstrates a philanthropic relationship to empire.⁹⁰ 'Theatricals', 'Dramatics' and a conversazione which attracted some 350 people were other money-raising events.⁹¹ Women were crucial to fundraising in a range of capacities and this gave them opportunities to demonstrate their competence and social skills in the public realm.

⁸⁵ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 3 December, 1873.

⁸⁶ SMCA, Canon Colmore's Diary, pp.65, 115, 225, 290 & 301.

⁸⁷ SMCA, Canon Colmore's Diary, p.291.

⁸⁸ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 3 December, 1873; SMCA, Canon Colmore's Diary, pp.65, 115, 225, 290 & 301.

⁸⁹ LBA, *The Moseley Society Journal*, 'Local Gossip' by 'Paul Pry, junr', Vol. I, No.10, November, 1894; *Birmingham Daily Post*, Thursday 22 November, 1894.

⁹⁰ LBA, MS 579/6 71aE, *Programmes and Posters*.

⁹¹ SMCA, Canon Colmore's Diary, pp.57, 112, 148, 160, 179, 377, 401 & 411.

St. Mary's philanthropy and volunteerism also suggest a middle-class aim to preserve the social order. The middle class feared insubordination, crime and social unrest from the working classes and young people.⁹² In 1881, Canon Colmore writing in *The Parish Magazine* asked his flock 'to look carefully after the spiritual wants of your servants'.⁹³ In 1884, the church established a 'Young Men's Club for the over-sixteens, which men established, managed and fronted'.⁹⁴ Its debating club started in 1886, Dr Underhill ran Ambulance Classes from 1889 and the 1890 lectures were given by Mr Bernard Badger (Oxford University Extension lecturer) on Physiography. In 1891, some church women started and ran a Working Girls' Club, which was thriving in 1892.⁹⁵ This initiative reflected growing female independence. Thirty-three men were involved in establishing and running the Young Men's Club and fifteen women the girls' club.⁹⁶ A Temperance Society was set up in Moseley in 1882 and in 1884 Canon Colmore wrote that it was 'Quite time the Moseley cabmen had some shelter other than the cabs or the public-house' and the said shelter was erected on the village green paid for by subscriptions that were well supported by 'the ladies' (Fig.1.2).⁹⁷ This attitude to the working class and drink played into art; Begiato shows how the dangers of drink were represented in images through the bodily and material decline of the respectable working man.⁹⁸ Much of this concern related to working class men, but young

⁹² Gorsky, *Patterns of Philanthropy*, pp.3-5, 120 & 135; Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse*, pp.21, 25 & 41; Cavallo, 'The Motivations of Benefactors', p.6; Prochaska, 'Philanthropy', p.359; Owen, *English Philanthropy 1660-1960*, p.145; Harvey, *Philanthropy in Birmingham and Sydney, 1860-1914*, p.191.

⁹³ SMCA, Canon Colmore's Diary, p.105.

⁹⁴ SMCA, Canon Colmore's Diary, pp.213, 215, 243, 334, 338, 340, 343-44, 347, 373 & 452. In 1888 the club was located in two 'very suitable and central' rooms belonging to Mr Miles, the car proprietor.

⁹⁵ SMCA, Canon Colmore's Diary, pp.398, 400, 415 & 428.

⁹⁶ SMCA, Canon Colmore's Diary, pp.243, 334, 338, 340, 343-44, 347, 373, 398, 400, 415, 428 & 452. Analysis of the Young Men's Club covered the period between 1884 and 1893 and the Girls' Club between 1891 and 1893.

⁹⁷ SMCA, Canon Colmore's Diary, pp.155-6, 185, 225 & 269-70.

⁹⁸ Begiato, *Manliness in Britain, 1760-1900*, p.74.

local middle-class women demonstrated independence and ideas about equality by taking the opportunity to make provision for working girls.

St. Mary's Church and its members were committed to their church activities. A total of more than £24,000, a considerable sum, was raised, emphasising the importance of these institutions to the wealthy.⁹⁹ The numbers involved are impressive. In total, 2,112 names reflecting 402 individuals (287 men (seventy-one per cent) and 115 women) were identified. Men dominated managing and funding improvements and developments and donating gifts, but women made their mark in a few socially acceptable areas exceeding men in fundraising activities and entertainments, whilst well-to-do women operated on a par with men. St. Mary's Church offered its members a wide range of opportunities and clearly was a significant force in the suburb.

Moseley National School

Religious belief fostered enthusiasm amongst the middle class for educational developments and early in 1826 St. Mary's Church, established the Moseley National School in School Road, Moseley, for the children of local estate servants and labourers and developed and supported it subsequently (Fig.6.3). It was the first of its kind in Birmingham.¹⁰⁰ National schools were stimulated by faith and optimism in the transformative capacity of schooling.¹⁰¹ Phillip McCann and W.E. Marsden, claim they were intended to instil 'habits of subordination, self-respect, economy and reverence for religion', secure 'persons and

⁹⁹ £24,000 in 1890 was c., £1,969,200 in 2017.

¹⁰⁰ Fairn, *A History of Moseley*, p.48; Price, *The Moseley Church of England National School*, pp.1-2.

¹⁰¹ Madoc-Jones, Beryl, 'Patterns of attendance and their social significance: Mitcham National School, 1830-1839' in McCann, Phillip, (ed.), *Popular Education and Socialisation in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1977), p.61.

property', develop 'decency', 'regularity of attention', and an understanding of 'their place in society'.¹⁰² J.M. Goldstrom and Marsden suggest literacy was related to encouraging church attendance, reducing crime, curbing strikes and riots and implanting virtues of self-help, thrift, sobriety and cleanliness.¹⁰³



Fig.6.3: Moseley National School.¹⁰⁴

Moseley National School does not, however, appear to be for the poorest. Clive Gilbert records that in 1895 the majority of Moseley children were 'not of the class who require

¹⁰² McCann, Phillip, 'Popular Education, socialisation and social control: Spitalfields, 1812-1824', pp.2,7-8 & 19; Madoc-Jones, 'Patterns of attendance and their social significance', pp.61 & 74; Marsden, W.E., 'Social environment, school attendance and educational achievement in a Merseyside town, 1870-1900' in McCann, Phillip, (ed.), *Popular Education and Socialisation in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1977), p.214.

¹⁰³ Goldstrom, J.M., 'The content of education and the socialisation of the working-class child, 1830-1860' in McCann, Phillip, (ed.), *Popular Education and Socialisation in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1977), pp.104 & 106-107; Marsden, 'Social environment, school attendance and educational achievement in a Merseyside town, 1870-1900', p.214.

¹⁰⁴ MSHGC, (C2/D3/F7/21), Photographs.

elementary schools' and 'our own poor can be counted on ten fingers'.¹⁰⁵ Pupils look clean, tidy, well-dressed and well-shod in the photographs and, in any case, the costs, 2d and later 3d, would have excluded the destitute (Fig.6.4).¹⁰⁶ These, however, are posed images and children may not have been dressed in their usual attire. Some appear to be dressed as choristers. The photos are formal and children look stiff and the staff mostly stern. They are in mixed gender groups, whereas after 1862 the school was organised as Boys' and Girl's Schools. Attendance figures were crucial. 'The ladies' of St. Mary's Church organised halfpenny dinners during harsh winter days to save children walking home and back, thus ensuring the school was well attended even in inclement weather.¹⁰⁷ In 1888 he recorded that 'already more than a 100 dinners have been given'. In 1890 there were 1,666 dinners produced in March. In 1891 the dinners commenced in January and continued for eight weeks during which 2,910 dinners were provided, 357 of which were free. The needs of local employers were important and Moseley subscribers were asked to use their influence in recommending jobs for 'those children who on leaving the establishment are designated for service'.¹⁰⁸ Motives for establishing and supporting the school reveal concerns around social control.

¹⁰⁵ Gilbert, *The Moseley Trail*, p.16.

¹⁰⁶ Price, *The Moseley Church of England National School*, pp.7 & 11. 2d in 1890 was c., 68p in 2017 and 3d was £1.03.

¹⁰⁷ SMCA, Canon Colmore's Diary, pp.334, 358, 381, 385 & 419. In 1888 Canon Colmore recorded that 'Already more than a 100 dinners have been given'. In 1890 these dinners ended in March and totalled 1,666 dinners in the month. In 1891 the dinners commenced in January and ended after eight weeks and 2,910 dinners were provided, of which 357 were free.

¹⁰⁸ Madoc-Jones, 'Patterns of attendance and their social significance: Mitcham National School, 1830-1839', p.75; Price, *The Moseley Church of England National School*, p.9.



Fig.6.4: The Infant and Junior Classes, Moseley National School, c.1870.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁹ MSHGC, (C2/D3/A/11), Photographs.

Many middle-class Moseley residents supported the National School financially and in practical ways. Canon Colmore's Diary names 121 different individuals, most of whom (ninety-six: seventy-nine per cent) were men. The initial committee, formed by Reverend Walter Farquhar Hook in 1823, was all-male as was the committee set up in 1827 to organise donations and annual subscriptions.¹¹⁰ Subscribers were mostly men, but women, like the 'Misses Thrupp', made an appearance.¹¹¹ Men mostly established, maintained, enlarged and managed the school (ninety-four per cent). Women were more to the fore in domestic situations, including organising school treats (fifty per cent), helping in the school (fifty-seven per cent) and organising outings (forty-one per cent).¹¹² T.C. Sneyd-Kynnersley was a manager and treasurer for many years and a great benefactor of the school.¹¹³ In 1878 his son, E.M. Sneyd-Kynnersley, restarted the school library and contributed many volumes, and gave a glass-fronted cabinet containing specimens to form the nucleus of a School Museum. Miss Harriet Kynnersley brought in specimens for the Museum, objects illustrating cocoa manufacture were donated by the Cadburys and items illustrating pin and needle-making were also donated. 'Mrs Davison' helped with lessons in drawing, singing, scripture and needlework at the Girls School regularly. 'Miss F. Wilmott' took the 6th Standard in darning and the 'Misses Kynnersley' often visited the Girls School and helped in the afternoons. Reverend Davison helped regularly with lessons in drawing, singing and scripture. E.M. Sneyd-Kynnersley arranged a magic lantern show and gave a prize for the best essay on the magic lantern. In 1880 when a certified cookery mistress was appointed to the Girls' School,

¹¹⁰ Fairn, *A History of Moseley*, p.48; Price, *The Moseley Church of England National School*, pp.1-2.

¹¹¹ Price, *The Moseley Church of England National School*, pp.2 & 6.

¹¹² SMCA, Canon Colmore's Diary, pp.120, 145, 228, 255, 312, 342, 367, 396 & 456.

¹¹³ Price, *The Moseley Church of England National School*, pp.24-25 & 33. E.M., Sneyd-Kynnersley became a School inspector for Chester and wrote a book on his experiences entitled 'Some Passages in the Life of an Inspector of Schools' (London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1913).

Mr Wilmot gave a gas stove.¹¹⁴ 'Ladies' were admitted by 5s tickets to cookery lectures on Friday afternoons to witness 'Miss Boot's cooking skills'.¹¹⁵ Many of E.M. Sneyd-Kynnersley's actions reflected concerns about health; he paid for rebuilding the 'outhouses' and putting the drains in order and arranged for the draining and filling in of a stagnant pond.¹¹⁶ This practical involvement in the school suggests concern for a varied curriculum and a hands-on approach to charity.

The school was a focus of social and fundraising events. These involved men, women, and couples. Couples volunteering together 'normalised' the presence of women in public.¹¹⁷ They gave their field or grounds for School Treats and entertained staff: 'Mr and Mrs Wilmott' opened their gardens and adjoining field in the 1880s to the school pupils where the chief attraction was the ascent of balloons, one of immense size representing an elephant, accompanied by the strains of Kings Heath Band.¹¹⁸ A balloon representing 'Jumbo' was brought by 'Mr and Mrs Heaven' to the School Treat in 1882 and in 1889 the balloons included 'Baldwin and his Parachute', which referenced a balloon flight at Villa Park.¹¹⁹ Mr Bullock and Mr Miles took the infants to venues in their carts.¹²⁰ The contribution of women to School Treats was noted: 'Mrs Heaven' 'rendered signal service as did several other ladies' in 1891. At the 'Miscellaneous Evening Concert' on Tuesday 9

¹¹⁴ SMCA, Canon Colmore's Diary, p.375.

¹¹⁵ Price, *The Moseley Church of England National School*, p.32.

¹¹⁶ Price, *The Moseley Church of England National School*, pp.24-25, 29 & 30-32

¹¹⁷ Balducci & Belnap-Jensen, 'Introduction', *Women, Femininity and Public Space in European Visual Culture, 1789-1914*, p.7.

¹¹⁸ Price, *The Moseley Church of England National School*, p.30.

¹¹⁹ SMCA, Canon Colmore's Diary, pp.120, 145, 228, 255, 312, 342, 367, 396 & 456; Price, *The Moseley Church of England National School*, p.30; www.avfc.co.uk, Inglis, Simon, *Villa Park - 100 Years*. This balloon represented Professor T.S. Baldwin, an American. At Villa Park 120 years ago he dropped from a harness and parachuted down. This was a new experience for Birmingham. The Wright brothers' first powered flight was still fifteen years away. The earliest recorded parachute jump from a balloon was 1885.

¹²⁰ SMCA, Canon Colmore's Diary, pp.120, 145, 228, 312 & 396.

January, 1877, the solo guitar was played by R.W. Thrupp, the solo flute by Mr A. Gregory and the pianoforte by Miss F. Bell.¹²¹ Also involved were Miss L. Green and Miss M. McEntee. The Conductor was Mr F.H. Bell. Female participants at a concert on Wednesday evening, 30 January, 1878, included 'Mrs J. Padmore', Miss A. Cox, Miss J. Padmore and 'Mrs J. Powell'.¹²² Female performers at the Evening Concert on Tuesday 25 February, 1879, the last of the concert series, included Miss Blanche Bell, The Misses Austin and Miss Lizzie Oakes. Women spread largesse, often alongside men. As Gunn suggests this was one way in which women transmitted cultural capital and signalled the socio-cultural status of their household.¹²³

The Moseley National School was an important forerunner of primary education and a testament to the philanthropic commitment of Moseley residents, not only financially, but also in time and effort. It signalled their belief in the value of education in improving the lot of the deserving poor and creating an educated, obedient and grateful working class.

Moseley and Balsall Heath Institute

Middle-class Moseley residents helped to establish, finance and manage the Moseley and Balsall Heath Institute. It was set up in 1876 inspired by the Mechanics Institutes elsewhere. It moved to impressive premises in Balsall Heath in 1883 on land donated by Miss Ellen and Miss Emma Lawrence, who lived at The White House opposite (Fig.6.5).¹²⁴ Its Trust Deed

¹²¹ LBA, F/6 LF 55.4 LF55.4260592, Poster.

¹²² LBA, MS 579/6 71aE, Programmes and Posters.

¹²³ Gunn, 'Translating Bourdieu', p.55.

¹²⁴ Wiseman, Alfred, *Moseley and Balsall Heath Institute, 1876-1926, 'The Institute – a Souvenir'* (Birmingham: H. Saunders Ltd., 1926), p.6.

required the building be used as 'a Literary and Scientific Institute'.¹²⁵ Moseley men were to the fore: Professor Henry Morley was the first President, Mr W.B. Bach, junior, Honorary Secretary, and N.C. Reading, who 'helped materially in the erection of the fine building' and had his name inscribed on the foundation stone as a founder, was a committee member who guaranteed a loan of £2,000, and ran the Dramatic Society.¹²⁶ John Avins was amongst the 1882 subscribers to the building fund, but some Moseley women contributed, for example, Mrs Reading senior.¹²⁷ Attending lectures, classes and events spoke to the Victorian enthusiasm for self-education and provided opportunities for socialising. Moseley and Kings Heath Institute and the Birmingham Midland Institute in Margaret Street, Birmingham were other similar sites enjoyed by Moseley residents. Men were particularly associated with Institutes. Eighty-five men (eighty-nine per cent), but only ten women were identified in various capacities.¹²⁸ Thirty-three were named in respect of the Moseley and Balsall Heath Institute (ninety-seven per cent men), five (eighty per cent men) for Moseley and Kings Heath Institute and thirty-three (eighty-five per cent men) for the Birmingham and Midland Institute.¹²⁹ Forty-one Moseley individuals subscribed to The Birmingham Midland Institute (eighty-five per cent men).¹³⁰ Men took leading roles in local cultural and civic initiatives that were inspired by national movements, showing that suburbs were not isolated from the wider world.

¹²⁵ Wiseman, *Moseley and Balsall Heath Institute, 1876-1926*, pp.1 & 9-10.

¹²⁶ Wiseman, *Moseley and Balsall Heath Institute, 1876-1926*, pp.3 & 4; *Some Moseley Personalities*, Vol. II, p.39. £2,000 in 1890 was c., £164,100 in 2017.

¹²⁷ Wiseman, *Moseley and Balsall Heath Institute 1876-1926*, pp.50-51. No addresses were given making any evaluation of Moseley donations inappropriate.

¹²⁸ Wiseman, *Moseley and Balsall Heath Institute 1876-1926*, pp.2-8.

¹²⁹ Names located in Wiseman, *Moseley and Balsall Heath Institute 1876-1926*; The Birmingham and Midland Institute Archive, Margaret Street, Birmingham.

¹³⁰ The Birmingham Midland Institute Archive, Annual Reports (Margaret Street, Birmingham).



Fig.6.5: Moseley and Balsall Heath Institute.¹³¹

The Moseley and Balsall Heath Institute developed as the social and community centre of the locality. Dramatic and choral societies, lectures and entertainments, evening classes, exhibitions, annual conversaciones and bazaars took place. More classes were added over time, including a 'Ladies' Class, a Men's Class and classes in shorthand, French, Gym Exercise, Literature, Art and Painting.¹³² Men were key to fundraising. On 3 January, 1878, at the first recorded Annual Conversazione there were exhibitions by Moseley men, such as 'Electro-plate' by Elkington & Co., and 'Cases of Butterflies and Birds' by Mr Allport. Mr J.W. Lancaster of Moseley fitted up a complete telephone system – the first recorded exhibition of the telephone in Birmingham – and a printing press was installed, called 'The Moseley Microphone News'.¹³³ Women were involved in fundraising events and dramatic

¹³¹ Balsall Heath History Society.

¹³² Wiseman, *Moseley and Balsall Heath Institute, 1876-1926*, p.13.

¹³³ Wiseman, *Moseley and Balsall Heath Institute 1876-1926*, p.5.

performances and their contributions were recognised in general terms, but only occasionally. In 1887, for example, the committee's report on the second bazaar stated:

In the work of furnishing and otherwise rendering valuable assistance, over a hundred ladies were actively employed for several months before the opening and during the bazaar. They attended at stalls and displayed so much tact, energy and industry as to make the bazaar a success.¹³⁴

The local institutes accommodated a wide range of activities in which both men and women took part. They were run by the middle class and largely enjoyed by them, but local artisans may well have benefitted too. The Moseley and Balsall Heath Institute became widely known as 'Moseley Town Hall'. John Avins offered land to the value of £1,600 in Church Road together with funds of £1,000 for a Moseley Assembly Rooms, but this was not taken up, despite a letter of support to the *Birmingham Mail* from Edward Holmes in April 1890.¹³⁵ The debate continued and Spurrier, writing in 1893, acknowledged that 'Although parts of Moseley are within easy reach of an Institute, an Assembly Room with reading rooms attached would be a great acquisition, but it must be conveniently situated - say nearly opposite the village green, or at the junction of Wake Green and Church Roads'.¹³⁶ Perhaps Moseley preferred to enjoy the facilities the Moseley and Balsall Heath Institute provided on occasion, and preserve the peace and privacy of their locality.

¹³⁴ Wiseman, *Moseley and Balsall Heath Institute 1876-1926*, p.13.

¹³⁵ *Birmingham Mail*, Saturday 12 April, 1890. £1,600 in 1890 was c., £131,300 in 2017 and £1,000 c., £82,000.

¹³⁶ SMCA, Canon Colmore's Diary, Spurrier, W.J., *Moseley of Today and a Look into the Past*, accompanied by an original map, 1893, Courtesy of Rob Brown, Voluntary Church Archivist, (PCRB), p.447.

Birmingham Voluntary Hospitals, Disabled Children's Institutions and Children's Charity Schools

The Moseley middle class supported Birmingham voluntary hospitals, disabled children's institutions and charity schools through subscriptions, donations and legacies. Annual reports listed contributors and their contributions and these were reported in newspapers and local magazines. Such public performances of benevolence brought the donors publicity and status locally and beyond.¹³⁷ People donating £10 became governors, had a vote at the AGM and the sum meant they could grant tickets of entry to these institutions, which enhanced their status further and gave them power, patronage and a sense of importance in the community.¹³⁸ Manufacturers subscribing to voluntary hospitals might secure contracts and hospital treatment for their workers given the many industrial accidents that occurred.¹³⁹ Concern for the plight of poor and disabled children and a desire to improve their lot prompted involvement in charity schools and schools for disabled children and young people, but these schools were also a means of getting such children and young people off the streets and producing independent, self-supporting workpeople.

Moseley residents supported the 'Gutter Homes' established by J.T. Middlemore in 1872, and known as Middlemore Homes from 1874.¹⁴⁰ These homes took destitute children or children recommended by the police or magistrates between the ages of ten and thirteen, who were too young to be admitted to industrial schools, but not obliged to go to school. Children were sent to Australia and Canada supposedly for a better life. The Birmingham

¹³⁷ Harvey, *Philanthropy in Birmingham and Sydney, 1860-1914*, pp.52-53.

¹³⁸ Gorsky, *Patterns of Philanthropy*, p.178; Harvey, *Philanthropy in Birmingham and Sydney, 1860-1914*, p.52.

¹³⁹ Reinartz, *Health Care in Birmingham*, pp.5, 15 & 23.

¹⁴⁰ Harvey, *Philanthropy in Birmingham and Sydney, 1860-1914*, pp.72-74, 183 & 187.

Blue Coat Charity School was an Anglican institution popular with Moseley subscribers which took children between nine and fourteen years and provided food and clothing as well as education, under the guidance of Reverend William Higgs, rector of St Philip's Church.¹⁴¹ Moseley residents gave to The General Institution for the Blind, established in 1852, and The Birmingham Deaf and Dumb Institution, established in the 1850s.¹⁴² Voluntary hospitals were intended for the 'deserving poor', who were unable to pay for medical treatment, but above the level of paupers who were treated in Poor Law establishments.¹⁴³ Moseley residents were involved with a range of voluntary hospitals including the General, Queen's, Women's, Orthopaedic, Eye, and Ear and Throat Hospitals.

These institutions were dependent on subscriptions, donations and legacies. Moseley residents made significant contributions - a total of about £6,300 to nine Birmingham voluntary hospitals, disabled children's institutions and charity schools in subscriptions between 1851 and 1891.¹⁴⁴ Six people left over £23,000 in total in their wills.¹⁴⁵ The top seventy-four subscribers (those giving £10 and over between 1850 and 1891 to nine institutions gave nearly £4,000).¹⁴⁶ They were mostly men (fifty-three men (seventy-six per

¹⁴¹ www.thebluecoatschool.com, 'Blue Coat School', 'About', 'History'. Accessed 2012.

¹⁴² *History and General Directory of the Borough of Birmingham*, White, F., & Co., 1849, pp.26-27; LBA, L48.62, Deaf and Dumb Institution Annual Reports, 1848 & 1851; Cannadine, D., *Lords and Landlords: The Aristocracy and the Towns 1774-1967* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1980), p.97; Gorsky, *Patterns of Philanthropy*, p.146; Owen, *English Philanthropy 1660-1960*, p.119.

¹⁴³ Owen, *English Philanthropy 1660-1960*, pp.11 & 21; Andrews, D., 'Two Medical Charities in Eighteenth-Century London' in Barry, J., & Jones, C., (eds.), *Medicine and Charity before the Welfare State* (London: Routledge, 1991), p.92; Gorsky, *Patterns of Philanthropy*, p.5.

¹⁴⁴ The nine included The General Hospital, Queen's Hospital, The Women's Hospital, The Orthopaedic Hospital, The Eye Hospital, The Ear and Throat Hospital, The Institute for Blind Children, The Institute for Deaf Children and Blue Coat School. £6,300 in 1890 was c., £516,900 in 2017.

¹⁴⁵ LBA, L.4861/7, The Blind Institute, Annual Report, 1854; LBA, MS/622/1/5/25-39, Blue Coat Charity School, Annual Report, 1873; LBA, MS 1672 (Add I)(Acc 1991/137), John Avins' will, the John Avins Trust Minute Book 1, Meeting 1, pp.1-11, 1891 and Meeting 34, pp. 63-5, 1893; LBA, L46, Jaffray Convalescent Hospital, Annual Reports (in the General Hospital, Annual Reports), 1888 and 1901. £2,300 in 1890 was c., £188,700 in 2017.

¹⁴⁶ £4,000 in 1890 was c., £328,200 in 2017.

cent men), seventeen women and four couples). The 'others', giving below £10, contributed £2,355, a significant amount representing a considerable number of subscribers given they were contributing much smaller amounts.¹⁴⁷ John Avins subscribed to nine hospitals and institutions and donated amounts to seven, bringing his total contributions to £239, an average of about £7 per year between 1858 and 1891.¹⁴⁸ Before retiring to Moseley, he gave to charity through his family's firms at Worcester Wharf where he lived. Some Moseley residents took on managerial roles and some, like the Chamberlains and the Women's Hospital, were significantly involved in the management of particular hospitals. The level of these contributions shows how important supporting these institutions was to the suburban middle-class.

A 'Moseley philanthropic elite' giving £10 and over per year emerged, which consisted of fifty-six men (seventy-two per cent) and twenty two women, including four couples, that is, seventy-four contributions.¹⁴⁹ Most of these 'elite' individuals gave between £10 and £49 per year (seventy per cent), most were men (seventy-six per cent) and men gave more than the women (approximately £2,641 compared to £1,061).¹⁵⁰ Only two subscribers gave £200 and over and they were men (four per cent). Seventy-five per cent of men and fifty-three per cent of women subscribers gave between £10 and £49, but more women than men gave between £50 and £99 and £100 and £199.¹⁵¹ The four couples gave between £10 and £100. Most of the elite women subscribers were married (sixty-eight per cent), suggesting many

¹⁴⁷ £2,355 in 1890 was c., £193,200 in 2017.

¹⁴⁸ The value of £7 between 1860 and 1890 varied between c., £415 and £574 in 2017, whilst £239 varied between £141,100 and £19,600.

¹⁴⁹ £10 in 1890 was c., £820 in 2017.

¹⁵⁰ £49 in 1890 was c., £4,000 in 2017, £2,641 was c., £216,700 and £1,061 was c., £87,100.

¹⁵¹ £50 in 1890 was c., £4,100 in 2017, £99 was c., £8,100, £100 was c., £8,200 and £199 was c., £16,300.

women acting independently. Most subscribers gave to one or two causes (sixty-one per cent), but more women gave only to one (forty-seven per cent). By far the most popular hospital with male 'elites' was The General Hospital and for women, The Women's Hospital. The Ear and Throat and The Orthopaedic Hospitals were least popular with both men and women. Women far outnumbered men subscribing to The Women's Hospital, though, signalling their special interest in women's health, but otherwise men significantly exceeded women. John Avins' preferred charity appears to have been The Blue Coat School, which alone received £71, followed by Jaffray Convalescent Hospital (£39), The Orthopaedic and Children's Hospitals (£27) and The General and Queen's Hospitals (£21).¹⁵² Men dominated in voluntary management roles, but between 1892 and 1897 fifty-nine per cent of the Committee for the Election of Medical Officers at The Women's Hospital were women as were thirty-one per cent at The Orthopaedic Hospital between 1894 and 1920.¹⁵³ This research shows that the suburban elite supported these institutions generously and women played an important role. Caring for the sick and children was seen as particularly appropriate for women. Contributions made in the name of the male household head reflected his position, but may well have been organised by the women of the family.

Single gifts and legacies were invaluable to these institutions, because they provided a steady accumulation of fixed capital enabling expansion.¹⁵⁴ Men were particularly associated with posthumous philanthropy, ensuring that their names were remembered after death. In

¹⁵² LBA, MS/622/1/5/1-39, Blue Coat Charity School, Annual Reports, 1857-1891; LBA, HC/RO/A/ 10, The Orthopaedic Hospital, Annual Reports, 1887; LBA, HC/GH/1/3/1/ and L46.21, The General and Jaffray Hospitals, Annual Reports, 1779-1843, 1885-1896; LBA, HC/QU/1/8/1-15, The Queen's Hospital, Annual Reports, 1865-1891; LBA, HC/BC/1/14/1, The Children's Hospital, Annual Reports, 1862-1901. £71 in 1890 was c., £5,800 in 2017, £39 was c., £3,200, £27 was c., £2,200 and £21 was c., £1,700.

¹⁵³ LBA, WH/1/10/4-7, The Women's Hospital, Annual Reports, 1891-1890, 1903-1926; LBA, HC/RO/A/13 -15, The Orthopaedic Hospital, Annual Reports, 1890-1921.

¹⁵⁴ Gorsky, *Patterns of Philanthropy*, p.151.

his will John Avins left £22,000 to The Orthopaedic Hospital and £1,000 to The General Hospital Building Fund and set up a Trust to give money annually to medical charities which still pays out today.¹⁵⁵ James Taylor left £20 to the Blind Institution in 1854.¹⁵⁶ Richard Cadbury left £50 in 1888 and Lord Holder £107 in 1891 to The Jaffray Hospital.¹⁵⁷ Many wives and daughters took over subscriptions from their husbands and fathers following their death and left money to charity in their wills too. 'Mrs Padmore' continued her husband's contributions to The Women's Hospital from 1879, and 'Mrs R. Cadbury', her husband's to The Eye Hospital in 1900.¹⁵⁸ After John Avins' death, 'Mrs Avins' subscribed and donated substantially more than her husband in her lifetime, a total of £34,178, her favourites being The General Hospital (£4,100), The Orthopaedic Hospital (£16,867) and The Women's Hospital (£12,053).¹⁵⁹ Eliza Parthenia Avins, their daughter, favoured The Orthopaedic Hospital (£14,594), The Women's Hospital (£101) and The Middlemore Home (£71), giving a total of £14,766.¹⁶⁰ Mrs Underhill left £50 to The Blind Institution in 1854 and Miss R.

¹⁵⁵ LBA, MS 1672 (Add I)(Acc 1991/137), the John Avins Trust Minute Book 1, Meeting 1, pp.1-11, 1891 & Meeting 34, pp. 63-5, 1893; Initially these charities included Days Home, Deritend, Middlemore Emigration Home, Birmingham Blue Coat Charity School, Birmingham Royal School for Deaf Children, Birmingham Royal Institute for the Blind, Royal Wanstead School and the Fund for Supplying Cheap Dinners to Poorer children in Moseley and District. www.childrenshomes.org.uk/wansteadinfant, 'The Royal Wanstead Home', Wanstead, London. Accessed 2012. This was an orphanage for young children: Wanstead Infant Orphan Asylum, Wanstead, London. £2,200 in 1890 was c., £180,500 in 2017.

¹⁵⁶ LBA, L.4861/7, The Blind Institute, Annual Reports, 1854. £20 in 1890 would be c. £1,600 in 2017.

¹⁵⁷ LBA, L46.21, The Jaffray Convalescent Hospital, Annual Reports (in The General Hospital, Annual Reports), 1888 and 1901.

¹⁵⁸ LBA, WH/1/10/2-3, The Women's Hospital, Annual Reports, 1878-1886 & 1891-1902; LBA, HC/EY/2/1/3/1, The Eye Hospital, Annual Reports, 1869-1933.

¹⁵⁹ LBA, L.46.21, The General Hospital, Annual Reports, 1891-1896; LBA, HC/RO/A/13 -15, The Orthopaedic Hospital, Annual Reports, 1890-1921; LBA, WH/1/10/4-7, The Women's Hospital, Annual Reports, 1891-1926; LBA, L46.315, The Ear and Throat Hospital, Annual Reports, 1862-1929; LBA, L41.31 19-52, The Middlemore Charity Home, Annual Reports, 1903 -1924; LBA, HC/EY/2/1/3/1, The Eye Hospital, Annual Reports, 1869-1933; LBA, MS/622 & , L48.113, The Blue Coat Charity School, Annual Reports, 1889-1896 & 1890-1920. Mrs Avins died in 1928.

¹⁶⁰ LBA, HC/RO/A/13 -15, The Orthopaedic Hospital, Annual Reports, 1890-1921; LBA, WH/1/10/4-7, The Women's Hospital, Annual Reports, 1891-1926; LBA, L41.31 19-52, The Middlemore Charity Home, Annual Reports, 1903 -1924.

Anderton left £100 in 1873 to The Blue Coat School.¹⁶¹ This shows that women following the death of a husband or parent were equally generous to institutions for the sick and children if not more so and left legacies in their wills like men.

Many Moseley residents gave generously to Birmingham voluntary hospitals, disabled children's institutions and charity schools in life and after death and through their generosity they marked out their membership of the middle class and their role in civic public culture. Men's contributions exceeded those of women, but women were important financially to these institutions. June Hannam draws attention to how the rise in philanthropy expanded women's opportunities outside the home, and suggests that this could be a route to feminist politics.¹⁶²

Social, Cultural and Sporting Endeavour

The suburban middle-class was involved in a range of social and cultural associations. Moseley residents took part in formal and informal socialising locally and further afield. For example, 'Mrs Adams' of Sorrento arranged a private dance for seventy guests at her home in 1894.¹⁶³ Attending 'invitation only' events and inclusion in civic occasions cemented and broadcast social standing and brought Moseley middle-class residents into company with 'the great and the good'. Althans and Agnes Blackwell attended The Lord Mayor's Fancy Dress Ball on 22 April, 1881, at which Joseph Chamberlain was dressed in a Cabinet Minister's Court dress and Miss Chamberlain as a fifteenth century Burgundian Duchess.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶¹ LBA, L.4861/7, The Blind Institute, Annual Report, 1854; LBA, MS/622/1/5/25-39, The Blue Coat Charity School, Annual Report, 1873.

¹⁶² Hannam, 'Women and Politics', pp.221-222.

¹⁶³ Fairn, *A History of Moseley*, p.56.

¹⁶⁴ CRL, MS804/1/8/3, Newspaper articles.

Local and Birmingham concerts brought people together too. Moseley Park & Pool Consortium organised 'A Vocal and Instrumental Promenade Concert', on Tuesday 26 June, 1900, at 6.30 p.m. with Moseley Quartette & Concert Party, Gilmer's Military Band, Illumination of Pool and Grounds and Fireworks Display.¹⁶⁵ On Saturday 8 September, 1900, they organised a 'Promenade and Pyrotechnics', with Willenhall Prize Band and their 'high-class' music and fireworks, which was attended by 3,000 people.¹⁶⁶ A subscription to the Wesleyan Philharmonic Society cost Mrs Blackwell 5s in 1878, season tickets for Mr Stockley's Orchestral Concerts in 1878 cost 12s and two tickets in 1893 and four in 1893 for the Birmingham Choral Society cost £1 8s 0d and £2 16s 0d respectively.¹⁶⁷ These cultural events support Gunn's argument that the 'subscriber democracies' that informed middle-class public identity before the 1840s, gave way to a public culture based on fine art, classical music and cash payment.¹⁶⁸ Gunn also argues that the social status of important public occasions, such as concerts and balls, was judged by the presence of women and 'their capacity to perform the rites of feminine gentility' and that women transmitted cultural competence by 'embodying it in their own person, their dress, deportment and behaviour' on such occasions. Gordon and Nair emphasise that cultural practices were key to middle-class identity particularly in relation to urban modernity, public ritual and civic culture.¹⁶⁹ Attending such events allowed the better-off middle-class suburbanites to assert their

¹⁶⁵ LBA, F/6 LF 55.4 LF 55.4260592, Programme.

¹⁶⁶ LBA, T/6 LF 55.4, LF 55.4260592, Programme.

¹⁶⁷ MSHGC, (C3/D2/A/F10/2-3), RBA, Bills & Receipts. 5s in 1880 was c., £17 in 2017 and 12s was c., £40. £1 8s 0d in 1890 was c., £115 in 2017 and £2 16s 0d was £230.

¹⁶⁸ Gunn, 'Translating Bourdieu', pp.51-54.

¹⁶⁹ Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, p.6.

presence and display their wealth and authority.¹⁷⁰ Attending events in Birmingham supports Bilston's thesis that living in a suburb was not just about proximity to the country, but also about participation in the opportunities of the city.¹⁷¹

The middle class set up and participated in an array of social and cultural clubs and societies. Moseley and Kings Heath Gentleman's Club, was founded in 1893/4 in Alcester Road, Moseley. It was a licensed male-only establishment with billiard tables, cards, bowls, smoking, concerts, a reading room and restaurant with fees that excluded the working class.¹⁷² This development accords with John Tosh's description of 'the flight from domesticity' and men seeking to escape the 'tyranny of the five o'clock tea', but also provided leisure opportunities for middle-class men that for many were not available in smaller homes.¹⁷³ At Moseley, Kings Heath and Balsall Heath Horticultural Society keen gardeners honed their gardening skills, demonstrated their horticultural expertise and mixed with the upper-middle class, Joseph Chamberlain being a keen member.¹⁷⁴ They displayed their achievements at Horticultural Shows in the grounds of the local elite. Various groups provided opportunities for literary and musical expression and the display of aesthetics and erudition, including Moseley and Balsall Heath Literary Association in existence by 1877, and from the 1880s, the Moseley Amateur Dramatic Society, the Moseley Shakespearian Society,

¹⁷⁰ Gunn, S., 'The Public Sphere, Modernity and Consumption: New Perspectives on the History of the English Middle Class' in Kidd, A., & Nicholls, D., (eds.), *Gender, Civic Culture and Consumerism: Middle-Class Identity in Britain 1800-1940* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), p.76.

¹⁷¹ Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, p.23.

¹⁷² Cockel, R., *Moseley Village Walks from the Dovecote* (Birmingham: The Moseley Society, 2006), p.6. There was an entry fee of 2 guineas and a further annual subscription of 2 guineas.

¹⁷³ Tosh, John, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (London: Yale University Press, 1999), pp.179 & 182.

¹⁷⁴ MSHGC, (C3/D1/F8/3/24), Article.

the Moseley Musical Club, the Moseley Choral Society and the Photographic Society.¹⁷⁵ The Blackwells raised their status and took part in public culture by subscribing to the Birmingham Central Literary Association, which cost 5s in 1879-1880, by buying their magazines at 2s 6d, and by subscribing to the 'Ladies Room' at the Birmingham Library at a cost of 2s in 1897.¹⁷⁶ The Moseley middle-class enjoyed a range of interests, which shows how much leisure time they had at their disposal, and took them not only outside their immediate locality and to other local suburbs, but also into Birmingham.

Membership lists for local social and cultural societies have not survived to any extent, but thirty-four individuals were identified, twenty of whom were men (fifty-nine per cent) and fourteen women, making a small majority of men. Most of the twenty-seven Moseley individuals belonging to Moseley and Kings Heath Horticultural Club were men (seventy per cent).¹⁷⁷ Moseley social and cultural clubs were mixed-sex, but men largely took the lead. Rev. W.H. Colmore of St. Mary's Church, for example, ran the Moseley Shakespearian Society.¹⁷⁸ Women ran the female-oriented groups such as the Girls' Friendly Society and 'Mrs Colmore' the local female-only Needlework Guild, which comprised twenty-two female members in 1885 and produced 104 garments for charity in 1900.¹⁷⁹ The dominance of men and the areas where women took the lead reflect contemporary ideas about what was appropriate for women.

¹⁷⁵ Hewston, *A History of Moseley Village, Volume I*, pp.37-38; Gilbert, *The Moseley Trail*, pp.9-10; Fairn, *A History of Moseley*, pp.56-57.

¹⁷⁶ MSHGC, (C3/D2/A/F10/2-3), RBA, Bills & Receipts. 5s in 1880 was c., £17 in 2017, 2s 6d was c., £51 and 2s in 1900 was c., £8.

¹⁷⁷ MSHGC, (C3/D1/F8/3/24), Blue Folder, Document; SMCA, Canon Colmore's Diary, pp.185, 227, 231, 290, 318, 344, 370, 373, 400 & 435.

¹⁷⁸ Hewston, *A History of Moseley Village, Volume I*, pp.37-38; Gilbert, *The Moseley Trail*, pp.9-10; Fairn, *A History of Moseley*, pp.56-57.

¹⁷⁹ Fairn, *A History of Moseley*, p.64; LBA, L14.51. *Moseley Parish Magazine*, 1890-1907; SMCA, Canon Colmore's Diary, p.185.

Sports Clubs flourished under the aegis of the middle class, because they could afford the necessary subscriptions and had time for leisure activities. In Moseley these included Moseley and Balsall Heath Cricket Club, founded in 1855, Moseley Cricket Club, 1864, Moseley Quoit and Bowling Club, 1867, and Moseley Football (Rugby Union) Club, 1873.¹⁸⁰ Moseley Harriers Athletic Club was founded in 1881, Moseley Park Lawn Tennis Club held its first Annual Tournament at The Reddings in 1886 and Newton Tennis Club was sited in Belle Walk and Chantry Road Tennis Club in Moseley Park, whilst Ashfield Cricket Club began in 1900.¹⁸¹ Moseley Golf Club opened in 1892 at Billesley Hall Farm.¹⁸² Players enjoyed healthy exercise and kudos from the display of athletic skills and achievements and clubs operated in delightful rural environments. The Reddings, for example, was described as situated in a 'picturesque spot' and 'one of the prettiest little spots it is possible to imagine'.¹⁸³ There were sixty-six individuals named in association with sports clubs for which data were available, fifty-one men (seventy-seven per cent) and fifteen women. Moseley United Quoit and Bowling Club had fifteen members of whom ninety-three per cent were men, and, in 1889, thirteen committee members of whom ninety-three per cent were men.¹⁸⁴ Moseley Golf Club started around 1892 with twelve members, all men, and averaged eight across 1893-5, but there were only two female members.¹⁸⁵ Such an abundance of sporting clubs

¹⁸⁰ Fairn, *A History of Moseley*, p.58; LBA, MS1672 (Acc 1991/137), John Avins' will.

¹⁸¹ Fairn, *A History of Moseley*, p.58; www.moseleyrugby.co.uk, 'Moseley Rugby Club', 'The Club', 'History'. Accessed 2017; Hewston, *A History of Moseley Village*, Volume I, p.37; Reyburn, Ross, (ed.), *Life at the Graveyard: Moseley Ashfield Cricket Club 1900-2000* (Birmingham: Jones & Palmer, 2000), pp.7-8; MSHGC, *Kings Heath and Moseley Journal*, Vol. I, No.7, 1906.

¹⁸² Mirams, R.V., *Moseley Milestones, 1892-1992* (The Moseley Golf Club: John Goodman & Sons Ltd., 1993), p.2.

¹⁸³ www.moseleyrugby.co.uk, 'Moseley Rugby Club', 'The Club', 'History'. Accessed 2017; *The Reddings: The Home of Moseley Football Club (Rugby), A History 1880-2000* (Souvenir of 120 Years at a Rugby ground). A Souvenir History, a limited edition print by Brian Flinders (Birmingham; Francis Lomas Ltd., 2000), p.7.

¹⁸⁴ MSHGA, (C3/D1/F8/3/4), Blue Folder, Document.

¹⁸⁵ Names located in Mirams, *Moseley Milestones 1892-1992*, pp.1-10.

provided a range of opportunities for exercise and socialisation and events that attracted attention, but the dominance of men signifies this as very much a male endeavour.

Middle-class men led, managed and developed sports club and supported them with donations and gifts. They were sites of male networking. N.C. Reading, as the secretary of the Moseley Quoit and Bowling Club, informed members by letter and card of the beginning of quoit and bowling play, matches and due dates for subscriptions.¹⁸⁶ John Avins left £250 to the Moseley Quoit and Bowling Club along with £10 for prizes.¹⁸⁷ In 1893, Mr Elderton, Mr Bewlay and Mr Pryse met to draw up the rules and elect a committee for the Moseley Golf Club. In 1896 men donated a bell, coat hooks and a hanging lamp to the new Moseley Golf Clubhouse. In 1896, the President of Moseley Golf Club presented a silver cup for competition and Mr Willmot gave a lawn roller.¹⁸⁸ The first President of Moseley Football Club was Amos Roe and Edward Holmes was vice-president in 1894; Edward Holmes was instrumental in the success of the club, became a leading referee in International Games and a writer on rugby union football.¹⁸⁹ N.C. Reading became President later and William Adams of Sorrento, a leading member. In 1889, 'Mr S. Clarke' was President of the Moseley Quoit and Bowling Club, N.C. Reading, Hon. Sec., 'Mr J. Milligan' of Coppice Road, Treasurer, all supported by a Committee of men.¹⁹⁰ Mr Pryse' was elected Captain *pro tem* and 'Mr Lowcock', Hon. Sec. and Treasurer. In 1896 'Mr James Smith' (later Sir), Lord Mayor, was elected President. Walter Bach inspired the formation of the Ashfield Cricket Club, enlisting

¹⁸⁶ MSHG, C3/D2/A5, RBA, Letter, Moseley United Quoit and Bowling Club Season, 1889.

¹⁸⁷ LBA, MS 1672 (Add I)(Acc 1991/137), the John Avins Trust Minute Book 1, Meeting 1,1891, pp.1, 5 & 10-12.

¹⁸⁸ Mirams, *Moseley Milestones 1892-1992*, p.9.

¹⁸⁹ www.moseleyrugby.co.uk, 'Moseley Rugby Club', 'The Club', 'History'. Accessed 2017; *The Reddings: The Home of Moseley Football Club (Rugby), A History 1880-2000*, p.7.

¹⁹⁰ *Some Moseley Personalities*, Vol. II, pp.37-40; MSHG, (C3/D2/A5), RBA, Moseley United Quoit and Bowling Club Season, 1889.

support from 'gentlemen of influence'.¹⁹¹ Men met to form the club at his home, Beverley, in Ashfield Avenue, which gave the name to the club, and he was the first president and a key figure for thirty years. Most sports clubs were very male oriented. Joanne Begiato suggests that sport was seen as a solution to perceived bodily weakness in men due to their sedentary work and was intended to produce the physical power, skills and team spirit considered essential for manliness.¹⁹²

Few women held positions in sports clubs. Only one woman is recorded as serving on a committee, 'Mrs W. Thomas' in 1889 for the Moseley Quoits and Bowling Club.¹⁹³ There were no women present at the Moseley Golf Club post-AGM dinner at the Grand Hotel in Birmingham in 1896, but a toast to them was given by Hubert and Ernest Bewlay. Admission was free for women at Moseley Football Club in 1879.¹⁹⁴ Women had more domestic roles in sports clubs; the meetings that set up the Moseley Golf Club in 1893 were held at the homes of Mr Elderton, Mr Bewlay and Mr Pryse, and 'ladies' provided curtains for the new Moseley Golf Clubhouse. There were female members of Moseley Football Club (Rugby), and admission for them was free in 1879.¹⁹⁵ There were many female spectators who apparently enjoyed the experience greatly: 'Quite a large number of the fair sex graced the game with their presence, and judging by their unstinted applause when a fine bit of play came off, I should fancy they entered thoroughly into the spirit of the game'.¹⁹⁶ Another comment

¹⁹¹ Reyburn, *Life at the Graveyard: Moseley Ashfield Cricket Club 1900-2000*, pp.7-8.

¹⁹² Begiato, *Manliness in Britain, 1760-1900*, p.43.

¹⁹³ MSHGA, (C3/D1/F8/3/4), Blue Folder, Document.

¹⁹⁴ Moseley Football Club committee meeting at the Bull's Head on 2 January, 1879.

¹⁹⁵ *The Reddings: The Home of Moseley Football Club (Rugby), A History 1880-2000*, pp.5-7; *The Dart, 'Tittle Tattle' by Mollie*, 30 October, 1891. In 1888 the grounds of Moseley Football Club were upgraded with a new covered stand free to all members, but 'ladies not members will be required to pay half a crown a season'.

¹⁹⁶ *The Reddings: The Home of Moseley Football Club (Rugby), A History 1880-2000*, p.9.

stated that 'The ladies, as usual, made a brave show in spite of the keen wind'.¹⁹⁷ Over time the involvement of women in golf gradually increased. In the early days male members of the Moseley Golf Club could nominate 'lady members of his family' to play on any day except Saturday and Bank Holidays. The 'Ladies Section' began in 1896 and was a breakthrough for Moseley women golfers. Miss Isabel Broughton and 'Mrs E.W. Badger' were the first women to be proposed. Women were denied Saturday afternoon play, however. In early 1896, there were ten women members (eighteen per cent), but at the end of 1897 there were twenty-four 'lady members' (thirty-five per cent) and forty-four men.¹⁹⁸ Another activity that attracted women was cycling and the Moseley Ladies' Cycling Club was formed in 1896.¹⁹⁹ Women made some inroads into male sporting bastions.



Fig.6.6: Moseley Quoit and Bowling Club, 1875.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁷ *The Dart*, 'The Reddings', Friday 12 October, 1888.

¹⁹⁸ Mirams, *Moseley Milestones 1892-1992*, p.6.

¹⁹⁹ MSHGC, *Victorian Moseley*, p.13.

²⁰⁰ MSHGC, (MC/D1/F12/18), From Left to Right: J. Zair, Merle Lodge; H. Bewley, a Constructional Engineer and Director, 76 Alcester Road; J. Haydon, Coppice Road and The Woodroughs, Church Road; G. Moxton; A.

Images of Moseley's sporting teams highlight the dominance of men. Figure 6.6 shows the men-only Moseley Quoit and Bowling Club in 1875. They are serious, but grouped in relaxed stances. They are bearded and dressed in quality gentry country clothing that looks something like a 'uniform', respectable representatives of a male world and men of action, but at ease. Begiato claims beards were physical markers of 'rugged, daring manliness' from the 1860s on, which is why they became popular.²⁰¹ Such team photographs were intended, she says, to record sporting events and achievements and advertise skills and here the one ball marks out the skill involved.



Fig.6.7: Early Members of the Moseley Golf Club.²⁰²

Bradburn, Woodville, Park Hill, The Palms, Trafalgar Road, and Beech Cottage, Forest Road; N.C. McEntee, Atthdoe, Church Road, and J. Williams, Trafalgar Road and Carlton Lodge and Aston Villa, Church Road.

²⁰¹ Begiato, *Manliness in Britain, 1760-1900*, pp.42 & 46-47.

²⁰² Mirams, *Moseley Milestones 1892-1992*, p.3. Herbert H. Greenway, a Jeweller and Brass, Benvaren, Greenhill Road; James Whitfield, a Brass Founder, Melton Grange, Oakland Road; Harry R. Padmore, a Refiner,

Figure 6.7 shows the twelve original members of Moseley Golf Club, again all men, and also looking serious and formally dressed, but at the same time relaxed and companionable in the way they sit closely together and H.R. Padmore leans on his neighbour. The image shows male clubability rather than overt masculinity and they now sport moustaches and pipes and cigarettes that testify to changes in habits and the increased popularity of smoking. Begiato claims smoking was seen as reducing manliness, because manliness required the clean, pure life.²⁰³ Walter Bach and his wife are dressed formally in the image outside Ashfield Cricket Club pavilion (Fig.6.8). He displays a relaxed pride in his role as president, but his wife looks somewhat uncomfortable in her formal suit.



Fig.6.8: W.H. Bach (President) and his wife at Ashfield Cricket Club, 1904.²⁰⁴

20 Wake Green Road; Philip H. Willmot, a solicitor, 12 Wake Green Road; Hubert Bewlay, a Constructional Engineer and Director, 76 Alcester Road.

²⁰³ Begiato, *Manliness in Britain, 1760-1900*, p.74.

²⁰⁴ MSHGC, (MC/D3/F8/A/5c), Photograph.



Fig.6.9: Newton Tennis Club, 1899.²⁰⁵

Tennis clubs, though, were quite different. Women were significantly involved and the atmosphere in the image of Newton Tennis Club contrasts greatly with that of the golf and the quoits and bowling clubs (Fig.6.9). The 1889 image includes men and women - nine women and twelve men - and singletons, married couples and families.²⁰⁶ There is a relaxed casual air that is particularly evident in those in the forefront sitting on the grass, but is also evident in the informal gender mixing and the more casual and varied clothing. They appear

²⁰⁵ MSHGC, (MC/D3/F8/A/6a-f). *Left to right: Top Row:* W.L. Williams King Edward's School, Camp Hill; ...; Going, Moseley, Dr. Bull (President), Weatheroak Road, Sparkhill; S. Rains, 180 Stratford Road; Miss L. Raine and Bernard Moore, 194 Stratford Road; D. George Haddow, 188 Stratford Road; W.S. Holmes, Moseley and Dr. Taylor Haddow, Lower Hurst Street. **Middle Row:** a child; Mrs Groves Sparkhill; Miss J. Granger, Anderton Park Road; Mrs Bryce (Champion), Farm Road, Sparkhill; Mrs George Haddow; Mrs Raine; Mrs W.L. Williams and Mrs Taylor Haddow. **Bottom Row:** Dr. Addenbrooke (Champion), Showell Green Lane; P.B. Rider, Moseley Road; Miss C.E. Raine; Charles E. Raine; Miss L.L. Raine and Alan Granger (Weights & Measures Department, Birmingham Corporation).

²⁰⁶ Mirams, *Moseley Milestones 1892-1992*, p.3.

dressed for a photograph rather than tennis play, though, but the rackets testify to tennis skills. They even have a child present which connects to the new ideas about the necessity of closeness between mother and child.²⁰⁷

There were a wide range of social, cultural and sporting societies and clubs in Moseley and a significant number of people supported them, but the majority involved were men (seventy-one per cent of the 100 identified). Men dominated the establishment, management and leadership of the societies and clubs, whilst women were behind the scenes with little opportunity to participate in sport except for tennis, but options were opening up.

Significant numbers of the Moseley middle class were involved in the seven public realms explored here, including 852 different individuals of whom the majority, 657, were men (seventy-seven per cent). Men were mentioned more than women in Canon Colmore's Diary: sixty-two per cent of those mentioned one to four times and seventy-one per cent of those mentioned five to sixteen times were men. More men than women were recorded in Canon Colmore's Diary as donating (seventy per cent). More men gave between £5 and £10 than women (sixty and forty-five percent), about the same proportion gave £20 and over (four and five per cent), but more women gave over £10 (thirty-five and thirteen per cent). Most were involved in one area (seventy-three per cent) and a slight majority of these were men (fifty-six per cent). Most of those mentioned more than once were men (seventy-nine per cent). Nineteen men, but no women, were mentioned between four and six times

²⁰⁷ Hamlett, Jane, *Material Relations: Domestic Interiors and Middle-Class Families in England, 1850-1910* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), p.112; Hamlett, Jane, 'Tiresome trips downstairs: Middle-Class Domestic Space and Family Relationships in England, 1850-191' in Delap, Lucy, Griffin, Ben & Wills, Abigail, (eds.), *The Politics of Domestic Authority in Britain since 1800* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009), p.114; Morris, R. J., & Rodger, R., (eds.), *The Victorian City: A Reader in British Urban History, 1820-1914* (Harlow: Addison Westley Longman Ltd., 1993), p.317.

(fifteen per cent). The involvement of families was striking; twenty-seven families were involved in church activities, a total of 100 individuals. The data collected suggest considerable overlap for some people and a Moseley philanthropic and volunteering 'elite'.

The philanthropy and volunteerism of Moseley's middle class impacted on the village and its residents. Joseph Chamberlain's association with Moseley connected the inhabitants of the suburb with Birmingham and national politics and allowed him and his political colleagues' access to grass-roots opinion and support. Moseley residents supported the smooth-running of local government, improved local facilities, provided for the working class of Moseley and their children and developed social, cultural and sporting opportunities, which enriched people's lives. St. Mary's Church was extended and beautified and two new imposing Anglican churches built. The Moseley National School had a significant impact on the education of local children, providing a gradually broadening curriculum to a large number of children, some 400 pupils annually. The Moseley and Balsall Heath and Kings Heath Institutes were grand civic edifices providing educational facilities and venues for clubs and social, performance and fundraising events. Sports grounds and the village green, along with Moseley Park, secured a green environment, especially as Moseley became built-up. Beyond the village the voluntary hospitals, disabled children's institutions and charity schools were only able to continue and expand because of the contributions of people such as middle-class Moseley residents and this allowed less fortunate villagers access to dispensary and hospital treatment and special schooling. Their activities raised the status of the suburb. In 1892 the *Moseley and Kings Heath Journal* stated that 'Moseley and Kings Heath are growing

suburbs with an historic past and among residents are men of position, influence and representation'.²⁰⁸

Conclusion

This chapter explores nineteenth century suburban volunteerism and philanthropy, an approach not previously part of suburban studies. It presents a nuanced picture of the activities and roles of suburban residents in the public sphere and reveals what suburbanites actually did, spotlighting the important contribution made by the Victorian middle class. It exposes the wide range of responsibilities, the many and varied activities undertaken and the substantial monies contributed by the Moseley middle-class. It highlights extensive commitment and the considerable numbers and families involved, and that many people were active in more than one arena. However, the chapter reveals significant gender differences. More men than women participated in opportunities and were more financially involved. Men largely dominated and fronted activities, whilst women were involved in what has been described as a 'feminine public sphere' as 'backroom workers' involved in supportive, domestic and caring roles.²⁰⁹ These roles reflected domestic and contemporary views of masculinity and femininity, which suggests that contemporaries did not necessarily see the 'new activities and agencies that developed in the nineteenth century' as either public or private, aspects that Delap, Griffin & Wills discuss.²¹⁰ Gordon and Nair emphasise that the ideology of 'public' was important in the formation of female identity and that middle class characteristics and religious affiliations encouraged them to engage in the

²⁰⁸ CRL, JC6/7/1-173 , Misc., printed material, Joseph Chamberlain: *Moseley and Kings Heath Journal*, No.1, June 1892, Price 4d, Circulating South Birmingham and Warwickshire, 'Ourselves', p.2.

²⁰⁹ Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, p.6.

²¹⁰ Delap, Griffin & Wills, *The Politics of Domestic Authority in Britain since 1800*, p.7.

public world.²¹¹ Women increasingly made inroads into typical male bastions and many local arenas gave them opportunities outside the home. This chimes with Balducci and Gunn's perceptions of women as important actors in public spaces, shaping and influencing them, even though they did not operate there to the same extent as men.²¹² It also reflects Gunn's arguments that women's attendance was important to the social status of public occasions, such as concerts and balls, and in transmitting cultural competence through their person.²¹³

The chapter shows that volunteerism and philanthropy were part of the middle-class suburban way of life and important to middle-class identity and the social formation of the middle class, as Gunn outlines.²¹⁴ It reveals the strength of the middle class as a cultural force and the uniqueness of its culture that he highlights.²¹⁵ It extends Bilston's premise that suburbanites sought and created new connections and interest groups which contributed to suburban communities being viewed differently.²¹⁶ However, an 'elite' that gave more, held positions of authority and power and were named in the various local publications and newspapers, dominated, highlighting differentiation within the middle class. The involvement of the lower-middle class generally went unmarked, though the suburban lower-middle class were expanding and one of the distinctive features of suburban middle-class culture, as Gunn says, was its ability to absorb residents from the very wealthy to the small-villa contingent.²¹⁷ Volunteering and philanthropy may well have cemented cohesion, as Gordon & Nair suggest, and the potential for this is evident in, for example, events that

²¹¹ Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, p.5.

²¹² Balducci & Belnap-Jensen, 'Introduction', *Women, Femininity and Public Space in European Visual Culture, 1789-1914*, p.3; Gunn, 'Translating Bourdieu', p.53.

²¹³ Gunn, 'Translating Bourdieu', pp.51-54.

²¹⁴ Gunn, 'Translating Bourdieu', pp.53-54.

²¹⁵ Gunn, 'Translating Bourdieu', p.50.

²¹⁶ Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, pp.55 & 181.

²¹⁷ Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, p.26; Gunn, 'Translating Bourdieu', p.53.

brought the village together.²¹⁸ On the other hand there was also the potential to heighten difference and division. The working class were at the bottom of the volunteering and philanthropy hierarchy and largely the recipients of patronage. Perhaps for them, middle-class philanthropy might have seemed 'an intrusion into the public sphere', a perspective that Delap, Griffin and Wills raise.²¹⁹

The middle class saw involvement not only as a class responsibility, but also a religious duty which elevated it to a public duty. This connects to discussions about the nature of the 'public role' of volunteerism and philanthropy also raised by Delap, Griffin and Wills.²²⁰ The research in Moseley shows that there were different publics and that they constituted a hierarchy in which some, such as helping in charity schools, appear less of a 'public role', than others, such as official local government roles and sitting on a voluntary hospital committee. The chapter suggests that genuine concern for those who were less fortunate underpinned efforts, but a range of other, less altruistic reasons, were important: an activity seen as a public role carried prestige and ascribed status.

These activities, events and initiatives show that a public-private dichotomy did not dominate suburban life. Moreover, Moseley was a lively place and not typical of Thompson's description of suburbs as 'settings for dreary, petty lives without social, cultural, or intellectual interests' that some contemporary critics claimed.²²¹ Volunteerism and philanthropy brought many benefits to the residents and connected the suburb to

²¹⁸ Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, p.26.

²¹⁹ Delap, Griffin & Wills, *The Politics of Domestic Authority in Britain since 1800*, pp.7-8.

²²⁰ Delap, Griffin & Wills, *The Politics of Domestic Authority in Britain since 1800*, p.8.

²²¹ Thompson, 'Introduction', *The Rise of Suburbia*, p.3.

Birmingham, underscoring the claims of historians, such as Gordon and Nair, that city-suburb and rural-urban divisions were porous.²²²

²²² Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, pp.2-3.

CHAPTER 7

Conclusion

This thesis is a case-study of suburban history in a local context and the first academic study of Moseley. It builds on existing suburban studies, such as Dyos' *Victorian Suburb: A Study of the Growth of Camberwell* and Thompson's *The Rise of Suburbia*, but creates a picture that attempts to go beyond them.¹ It not only explores when, why and how Moseley developed as a suburb and the people instrumental in its development, but also investigates architecture, gardens, households, families, residents, women, homes, lifestyles and involvement in volunteerism and philanthropy. By interweaving the personal experiences of people who lived in the suburb it adds a human face to the study and depth to the approach to suburban studies. The thesis brings to life what it was like to live in a developing suburb surrounded by change in a new residential area, in new homes with new neighbours, charting new codes and experiences and joining new institutions. The local dimension employed in this study brings a particular focus on people in their social and physical environment - people in their place. It reveals the diversity of people's relationships and human networks, their everyday lived experiences, and their reactions and responses to the social, economic and environmental changes that occurred as the suburb developed. It looks behind the façade to residents' assumptions, values and virtues and to 'hidden' areas: the vices, misfortunes, problems and insecurities. It highlights how a suburb was more than a collection of buildings where people lived by illustrating the relationship of people to the

¹ Dyos, H.J., *Victorian Suburb: A Study of the Growth of Camberwell* (London: Leicester University Press, 1966); Thompson, F.M.L., (ed.), *The Rise of Suburbia* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982).

environment, how they formed it and how the environment formed them. It shows suburbs as physical, social, cultural and psychological spaces where people lived and died and conveyed messages about who they were and how they wanted to be seen for themselves and others. Issues of class, gender, separate spheres and change over time thread through the thesis and bring an important perspective to the study of a suburb. The comparisons with other suburbs both local and national highlight commonalities and differences which contribute to an overview of the complexities of suburban development and show that Moseley was distinctive, but also shared experiences with other nineteenth-century suburbs.

The thesis is also distinctive in using a wide range of primary sources. They contribute a wealth of insights that confirm, challenge and extend the historiography and provide opportunities for comparisons. Evidence of people's personal experiences and perceptions reveal aspects of the physical and social environment in which they lived, bringing an immediacy and colour to the study. Primary material varied from personal items to public documents many of which have not previously been examined in academic research. They include personal archives, building plans and their accompanying documentation, sanitary rate assessments, sales catalogues, subscription lists, annual reports, newspapers and local journals and trade directories. The visual dimension too has a greater role here than is usually the case and the wealth of postcards, photographs, paintings and cartoons, amplify a sense of people and place, architecture and architectural change and open up homes and gardens and daily life to view.

This conclusion highlights the key findings, considers the wider significance of the thesis and looks to potential future research.

From Village to Suburb: Explaining Moseley's Growth: Chapter 2

Chapter 2 focuses on when, why and how the suburb of Moseley developed, why Moseley developed as a middle-class enclave and the impact of physical development on the environment and residents. Phases of development identified through population data highlighted an important pre-development phase in which physical and personal advantages made the village ripe for development. Land sales, road formation and house building were linked to the development of transport, but also to damage to the environment, some distress amongst residents and the loss of green space. Horse buses and horse trams were initial influencers, whilst steam trams and the opening of a centrally-sited railway station led to peak development at the end of the century. This supports J.R. Kellett's emphasis that railways were not the single major explanation for suburban development.² Transport was not causal, because migration to Moseley had begun before any public transport was available, but it was crucial to development and newspaper advertisements for homes show that transport availability was a selling point. Though green space was lost as the suburb developed, many of the pre-development advantages of Moseley held sway for a considerable time and large gardens, Moseley Hall grounds and Moseley Park secured the rural ambience. Women used public transport in Moseley and Temma Balducci shows that advice in etiquette books demonstrates that this was a regular occurrence - a local cartoon comically reveals that women adapted to new patterns of behaviour on transport.³

² Kellett, J.R., *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969), pp.360-361 & 419.

³ Balducci, Temma, 'Aller à pied': bourgeois women on the streets of Paris' in Balducci, Temma & Belnap-Jensen, Heather, (eds.), *Women, Femininity and Public Space in European Visual Culture, 1789-1914* (London & New York: Routledge, 2014); Library of Birmingham (LBA), *Funny Folks*, Issue 22, 8 May, 1875, p.1079.

Why Moseley developed as a middle-class suburb is raised by this chapter. Pressure came from actual and aspiring members of the middle class who wanted to live alongside like-minded others. Pollution, housing density and fears of crime in Birmingham prompted the middle class to leave the city, but many came from elsewhere, particularly nearby counties, but also further afield in Britain and abroad. The presence of wealthy people attracted others from the same background. Moseley landowners developed the suburb to attract the middle class and this was facilitated by land being concentrated in the hands of a limited number of wealthy local families, who were concerned for the environment and controlled the pace and status of development. Consequently they released land slowly and in small amounts with strong covenants. Initial development occurred at a time when private transport was necessary, public transport was costly and inconvenient and there was no immediately local railway station, which meant the village was only accessible to the better-off middle class. Later, expanded and cheaper transport made private transport unnecessary, which enabled the lower-middle class to move to Moseley, changing the social and physical character of the suburb. The suburb was not exclusively middle class: primary sources show a side to Moseley that does not accord with its middle-class character – people lounging outside the Fighting Cocks Public House drinking, rowdiness and rudeness on public transport and disruptive city visitors, for example.

Moseley was distinctive in many ways. It developed earlier and was larger than some suburbs, such as Acocks Green. It developed later than some and was smaller than others, such as Edgbaston, and developed faster than some, such as Harborne. Many other suburbs involved the sale of large estates, but road formation peaked at different times - between

1871 and 1881 in Moseley, but slow in that period in Bromley, for example.⁴ House building in Moseley peaked between 1891 and 1901, much later than in Harborne and Handsworth, whilst Camberwell enjoyed a number of building peaks.⁵ Comparisons across the phases highlighted a fluctuating pattern of development of slow controlled growth, lower growth connected to an economic downturn and peak growth in the last decade of the century. Other suburbs were affected in similar ways, but not always at the same time or to the same extent. These differences show variety in the experiences of suburbs and reflect Dyos and Thompson's theory that local circumstances set the 'exact chronology' of development.⁶

Shaping the Landscape: Moseley's Builders, Buildings and Gardens: Chapter 3

This chapter investigates who was involved in building Moseley, what they built, and gardens, garden design and gardening. It highlights the importance of women and workers in development, two groups largely unacknowledged in the historiography of suburban studies. Women are revealed as owners, occupiers and owner-occupiers, but also involved in local house entrepreneurship and the chapter shows the diversity of their experiences. These findings extend the work of Aston, Capern and McDonagh on nineteenth century towns.⁷ Labourers, skilled craftsmen and the providers of materials and services built the

⁴ Hampson, Martin, *Edgbaston: Images of England* (Stroud: Tempus Publishing Ltd., 1999), p.7; Rawcliffe, J.M., 'Bromley: Kentish market town to London suburb, 1841-81' in Thompson, F.M.L., (ed.), *The Rise of Suburbia* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982), p.77.

⁵ www.birmingham.gov.uk, 'Harborne Local History', '19th Century History', Section 3: '19th Century': Accessed 2017; Dyos, *Victorian Suburb*, pp.81 & 124.

⁶ Dyos, *Victorian Suburb*, pp.53-84; Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, pp.2-25; Centre for Urban Studies, *London: Aspects of Change* (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1964), Chapter II, p.xv.

⁷ Aston, Jennifer, Capern, Amanda & McDonagh, Briony, 'More than Bricks and Mortar: female property ownership as economic strategy in mid-nineteenth century urban England', *Urban History*, Vol.46, Issue 4, November 2019, pp.695-721.

houses desired by the middle class and ensured the smooth-running of the building process and the suburb.

Local middle-class people were largely responsible for the development of Moseley, including small-scale speculators, entrepreneurs such as John Avins, builders and architects. They were some 'outsider-investors', including architects with offices in Birmingham, builders and Building Societies, again mostly small-scale, whilst peripheral professional services increased significantly over the period. This bears out Dyos' theory about the significance of human agency and the complex relationships that resulted.⁸ New sales methods developed, such as advertising and catalogues, but they were much condemned by contemporary writers as stereotypical, as Bilston demonstrates.⁹ Detached and semi-detached villas dominated, supporting Thompson's claim of their importance in suburban growth and in meeting the demand of the middle class for family accommodation.¹⁰ Strong covenants stipulated house size and villa type, plot size, cost, quality and maintenance, securing the suburb for the middle-class. The chapter shows that variations in house type and size and plot size created social zoning with some homogeneity and diversity, as Cannadine found in Edgbaston.¹¹ Smaller lower-middle class houses increased later, enabling the lower-middle-class to set up home in Moseley, but higher social groups asserted their status through house improvements, showy structural features and ornamentation. Moseley's architecture reflected British historic styles and its development over a half

⁸ Dyos, *Victorian Suburb*, pp.85-127.

⁹ Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, pp.75-76.

¹⁰ Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, p.20.

¹¹ Cannadine, D., 'Residential differentiation in nineteenth century towns: From Shapes on the Ground to Shapes in Society' in Johnson, J.H., & Pooley, C.G., (eds.), *The Structure of Nineteenth Century Cities* (London & Canberra: Croom Helm, 1982), p.240.

century brought an eclectic character to the suburb that undermines contemporary criticisms of monotony. The study shows that the Victorian building industry responded well to the challenges in Moseley, monitoring materials and building techniques and importing new materials via the railway, as before suggested by D.J. Olsen.¹²

Gardens have not featured extensively in previous suburban studies, making the section on gardens, garden design and gardening a significant feature of this thesis. It reveals that suburban middle-class residents implemented, disregarded or modified the styles that became fashionable over the period to best suit their personal tastes and the space available. Women developed expertise as garden designers, as Bilston suggests.¹³ Plants came to Moseley from around the globe and changed suburban gardens and exposed residents to ethnicity, race and Britain's imperial power, an unacknowledged arena according to Clare Midgley.¹⁴ Middle-class enthusiasm for gardens and gardening provided a sense of identity and bills reveal that suburbanites bought a wide range of plants, seeds, materials and garden equipment locally and further afield. Their enthusiasm was stimulated by a proliferation of horticultural societies and shows, garden visits, books and magazines and nurseries and garden professionals. Rapidly changing scientific and technological advances brought new techniques, better tools, equipment, conservatories and glasshouses, further stimulating interest. These many connections linked gardens and gardening to the public sphere and the outside world.

¹² Olsen, D.J., 'House Upon House: Estate Development in London and Sheffield' in Dyos, H.J. & Wolff, M., (eds.), *The Victorian City: Images and Realities, Vol II, Shapes on the Ground: A Change of Accent* (London: Routledge, 1973), pp.334 & 353.

¹³ Bilston, Sarah, *The Promise of the Suburbs: A Victorian History in Literature and Culture* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2019), pp.116-117, 214 & 123-124.

¹⁴ Midgley, Clare, 'Ethnicity, "race" and empire' in Purvis, Jane, (ed.), *Women's History, Britain, 1850-1945* (London: UCL Press, 1995), pp.247-277.

Moseley differed from other suburbs in some respects. Chalcots Estate in Camden, London, featured larger-scale investment and other suburbs mostly comprised detached villas, as in Chiswick and Ealing.¹⁵ Houses on Wanstead Park Estate, for example, varied between £300 and £500, but none were under £1,000 in Wimbledon.¹⁶ Stronger self-zoning tendencies were found elsewhere, but there was no social zoning in some suburbs: most districts in Merthyr Tydfil in 1851 were far from socially homogenous.¹⁷ What is striking is that middle-class suburbanites were making, moulding and preserving their own environment, helping to draw the middle-class together as a group with houses and gardens in common. They formed a new community with new opportunities that were, as Bilston says, so important given most were away from birth families.¹⁸

The Life Cycle of the Suburb: Families and Households in Moseley: Chapter 4

Studies of households and families are rare in the historiography. The chapter moves beyond showing who lived in the suburb to bring forward new perspectives on relationships and household structure and composition and compares Moseley to other suburbs. It analyses life-cycle changes, including setting up a middle-class home, marriage, having and raising children and death - life-cycle events that marked middle-class suburban life and middle-class identity. They drew kin and clan together and were integral to the transmission of

¹⁵ Olsen, 'House Upon House', p.353; Jahn, M., 'Suburban development in outer west London, 1850-1900' in Thompson, F.M.L., (ed.), *The Rise of Suburbia* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982), pp.92 & 106.

¹⁶ Morrison, & Robey, *100 Years of Suburbia*, pp.10-11; Kellett, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities*, p.411.

¹⁷ Cannadine, 'Residential differentiation in nineteenth century towns', p.240; Thompson, F.M.L., 'Hampstead, 1830-1914' in Simpson, M.A., & Lloyd, T.H., (eds.), *Middle Class Housing in Britain* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1977); Edwards, A.M., *The Design of Suburbia: A Critical Study in Environmental History* (London: Pembroge Press, 1982), p.37.

¹⁸ Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, p.78.

family cultural capital that Gunn explores.¹⁹ People's experience of the household varied depending on social status, life-stage, marital status and position in the household and this could, and did, change over time. They might be part of a family unit or independent at some stage and alone or dependent at another stage.

The chapter characterises the middle-class suburban household, but highlights significant variation. Some findings undermine stereotypical images of Victorian families. Families in Moseley were small and many households had no children at home. Only a slight decrease in family size was found, whereas Mitchell, Cohen and Branca claimed it declined significantly.²⁰ Many Moseley middle-class homes did not have a resident servant and most of those who had servants only had one, which challenges estimates of Deborah Gorham, Jenni Calder and Helena Barrett and John Phillips who place the number of servants higher.²¹ The study found men married later in comparison to Branca's assertion they married in their early twenties.²² It extends the findings of historians, for example, the stem and composite families investigated by Howe, Ruggles and Gordon and Nair, but Anderson and Gordon and Nair's proposal that horizontally extended family forms were necessarily characteristic of middle-class families was not wholly validated in Moseley.²³ The study reveals a surprising

¹⁹ Gunn, Simon, 'Translating Bourdieu: cultural capital and the English middle class in historical perspective', *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol.56, No.1, 2005, pp.56-59.

²⁰ Mitchell, S., *Daily Life in Victorian England* (London: Greenwood Press, 1996), pp.142-143; Cohen, D., *Family Secrets: The Things We Tried to Hide* (London: Penguin Books, 2013), pp.130-131; Branca, P., *Silent Sisterhood: Middle-Class Women in the Victorian Home* (London: Croom Helm, 1977), pp.110, 114, 116-117.

²¹ Gorham, D., *The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal* (London & Canberra: Croom Helm, 1982), p.10; Calder, J., *The Victorian Home* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1977), p.167; Barrett, H., & Phillips, J., *Suburban Style: The British Home, 1840-1960* (London: Little, Brown and Company, 1993), p.24.

²² Branca, *Silent Sisterhood*, pp.110, 114, 116-117.

²³ Quoted in Gordon, E., & Nair, G., *Public Lives: Women, Family and Society in Victorian Britain* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2003), p.35; Howe, Anthony, *The Cotton Masters, 1830-1860* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984) & Ruggles, Stephen, *Prolonged Connections: The Rise of the Extended family in Nineteenth Century England and America* (London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987); Anderson, M., 'Households, families and

number of female household heads, many of whom supported others, and also low levels of co-residency. It confirms Gordon and Nair's work on spinsters and widows and the generational spread of kin in the home, Delap, Griffin and Wills' claims of a move towards a nuclear family structure, and Aston's business partnerships amongst sisters and the presence of business women.²⁴ It also explores visitors in the home, younger widows in the suburb and sons and daughters in work.

The chapter also shows how the costs involved in renting and buying houses in Moseley underpins differentiation within the middle class. It reveals that increasing numbers of lower-middle class incomers meant more workers in the suburb and more relatives and boarders, but also more women in work and the widening of female job opportunities. Women lived independently, choosing not to marry, heading-up households and offering shelter to others, including men. Sisters co-resided in more equal relationships and women worked in increasingly varied roles. The notion of separate spheres is challenged by the number of men and women working at home and women in work. Change is evident in, for example, increases in women involved in business, female household heads, particularly spinster heads, and sons operating as employers.

Comparisons with other suburbs reveal differences and commonalities. Claremont, Glasgow, was a wealthier suburb than Moseley and less of a separate suburb, which appears to have contributed to a range of differences. There were more female heads in Claremont than

individuals: Some preliminary results from the national sample from the 1851 Census of Great Britain', *Continuity and Change*, 1988, pp.421-438.

²⁴ Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, pp.172-175; Delap, Lucy, Griffin, Ben & Wills, Abigail, (eds.), *The Politics of Domestic Authority in Britain since 1800* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009), p.13; Aston, Capern & McDonagh, 'More than Bricks and Mortar', pp.13, 23-24, 34, 40, 120 & 140.

Moseley and more household heads over sixty years of age, but fewer single female and widow household heads over sixty.²⁵ In Moseley, there were fewer men under the protection of female household heads and females working outside the home and of these fewer were employers. Unmarried women over thirty years declined significantly in Moseley whereas they increased in Claremont. Even so, there were similarities. Both had increasing numbers of single heads and spinsters, more women relatives than men in the home, and unmarried women and sisters were the most frequent relatives in the home. Few widows were living with male heads and few were living as mothers and mothers-in-law with female household heads in either Moseley or Claremont, but both had spinsters over thirty living with female household heads and daughters and sons remaining at home. Compared to Anderson's 1851 study there were more families with only one or two children in Moseley, considerably more nieces, but fewer grandchildren and parentless children, fewer visitors in groups of two and three and far fewer boarders.²⁶ This chapter adds to our understanding of the sketchy picture of the suburban middle-class household and its complex nature.

Keeping up Appearances: The Moseley Middle Classes at Home: Chapter 5

This chapter explores the internal division of the middle-class suburban home and decoration and furnishing, areas not significantly part of previous suburban studies. It reveals the importance of decoration and furnishing in displaying middle-class identity and in separating the middle class as a group, as Gunn emphasises.²⁷ It shows how smaller homes could not accommodate the range of specialist rooms possible in larger homes, making their

²⁵ Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, Chapter 2, 'It's a family affair', pp.34-71.

²⁶ Anderson, 'Households, families and individuals', pp.428-429 & 431.

²⁷ Gunn, 'Translating Bourdieu', p.53.

key rooms multi-occupational and multi-functional. Larger homes offered more options, but segregated areas did not necessarily dictate when, where and why people came together. Architectural features, decoration and furnishing differed too. In smaller homes these were simpler and more constrained. On the other hand, style and taste differed strikingly and this does not appear to be connected to the status of the home, which suggests new ideas were taken up and adapted to suit the space available or disregarded according to taste. The chapter shows how new technology and mass production enabled those further down the social scale to emulate their 'betters' and this testifies to widespread aspiration and the 'elasticity' of the middle class to which Gunn refers.²⁸ It shows that suburbs did not necessarily conform to contemporary criticisms of uniformity, an aspect Bilston explores, and that middle-classness was demonstrated in a variety of ways.²⁹

The chapter aims to understand how space was used in suburban homes. Building plans show that a number of smaller homes in Moseley had a third reception room, a breakfast room, morning room or study, which suggests a well-to-do suburb in which the notion of a 'small' home was relative. Children's bedrooms and their specialist rooms were close to the main bedrooms reflecting new ideas about the importance of the mother-child relationship signalled by Branca.³⁰ There were separate kitchens and sculleries, storage spaces, bathrooms with running hot water and indoor W.C.s. On the other hand, plans reveal that even large houses only had one bathroom and often only one indoor W.C. and that many homes did not have an indoor W.C. The many seats and the dining table set for guests in the images show that homes were busy social spaces, which suggests privacy was not a priority,

²⁸ Gunn, 'Translating Bourdieu', p.53.

²⁹ Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, p.84.

³⁰ Branca, *Silent Sisterhood*, pp.101-102, 108-110 & 338.

though Gunn claims it was part of the suburban 'way of life'.³¹ Securing privacy from servants was more difficult especially in smaller homes, but Delap, Griffin and Wills highlight some approaches, including *portières* and servant uniforms.³²

This chapter contributes to the debate on gender in the suburban middle-class Victorian home. It argues that, whilst the drawing and dining rooms displayed characteristics often considered feminine and masculine, differences in degree and style and their mixed use suggest that décor and furnishing was more a matter of style choices and use rather than gender, as Gordon and Nair also argue.³³ However, the specialist rooms illustrated, such as boudoirs and smoking rooms, were more notably gendered in form and function and the Blackwell bills show some seating was labelled in gendered terms. There were no handicrafts in evidence in the Moseley images, which suggests that the disdain for these that emerged within the Arts and Crafts movement according to Bilston, may have impacted on Moseley women.³⁴ Choosing to have their homes photographed suggests pride and a sense of achievement which is also seen in the tidy, well-maintained rooms and the discerning and tasteful arrangements of artefacts. This demonstrates the role of women in creating the home and the importance of the home for family status and image. However, the desire to project status affirms that the home was never wholly private, as claimed by Gordon and Nair and Gunn.³⁵ The middle-class home was important to men and manliness and their involvement in monitoring decorating and furnishing was revealed by the Blackwell bills.

³¹ Gunn, 'Translating Bourdieu', p.53.

³² Delap, Griffin & Wills, *The Politics of Domestic Authority in Britain since 1800*, p.4.

³³ Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, pp.124-125.

³⁴ Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, p.74.

³⁵ Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, pp.108 & 132; Gunn, S., *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class: Ritual and Authority and the Industrial City 1840-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p.26.

They suggest men dealt with the financial side of decorating and furnishing the middle-class home, though some are addressed to Agnes Blackwell and some purchases were made in London and abroad on their travels, which supports Hamlett's suggestion that men and women collaborated.³⁶ The bills show the family shopped mostly in Birmingham, where there were well-developed shopping amenities. Shopping, as Balducci and Belnap-Jensen say, placed middle-class women in the public sphere in new ways, but the commodification of the home undermines it as a private sphere, as Gordon and Nair and Bilston point out.³⁷ The material culture breached the privacy of the home by bringing in items drawn from places and cultures around the world exposing residents to issues of ethnicity, race and imperialism, aspects that Midgley claims have been neglected.³⁸ Exploring the middle-class home revealed how and why it became central to middle class suburban lives and identity. The chapter shows that the notion of separate spheres impacted on the organisation, decorating and furnishing of the middle-class suburban home only to a limited extent. It highlights the agency of women as arbiters of taste, managers of the material culture and conspicuous consumers, thereby undermining ideas about wives and women as 'The Angel in the House'.

³⁶ Hamlett, Jane, *Material Relations: Domestic Interiors and Middle-Class Families in England, 1850-1910* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), p.7.

³⁷ Balducci & Belnap-Jensen, *Women, Femininity and Public Space in European Visual Culture, 1789-1914*; Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, p.3.

³⁸ Midgley, 'Ethnicity, "race" and empire', pp.247-277.

Entering the Public Sphere: Moseley Men and Women outside the Home: Chapter 6

This chapter reveals the volunteering and philanthropic activities in which middle-class suburbanites were involved, the extent of their involvement and the differences in the roles and responsibilities of men and women. The Moseley middle class was involved in a range of activities and events, including membership of political parties and relationships with local politicians, civic roles and efforts to help improve village facilities, through subscriptions, collections and donations. They established, managed and supported institutions, clubs and societies both financially and in practical ways and participated in what these institutions offered. They fundraised and organised social and cultural events and village celebrations. They were engaged in these activities as individuals, couples and families, giving time, energy and money. A picture emerges of a very active and engaged suburb seeking and creating connections and new interest groups, as suggested by Bilston, and involvement that was stimulated by altruistic, but also other, more personal and self-seeking motivations.³⁹

However, there were significant differences in the roles and levels of involvement of men and women. More men than women were involved financially and to a greater extent and they had more varied opportunities. They largely dominated and fronted activities, were the innovators and leaders and generally held more public, managerial and financial positions, whilst women were the 'backroom workers' involved in supportive, domestic and caring roles – described as the 'feminine public sphere' by Gordon and Nair.⁴⁰ Women's contribution, though, was significant, which supports the view of Balducci and Gunn that

³⁹ Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs*, pp.55 & 181.

⁴⁰ Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, p.6.

women were important actors in public spaces, shaping and influencing them, and Gordon and Nair's that volunteerism and philanthropy were important in the formation of female middle-class identity.⁴¹ Women's contributions increased over time, their opportunities widened and they were more frequently publicly acknowledged. This suggests changing attitudes towards women in the public sphere and the recognition of their role in transmitting cultural competence, a contribution discussed by Gunn.⁴² The chapter, then, reveals the extent to which women were involved in the public realm in different ways undermining the separate spheres construct of public-private that pictured women as mostly operating in the domestic sphere.

The public role of the suburban middle class shows that they were a strong cultural force, possessing a distinctive culture that differentiated it from those above and those below.⁴³ It shows, as Gunn says, how this characterised the suburb and the suburban middle-class 'way of life' that separated suburbs from other residential units. The chapter reveals differentiation within the middle class by showing how an 'elite' dominated, an elite that gave more, were involved more, held positions of authority and power and were named in the various local publications and newspapers. The contributions of the lower-middle class generally went unmarked and this may have created some resentment. However, bringing different social levels together also had the potential to enhance mutual understanding and cement cohesion, as Gordon & Nair suggest.⁴⁴ Gunn emphasises that one of the distinctive features of suburban culture was its 'elasticity', its ability to accommodate residents from

⁴¹ Balducci & Belnap-Jensen, *Women, Femininity and Public Space in European Visual Culture, 1789-1914*, p.3; Gunn, 'Translating Bourdieu', p.53; Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, p.6.

⁴² Gunn, 'Translating Bourdieu', pp.56-59.

⁴³ Gunn, 'Translating Bourdieu', pp.50-54.

⁴⁴ Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, p.26.

the very wealthy to the small-villa contingent, especially necessary as these were increasingly swelling the ranks of the middle class.⁴⁵ The working class were at the bottom of the volunteering and philanthropy hierarchy and largely the recipients of patronage. Perhaps from their perspective, middle-class philanthropy might have seemed 'an intrusion into the public sphere', a perception suggested by Delap, Griffin and Wills.⁴⁶

The activities, events and initiatives undertaken by Moseley residents show suburbs were lively places and not the 'settings for dreary, petty lives without social, cultural, or intellectual interests' that some contemporary critics claimed.⁴⁷

The Significance of the Thesis

The thesis shows how the middle-classes lived their lives. It highlights the importance of the needs and desires of the growing middle class for a particular way of life and how suburban life became synonymous with middle class identity. It emphasises the strength of the suburban middle class as a cultural force and the uniqueness of its culture. It shows the local middle class in control of the development of their suburban environment, and the significance of elite individuals, such as John Avins and Althans Blackwell. It reveals a diverse middle-class hierarchy and illustrates the many ways in which social class and its subtleties were experienced and projected, presenting a nuanced picture of suburban life. The study shows that these subtly different middle-class layers had much in common that drew them together as a group and within networks separate from the working class, but that a degree of insecurity underlay middle-class confidence. It reveals a side to middle-class suburbs that

⁴⁵ Gunn, 'Translating Bourdieu', p.53.

⁴⁶ Delap, Griffin & Wills, *The Politics of Domestic Authority in Britain since 1800*, pp.7-8.

⁴⁷ Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, p.3.

did not reflect middle-class mores, but also the essential role of the working class in building, maintaining, servicing and serving suburbs. It draws attention to how the middle class extended patrimony to the working class, and that this may have supported class cohesion, heightened conflict or was viewed as an intrusion into the public sphere.

The study also contributes to a more authentic understanding of the role and position of middle-class women in suburbia. It undermines the separate spheres construct that places women largely in the private domain and earlier perceptions of the Victorian woman as the 'The Angel in the House', 'a perfect lady' and 'a lady of cultivated leisure'.⁴⁸ It moves beyond the limited outlook of separate spheres and highlights the diverse influences which shaped men and women's experiences and identities to recapture the richness and diversity of the lives of men and women and restore agency and 'self-reflexivity' to individuals.⁴⁹ It shows women in the public sphere, for example, on public transport, shopping, in the workplace and involved in philanthropy and volunteering. It highlights their agency as house owners, occupiers, owner-occupiers, entrepreneurs and business women, as individuals working from home and offering shelter to others and the increasing opportunities available to them. The study emphasises the importance of women's domestic role in demonstrating the family's status in the public world through decorating and furnishing, gardens and gardening and their physical presence. It challenges the perspective that middle-class women were obsessed with needlework and craftwork, and how much leisure time they had given that many had either no or only one residential servant. It reveals the range of activities and events that presented them with opportunities to operate in the public realm and to

⁴⁸ Branca, *Silent Sisterhood*, p.6.

⁴⁹ Gordon & Nair, *Public Lives*, p.3.

transmit cultural capital. It shows that women kept up with fashion and took on board new ideas about art, taste and individuality, and new behaviours presented by, for example, transport and shopping. The plethora of advice books, though, suggests that many women felt insecure and needed strong guidance. The thesis highlights significant gender differences, but also men's interest and investment in the home and its importance to male identity.

The thesis reveals a range of differences between suburbs and what made them distinctive. Firstly it highlights the connection between the origin and growth of the nearby city. The expansive growth of London meant its suburbs were further out and their growth depended to a large extent on the development of the railway. Provincial cities were smaller which meant their suburbs developed closer to the city enabling other forms of transport to support their growth. London expanded earlier than provincial cities meaning their suburbs also developed earlier than provincial ones. Distance from the city was also important to the timing of development for provincial suburbs: suburbs further out developed later and were more dependent on railway development. Different pre-development features affected the timing and nature of development, whilst early patterns of residence set the course of subsequent growth. The rate at which suburbs developed and the character, environment and costs of setting up a suburban home reflected land ownership patterns, landowner controls and intentions, local economic circumstances and the introduction and development of different transport forms. Comparisons between households and families, whilst limited by comparative opportunities available, highlight a range of subtle differences

that differentiate suburbs. Local circumstances, then, were significant in marking suburbs out as different from each other and distinctive.

This study also reveals the connections between suburbs and their nearby cities and the wider world. The industrial and commercial success of cities like Birmingham provided the wealth that enabled the middle class to move to suburbs, but the middle-class exodus impacted on the character of cities themselves, making them more working class. None-the-less, there were inextricable links with the city centre. Many suburban residents commuted there to work and the city centre was the transport hub for the suburbs that not only made this commute feasible, but also facilitated visits into the city for shopping, entertainment and cultural activities and allowed onward journeys. Birmingham was the focus of much suburban volunteerism and philanthropy and its newspapers reported on events in the suburbs and the activities of its residents. Birmingham citizens took advantage of the countryside and a rural environment, though, some of these, such as the 'match boys', were unwelcome and some behaviours, such as drunkenness, unacceptable to the suburban middle class. The link supported the development of the suburb by bringing new facilities such as postal services, newspapers, and goods and materials. The study highlights other connections with the outside world showing that suburbs were not isolated, inward-looking places. For example, some residents were from other parts of the UK and abroad and plants and materials in the home came from across the globe and these speak to ethnicity, race and imperialism, whilst residents were involved in national politics and took journeys to distant places. Ultimately the rural-city divide was breached, as Moseley, and many suburbs were engulfed by their nearby city and became an intrinsic part of their urban centres.

Finally, this thesis shows the importance of local studies as a tool of investigation. Most importantly a local study uncovers the reality of ordinary people's lives and experiences in a particular place and at a particular time. It drills down into the details and subtleties of how they lived, what they were interested in, what concerned them, what gave them their sense of place and identity, and unearths motivations, aspirations and anxieties and the undercurrents of suburban life. This local study of Moseley reveals what it was like to live in a changing environment where residents – both men and women - were expected to behave in particular ways. Changing experiences are brought together in one place over time to produce a nuanced picture that brings the suburban world to life.

Future Research

There are a number of avenues for further study prompted by this thesis. The broader content, in-depth analysis of primary sources and comparative approach might be matched for other suburbs. D.A. Reeder suggested in 1966 that more detailed comparisons between suburbs might 'reveal still greater diversity' and this idea still has potential.⁵⁰ Following through the history of the middle class in Moseley into the twentieth century, and particularly those individuals and families specifically named here, is another way to build on this thesis. A study of the working and artisan class in Moseley between 1850 and 1900, including their houses and homes, their households and occupations and their places of birth and lifestyles would complement this study and contribute to a comprehensive picture of Moseley's social class experience in the period. More too could be said of servants and children and the role of religion, education and leisure. The story of how the suburb became

⁵⁰ Reeder, D.A., 'A Theatre of Suburbs: Some Patterns of Development in West London, 1801-1911' in Dyos, H.J., (ed.), *The Study of Urban History* (London: Edward Arnold, 1968), pp.253-271.

increasingly engulfed and people ‘leapfrogged’ over Moseley to more rural suburbs further out and how Moseley went from ‘sought-after suburb on the edge of the country to an integral part of the fully urbanised central metropolis’ when it was absorbed into Birmingham in 1911, is an interesting aspect of the history of Birmingham that would benefit from further attention.⁵¹ Demographical changes further into the twentieth century and Moseley’s redefinition as a café and restaurant enclave and live music venue in the twenty-first century would carry the story of this exclusive suburb forward.

In his review of Dyos’ pioneering study of Camberwell, Thompson claimed Dyos had shown that Camberwell developed in a ‘not necessarily lovely or admirable way’, but that the suburb ‘possessed individuality and character’.⁵² This thesis has shown that the development of Moseley as a suburb in the nineteenth century was important, because of the influences upon it, the way it developed, the timing of its development, the people involved in its expansion, the domestic built and green environment, and its residents and the public arena they nurtured. Whether Moseley can be regarded as ‘lovely’ and ‘admirable’ and possessing ‘individuality and character’ is a judgement best left to past, present and future inhabitants – and readers of this thesis.

⁵¹ Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, p.4.

⁵² Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, pp.3-4.

Appendix A

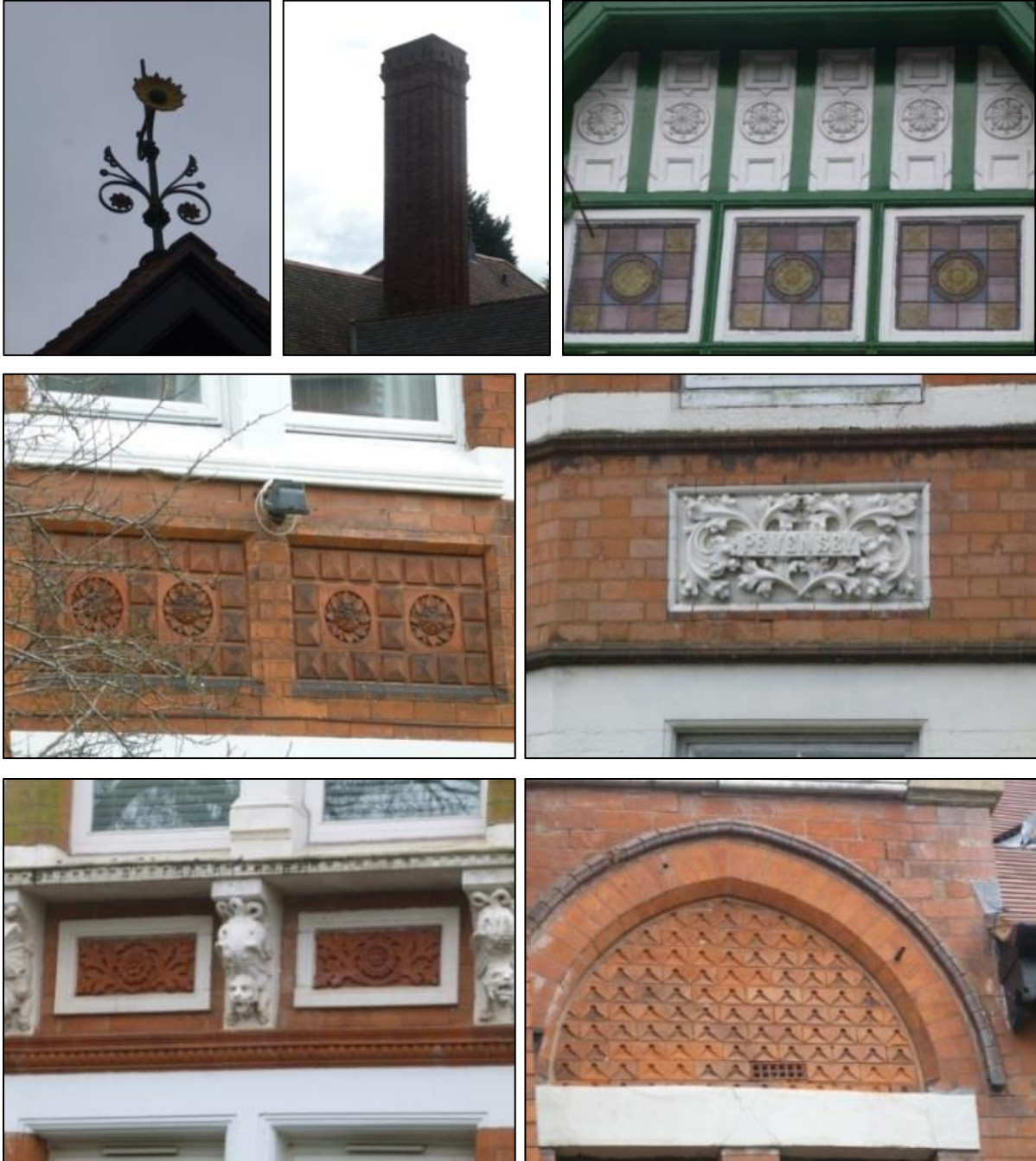
Nineteenth-Century Birmingham Suburbs: Population.¹

Suburb	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Acocks Green		1,000	1,500 (+500)	2,800 (+1,300)	3,000 (+200)	3,000 (+0)
Aston	61,200	95,000 (+33,800)	140,000 (+81,000)	200,130 (+61,300)	249,300 (+49,170)	296,700 (+47,400)
Balsall Heath		10,000	13,000 (+3,000)	22,700 (+9,700)	30,600 (+7,900)	38,900 (+8,300)
Edgbaston	9,300	13,000 (+3,700)	17,400 (+4,400)	23,000 (+5,600)	24,400 (+1,400)	26,500 (+2,100)
Erdington	2,800	3,900 (+1,100)	4,900 (+1,000)	7,200 (+2,300)	9,600 (+2,400)	16,400 (+6,800)
Harborne	2,400	3,600 (+1,200)	5,100 (+1,500)	6,400 (+1,300)	7,900 (+1,500)	10,100 (+2,200)
Handsworth	7,900	11,500 (+3,600)	16,000 (+4,500)	24,300 (+8,300)	35,000 (+10,700)	55,300 (+20,300)
Moseley		1,500	2,400 (+900)	4,200 (+1,800)	7,200 (+3,000)	11,100 (+3,900)
Northfield	2,500	3,100 (+600)	4,600 (+1,500)	7,200 (+2,600)	9,900 (+2,700)	20,800 (+10,900)
Yardley	2,800	3,800 (+1,000)	5,400 (+1,600)	9,700 (+4,300)	17,400 (+7,700)	33,900 (+16,500)

¹ Hampson, Martin, *Edgbaston: Images of England* (Stroud: Tempus Publishing Ltd., 1999), p.7; Jones, Douglas, *Edgbaston as it was* (Sutton Coldfield: Westwood Publications, 1986), p.33; Moughton, William, *The Story of Birmingham's Growth* (Birmingham: Davis & Moughton Ltd., 1912), p.74; Wilmot Frances, *Around 4 o'clock: Memories of Sparkhill and Acocks Green* (Studley: Brewin Books, 1993), p.141; Demidowicz, George and Price, Stephen, *Kings Norton, a History* (Chichester: Phillimore & Co., Ltd., 2009), p.108; Hart, Valerie, *Balsall Heath, A History* (Studley: Brewin Books, 1992), p.11; Hastings, R.P., from source material by Shenley Court Comprehensive Schools Nash Society 1966, *Discovering Northfield*, No.18 in a series of occasional papers issued by the Northfield Society, (1986-87).

Appendix B

Architectural Ornamentation and Features.²



² Berry, Janet, Photographs, 2015.



Appendix C

Appendix C/1: Household Heads (Censuses 1851-1901)

(%HH: %Households; %HM: %Household Members) (%H: %Household Heads) (...%HM where under 1%)

Aspect	Church Road			Church Road	Ascot Road	Queenswood Road	Church Road	Ascot Road	Queenswood Road	Church Road	Ascot Road	Queenswood Road	Chantry Road	Totals / Averages
	1851	1861	1871	1881			1891			1901				
Households (HH)	22	11	32	45	13	2	94	21	9	59	20	38	60	426
Household Members (HM)	107	55	215	252	67	15	506	113	51	279	121	172	326	2,279
	X	X	X	334			670			57			X	1,576
Heads (H)	22 21%HM	11 20%HM	32 15%HM	45 18%HM	13 19%HM	2 13%HM	94 19%HM	21 19%HM	9 18%HM	59 21%HM	20 17%HM	38 22%HM	60 18%HM	426 19%HM Average 33
	X	X	X	60			124			117			X	301
Male Heads (MH)	20 19%HM 91%H	6 11%HM 55%H	27 13%HM 84%H	38 15%HM 84%H	8 12%HM 62%H	2 13%HM 100%H	72 14%HM 75%H	17 15%HM 81%H	8 16%HM 89%H	43 15%HM 73%H	16 13%HM 80%H	29 17%HM 76%H	48 15%HM 80%H	334 15%HM / 78%H Average 26
	X	X	X	48 male Heads: 14%HM / 80%H Average 16			97 male Heads: 14%HM / 78%H Average 32			88 male Heads: 15%HM / 75%H Average 29			X	233 10%HM / 77%H Average 26
Female Heads (FH)	2 2%HM 9%H	5 9%HM 45%H	5 2%HM 16%H	7 3%HM 16%H	5 7%HM 38%H	0	22 4%HM 25%H	4 4%HM 19%H	1 2%HM 11%H	16 6%HM 17%H	4 3%HM 20%H	9 5%HM 24%H	12 4%HM 20%H	92 4%HM / 22%H Average 7
	X	X	X	12 Female Heads: 4%HM / 20%H Average 4			27 Female Heads: 4%HM / 22%H Average 9			29 Female Heads: 5%HM / 25%H Average 10			X	68 4%HM / 23%H Average 8
Widower Heads	1 1%HM 5%H 5%MH	0	2 1%HM 6%H 7%MH	3 1%HM 7%H 8%MH	0	0	2 .3%HM 2%H 3%MH	1 1%HM 5%H 6%MH	1 2%HM 11%H 13%MH	5 2%HM 8%H 12%MH	0	1 1%HM 3%H 3%MH	4 1%HM 7%H 8%MH	20 1%HM / 5%H 6%MH Average 2
	X	X	X	3 Widower Heads: 1%HM / 5%H / 6%MH Average 1			4 Widower Heads: 1%HM / 3%H / 4%MH Average 1			6 Widower Heads: 1%HM / 5%H / 7%MH Average 2			X	13 1%HM / 4%H / 4%MH Average 1
Widow Heads	2	5	4	6	5	0	15	3	1	12	4	7	9	73

Aspect	Church Road			Church Road	Ascot Road	Queenswood Road	Church Road	Ascot Road	Queenswood Road	Church Road	Ascot Road	Queenswood Road	Chantry Road	Totals / Averages
	1851	1861	1871	1881			1891			1901				
	2%HM 9%H 100%FH	9%HM 45%H 100%FH	2%HM 13%H 80%FH	2%HM 13%H 86%FH	7%HM 38%H 100%FH		3%HM 16%H 68%FH	3%HM 14%H 75%FH	2%HM 11%H 100%FH	4%HM 20%H 75%FH	3%HM 20%H 100%FH	4%HM 18%H 78%FH	3%HM 15%H 75%FH	3%HM / 17%H 79%FH Average 6
	X	X	X	11 Widow Heads: 3%HM / 18%H / 92%FH Average 4			19 Widow Heads: 3%HM / 15%H / 70%FH Average 6			23 Widow Heads: 4%HM / 20%H / 79%FH Average 8			53 3%HM / 18%H 78%FH / Average 6	
Single Male Heads	3 3%HM 14%H 15%MH	0	1 ...%HM 3%H 4%MH	1 ...%HM 2%H 3%MH	0	0	3 1%HM 3%H 4%MH	2 2%HM 10%H 12%MH	1 2%HM 11%H 13%MH	1 ...%HM 2%H 2%MH	0	1 1%HM 3%H 3%MH	3 1%HM 5%H 6%MH	16 1%HM / 4%H 5%MH Average 1
	X	X	X	1 Single Male Head: 2%H / 2%MH Average ...			6 Single Male Heads: 1%HM / 5%H / 6%MH Average 2			2 Single Male Heads: 2%H / 2%MH Average 1			X	9 1%HM / 3%H / 3%MH Average 1
Single Female Heads	0	0	1 ...%HM 3%H 20%FH	1 ...%HM 2%H 14%FH	0	0	7 1%HM 7%H 32%FH	1 1%HM 5%H 25%FH	0	4 1%HM 7%H 25%FH	0	2 1%HM 5%H 22%FH	3 1%HM 5%H 25%FH	19 1%HM / 5%H 21%FH Average 2
	X	X	X	1 Single Female Head: 2%H / 8%FH Average ...			8 Single Female Heads: 1%HM / 1%H / 30%FH Average 3			6 Single Female Heads: 1%HM / 5%H / 21%FH Average 2			X	15 1%HM / 5%H / 16%FH Average 2
Single Heads	3 14%H	0	2 6%H	2 4%H	0	0	10 11%H	3 14%H	1 11%H	5 8%H	0	3 8%H	6 10%H	35 2%HM / 8%H Average 3
	X	X	X	2 Single Heads: 3%H			14 Single Heads: 2%HM / 11%H Average 4			8 Single Heads: 1%HM / 7%H Average 2			X	24 2%HM / 8%H Average 2
Wives / Married Heads	16 15%HM 73%H	6 11%HM 55%H	24 11%HM 75%H	34 13%HM 76%H	8 12%HM 62%H	2 13%HM 100%H	67 13%HM 71%H	14 12%HM 67%H	7 14%HM 78%H	35 13%HM 59%H	15 12%HM 75%H	26 15%HM 68%H	41 13%HM 68%H	295 13%HM 69%H
Wives / Married Heads	X	X	X	44 Married Heads: 73%HM / 73%H Average 15			88 Married Heads: 71%HM / 71%H Average 29			76 Married Heads: 65%HM / 65%H Average 25			X	208 69%H Average 23
Married Heads: married, widows or widowers at census time	19 86%H	11 100%H	30 94%H	43 96%H	13 100%H	2 100%H	84 89%H	18 86%H	8 89%H	54 92%H	20 100%H	35 92%H	54 90%H	391 17%HM / 92%H Average 30
	X	X	X	58 Married Heads: 17%HM / 97%H Average 19			110 Married Heads: 16%HM / 89%H Average 37			109 Married Heads: 19%HM / 93%H Average 36			X	277 18%HM / 92%H Average 31

Appendix C/2: Household Heads in Work (Censuses 1851-1901)

(%H: % Heads; %HW: % Heads in Work; %HM: % Household Members; % MH: % Male Heads; %FH: % Female Heads)

Aspect	Church Road			Church Road	Ascot Road	Queenswood Road	Church Road	Ascot Road	Queenswood Road	Church Road	Ascot Road	Queenswood Road	Chantry Road	Totals / Averages
	1851	1861	1871	1881			1891			1901				
Heads in Work	19 86%H	10 91%H	25 78%H	33 73%H	11 85%H	2 100%H	54 57%H	15 71%H	8 89%H	39 66%H	12 60%H	26 68%H	46 77%H	300 13%HM / 70%H Average 23
	X	X	X	46 Heads in work: 77%H Average 35			77 Heads in work: 62%H Average 26			77 Heads in work: 66%H Average 26			X	200 13%HM / 47%H Average 29
Male Heads in Work	19 18%HM 95%MH 100%HW	5 9%HM 83%MH 50%HW	23 11%HM 85%MH 92%HW	31 12%HM 82%MH 94%HW	10 15%HM 86%MH 91%HW	2 13%HM 100%MH 100%HW	54 11%HM 75%MH 100%HW	15 13%HM 88%MH 100%HW	8 16%HM 100%MH 100%HW	37 13%HM 86%MH 95%HW	11 9%HM 69%MH 92%HW	26 15%HM 90%MH 100%HW	45 14%HM 94%MH 98%HW	286 13%HM / 67%H 86%MH 95%HW Average 22
	X	X	X	43 Heads in work: 93% Heads in work Average 14			77 Heads in work: 100% Heads in work Average 26			74 Heads in work: 96% Heads in work Average 25			X	194 12%HM / 64%H 83%MH 97%HW Average 22
Female Heads in Work	0	5 9%HM 100%FH 50%HW	2 1%HM 40%FH 8%HW	2 1%HM 29%FH 6%HW	1 1%HM 20%FH 1%HW	0	0	0	0	2 1%HM 13%FH 5%HW	1 1%HM 25%FH 8%HW	0	1 0.3%HM 8%FH 2%HW	14 1%HM / 3%H 15%FH 5%HW Average 1
	X	X	X	3 Female Heads in work: 7% Heads in work Average 1			No Female Heads in work Average 0			3 Female Heads in work: 4% Heads in Work Average 1			X	6 2%H 9%FH / 3%HW Average 1

Appendix C/3: Offspring (Censuses 1851-1901)

(%HM: % Household Members; %HH: % Household Members)

Aspect	Church Road			Church Road	Ascot Road	Queenswood Road	Church Road	Ascot Road	Queenswood Road	Church Road	Ascot Road	Queenswood Road	Chantry Road	Totals / Averages
	1851	1861	1871	1881			1891			1901				
Households with Offspring	12 55%HH	8 73%HH	22 69%HH	34 76%HH	8 62%HH	2 100%HH	63 68%HH	13 62%HH	6 67%HH	40 68%HH	16 80%HH	24 63%HH	41 68%HH	289 68%HH
	X	X	X	44 Households with Offspring at Home: 73%HH Average 15			86 Households with Offspring at Home: 69%HH Average 29			80 households with offspring at home: 68%HH Average 27			X	210
Households without Offspring	10 45%HH	3 27%HH	10 31%HH	11 24%HH	5 38%HH	0	31 32%HH	8 38%HH	3 33%HH	19 32%HH	4 20%HH	14 33%HH	19 32%HH	137 32%HH
	X	X	X	16 Households without Offspring at Home:27%HH Average 5			44 Households without Offspring at Home: 31%HH Average 15			37 Households without Offspring at Home: 32%HH Average 12			X	97
Offspring at Home	34 32%HM	18 33%HM	85 40%HM	92 37%HM	21 31%HM	7 47%HM	199 39%HM	36 32%HM	22 43%HM	96 34%HM	40 33%HM	52 30%HM	111 34%HM	813 36%HM
	X	X	X	120 Offspring at Home: 36% HM Average 40			257 Offspring at Home:38%HM Average 86			188 Offspring at Home: 33% Average 63			X	565 36%HM Average 63
Sons at Home	18 17%HM 53%O	9 16%HM 50%O	41 19%HM 48%O	41 16%HM 45%O	12 18%HM 57%O	4 27%HM 57%O	90 18%HM 45%O	14 12%HM 39%O	11 22%HM 50%O	36 13%HM 38%O	18 15%HM 45%O	22 13%HM 42%O	47 14%HM 42%O	363 16%HM / 45%O Average 28
	X	X	X	57 sons: 17%HM / 53% Offspring Average 19			115 sons: 17%HM / 45% Offspring Average 38			76 sons: 13%HM / 42% Offspring Average 25			X	248 16%HM 44% Offspring Average 27
Daughters at Home	16 15%HM 47%O	9 16%HM 50%O	44 20%HM 52%O	51 20%HM 55%O	9 13%HM 43%O	3 20%HM 43%O	109 22%HM 55%O	22 19%HM 61%O	11 22%HM 50%O	60 22%HM 62%O	22 18%HM 55%O	30 17%HM 58%O	64 20%HM 58%O	450 20%HM / 55%O Average 35
	X	X	X	63 Daughters: 19%HM / 47% Offspring Average 21			142 Daughters: 21%HM / 55% Offspring Average 47			112 Daughters: 20%HM / 58% Offspring Average 37			X	317 20%HM 56% Offspring Average 35
Step-Children at Home	0	0	0	0	0	0	3 1%HM 2%O	0	0	1 ...HM 1%O	0	0	0	4

Aspect	Church Road			Church Road	Ascot Road	Queenswood Road	Church Road	Ascot Road	Queenswood Road	Church Road	Ascot Road	Queenswood Road	Chantry Road	Totals / Averages
	1851	1861	1871	1881		1891			1901					
Offspring in Households														
1 offspring	1=1 (5%)	1=4 (36%)	1=1 (3%)	1=10 (22%)	1=2 (15%)		1=14 (15%)	1=2 (10%)		1=16(27%)	1=4 (20%)	1=9 (24%)	1=12 (20%)	1=75 (26%)
2	2=5 (23%)	2=1 (9%)	2=3 (9%)	2=8 (18%)	2=3 (23%)		2=17 (18%)	2=7 (33%)	2=2 (22%)	2=8 (14%)	2=7 (35%)	2=8 (21%)	2=12 (20%)	2=81 (28%)
3	3=2 (9%)	3=1 (9%)	3=5 (16%)	3=6 (13%)	3=1 (8%)	3 =1(50%)	3=19 (20%)	3=2 (10%)	3=2 (22%)	3=8 (14%)		3=3 (8%)	3=6 (10%)	3=56 (19%)
4	4=1 (9%)	4=1 (9%)	4=4 (13%)	4=3 (7%)		4=1 (50%)	4=11 (11%)	4=1 (5%)		4=2 (3%)	4=1 (5%)	4=1 (3%)	4=9 (15%)	4=35 (12%)
5	5=2 (9%)	5=1 (9%)	5=4 (13%)	5=6 (13%)			5=4 (4%)	5=2 (10%)		5=5 (8%)	5=3 (15%)	5=3 (8%)	5=2 (3%)	5=32 (11%)
6	6=1 (5%)		6=2 (6%)		6=1 (8%)		6=1 (1%)			6=1 (2%)				6=6 (2%)
7			7=2 (6%)				7=1 (1%)							7=3 (1%)
8				8=1 (2%)					8=1 (11%)					8=2 (1%)
9							9=2 (2%)						9=1 (2%)	9=3 (1%)
%HH														
Average	2	2	3	2	2	4	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2

Appendix C/4: Relatives in the Home: Types, Gender and Age (Censuses 1851-1901)

Male Relatives				Female Relatives				Age Range Relatives		
Male Relative	Number	% Male Relatives	% Relatives	Female Relative	Number	% Female Relatives	% Relatives	Age Groups (years)	Male Relatives	Female Relatives
Brothers	15	34	26	Sisters	28	33	21	0-10	12 (26%)	12 (14%)
Nephews	8	18	14	Nieces	19	22	17	11-15	2 (4%)	14 (16%)
Grandsons	7	16	12	Granddaughters	9	10	8	16-20	3 (7%)	12 (14%)
Brothers-in-Law	6	14	11	Sisters-in-Law	9	10	8	21-30	11 (24%)	14 (16%)
Sons-in-Law	4	9	7	Aunts	6	7	5	31-40	4 (9)	11 (13%)
Fathers	3	7	5	Mothers-in-Law	6	7	5	41-50	7 (15%)	2 (2%)
Fathers-in-Law	1	2	2	Mothers	5	6	5	51-60	4 (9%)	5 (6%)
				Cousins	2	2	2	61-70	1 (2%)	8 (9%)
				Grandmothers	1	1	1	71 and+	2 (1%)	8 (9%)
				Daughters-in-Law	1	1	1			
TOTAL:	44		34		86		66			

Appendix C/5: Offspring at Home in Work (Censuses 1851-1901)

Aspect	Church Road			Church Road	Ascot Road	Queenswood Road	Church Road	Ascot Road	Queenswood Road	Church Road	Ascot Road	Queenswood Road	Chantry Road	Totals / Averages
	1851	1861	1871	1881			1891			1901				
Offspring	34	18	85	92	21	7	199	36	22	96	40	52	111	813
	X	X	X	120 Offspring Average 40			257 Offspring Average 86			188 Offspring Average 63			X	565 Average 63
Sons % Offspring	18 53%	9 50%	41 48%	41 45%	12 57%	4 57%	90 45%	14 39%	11 50%	36 38%	18 45%	22 42%	47 42%	363 / 45% Average 28
	X	X	X	57 Sons: 53% Offspring Average 19			115 Sons: 45% Offspring Average 38			76 Sons: 42% Offspring Average 25			X	248 44% Average 27
Daughters % Offspring	16 47%	9 50%	44 52%	51 55%	9 43%	3 43%	109 55%	22 61%	11 50%	60 62%	22 55%	30 58%	64 58%	450 55% Average 35
	X	X	X	63 Daughters: 47% Offspring Average 21			142 Daughters: 55% Offspring Average 47			112 Daughters: 58% Offspring Average 37			X	317 56% Average 35
Offspring in Work % Offspring	5 15%	4 22%	11 13%	17 18%	5 24%	0	48 24%	5 14%	7 32%	33 34%	11 28%	15 29%	14 13%	175 22% Average 13
	X	X	X	2 Offspring in work: 18%O Average 7			60 Offspring in work: 23%O Average 20			59 Offspring in work: 31%O Average 20			X	141 25% Average 16
Sons in Work % Sons	2 11%	1 11%	11 27%	9 22%	5 42%	0	31 34%	4 29%	7 64%	21 58%	9 50%	7 32%	15 32%	117 32% Average 9
	X	X	X	14 Sons in work: 25% Sons Average 5			39 Sons in work: 34% Sons Average 13			36 Sons in work: 47% Sons Average 12			X	89 36% Average 10
Daughters in Work % Daughters	3 19%	3 38%	0	8 16%	0	0	17 16%	1 5%	3 27%	13 25%	4 18%	6 20%	0	58 13% Average 4
	X	X	X	8 Daughters in work: 13% Daughters Average 3			21 Daughters in work: 15% Daughters Average 7			23 Daughters in work: 21% Daughters Average 8			X	52 16% Average 6

Appendix C/6: Servants in the Home (Censuses 1851-1901)

(%HH: % Household; %HM: %Household Members)

Aspect	Church Road			Church Road	Ascot Road	Queenswood Road	Church Road	Ascot Road	Queenswood Road	Church Road	Ascot Road	Queenswood Road	Chantry Road	Totals Averages
	1851	1861	1871	1881			1891			1901				
Households (HH)	22	11	32	45	13	2	94	21	9	59	20	38	60	426
Household Members (HM)	107	55	215	252	67	15	506	113	51	279	121	172	326	2,279
	X	X	X	60 HH / 334 HM			124HH / 670HM			117HH / 572HM			X	301HH 1,242HM
Households with Servants	14 64%HH	9 82%HH	26 81%HH	39 87%HH	13 100%HH	2 100%HH	72 75%HH	15 71%HH	5 56%HH	54 92%HH	17 85%HH	20 53%HH	53 88%HH	339 80%HH Average 26
	X	X	X	54 Households with Servants: 90%HH Average 18			95 Households with Servants: 77%HH Average 31			91 Households with Servants: 78%HH Average 30			X	240 80%HH Average 26
Households without Servants	8 36%HH	2 18%HH	6 19%HH	6 13%HH	0	0	24 25%HH	6 29%HH	4 44%HH	5 8%HH	3 15%HH	18 47%HH	7 12%HH	89 20%HH Average 7
	X	X	X	6 Households without Servants: 10%HH Average 2			34 Households without Servants: 23%HH Average 11			26 Households without Servants: 22%HH Average 9			X	66 22%HH Average 7
Servants in Households (%HH)	1=	8 (36%)	5 (45%)	9 (28%)	23 (59%)	8 (62%)	2 (100%)	53 (74%)	8 (53%)	5 (100%)	25 (42%)	6 (30%)	18 (47%)	24 (40%)
	2=	3 (14%)	2 (18%)	14 (44%)	12 (31%)	5 (38%)	15 (21%)	9 (60%)			25 (42%)	9 (45%)	2 (5%)	26 (43%)
	3=	1 (5%)	2 (18%)	1 (3%)	1 (3%)		3 (4%)				2 (3%)	1 (5%)		1 (2%)
	4=	2 (9%)		2 (6%)	3 (8%)		1 (1%)				1 (2%)	*		1 (2%)
	5=						1 (1%)				1 (2%)	*		1 (2%)
	6=							1 (7%)				1 (5%)		
Total Servants	23 21%HM	15 27%HM	48 22%HM	62 25%HM	18 27%HM	2 13%HM	98 19%HM	29 26%HM	5 10%HM	60 22%HM	33 27%HM	22 13%HM	89 27%HM	504 22%HM
	X	X	X	82 Servants: 25%HM Average 1			132 Servants: 20% HM Average 1			115 Servants: 20%HM Average 1			X	361 23%HM Average 1
Average	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1

Appendix C/7: Others in the Home (Censuses 1851-1901)

(%HH: % Household; %HM: %Household Members)

Aspect	Church Road			Church Road	Ascot Road	Queenswood Road	Church Road	Ascot Road	Queenswood Road	Church Road	Ascot Road	Queenswood Road	Chantry Road	Totals / Averages
	1851	1861	1871	1881			1891			1901				
'Others'	12 11%HM	5 9%HM	26 12%HM	19 8%HM	7 10%HM	2 13%HM	48 9%HM	13 12%HM	8 16%HM	29 10%HM	13 11%HM	34 20%HM	25 8%HM	241 / 11%HM / Average 19
'Others'	X	X	X	28 'Others' / 8%HM / Average 9			69 'Others' / 10%HM / Average 23			76 'Others' / 13%HM / Average 25			X	173 / 11%HM / Average 19
Relatives	8 7%HM	3 5%HM	8 4%HM	13 5%HM	6 9%HM	0	28 6%HM	8 7%HM	6 12%HM	16 6%HM	3 2%HM	20 12%HM	13 4%HM	132 / 6%HM / Average 10
Relatives	X	X	X	19 Relatives / 6%HM / Average 6			42 Relatives / 6%HM / Average 14			39 Relatives / 7%HM / Average 13			X	100 / 6%HM / Average 8
Boarders	1 1%HM	1 2%HM	2 1%HM	1 ...%HM	0	2 13%HM	13 3%HM	0	1 2%HM	5 2%HM	3 2%HM	10 1%HM	3 1%HM	42 / 2%HM / Average 3
Boarders	X	X	X	3 Boarders / 1%HM / Average 1			14 Boarders / 2%HM / Average 5			18 Boarders / 3%HM / Average 6			X	35 / 2%HM / Average 3
Visitors	3 3%HM	1 2%HM	16 7%HM	5 2%HM	1 1%HM	0	7 1%HM	5 4%HM	1 2%HM	8 3%HM	7 6%HM	4 2%HM	9 3%HM	67 / 3%HM / Average 5
Visitors	X	X	X	6 Visitors / 2%HM / Average 2			13 Visitors / 2%HM / Average 4			19 Visitors / 3%HM / Average 6			X	38 / 2%HM / Average 4
Male 'Others'	5 11%HM 42%O	4 7%HM 80%O	8 4%HM 31%O	3 1%HM 16%O	2 3%HM 29%O	0	22 4%HM 46%O	4 4%HM 31%O	5 10%HM 63%O	10 4%HM 34%O	5 4%HM 38%O	14 8%HM 41%O	8 2%HM 32%O	100 4%HM / 43%O Average 8
%O:% 'Others'	X	X	X	5 Male 'Others' 1%HM / 18% 'Others' / Average 2			31 Male 'Others' 5%HM / 45% 'Others' / Average 10			29 Male 'Others' 5%HM / 38% 'Others' / Average 10			X	65 22%HM / 27%O / Average 7
Female 'Others'	7 7%HM 58%O	1 2%HM 20%O	18 8%HM 69%O	16 6%HM 84%O	5 7%HM 71%O	2 13%HM 100%O	26 5%HM 54%O	9 8%HM 69%O	3 6%HM 37%O	19 7%HM 66%O	8 7%HM 62%O	20 12%HM 59%O	17 5%HM 68%O	131 6%HM / 57%O / Average 10
%O:% 'Others'	X	X	X	23 Female 'Others' 7%HM / 82% 'Others' / Average 8			38 female 'Others' 6%HM / 55% 'Others' / Average 13			47 female 'Others' 8%HM / 62% 'Others' / Average 16			X	108 36%HM / 45%O / Average 12
Male Relatives	4 4%HM 50%R	2 4%HM 67%R	4 2%HM 50%R	3 1%HM 23%R	2 3%HM 33%R	0	10 2%HM 36%R	1 1%HM 13%R	3 6%HM 38%R	6 2%HM 13%R	1 1%HM 33%R	7 4%HM 35%R	4 1%HM 31%R	47 2%HM / 36%R Average 4
	X	X	X	5 Male Relatives 1%HM / 26% Relatives / Average 2			14 Male Relatives 2%HM / 33% Relatives / Average 5			14 Male Relatives 2%HM / 36% Relatives / Average 5			X	33 25%R / 33%R / Average

Aspect	Church Road			Church Road	Ascot Road	Queenswood Road	Church Road	Ascot Road	Queenswood Road	Church Road	Ascot Road	Queenswood Road	Chantry Road	Totals / Averages
	1851	1861	1871	1881			1891			1901				
Female Relatives	4 4%HM 50%R	1 2%HM 33%R	4 2%HM 50%R	10 4%HM 77%R	4 6%HM	0	18 4%HM 64%R	7 6%HM 87%R	3 6%HM 62%R	10 4%HM 87%R	2 2%HM 67%R	13 8%HM 65%R	9 3%HM 69%R	85 4%HM / 64%R Average 7
	X	X	X	14 Female Relatives: 4%HM / 74%Relatives Average 5			28 Female Relatives: 4%HM / 67%Relatives Average 9			25 Female Relatives: 4%HM / 64%Relatives Average 8			X	67 22%HM / 67%R Average 7
Male Boarders	1 1%HM 100%B	1 2%HM 100%B	2 ...%HM 100%B	0	0	0	9 2%HM 71%B	0	1 2%HM 100%B	3 1%HM 60%B	3 2%HM 100%B	7 3%HM 70%B	2 1%HM 67%B	29 1%HM / 69%B Average 2
	X	X	X	0 Male Boarders in the Home Average 0			10 Male Boarders in the Home: 8%HM / 71% Boarders Average 3			13 Male Boarders in the Home: 11%HM 72% Boarders Average 4			X	23 1%HM / 66%B Average:2
Female Boarders	0	0	0	1 ...%HM 100%B	0	2 1%HM 100%B	4 1%HM 31%B	0	0	2 1%HM 40%B	0	3 2%HM 30%B	1 ...%HM 33%B	13 1%HM / 31%B Average 1
	X	X	X	3 Female Boarders in the Home: 1%HM / 100% Boarders Average 1			4 Female Boarders in the Home: 1%HM / 29% Boarders Average 1			5 Female Boarders in the Home: 1%HM / 28% Boarders Average 2			X	12 4%HM / 34%B Average 1
Male Visitors	0	1 2%HM 100%V	3 1%HM 18%V	0	0	0	3 1%HM 43%V	3 3%HM 60%V	1 2%HM 100%V	1 ...%HM 13%V	1 1%HM 14%V	1 1%HM 25%V	2 1%HM 20%V	16 1%HM / 24%V Average 5
	X	X	X	No Male Visitors in the Home Average 0			7 Male Visitors in the Home: 1%HM / 54% Visitors Average 3			3 Male Visitors in the Home: 1%HM / 16% Visitors Average 1			X	10 1%HM / 26%V Average 3
Female Visitors	3 3%HM 100%V	0	13 7%HM 82%V	5 2%HM 100%V	1 1%HM 100%V	0	4 1%HM 57%V	2 2%HM 40%V	0	7 3%HM 88%V	6 5%HM 86%V	3 2%HM 75%V	7 2%HM 80%V	51 2%HM / 76%V Average 4
	X	X	X	6 Female Visitors in the Home: 2%HM / 100% Visitors Average 2			6 Female Visitors in the Home: 1%HM / 46% Visitors Average 2			16 female visitors in the home: 3%HM / 84% Visitors Average 5			X	28 2%HM / 74%V Average 9

Appendix C/8: Households: Gender (Censuses 1851-1901)

(%HM: % Household Members)

Aspect	Church Road			Church Road	Ascot Road	Queenswood Road	Church Road	Ascot Road	Queenswood Road	Church Road	Ascot Road	Queenswood Road	Chantry Road	Totals / Averages
	1851	1861	1871	1881			1891			1901				
Households (HH)	22	11	32	45	13	2	94	21	9	59	20	38	60	426 Average 33
Ave HM per Household	5	5	7	6	5	8	5	5	6	5	6	5	5	6
	X	X	X	60 HH / 334 HM Average 6 HM per HH			124HH / 670HM Average 5 HM per HH			117HH / 572HM Average 5 HM per HH			X	301HH/1242HM Average 5
Total Males (excluding Servants)	43 (40%HM)	19 (35%HM)	76 (35%HM)	82 (33%HM)	22 (33%HM)	6 (40%HM)	188 (37%HM)	35 (31%HM)	24 (47%HM)	89 (32%HM)	39 (32%HM)	65 (38%HM)	103 (32%HM)	791 (35%HM) Average 61
	X	X	X	110 Males excluding Servants: 33%HM Average 37			247 Males excluding Servants: 37%HM Average 82			193 Males excluding Servants: 34%HM Average 64			X	550 (24%HM) Average 61
Total Females (excluding Servants)	41 (38%HM)	21 (38%HM)	91 (42%HM)	108 (43%HM)	27 (40%HM)	7 (47%HM)	220 (43%HM)	49 (43%HM)	22 (43%HM)	130 (47%HM)	49 (40%HM)	85 (49%HM)	134 (41%HM)	984 (43%HM) Average 76
	X	X	X	142 Females excluding Servants: 43%HM Average 47			291 Females excluding Servants: 43%HM Average 97			264 Females excluding Servants: 46%HM Average 88			X	697 (30%HM) Average 77
Total Household Members excluding Servants	84	40	167	190	49	13	408	84	46	219	88	150	237	1775 Average 137
Total Males (including Servants)	48 (45%HM)	20 (36%HM)	78 (36%HM)	85 (34%HM)	22 (33%HM)	6 (40%HM)	190 (38%)	35 (31%HM)	24 (47%HM)	89 (32%HM)	39 (32%HM)	65 (38%HM)	103 (32%HM)	804 (35%HM) Average 62
	X	X	X	113 Males including Servants: 34%HM Average 38			249 Males including Servants: 37%HM Average 83			193 Males including Servants: 34%HM Average 64			X	555 (24%HM) Average 62
Total Females (including Servants)	59 (55%HM)	35 (64%HM)	137 (64%HM)	167 (66%HM)	45 (77%HM)	9 (60%HM)	316 (62%HM)	78 (69%HM)	27 (53%HM)	190 (68%HM)	82 (68%HM)	107 (62%HM)	223 (68%HM)	1475 (65%HM) Average 113
	X	X	X	221 Females including Servants: 66%HM Average 74			421 Females including Servants: 63%HM Average 140			379 Females including Servants: 66%HM Average 126			X	1021 (45%HM) Average 113
Total Household Members (including Servants)	107	55	215	252	67	15	506	113	51	279	121	172	326	2279 Average 175

Appendix D

St Mary's Church, Moseley: Identified Participants.

Areas of Involvement	Number of Mentions			Number of Different People each Area		
	People	Men	Women	People	Men	Women
Church Wardens (1853-1898)	26	26	0	22	22	0
Parish/People's Wardens (1853-1898)	15	15	0	15	15	0
Vestry Meeting Attendees (1853-1890)	607	607	0	161	161	0
Financial/Management (1867-1893)	59	59	0	45	45	0
Newfoundland Mission (1879-1885)	108	22 (20%)	86 (80%)	32	2 (6%)	30 (94%)
Home and Foreign Missions (1881-1893)	120	18 (15%)	102 (85%)	43	7 (16%)	36 (84%)
Collecting for the Poor (1878-1891)	11	6 (55%)	5 (45%)	11	6 (55%)	5 (45%)
Parish Organ Fund (1886-1888)	66	46 (70%)	20 (30%)	57	40 (70%)	17 (30%)
New Vestry Fund (1890-1892)	217	189 (87%)	28 (13%)	206	183 (89%)	23 (11%)
Gifts to St Mary's Church (1879-1891)	42	4 (10%)	38 (90%)	24	3 (12%)	21 (88%)
Fundraising 1879/ 1880s (Sales of Work/Bazaars) (1879-1888)	97	20 (21%)	77 (79%)	76	17 (22%)	59 (78%)
Annual Parish Tea Parties (Help / Entertainments) (1881-1892)	41	22 (54%)	19 (46%)	33	16 (48%)	17 (52%)
Entertainments (1879-1892)	29	15 (79%)	14 (21%)	12	9 (75%)	3 (25%)
Special Celebrations (Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee 1887)	18	18	0	18	18	0
Temporary Church (1878-1879)	111	94 (85%)	17 (15%)	111	94 (85%)	17 (15%)
Gifts to Temporary Church (1879)	6	4 (67%)	2 (33%)	6	4 (67%)	4 (33%)
Developing St Agnes' Church (1876-1885)	41	41	0	27	27	0
St Agnes' Building Fund (1884-1889)	162	131 (81%)	31 (19%)	135	103 (76%)	32 (24%)
Gifts for St Agnes' Church (1884-1885)	21	9 (43%)	12 (57%)	21	9 (43%)	12 (57%)
St Agnes' Organ Fund Boxes (1886)	13	5 (38%)	8 (62%)	13	5 (38%)	8 (62%)
Enlargement St Agnes' Church (1892-1893)	243	191 (75%)	52 (25%)	214	161 (75%)	53 (25%)
Cabmen's Shelter (1886)	4	1 (25%)	3 (75%)	4	1 (25%)	3 (75%)
Club for Young Men (1884-1891)	40	40	0	33	33	0
Club for Young Women (1892-1893)	15	0	15	15	0	15
Total Mentions	2,112	1,583 (75%)	529 (25%)	1,335	980 (73%)	355 (27%)

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