SECTION FOUR

CONTEMPORARY URBAN SPHERES OF INFLUENCE
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CHAPTER ONE

A REVOLUTION IN TOWN-COUNTRY RELATIONS

A 'revolution' implies changes both rapid and fundamental; the changes which have taken place in the relations between towns and their spheres of influence between the period of the last analysis, at the beginning of the 20th century, and the present day may most certainly be described in these terms.

In earlier sections of this thesis we have seen how for many centuries the relations between town and country remained essentially the same, based on the facilities and services offered by the market towns, to the inhabitants of the surrounding rural areas.

In the 19th century, the structure of many of the towns changed and often their primary functions became industrial; service function to the hinterland being relegated to a secondary aspect of their life. In parts of Leicestershire the nature of the hinterlands also changed under the impulse of industrialisation, and facilities for marketing in the towns became of less relative importance. However, these changes did not bring about a fundamental alteration in the contacts between town and village. Slow moving, cumbersome road transport restricted the volume of exchange which could take place, and, for the great majority of the population lack of surplus spending power, after the basic
necessities of life had been purchased, made the question of accessibility to the market town a matter of little more than academic interest, except on infrequent, special occasions. The facilities which the 19th century towns had to offer were of little concern to the mass of the population. Even in those places where rail facilities existed little use could be made of them because of the low standard of living enjoyed. In talking to the older generation the writer has learned that a journey by train from Coalville to Leicester — involving a journey of from 15 to 30 minutes duration — was in the nature of an annual, or even less frequent, 'treat'; and that, at the turn of the century, the majority of the inhabitants of Moira and nearby settlements, by that time industrial villages dependent on the local coal mines, had never been further afield than Ashby-de-la-Zouch, the local market town only three to four miles distant; yet Leicester was less than 20 miles away, and to which place there was a speedy, frequent train service. Today, for the inhabitants of both Coalville and Moira, and for those of places even more distant, daily journeys to Leicester are commonplace, and weekly, fortnightly, or monthly visits for shopping or entertainment purposes are within the economic reach of the greatest majority of the population.

The revolution has depended most specifically on two
major causes; firstly, the invention and application of the internal combustion engine to the process of transport; and secondly, as suggested in the previous paragraph, to the rapidly rising standard of living of the population. Thus, the revolution dates from the post-1914-18 war era, but, in many instances, it is only since the 1939-45 war that the opportunities offered by modern transport have become available to large sections of the population. Before 1939, for example, a farmworker earned about 30/- per week on which to maintain his wife and family. Having paid for food, clothes, fuel and other necessities, purchased most likely from the village trader or the travelling stores, the surplus available for other purposes would not often be sufficient to provide the families' bus fare of 3/- to 4/- to the local market town, and even when this could be managed then a visit to the cinema, or tea at a cafe would most probably be out of the question. Since 1939, however, conditions have changed. The farmworker's wage is nearer £6; the rent of his cottage has remained static; free, or cheap, milk and other payments in kind are still allowed; and hence the surplus available for non-necessities of life has grown. In addition, the bus fare into town will absorb a relatively lower proportion of this surplus as costs of transport have not increased at the same rate as costs in other fields.
Indeed, until a year or two ago bus fares were virtually the same as pre-war in monetary terms and, therefore, less than half as expensive in real costs. These facts have led to a greater use of the towns by the rural population, and, in Leicestershire, this feature in nowhere better illustrated than in the case of Melton Mowbray.

Time and time again, in conversation with traders and other citizens of the town, the contrast between pre-war and post-war conditions have been vividly portrayed. Before 1939 the town was 'dead' except on Tuesday (the market day), when farmers and their wives paid their visits. Today, however, there is a 'steady stream' of customers into the shops on every day of the week, and the town, although quiet when compared with Tuesday traffic, is certainly not without life. Fridays and Saturdays, in addition to Tuesdays, have become of increasing importance as visiting days for customers from the hinterland. On Fridays, many of the farmers pay a return visit to the town (possession of a car making the journey far easier and of much shorter duration) in order to collect their worker's wages from the bank and to deal with other official business; for example, the purchase of insurance stamps, to settle business with the Melton Farmers Association or with the Auctioneers. The Secretary of the local branch of the National Farmers' Union reported that she now had almost
as many visitors on Fridays as on Tuesdays.

And the Saturday trade of the town has increased by virtue of the higher standard of living of the farmworkers and their families. In addition to their higher real wages, the farmworker now finishes his work at noon on Saturdays (compared with a full day before the war), and hence, a Saturday afternoon visit to Melton is a regular feature of their way of life. In response to this demand a second street market is now held in the town on Saturday—normally with about half the number of stalls when compared with the Tuesday market—and this, together with the shops of the town, the sporting fixtures held there, and an early evening visit to one of the cinemas, provide the attractions for the 'country' visitors.

These recent developments in the trading activities of Melton Mowbray have been used to illustrate the interdependence of the improvement of transport facilities and the rising standard of living in bringing about a closer contact between a town and its hinterland. In some cases, however, the post-war cheapening of transport costs has led to a development injurious to the smaller market towns. In the case of Coalville, for example, a large percentage of the population of the hinterland is now prepared, and can afford, to visit a settlement further afield whose facilities are more attractive. Hence, from places such
as Ibstock, Heather, Whitwick, and Ellistown, all within four miles of Coalville, but up to 15 miles distant from Leicester, a greater proportion of their custom is being diverted to the latter settlement with its far superior department stores, first class entertainment, and the like. And from the smaller market towns themselves, the local facilities are now insufficiently attractive to keep trade within the towns, when the county centre can be visited at a maximum transport cost of 2/8d; a cost only about 40% greater than pre-war, whereas wages over the same period have increased from 200% to 400%. Hence, in Coalville, the local Chamber of Trade organises 'shop in Coalville' weeks, with apparently but little effect, and in Melton Mowbray, traders hope that Saturday morning will be wet so as to deter prospective visitors to Leicester from making the journey; a wet Saturday morning followed by a fine afternoon stimulates local trade.

Thus, town and country have been brought into closer contact for purposes of shopping and associated activities. The importance of these developments on the towns will be considered later in the section. In the case of Hertford the effect was described as follows:

"It is still the market town for a hinterland of much the same extent as 40 years ago....The centralisation of the omnibus system on the town now brings in a
very considerable number of visitors who a
generation ago would have visited the town but
two or three times a year. This new trade has
come to take the place of the declining country
house trade, and the change is exemplified by the
many empty shops in those streets which once
solicited the custom of the nobility, clergy, and
gentry, while the large multiple shops in the back
streets secure a considerable portion of the new
working class trade." ¹.

The sum total of the results of the revolution has
not yet been examined, however, for many other factors
have been involved, apart from the changes in the regularity
of visits to the town. The internal combustion engine
has, of course, not been utilised only for conveying
passengers between town and village. It has also been
employed in effecting more efficient retail distribution.
In the days of pre-motorised transport the country carriers
were employed to deliver retail supplies to individual
customers, and to carry wholesale supplies to the village
shop. Experience gained with lorries in the Great War
led to their rapid adaption for more peaceful purposes
in the form of delivery vans. Deliveries over a wider

¹. (Roper Power. E.R. Social Structure of an English
area became practicable; for example, one Melton grocer was able to extend his delivery area from a radius of four miles around the town, using a horse and van, to a radius of over eight miles, by motor van. In addition to extending the radius of delivery, it also lessened the dependence on carriers', a method which had never been entirely satisfactory, and with a motor van making the deliveries, personal contact between shop and customer was established, with the result that an increasing number of country people came to look to the market town for supplies of all types of goods. In the interwar period, the use of delivery vans steadily increased in importance and in a town such as Melton Mowbray, in which the importance of the country trade was of the order of 45% of the turnover of a shop, no leading business could afford to be without them. Since 1939, however, there has been a decline in this method of trading. In each of the Leicestershire towns shops were found which had given up pre-war delivery rounds. The decline was initiated by the wartime shortage of petrol, when the Ministry of Transport restricted the number of vans serving any one settlement with the result that services were shared by the retailers, some of whom had to stop deliveries. The failure of the delivery services to once again reach their pre-war peak, especially in the grocery and allied trades, may be
attributed to two groups of factors. Firstly, deliveries are now technically more difficult because of the increased cost of petrol, labour and repairs, etc., for which the profit margin allowed on goods of controlled price - e.g. groceries, meat - does not make adequate allowance. And, secondly, there is now less need for deliveries owing to the more regular visits made to the towns by the rural inhabitants, many of whom prefer to call at a shop and make their own selection of goods rather than have to accept that which is delivered at the door. However, it should be borne in mind that this decline is only a relative one - to the high degree established by 1939 - and that retail deliveries are still an important feature of the trading activities.

A third result of motorised transport must be examined; its effect on the functions of the towns as marketing centres. The market town had provided a place at which the farmers of the locality could set up a stall in order to dispose of their surplus dairy and vegetable products. The choice of market was restricted to one within a distance of seven or eight miles, at the most, so that, after the journey there, selling could still commence by about 9 a.m. Today, the farmer most probably sells these products to wholesalers who collect them directly from the farm by lorry, but in the case of a market gardener,
for example, also conducting his own sales at a market, then, by using his own motorised transport, markets up to 20 or 30 miles away are as accessible as those 7 or 8 miles away were 40 years ago. Thus, he will be tempted into the markets of the big cities where competition amongst the buyers is greater and hence, higher prices are likely to be realised. Today, in Leicester market, market gardeners are found from villages throughout the county, and Coalville market, held on a different day to those at Leicester, attracts them from the whole of the northern part of Leicestershire. The effect of motor transport has been to make produce markets no longer the selling points for only local growers and producers.

In addition, the farmer has now much less need to resort to markets for other purposes. Other methods of disposal of surpluses and purchase of supplies have been brought about by modern transport and other means of contacting prospective purchasers and suppliers.

"Today farm commodities are being disposed of to an ever greater extend by telephone; corn finds its way less and less frequently to the corn markets; seeds and artificial manures are ordered by telephone or through travelling agents; eggs are collected by the packing station."

1. (Bracey H.E. Social Provision in Rural Wiltshire London 1952. p.46.)
To these commodities, Dr. Bracey might also have added milk, which is now collected daily from the farms by lorries working from the bottling centres in the large consuming centres. For example, the Leicester Co-operative Society draws its supplies from farms throughout the county. As a result of motor transport, no longer is the sale of liquid milk restricted to those farms within a mile or two of an urban centre or of a railway station. And from the farms where the milk was formerly converted into butter and cheese, for sale in the local market, the milk can now be collected instead, for despatch to the factories making those commodities.

And even with the sale of livestock, motor transport has reduced the degree of dependence on the local market. Prior to about 1920, beasts and sheep etc. had to be driven 'on the hoof' for sale at a market, and again the market chosen would be the nearest one owing to the time factor and the un-desirability of walking the animals further than was absolutely necessary. Hence, small local markets were still of importance and, in many cases, the farmer was at the mercy of a 'buyers ring' which ensured minimum returns to the farmer and maximum returns to the middleman. The days of the small markets were numbered, however, once the use of road transport became possible, for then a stock sale up to 20 or 30 miles away could be reached in time for
the morning sales.

In 1926 livestock sales were held at 11 centres in the county but today, only a quarter of a century later, there are but 7 centres, and only four of these are of any particular significance for sales, apart from those of 'graded' livestock. (The three small markets have been kept in existence largely by their selection in 1939 as Ministry of Food grading centres for fat stock; each centre was allocated an area from which stock was to be drawn for grading: see Fig. 65.)

Thus seven of the markets have (See Fig. 64) entirely, or almost, become redundant. Loughborough, for example, was the 6th market in the county in 1926, with a total of 13,000 animals passing through.

This figure increased to a maximum in 1933, when there were 27,399 animals through the market, but thereafter it showed a continual decline in importance to 1948 when only 7,000 animals passed through, but recovered to just over 11,000 by 1950. Even more significant, however, in showing the real decline in the importance of the market are the comparable figures of store stock sold there. The sale of these had not been regulated by the Ministry of Food.


ii. (ibid.)
The maximum figure of store cattle was achieved in 1933, when 1294 passed through; in 1950, only 194 were sold - or an average of less than four on every market day. The maximum number of store pigs sold was in 1935, when 5122 passed through; in 1950 the number was 42. 1.

Only Leicester, Melton Mowbray, Market Harborough and Ashby-de-la-Zouch retained significant markets for store animals, and, as Figs. 69 and 70 show, the first two drew cattle from almost the whole of the county, and in the case of Melton Mowbray especially, the hinterland of the market is considerably greater in extent than any other sphere of influence of the town. These important markets will be considered in more detail when the towns and their hinterlands are analysed in a later chapter.

Meanwhile, sufficient indication has been given of the effect of motor transport on the pattern of livestock marketing. It seems that the removal of control on fat stock marketing later this year will further accentuate the developments of the past twenty to thirty years. If the Ministry of Food insists that the fat stock are to be sold by auction then there will be an incentive to take them to the larger markets where a buyers ring is less likely to be effective but, on the other hand, if the scheme of the National Farmers' Union is adopted and the

1. (Figures obtained from the statistics held by the Loughborough Corporation Markets Dept.)
fat stock are graded on the farms, and thence removed directly to the abattoirs for slaughter, then the use of the market will be entirely by-passed; indeed, the market town may be by-passed altogether for it is not essential that the abattoir be located there.

Thus far, we have noted the effects of modern transport and a rising standard of living on the old-established functions of the towns, or more specifically, on their trading and marketing facilities. In the period since the analysis of 1900, however, these functions have been supplemented by additional ones, and these must be taken into consideration when assessing the relations between town and country at the present day.

Greater mobility, rising living standards, and the increasing complexity of modern life have brought a whole new range of functions to the towns; or rather, functions represented in but embryonic form in the 19th century by the existence in the town of a local newspaper and a fee paying grammar school. The towns, however, now act as "centres for the provision of educational, health, recreational, and cultural services and/or the crystallising points of local and regional feelings."

1. (Smailes A.E. The Urban Hierarchy in England and Wales. Geography. 29. 1944 p.41.)
The selection of towns as the location of the county grammar schools, the colleges of further education, and other institutes of learning; their choice as the centres for hospitals and clinics; the provision which they offer in the way of cinema entertainment; and their selection as focal points for a whole variety of social activities; all these factors enhance the importance of the towns and stimulate the degree of interdependence between them and their hinterlands. Clearly associated with these activities are the towns' functions as centres of the increasingly important administrative and social services of both national and local government. Several Ministries and other government agencies - for example, the Ministry of Labour, the Ministry of National Insurance, the Inland Revenue Board, the National Assistance Board, etc. - base their services to the public on an office located in a central town to deal both with the business arising in the town itself, and that arising in the area around the town. Likewise the County Council bases many of its services - for instance, the provision of ambulances, of clinics, etc. - on local district organisation, the centres of which districts are found in the principal 'central' towns. From these varying functions of the towns local administrative hinterlands can be determined.

The same causes as outlined at the beginning of the
previous paragraph have also given rise to the multiplication of professional services now essential in a town of any importance. Auctioneers, accountants, solicitors, house and estate agents, architects, doctors, dentists, opticians, and the like now offer services required by a far larger proportion of the population than needed such services in the 19th century. As the demand for their services has increased, their more extensive distribution has been made possible and, for example, whereas at the end of the 19th century dentists and opticians were found only in the larger, more important settlements, they are now required in many more places. Dentists are now found in 20 settlements in the county on a full-time basis, and in 16 more on a part-time basis, compared with only four places in 1900; and opticians are now found in 12 towns compared with but two in 1900.

There remains one further aspect of town-country relations which has largely developed in the 20th century, and again related to the development of transport. For 1900, we briefly examined the evidence for any significant movement between town and country for purposes of daily employment in the former. Except in the case of Leicester, in which case rail services offered easy communications into the city in the morning and out again in the evening from a certain number of settlements, such a relationship between
a town and its hinterland appeared to be of little importance. Today, however, the situation is very different, and of the varying spheres of influence of towns such as Loughborough and Melton Mowbray, it has been suggested that "those defined by the daily journey to work and by retail shopping and distribution are perhaps the two most significant."

This diurnal 'ebb and flow' of population was first statistically analysed in the 1921 Census and in the preface to the tables of statistics the reasons for its development were suggested,

'In a less highly organised and industrial community localities may tend to be more or less self sufficient, each locally resident population being served and supplied with the bulk of its needs by the same population in its working capacity; thus experiencing little necessity for inter-action with other localities apart from the occasions of periodical fairs and markets.'


ii.(1921 Census Returns; Volume on Workplaces. Preface p. )
Conditions such as these, as we have seen in earlier sections, began to break down with the beginning of the industrial revolution, but it was not until several other factors became of importance that the journey to work assumed significance. The low standards of living of the working class in the 19th century implied their acceptance of sub-standard housing huddled around factories, mills, and mines. With such high densities of population the labour force could be kept within walking distance of the place of employment. But, increasing centralisation of industry; the demand by the industrial proletariat for better conditions of life and labour; and finally, the development of a rapid means of transport universally available, led to the breakdown of this aspect of industrialisation. None of the factors could have successfully changed the situation on its own. For example, low wages prevented the utilisation of the rapid means of transport which did exist in the latter half of the 19th century for journey between village and factory. It has only been with the development of effective road transport, and the ability of the working population to use it, that led to the development of hinterlands around the town based on the latter's functions as absorbents of labour. At Loughborough, for example, about 2,500 travelled into the town to places of employment in 1921; by 1949 this figure had doubled to a
minimum of 5,000. From Shepshed, 184 persons travelled to Loughborough daily in 1921; by 1949, this figure had grown to a minimum of 800, reflecting the increased efficiency and the lower relative costs of transport at the later date. From the Nottinghamshire parishes formerly within the Loughborough poor law union (and collectively forming the East Leake rural district in 1921), the number of commuters with Loughborough increased from 211 to at least 450, reflecting both the better transport facilities and possibly the desire, combined with the ability, to live in the country whilst working in the town. From Quorn, between which place and Loughborough evidence showed there was no daily movement in 1900, 175 people worked in Loughborough in 1921, and by 1949 the number had increased to about 400. Thus even comparing 1921, when local road transport was available, and after the Great War had initiated important changes in the social framework of society, with the present day, we see, in the case of Loughborough, the much more important place of the journey to work in intensifying the relations between the town and its hinterland.11 The evidence for

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1. (see above, p.278.)

11. (Figures of numbers travelling to Loughborough obtained from the Census returns of 1921 and from a journey to work survey conducted by the Ministry of Town and Country Planning - Region 3 - in the period 1947-9; these latter figures are approximate ones and exclude categories of professional people and those employed in the distributive trades.)
Loughborough could be repeated for the other towns in the county and would indicate similar changed relationships. Later in this section, when the journey to work is considered in detail, this evidence will be brought forward.

The preceding pages will, it is hoped, have proved that the writer's contention—a revolution in the relationship between towns and their hinterlands has taken place in the 20th century, or, more accurately, since the end of the 1914-18 war, with the development and expansion of road transport facilities, and most especially in the last 15 years when an increase in and a re-distribution of, the national income has brought to a great majority of the population an increased standard of living and an ability to make better use of the transport facilities available. In the ensuing chapters the various criteria which delimit the functional zones around the different towns in the county will be examined. No longer will the relationships be as easy and straightforward to disentangle as they were in the 19th century, when each market town provided more or less a maximum and a minimum of the services required by the great majority of the population. We shall currently find that the main criterion by which the hinterland of a town was determined—viz. the tributary area of its market—is no longer a valid assessment of a town's importance and over large areas of the county is of interest to but a small
minority of the population.

No longer shall we find that the villages have only an irregular means of transport to perhaps one particular town. As Fig. 49 shows, by 1952 the majority of the villages in the county had speedy, comfortable, and cheap transport facilities to more than one town on every day of the week, and thus a greater choice existed when a decision to visit a central settlement had to be made. This greater degree of accessibility implies less easily recognisable boundaries to the spheres of influence of the several towns; and, of course, the towns visited for one purpose may not have been used for another facility, if an alternative centre, also easily accessible, offered better facilities. One looks immediately to the western half of the county for an example of this nature for it is in this part that the greater choice of routes exists. The inhabitants of Ibstock, Bagworth, Nailstone, or a dozen other villages might visit Coalville to shop at the central departments of the Co-operative Society, or to visit the cinema, or attend a dance, but their choice of a retail market would probably be that at Leicester, to which centre they would resort on more specialised shopping expeditions. And likewise, from Earl Shilton or Barwell; a visit to the food office or the cinema would involve a relatively short journey to the town of Hinckley, but in the case of specialised shopping require-
ments, then the journey would be in the opposite direction to Leicester with its huge departmental and multiple stores. Thus it is evident that even shopping hinterlands have indefinite boundaries; the selection of a shopping centre will in many cases depend on factors apart from relative location - for example, on an individual making the decision as to whether 1/- or 2/6d. should be expended in travel costs to the centre, or on the type of goods required on a specific expedition because, while for some articles the small centre such as Coalville could offer an equally good choice, for others only at Leicester would the selection be sufficiently attractive.

Adding further to the complications is the fact that other functions of a town may have a sphere of influence very considerably altered in shape and extent. For example, in the case of Hinckley, its hosiery and boot and shoe industries offer employment to many thousands of women workers and many of these are drawn into the town from the mining villages of the Leicestershire coalfield to the north (villages which look to Coalville for other services), and from the mining villages of the East Warwickshire coalfield, which otherwise look to Atherstone or Nuneaton for their service facilities. Hinckley’s sphere of influence based on its functions as a centre of employment is considerably greater in extent than its shopping hinterland.
Or, to take another example, for the section of the county population still vitally interested in livestock marketing, etc. there are only four centres in the county from which they can make their choice. Thus, while the majority of the population living in the villages between Coalville and Ashby-de-la-Zouch - for example, Swannington and Coleorton - prefer the former town for shopping and entertainment facilities etc., yet the farmers still regard Ashby-de-la-Zouch as their local centre, for there livestock can be purchased or sold in the market; there they can find an agricultural engineer who will repair their machinery or supply them with a new tractor when the old one fails, or the last two horses on the farm are put out to grass.

And finally, if we look at the provision of administrative services by the towns again we shall find great differences in the extent of their dependent areas. In the south-west of the county, for example, Lutterworth continues to be an important centre of district services provided by the county council for there is no other centre, less than 12 miles away, from which the services could be supplied (see Fig. 61.). But the places on the northern edge of Lutterworth's 'county council administrative hinterland' have no other connections with the town, and thus, while the children in Broughton Astley or Dunton Bassett may attend the grammar school or the secondary modern school at
Lutterworth, their parents' work is more likely to be in Leicester, which place also offers them shopping and entertainment facilities. Moreover, for those administrative services not automatically tied to the county boundary Lutterworth does not appear as a centre of importance (see Fig. 64). Villages around look to Rugby, Leicester, Market Harborough, or Hinckley for a majority of these particular services.

"Any attempt, therefore, to delimit areas of influence by reference to a single criteria will give a misleading picture and the more specialised the criterion the more misleading will be the picture."

Such was the conclusion of a group of experts working on the survey of Herefordshire. The examples of varying hinterlands briefly detailed in the preceding paragraphs will more than suffice to indicate that the same is true in attempting to define the spheres of influence of the several towns in Leicestershire. Indeed, it is even more pronounced because of the contrast between the towns of the county, ranging from one with a population of 280,000 down to another with a population of only 3,000; by comparison, the differences between the towns in Herefordshire appear to be insignificant.

Therefore, the several criteria which have been mentioned will be examined, in turn, in order that the most

comprehensive picture possible of the present day relations between the Leicestershire towns and their hinterlands might be seen in their true perspective. In Wiltshire, Dr. Bracey attempted to "reduce to some semblance of order the maze of boundaries adopted by official, business, and voluntary organisations from an analysis culminating in a territorial division of the county."

Whether such a division in Leicestershire will be possible, or indeed of any value, will only reveal itself as we explore the comparisons and contrasts of the towns' varying spheres of influence in their several contexts.

1. (Bracey. H.E. op.cit. p.49.)
CHAPTER TWO

THE URBAN HIERARCHY IN LEICESTERSHIRE

The degree of importance of urban centres cannot be measured merely by size or local government status. *In seeking more satisfactory criteria* A.E. Smailes observed, 'it is well to take account of the essential functions of towns, and the institutions concerned with discharging them.'

In the two previous sections of this thesis, studies of the urban hierarchy in Leicestershire in 1851 and 1900 have involved analyses of these 'essential functions' of urban settlement. Based largely on the Index of Service Provision and the index of concentration of service facilities a settlement's position in the urban hierarchy has been determined. For the present day investigations similar statistical methods are required so that concrete, detailed comparisons of the urban centres can be made. Bearing in mind the methods utilised for the earlier analyses and having considered the various suggestions made by Smailes and Dickinson, and other workers in the same field such a statistical analysis has been attempted.


The object of the analysis is to obtain a yardstick by which the importance of the settlements in the county, as places at which the 'weekly' needs of the population can be met, may be measured. Hence from the survey, the 'neighbourhood' services - for example, general stores, ordinary food shops - which cater for more frequent needs of the population, must be omitted. The very highly specialised retail establishments, such as would only be found in the more important towns and cities, are also irrelevant to the survey.

Working in south-west England, Dr. Bracey suggested that 15 services would give a guide to the importance of a place as a centre for weekly shopping. These were clothing shops - gent's outfitting, ladies outfitting, and boots and shoes; household goods shops - hardware, electrical equipment, radio, etc; furniture dealers; medical services - doctor, dentist, optician, and dispensing chemist; and other professional services - bank, solicitor, accountant, auctioneer.

In determining an index of service provision for each settlement the distribution of 14 of these 15 services has formed the basis of the analysis. (the one service omitted

1. (Bracey, H.E. Some Rural Social Trends; A Paper read to the Summer School of the Town Planning Institute. 1952)
was the radio dealer who, in the sources of information available, was often not differentiated from the dealer in electrical equipment. An alternative household goods retailer - viz. a china, glass, and earthenware dealer - was added as a replacement.) Additional services also considered of importance in assessing the rank of a settlement in the urban hierarchy have also been included; they are - the services provided by a veterinary surgeon, by industrial insurance branch offices, by building societies' branch offices, by cinemas, and by co-operative societies.

Thus 20 services have been selected; the distribution of which is to provide us with the details of 'weekly' service provision in the settlements of the county. If an index is to be established, however, then a decision has to be taken as to the number of points to be allocated to a settlement providing one unit of each one of these services. For 1851, and for 1900, it will be remembered, varying numbers of points were awarded for the different services. Thus in 1851, a settlement with one grocer was awarded one-third of a point; with two grocers, two-thirds of a point; and so on. For a furniture dealer, on the other hand, two points were awarded if a settlement had one of them; and four points if it had two. By 1900, a drawback to this method, owing to the varying size of retail establishments of the same type, was pointed out. Today this drawback
has become too overwhelming to be ignored. Table 21 indicates the great variation in the turnover of shops, in four groups, in four different settlements. In the clothing group, the shops in Leicester have a turnover more than three times that of the shops in the other settlements, and the overall situation shows that Leicester shops are, on an average, between 50% and 100% bigger than those in Coalville, Hinckley, and Loughborough. This analysis alone would indicate that it is not possible to award an equal number of points to each retail establishment of a particular type; but the differences shown in this table are but relatively minor ones when compared with the differences, for example, between the clothing or furniture shops in the centre of Leicester, and the clothing or furniture shops either in the suburbs of the city, or in one of the smaller market towns, or in one of the less important settlements of the county.

Bearing this consideration in mind, it was concluded that no attempt which would secure greater accuracy in determining the comparative importance of shops of the same type, but of different size, was possible and, therefore, with the eight shops involved in determining the index it has been necessary merely to award one point to a settlement for each type of shop that it provides. Thus, for any settlement the maximum score for shopping facilities provided
Table 21

Table showing average turn-over per shop in Leicestershire Towns 1950.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group of shops</th>
<th>Coalville</th>
<th>Hinckley</th>
<th>Loughborough</th>
<th>Leicester</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Clothing Group</td>
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<td>9,200</td>
<td>7,500</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>15,100</td>
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* Extracted from the Census of Distribution and other Services 1950: Vol.I. Area Tables.*
is eight points. This method, of course, has the effect of greatly under-evaluating the importance of the larger settlements. However, until further information concerning the distribution and size of shops is available on a comprehensive basis this is a drawback which must necessarily remain.

For the remaining 12 services included in the assessment of the index of service provision, however, a more detailed picture may be drawn by scoring to each settlement, one point for each unit of each of the services which it provides. In the case of banks, although, of course, their turn-over might vary almost as much as that of retail establishments, their numbers in each settlement have to be ascertained because,

"A group of three or four banks in one centre indicates a profitable field of business and is the most reliable indicator of its significance as a shopping and business centre."

With the professional services - that is, the doctors, dentists, opticians, veterinary surgeons, solicitors, accountants, and auctioneers - the amount of work that can

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1. (The Census of Distribution for 1950, whilst giving information for the largest settlements gives no details of the distribution of shops in settlements with less than 25,000 inhabitants.)

11. (Smailes, A.E. op.cit. p.44.)
be carried out by any one individual is restricted to a standard amount, and, hence, the number of these individuals in any given settlement is a, more or less, direct reflection of the amount of business accruing there. Similarly with cinemas; a settlement with more than one can handle more business than a settlement in which only one is located (although to be strictly accurate, in this case the seating capacities should be compared; where this information was requested it was not in many instances forthcoming from the managements). The 20th. service included in determining the index, records whether or not the settlement is the H.Q. of a retail co-operative society; this being, in many cases, an important aspect of a settlement’s trading activities.

The information for the analysis has been extracted from the latest available directory of the county, but this, unfortunately, dates back to 1941. The only exception is in the case of Leicester city for which a directory of 1951 has been published. Thus the bulk of the information used is rather more than a dozen years old, but it is not considered that this will have resulted in any significant changes in the pattern of service distribution, especially as for much of the intervening period there has been an absence of business development.

1. (Kelly’s Directory of Leicestershire for 1941)
11. (Kelly’s Directory of the City of Leicester, 1951)
From the two directories the details of the distribution of the 20 items of service provision were extracted and then listed as shown in table 22. For each settlement the index of service provision was determined by the addition of the 20 separate entries. The information is mapped on Fig. 45, in which the index of service provision is represented at each settlement by the left-hand semi-circle of each symbol. Included as service centres are those settlements which provided at least 25% of the 20 services examined. Where less than five services were available the settlements could be of but little significance as centres for weekly trading activities.

In the preceding paragraphs the limitations of the accuracy of the index have been repeatedly stressed, especially in connection with the distribution of retailing facilities throughout the settlements. However, in the absence of detailed official returns, which are essential if the relative importance of the settlements as centres for the provision of services is to be delimited with 100% accuracy, it would seem that in the index is the closest possible approach to a statistical analysis of the grouping of the centralised services that is possible. As was previously pointed out, the chief fault of the index is the manner in which it pays insufficient attention to the degree of service provision in the largest settlements, and
especially in Leicester, and the other market towns. Yet, as Fig. 45 clearly shows, they still appear as the leading centres of weekly servicing facilities, and if it is constantly borne in mind that the differential between their facilities and those of the other settlements is too small, then their dominant position in the urban hierarchy can be readily appreciated.

By this analysis, therefore, it has been possible to establish those settlements at which a range of weekly services are available. Referring to Fig. 46, it will be seen that all these settlements also have a comprehensive range of the shops providing the more frequent requirements — viz. general stores, grocers, butchers, and bakers. (The only minor exceptions to this feature are in the cases of Burbage and Barwell, both close to Hinckley, where the service of a baker is not locally available.)

Basically, the picture of service provision revealed by the survey is similar to that of 1900. 28 of the 29 settlements shown as service centres at the present day were also shown as service centres in 1900 (see Fig. 36). The single omission was Whetstone, some 5 miles south of Leicester, and whose development as a residential centre for the city was delayed until after 1900, with the opening of the Great Central railway, (which connected the two places), and, hence, whose service provision post-dated this.
On the other hand, 14 settlements appearing as service centres in 1900 are now of insufficient importance to be included in the list. In the eastern half of the county, for example, Bottesford, Somerby, and Billesdon are no longer classed as service centres. They are, however, still of local importance as shown by the fact (see Fig. 46) that they are numbered amongst the relatively few settlements in this part of the county with service provision in the way of food shops. Bottesford has a total of twelve of the stores whose distribution is examined on Fig. 46. In addition, it was one of the few places in the county, apart from those shown on Fig. 46, to have local banking facilities. These facts show that the importance of the settlement continued to a certain extent, but that its facilities lacked sufficient scope and variety to justify its inclusion as a service centre. Somerby has 6 food shops, one of which provides a grocery service to the inhabitants of the surrounding villages, and Billesdon three.

In the western part of the county, the most significant difference is in the fact that the group of four settlements around the town of Coalville - viz. Thringstone, Whitwick, Hugglescote, and Ellistown - are no longer service centres. This is a reflection of the increased importance of Coalville, in which the centralised service facilities have become concentrated, as opposed to their previous wider distribution.
LEICESTERSHIRE: SHOPPING FACILITIES. 1941.
DISTRIBUTION OF GENERAL STORES, GROCERS, BAKERS, AND BUTCHERS

AS ASHBY DE LA ZOUCH  LO LOUGHBOROUGH
CV COALVILLE  LU LUTTERWORTH
HI HINCKLEY MM MELTON MOWBRAY
LE LEICESTER MH MARKET HARBOROUGH

LEGEND
AS Market Centres
+ Settlements without Shops
Distribution of Shops in the Other Settlements:
GENERAL STORES  GROCERS
BAKERS  BUTCHERS
Number of Shops of Each Type:
○ 1 or 2  □ 3, 4, or 5  □ More than 5

BASED ON INFORMATION FROM KELLY'S DIRECTORY OF THE COUNTY 1941
These differences apart, however, the picture is very nearly the same as in 1900, with the contrast between the industrial north and west of the county, and the agricultural south and east still clearly reflecting itself in the distribution of service facilities. In the primarily agricultural areas Melton Mowbray, Market Harborough, and Lutterworth stand out as isolated service centres in areas otherwise devoid, or almost devoid, of weekly service provision; only Kibworth, midway between Leicester and Market Harborough, providing any significant number of weekly services. Even at Kibworth, as table 22 shows, there were only 6 of the 20 services available. Moreover, in these parts of the county, as Fig. 46 shows, the distribution of the food shops was very scattered and thus there would be a greater degree of dependence on the facilities of the market towns.

In contrast, between Hinckley, Leicester, and Loughborough there are no fewer than 14 places classed as service centres. Some of them barely managed to qualify as service centres— for example, Burbage, Whetstone, Enderby, Oadby, and Blaby (see table 22)— but, on the other hand, some of the settlements provided a great majority of the 20 services: The twin settlements of South Wigston and Wigston Magna being the most outstanding example. The town is located only four miles from the centre of
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<th>Gents Clothing (no.)</th>
<th>Clothing (no.)</th>
<th>Boot &amp; Shoe (no.)</th>
<th>Hardware (no.)</th>
<th>Electrical Equipment (no.)</th>
<th>Furniture &amp; Glass (no.)</th>
<th>China, Glass &amp; Earthenware (no.)</th>
<th>Chemist (no.)</th>
<th>Dentist (no.)</th>
<th>Optician (no.)</th>
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Leicester and, indeed, there is no really distinct break in settlement pattern between city and town. Although 3,000 of the town's inhabitants work in Leicester, yet locally, work is available for 2,200 of its inhabitants and another 650 are drawn in from neighbouring settlements, and, hence, the identity of the town has not been wholly merged with that of Leicester. This is reflected in the service provision which the town offers. Of the 20 services examined, 15 of them are available in the town, and, in the selection which it provides, it is on a par with the smaller market towns of Ashby-de-la-Zouch and Lutterworth. It can claim a group of four banks, a couple of cinemas, and 7 out of the 8 specialised shops. The chief gaps in its service provision are amongst the professional services. In 1950, its 216 retail establishments had a turnover of £1,343,000 - not an inconsiderable amount. Per head of the population of 15,600 this was an expenditure of £93 - a figure which compares favourably with the £104 in the case of Coalville, and £102 in the case of Hinckley. The average for the county was £122 per head and thus the people of Wigston would appear to depend on Leicester for about 25%, in value, of their requirements. Of particular significance to Wigston's servicing functions is the Co-operative Society. Its 26 retailing departments in the town were responsible, in 1950, for sales amounting to
£400,000 - about 30% of the total turnover of Wigston's shops.

Earl Shilton, 4 miles north east of Hinckley, and on the main road to Leicester, is another settlement well endowed with service provision. The range of the specialised shopping facilities would suggest that Hinckley offers little in the way of additional shopping attractions. Seven of the eight specialised shops are available, as well as three banks and a cinema.

Between Leicester and Loughborough, Fig.46 shows that a comprehensive range of food shops is available in almost every settlement. Fig.45 brings out the fact that five of them - viz. Quorn, Barrow, Sileby, Mountsorrel, and Syston - also have a range of weekly service facilities. Sileby is the best served with 13 out of the 20 services studied, the other four having between 6 and 9 of the services. All of them have the facilities provided by one or two banks, two or more doctors, and a chemists shop; cinemas are found in three of the five settlements.

We noted in 1900, that the service provision available in these settlements was a by-product of their expansion as industrial villages. Their industrial expansion has continued throughout the present century, and the increased locally resident population has occasioned the establishment

of weekly shopping facilities in the villages, in spite of extremely good transport facilities to both Leicester and Loughborough. Since 1900 the population of the five villages has almost doubled from 11620 to 19620, and their present average population, therefore, is not far short of 4,000. In fact, their actual populations only range in size from 2875 (Barrow) to 4339 (Syston). Settlements with populations of this size are, of course, quite capable of supporting the many of the retail establishments included in the analysis. For example, a hardware shop needs a population of about 3,000 on which to draw for business, and a similarly sized population is also required to support a chemists shop, or a boot and shoe shop.

Elsewhere in the county, settlements which appeared as service centres in both the earlier analyses of 1851 and 1900, have maintained their positions. Castle Donington and Kegworth, to the north of Loughborough, now offer 12 and 7 of the 20 services respectively, both provide banking facilities and cinema entertainment. At Castle Donington, the population has expended from 2,500 to 3,500 in the first half of the present century, and, hence, there is sufficient local trade to permit a fairly wide variety of the specialised retail establishments.

1. (Census returns of 1901 and the 1949 Estimate of population.)

11. (Shops; Their number and distribution. Architects Journal. April 19th. 1945.)
At Shepshed, there are 16 of the 20 facilities available, including all the eight specialised retailing establishments with the exception of a hardware merchant. The two professional services most closely connected with agriculture — the veterinary surgeon and the auctioneer — are not available, and neither are branch offices of insurance companies found in the town, owing to the proximity of the offices located in nearby Loughborough. With a population of just over 6,000, the trade of the settlement in 1950 was just over half a million pounds, giving an average expenditure per head of £85. This figure compares with the county average of £120, and thus, suggests that the retail services of the town provide about two-thirds of the inhabitants' requirements; the remainder, presumably, mainly being obtained from Loughborough, only four miles away, and with a bus service between the two places ranging from 30 minute to 15 minute frequency.

Measham and Ibstock, to the south of Ashby-de-la-Zouch and Coalville, respectively, also maintained their position as service centres. Ibstock in particular, with a population of over 5,000 offering most of the retail shops as well as cinema entertainment and banking facilities.

Market Bosworth, which we also saw as a service centre in 1851 and 1900, though of rather more importance at the earlier date, differs in two respects from most of those
settlements whose service provision has already been described. Firstly, its population is considerably lower than that of any other place in the group. It has a population of only 1235, considerably less than that of the next smallest place, Kibworth, with almost 2,000 inhabitants, and well below that of many of the other places whose populations of 3, 4, or 5,000 have been mentioned. The service provision in Bosworth, therefore, would appear to be related less to the population of the town than to its position as a central settlement in an agricultural area. This is confirmed in an examination of the service facilities which it offers. Of its eight services only two are specialised shops - viz. Hardware and Furniture - and five are professional facilities - viz. doctor, veterinary surgeon, solicitor, accountant, and auctioneer; no other settlement outside of the market towns provides all these services and it is clear that the agricultural functions of the town (Ministry of Food fat stock grading centre and small weekly cattle market) account directly for two of them - the veterinary surgeon and the auctioneer - and indirectly for the bank, the solicitor, and the accountant whose main business must be with the agricultural community. This is the only example in Leicestershire where service to the agricultural community is divorced from service to other sections. The other principal
agricultural centres - Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Melton Mowbray, Market Harborough - have combined this function with more general servicing facilities to the rural population, and to their own inhabitants employed in industry.

An examination of the service centres in the county outside the market towns has shown that, with the exception of Bosworth, and less so in the case of Kibworth, their weekly service provision is related primarily to the size of their own populations. Of the 21 settlements no less than 14 have a population greater than 3,000, and of the remaining seven, four have a population of more than 2,000. Each of these settlements has sufficiently locally available purchasing power to maintain some of the more specialised retailing establishments; 1500 patients is the desirable maximum for any doctor working single handed and, thus, all are able to support this service; Dr. Bracey suggested that a population of at least 3,000 was essential for the profitable operation of a cinema, and thus at least 14 settlements in the county, outside of the market towns, are able to support this facility on the strength of their own populations.

Thus we find repeated the pattern which we observed in the analysis of 1900 - viz. the development in the urban village of a degree of service provision attracted by the

closer contact thereby achieved with the consumer.

The two factors which have influenced town-country relations in the 20th century, and which were examined in the previous chapter, have played their part in determining the extent to which service provision in the industrial villages has continued to be of importance. To some extent the two factors have tended to pull in opposite directions. Firstly, the increased standard of living of the working class, having widened its members' choice of consumer goods, means that the owners of the more specialised shops - for example, the hardware dealer, the ironmonger, the furnisher, the electrical appliance dealer, etc. - can be more certain of finding sufficient trade in the smaller settlements with upwards of 2,500 inhabitants. One notes that in this type of settlement, where there was a village co-operative society, that their 19th century trading was wholly concentrated on the basic necessities of living, and especially foodstuffs. In the present century, however, their activities have been expanded to cover much wider ranges of consumer goods. From 1867 to 1910, for example, the Wigston Co-operative Society supplied only basic foodstuffs. In 1910 the first non-food shop was opened, and in the past 40 years this side of the business has been expanded so that now a comprehensive service of drapery, millinery, mantles, boots and shoes, men's outfitting, furnishing, and
Secondly, the development of modern communications has brought the urban village into closer contact with the town and city. For example, there is a daily service of 90 buses through Quorn, Mountsorrel, and Rothley to both Leicester and to Loughborough; the inhabitants of Barwell and Earl Shilton are served by buses running between Leicester, Hinckley, Nuneaton, and Coventry, having a choice of 60 buses in each direction on week-days, and no fewer than 120 on Saturdays; from Ibstock, there are about 90 buses available to Coalville on Saturdays, as well as almost 40 to Leicester. The effect of such transport services on the trade of the specialised shops in the smaller settlements is self-evident. The furnisher or the electrical dealer in a settlement of 3000 inhabitants, and holding a stock limited both in depth and range, cannot offer a service comparable to that offered by the large retailers in the bigger towns, and, hence, there is a tendency to transfer custom to the latter firms, which, in addition to providing a wider choice of goods, probably also give free delivery and after-sales service, if this is required.

In the opinion of the writer this tendency to trade in the larger town has been greatly accentuated since 1939 for, since then, transport costs have declined (relative to other costs), and a journey to town costing perhaps 2/- or
2/6d. has become but a small matter for a much larger proportion of the population. Such an opinion cannot, of course, be proven, for no statistics are available, but the census of distribution does give some indication of the present situation. As previously pointed out, expenditure per head in Wigston was £93 compared with a county average of £120. In Oadby the average was £83. These figures suggest that between £30 and £40 per head of the population of these settlements was spent at shops in another place – viz. in Leicester, where the average expenditure per head was £163 – more than 30% above the county average. Thus, it would seem that, at both Oadby and Wigston, the local specialised retailers were failing to prevent a large leakage of custom to the larger shops in Leicester. Were the figures available for smaller settlements (Oadby having a population of 6,000), then the failure of the local retailers to keep the trade of the settlement’s inhabitants would surely be even more marked.

For the future the tendency must be a greater centralisation of the specialised retail services in the larger centres, for, even allowing for a further increase in the population of the urban villages, a rising standard of living, and improved transport facilities will still encourage custom to be placed at those establishments offering the greatest selection of goods, and certain other
advantages, such as those mentioned above.

In the 19th century the specialised shops were found only in the market towns, for it was only there that the combined population of town plus hinterland made the venture a profitable one. The late 19th, and the early 20th century witnessed a wider distribution of the services, to include those settlements whose populations had expanded as a result of industrialisation, and from which visits to town were difficult, either owing to difficulties of communication, or the inability to afford the journey; both these factors have now been negatived and one can reasonably expect that the 3,000 to 10,000 inhabitants of an urban village prefer shopping in the departmental store built to serve the population of a city of 300,000 people, rather than at the local furnisher or television dealer just down the road, whose stock has probably been in the window for some weeks, or even months, so that everyone in the village knows its price and quality. Loss of trade because of these reasons is even felt in the central market settlements with populations up to 30,000 or 40,000, and whose retailers can offer quite a wide selection of goods; this, however, will be considered in a later chapter when Leicester's position in the urban hierarchy is examined more closely.

Thus far, we have but mentioned the market towns in
passing, and, although their position in the urban hierarchy is fairly self evident from Fig. 45 and table 22, a few comments are desirable so that we may attempt comparisons with earlier analyses of their position. The outstanding feature of the urban hierarchy in the mid-19th century was the dominating position of the market towns; by 1900, we noted that they were relatively somewhat less important in providing service facility. It was ascertained that the degree of concentration of service provision in Leicester had decreased by 11%, and in the other six market towns by 39%, and these decreases were correlated with a relative increase in service provision in the other settlements of the county. It is not possible to bring this statistical comparison up to date owing to the vast differences in the size of retail establishments, and, hence, only generalised comparisons can be made. We noted, for example, that the number of settlements outside the market towns qualifying for inclusion as service centres had decreased from 34 to 21, and this, in itself, suggests a greater degree of centralisation. Spatially, the reduction in number was most significant, firstly, in the eastern part of the county where the smaller service centres could not supply the additional facilities demanded by the population and where, in any case, bus services have made it much easier to reach Leicester, Melton Mowbray, or Market Harborough, or alternatively to ask the shopkeeper in one of these towns to
deliver the goods by motor van; and secondly, around Coalville, in which town the centralisation of the specialised services has been completed, though a glance at Fig. 46 will reveal that the other settlements can still provide their own requirements of foodstuffs. The centralisation of the more specialised concerns is a reflection of the good bus services which became available to Coalville after the late 1920's. Only Whitwick now provides any of the specialised services having both a cinema and a bank.

For those services where a count of numbers does give a true indication of the relative importance of settlements, table 23 shows the percentage of them in Leicester, in the other seven market towns, and in the remainder of the county. The distribution from group to group of the several services varies quite considerably, but essentially the picture is one of concentration in Leicester and the market towns. With 38% of the total population of the county, Leicester has 52% of the total number of services; the seven market towns with only 13% of the population have 31% of the services, and in the remainder of the county, with almost half the population, there are found but 17% of the services.

From the Census of Distribution it has been possible to obtain a general picture of the distribution of retail

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i. (Census of Distribution. op. cit. p.6.)
Table showing the distribution of Professional (and other) Services between Leicester, the Market Towns, and the remainder of the County

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service</th>
<th>Percentage in Leicester</th>
<th>Percentage in the Seven Market Towns</th>
<th>Percentage in the rest of the County</th>
<th>Total number of the Units of the Service</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of the County Pop. in each group</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banks</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctors</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dentists</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opticians</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veterinary Surgeons</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solicitors</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accountants</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auctioneers</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance Offices</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building Society Branches</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cinemas</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average for all Services</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>969</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
sales in the three groups of settlements. (see table 24.)
Unfortunately, Lutterworth has had to be omitted for the
market town group as its sales figures were not given in
the returns. Its omission, however, is not very significant
as its population was but 3,000 compared with 132,000
otherwise in this group. Of more importance is the fact
that the population of this group is inflated, as the
statistics given refer to local government areas, and the
Urban Districts of Coalville and Hinckley, and the Municipal
Borough of Loughborough include settlements apart from the
market town itself. For example, Earl Shilton and Barwell
are included in the Urban District of Hinckley; and Hathern,
in the borough of Loughborough. The sales figures are not
inflated to the same extent, of course, as there is a
concentration of the shops etc. in the market town, as for
example, as we have already seen in the case of Coalville,
in whose Urban District lie five other settlements with but
few specialised retailing establishments. Therefore, the
effective concentration of retailing in the market towns
is relatively greater than that shown in the table. Never­
theless, in spite of this under-evaluation of the situation,
the percentage of sales of the county taking place in this
group of towns exceeds the percentage of the county population
which they contain. For the two market towns in the
county where the urban district boundary is reasonably
Table 24

Table showing retail sales in Leicester, the Market Towns, and the Remainder of the County in 1950. (From Census of Distribution)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Settlement Group</th>
<th>Percentage of Pop. in Group</th>
<th>Percentage of the County's Retail Sales in Group</th>
<th>Amount of Retail Sales</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leicester</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>£46,782,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market Towns</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>£17,215,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remainder of the County</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>£12,617,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
synonymous with the extent of the built up area of the town, the degree of concentration of retail sales is even greater. In the case of Market Harborough, the trade is exactly twice the amount that one would expect for the town's 10,000 inhabitants, and in the case of Melton Mowbray, it is 75% greater.

Together Leicester and the market towns (including their urban districts' populations) account for two-thirds of the population of the county; on the other hand, they account for no less than 84% of the trade. The 18% difference between these figures is a minimum assessment of the degree of concentration of retailing within their bounds.

In discussing the distribution of service provision we have been concerned with but 29 settlements in the whole of the county. As far as these 29 settlements are concerned it has been suggested that, to some extent at least, their inhabitants are able to find their weekly service requirements merely by taking a walk down the main shopping street. However, what of the other 300 settlements of the county; weekly service provision is not found on the doorsteps of their inhabitants, and, ignoring for the moment the possibility of travelling shops and the journeys of delivery vans, we can appreciate that for their requirements a visit by bus or train to one of the service centres is an essential
part of their way of life. An attempt must, therefore, be made to ascertain to which settlements resort is made on these occasions. Viewed areally the journey from village to town will serve to delimit the spheres of influence of the latter, and this aspect of the problem will be studied in a later chapter. In a study of the urban hierarchy, however, it is necessary to compare the value and significance of this out-of-town trade to the several centres.

In 1851 and 1900 this was attempted by viewing theoretically the surplus service provision available in each service centre after the needs of the locally resident inhabitants had been met. By determining for each centre an index of concentration of service facilities it was possible to effect comparisons between the towns. For the present day investigations, however, such theoretical working is not necessary for it is possible to obtain information, from the inhabitants of those settlements without weekly service provision, concerning the centre which they visit for various needs, and from these answers to assess the importance of the out-of-town trade at each centre. The task of visiting some 400 settlements over the 150 square miles of Leicestershire, and the adjoining areas of peripheral counties, faced the investigator at the beginning of his work on this thesis, and without any form of private motorised transport it seemed an impossible
task in the short time available for the work. Fortunately it did not prove necessary to attempt the impossible as the North Midland Region of the Ministry of Town and Country Planning, whom the writer had approached in connection with some other matter, revealed that a questionnaire covering almost all the settlements involved (the exceptions being a few in Warwickshire within the hinterland of Hinckley), and detailing, amongst a mass of other information, the answers to the type of questions which the writer had been proposing to ask, had been completed as recently as 1950. The questionnaires had not been fully analysed owing to the reduction of research staff at about that period and they were kindly made available to the writer for analysis.

From this survey it was possible to determine the centres on which the population of each settlement in the county were dependent for weekly shopping facilities, banking facilities, and cinema entertainment. Looking at the question from the point of view of the centres themselves, it was possible to determine the extent to which their facilities were used by populations from other settlements, and, thus, to establish for each centre an index of centrality. The method by which this was done is set out in Appendix 3.

The results are set out in table 25, and also illustrated by the right-hand semicircles on Fig. 45. By this analysis has been established the urban hierarchy; the settlements
being graded according to the use made of them by the inhabitants of the surrounding settlements. This analysis, and the analysis of service provision in the settlements, have been shown together on Fig. 45 because a comparison of the results offers significant suggestions concerning the overall situation of the service centres.

It is essential that the differences between the two analyses are made quite clear. The Index of Service Provision indicates the depth and range of service facilities available in a settlement. The Index of Centrality indicates the extent to which the service provision in a settlement is used by a population other than its own. Hence, where a settlement appears with an index of service provision, but without an index of centrality, it is clear that the service facilities are related to the use made of them by its own population; that is, the settlement has no function as a centre for the population of other villages. There are several examples of this in Leicestershire; viz. Barrow, Quorn, Barwell, Burbage, and Blaby. All of these settlements have been described as urban villages; the inhabitants of their neighbouring settlements, which may be without service provision, prefer to journey to nearby Loughborough, or Hinckley, or Leicester in order to obtain their requirements, in spite of the fact that these five places offer banking and some limited shopping facilities
Table 25

Table showing the Indices of Centrality of Leicestershire Settlements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Settlement</th>
<th>Population (1931)</th>
<th>Index of Service Provision (See Table)</th>
<th>No. of places which it serves</th>
<th>No. of Services supplied to these places</th>
<th>Average no. of services supplied to each place</th>
<th>Pop. of the places served (1931 figs)</th>
<th>Settlement Index of Centrality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leicester</td>
<td>239,323</td>
<td>571</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>73,390</td>
<td>475.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loughborough</td>
<td>26,949</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>31,655</td>
<td>256.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coalville</td>
<td>10,391</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>36,071</td>
<td>205.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melton Mowbray</td>
<td>10,437</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>20,196</td>
<td>185.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hinckley</td>
<td>16,017</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>21,529</td>
<td>144.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market Harborough</td>
<td>9,312</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>11,706</td>
<td>110.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashby-de-la-Zouch</td>
<td>5,091</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>16,054</td>
<td>96.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lutterworth</td>
<td>2,395</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>6,201</td>
<td>47.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syston</td>
<td>4,322</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>7,416</td>
<td>43.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wigston</td>
<td>11,389</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>9,763</td>
<td>32.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measham</td>
<td>2,519</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>3,094</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whetstone</td>
<td>1,403</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.25</td>
<td>.375</td>
<td>11,317</td>
<td>16.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Castle Donington</td>
<td>2,874</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>2,993</td>
<td>14.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratby</td>
<td>2,181</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>.625</td>
<td>5,473</td>
<td>13.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earl Shilton</td>
<td>4,838</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>3,663</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kibworth</td>
<td>1,593</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>3,256</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market Bosworth</td>
<td>864</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>.9</td>
<td>3,227</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narborough</td>
<td>2,245</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>.8</td>
<td>3,249</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibstock</td>
<td>5,565</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>2,846</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anstey</td>
<td>3,185</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.75</td>
<td>1,815</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oadby</td>
<td>4,724</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.33</td>
<td>1,534</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mountsorrel</td>
<td>2,622</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td>2,734</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shepshed</td>
<td>5,758</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>1.75</td>
<td>702</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enderby</td>
<td>3,940</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.75</td>
<td>.37</td>
<td>2,832</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keighworth</td>
<td>2,107</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.25</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bottesford</td>
<td>1,093</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.67</td>
<td>624</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sileby</td>
<td>3,598</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>351</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birstall</td>
<td>3,131</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>.75</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hallaton</td>
<td>423</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td>546</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(see table 22). Dickinson said that an industrial settlement "in its growth and in catering for its own needs, spreads its net of space relations, through settlement and service."

This statement has not been proved true in the case of these industrial villages, and neither is it true in the case of several other industrial towns and villages in the county whose facilities are used by a very insignificant number of people outside the settlement itself. Sileby, Enderby, Shepshed, and Mountsorrel fall into this category. The service facilities of these settlements are utilised by the inhabitants of only one, two, or three other villages. For example, Shepshed, with a population of about 6,000, has a fairly comprehensive range of the specialised shops, a couple of banks, and a cinema, and appears as the 10th. most important settlement in the county for its range of service facilities. (see table 22). Yet, as table 25 shows, these services are but partially used by the inhabitants of two neighbouring villages, with a population of only 700 between them. Here, indeed, is an industrial town whose "net of space relations" most certainly has not spread, owing to the very effective competition of Loughborough to the east (and to which town many inhabitants of Shepshed resort for shopping and entertainment facilities), and Coalville to the

1. (Dickinson R.E. op. cit. p.27.)
west. Or again, Sileby, in the Soar valley, with a population of almost 4,000, and with specialised shops, two banks, and a cinema, provides but one service to one other settlement with a population of only 351. Here competition from Leicester and Loughborough, and also the fact that most of the surrounding settlements provide almost identical facilities to those at Sileby has prevented the settlement acquiring any importance as a central place.

A glance at Fig. 45 will reveal that all these settlements with little or no function as 'central' places are located in the Hinckley-Leicester-Loughborough industrialised belt.

On the other hand, however, there are five settlements with an index of centrality yet, which did not appear with an index of service provision. These include Bottesford and Hallaton in the eastern part of the county; the former serving three places with a total population of 624, and the latter three places with a population of 546. In neither case, therefore, is the index of centrality of any great importance. At Bottesford it is related to the settlement's provision of banking facilities, and at Hallaton to the location there of a village cinema. Whilst the importance of the latter is likely to decline - in the face of competition from T.V., and the special buses which make evening journeys to the cinemas at Market Harborough possible -
the population at Bottesford, which has expanded from 1000 to 1500 in the last twenty years, should ensure that the facilities in the settlement be maintained, even if the extremely good road and rail transport facilities to Grantham and Nottingham make any expansion of them possible.

Near Leicester there are three settlements with an index of centrality only; viz. Ratby, Birstall, and Narborough. In the case of the first two settlements this is due to the facilities for cinema entertainment which they offer. At Ratby, the cinema is visited by the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages of Kirby Muxloe, Desford, Glenfield, and Groby, all within a range of 1½ miles. Birstall cinema is visited by the inhabitants of three settlements also within a 1½ mile radius. Neither Ratby nor Birstall have sufficient of the other specialised services to qualify for an index of service provision. At Narborough, the index of centrality arises from the provision in the settlement of banking facilities, these being used by the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages of Huncote, Croft, and Cosby.

Having thus briefly examined the exceptional cases in the county some attention must be given to the remaining settlements, where service provision is matched by its use by inhabitants of surrounding settlements. It should be borne in mind that we are now only dealing with 20 places
in the whole of Leicestershire. In connection with the index of service provision the importance of the market towns was noted. Their importance is even more significant as centres whose service provision is utilised by people from other settlements. Taken as a group we find that they are visited, for at least some of the weekly facilities, by the inhabitants of 294 settlements in the county (out of a total of some 330). In addition they provide similar facilities for the inhabitants of 45 settlements outside the county boundary. Their total indices of centrality amount to 1521; the total for the combined indices of the other 21 settlements in the county is but 236. In other words, they provide 86.5% of the weekly facilities to those settlements whose inhabitants need to travel from their place of residence, in order to find all, or some, of these facilities. This evidence clearly indicates that in treating these towns as the essential seat of the centralised services, that we shall be dealing with an overwhelming part of the weekly tide of ebb and flow between service centre and village.

Amongst the market towns, however, there are significant variations in the relationship between them and the settlements looking to them, for service provision. Firstly, glancing at the population of the places which they serve, we note that in the case of Leicester the dependent settlements
have a population of no less than 73,390 – more than twice that for any other of the towns – but, that even this population is but one-third as large as that in the city itself. Hence, although Leicester’s position as a central settlement for provision of the weekly services is by far the most important in the county, yet its importance to Leicester is relatively much less than, for example, in the case of out-of-town trade to Melton Mowbray or Market Harborough.

In the case of every other market town the population of the places which they serve is greater than that resident locally. This is seen to be most noticeable in the case of Coalville. It should, however, be made quite clear that the distinction between the town population of Coalville, and the hinterland population, is rather indefinite, as there is no break in the settlement pattern between Coalville itself and many of the surrounding settlements. The settlement pattern is one of linear development along main roads, and the administrative boundaries tend to divide the population on rather an arbitrary basis. The town population of 10,391 is that grouped in the ecclesiastical parish of Coalville which is essentially grouped around the centre of the town. Another factor which must be borne in mind when the hinterland population of 36,000 is examined, is that to the 26 places lying within the hinterland, Coalville only provides an
average of 1.4 (out of 3.0) services. There are two main reasons for this low percentage (compare 2.2 for Melton Mowbray); firstly, the fact that many settlements look partly to Coalville for their weekly services and partly to other centres — viz. Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Loughborough, Leicester; and secondly, to the fact that several of the 26 places provide certain of the services themselves. This is especially true in the case of Ibstock which has two banks, a cinema, and a range of specialised shops, and whose inhabitants look to Coalville only for alternative and somewhat more attractive facilities. There is also a cinema and bank at Whitwick, a mile and a half away to the north-east, and, hence, the population of this settlement also looks only partly to Coalville. Whitwick and Ibstock account for 10,000 of the population of the hinterland. These factors are, of course, allowed for in determining the Index, (see appendix 3) which is well below that of Loughborough, in spite of the fact that Coalville's hinterland is the more populous; and it is only slightly greater than Melton Mowbray's index — the hinterland of which town has barely half the population of that of Coalville. In marked contrast to the rather indefinite connections between the town of Coalville and its hinterland are the strong ties between Market Harborough and its dependent settlements. Market Harborough serves 49 settlements and, moreover, serves them
with an average of 2.4 of the three services. Only Kibworth, one of the subsidiary service centres, shares part of the service provision to villages on the northern edge of Market Harborough's hinterland (see Fig. 74). The 12,000 people in the villages served by Market Harborough, therefore, regard the town automatically as the centre for their weekly requirements, and look no further for alternative facilities. Melton Mowbray has a similar relationship with most of the 75 settlements within its hinterland. Villages which do look partly to Melton, and partly to another settlement for weekly service provision, are those midway between Leicester and Melton, and those midway between Grantham and Melton (see Fig. 75). Lutterworth's index of centrality is considerably smaller than that of any other of the market towns, but its function as a central settlement is of importance especially when viewed in relation to the population of the town itself. The population of the places in the hinterland is more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ times greater than the population of 2,400 in the town itself. On an average, each of the 20 places in the hinterland looks to Lutterworth for almost two of the services. The range of special shops at Lutterworth is incomplete (only 5 of the 8 whose distribution was examined are available in the town), but with a total town plus hinterland population of less than 9,000 it is obvious that the range of shops found
in the other market towns, where the comparable population figure is nowhere less than 20,000, is not economically possible in Lutterworth.

Apart from the eight market towns there are only two other settlements with significant indices of centrality: Syston, with an index of 43.7, and Wigston, with an index of 32.7. Their development as central settlements would appear to be due to the same causes. Located respectively five miles north-east, and four miles to the south of Leicester, their shops, cinemas, and banks serve the inhabitants of the surrounding settlements who would otherwise have to make the longer journey into Leicester. Syston serves nine other settlements with an average of 1.4 services other services being obtained in Leicester—while Wigston serves 13 other settlements with an average of only .8 services. In this case again, Leicester is used as an alternative centre, but, in addition, some of the neighbouring settlements—Oadby, Blaby, Whetstone—provide some of their own service facilities, and, hence, Wigston's facilities are not so important to them as Syston's are to its neighbouring settlements.

Of the remaining places with an index of centrality there are three of especial significance. These are Castle Donington, Kibworth, and Market Bosworth. Their indices are relatively small, ranging only from 12.4 to 14.4,
but the fact that their services are used by populations other than their own, confirms their position in the urban hierarchy as subsidiary centres located midway between more important market towns. Castle Donington with a cinema, a bank, and a limited range of specialised shops lies 6 miles from Long Eaton (on the Nottingham road), and at least 8 miles from the towns of Loughborough, Ashby-de-la-Zouch and Derby. Its services, therefore, are used by the inhabitants of 5 surrounding settlements, within a radius of two miles, as more accessible facilities than those in the more distant market towns.

Kibworth provides a similar range of services, and these are used to some extent by the inhabitants of 11 nearby settlements, all of which are located at a distance greater than six miles from Leicester or Market Harborough, and from most of which transport services are available to the market towns only on market days.

In the western part of the county the appearance of Market Bosworth with an index of centrality confirms the analysis made of its position earlier in the chapter. Its index is related largely to its provision of banking facilities which are used by members of the farming community in 12 surrounding settlements. Such provision saves them a much longer journey into Leicester, or Hinckley, or one of the other market towns.
A comparison of the results given by the two analyses has enabled us, firstly, to confirm the dominant position of the market towns in the urban hierarchy; secondly, to sort out those urban villages where the development of a degree of service provision has been due entirely to the growth of a locally resident industrial population, and in which cases no outside trade has developed; and thirdly, to note other centres, located some distance from the market towns, whose facilities are used by the inhabitants of the surrounding settlements. In some cases - Castle Donington, Bottesford - these have been settlements which have acted as subsidiary centres over a considerable period. Bottesford, for example, was of importance in the medieval urban hierarchy and emerged as a service centre in the 19th and early 20th centuries as well. In other cases 'out of town' trade has developed following on the initial location of service provision in the settlement to serve a locally resident industrial population. We examined this feature specifically in the cases of Wigston and Syston, but it applies also in the case of Oadby, 4 miles south of Leicester, Earl Shilton, 4 miles from Hinckley, Measham, the same distance from Ashby-de-la-Zouch, and Ibstock, 3½ miles south-west of Coalville. In each of these cases, the settlement concerned subtracts a certain amount of trade which would otherwise accrue to the neighbouring market town. At each of these
subsidiary centres, however, the population report visits to the market town in order to take advantage of the alternative facilities available there. Hence, in the case of Ibstock, though its cinema, banks, and shops serve the inhabitants of villages to the south and west of the town, yet a large percentage of its own population seeks similar facilities in Coalville. There can be no doubt that the loss of trade to Coalville is by no means matched by the trade gained from the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages.

Throughout this chapter we have been dealing with services which would normally be sought in weekly visits to the shopping centre. Little consideration has been given to the provision of more frequently sought goods, nor to the more specialised services, needed on occasions. It is not within the scope of this study of 'urban spheres of influence' to cover, in detail, rural social provision, except in so far as this affects relationships with the urban centres. Fig. 46 brings out the contrast between west and east Leicestershire as far as the provision of 'daily' services are concerned. Around Coalville, Hinckley, Leicester, and Loughborough almost every village has its complement of the services; whilst around the other three centres, they are available only in a minority of the villages. Such a marked differential will obviously affect the
relationship between a town and its hinterland, and this will be borne in mind as the hinterlands of the towns are considered in a later chapter.

The provision of specialised services - for example, 'fashion' goods, theatre visits, important furnishings, etc. - is almost entirely concentrated in the city of Leicester, although Loughborough does have a certain number of facilities not usually associated with 'market town' provision. The function of Leicester as a centre for these specialised services, in competition with other centres of a like character in other counties - for example, Nottingham, Coventry, Northampton - will also be discussed in more detail at a later stage in the work.

One point, however, should be borne in mind; that Leicester's attraction as a major centre is causing an expansion in the area served by the city for those facilities more normally provided by the market towns. On the main routes from Leicester to the market towns, for example, Leicester's sphere of influence as a small-town centre extends in practically every case for almost two-thirds of the distance from the city to the smaller town. This feature will also be examined in more detail.

In concluding this chapter it is necessary to return to give a little further examination to the service facilities provided by those settlements variously described
as the 'market towns' or the 'small-town centres'. These are the towns whose functions as service centres have been traced through without a break (except in the case of Hinckley) from the period when they were first granted market rights almost 1000 years ago, and whose numbers have been supplemented only by the addition of Coalville, whose late 19th and early 20th century development as a service centre was examined in the previous section, and whose progress in the past 30 years will be studied in a later chapter.

Earlier in the chapter the importance of these market towns, as places with a high degree of service provision, and as centres for the facilities required by the inhabitants of the other settlements, has been examined. In assessing their indices of service provision it was noted that they had a full range of the 20 services considered, except in the cases of Ashby-de-la-Zouch and Lutterworth, where 15 and 16 of the services were respectively available. This suggests that these two settlements were of rather less importance than the remainder of the centres.

A.E. Smailes has suggested that five service institutions - viz. a group of banks, a secondary school, a cinema, a weekly newspaper, and a hospital - tend to hang together as a 'trait complex' and they are the criteria by which a 'fully fledged town' may be recognised.¹

¹ (Smailes. A.E. op.cit. p.45.)
To these criteria, however, it would seem that another two must be added in attempting to ascertain whether or not a settlement can play a full role as a town. The two additional criteria are a retail market - always an important attraction in a town's activities, both by virtue of the character which it tends to give to the town, and also because it provides a place for the sale of cheaper goods (for example, the 'seconds' of the hosiery industry), a factor of especial significance to the lower paid sections of the community, and to those, such as agricultural labourers, who need constant replacements of working clothes - and secondly, a locally developed system of public transport from the surrounding settlements into the town, without which the town could not serve effectively as a central settlement. Judging from these seven criteria the status of the Leicestershire market towns has been examined. The results of the analysis are shown in table 26.

Leicester, Hinckley, Loughborough, Market Harborough, and Melton Mowbray have the full complement of the seven service facilities and thus, there can be no doubt of their status as 'fully fledged' towns. In the case of Coalville only the hospital is missing. The need for such an institution in the town has been recognised for near on 50 years, money having been collected and set aside for it on several occasions. Owing to various causes, such as war
Table 26

Table showing Service Facilities in the Leicestershire Market Towns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criteria</th>
<th>Leicester</th>
<th>Ashby de la Zouch</th>
<th>Coalville</th>
<th>Hinckley</th>
<th>Loughborough</th>
<th>Lutterworth</th>
<th>Market Harborough</th>
<th>Melton Mowbray</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A Group of Banks(no.)</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary School(s)</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospital</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cinema(s)</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weekly Newspaper</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retail Market</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Transport to surrounding settlements</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL (7)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

✓ Small one
and depression, it has never been built. The absence of such a facility has been an important deficiency in the life of the town and district and has caused inconvenience and hardship, especially in maternity cases and in accident cases, such as those which occur with regularity both on the roads and in the mines. The need for a hospital has, by the present day, somewhat diminished in view of the efficient ambulance service which can now be offered to the Leicester hospitals. In the survey of the hospital services of the Sheffield and East Midland area no recommendations were put forward for the building of a hospital in the town; the population of which, it was thought, should look to Leicester for these facilities along with the population of most of the remainder of the county.

At Ashby-de-la-Zouch no weekly newspaper is published in the town. The absence of this facility has recently been mitigated to some extent by the publication of a localised edition of the Coalville newspaper called the 'Ashby Times'. This once again emphasises the somewhat complementary nature of the services provided by Ashby and Coalville. The one centre provides the hospital; the other the local newspaper. Coalville has more importance as a centre of retail trading facilities, and cinema

1. (Hospital Survey; Hospital Services of the Sheffield and East Midland area. Ministry of Health. London. 1945)
entertainment; Ashby continues to be the local servicing centre for the agricultural community. Located only five miles apart, while the two towns are to this extent complementary service centres, yet in some facets of service provision they do react against each other as competing centres. As we shall see in later chapters, this implies a restricted service area for the two towns as far as these services are concerned. Neither Ashby nor Coalville has developed in stature or size sufficiently to dominate the other centre, and, thus, neither town has been able to support the full range of urban institutions and functions, with the result that though both are important local centres, yet their influence over their districts is not so great as in the case of the other centres of the county.

In the south-west of the county, Lutterworth has but five of the criteria of a 'fully-fledged' town and, in addition, we have already noted its deficiencies as far as the specialised retailing services are concerned. Furthermore, the retail market is of but little importance attracting no more than six or eight stall-holders.

In the 19th century Lutterworth existed in a backwater with resultant stagnation in the functions of the town. In 1931, its population was under 2,400; too low a figure to support a wide range of services. Its hinterland has
remained largely agricultural, and, hence, experienced no rapid rise in population. Town plus hinterland population together remained insufficient to support the extension of service provision which the 20th century conditions of life deemed to be essential. Hence, the population began to look elsewhere for the facilities required, and Lutterworth's influence and importance declined as the attractions of Leicester and Rugby made themselves felt. The continuance of this process must have eventually led to the same fate for Lutterworth, as befell the town of Market Bosworth in the late 18th century, when its importance as a central settlement was greatly reduced. With the commencement of the war in 1939, however, Lutterworth was a recipient area for factories evacuated from the city of Coventry. The movement of the factories was followed by the movement of a considerable number of workers and, by 1949, the population was estimated to have grown to over 3,000; a 25% increase in the space of less than 20 years. If this expansion of the town population can continue, then so will the degree of service provision in the town also be able to expand, and probably attract back custom from the inhabitants of settlements which now look to other centres. This, however, is for the future. At the present time Lutterworth, lacking many of the criteria of important central settlements, cannot be classed as a 'fully-fledged' town, and this must
be borne in mind as we proceed to delimit the various spheres of influence of the Leicestershire towns.
In the introduction to this section of the thesis the development of transport facilities was described as one of the two basic causes of the revolution in town-country relationships which has taken place in the past 30 years. Fig. 17 shows quite clearly the areal effect of this revolution. Even after a period of steady development in the late 19th century of the areas of the county within a mile of transport facilities on every day of the week, by 1900 more than half the county was beyond such facility. In contrast, by 1952, as the fourth diagram shows, (and the date could well have been 1939) by far the largest part of the county had daily transport facilities on its doorstep. Only in lightly populated eastern Leicestershire were there large areas with less regular facilities.

Moreover, there was no longer a great contrast in the type of transport available at the different places in the county, as there had been in 1900, when the carriers' carts and the railways presented very contrasting facilities. Motor buses, whilst having a mobility almost as great as that of the carts, yet gave facilities almost as speedy as the local trains, which, in a great many cases, had their stopping places some distance from the settlement the station
was intended to serve. Buses, on the other hand, can really serve the village by passing down its main street and, moreover, can even meet the wishes of individuals by stopping at farm and cottage. On Fig. 49 are shown those settlements through which 'buses do not pass; in the whole of the county, which contains about 330 nucleated settlements, these number only 18, and all of these lie within one mile of a place at which bus facilities are available.

For the great majority of the population the public transport facilities play an important part in determining from which town shopping requirements shall be obtained; at which town work shall be sought, if none is available locally; and whence resort shall be made for entertainment and other social activities. A study of the transport facilities available to each centre will, therefore, give an indication of the areas which may be served from that particular centre. In an area where transport facilities were available to but one town, we can with a high degree of accuracy equate this area with that of the hinterlands of the town for the several purposes. Hence, in Figs. 47 and 48, an attempt has been made to show the areas accessible to the several central towns. (The central towns are those which we noted in the previous chapter as having a local system of transport connecting it with the surrounding settlements). In these several diagrams are differentiated

1. (See above p. 305 for examples of this)
those areas from which the centre can be reached on every day of the week, and those areas which only have facilities into the town on market day(s) and/or Saturdays. Similar diagrams it will be remembered were constructed showing transport facilities to the towns at the earlier periods of analyses. Generally speaking, it is possible to equate those areas accessible to the market towns at the earlier dates with those areas now made accessible to the centres by the bus and train services. Let us, for example, compare the areas accessible to Melton Mowbray in 1851, with those to the town at the present day. The first contrast which we note is in the great increase of daily services into the towns. In 1851 such services were limited to those provided by the trains on the Leicester and Peterborough railway, and by the daily carriers' service between Melton and Grantham. Today, however, the great majority of the area is served by daily facilities. Leaving this consideration aside, however, we see that the market day area accessible to the town has grown but very little in extent. The northernmost part of the county around Bottesford is now served by buses to and from Melton; buses now make the journey as far as Loughborough, whereas a century ago the carriers proceeded no further than the Fosse Way, about half the distance to that town; the bus from Colsterworth,

1. (For 1851 see Figs 19 and 20; for 1900 see Figs 37 & 38)
DIAGRAMS SHOWING ACCESSIBILITY TO LEICESTERSHIRE CENTRES
BASED ON ANALYSES OF ROAD AND RAIL PASSENGER TRANSPORT FACILITIES 1952-3

Legend
- Black: Daily transport facilities to Leicester - From areas shaded black
- Grey: Weekly transport facilities
- Stippled: Areas with transport facilities to Leicester on Wednesdays or Saturdays only
- Figures within the circle indicate the number of units of transport arriving in the town - 1 on normal weekdays, 2 on Saturdays

Leicester

Loughborough

Melton Mowbray

Market Harborough

FIG. 47
DIAGRAMS SHOWING ACCESSIBILITY TO LEICESTERSHIRE CENTRES
BASED ON ANALYSES OF ROAD AND RAIL TRANSPORT FACILITIES 1952-3

LEGEND

DIAGRAM SHOWING ACCESSIBILITY TO LEICESTERSHIRE CENTRES BASED ON ANALYSES OF ROAD AND RAIL TRANSPORT FACILITIES 1952-3

HINCKLEY

LUTTERWORTH

FIG. 48
in Lincolnshire, serves a wider variety of villages on its journey into Melton, than did the carrier working from the place in 1851; and a bus now meanders from Leicester to Melton through the villages of east-central Leicestershire and which, in 1851, had no direct contact with Melton. Aside from these extensions, however, the areas accessible in 1851 and in 1952 were the same. The key to the development of transport facilities is not to be found in the growth of the area made accessible around the market towns but rather in the growth of the number of units of transport available, and in the lessening of time taken to travel between town and hinterland. In 1851, 54 slow moving carriers' carts wended their leisurely way into Melton Mowbray on market days; in 1952, there were no fewer than 268 'buses and trains entering the town every Tuesday.

In the case of the other towns we can see at a glance the similarity of the areas accessible to the town. Around Market Harborough there is even greater correlation in the limits of the areas accessible at the two dates, and even in the case of Leicester the areas of the county which cannot be reached by a direct bus or train service today are as great as those areas which did not lie on the route of a carriers' cart a century ago. However, the 209 market day carriers into Leicester have been replaced by 2100 trains and buses into the city every Saturday; this gives an
average of more than two units of transport arriving every minute of a 16 hour day.

In 1851, the train services to Coalville were shown even though the settlement was, by then, hardly in existence. Today, Coalville can be reached from most of the western half of the county and from as far afield as Nottingham, Burton-on-Trent, Hinckley, Leicester, and Loughborough. And, into this market town of modern foundation, over 400 units of transport bring their quota of market-day passengers.

The areas of maximum accessibility to each centre cannot, however, be viewed in isolation. The inter-urban routes — for example, Leicester-Loughborough, Leicester-Hinckley, Coalville-Loughborough, Ashby-Coalville, etc. — provide accessibility, from the villages along the routes, not to one of the towns but to both of them. From many of the villages in the county there is a choice of bus services leading to different centres. It has been possible to demonstrate that by far the overwhelming majority of Leicestershire settlements have a choice of centres which can be reached by public transport facilities. The situation in the case of each settlement in the county is shown in Fig. 49. In East Leicestershire, the choice usually rests between two centres, most commonly Leicester and one of the smaller market towns — for example, Melton Mowbray, Oakham, or Uppingham. In the western part of the county, on the
TRANSPORT FACILITIES FROM LEICESTERSHIRE SETTLEMENTS 1953

LEGEND
AS - ASHBY DE LA ZOUCH
CV - COALVILLE
HI - HINCKLEY
LE - LEICESTER
LO - LOUGHBOROUGH
LU - LUTTERWORTH
MM - MELTON MOWBRAY
MH - MARKET HARBOROUGH

Fig. 49.
other hand, a settlement may have transport facilities available to as many as half-a-dozen centres. From Market Bosworth, for example, the following Saturday services are available - to Coalville, 9 buses; to Hinckley, 10; to Ashby-de-la-Zouch, 4; to Nuneaton, 6; to Leicester, 27. In the remainder of the week the number of units of transport available are somewhat reduced but all the five centres are still accessible. From Measham, 'buses in five directions offer direct services to the following centres; Burton-on-Trent; Swadlincote; Ashby-de-la-Zouch; Leicester; Tamworth; Nottingham; Birmingham. These two settlements are admittedly somewhat exceptional in the transport facilities which they have available, but there are a minority of settlements in this part of the county from which transport facilities are not available to at least three centres.

Owing to this multiplication of transport facilities between village and towns, it is not possible to see, at a glance, which centre is most likely to be used by the inhabitants of a particular settlement for the servicing facilities which are centralised in the towns. The value of an analysis of 'bus services, in attempts to delimit the hinterlands of market centres, has been pointed out by a former research officer with the Ministry of Town and Country Planning. 1 He pointed out that the development

1. (Green F.H.W. Urban Hinterlands in England and Wales Geographical Journal 116. p.64.)
of bus services had been a process of trial and error to find out the most economic routes. The potential demand had been discovered, and where the majority of persons wished to make the majority of journeys their desire had been matched by the most frequent services. It was not, however, simply a case of a 'bus service matching a demand; in some cases a good transport service might stimulate a demand and thus cause an alteration in the relationships between town and country. In the case of the development of bus services around Coalville, for example, a factor with which we shall deal in more detail in a later chapter, there can be no doubt that they contributed greatly to Coalville's growth as a central settlement by making it accessible to a large number of settlements which had previously had connections with other centres. Usually, however, the twin facets of the effect of 'bus services on the relations between town and country are inextricably woven together. However, in so far as we have already noted that the areas of accessibility to the market towns by modern communications are essentially the same as those areas which were accessible a century ago, it would appear that bus services have probably responded more to demands than having created entirely different ones. On the other hand, of course, the greater speed of bus transport, when compared to that of the carriers, has enabled an
important centre such as Leicester to attract custom from further afield than formerly; at the expense, of course, of the trading relations of the smaller market towns.

Previously, many investigators have assumed that greater accessibility to a given centre is directly proportional to the number of units of transport available. Hence, the boundary of the hinterland of a town based on an examination of transport facilities has been drawn to include all those settlements from which the largest number of units of transport are available when a comparison is made with the number available to an alternative centre. When considering a town's provision of weekly services (as defined in the previous chapter), however, it would seem to the writer that this factor – viz. the number of units of transport available between town and village (a measure of convenience) – is but one of two. The other factor, which has tended to be ignored, is the question of cost. Let us take a hypothetical example; from settlement X there are 10 buses daily to town Y, the return fare being 2/6; from the same settlement there are also 5 buses daily to town Z, the return fare in this case being 1/3d. If both town Y and town Z provide a certain minimum range of weekly service facilities (viz. specialised shops, a retail market, a cinema, a bank, etc.) then can we automatically assume that because there are 10 buses to Y, and only 5 to Z that the
former will be preferred. It would seem not; for both the cost factor, and the number of units of transport available must surely be taken into consideration. It may be stated in criticism of this suggestion that if town Y was not visited more than town Z then some of the units of transport on the route would be withdrawn; it should be remembered, however, that on the journey from X to Y other settlements are served and it may be from these that most of the buses' pay-load is secured. Extension of the route to X may be a matter of convenience to the company, or, alternatively, there may be sufficient traffic to justify the extension, while at the same time this amount of traffic does not equal that utilising the 5 buses to town Z in the opposite direction.

Hence, in delimiting hinterlands of the market towns, based on the effectiveness of the transport facilities available to them, we have the task of co-ordinating two variable factors. Firstly, the number of units of transport available to a centre as compared with the number available to another centre; and secondly, the cost of the journey to the centre compared with the cost to the alternative centre.

The cost of a journey can be determined from the distance covered for, while charges per mile may vary slightly from route to route and company to company this
does not make a very significant difference, especially in a county such as Leicestershire where the majority of the services are operated by one company with standard charges. Furthermore, as the average speed of 'bus transport is more or less uniform, increased mileage can be equated with increased time taken on the journey.

The two variables have, therefore, been correlated into an index of accessibility which measures for each settlement the degree of accessibility to each centre with which it is in direct communication. The index of accessibility to a centre from a given settlement is determined by dividing the number of units of transport available between the settlement and the centre, by the average time taken on the journey. Hence it is assumed that both factors are of equal importance.

The higher the index, the greater will be the degree of accessibility. In the example of settlement X, and towns Y and Z detailed above, the index will reveal an equal degree of accessibility to each centre. From X to Y there are 10 buses; return fare 2/6d. representing a distance of 16 miles covered in 50 minutes. The index of accessibility to Y is, therefore, obtained by dividing 10 (no. of buses) by 50 (time taken) = .2. From X to Z there are 5 buses return fare 1/3d. representing a distance of 8 miles covered in 25 minutes. The Index of accessibility is, therefore,
One, of course, cannot claim that a method such as this can determine the amount of travel which takes place between a village and a centre when compared with the amount between the same village and another centre. A theoretical consideration which attempts to evaluate the reactions of individuals to two variable factors can only, of course, suggest what the 'normal' reaction might be. For some individuals living in settlement X, the factor of cost might be the dominant one, and hence the nearer centre would be preferred; for other, more opulent individuals, the greater frequency of the service to Y will encourage movement in that direction. However, in the absence of evidence to show the number of passengers carried by buses between point and point, then the number of units of transport and the cost/distance/time factor involved must provide the raw material on which the efficiency of transport facilities can be gauged. The Index of Accessibility does make an attempt to co-ordinate these factors, which previously have been represented separately by traffic flow diagrams and isochronic maps. In practice, of course, it is not necessary to work out the indices of accessibility for every settlement. Where only one centre can be reached from a specific settlement; or where the centre to which transport facilities are the most frequent, is also the
nearest one, there no question arises as to which place is the most accessible.

Hinterlands of the market towns based on the transport facilities available to them have been constructed, and are shown in Figs. 50 and 51. Within each hinterland are included all those settlements whose indices of accessibility to the centre are greater than their indices to any other centre. For example, Markfield is included in the hinterland of Leicester because its index of accessibility to that centre is 5.9, whereas its index of accessibility to Coalville is 4.2; Bardon Hill, however, is in the hinterland of Coalville because its index to that town is 13.6, whilst its index to Leicester is 1.9. Within the hinterlands, as shown on Figs. 50 and 51, the density of transport facilities to the centre is also shown.

Fig. 50 is based on an analysis of the normal weekday services available to the centres, and Fig. 51, on an analysis of the market day or Saturday services available to each town. A comparison of the results of the two analyses will show what significant differences there are in the relative accessibility of a centre on market day as compared to that for the remainder of the week. In the case of every centre the market day services are much more intensively developed, either in the form of additional routes served, or in the strengthening of routes already served. Between Leicester
LEICESTERSHIRE 'BUS CENTRES AND THEIR HINTERLANDS:
AND DENSITY OF TRANSPORT FACILITIES WITHIN THESE HINTERLANDS.

LEGEND

BOUNDARIES OF THE HINTERLANDS OF THE
'BUS CENTRES

MOVEMENT OF 'BUSES FROM WITHIN THE
HINTERLAND TO THE CENTRE SHOWN BY
FLOW DIAGRAM

NUMBER PER NORMAL WEEKDAY

00
50
100
LESS THAN 10

PASSenger TRAIN SERVICES FROM
HINTERLAND TO CENTRE (SHOWING ONLY FROM
PLACES WITH NO NEARBY 'BUS SERVICE)

0 LESS THAN 5 TIMES PER DAY
5 MORE THAN 5 PER DAY

THE PARTS OF THE FLOW DIAGRAMS AND THE STATIONS SHOWN IN
BLACK ARE MORE THAN 3 MINUTES JOURNEY FROM THE CENTRE

SCALE OF MILES

0 5 10

FIG. 50
LEICESTERSHIRE 'BUS CENTRES AND THEIR HINTERLANDS
AND DENSITY OF TRANSPORT FACILITIES WITHIN THESE HINTERLANDS

LEGEND
BOUNDARIES OF THE HINTERLANDS OF THE BUS CENTRES
MOVEMENT OF BUSES FROM WITHIN THE HINTERLAND TO THE CENTRE SHOWN BY FLOW DIAGRAM:
- NUMBER OF BUSES
   500
   300
   100
   50
   LESS THAN 5

PASSENGER TRAIN SERVICES FROM HINTERLAND TO CENTRE (SHOWN ONLY WHERE THE SERVICE IS LOCAL/INTERMEDIATE):
- NUMBER OF TRAINS
   > 9
   3 to 9
   1 to 2
   LESS THAN 1

MARKET DAY OR SATURDAY SERVICES
WINTER 1952/3

FIG. 51.
and Market Harborough, in particular, the boundary of the normal-weekday-services hinterland is rather arbitrarily drawn, as, in this area, transport facilities are almost entirely restricted to Tuesday and Saturday services to Market Harborough and Wednesday and Saturday services to Leicester. From these settlements accessibility to Market Harborough by the Tuesday services is rather better than that to Leicester by the Saturday services — largely as a result of the greater distance (and hence cost) to the latter place. The following examples may be given; from Stonton Wyville there are three Saturday buses to Leicester taking 49 minutes on the journey, thus giving index of accessibility to Leicester of .06; on the other hand there are three Tuesday buses to Market Harborough, each taking 28 minutes on the journey, and thus the index of accessibility to this town is .1. From Hallaton the index of accessibility to Leicester is .03 (3 buses taking 78 minutes), and to Market Harborough,.18 (6 units of transport taking 32 minutes).

Between Leicester and Melton Mowbray there is an area in which the settlements have transport facilities on only three days of the week (see Fig. 49); on Tuesdays, to Melton Mowbray, and on Wednesday and Saturday, to Leicester. The services are more effective to the latter centre and they are included in Leicester's hinterland on Fig. 51. For example, from Ashby Folville, there are 12 Saturday services
to Leicester, each taking 42 minutes, and thus giving an index of accessibility to Leicester of .3; there are two Tuesday services to Melton Mowbray, taking 32 minutes each, and thus giving an index of only .06.

A little further to the East, however, the villages of Twyford and Somerby, which have daily services to Melton, and Saturday services only to Leicester, still remain in the former town’s hinterland when the market day facilities are compared. From Twyford to Leicester there are 14 services, journey time, 43 minutes, giving an index of .31; from Twyford to Melton there are 13 services, journey time, 25 minutes, giving an index of .7. From Somerby, there are 8 services to Leicester, taking 56 minutes, and giving an index of accessibility of .14; from Somerby to Melton the index is .4 — a result of 8 buses, taking 21 minutes each on the journey.

The two hinterlands of Lutterworth show considerable variation from each other. Between Leicester and Lutterworth many of the settlements are without road transport facilities on several days of the week, and as there is a better rail service to Lutterworth than to Leicester from the station at Ashby Magna, the boundary of Lutterworth’s hinterland is extended to the north. On Leicester’s market days, however, many of the villages have bus services to Leicester, giving a higher degree of accessibility to that
centre rather than to Lutterworth. For example, Peatling Magna has an index of accessibility to Leicester of .2, compared with an index to Lutterworth of .03; Walton's index to Leicester is .1, and to Lutterworth is .06.

On the other hand, however, the Saturday service between Lutterworth and Hinckley makes the settlements along this route more accessible to the one town or the other, rather than to Rugby—which centre is the most accessible during the remainder of the week by virtue of the train service to the town from the station at Ullesthorpe.

The hinterlands of Loughborough, Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Coalville, and Hinckley—around which towns there is not a great deal of development of market day, or Saturday only, routes—(see Figs. 47 and 48)—remain approximately the same in both the case of normal traffic, and the case of market day facilities. The intensification of market day services around each of these towns is relatively equivalent. The additional Saturday services to Leicester, however, do result in slight extensions of the city's transport hinterland at the expense of those of Coalville, Hinckley and Loughborough. This is especially noticeable in the area between Coalville and Hinckley, where the Market Bosworth to Leicester service is strengthened a great deal on Saturdays. Hence, villages near to Bosworth, with greater accessibility to Hinckley during the week, have more effective
transport facilities to Leicester at the week-ends. From Market Bosworth itself, for example, the normal service to Leicester is 13 buses, with a journey time of 52 minutes, giving an index of accessibility of 0.25; the normal service to Hinckley is 8 buses, with a journey time of 25 minutes, giving an index of accessibility of 0.32. On Saturdays, however, there are 26 buses to Leicester, and the index is increased to 0.5; there are 10 buses to Hinckley, and the index is only increased to 0.4, this being considerably below that for Leicester.

Leaving aside the relatively minor differences between the extent of the 'normal' and the 'market day' hinterlands, we must turn to examine the most significant features of the general picture. Firstly, the most outstanding feature is the greater extent of the area from which Leicester is the most accessible settlement, when compared with the extent of the areas from which the smaller centres are the most accessible. This is most clearly seen in Fig. 50 where the sections of the routes more than 15 minutes journey from the centre are differentiated. In the case of Leicester almost 75% of the mileage of routes within the hinterland is more than 15 minutes journey time from the centre of the city. (see table 27). Even taking into account the possibility of slower running speeds of the buses whilst negotiating the crowded city streets for a
mile or so from the terminal points, the contrast with the position in the cases of the other centres is very great. In fact only Melton and Loughborough have any considerable mileage of routes within their hinterlands more than 15 minutes journey from the town (see table 27). In the cases of Hinckley and Ashby's hinterlands, there is an equal mileage of routes less than 15 minutes, and more than 15 minutes journey from the centre, but overall the total route mileage is very restricted.

It was not possible to map this information on Fig. 51, showing market day services, owing to the large numbers of routes with a low density of traffic, but comparing the two diagrams it is clear that in the case of Leicester there is an even greater mileage of routeway more than 15 minutes distance from the city. All the market day only routes, with but one minor exception, are continuations of other normal routes from points beyond the 15 minute isochrone. By comparison, in the hinterlands of Hinckley, Coalville, Ashby, and Loughborough there is but little additional mileage in either of the two categories; the market day routes within the hinterland of Lutterworth are within 15 minutes journey of the town, with the minor exception of a short distance on the route to Hinckley; only in the cases of Melton Mowbray and Market Harborough is there any significant increase in the mileage of routes more than 15
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hinterland</th>
<th>Route Mileage within 15 minutes journey of the centre</th>
<th>Route Mileage more than 15 minutes journey</th>
<th>Total Route Mileage in Hinterland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leicester</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melton Mowbray</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loughborough</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market Harborough</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashby-de-la-Zouch</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coalville</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hinckley</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lutterworth</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
minutes journey from the town. These increases, together with that for Leicester's hinterland, are detailed in Table 27A.

There are two principal reasons for the inclusion within the hinterland of Leicester of such a large mileage of routes more than 15 minutes journey from the city. First of all, in east Leicestershire, the distances between the market towns are greater than the distances in the remainder of the county, and thus large areas are bound to be more than 15 minutes journey from the nearest town. Most of these areas lie within the hinterland of Leicester, many villages being up to 40 minutes journey away from the city. Secondly, in other areas, the number of units of transport available to Leicester from a large number of settlements greatly exceed the numbers available to the smaller towns, and hence, although the distance to the smaller town may be several miles less than the distance to Leicester, yet the index of accessibility to Leicester is higher than that to the other towns, and these settlements are, therefore, included within the hinterland of Leicester, and appear more than 15 minutes journey from the city terminal. The situation may perhaps be made a little clearer if we look at some concrete examples. There are frequent services of buses along most of the roads connecting Leicester with the smaller market towns — for example, Leicester to
### Table 27A

Additional Market Day Mileage of 'Bus Routes within the hinterlands of certain of the Leicestershire Market Towns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hinterland</th>
<th>Additional Mileage within 15 minutes journey</th>
<th>Additional Mileage more than 15 minutes journey</th>
<th>Total Additional Mileage</th>
<th>Total Mileage of market day routes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leicester</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melton Mowbray</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market Harborough</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Coalville, Leicester to Hinckley, etc. - but, in none of the cases does the hinterland boundary lie mid-way between Leicester and the smaller settlement. The greater part of each of the routes shows a greater accessibility to Leicester. This arises from the fact that along the routes there are greater numbers of buses available to Leicester than to the towns at the other end of the routes. Additional services are provided to Leicester from settlements along the route. Let us examine the services between Leicester and Coalville. In Fig. 51 we see that the hinterland boundary between Leicester and Coalville, on the 12 mile route connecting the two centres, lies 7\(\frac{1}{2}\) miles from Leicester and 4\(\frac{1}{2}\) miles from Coalville. Hence, at the hinterland boundary, journey time to Leicester is over 25 minutes, and to Coalville, less than 15 minutes. The settlements along the route from Leicester to Coalville are Groby, Markfield, Bardon Park, and Bardon Hill, and the transport facilities from them are set out in table 28. From Coalville and Bardon to Leicester there are 68 buses, but at Bardon Park they are joined by another 35 from other parts of west Leicestershire making a total of 103; from Bardon Park to Coalville there are 68 buses, and hence, at this point, only three miles from Coalville, and 10 minutes journey time away, there is greater accessibility to this centre rather than to Leicester, which, although being served by more units of transport, is over half-an-hour's journey away. Another
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>From:--</th>
<th>Miles from Leicester</th>
<th>Number of Buses</th>
<th>Journey Time (mins.)</th>
<th>Index of Accessibility</th>
<th>Miles from Coalville</th>
<th>Number of Buses</th>
<th>Journey Time (mins.)</th>
<th>Index of Accessibility</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Groby</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Markfield</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bardon Park</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bardon Hill</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
two miles along the route to Leicester, however, the situation has altered considerably. The number of buses to Coalville is reduced to 63, and the journey time increased to 15 minutes; there are, however, an additional 45 buses to Leicester making a total of 148, and thus, now, in spite of the greater distance to be covered to Leicester (7 miles compared with 5), Markfield's index of accessibility to that centre is considerably in excess of that to Coalville. The indices of accessibility to either centre are more or less equivalent at a point almost midway between Bardon Park and Markfield (about 7 1/2 miles from Leicester), where 114 buses are available to Leicester, reached in 27 minutes, and 63 to Coalville, 14 minutes journey distant.

A similar situation could be traced on any one of the routes between Leicester and one of the smaller market towns, but this example will suffice to indicate the relationship between the transport facilities to Leicester and those to the other centres in the county. It clearly shows the reasons for Leicester's more extensive transport hinterland. Apart from the situation on the direct routes, however, and of greater importance in securing an extended hinterland for the city, are the traffic facilities to Leicester from the areas midway between two of the smaller market towns. (A similar, though less pronounced feature, was noted in the extent of the transport hinterlands in the
Two examples stand out - the extension of the hinterland of Leicester in the areas between Coalville and Hinckley, and between Loughborough and Melton Mowbray - but there are other examples, which can also be seen on Fig. 51, but which will not be described in detail; the extension of Leicester's hinterland between Loughborough and Coalville, by virtue of the daily bus service from Whitwick to Leicester serving the southern edge of Charnwood Forest; the facilities available to Leicester on market days between Lutterworth and Market Harborough; the market day transport hinterland of Leicester extending almost to the eastern boundary of the county on a very wide front, and restricting the hinterlands of Melton Mowbray and Market Harborough to the north and south respectively.

The northward extension of Leicester's hinterland between Melton Mowbray and Loughborough is due to the intercity bus service between Leicester and Nottingham using the Fosse Way route. There is a daily service of 31 buses in each direction, thus giving far better transport facilities than those to east and west between Loughborough and Melton. At Six Hills, for example, on the boundary of Leicestershire and Nottinghamshire, at the point where the Leicester-Nottingham route intersects the Loughborough-Melton Mowbray route, the following facilities are available. 31 buses
to Leicester, with a journey time of 32 minutes, giving an index of accessibility of 1.0; 31 buses to Nottingham, with a journey time of 48 minutes, giving an index of .65; 9 buses to Loughborough, with a journey time of 24 minutes, giving an index of .38; and nine buses to Melton, with a journey time of 26 minutes, giving an index of .34. Thus to Loughborough, only seven miles distance from Six Hills, the index of accessibility is less than two-thirds of that to Leicester, about 11 miles distant, and only three-fifths of that to Nottingham, which is more than 13 miles away.

The westward extension of Leicester's hinterland is a result of the good bus service offered from Market Bosworth to Leicester via Carlton, Barton-in-the-Beans, Nailstone, Barlestone, Newbold Verdon, and Desford. The extension appears on both Figs. 50 and 51, but is the more pronounced on the latter showing market day facilities, for, as previously indicated, the Saturday service to Leicester is double the normal weekday one. The situation at Market Bosworth has already been discussed showing how the settlement falls within the hinterland of Hinckley in the week, and in the hinterland of Leicester at the week-end. All the other villages on the route to Leicester also have transport facilities to Hinckley and/or Coalville. One Hinckley-Coalville service serves Market Bosworth and Nailstone, and from the latter village the following transport facilities
are available. On weekdays, there are 13 buses to Leicester, 12 miles away, taking 42 minutes on the journey; 6 buses to Hinckley, 10 miles away, taking 35 minutes on the journey; and 6 buses to Coalville, six miles distant, taking 25 minutes on the journey. Thus the index of accessibility to Leicester is .31; to Coalville, .24; and to Hinckley, .17. On Saturdays, the services in all three directions are increased; to 21 buses to Leicester, and nine to both Hinckley and Coalville. Hence Leicester's index is now .5, compared to Coalville's .36, and Hinckley's .26. In this case, therefore, the better service to Leicester more than compensates for the increased time, distance, and cost involved in making the journey, when compared with a journey to either of the other centres. Personal investigations in the village have shown that full use is made of the better facilities to Leicester, this town being visited more frequently than Coalville or Hinckley. Similar situations could be demonstrated at the other villages along the route to Leicester, for, in each case, the services to the nearer smaller centres are not so good as those to the city.

Thus the general pattern shows how Leicester, as a larger centre, and with longer lines of effective communication, is able to make its influence felt in those areas peripheral to the influence of the smaller marketing towns.
It is this kind of development in the pattern of local communications which one can envisage continuing as a result of the improvement and cheapening of transport facilities.

While considering the position of Leicester, we have also noted, in passing, some of the aspects of the transport hinterlands of the other market towns, but there remain one or two points of comparison which should be made more clear. The size of the hinterlands varies very considerably. On the one hand, Melton Mowbray and Market Harborough have extensive areas from which they are the most accessible centre; and, on the other hand, are the limited hinterlands of Coalville, Hinckley, and Lutterworth, with those of Ashby-de-la-Zouch and Loughborough lying in an intermediate position.

The two large hinterlands offer significant contrasts, however; that of Melton Mowbray has a far better transport system. Referring to table 27, it is seen that the mileage of routes in the hinterland of Melton on a normal weekday is 84, and in the case of Market Harborough, only 35. The contrast between the market day mileages is not so pronounced, but the 110 miles in the hinterland of Melton are still greatly in excess of the 77 miles in the hinterland of Market Harborough. The contrast between the facilities to the two towns is emphasised in Fig. 47, which shows that there are almost twice as many units of transport arriving
in Melton on a normal weekday as in Market Harborough, and that even on Tuesdays - the market day in each case - the numbers are 268 and 184 respectively. The greater facilities to Melton are due largely to the higher population of its hinterland but, in part, they would seem to reflect the different bus companies' approach to the provision of rural services. The company providing the majority of services into Melton Mowbray has worked on the principle of a maximum number of services compatible with profitable operation. Hence, good daily services are provided to and from most of the villages; up to as many as 14 services in each direction connecting villages with a population of only a few hundred. In addition, most of the villages have early morning, and late night transport facilities, for the journey to work and for social and entertainment purposes, respectively (see Figs. 52 and 73).

In contrast, the services to Market Harborough are poor; only a minority of the settlements in the hinterland having a daily service to the town. In this case, the operators seemed to have worked on the principal of offering the minimum number of services possible. In recent weeks (at a stage too late for cognizance to be taken of the fact in analysing the transport facilities to Market Harborough), the railway from Melton Mowbray to Market Harborough was closed for passenger traffic. Near Melton this has made
no effective difference to the transport facilities into the town because alternative bus services were already being operated. From Hallaton and East Norton, however, there was some daily traffic into Market Harborough by train, for no alternative bus services existed. With the withdrawal of the rail service no bus company can be found to operate daily services from these villages and now, for the first time in 70 years (since the opening of the railway), they have market day facilities only.

In the small hinterlands of Coalville and Hinckley the chief feature is the density of the traffic network and the large number of units of transport available along each route. This is especially noticeable in the case of Coalville for there are no fewer than 34 different services into the town on Fridays and Saturdays. There are more than 100 buses into the town on the service from Whitwick, and more than 90 from Ibstock, on Saturdays. Only two small settlements in the district are without a daily service.

All the settlements in the hinterland of Hinckley have daily transport facilities. On the route from Earl Shilton to Hinckley there are almost 100 units of transport on week-days, and over 140 on Saturdays.

The southward extension of the hinterland of Ashby-de-la-Zouch, served by the single route followed by only four buses is directly related to former railway provision;
viz. the Ashby and Nuneaton railway whose effect on early 20th century hinterlands was discussed in the previous section. The railway was closed to passenger traffic in 1933, and a bus company undertook to serve the same villages between the two towns; 20 years later, this rather circuitous routing is still in existence, serving a dozen villages. Most of the villages now have alternative facilities available (to Coalville or Leicester) but Ashby remains the most accessible centre being reached in a maximum of 36 minutes, compared with a journey of over an hour's duration to Leicester. (Further south, it is interesting to note that the villages still lie within the hinterland of Nuneaton, rather than in the hinterland of Hinckley, to which centre bus services are still not available in many cases. Only in the case of Market Bosworth has the development of bus services caused a re-orientation of connections away from Nuneaton, in favour of Hinckley).

Finally, with reference to the hinterland of Loughborough, it is clear that the transport services within this area are almost uniformly good, with frequent daily services to all parts. Southwards towards Leicester, such dense facilities are demanded by the populous villages of the Soar valley industrial area. To the north of the town, however, there are good services though the area is but lightly populated in comparison. The services from the
northernmost part of the hinterland are part of the three through routes to and from Nottingham. The population of the villages passed through en route benefit considerably from these well developed inter-urban connections.

It has not been possible to describe, in detail, all the transport facilities available within each of the hinterlands, but in the chapter an attempt has been made to indicate the main features of the facilities; to describe certain specific aspects of the transport system available to a centre; and to draw the main points of comparison between the various hinterlands. Many features have had to be left unmentioned but a close study of the various diagrams prepared should illustrate at least some of these. In the chapter reference has only been made to the general accessibility to a town but, as suggested in the opening paragraphs, transport facilities play an important part in determining the choice of centres for certain specific purposes - for example, the choice of a town in which to find employment, the choice of a centre for entertainment and other social activities. These aspects of the transport facilities have also been examined, and are shown in Figs. 52, 53 and 73. Further reference will be made to them when the hinterlands of the towns for the several purposes are separately analysed.

In concluding this chapter the writer would wish to
re-emphasise the importance of modern transport on town-country relationships; secondly, to point out that transport facilities are not static but are constantly developing or retrenching - this may be easily illustrated in several important changes in the system in Leicestershire since investigations were started in 1952. For example, the Loughborough - Melbourne bus service has been withdrawn; the east Leicestershire railways have been closed for passenger traffic; reductions in the bus services to Melton Mowbray are now proposed; etc. Therefore, the attempt to analyse transport facilities must be treated as being relevant to a certain specific period in time.

Thirdly, it should again be made quite clear that the attempt to measure the accessibility of a centre from a given settlement involves theoretical considerations which may not necessarily work out in practice, owing to the intervention of other unpredictable, human considerations. The index of accessibility, therefore, does not specifically measure movement to one centre compared to the movement to another; it merely suggests which centre is the more likely to be visited and is based on the only information of transport facilities which is available. Information concerning the number of people moved from place to place is either not available at all (as in the case of bus transport), or is on the 'secret' list (as in the case of the railways).
An analysis of the transport facilities can, therefore, only suggest the hinterlands of towns; it cannot provide a means by which they may be determined.

Modern transport has facilitated communication between town and country; between hinterland and market centre; but it has also engendered a tremendous complication into the relationships and an attempt to sort these out will be made in succeeding chapters, when the separate functions of the several centres are considered.
CHAPTER FOUR

FUNCTIONAL HINTERLANDS DEFINED
BY THE DAILY JOURNEY TO WORK

The factors leading to the development of the phenomenon of the daily journey to work were briefly outlined in the introductory chapter to this section of the thesis. The phenomenon is of great importance in establishing relations between a town and a hinterland. Compared with the other functions of towns, the journey to work involves much more frequent and regular intercourse between town and hinterland. A journey into town for shopping or entertainment purposes will involve but a weekly, or perhaps a less frequent, visit and even this is not a fixed commitment being liable to alteration by factors such as the weather or the decision to visit an alternative town. In seeking employment in a town one commits oneself to a daily journey for five or six days of the week, most probably for 50 weeks of the year, and, furthermore, as a decision to change one's job is not taken lightly, as a decision to change one's shopping town might be, a deeply engraved pattern is thereby established. Lack of suitable work locally must be the prime force behind the decision to seek a job elsewhere, and, thus, on grounds of economy and convenience, the nearest centre where suitable work is available must provide the greatest attraction. Hence, the type of work that a town offers will play an important part
in determining the extent of its catchment area. The variety of work available in Leicester, especially in the professional and administrative fields, plays an important role in the city's attraction as a centre of employment for residents of the smaller towns in the county, where similar opportunities do not exist. The structure of industry in Hinckley, with its concentration on the hosiery and boot and shoe trades, creates a demand for female labour which cannot be met from the town itself. To north and west, however, lie the coalfields of Leicestershire and Warwickshire, whose towns and villages lack light industries to provide employment for the wives and daughters of miners. Hence they will be attracted to the factories of Hinckley and neighbourhood. It is not the object of this thesis to discuss the industrial structure of the Leicestershire towns, but, in considering the journey to work and the establishment of functional hinterlands based on this phenomenon, it needs must be mentioned in passing.

The extent to which a town's function as a centre of employment for a district affects its other activities as a central settlement is difficult to determine. Without the majority of doubt, on any given day, those who travel into town in the morning to work, will travel out again as soon as work is completed. If, for example, for the journey to work, one is dependent on the provision of special transport then this,
of course, is the only possible procedure. But, if public transport facilities are used, and there are services available back to the place of residence later in the evening, then use can also be made of the other facilities of the town—viz. cinemas, theatres, meetings, etc. At Loughborough and Hinckley, and more particularly in the case of the former town, tradesmen and others were quick to point out that many of those who travelled into the town to work, also did their shopping there. The lunch hour provides an opportunity for many workers to visit the shopping centre. Through personal contacts the writer is aware that the opportunity of using the facilities offered by Leicester is taken by at least some of those who daily make the journey there for work purposes. It is, however, not possible without a comprehensive survey, beyond the scope of an individual investigator owing to reasons of both time and finance, to offer any statistical analysis of the extent to which a town's other functions benefit by virtue of its attraction to a labour force from outside the town.

Apart from this consideration, however, the function of a town in providing employment to people from the surrounding area is of importance in itself. In an agricultural area, for example, the emancipation of youth from the slavery of underpaid farm work, either in the farmyard and fields, or in the kitchen of the farmhouse, has
resulted from the opportunity, which has arisen with the development of modern communications, of securing employment in the factories of the local market town. To a person who takes such an opportunity, the town is as important as it is to the farmer who uses it for marketing his surplus products, or purchasing his supplies of seeds and fertilisers. The greater use of machinery on the farms has decreased labour requirements and, whereas from this development rural unemployment might have resulted, the displaced labour can now secure a job in the market town whilst continuing to reside in the village. Such a process may have broken down, to some extent, the social cohesion of the village but, on the other hand, it has prevented continued migration from village to town and city. The 1951 census revealed that the process of rural depopulation in lowland England has been halted; an adequate comment on the greater satisfaction with the rural way of life as a result of the added opportunities accorded to this section of our population, including the right to work in an activity apart from agriculture. As the process of farm mechanisation is likely to continue, and as the desire of the younger generation for a choice of jobs is likely to increase, the function of the market town as a centre providing employment is likely to grow in importance.

Similarly, in a mining district, the central town
must also be of importance for the employment opportunities, apart from mining, which it offers; for, as suggested in an earlier paragraph, it is in these districts that there is a lack of opportunity for the female members of the community. Thus in Leicestershire, Coalville must be the centre of light industries in the district, as well as the centre for marketing, shopping, and entertainment, if it is to fully carry out its responsibilities to the surrounding area largely settled by mining villages.

The survey included in the census of 1921 showing aspects of the journey to work has already been mentioned, but, in order that the background to the present situation may be seen more clearly, table 29, showing the numbers employed in each of the Leicestershire towns, and the numbers travelling into them for work purposes, has been constructed. The table clearly shows that, by 1921, that there was a considerable contrast in the extent to which the market towns were centres of employment. In the case of both Market Harborough and Melton Mowbray both the numbers travelling to the town, and the percentage of the labour force making a journey, were low, indicating that up to that date there had been no significant development of daily contact with the hinterland. Moreover, of the 378 journeying to work in Melton Mowbray, more than 20% were from the city of Leicester and not from hinterland settlements. On the other hand,
### Table 29

Table showing the number employed in the Leicestershire Centres in 1921 and the number and percentage of those who travelled to work to the towns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Settlement</th>
<th>Total number employed</th>
<th>Number travelling in to work (approx)</th>
<th>Percentage Travelling to work</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leicester C.B.</td>
<td>75,829</td>
<td>45,184</td>
<td>5,533</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loughborough R.C.</td>
<td>8,954</td>
<td>4,156</td>
<td>1,982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coalville U.D.</td>
<td>7,077</td>
<td>1,796</td>
<td>1,826</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hinckley U.D.</td>
<td>4,390</td>
<td>3,285</td>
<td>565</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market Harborough U.D.</td>
<td>2,811</td>
<td>1,660</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melton Mowbray U.D.</td>
<td>2,924</td>
<td>1,235</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashby-de-la-Zouch U.D.</td>
<td>1,161</td>
<td>603</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lutterworth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Figs. 'approx' because in Census returns the numbers of these 'enumerated elsewhere but working in the area' included those on holiday from the town. Figs. shown separately have been excluded.
Loughborough, Coalville and Hinckley attracted considerable numbers of workers amounting, in the case of Coalville, to one fifth of the total labour force. At Hinckley, the importance of female labour is clearly brought out; firstly, in the high percentage (42) of female workers in the total labour force (compared with 35% at Leicester and 20% at Coalville); and secondly, in the fact that the number of women workers travelling to the town exceeded the number of male workers. The percentage of the labour force travelling to work was also high in the case of Ashby-de-la-Zouch; here light industries in the town - for example, biscuit and soap factories - were evidently providing opportunities for women workers from the mining settlements to the west of the town; 23% of the female labour force in Ashby journied into the town. The same, however, was not true of Coalville which had insufficient light industries to employ even those living in the town. The situation has only altered, to any great extent, since the 1939-45 war with the opening of new factories and the extension of old ones.

Details of the places from which the labour force was drawn into a town in 1921 were only given on a basis of local government areas - viz. rural districts, urban districts - and hence, it is not possible to determine for the smaller market towns the extent of their labour catchment areas.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, special consideration
was given to the early morning transport facilities available to the towns. The results of the analysis are shown in Figs. 52 and 53. The facilities available to each town vary very considerably. There are 355 units of transport available to Leicester by 9 a.m. - which is generally the latest time of arrival possible for purposes of daily employment. By far the greatest majority of these facilities are from places within six or seven miles of the city, the only frequent services by 'bus from beyond this distance being from Loughborough, Coalville, Ibstock, and Nuneaton. Rail facilities are available, however, making longer journeys possible, for example, from Oakham, Kettering, Market Harborough, Rugby, Nottingham, etc. To Loughborough, there are good early morning facilities from Coalville and Leicester by bus; good local services from Long Whatton, Kegworth, and Wymeswold; and good rail facilities from both Leicester and Nottingham and intermediate stations, these being particularly important as the two largest firms in the town are located adjacent to the railway stations.

In contrast to these services to these industrial towns, we see in the lower diagrams of Fig. 52, the facilities to the smaller market towns. The difference in the facilities to Melton Mowbray and Market Harborough stand out very clearly. Into Melton, there is an extensive network of early morning buses which give an excellent opportunity
EARLY MORNING TRANSPORT FACILITIES TO LEICESTERSHIRE CENTRES 1952

LEICESTER

LOUGHBOROUGH

MELTON MOWBRAY

MARKET HARBOROUGH

GENERAL KEY

THE NUMBER OF UNITS OF TRANSPORT ARRIVING AT THE CENTRES MARKED ARE SHOWN BY CIRCLES, THE TOTAL NUMBER PRESENT WITHIN CIRCLES MARKED LOCATION OF THE CENTRE

THE NUMBER OF UNITS ARRIVED AT EACH CENTRE

Scales of Miles

Fig. 52.
for the villagers to seek employment in Melton, if they
so wish. Facilities to Market Harborough by bus, on the
other hand, are poor, only a total of five services being
available. These are supplemented to a certain extent by
rail services into the town but, nevertheless, a considerable
number of villages in the neighbourhood are left without
early morning transport to the town.

Fig. 53 shows that most of the normal bus routes into
Ashby, Coalville, and Hinckley have early morning facilities
and that, in the case of Hinckley especially, the number of
units of transport arriving in the town before 9 a.m. is
quite large. On the other hand, however, into Lutterworth,
the facilities are almost non-existent. Seven of the
twelve units of transport into the town before 9 a.m. are
trains; 3 from Leicester, calling at Whetstone and Ashby
Magna only, and the remaining 4 from the town of Rugby.

Public transport facilities do not provide, however,
a comprehensive method by which journey to work can be
analysed. In addition to privately owned transport — viz.
cars, cycles, etc. — many industrial concerns now provide
free or cheap special transport for their employees. One
of the largest factories in Coalville, for example, offers
free transport to all the surrounding villages. Transport
is similarly available to workers at some of the factories
in Market Harborough, and to the factories established at
Lutterworth in the war, private bus services are available from places as far afield as Coventry. This type of service is largely a wartime and post-war development; in the former case, to assist in the transport of workers whose place of employment was compulsorily moved (for example, from Coventry to Lutterworth); and, in the latter case, a by-product of the state of full employment existing in the country — a state of affairs which has given a wide choice of jobs to a person looking for work, and whose choice was likely to fall on that firm offering the best conditions of service — for example, free transport. Alternatively, it may be utilised to 'tap' the prospective employees in a settlement not otherwise accessible to the town — as, for example, in the case of villages to the south-west of Coalville.

Overall, however, these developments do mean that employment opportunities in a town are no longer rigidly limited to those places with public transport facilities to the town. Hence, it is necessary to seek some alternative method by which the extent of a town's labour catchment area may be determined.

In the period 1947-49, the North Midland Region of the Ministry of Town and Country Planning carried out a survey of the journey to work based on confidential returns from employers of labour. In Leicestershire, the survey was a
42% sample of the insured population, but "since the total insured population includes considerable numbers of self employed, agricultural workers, and workers in small units of employment who may be presumed to travel short distances to work, the survey gives a good impression of longer distance journeys."  

This information was willingly made available to the writer so that he could extract the details which were required to show the labour catchment areas of the various towns. In spite of the varying coverage achieved for the several centres - ranging from 20% in the case of Ashby-de-la-Zouch to 64% in the case of Coalville - the information would appear to give the most comprehensive analysis of the journey to work that is available, and no individual investigator could hope to obtain a 42% sample, for an area containing a working population of more than 250,000, of information often regarded as confidential by large employers of labour.

In Figs. 54 and 55 are analysed the returns for the eight market towns showing the parishes from which the labour force is drawn, and the percentage of the total labour force travelling to work in the centre which each parish supplies. It should be noted, in each case, that the centre is delimited by the local government unit of that name - a

unit which often includes several distinct settlements as, for example, in the case of the Urban District of Hinckley which includes Barwell and Earl Shilton, two settlements essentially separate from Hinckley itself. Thus the movement of population taking place within these units is effectively masked.

It is not proposed to describe each diagram in detail but merely to indicate the more important facets of each centre's catchment area. The catchment area of Leicester is a wide one; considerably wider than the diagram of early morning transport facilities would suggest, and it would seem that perhaps a feature noted in some villages of east Leicestershire which do not have early morning transport facilities to the city is a widespread one; from South Croxton and Barsby quite a number of the younger inhabitants cycle three or four miles to the nearest place at which early morning transport facilities into the city are available. The bulk of the labour force travelling into Leicester, however, journey only from the parishes immediately adjacent to the city boundary; from the parishes in the direction of Coalville; from certain of the parishes in the Soar valley with good rail and road facilities into the city; and from certain other larger centres a greater distance away, for example, Loughborough, Hinckley, Nuneaton. The parishes of east and south Leicestershire contribute but
LABOUR CATCHMENT AREAS OF LEICESTERSHIRE CENTRES

LEICESTER

LOUGHBOROUGH

MELTON MOWBRAY

MARKET HARBOROUGH

GENERAL KEY

PARISHES SUPPORING A PERCENTAGE OF THE LABOUR TRAVELLING TO THE CENTRE INDICATED IN THE PARISHES SHOWN ARE SHOWN AS FOLLOWS:

- PARISHES SUPPORTING MORE THAN 70% - less than 1%

FIG. 54.
relatively small numbers to the flow, and from the extremities of the county—especially the north-east and the south-west—there are few parishes from which workers travel to Leicester.

Loughborough has an extensive hinterland stretching a distance of some 30 miles from Nottingham in the north, to Leicester and its suburbs in the south. The east-west development of its hinterland is barely half as great, the difference, in this case, being a direct reflection of the availability of transport facilities (see Fig. 52). Leicester in fact contributes the second largest number of workers, (the number from Shepshed being the greatest) more than 500 making the 12 mile journey. Several hundred workers also make the journey from Coalville, almost ten miles away to the west. The great majority of the parishes in the immediate vicinity of Loughborough, however, also contribute to the labour force.

Melton Mowbray’s catchment area is extremely compact, except for the important outlier of Leicester, which, after Asfordby, supplies more labour to Melton than any other parish. Thus, the number of workers travelling from each of the parishes in the catchment area is comparatively small (maximum of 180 from Asfordby). The extent of the catchment area is severely limited on the eastern and northern sides; in the former case, by the lack of transport facilities, and, in the latter direction, by the competing employment
opportunities offered at Grantham and Nottingham; two centres of greater industrial importance.

The catchment area of Market Harborough is widespread and somewhat scattered; at variance with the pattern one might have expected from a study of the public transport facilities available. Altogether there are 60 parishes which supply labour to Market Harborough, but as the total employment in the town is only about 4,500, of whom less than 25% travel to work, this means that on an average only 15 persons are affected from each parish; and, of course, several places, Kibworth, Foxton, Husbands Bosworth, Lubenham and Welford, etc. supply considerably more than this number; therefore five parishes together accounting for about 40% of the total travelling. Hence, the numbers from the remaining parishes are quite small; less than 5 workers in 22 cases.

Coalville provides employment for more than 8,000 workers, more than two-thirds of these living in the town. Of the remaining third who travel to the town to find work, about 25% come from the neighbouring settlement of Ibstock. Shepshed and Leicester also supply considerable numbers, these mainly being miners who prefer to live away from the coalfield area. The line of parishes, supplying labour to Coalville, between Coalville and Leicester is a reflection of the good early morning transport facilities available.
along this route.

Ashby-de-la-Zouch's labour catchment area is a very small one extending over only 18 parishes; moreover, more than two-thirds of those travelling into the town are drawn from the adjacent mining settlements of Measham, Woodville, and Swadlincote. In each case, the number of females travelling outnumber males, suggesting that the light industries of Ashby continue to attract female labour from the mining settlements, as in 1921.

Sixty-two parishes contribute to the labour force of Hinckley; a labour force in which there are almost as many female workers as male (over 9000 in each case). Nearby Nuneaton provides about 40% of those travelling to work in Hinckley - over two-thirds being women workers. No other parish supplies as many as 10% and Ibstock, just to the south of Coalville, is the second most important place in the catchment area. In this instance too, the number of women travelling exceeds the number of men. Indeed, of the total number travelling into the town 60% are women. The greater extension of the catchment area to the north reflects both the better transport facilities in that direction and the surplus labour available in the mining settlements.

Lutterworth's catchment area seems to be an extensive one but it should be borne in mind that the total employment
in the town is only about 1,200; about half of this number travelling to Lutterworth to work. Of the 50 parishes contributing labour, however, only 20 provide more than 5 workers, and 20% of the total travelling journey from Coventry; the special relationship between the two towns having been mentioned earlier in the chapter.

Having examined the catchment areas of the eight centres an attempt must now be made to relate them to each other so that the relative importance of the towns as centres of employment can be examined. The attempt is diagrammatically shown in Fig. 56. The boundaries of the spheres of influence have been delimited by ascertaining to which centre each parish contributes the greatest number of workers. To make comparisons it was, of course, necessary to correct each centres' figures up to 100%; in doing this some figures may have been exaggerated to a certain extent and, therefore, the absolute accuracy of the boundaries cannot be guaranteed. It is, however, considered that the picture given is not distorted to any great extent. The boundaries of the hinterlands of Hinckley and Lutterworth have not been completed on the Warwickshire side as no details of the journey to work movements to the Warwickshire towns are available. Hence, Atherstone or Nuneaton may claim an area to the west of Hinckley as part of their hinterlands and, on the other hand, an area of Warwickshire
SPHERES OF INFLUENCE OF LEICESTERSHIRE CENTRES
BASED ON LABOUR CATCHMENT AREAS

LEGEND
N.B. NO INFORMATION FROM WARWICKSHIRE TOWNS.

- Boundaries of Spheres of Influence
- County Boundary of Leicestershire
- Circles indicate the number of workers employed in each centre
- NB workers in Leicester number 33,374
- Shaded part of the circle indicates the proportion of the total travelling to work
- From the Marshes stippled there is no movement of workers to any of the centres.

MAP BASED ON A SURVEY CONDUCTED BY M.T.C.P. REGION DURING PERIOD 1947-9

FIG. 56
to the south of Hinckley may look to that town, rather than to Nuneaton, for employment opportunities. It is also impossible to determine the position of the hinterland boundary between Rugby and Lutterworth. On the diagram the stippled areas show those parishes from which there is no movement of labour to any of the eight centres nor to any of the peripheral market towns (for example, Grantham, Oakham, Nottingham). These areas are quite limited in extent. Only in the lowly populated parts of east Leicestershire are these areas greater than a single parish in extent. (In south-west Leicestershire there are a group of parishes from which there is no movement to the Leicestershire towns; there may, however, be some labour supplied to the Warwickshire towns).

The extent of the spheres of influence reveal that, in most cases, a majority of those travelling to work in one of the eight centres choose the one which is the nearest. There are, of course, exceptions to this generalisation. Particularly outstanding on the diagram are the two parishes of Osbaston and Stockerstone isolated from the rest of the hinterland of Leicester. In both these cases, however, less than half-a-dozen workers are involved. However Leicester's sphere of influence in general tends to extend rather more than half the distance to the smaller centres. Bardon parish, for example, which adjoins the Urban District
of Coalville, sends more workers to Leicester than it does to the nearer centre. Only the parishes immediately adjacent to Lutterworth, on the northern side, look principally to that town for employment. Further north, the movement is mainly in the opposite direction to Leicester, even though the mileage to that centre is rather more than that to Lutterworth. Between Loughborough and Melton Mowbray the parishes look to Leicester for the principal opportunities of employment, rather than to either of the smaller towns. This extended hinterland of Leicester confirms the conclusion which might have been drawn from the examination of the transport facilities for, as Fig. 52 shows, these were far better to Leicester than to any other of the centres in the county. It is also a reflection of the greater variety of employment opportunities available in the city, for the numbers employed there exceed 150,000; almost eight times the number employed in the two next largest industrial centres — viz. Hinckley and Loughborough.

Apart from Leicester it is only in the case of Hinckley that the sphere of influence stretches any significant distance beyond the midway point to the adjacent centre. The reason for the northerly extension of the town's labour hinterland in the directions of Coalville and Ashby-de-la-Zouch has already been mentioned; it is related to the additional demand for female labour in the textile and boot
and shoe industries of the town. 9,000 workers are employed in the textile industry in Hinckley, including over 5,000 women; additionally the clothing industry employs another 2,000 women. By contrast, in Coalville only 900 women are employed in the textile industry and about 570 in the clothing industry, these opportunities barely being sufficient to absorb the labour force available in the town itself.

Finally a word of explanation must be advanced concerning the extensive hinterland of Market Harborough. To the west, north-east, east, and south, the relatively large distances to the hinterland boundary are related to two factors; firstly, the rail facilities that are available to the town, and secondly, to the absence of nearer competing centres for the labour available. North and South Kilworth and Husbands Bosworth, the parishes in the extreme west of the hinterland, are served by stations on the Rugby and Market Harborough railway, both within 15 minutes journey of the town which is, therefore, easily accessible for work purposes. (If the figures of the journey to work were available for the town of Rugby they might show a greater movement of labour to that town from the Kilworths, 3 trains, arriving in Rugby before 9 a.m., being available). The parishes in the southerly extension of Market Harborough's hinterland are those located near a station on the railway
from Northampton to Market Harborough; the numbers of workers involved, however, are very small, perhaps because there is only one early morning train available, and, as this arrives at 7 a.m., it is unsuitable for those engaged in secretarial or distributive posts. To the east, the Rutland parish of Caldecott is within Market Harborough's hinterland. Although 10 miles from the town, it is served by an early morning train from Rockingham station, the journey time being only 16 minutes. The Leicestershire parishes in the north-east of the hinterland depend on the two stations at Hallaton and East Norton for their early morning transport to Market Harborough. Though the stations are respectively 7 and 9 miles away from the town, the journey times are only 12 and 18 minutes. As mentioned in an earlier chapter, this line has now been closed to passenger traffic, but, until suitable alternative transport arrangements can be made, a non-advertised workman's train continues to run to Market Harborough from these two stations. Thus, in the case of Market Harborough, the rail services continue to play quite an important part in determining the extent of its functional hinterland based on the journey to work.

It should be borne in mind that, so far in the chapter, consideration has only been given to the journey to work into the eight market towns of the county. The overall
picture of the phenomenon is not quite so straightforward as this. Employment opportunities present themselves in other settlements of the county. The Ministry of Town and Country Planning survey recognised "67 distinct industrial centres in the county." This may mean that locally, one of the centres, apart from a market town, may be more important as a provisor of employment to people living in non-industrial villages. However, the relative importance of the other industrial centres in the county is brought out in table 30.

Thus, the eight settlements with which we have dealt in this chapter account for about 84% of the total employment opportunities in the county, and are the places of employment for about 60% who make a journey to work. Moreover, of the 26,000 who travel to work to one of the other 59 industrial centres, no less than 42.5% (over 11,000) journey from one of the market towns. Thus, in examining the journey to work to the eight market towns, more than 70% of those journeying from the smaller settlements of the county have been taken into consideration.

In the county there are seven settlements - in addition to the market towns - into which over 1000 people make the journey to work; in each case, however, there are special factors accounting for such large scale movements.

1. (Journey to Work Survey. op. cit. paragraph 4.)
Table 30

Employment in Groups of Leicestershire Industrial Centres: showing numbers travelling to work

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Total number employed</th>
<th>Percentage of County Total</th>
<th>Number travelling to work</th>
<th>Percentage of County Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leicester</td>
<td>162,000</td>
<td>56.5</td>
<td>22,000</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The 7 Market Towns</td>
<td>79,000</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other 59 Industrial Centres</td>
<td>45,000</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>26,000</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County Total</td>
<td>285,000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>63,000</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Three of the seven are coal mining settlements - viz. Ashby Wolds, Bagworth, and Worthington. The settlements themselves are comparatively small, and hence most of the miners employed at each colliery must travel to work. In each case nearby towns provide a considerable number of the miners; Leicester 16%, and Coalville 10% in the case of Bagworth; Swadlincote over 20%, and Ashby-de-la-Zouch 15% in the case of Ashby Wolds; Coalville 43%, and Ashby-de-la-Zouch 15% in the case of Worthington.

A fourth settlement is Asfordby, in East Leicestershire, in which is located an iron and steel works employing over 1500 workers, of whom almost two-thirds travel from nearby Melton Mowbray. At Broughton and Old Dalby, a parish on the Melton-Nottingham road, is located an important ordnance depot employing (in 1947) more than a 1000 workers, of whom 75% travelled from Leicester, Melton and Nottingham. Thurmaston, though a parish in the county, is, in reality, a part of Leicester, for of the 1600 people working in the parish almost 50% travelled from other parts of the city. Finally, Whetstone, a settlement some 5 miles south of Leicester, which was the location of some wartime factory development (including pioneer production units of jet engines); and, as before 1939, the settlement was primarily a residential one for Leicester, most of the employees needed in the factories had to be brought in from
other places. Over 40% travelled from Leicester, and 20% from the adjacent settlement of Blaby.

These seven industrial centres accounted for almost 40% of the total employment in the 59 other industrial centres of the county (see table 30).

One final matter remains to be considered. In a previous paragraph it was mentioned that more than 11,000 people daily make a journey from one of the market towns, in order to work in one of the other 59 industrial centres in the county. In addition another 3,000 travel from one market town to another to work, and another 750 into industrial towns and villages in other counties of the North Midland Region. This region excludes Warwickshire to whose industrial towns, notably Nuneaton and Rugby, there is a considerable movement from the Leicestershire towns for purposes of securing daily employment. This is especially true as far as Hinckley is concerned. From Hinckley to Nuneaton the numbers journeying to work may involve almost as many people as move in the opposite direction - viz. 1500 to 2000. The early morning transport facilities - five trains and 20 service buses (not counting duplication of services - are certainly sufficiently great to provide for a transfer of this size.

Thus, the eight market towns in the county are dormitory centres for upwards of 15,000 people; overall, the journey
to work from these towns is 40% as great as the journey to work into them. (see Figs 57 and 58).

In the case of Coalville, however, its importance as a dormitory centre exceeds its importance as a centre of employment, at least in so far as a comparison of the numbers involved is concerned. About 2750 who live outside the town, work in Coalville; about 3250 who live in Coalville work elsewhere. On Fig. 58 is indicated the areal extent of Coalville's function as a dormitory town.

In the first place, Coalville provides a considerable number of workers to other centres - notably Leicester and Loughborough, where the employment opportunities in manufacturing industry and non-manual activities are far better. In the second place, many miners living in Coalville work at the collieries in the neighbourhood. For example, about 500 travel to the colliery at Worthington; about 300 to the colliery at Bagworth; almost 200 to the colliery at Nailstone.

36% of the workers living in Coalville leave the town to find employment; in the case of Ashby-de-la-Zouch the feature is even more pronounced as 53% of the resident workers are employed in other settlements. Over 950 workers leave the town daily (there is a compensating movement of only 900 employees into the town), and, in this case, the local movements to surrounding coal mining parishes is the more pronounced.
THE LEICESTERSHIRE CENTRES AS DORMITORY TOWNS

N.B. NO INFORMATION AVAILABLE FOR TRAVEL TO WORK IN WARWICKSHIRE PARISHES

LEGEND
IN EACH DIAGRAM THE NUMBER OF PERSONS TRAVELLING FROM THE TOWN INDICATED TO WORK IN OTHER PARISHES IS SHOWN AS:
MORE THAN 500
250 - 499
100 - 249
10 - 99
LESS THAN 10
AT THE CENTRE IS INDICATED THE PERCENTAGE OF ITS RESIDENT WORKERS TRAVELLING TO WORK IN OTHER PARISHES.

BASED ON A M.T.C.P. SURVEY: REGION 3. 1947-9

FIG. 57.
THE LEICESTERSHIRE CENTRES AS DORMITORY TOWNS

COALVILLE

ASHBY-DE-LA-ZOUCH

HINCKLEY

LUTTERWORTH

N.B. NO INFORMATION AVAILABLE FOR TRAVEL TO WORK TO WARWICKSHIRE PARISHES.

FIGURE 65V. FOR HINCKLEY IS, THEREFORE, TOO LOW. LUTTERWORTH ALSO AFFECTED.

BASED ON A M.T.C.R SURVEY, REGION 3, 1947-9
For the other centres the percentage of resident workers leaving the town is considerably lower. It is only 4, 5 and 6% for Market Harborough, Leicester, and Loughborough, respectively. The one exception is at Melton Mowbray; here 37% of resident workers leave the town, but almost two-thirds of these only make the two mile journey to the iron and steel works at Asfordby. In this instance, the same type of exchange of workers occurs as in the mining districts; the wives and daughters of the men employed in the collieries or the steel plant, and living in the settlement in which it is located, find employment in the nearby town — viz. Coalville, Ashby, or Melton; on the other hand, miners or steel workers who prefer to live in the towns, daily make the journeys out to the colliery or works.

The diagram for Leicester on Fig. 57, indicates the extent to which people working in the coal mines of northwest Leicestershire, or the factories of the urban villages to north and south of the city, prefer to live in the city where conditions of life are so much better. This feature was accentuated in the inter-war period, at least in so far as relations with the mining area were concerned. In the late 1920's and the 1930's many of the miners were unemployed or else working short time (2 to 3 shifts per week). Few opportunities for wives and daughters to find employment
locally were available, and, hence, if the family income was to be supplemented they were forced to travel into Leicester, thus wasting time and 'bus fares. The logical procedure was, therefore, for the family to move to live in the city, and for the husband to be the lone traveller out to the colliery. Leicester's influence over the inhabitants of this area thus developed from providing facilities for an occasional visit; to providing employment for members of the family, apart from the husband; and, thence, to claiming them as residents.

The journey to work thus offers many interesting expressions of town-country relationships, apart from the obvious analysis of a town's hinterland based on its function as a centre of employment for the surrounding district. This latter analysis has been made in detail and the hinterlands delimited on the basis of the evidence available. The other facets of the relationships cannot be investigated in such detail, and are perhaps a little outside the scope of the problems under consideration in this thesis. An examination of them would provide other interesting studies in social geography.
In the section of this thesis in which town-country relations in the mid 19th century were examined, hinterlands of the market towns based on their provision of administrative services were established. Such an examination was not possible in the study of conditions at the opening of the 20th century, mainly because of the changed attitude to local government areas as expressed in the various Parliamentary Acts after 1872. These Acts had deliberately ignored the functional relationships between a town and its tributary area, and had divided the country into primary units of local administration based on the rigid separation of urban and rural districts. Moreover, other functional hinterlands of towns and cities had been ignored when the county boundaries became important lines of demarcation in the administrative face of the country.

Today the effects of these Acts are still keenly felt in local government administration. Indeed, the division between urban district and rural district, and between county borough and county, for example, have become even more vexatious as a result of the daily interchange of population which now takes place on an extremely large scale. Thus, around Leicester, suburbs such as Thurmaston, Oadby, Braunstone, Thurnby, etc. are administratively divided from
the city, in spite of their very close contacts in every other sphere of human activities. The interests of the populations of these settlements lie in Leicester itself; can one, therefore, wonder that in electing representatives to a rural district council, whose headquarters are in villages up to 8 or 9 miles away, in a direction opposite to that in which people are accustomed to journey, that there is apathy and disinterestedness to an extent that makes one almost despair of democracy itself. Similarly around Loughborough; in this neighbourhood the villages whose populations look to Loughborough for employment, shopping facilities, entertainment, social services, and a wide range of other activities, are located, administratively, in the rural districts of Barrow-on-Soar or Castle Donington; settlements which are merely a name on the heading of the rate demand or on the side of a dust-cart, and which might well be purely hypothetical settlements for what community of interest there is between the rural district centre and the component villages in the district. And, in the western part of the county the rural district of Market Bosworth exists as an anachronism dating from the importance of this specific settlement as a market town in the early 18th century. Comments concerning the futility of such an area of government have been expressed to the writer on numerous occasions. As, for example, from the inhabitant of the
village of Markfield (some 10 miles from Bosworth, but only 5 miles from Coalville, and 7 from Leicester to which centre there is a quarter-of-an-hourly bus service) who described a visit to Market Bosworth as "a day's journey"; or from the inhabitant of Orton-on-the-Hill, in the southwest of the county, who failed to see what rhyme or reason there was in being administered from Bosworth whilst all other interests and activities were centred on the market town of Atherstone only a few miles away - but, over the border in Warwickshire.

Fortunately, the urban and rural districts are of less relative significance in the system of administration today, than they were at the beginning of the century. This is not to imply that their services have decreased in number or importance; but they have not increased to the same extent as those provided by other authorities, as a result of the development of government with the increasing complexity of modern life and the introduction of the welfare state. The other authorities providing important facets of local administration are the county councils, and the national government departments intimately concerned with the welfare of the people, and with whom contact is maintained through local offices located in convenient centres.

When the County Councils were formed in 1888, they took over the functions of the Quarter Sessions Courts which had
been responsible for the police, the county roads, and various inspectorates. These functions had been locally devolved on to the petty sessional courts, and hence, these divisions of the county, initially formed in 1842, though today part of the national legal system, have had their areas determined in relation to their functions as county district centres, and they are, therefore, included on Fig. 59 as one of the county council administrative divisions. The areas of the petty sessional divisions remain today almost as they were in 1900 and, indeed, show but little change from their boundaries of the mid-nineteenth century. The development of a new service centre of importance in the north-west of the county has, however, been recognised, and courts are now held at both Ashby-de-la-Zouch and Coalville. Market Bosworth and East Norton still remain as divisional centres in spite of their lack of importance as central settlements, and moreover, the divisions are still absolutely dependent on the county boundary.

The police divisions are shown on the same diagram, and, as in the mid 19th century, they are still mainly related directly to the petty sessional areas. The number of police divisions has, however, been reduced considerably, there now being but 5 in the county, based on Leicester, Loughborough, Coalville, Hinckley and Melton Mowbray. Until recently there was a division centred on Market
Harborough and its removal has left a 'gap' in south Leicestershire administered at the moment from Hinckley. Apart from this feature there are only two significant variations from the petty sessional divisions. Melton police H.Q. is the centre for both the Melton and Belvoir Petty Sessional divisions, and secondly, Market Bosworth is not the centre of a police division; administration in this area is divided between Coalville and Hinckley.

The ambulance districts and the fire station areas both show the unsuitability of the county boundary as the boundary of an area in which movement from a convenient centre to all parts of the hinterland is of vital importance. The transgression of the county boundaries is most marked in the case of the fire station 'turn out' areas. Market Harborough serves a considerable area of Northamptonshire. Similarly, Loughborough and Melton Mowbray serve part of south Nottinghamshire, and Hinckley an area of Warwickshire between the towns of Nuneaton and Rugby. On the other hand, Oakham and Uppingham serve parts of east Leicestershire, some considerable distance from a Leicestershire town, and Grantham, the north-east part of the county, more than 10 miles from Melton Mowbray.

Within the county the position is complicated by the different types of fire station, but it will be noted that Leicester, Loughborough, Coalville, and Hinckley have whole
time stations, and the other market towns of Ashby, Melton Mowbray, and Market Harborough, stations with some full-time staff so that these brigades are ready to assist the part time stations, if and when required.

Of the ambulance districts, only in the case of Market Harborough is an area in an adjacent county served by a Leicestershire station. The stations are located in all the market towns except Ashby-de-la-Zouch and, in particular, the recognition of Leicester's greater accessibility from the eastern part of the county should be noted. This same feature is also apparent in the adjoining diagram showing the administrative divisions of the county home help service.

One division of the county — the Highway Districts — is mapped on Fig. 62. In this instance the provision of a Leicester district is entirely dispensed with, the administration of the roads being devolved on to area offices located in five of the market towns.

One of the chief functions of the county authority is in the field of education. The provision of some of these facilities is shown on Fig. 60. Schools must be located at places where there are sufficient pupils of various age groups to make the establishment an efficient unit. Hence secondary schools, which must be larger than junior schools in order that specialised courses can be successfully operated, are located at more infrequent intervals; and the
grammar schools, which cater for a minority of the children over the age of 11, must be located at still more infrequent intervals. The distribution of the junior schools, from which pupils later migrate both to the secondary schools and to grammar schools, is shown in the first diagram. The village school has been a feature of the education system during the period of compulsory education, but this resulted in small, inefficient, and ineffective schools in settlements where the number of children was insufficient to facilitate their development. Hence at the moment, in the areas of low population, schools are being closed down and facilities centralised in certain settlements, which then serve the children in the neighbouring villages. This is most noticeable in east Leicestershire. Were rural service provision under discussion then a more detailed examination of this situation would be called for.

The secondary schools, demanding a larger catchment area, are found in fewer settlements. The regional contrast between east and west Leicestershire is brought out in the diagram. The secondary schools at Melton Mowbray, Market Harborough (with Langton) and Lutterworth serve extensive areas, whereas in the more densely peopled parts of the county the schools are located more closely together. Hence, within the area served by Loughborough for many purposes, there are secondary schools at Castle Donington, Shepshed,
Quorn, Barrow, and Sileby, each with a small catchment area of its own containing about 5000 inhabitants. The catchment area of Melton's schools is about 15,000, but, in this instance, the population is so widely scattered that the children concerned can more easily reach Melton to attend the school also used by Melton town children, rather than attend schools located at less convenient places somewhere within the catchment area. The importance of Melton's position in providing facilities to the children from such an extensive area is commented on with favour by tradespeople and others in the town who consider that habits formed in childhood will influence activities in later years, and thus, the continuity of making regular visits to the town will not be broken after leaving school.

One also notes in this diagram the location of secondary schools in several of the settlements immediately adjacent to Leicester; these are in place of schools which would normally be located in Leicester itself, to serve the population of the surrounding area, were there not the break in educational administration at the city boundary. Thus the catchment areas of the schools at Thurmaston, Thurnby, Oadby, Wigston, Enderby, and Markfield delimit the approximate hinterland one would expect a central settlement of the importance of Leicester to serve, in this respect.

Moving to look at the catchment areas of the grammar
schools we note immediately that the schools are located in considerably fewer centres. One may assume, however, that had an entirely new start been made with county grammar schools, that the situation might have been rather more straightforward than it is, for some of the schools at present used are legacies from the days of endowed grammar schools. For example, the grammar schools at Market Bosworth, Quorn, and Barrow were not built initially for the purpose of serving a particular hinterland. Rationalisation of the system, however, must proceed from a realisation that the school accommodation is not likely to be replaced by new accommodation, for, with the present restrictions in school building, it would be impossible to build new schools in the principal central towns in order to replace those in other less convenient settlements. The grammar schools at Ashby-de-la-Zouch and Market Harborough serve areas of Derbyshire and Northamptonshire respectively, by means of joint arrangements with the authorities concerned, and grammar school children in south-west Leicestershire are given the opportunity of attending the school at Atherstone in Warwickshire. The disadvantage of the separation of county from county borough is well illustrated in this instance, for children living on the very boundary of the city, perhaps only a mile away from the nearest city grammar school, have to make a daily round journey of
up to 20 miles — for example to Coalville or Lutterworth — in order to attend a county grammar school.

Perhaps the situation illustrated in the fourth diagram reflects what the catchment areas of the grammar schools might have looked like had a new start been made after the implementation of the 1944 Education Act, for, in this case, "the large multi-purpose institutions of further education are located at key towns, centrally situated not only for the town but also in relation to the transport system for people from outlying districts." These institutions of further education are to be comprehensive units to meet the demand for technologists and craftsmen needed in the urban and rural industries of the area. They are to house the county colleges (for part time education up to the age of 18), and "finally", continues the report "they will provide the centre for all the part time activities of further education, whether cultural, social, or recreative, for the district."

Their importance as district centres will, therefore, be very great, and their development will considerably enhance the importance of the towns in which they are located.

Existing technical colleges at Coalville, Hinckley, Melton

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1. (Leicestershire Education Committee; Report of the scheme for Technical, Art, and Commercial Education and the Provision of County Colleges. 1950.)

ii. (ibid.)
Mowbray, and Loughborough provide the foundations of the scheme and their catchment areas correspond to those of the Youth Employment Service. Market Harborough was the obvious choice for the south of the county but in order to give it a daily average of 200 students - the minimum necessary to ensure comprehensive provision of amenities - the committee found it necessary to include the Lutterworth district though, as they point out, some of the students from that area would have valid reasons for attending the college at Rugby. The lack of any agreement with Northamptonshire is surprising, for an area of this county would have provided the remainder of the obvious catchment area for the college at Market Harborough. An agreement was reached with Warwickshire, whereby Atherstone college could be attended by any Leicestershire student who found it inconvenient to attend a Leicestershire college; this would apply to the students in the western part of Hinckley's catchment area.

The arrangements reached with the city of Leicester education authority are perhaps the most interesting areal aspect of the whole scheme for they imply official recognition of the difficulties caused by having separate education authorities. It was agreed that seven colleges should be built to serve Leicester and the surrounding districts of the county; two of these to be built and maintained by the county authority, and located at Wigston and Syston; and the
city to build the remaining five, and take the location of the ones in the county area into consideration when planning the location of these. The students in the city and the county would then have the opportunity of attending the most convenient college. Here, for the first time is officially recognised — and delimited — the concept of a 'Greater Leicester' including most, though not all, of the area dependent upon the city for weekly requirements. (see Fig. 99).

In the chapter so far, we have examined the provision of nine services by the county council, noting the main features of the areas of administration for each service. In no two cases have the areas had identical boundaries. One point which does emerge, however, is the concentration of the centres for the various services in certain settlements. In Fig. 61 it is shown that four towns are centres for all the nine services. These are Melton Mowbray, Loughborough, Coalville, and Hinckley; additionally Market Harborough is the centre for eight of the services. Apart from these five towns only Lutterworth is the centre for a majority of the services — viz. — five. The city of Leicester, in spite of its separate administration, acts as the district centre for four of the services, and, of course, the central offices of the County Council administration are also located in the city.

Where a centre provides a considerable number of these
administrative and social services there would appear to be justification for labelling such an area as a functional hinterland. Such reasoning lies behind the construction of Fig. 61. Hinterlands have been determined by ascertaining to which centre each settlement looks for provision of the greatest number of the nine county council services under examination.

Perhaps the most significant feature of the map is the absence of Ashby-de-la-Zouch as one of the centres. Six of the nine services to the town itself are provided from the adjoining town of Coalville. The reason for this may be seen in the location of Coalville and Ashby relative to the county boundary which, for the county council services, more or less automatically determines the extent of the service area in that particular direction. Coalville is much more central to the area between Leicester and the county boundary than is Ashby, and hence, as a matter of convenience, it is logical that Coalville should have been selected as the central town for the majority of the services. Hence, Coalville's hinterland in this respect includes areas which look to the town of Ashby-de-la-Zouch for other activities.

1. (For further discussion of the centralisation of administrative services in certain settlements, and the relations which thereby developed with a hinterland area, see above pp. 170 and 362).
LEICESTERSHIRE 1953.

URBAN HINTERLANDS DETERMINED BY ASCERTAINING UPON WHICH CENTRE EACH SETTLEMENT IS DEPENDENT FOR MOST COUNTY COUNCIL SERVICES

CV - COALVILLE
HI - HINCKLEY
LO - LOUGHBOROUGH
LU - LUTTERWORTH
MH - MARKET HARBOROUGH
MM - MELTON MOWBRAY

FIGURE BELOW EACH NAME IN THE DIAGRAM INDICATES THE NUMBER OF SERVICES FOR WHICH THE TOWN IS A DISTRICT CENTRE - A MAXIMUM OF NINE.

LEGEND

- COUNTY BOUNDARY & BOUNDARIES OF THE HINTERLANDS
- DIVISIONS OF THE HINTERLANDS ACCORDING TO THE NUMBER OF SERVICES PROVIDED BY THE CENTRE NUMBER OF SERVICES IN EACH DIVISION INDICATED BY THE FIGURES.
- STIPPLED AREAS SERVED EQUALLY FROM THE TWO OR THREE CENTRES INDICATED BY THE ARROWS. THE FIGURE SHOWS NUMBER OF SERVICES SUPPLIED FROM EACH CENTRE.
- CITY OF LEICESTER UNDER SEPARATE ADMINISTRATION BUT IT SERVES ALSO AS A CENTRE FOR FOUR OF THE COUNTY COUNCIL SERVICES.

DIAGRAM BASED ON A STUDY OF NINE SERVICES. SEE FIGS 51, 60, 62.
In the eastern part of the county there are large areas whose administrative facilities are provided equally from two or three centres. This would appear to be an area more normally related to Leicester than to either Melton Mowbray or Market Harborough, and indeed, had the catchment areas of the county colleges located in the suburbs of Leicester to serve a Greater Leicester area been taken into consideration, then most of these parishes would have fallen within the hinterland of Leicester.

The asymmetrical shape of Coalville's hinterland is also a noticeable feature. To the west, Loughborough provides the majority of the services to the settlements immediately beyond the boundary of the Coalville Urban District, but to the south, Coalville's hinterland extends rather more than half the distance to Hinckley. Its extension to the west has already been related to the absence of service provision in Ashby-de-la-Zouch.

The importance of Melton Mowbray as a central settlement is clearly brought out in the great extent of the area to which it supplies all the nine services. Its influence over this area is unchallenged. In contrast, the other centres do not exercise so great an influence over their hinterland areas.

Local services of national government departments also depend on relations established between an office located
in a convenient centre and the population of an area tributary to this office. The county court districts, shown on the second diagram of Fig. 62, are largely of 19th century origin, but several features reflect that cognizance has been taken of changed relations between town and country. Compared with the district organisation for 1851 (see Fig. 22), Leicester's district has been extended to the east to include most of the Leicestershire parishes formerly within the Oakham and Uppingham districts. The remainder of the Leicestershire parishes in the Uppingham district have been added to the Market Harborough division, which now also includes the two adjacent Rutland and Northamptonshire parishes; a reflection of the rail facilities available from this area to Market Harborough.

Lutterworth is no longer the centre of a district, its former area having been placed in the districts of Leicester and Rugby, centres to which modern communications are available. Market Bosworth district has also disappeared, sensibly being divided among the four surrounding districts based on the market towns of Ashby, Hinckley, Atherstone, and Leicester. The only really significant change in town-country relations which has not been recognised is the fact of Coalville's development as a central settlement. County Court facilities to this town and district are still provided from Ashby-de-la-Zouch.
LEICESTERSHIRE: 1953.
FURTHER EXAMPLES OF DISTRICT ORGANISATION

COUNTY HIGHWAY DISTRICTS.

COUNTY COURT DISTRICTS

RAIL HEAD TOWNS
AND DELIVERY AREAS

INSURANCE COMPANY DISTRICTS

Each map diagram shows the stations served from the rail head town. Approximate boundaries of the districts indicated by the broken lines.
National Assistance Board Areas and Taxation Districts - local offices with which communication is perhaps more customary by letter rather than by visiting - seem to be based on administrative considerations, rather than on the convenience of those likely to be affected. Melton Mowbray tax district, for example, includes the whole of Rutland as well as north-east Leicestershire, and Coalville area of the Assistance Board includes the towns of Loughborough and Hinckley.

Labour Exchange facilities and national insurance matters depend on more intimate contact with the public and, in the former case especially, a visit when seeking work or workers is rather more satisfactory than contact by letter. The labour exchanges were established about 1910 and their disposition in Leicestershire at the present time is shown in Fig.63. Each of the eight market centres is the centre of a district, but evidence that the employment structure of the county was taken into consideration when the location of the exchanges was determined is shown by the fact that facilities are also locally available in Sileby, one of the industrial villages of the Soar Valley, in Ratby, the centre of a group of industrial villages to the west of Leicester, and Fleckney, in the centre of an area in which the villages have considerable numbers locally employed in the hosiery industry.
The branch offices of the Ministry of National Insurance were established in July 1948 and the extent of the areas which they serve were determined with reference to, firstly, the circulation of traffic into the different towns, secondly, the means of communication available to a given centre, and thirdly, the areas served by the Ministry of Labour Employment Exchange areas.

The choice of Sileby as a centre for an office would appear to be directly related to the third criteria. An office at Ratby, now closed, would also be related to the same factor; moreover its closure, together with that of offices in other settlements - viz. Measham, Narborough, Shepshed, would appear to be recognition of the greater importance of the first two criteria in ensuring close relationships with the public. These criteria also appear to have been observed in the decision not to have an office at Castle Donington, and its employment exchange area was divided between the national insurance offices at Ashby, Loughborough, and Castle Donington; a direct reflection of the transport facilities available to these three towns from the respective parts of the district.

Lutterworth office, which formerly operated on a full-

1. (The criteria as defined by an official of the Ministry of National Insurance at the North Midland Regional Office, Nottingham).
time basis, is still open part-time serving the area within the employment exchange district. In this case the relegation of the office was due to the lack of business arising in an area only lightly populated, and to the fact that much of its area has greater accessibility to one of the peripheral towns.

The county boundary was, however, apparently a fourth criteria in determining the extent of some districts. North of Loughborough, for example, the south Nottinghamshire parishes were allocated to a Ruddington district. By 1953 the inconvenience of this plan had been recognised, and it had been decided that the Loughborough district should be extended to include those places in south Nottinghamshire which are accustomed to look to the town for other services.

The county boundary with Warwickshire must have been taken into consideration otherwise some of the south-west Leicestershire parishes would have been served from the office at Atherstone. Similarly, when the Lutterworth district was divided between Hinckley, Market Harborough, and Leicester, if the criteria of availability of transport facilities and circulation of traffic into the towns had been considered, then the southernmost parishes must surely have been allocated to the Rugby district. The boundary between Leicestershire and Warwickshire is, however, the boundary between the North Midland Region of the Ministry, centred
on Nottingham, and the Midland Region, centred on Birmingham, and it was, no doubt, considered desirable to keep the local districts entirely within one region.

Of the districts themselves, the fact that they have largely become oriented around the market towns, the towns favoured with the best transport facilities, is evidence of the Ministry's attempt to relate the districts to the normal areas of circulation and thus ensure the best possible contact with the public. This appears of special significance in the extension eastwards, as far as the county boundary, of the catchment area of the Leicester office.

One anomalous feature, however, is the westerly projection of Coalville's district to the county boundary. There is certainly no circulation of traffic into Coalville from the several parishes concerned, although immediately before the outbreak of war, in 1939, market-day buses were available from some of the settlements concerned. The services, however, have not been re-introduced and contact with Coalville implies private transportation, or a long journey by bus via Ashby-de-la-Zouch.

Fig. 64 delimits the head post office districts in the county in 1953. In this case the areas over which services are provided by peripheral centres are of greater extent. This is especially true on the western edge of the county (a feature also noted in 1851 - Fig. 23 - and in 1900 - Fig. 41).
where the importance of the postal districts centred on Nuneaton and Rugby is due to their location on one of the main arteries of mail distribution - viz. the London to Crewe railway. Lutterworth's position as a post town has by now entirely disappeared - we noted its declining importance in 1900. Leicester's postal district has been extended in two directions. Firstly in the direction of Hinckley, whose district has been truncated, and secondly, so that it now covers most of the district formerly served by the head office at Ashby-de-la-Zouch. The remainder of Ashby's area has been re-allocated to Burton-on-Trent. Loughborough and Melton Mowbray retain their 19th century postal districts whilst that of Market Harborough has been extended eastwards to the county boundary to include an area formerly served by Uppingham.

Within the Leicester district, however, Coalville and Ashby-de-la-Zouch are of importance as collection and delivery centres and primary sorting offices. Coalville's post office area has a population of over 30,000; a population considerably in excess of that in the Market Harborough head office district. Moreover, when plans for an extension of the office at Coalville have been put into effect, the town's delivery area is to be considerably extended to include those nearby places at present served by local offices. From personal experience, the writer is aware of the many
thousands of people who assume that the postal address of villages will reflect their connections with a central town, having from time to time had the task of re-sorting letters addressed incorrectly (from the point of view of the post office) to Swannington, near Coalville; Ibstock, near Coalville; Ellistown, near Coalville; Heather, near Coalville; Bardon Hill, near Coalville; etc!

The final department of the national administration which has based its services on local district organisation is the Ministry of Food. 'Food office' districts were based entirely on local government areas with a resultant high degree of inconvenience. Another department of the same Ministry, however, drew up its own district organisation. This was the department responsible for organising supplies of English meat through the control of fat stock sales. The fat stock marketing areas are shown in Fig. 65. These were introduced in November 1939 and formally stipulated to which centre fat stock were to be sent for grading, prior to slaughter. They obviously had to be based on towns where cattle sales facilities were available, and thus in Leicestershire the seven agricultural centres were chosen. The area allocated to a town was approximately that lying up to half the distance to the neighbouring centre, but in the case of Leicester the area was made larger, firstly because it could handle a larger supply of animals; and
LEICESTERSHIRE.
AGRICULTURAL DISTRICTS 1953.

NATIONAL FARMERS' UNION
ADMINISTRATIVE DISTRICTS

MARKET HARBOURGH
ATHERSTONE
UPPINGHAM
LOUGHBOROUGH
ASHBY-DE-LA-TOUCH
MARKET BOSWORTH
LEICESTER

COUNTY BOUNDARY
WHERE NOT COINCIDENT WITH
DISTRICT BOUNDARIES

SCALE OF MILES

MINISTRY OF FOOD FAT STOCK
MARKETING AREAS

MARKET HARBOURGH
LOUGHBOROUGH
ASHBY-DE-LA-TOUCH
MARKET BOSWORTH
ATHERSTONE
NUNEATON
RUGBY
UPPINGHAM

FIG. 65.
secondly, in recognition of its greater area of influence as a marketing centre. However, as mentioned in the introductory chapter of this section of the thesis, the fat stock marketing scheme considerably restricted the catchment areas of the larger markets and tended to enhance the importance of the smaller centres, which, by 1939, as a result of the introduction of road transport, were slowly being driven out of existence.

In a manner similar to that employed for the examination of the provision of the county council services, hinterlands based on the local organisation of national government services have been determined and are illustrated in Fig.66. In this instance only Leicester is a centre for all the seven services but Loughborough and Melton Mowbray each provide six of them. Market Harborough and Ashby-de-la-Zouch are the centres for five, and Coalville is a centre for only a bare majority of the services. (together Ashby and Coalville supply six of the services; another example of the division of functions between the two towns).

The most significant contrast with Fig.61 lies in the great extension of the area within the hinterland of Leicester. It stretches to the boundary of east Leicestershire, covering most of those areas which we noted in Fig.61 as being equally served from two or more centres. Moreover, to the majority of its hinterland the city is the centre
LEICESTERSHIRE 1953.

URBAN HINTERLANDS DETERMINED BY ASCERTAINING UPON WHICH CENTRE EACH SETTLEMENT IS DEPENDENT FOR MOST LOCAL SERVICES PROVIDED BY GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS

AS - ASHBY-DE-LA-ZOUCH
LO - LOUGHBOROUGH
CV - COALVILLE
HI - HINCKLEY
MH - MARKET HARBOROUGH
MV - MELTON MOWBRAY
LE - LEICESTER

Figure below each name in the diagram indicates the number of services for which the town is a local district centre; maximum figure is seven.

LEGEND
- Boundaries of the Hinterlands
  County Boundary where not coincident with those of the hinterlands.
- Stippled areas served equally from the two centres indicated by the arrows. Figures show the number of services provided by each centre.
- Divisions of the hinterlands according to the number of services the centre provides. Number provided in each division indicated by the figures.

Diagram based on a study of seven services provided by Government Depts. See Figs. 63, 65.

FIG. 86.
for all seven services. This feature is again noticeable in the case of the hinterland of Melton Mowbray, only the peripheral parishes looking partly to another centre for one or two services. The hinterland of Loughborough is almost identical with that of the town for the earlier analysis, the only changes being in the north west, where Ashby serves an additional parish, and, of course, in the extension of the hinterland into south Nottinghamshire. The combined hinterlands of Coalville and Ashby-de-la-Zouch are almost equivalent to the 'county council services' hinterland of the former town, except that the influence of Leicester stretches a greater distance in the direction of Coalville. Again Loughborough serves the parishes immediately to the west of Coalville urban district.

Lutterworth does not appear as a centre in south-west Leicestershire. Only two local district services are based on the town. Most of the area looking to Lutterworth for the county council services is, in this case, dependent on Leicester for a majority of the services. The Warwickshire town of Rugby provides most of the services to the most southerly parishes in the county but over the remainder of Lutterworth's former hinterland two centres each provide two services, whilst Lutterworth itself provides another two. Thus there appears excessive splintering in an area which was formerly united in a functional relationship to
Lutterworth; the break up of these relationships have resulted from the low population of Lutterworth and the surrounding district, making impossible local provision of facilities, such as a county court or a full-time office of the Ministry of National Insurance. Were the population in and around Lutterworth to increase to any considerable extent then provision of these services could again be oriented around the town.

The county boundary is ignored to a considerable extent in provision of these services. The extension of Loughborough's influence into south Nottinghamshire and Rugby's influence in south Leicestershire have already been noted. Small adjustments may be seen in other areas; for instance, Ashby's hinterland includes one south Derbyshire parish—the town's formerly quite extensive hinterland in South Derbyshire has disappeared with the development of Swadlincote, only five miles away, as a service centre. Important adjustments, however, occur in two instances; firstly, Grantham provides 4 or 5 services to a large area of northeast Leicestershire, and secondly, over an extensive area of Northamptonshire, Market Harborough provides a similar number of services. Even the development of modern communications has not lessened the functions of a town in another county in providing a majority of the services to the settlements in these areas. It is in these instances
that the areas of local government administration are in most need of reform.

This study of the 'official' functions of the towns have enabled us to determine two sets of hinterlands. These hinterlands may not necessarily represent 'areas of circulation' which correspond to those desired by the inhabitants, but, nevertheless, in so far as a majority of services of this nature have to be sought in a particular town, then these hinterlands are an important aspect of the functional relationships between town and country, and must of necessity be examined in any study concerned with the "geographical aspect of the social and economic structure of society." ¹

CHAPTER SIX

SPHERES OF INFLUENCE
BASED ON THE PROVISION OF WEEKLY SERVICES

In the opening chapter of this section brief considera-
tion was given to the great development of weekly visits to
town during the past 30 years. The 19th century market
towns have been described as 'the field of the smaller gentry
and the farmers who visited the local market', and thus the
proportion of the population which paid them regular visits
must have been quite small. Today, however, as another
writer has pointed out, considerable numbers of visitors
journey to the town every week "whereas a generation ago the
number of visits might have been two or three in the whole
year." The provision of weekly services was the essential
function of the 19th and early 20th century market town.
Today the market town retains that function, but firstly, it
is now of significance to a far greater proportion of the
population, and secondly, it is a function which has been
diversified to a very considerable extent. The weekly
function of the market town is now expected to range over a
whole variety of individual services. These have been
briefly described in a recent planning document,

1. (Lipman V.D. Local Government Areas, 1834-1945.

11. (Roper Power, E.R. Social Structure of an English County
"In addition to serving as a market centre and a source of many necessities for the agricultural industry, the market town plays an important part as a shopping centre for rural families living within its sphere of influence. Interdependence of town and country is not peculiar to the retail services alone; it extends through all branches of social and economic life and is nowhere more marked than in the case of the professional and other services. Finally market towns serve as recreational and educational centres."

The weekly visit to town will be associated with the need for all these services, except in areas where some of the services - for example, banking facilities - are found locally in settlements within the hinterland. Where, however, the town is the only place at which the various services can be obtained then the visit will be a multipurpose one. A special visit to the town merely to visit the cinema would be rather too expensive for the average family as bus fares would have to be found on the top of the price of admission. Hence, in Market Harborough and Melton Mowbray, for example, the cinemas give matinée performances on the towns' market day in order to catch custom brought

into the town more specifically for other purposes. In a survey of Worcester a group of investigators reached the following conclusion, when attempting to analyse the importance of the city for various purposes,

"It is impossible to separate travel for educational and recreational purposes from travel for shopping, marketing and other needs. Worcester's functions as a marketing and a shopping centre, as a centre for specialised health and other services and as an educational and entertainment centre may all be fulfilled by a joint purpose visit and are thus interdependent."

Dr. Bracey also recognised a similar feature in his survey of Wiltshire,

"There is a marked tendency for country people to use the same towns for shopping, visits to the dentists, and attendance at social gatherings, to mention only three town provisions shared by the inhabitants of the countryside."

In view of this essential interdependence of the visits to towns (though, of course, there are exceptions), it is possible to delimit, by way of a general background to the

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i. (Commerce Dept. University of Birmingham, County Town; A Civic Survey of Worcester. London 1946. p.131.)

situation, the hinterlands served by the eight market towns in Leicestershire for these weekly services. The hinterlands are shown on Fig. 67. Delimitation of the hinterlands has been based on the replies given in the Ministry of Town and Country Planning village survey concerning the visits to towns made for shopping purposes, for cinema entertainment and banking facilities. Apart from the eight market towns there are, of course, less important service centres (see table 22) in the county, and the services which they provide have not been taken into consideration in constructing the diagram. However, as in almost every case the inhabitants of these smaller centres reported that they also visited one of the market towns for these items of weekly service provision, the general picture is not unduly distorted. For example, there is a cinema in the village of Ibstock, located in the hinterland of Coalville, but the cinemas in the latter place are visited as frequently as that in Ibstock. Shepshed, four miles to the west of Loughborough, has a considerable range of 'weekly' shops, yet weekly visits are made to utilise the shopping facilities of Loughborough, especially on that town's market days.

The following principal features emerge from a study of Fig. 67. We may firstly note the much more extensive hinterland of Leicester when compared to those of the other

1. (See above p.398 and Appendix 3 for further details of the survey.)
THE HINTERLANDS OF THE MARKET TOWNS BASED ON THEIR PROVISION OF 'WEEKLY' SERVICES

LEGEND

- COUNTY BOUNDARY
- BOUNDARIES OF THE HINTERLANDS
- THE AREAS SERVED EQUALLY BY TWO CENTRES ARE SHADED. THE CENTRES CONCERNED ARE INDICATED BY THE ARROWS.

BASED ON AN ANALYSIS OF A MINISTRY OF TOWN & COUNTRY PLANNING SURVEY, REGION 3, 1950.
SEE ALSO FIGS. 71 TO 76.

FIG. 67.
The shape and size of the hinterland is, indeed, basically the same as the hinterland of the city as determined from a study of the transport facilities. (See Figs. 50 and 51.) The hinterland boundaries between Leicester and the smaller market towns are rather nearer to the latter places than to the city. This is especially seen to be true between Leicester and Lutterworth, and between Leicester and Uppingham. On the routes between Leicester and the smaller towns there are, in most instances, settlements, located nearer to the smaller town, which reported visiting both Leicester and the appropriate smaller town for these facilities. This is noticeable, for example, between Leicester and Loughborough, and between Leicester and Lutterworth.

There is also a noticeable contrast between east and west Leicestershire. In east Leicestershire the widely separated market towns of Leicester, Market Harborough, and Melton Mowbray have extensive hinterlands, the boundaries of which are fairly clearly defined. There are but few villages equally dependent on two centres, except in the extreme north-east of the county where Melton Mowbray and Grantham (in Lincolnshire) each provide services to half-a-dozen villages.

In west Leicestershire the market towns are somewhat closer together, especially Ashby-de-la-Zouch and Coalville, and Hinckley, Nuneaton, and Atherstone but, more important
than this factor in complicating the picture of the hinterlands, are the extensive areas in which the villages reported visits to two centres for these services under consideration. Around Ashby-de-la-Zouch, for example, villages to the south-east of the town look also to Coalville; villages to the south-west and the west are equally dependent on Ashby, and Swadlincote or Burton-on-Trent; whilst to the north of the town other villages look partly to Ashby and partly to Coalville or Long Eaton (Derbyshire).

This contrast between the situations in east and west Leicestershire would also appear to be a reflection of the contrasting transport facilities available in the two parts of the county. In the west, the network of bus routes is more dense than the network in the east and thus additional opportunities arise for visiting alternative centres. These differing transport facilities were discussed in more detail in an earlier chapter.

A large area of south-west Leicestershire looks to the Warwickshire towns of Atherstone and Nuneaton for weekly service provision. Atherstone's influence in the extreme south-west is a continuation of the traditional relationship in this area, for at the beginning of the 19th century this feature was noted. Nuneaton's influence in an area which is located closer to the Leicestershire town of Hinckley, and which extends rather more than half the distance from

1. (See above p. 422 and also Fig. 49).
Nuneaton to Ashby-de-la-Zouch and Coalville, arose, however, only in the late 19th century with the opening of the railway from Nuneaton to serve the villages in this area. This process was examined in an earlier section of the thesis.

The railway was closed to passenger traffic in the early 1930s but, in spite of this change in the transport facilities available, Nuneaton's influence still persists. At Congerstone, for example, which is seven miles from Ashby, 8 from Hinckley, and almost 10 from Nuneaton, residents reported that the great majority of shopping was done in the Warwickshire town; that Ashby was 'unimportant'; and that they had 'never heard of anyone going to Hinckley'. Thus has a tradition of trading with a town, situated at a greater distance than others offering similar facilities, persisted, in spite of a change in the conditions which first gave rise to the phenomenon.

Finally, the small hinterland of Lutterworth might be noted. The decline in importance of this town has already been noted in earlier chapters, and it is now clearly seen that this has been matched by a decline in the extent of the weekly services hinterland. A century ago, Lutterworth provided weekly services to those settlements now on the northern edge of its hinterland and which look also to Leicester; it provided services to settlements further to the east, now looking to Market Harborough; it served all

1. (See above p. 311)
the places in Leicestershire south of the town, and which now, either entirely or partially, depend on the Warwickshire town of Rugby; and it also provided facilities to settlements in both Warwickshire and Northamptonshire, and which now also look to Rugby for shopping, cinema, and banking facilities.

Some of the hinterlands will be considered in more detail later in the chapter.

Another general picture of relations between town and country is shown in Fig. 68 in which the circulation areas of local weekly newspapers are indicated. Smailes considered that the distribution area of a weekly newspaper expresses the existence of a local regional consciousness. This would appear to be true to a large extent, but it is an oversimplification of the situation, because the distribution of a newspaper also reflects the varying efficiency of circulation managers, and the absence of a newspaper in an adjacent town which, in all other respects, can claim to be a central settlement of importance, and which has a potential circulation area sufficiently populous to make production of a newspaper an economic possibility. This latter case is seen in Leicestershire at Ashby-de-la-Zouch where there is a town plus hinterland population of about 20,000, this being almost equivalent to the population of Market Harborough.

1. (Smailes A.E. The Urban Hierarchy in England & Wales. Geography. 17. 1944. p.43.)
and its hinterland, and in which area a newspaper has circulated successfully for just on a 100 years. The absence of a newspaper at Ashby allows the Coalville paper to circulate in and around Ashby, and news of these settlements are given in the columns of that paper. This fact, however, has not led to any closer contact between Coalville and this area.

Fig. 68 is based on information supplied by the various newspaper proprietors, and hence the ray diagrams from each newspaper centre indicate those villages to which copies of the paper are despatched for sale. From these selling points the papers may reach several other settlements, and thus the picture of distribution may not always be a 100% comprehensive one. This would appear to be especially the case for the Melton Mowbray paper. In addition, of course, sales over the counter in the newspaper town itself, may either be to the residents of the town, or to those visiting the town from the hinterland.

The distribution of the weekly Leicester newspaper reflects not only its weekly hinterland, but also that for which it provides more specialised services. As this paper is one in which a large amount of space is devoted to agricultural topics, and to advertising sales of stock etc., it appeals to the members of the farming community who use Leicester as a marketing centre. A glance at Fig. 69 will
DISTRIBUTION OF WEEKLY NEWSPAPERS FROM LEICESTERSHIRE AND PERIPHERAL TOWNS 1953

LE. LEICESTER
LO. LOUGHBOROUGH
CV. COALVILLE
MM. MELTON MOWBRAY
MH. MARKET HARBOROUGH
HI. HINCKLEY

LEGEND

--- LEICESTERSHIRE BOUNDARY
TOWNS WITH A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER INDICATED BY THE CIRCLES. COUNTY TOWNS SHOWN BY THE LARGER CIRCLES.
THE RAY DIAGRAM FROM EACH CENTRE INDICATES THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE SETTLEMENTS IN WHICH THERE IS AN AGENT SELLING THE NEWSPAPER OF THAT CENTRE.

BASED ON INFORMATION FROM THE VARIOUS NEWSPAPER PROPRIETORS

FIG. 88.
indicate that Leicester's marketing hinterland extends over most of the county, and hence the distribution of the newspaper will show a similar pattern. However the extent of Leicester's minimum 'weekly' hinterland may be seen, in perhaps rather a negative manner, by looking at those areas around the city in which the newspapers of the other centres in the county do not circulate. In no case, except Melton, do these centres have sales outlets in villages even half the distance to Leicester. Melton's paper's outlets near to Leicester are the result of a localised edition of the paper based on Syston.

In the south west of the county the absence of a paper at Lutterworth enables both the Leicester weekly and the Rugby paper to circulate in the area. Rugby's influence would appear to be considerably more restricted in extent than that of Leicester.

Two other Warwickshire newspaper towns - viz. Nuneaton and Atherstone - also have part of their circulation areas in Leicestershire. Of especial significance is the more or less mutually exclusive areas served by the Hinckley and the Nuneaton papers. This again confirms the unimportance of Hinckley as a service centre to the inhabitants of the settlements just a few miles to the west of the town.

On the northern and eastern boundaries of the county, the situation is incomplete as the managements of the
weekly newspapers concerned declined to furnish the information required to complete the map. Local newspapers are published in neither of the Rutland towns of Oakham and Uppingham.

Finally, we must examine the provision of weekly facilities to the farming community, although it must be borne in mind that, in 1931, only 12,468 were employed in agriculture in Leicestershire out of a total of 259,670 workers. Apart from marketing facilities farmers will expect to find the following range of facilities available in the towns;

"It (the market town) will be the immediate source of supply of implements and machinery, and of the repair and maintenance of the expensive and complicated machinery, with engineering services where they are required. It will supply agricultural hardware and harness, with some repair service, also much of the purchased feeding stuffs, fertilisers and seeds." ¹

As a matter of convenience it will, of course, be most usual for a farmer to seek these requirements in the town at which he does his marketing. By doing this a journey to another settlement can be saved, and personal contact will be achieved with those to whom the provision of services is entrusted.

¹ (Ashby A.W. County Towns; their Needs and Potentialities. Quoted in 'English County'. op. cit. p. 208.)
Hence, the cattle market towns will automatically become important for these other agricultural functions. This argument is perhaps least true in the case of supplies of seeds and fertilisers, which being marketed largely as proprietary brands, can be ordered easily by 'phone or letter, either from a merchant, or alternatively, directly from the factory. Hence, in the Leicestershire towns of Coalville and Hinckley there are important corn and seed merchants serving an area delimited, not by reference to market areas for these are non-existent, but by reference to the areas which can be effectively covered by motor transport from the depot. In the case of Hinckley the leading supplier serves areas as far away as Water Orton (20 miles), and another branch of the same firm in Coalville delivers to villages beyond the town of Loughborough. In these cases contact with the farmers is maintained by means of travellers, and hence, the location of the depots can be more or less arbitrarily fixed, providing rail communication is available to enable supplies to be received in bulk.

Neither has the provision of professional services to the farming community become as centralised as stock marketing. There are veterinary surgeons, for example, in fifteen Leicestershire settlements including those towns in which stock markets are not held. Contact in these cases can now be by telephone. In Loughborough an accountant
revealed that, in spite of the town's decline as an agricultural centre, he still had a large clientele amongst the farming community.

Thus, weekly provision to the farming community does not necessarily coincide with the provision of stock marketing facilities. This is perhaps adequately demonstrated by the organisation of the National Farmers' Union in Leicestershire. Lutterworth and Hinckley remain the headquarters of local branch areas (see Fig. 65), in spite of the fact that neither town has a market. From the Lutterworth branch area, "the farmers do their marketing in the large towns; from the north of the district, in Leicester; and from the south, in Market Harborough and Rugby." The farmers in the district may be divided in their allegiance to marketing centres, but for their social and professional contacts the local central settlement remains of importance.

The reasons behind the concentration of stock marketing in a few centres have been discussed in the first chapter of this section. Weekly markets in Leicestershire are now only offered at Leicester, Melton Mowbray, and Market Harborough. Ashby-de-la-Zouch has a fortnightly market and Market Bosworth a monthly one, but the numbers sold at this latter place are so insignificant that they can be ignored.

The catchment areas of the markets at Leicester and

1. (From a letter written by the Secretary of the Lutterworth Branch of the N.F.U.)
Melton Mowbray are shown on Figs. 69 and 70 respectively, and a comparison of the two diagrams will indicate that the joint catchment area of the markets covers, more or less, the whole of the county. The more localised influence of the markets at Ashby and Market Harborough is shown from the fact that there are villages in these areas not supplying stock to Leicester or Melton. The approximate extent of the main catchment area of the market at Market Harborough, as delimited by one of the firms of auctioneers in the town, is shown on the last diagram on Fig. 71. It was not possible to obtain more detailed information than this. As far as the market at Ashby is concerned, information supplied by the auctioneers controlling the market would suggest, that apart from stock consigned from long distances, the hinterland of the market is confined to an area within five or six miles of the town.

In 1952 the following numbers of animals passed through the three largest markets:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Market</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Melton Mowbray</td>
<td>119,424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leicester</td>
<td>87,514</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market Harborough</td>
<td>50,117</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For Melton and Market Harborough the figures were larger than those for 1927 (73,500 and 48,800 respectively) but for Leicester the figure was considerably less (111,921), and much less than the figure for 1938 (142,000), perhaps
HINTERLAND OF LEICESTER CATTLE MARKET. 1952.

LEGEND

- Other Stock Markets - also at Lichfield & Stamford
- Decayed Markets in Leicestershire.

Store and Dairy Cattle auctioned in Leicesterc Market drawn from the Places indicated by the Triangular Symbols.

Number from Each Place: (Oct. 1951-Sept. 1952)

- ▲ Less Than Ten
- ▲ 10 to 24
- ▲ 25 to 49
- ▲ More Than 100

Based on Analysis of Market Sales Books of Leicester Livestock Auctions Ltd.

FIG. 69.
CATCHMENT AREA OF MELTON MOWBRAY CATTLE MARKET 1952

LEGEND
- LEICS. COUNTY BOUNDARY.
- OTHER STOCK MARKET TOWNS.
- CONSIGNMENTS OF BEASTS AND/OR SHEEP FROM EACH SETTLEMENT INDICATED.
- NUMBER OF CONSIGNMENTS:
  - ONE OR TWO
  - THREE TO FIVE
  - SIX TO TEN
  - ELEVEN TO TWENTY

THese settlements also served by Leicester Market see Fig. 71.

BASED ON ANALYSIS OF THE MARKET SALES BOOK OF MELTON & DISTRICT FARMERS ASS. SEPT.-OCT 1952.
reflecting the artificial restricting of fat stock sales at Leicester as a result of the regulations introduced in 1939, and discussed in an earlier chapter.

The concentration of marketing has, however, been matched by a concentration of the mechanised services required by the farming community. At Market Harborough, for example, is a firm of agricultural engineers who act as the distributors of Nuffield's agricultural machinery for the whole of Leicestershire and Rutland, employing sub-agents in Ashby, Leicester, and Melton. In Melton Mowbray, International Harvesters and Ferguson's each have an agent to cover very extensive areas of Leicestershire, Rutland, south Nottinghamshire, and parts of Lincolnshire, and in Ashby-de-la-Zouch a firm of agricultural engineers are the agents for International Harvesters, covering an area up to 20 miles in radius. These types of agents provide a comprehensive agricultural service to the agricultural community, maintaining personal contacts with the customers and prospective customers not only at the markets in the towns, but also by means of travelling representatives. As agricultural machinery becomes more complicated only firms such as these, with the official support of the producers, will be able to give an efficient repairing and replacement service. By means of motorised transport a facility such as this can be adequately given from relatively few settle-
ments, and hence its concentration in the towns with the stock markets, where contacts with the farming community is likely to be at its closest.

Today, therefore, the weekly services to the agricultural community are not necessarily areally related to the other weekly facilities offered by towns. Melton's market hinterland bears little relation to the other functional hinterlands of the town. Thus, the 19th century function of a central town — viz. a cattle market — which essentially marked it out as a service centre for an area from which animals could comfortably be walked to market, is no longer a valid criterion by which a town's importance as a local service centre can be gauged. Cattle marketing and associated activities have largely become centralised in places which offer certain specific advantages unrelated to connections with a local catchment area. In the case of Leicester, the pre-war advantages were the local market for wholesale meat supplies in the city, and the good rail connections to London and other centres direct from the market—sales ground. In the case of Melton, the activities of a farmers' co-operative, the Melton Farmers Association, drew the support of farmers from an area accessible to the town by motor transport — that is, from 20 to 30 miles away. The local factor has not, of course, entirely disappeared, as we have seen in the local catchment area of Ashby market.
and in the fact that the market at Market Harborough still flourishes by the sale of cattle for fattening on the pastures of the Welland valley.

When considering the weekly facilities which the towns offer to the community in general, it was pointed out that later in the chapter more detailed consideration would be given to the hinterlands served by certain of the settlements. Aspects of the relationships are illustrated in Figs. 71 and 73 to 76.

Up to 50 settlements look to Market Harborough for the provision of weekly facilities. The first three diagrams on Fig. 71 indicate the use made of Market Harborough for banking, shopping, and cinema facilities. 27 settlements reported themselves as wholly dependent on the town for all these services, and another 20 dependent to a lesser extent. In the case of weekly shopping facilities there are two special features of Market Harborough's hinterland. Firstly, on the northern boundary of the hinterland, five settlements secure some of their weekly needs from Kibworth, and Kibworth itself, though to a great extent able to supply its own needs, looks to both Leicester and Market Harborough for some of the more specialised shopping requirements.

Secondly, to the south of the town, the shopping hinterland is rather more restricted than those for the other facilities, because, from eight of these Northamptonshire
SPHERES OF INFLUENCE OF MARKET HARBOURGH 1950-53

FOR WEEKLY SHOPPING

SUBSIDIARY SHOPPING CENTRE OR A PLACE WITH A CINEMA
SETTLEMENTS DEPENDENT ON MARKET HARBOURGH FOR WEEKLY SHOPPING/BANK/CINEMA
SETTLEMENTS PARTLY DEPENDENT ON MARKET HARBOURGH & PARTLY ON THE NEIGHBOURING CENTRE INDICATED BY THE ARROW OR ON THE SUB-CENTRE INDICATED.

FOR BANKING FACILITIES

FOR CINEMA ENTERTAINMENT

TRADING AREA OF THE CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY

SEE ABOVE FOR KEY TO SYMBOLS.

THIS DIAGRAM & THOSE ABOVE BASED ON ANALYSIS OF M.T.C.P. SURVEY 1949-50

RETAILERS TRADING AREAS.

AREAS SERVED BY THE WEEKLY NEWSPAPER AND THE CATTLE MARKET

FIG. 71.
villages, shopping requirements are also sought in the towns of Kettering and Northampton.

The hinterland of the town for cinema entertainment was confirmed by the managements of the two cinemas in the town. Independently, they both delimited a catchment area almost identical with the boundary of the hinterland shown in the diagram. The importance of Desborough (Northamptonshire) as a contributing village was stressed, and this, in spite of the local cinema facilities available there. This is, no doubt, due to the greatly superior attractions at Market Harborough, where one of the cinemas exhibits features concurrently with the Odeon in Leicester, and the other, on the ABC circuit, immediately following exhibition in Leicester. On Fig. 72 are shown the late night transport facilities from Market Harborough. During the week these are available only to Welford, Desborough and Leicester after the end of the final performance, and on Saturdays along several additional routes. This, however, does not represent a complete picture of transport facilities available, as special buses are available from other areas on certain nights of the week. On Sundays, Market Harborough's cinema hinterland is extended as far as Uppingham by special transport from that town.

The Market Harborough Industrial Co-operative Society, established in 1862, now provides a comprehensive trading
service to the town and neighbourhood. The Society accounts for about 20% of the total retail sales of Market Harborough. As the diagram shows, its trading area is more extensive than the town's weekly hinterland - a result of the Societies' expansion in a westerly direction to provide facilities at Lutterworth and Dunton Bassett and neighbouring villages. The other branches of the society, however, lie within the normal hinterland of the town and provide a delivery service to every settlement. For groceries etc., Market Harborough acts as a wholesaling centre for the various shops, rather than as a retailing centre for all settlements in the hinterland, but for other goods - for example, furnishings, hardware - deliveries are made directly from the town to the settlements, the goods being ordered through the branches, or, more usually, by a visit to the central departments of the society in Market Harborough.

The trading areas of the three retailers of the town, shown on the fifth diagram, are somewhat more extensive than the hinterland delimited for weekly shopping. The grocer gives regular weekly deliveries to the great majority of the settlements in the area shown, and it is thus possible to provide a service in a settlement whose inhabitants do not normally trade in Market Harborough. This may explain why the delivery area extends to the north of Kibworth. It may also, however, be related to the same factor which
has led to the extension of the delivery areas of the other
two types of retailers - viz. the ironmonger and the corn
and agricultural dealer. In these cases, most business will
be with the farming community, and thus, their delivery areas
will be closely related to the area served by the cattle
market, which is visited regularly by the farmers in this
stock raising area.

Finally, the area in which the local newspaper circulates
is very closely coincident with the shopping and other weekly
facilities' hinterlands. The only places in which the paper
is on sale and which do not look to Market Harborough for
shopping facilities, are Lamport, Corby, and Rothwell.
The dominance of Market Harborough's position in south-east
Leicestershire is brought out in the fact that the Kettering
newspaper does not have a single sales outlet in the area,
and in the villages of Northamptonshire due east of Market
Harborough, the competition from Kettering is insignificant.
Only at Wilbarston, which is almost six miles from Market
Harborough, is the Kettering newspaper of equal importanc. 1

The spheres of influence of Loughborough, shown on
Fig. 73, have been determined by reference to similar criteria.
Variations in the areas served by the weekly facilities
provided by the town are, however, rather more pronounced,
owing to the distribution of certain service facilities in

1. (From information supplied by the Northamptonshire
Newspapers Ltd.)
the settlements around the town. The area served by Loughborough for banking facilities, for example, is quite restricted, for to north, south, and west there are no fewer than eight places in which banks are located, and, except where it is necessary to deal with a bank other than the one represented by a branch in the village, there is no need to resort to Loughborough. A similar situation, but to a less marked degree, applies in the case of cinema entertainment. Five settlements around Loughborough have their own cinemas. However, in all these settlements except Castle Donington, Loughborough's cinemas, again having more attractive programmes, were reported as being regularly visited as alternatives to the local ones. Fig. 72 shows that late-night transport facilities from Loughborough are good, most of the settlements in the hinterland being accessible on at least one night of the week.

The fourth diagram shows the circulation area of one of the two Loughborough weekly newspapers. The figures of distribution show that over a considerable area there is a circulation of one copy per household (assuming four people per household). This area stretches from Mountsorrel in the south, to Diseworth, Sutton Bonington, and East Leake in the north. There are several significant contrasts in the density of newspaper circulation. Firstly, at Sileby there are 5.4 inhabitants for every copy sold, in contrast to 3.9
at Mountsorrel, only 1½ miles away to the west, and at almost identical distances from Loughborough. This suggests that Mountsorrel's connections with Loughborough are rather more close than those of Sileby, where the influence of Leicester would appear to be rather stronger. This position is confirmed in that the shops at Sileby have their half-day closing on Thursday, the same day as Leicester; whereas at Mountsorrel, and at both Quorn and Barrow, the early closing day is the same as that at Loughborough. Sileby's closer connections with Leicester may be traced back to the 19th century, when with the opening of the Midland Counties Railway in 1840 good rail facilities became available to Leicester. There were also rail facilities to Loughborough in the opposite direction, and with a journey of only five miles compared with the seven to Leicester, but whereas the station at Leicester was located in the centre of the town, and therefore adjacent to shopping facilities, etc., that at Loughborough was over a mile from the town centre. Today transport services to Loughborough are rather better than those to Leicester, and hence, Loughborough's influence has probably increased to some extent.

Secondly, an even more marked contrast between Mountsorrel and nearby Rothley is apparent from the circulation figures of the paper. At Rothley the Loughborough paper goes into only about every sixth household. Between these
two settlements there would, therefore, appear to be an abrupt termination of the influence of Loughborough.

Thirdly, a similar feature is seen to the north of Loughborough. At Kegworth there are less than 5 inhabitants per copy of the paper sold, but at Castle Donington, less than three miles away, there is only one copy sold for every 76 inhabitants, which means that the Loughborough paper is read in only a small minority of the homes. This situation at Castle Donington confirms the lack of contact with Loughborough also revealed in the analysis of shopping, cinema, and banking facilities, shown in the first three diagrams.

Fourthly, to the west of Loughborough, there is also a contrast between Shepshed and Belton. The former settlement looks to Loughborough for facilities not locally available, whereas Coalville, as well as Loughborough, has a certain amount of influence in Belton, as indicated in the first diagram and in Fig.67.

The last two diagrams on Fig.73 confirm the extent of Loughborough's weekly hinterland, although it will be noted that the grocer makes deliveries as far west as Coalville. This is probably due to the type of business which this particular grocer conducts, it being a "high-class" concern dealing with wines and flowers, etc. in addition to the more normal turnover of a grocer's shop. A shop of this type is not found in Coalville and it is significant that other
branches of this particular firm of grocers, located in Leicester and in Ashby-de-la-Zouch, also make deliveries in the Coalville area.

On Fig. 74 are shown some aspects of the weekly spheres of influence of Melton Mowbray. Earlier in the chapter we examined the catchment area of Melton market and noted its extensive nature. The diagrams in Fig. 74 show that the other facilities offered by Melton have much more limited hinterlands. The first three diagrams again show the hinterlands of the town as determined from the village survey. 40 settlements look to Melton for provision of all the services, whilst as many again are partly dependent on the town. The boundaries of the three hinterlands on the northern and eastern sides are virtually coincident except that, in the case of weekly shopping facilities several additional settlements look partly to Melton as well as to their more normal service centre of Grantham. Between Melton and Leicester, there are several settlements looking to both centres for weekly shopping facilities whilst for banking facilities and cinema entertainment their choice lies between Melton and the subsidiary centre of Syston.

The fourth diagram indicates the selling points of the Melton Times. It is, unfortunately, but an incomplete picture of the distribution of the paper as, firstly, local distribution of the paper to other villages takes place
from the selling points - as, for example, at Somerby; secondly, the number of copies sold in Melton suggests that many of these must be purchased by market day visitors to the town (the total sales of the paper in Melton are 4634 copies - only about 3,000 copies need to be sold to ensure one paper per household and thus there must be over 1500 sold for outside distribution); thirdly, some 400 copies are taken by distributors in Leicester, many for resale in east Leicestershire. Thus, on the diagram only about half the copies of the paper read outside Melton are accounted for. Nevertheless several features of the hinterland of Melton stand out. Down the valley of the Wreak towards Syston, Melton's influence would appear to stretch about as far as Hoby, for immediately beyond that, at Thrussington, the Melton paper is read by but a small minority of the inhabitants. (The dense circulation in Syston and Queniborough is due to a localised Syston edition of the paper). To the south of the town there is a marked contrast between the circulation of the paper in Somerby and that at Tilton, suggesting that the latter has less strong affiliations to Melton. North of Melton, there is a selling point for the paper in each village and, assuming that some additional copies reach these villages via residents returning from a visit to Melton, the coverage would appear to be about one copy per household. Finally, for Wymeswold, we may contrast
the sales of the Melton paper - one copy per 38 inhabitants - with those of the Loughborough paper - one copy per 3.7 inhabitants - to obtain a clear picture of the respective influence of the two centres on the settlement.

Melton Mowbray Co-operative Society serves not only Melton and district but also has branch shops in Oakham and Uppingham in Rutland. Thus on Fig. 74 are shown only those places served from the Melton shops. North-east Leicestershire lies within the trading area of the Grantham Co-operative Society, and, to the south and south-west of Melton the Leicester Society provides the co-operative service. Melton co-operative society, however, provides regular deliveries of groceries, meat, bread, and drapery to all the villages in the weekly shopping hinterland of the town, and also to quite a few others in addition, especially on the eastern boundary of the county. An extensive area of north Rutland is served by Melton meat deliveries and by the travelling drapery stores. For other facilities offered by the Society - viz. hardware, furnishings, footwear - representatives cover the whole of the area served by the Melton branches, taking orders which are subsequently delivered by the appropriate department. Hence, over the area shown in the diagram the Co-operative Society offers a comprehensive trading service which can eliminate, to a great extent, the need to travel into Melton. The trade of the Melton branches
of the Society account for rather more than 15% of the total trade of the town.

The final diagram on Fig. 74, showing the settlements served by Melton retailers is based on a survey made of 25 of the leading traders in the town. 12 of these 25 were persuaded to disclose information, and of these, 8 had delivery rounds outside the town. The area within which at least four of the retailers make regular deliveries is very nearly the same as that of the determined hinterland for weekly shopping facilities. The two northernmost villages in the shopping hinterland are only served by two of the retailers, and to the south there are some half-a-dozen villages not well served. In this latter area, however, there is little custom available for Melton's grocers, as in the village of Somerby there is an important grocery store serving not only that settlement but also the neighbouring settlements. To the west of Melton, there is no zone in which the settlements are served by only a minority of the eight retailers. In this direction the evidence again points to an abrupt termination of Melton's influence, thus confirming the evidence of the newspaper circulation figures. To the north and south there is no such abrupt termination of Melton's influence. In these directions service by one or two Melton retailers reflects firstly, a rather wider area covered by an ironmonger.
specialising in an agricultural service, and whose delivery area is, therefore, more closely related to the area served by the Melton cattle market; and secondly, to the fact that one grocer serves villages in the extreme north-east of the county and in the direction of Leicester because he has contracts with schools in these areas. Presumably the county council prefers to accept the tenders of a county tradesman rather than those living in Grantham or in the city of Leicester.

Finally we may turn to Fig. 75 to look rather more closely at the spheres of influence of Coalville. By contrast with those of Melton or Market Harborough, the hinterlands of Coalville are severely limited in extent. In the village survey only 27 settlements reported any dependence on Coalville for weekly services (compare 80 in the case of Melton). However, as pointed out in the chapter on the urban hierarchy, the 27 settlements together have a population of over 30,000 - a population 50% higher than that in the hinterland of Melton. In a westerly direction, Coalville's hinterlands are restricted by the influence of Ashby-de-la-Zouch, only five miles away. In this area, however, there are several settlements nearer to Ashby which look partly to Coalville for shopping facilities. To the east of Coalville, the influence of Leicester is soon encountered and Coalville's weekly hinterland only stretches
for a few miles in this direction. The hinterland has its greatest extent to the south, in which direction there is no competing centre until Hinckley is reached, some 14 miles distant. Even in this area, however, the influence of Leicester is felt, even though the city is about 15 miles away. The contrasts in the transport services to Leicester and Coalville from this area were noted in an earlier chapter.

For banking facilities, Coalville's influence is at its weakest, for these facilities are available at both Ibstock and Market Bosworth and from which places the neighbouring settlements are served, and Ashby-de-la-Zouch has rather greater importance in providing this facility as the members of the farming community in the villages between Ashby and Coalville still regard the former town as their local centre, and it is they who are most likely to require the service.

The fourth diagram shows the distribution of the local paper. The selling points of the paper are likewise concentrated into a very restricted area. Indeed outside the urban district there are but six other villages in which the paper is sold. Moreover, it is only within the urban district that a copy reaches, more or less, every household. As at Melton Mowbray, however, many of the papers sold 'over the counter' in Coalville on market day must be bought by visitors to the town. Outside the urban
district, it is only at Bagworth and Ibstock that significant numbers of the paper are sold, averaging one for approximately every second household.

Very few of the private traders in the town have delivery services outside the urban district as, in the settlements around Coalville there is almost invariably a range of food shops (see Fig. 46). However, shown on the fourth diagram is the delivery area of the leading ironmonger and furnishier in the town, this being rather more extensive than the hinterlands previously delimited, and also wider than the local trading area as delimited by the secretary of the local Chamber of Trade.

It is, however, the Coalville and District Co-operative Society which opens out the area served by the town. The Society, formed in 1882, now offers a comprehensive trading service to some 18,000 members over a large part of west Leicestershire. In contrast to the society at Melton, where most trading is carried on directly through deliveries from the town, the development of the Coalville Society has led to the opening of branch grocery shops in more than a score of settlements; butchers shops in seven places; and drapery and chemists shops in the more important settlements. Through the manager of a grocery shop it is possible to order goods from any of the central departments, and to have them delivered directly to any part of the trading area.
From Coalville, centralised deliveries of bread and milk are made daily to the whole of the trading area. As far as groceries are concerned Coalville is a wholesaling centre, the various shops being supplied by the societies' own transport from the central warehouse. The second diagram shows the distribution of the Societies' customers; only 41% of these are resident in the Coalville Urban District. Another 8.3% are located in Ibstock, a settlement to the south of Coalville, but in no other place does the percentage exceed 4.2%. Outside the Urban District, which itself contains six separate settlements, there are 38 places served by the Co-operative society. In the next chapter we shall assess the importance of the Society in contributing to the development of Coalville.

The hinterlands of four of the market towns have not been discussed in detail. However, those of Leicester will be reviewed in Chapter 8, and those of Hinckley are illustrated in Fig. 76 and need no further explanation. In the case of Lutterworth and Ashby-de-la-Zouch their relationships with their smaller hinterlands are brought out in Fig. 67.
SPHERES OF INFLUENCE OF HINCKLEY 1950-53

FOR WEEKLY SHOPPING

SUBSIDIARY SHOPPING CENTRE OR A PLACE WITH A CINEMA OR BANK
SETTLEMENTS DEPENDENT ON HINCKLEY FOR WEEKLY SHOPPING/BANK/CINEMA
SETTLEMENTS PARTLY DEPENDENT ON HINCKLEY AND PARTLY ON THE NEIGHBOURING CENTRE INDICATED BY THE ARROW OR ON THE SUB-CENTRE INDICATED BY THE BROKEN LINE.

SCALE OF MILES

0 2 4 6

FOR BANKING FACILITIES

MARKET BOSWORTH

DISTRIBUTION OF 'HINCKLEY TIMES AND GUARDIAN' 1952.

IBSTOCK
CONEGERSTONE
MARKET BOSWORTH
NEWBOLD VERDON
DESFORD
KIRKBY MALLORY
LEICESTER

STONEY STANTON
BURBAGE
SHARNFORD

AT EACH SELLING POINT OF THE PAPER IS INDICATED THE NUMBER OF LOCALLY RESIDENT INHABITANTS PER COPY SOLD. ONE COPY PER HOUSE WITHIN AREA MARKED BY BROKEN LINE NEIGHBOURING LOCAL NEWSPAPER TOWNS NAMED.

FOR CINEMA ENTERTAINMENT

SEES ABOVE FOR KEY.

THE THREE DIAGRAMS ARE BASED ON AN ANALYSIS OF M.T.C.P. SURVEY 1949/50.

FIG. 76.
CHAPTER SEVEN

THE TOWNS AND THEIR HINTERLANDS

W. A. Robson, in discussing the development of new areas of local government administration, commented,

"We shall find that what is required is not a single set of areas, however large or comprehensive, but a whole series of different areas for separate and distinct purposes."

This principle for the reform of local government boundaries might, with justification, be applied to the areas lying in functional relationship with an urban centre. As an area under the control of a local education authority must needs be more extensive and more populous than an area delimited for purposes of sewage disposal, so must the hinterland of a town for the successful operation of a series of great departmental stores be so much greater than that which will make a grocer's shop a successful enterprise. In the preceding chapters such extremes of functional areas have been avoided. An attempt has been made to deal with those aspects of a central settlements' functions which have become part and parcel of the 20th century way of life of the 'market-town' type of town. They are those settlements on which the centralisation of the carriers' carts systems of the 19th century has been replaced by the centralisation

of omnibus services; those settlements in which the weekly range of shopping requirements can be met; those settlements acting as the local district seats of government and administration; and those settlements in which employment is available to the inhabitants of the surrounding area.

However, even in an examination of these aspects of town-country relations, it has not been possible to draw a uniform picture. Each facility, each function of a town serves an area of varying extent depending upon three principal considerations. Firstly, the extent of the need for a particular facility amongst the inhabitants of the settlements in the surrounding area; secondly, in supplying a particular facility, the competition encountered from the neighbouring towns, or from settlements of overall lesser importance; and thirdly, the efficiency of transport facilities in making possible the contact necessary between the town and the area theoretically dependent upon it. Owing to the variable strength of these factors, and also to the fact that some of the central settlements fail to provide an absolutely comprehensive range of all the facilities examined, no standardised picture of a 'market town and its hinterland' has emerged from our studies in Leicestershire. It is possible to recall, for example, the extensive 'labour' hinterland of Hinckley, the result of the town's
peculiar industrial structure, and the existence, to north and south, of areas with surplus female labour, and to contrast this with the much more limited hinterland of the town for provision of weekly facilities. Or, to recall the continuing importance of the town of Ashby-de-la-Zouch as a centre of local trade, especially to the farming community, yet to remember that it is without a local newspaper, and is of but minor significance for the provision of county council services as a result of the proximity of an alternative centre at Coalville.

Important differences have thus been recognised in the extent of the service areas of the several centres. Only in a case where one centre provides all the services to a group of settlements can we recognise a uniform functional relationship between the town and the hinterland. Elsewhere, is it possible to say that because a certain settlement, or group of settlements, falls within the 'labour' hinterland of town A, but lies in the 'weekly shopping' hinterland of town B, that it is functionally related more closely to either of the towns. The answer must surely be 'no', for both of the towns are of importance in providing essential services to the settlements. If employment facilities in town A were not available, or could not be utilised owing

1. (See above p. 461 and p. 503 and Figs. 56 and 67)
11. (See above p. 485.)
to the absence of suitable transport facilities, then emigration from the village for those without work might result; and if town B was not accessible so that advantage could be taken of its weekly shopping and other facilities, then this would have serious repercussions on life in the village. We must recognise the importance of the function of each town in meeting some of the needs of a hinterland area.

Because of these important differences in the division of Leicestershire into functional areas, a division of the county into 'median' areas, whose boundaries are based on an averaging out of the boundaries of the various types of hinterlands, would appear to be neither practical nor desirable. Average boundaries of this nature could not represent 'reality' in town-country relations. A correlation of the various hinterlands can, however, be useful in bringing out the relative importance of each service at each centre, and in making possible the determination of 'basic' hinterlands for the centres. A 'basic' hinterland of a centre embraces those settlements which look to the centre for an overwhelming proportion of the facilities needed. The boundaries of the basic hinterlands of a group of centres will not necessarily be in juxtaposition, as the areas served

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1. (Such a scheme of 'median' areas was worked out in the county of Wiltshire; See Bracey H.E. Social Provision in Rural Wiltshire. London 1952. p.110).
by two or more centres for a large number of facilities will not be included in these hinterlands.

In the three preceding chapters, hinterlands of the towns based on the following criteria have been established. Firstly on the provision of county council administrative and social services; secondly, on the provision of local services of the National Government administration; thirdly, on the provision of daily employment opportunities; and fourthly, on the provision of weekly shopping, entertainment, and certain commercial and professional services.

In determining these four hinterlands the great majority of the functions of the central settlements have been taken into consideration. The most significant omission is an examination of the local district structure of the organisation of voluntary bodies and associations. An attempt was made to analyse this feature but was largely unsuccessful. Area groupings of the National Farmers' Union were delimited quite easily (see Fig. 65) but these agricultural divisions were contradicted, from an areal point of view, by the groupings of the local branches of the National Union of Agricultural Workers, which were organised around the towns of Leicester, Melton Mowbray, Loughborough, Coalville, and Market Harborough only. Commercial groupings, such as those of Insurance Companies, shown on Fig. 62, were related merely to administrative convenience and not
necessarily around the central settlements. The Leicestershire Boy Scout Association is divided into local associations but boundaries between these could not be determined as there were insufficient groups to make them necessary; the Leicestershire St. John Ambulance Brigade is not formed into district groupings, contact being directly between a branch and the county headquarters at Loughborough. Sports groups were also examined, but only in the case of local association football leagues was there a clearly defined relationship between a central town and a hinterland area. Thus, the evidence for local hinterlands based on the areal organisation of voluntary and similar bodies appears indeterminate and unconvincing, and it was therefore decided to leave out this aspect of the relations between town and country. In comparison with the importance of the hinterlands detailed above the omission is not a serious one, for, as Dr. Bracey observed,

"Once formed, voluntary organisations reflect and may intensify local loyalty, but are unlikely to change its direction since district assemblies rarely take place more frequently than two or three times a year."

On Fig. 77, therefore, are shown the 'basic hinterlands' of the eight centres in Leicestershire. Their extent has been determined by superimposing the four sets of hinterlands.

i. (ibid. p.108)
THE 'BASIC' HINTERLANDS OF THE LEICESTERSHIRE CENTRES.

LEGEND
- HINTERLANDS BOUNDARIES
- THE AREAS MARGINAL TO THE HINTERLANDS ARE SHADED
- LEICESTERSHIRE BOUNDARY
- PERIPHERAL MARKET TOWNS
- EACH CIRCLE REPRESENTS THE POPULATION OF A CENTRE PLUS ITS HINTERLAND
  80,000
  40,000
  20,000
  POP IS 383,000
  5,000
- THE SHAD ED SECTOR OF A CIRCLE REPRESENTS THE POPULATION OF THE HINTERLAND.

FIG. 77.
as mentioned above, and marking off those areas within which the settlements fall in the same town's sphere of influence in three out of the four cases (for Ashby-de-la-Zouch and Lutterworth, which were centres for only one of the two administrative hinterlands, the basic hinterlands include those areas dependent on the towns for the other three facilities, and also those areas which also fall in the towns' labour and weekly facilities hinterlands).

A comparison with the hinterlands of the market towns in the mid-nineteenth century is interesting, for, as Figs. 26 and 77 show, the situation is basically the same at both periods. There are, of course, small differences in the extent of the hinterlands in every case. For example, the hinterland of Market Harborough now extends further to east and west, and Melton Mowbray's hinterland is not now quite so extensive in the direction of Lincolnshire. The only major differences, however, arise from the development of Coalville as a service centre, and whose hinterland has been carved out of that of Ashby-de-la-Zouch, and which also includes most of the area formerly marginal to the hinterlands of Ashby and Loughborough; and secondly, from the all-round decline in the area served from Lutterworth, especially as a result of the development of Rugby as a service centre for the villages of south Leicestershire, and areas of Warwickshire, formerly in Lutterworth's hinterland.
now look to the Warwickshire town.

In 1851, however, the populations of the hinterlands varied from only 9,000 to 43,000. Today, there is a much greater variation. As shown in table 31 Leicester's hinterland has a population almost 40 times larger than that of Lutterworth, and three times as large as that of Loughborough, which has the second most populous hinterland. The greater population of Leicester's hinterland is due to two main factors. Firstly to its greater areal extent; as noted in the chapters dealing with the delimitation of individual hinterlands, the greater attraction of Leicester as a centre resulted in the boundaries of the hinterlands migrating in the general direction of the smaller market towns. This, of course, has been reflected in the basic hinterland boundary for the hinterland of Leicester includes many settlements which are located rather closer to one of the small market towns.

Secondly, the high population of Leicester's hinterland results from the large number of large settlements included within its bounds. There is a ring of residential and industrial settlements around the city with populations over 3,000 and in some cases, for example, Birstall and Oadby exceeding 6,000, and in the case of Wigston reaching a population of more than 14,000.

The three hinterlands in the western part of the county
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Centre</th>
<th>Population of the Centre</th>
<th>Population of its 'basic' Hinterland</th>
<th>Population of Centre plus Hinterland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leicester</td>
<td>283,400</td>
<td>100,549</td>
<td>383,949</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loughborough</td>
<td>32,688</td>
<td>33,813</td>
<td>66,501</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hinckley</td>
<td>20,817</td>
<td>23,555</td>
<td>44,472</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coalville</td>
<td>10,391</td>
<td>27,967</td>
<td>38,428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melton Mowbray</td>
<td>13,350</td>
<td>14,053</td>
<td>27,403</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market Harborough</td>
<td>10,100</td>
<td>8,857</td>
<td>18,957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashby-de-la-Zouch</td>
<td>5,707</td>
<td>7,774</td>
<td>13,481</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lutterworth</td>
<td>3,004</td>
<td>2,699</td>
<td>5,703</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
are all asymmetrical in shape. Hinckley's hinterland to the south west is restricted by the influence of the neighbouring Warwickshire centre of Nuneaton. The westerly extension, in Leicestershire, of the hinterland of Hinckley results from the fact that the town is the administrative centre for the places concerned: these were also included in the centre's labour hinterland, although, owing to absence of information it was not possible to be certain that Nuneaton did not provide more opportunities for employment to the villagers in this area, as the town also provided the weekly shopping and associated facilities.

The hinterland of Ashby-de-la-Zouch is restricted to east and west by the influence of the modern centres of Coalville and Swadlincote (Derbyshire). In the places between Coalville and Ashby, the influence of the former town is much more pronounced than that of the older centre.

The development of the area of Coalville's influence at the expense of the hinterland of Ashby has not, however, been matched by a similar development in the direction of Loughborough. Between these two towns the area of Coalville's influence stretches no further than the boundary of the Coalville Urban District. No settlement which was in Loughborough's hinterland in the mid-19th century now lies entirely within Coalville's basic hinterland.

The hinterlands of Melton Mowbray and Market Harborough
are extensive but, as brought out in table 31, they are but lightly populated. Melton's hinterland has less than 14,000 inhabitants compared to the 27,000 in the hinterland of Coalville, and which covers an area only one fifth the size.

There are, however, large areas of the county which do not fall clearly into the sphere of influence of any one centre. The most extensive area in this position is found in the western part. A glance at Fig. 26 will reveal that a similar situation existed in the middle of the 19th century when the formerly important centre of Market Bosworth retained some influence over an area relatively isolated from the surrounding market towns considering the nature of the transport facilities then available. Today, Market Bosworth is of minor significance and has no influence over this area. This is now an area which looks to the various surrounding market towns for the different services. For example, between Hinckley and Coalville weekly services are provided to the settlements by the Warwickshire town of Nuneaton; these settlements lie within the labour hinterland of Hinckley; and the various administrative services are supplied by Coalville and Hinckley. Further to the east, the influence of Leicester is felt in provision of weekly services and employment opportunities, but administration is still provided by Coalville and Hinckley.
Elsewhere in the county there are smaller areas which cannot be placed within the hinterland of one centre or the other. In north-east Leicestershire, for example, is an area which looks to Melton Mowbray for administrative and some weekly services but to the town of Grantham for provision of employment and for other weekly services. South of Melton, there is an area in which the influences of Melton, Oakham, and Leicester are all felt to a certain extent, and between Leicester and Lutterworth there are several settlements dependent on both places for a proportion of facilities.

Such a brief, general analysis of the situation, as it has been necessary to make, leaves many points unexamined. There has been no opportunity to compare the hinterlands with those determined from an examination of the transport facilities available to the several centres; there has been no opportunity here, and little opportunity in earlier chapters, to assess the importance of hinterland trade and traffic to the central settlements themselves, or to assess the relative importance of the several services examined for each centre. To analyse the results in such detail is a task impossible to undertake for the whole of the county. Therefore, the relationships between two of the centres and their hinterlands have been selected for further analysis.

No claim is made that the choice of the two centres of Melton Mowbray and Coalville is a representative one.
Relations between a town and its sphere of influence are essentially 'unique' in character, the conditions pertaining never exactly repeating themselves in another instance. However, the claim can be made that Melton Mowbray and Coalville represent contrasting central settlements in an area of the country where the human landscape also presents a series of contrasts owing to the differential development of the county since the beginning of the industrial revolution.

Melton Mowbray is an example, 'par excellence', of an ancient market town (its charter dates back to pre-Domesday times) whose essential function has always been that of a service centre for the rural community in the neighbourhood. A.W. Ashby described its kind in the following words,

"It will be the source of many common necessaries for most of the families in its area.....it may be the centre for administrative activities.....it may be the centre of higher education of the secondary school type.....it will not develop any tensions between its population and that of the surrounding area."

Melton's importance is rather greater than this description would indicate for it provides rather more than the common necessaries of life, its administrative activities are quite

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important, and it most certainly is a centre for education of the secondary school type. In addition, today, with a population of more than 13,000, industry has become an important adjunct to the life of the settlement. This, however, has not weakened its relations with its sphere of influence, which remains essentially agricultural in character.

In contrast, Coalville is a market town of modern foundation; 100 years ago the settlement was hardly in existence. Its rapid development in the past century has been as a centre for the coal mining industry of the neighbourhood, and it was only after the locally resident population had called into being various service facilities that the town's network of relationships with the surrounding area began to develop, with a resultant concentration of service facility in the town. Ashby writing of the mining town type of settlement commented,

"It quite frequently develops tensions between its population and that of the rural neighbourhood... This type of town is generally unattractive, it is often a poor shopping centre, its dominating group of population has little or no sense of dependence on the surrounding countryside... there is a conflict of social attitudes and values between the urban and the rural groups."¹

¹ (ibid. p.346)
Some of these comments can be applied with a great deal of truth to Coalville, but others of them have little relevance to the position of the town, for relations between the town and the surrounding area have been established. That tensions have not resulted is due perhaps to two main factors: firstly, to the fact that the rural area is not primarily an agricultural one, for most of the villages in the neighbourhood are the homes of miners working in the collieries set in a rural landscape, for the development of mining has not brought in its wake large scale industrialisation. Thus Barlestone, Nailstone, Newbold and a score of other settlements have remained as villages in spite of the development of mining, and within their bounds farmworkers and colliers live as neighbours. For the mining community in the villages, Coalville is the obvious centre for seeking entertainment and shopping facilities, etc., and for the farmworkers, too, the attractions of the town's retail market and the central departments of the co-operative society are greater than the attractions to be found in the adjacent market town of Ashby-de-la-Zouch. In this instance, tensions between the population of the mining town and the population of the villages around have been kept to a minimum for both have looked to the town for the provision of similar facilities.

And secondly, where a clash of interests might have
occurred—that is, between the requirements of the former groups and those of the farming community—the situation has not developed because the farming community has been able to maintain its contacts with the neighbouring centre of Ashby-de-la-Zouch, which remains more closely in touch with agricultural affairs.

Hence, Melton and Coalville present contrasting studies as central settlements. Of the other towns in the county, Market Harborough, Lutterworth, and Ashby-de-la-Zouch are central settlements more similar to Melton than to Coalville, whilst Hinckley and Loughborough, though originally of essentially the same pattern as Melton, have proceeded to develop hinterland relationships more akin to those of Coalville as a result of industrialisation over the past two centuries. This division into contrasting types of central settlements is not a clear cut one, however, and is to some extent misleading, as Ashby, for example, has close connections with mining settlements, and Loughborough still maintains its influence over the agricultural area to the east of the town. The difference between the two groups of settlements should not be viewed as if they were located on either side of a vertical axis and thus differentiated entirely, but should be viewed rather as if they are located on a horizontal axis; on the extreme left is Coalville, representing a central settlement with dominant industrial
connections; and at the opposite end, Melton Mowbray, with agricultural connections of prime importance; and between the two, the other towns placed according to their degree of similarity with Coalville or Melton. Thus, Loughborough and Hinckley will be found to left of centre; Ashby, Market Harborough and Lutterworth to the right of it.

On Fig. 78 are shown various aspects of the relationships between the towns of Melton Mowbray and Coalville and their respective hinterlands. In the first diagram is illustrated the super-imposition of the boundaries of the four sets of hinterlands - the manner in which the 'basic' hinterlands of the towns were determined. (See Fig. 77). The contrast in the extent of the basic hinterlands of Coalville and Melton Mowbray has already been described, but this diagram further brings out the fact that the extent of the different hinterlands varies much more in the case of Coalville than at Melton Mowbray.

At Melton, the correlation between the boundaries of the several hinterlands is very close in many areas. It is most noticeable on the north-western side where all the hinterland boundaries approximate to the boundary between Leicestershire and Nottinghamshire.

To north and south, the county council services hinterland is rather more extensive than the others; to the north, including the area around Bottesford which more usually
AN EXAMINATION OF THE CONTEMPORARY HINTERLANDS OF MELTON MOWBRAY & COALVILLE

CONTRASTS IN THE AREAS OF THE HINTERLANDS

- COUNTY BOUNDARY
- HINTERLAND BOUNDARIES
- FOR LABOUR SUPPLY SEE FIG. 56
- FOR WEEKLY FACILITIES SEE FIG. 57
- FOR COUNTY COUNCIL SERVICES SEE FIG. 58
- FOR NATIONAL GOVERNMENT SERVICES SEE FIG. 59
- THE NEIGHBOURING CENTRES ARE NAMED

INDUSTRIAL CENTRES IN THE BASIC HINTERLANDS

- BOUNDARIES OF THE BASIC HINTERLANDS
- BOUNDARIES OF EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGE AREAS
- EMPLOYMENT IN THE INDUSTRIAL CENTRES
  - 5,000
  - 1,500
  - 250

- OTHER SETTLEMENTS IN THE HINTERLANDS

TRANSPORT HINTERLANDS & THE PROVISION OF WEEKLY FACILITIES

- BOUNDARIES OF THE WEEKLY FACILITIES HINTERLANDS
- HINTERLANDS BASED ON THE PROVISION OF TRANSPORT FACILITIES
- FOR NORMAL WEEKDAY SERVICES SEE FIG. 50
- FOR MARKET DAY SERVICES SEE FIG. 51

- POPULATION & SERVICE PROVISION IN THE BASIC HINTERLANDS

- POPULATION & SERVICE PROVISION IN THE BASIC HINTERLANDS
- SIZE OF SETTLEMENTS WITHIN THE HINTERLANDS
- POPULATION OVER 1,000
- POP 500-1,000
- POP 250-500
- POP BELOW 100

- THE FIG WITHIN EACH CIRCLE INDICATES THE NUMBER OF FOOD SHOPS AVAILABLE IN EACH SETTLEMENT
- SEE FIG. 46

FIG. 78.
looks to the Lincolnshire town of Grantham; and to the south, including a couple of parishes which otherwise depend on the Rutland town of Oakham.

The 'labour' hinterland of Melton is less extensive than the others to the south-west and to the east. This, as pointed out in the appropriate chapter, is due to the greater attractions of the more important industrial centres of Leicester and Grantham respectively, for a daily supply of labour.

Overall, however, the differences in the extent of the several hinterlands are insignificant when compared to the basic similarities. Thus, over a clearly defined area the town of Melton Mowbray exercises its influence for all aspects of centralised service provision, and this area of the county is clearly differentiated as a region functionally related to the same central settlement.

The hinterlands of Coalville present a very contrasting picture. The feature of a common service area fails to emerge from a comparison of the boundaries of the different functional zones. The boundaries are co-incident to but a minor degree and the area served from Coalville for all, or even all but one, of the four types of service provision is small, when viewed in comparison with the area within only one or two of the hinterlands.

The main factor behind this situation is the greater
extent of the 'administrative' hinterlands, especially to the west and the south-west. As pointed out in the chapter dealing with the provision of these services, the county council services hinterland includes the Ashby-de-la-Zouch district.

A second factor, however, is the contrast between the extent of the 'labour' and 'weekly services' hinterlands. The 'labour' hinterland extends but a short distance to the east and south-east of the town, for, in those directions, the influence of the larger industrial centres of Leicester and Hinckley makes itself felt, especially as far as the demand for female labour is concerned. To the north-west, however, the 'labour' hinterland reaches as far as the county boundary into an area which looks to the town of Ashby-de-la-Zouch for weekly service provision.

These contrasts between the hinterlands of Coalville would suggest that the overall influence of the town is less strong than that of Melton Mowbray in north-east Leicestershire, and, as Coalville is not regarded as a multi-purpose service centre (it has no connections with the farming community), the community of interest between town and hinterland must be less apparent, and hence, there is not such a well developed functional region in this part of the county.

In the second diagram another correlation of hinterland boundaries is made. Earlier in this section an examination
was made of the transport facilities available to the various centres, and around each town an area was delimited within which the settlements had greater accessibility to this town than to any other centre. In the chapter it was emphasised that such an examination could not determine the extent of 'real' hinterlands of the towns but could only suggest, from the study of relative accessibilities, which place was most likely to be visited for various services. The results of this analysis for Coalville and Melton Mowbray are now compared with the determined hinterlands of the towns for the provision of weekly services.

For both Coalville and Melton the correlation between the theoretical and the empirical hinterlands is very close. In the case of Coalville only one settlement falls within the transport hinterland of the town, and yet looks elsewhere for weekly service provision. This is the village of Belton which regards Loughborough as its service centre. Even this place lies within the market day transport hinterland of the town to which it looks for weekly services, for on Thursdays and Saturdays, the market days at Loughborough, the bus services to that centre are considerably strengthened. The better 'normal' transport facilities to Coalville have, however, presumably resulted in greater use of Coalville

1. (See above, Chapter 3, p. 423 et seq. for further details of method etc.)
11. (See above p. 501)
for seeking daily employment for, as shown in the first diagram on Fig. 78, it does lie in Coalville’s ‘labour’ hinterland.

On the other hand, there is only one settlement looking to Coalville for weekly services, and having greater accessibility to another centre. This is the village of Stanton-under-Bardon which has greatest accessibility to Leicester by virtue of a more frequent daily bus service. It is, however, a journey of nine miles to Leicester and only four miles to Coalville and thus, the latter place is considerably cheaper to reach and is, therefore, used for normal weekly requirements.

Additional to Stanton there are several other places - viz. Markfield, Thornton, Barlestone, Osbaston, Newton Burgoland - lying outside Coalville’s transport hinterlands but looking partly to the town for weekly services. All these settlements do have transport available to Coalville and as, in most instances, this is nearer than the alternative centre the town is, therefore, used for weekly services on some occasions.

Of the 80 or so settlements falling within the ‘weekly facilities’ or ‘transport’ hinterlands of Melton Mowbray only seven are not located in both of them. Three settlements - viz. Halstead (wholly) and Thrussington and Hickling (partly) - lie within the weekly facilities hinterland, yet have greater accessibility to another centre (viz. Leicester,
Leicester, and Nottingham respectively). In each case Melton is nearer than the alternative centre.

Four settlements are included in Melton's transport hinterlands, yet look to other centres for weekly services. In the extreme north of the county, the village of Redmile is so placed. Here Grantham is the service centre, this hardly being surprising as it is only eight miles distant compared with twelve miles to Melton. In the south-east, Knossington and Owston lie within the 'normal' transport hinterland of Melton, but in the market day transport hinterland of Oakham, to which centre they look for weekly service provision. Again the mileage to Melton is considerably greater than that to the alternative centre. To the south-west, Lowesby has greater accessibility to Melton but looks rather to Leicester for facilities.

The close correlation between the hinterland boundaries, examined in detail for these two centres, is also apparent in the case of the other centres in the county. It indicates the importance of the transport facilities in determining the extent of the hinterland of a town.

In the other two diagrams on Fig. 78 attempts have been made to bring out the differences in the nature of the hinterlands of Melton and Coalville. Firstly, there are set out aspects of the employment structure within the two areas. Within the basic hinterlands are shown the
industrial centres, together with the approximate numbers employed in each centre.

It will be noted that in both instances the central town is the leading centre of employment. In the hinterlands, however, there is a contrasting situation. Of the 43 settlements within the hinterland of Melton, only six have been classified as industrial centres and of these, four are of but minor significance. The two more important industrial centres - viz. Asfordby and Old Dalby - have been described in an earlier chapter, the former being the location of an iron and steel plant, and the latter, an important ordnance depot.

Outside the urban district of Coalville, which contains five separate settlements, in all of which industry is located, there are but 11 other settlements in the hinterland. Of these 11 places no fewer than six have been classified as industrial centres and in which there is a total employment of over 6,000 workers. In one centre, Bagworth, over 2000 people are employed, mainly in coal mining, and in two other centres the employment exceeds 1000. At Worthington, the employment is solely in mining, but at Ibstock, brick and clay works together with various small

1. (Industrial centres as defined in the Ministry of Town and Country Planning 'Journey to Work' Survey 1947-49. Region 3.)

11. (See above p. 468)
factories, connected mainly with the boot and shoe industry, form the industrial structure.

The distribution of industrial centres provides a general picture of the differences in the occupations in the two hinterlands. Unfortunately, it is not possible to detail the employment situation in the hinterlands of the towns, as statistics of employment are not available on a parish or settlement basis. However, the Ministry of Labour and National Service kindly made available the confidential returns of employment in the Employment Exchange areas of Melton Mowbray and Coalville, and although, as shown on the diagram, these areas are rather more extensive than the hinterlands of the towns, these details will reflect very closely the position in the hinterlands (including the central towns), for the areas not included are but lightly populated except for two parishes near Coalville.

Details of the employment in the two areas are given in Table 32. Firstly, it should be noted that the Coalville area contains almost twice as many workers as the Melton area. The relative importance of agriculture in the two areas is clearly brought out; in the Coalville area, agriculture provides employment for only 300 persons amounting to 1.5% of the total employed; in the Melton area agriculture is the third largest employer of labour absorbing 10.6% of the total supply. Mining and quarrying and manufacturing
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry (or group of occupations)</th>
<th>COALVILLE</th>
<th>MELTON MOWBRAY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>1,106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining and Quarrying</td>
<td>9,761</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing Industry</td>
<td>4,830</td>
<td>3,536</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service Industries</td>
<td>4,585</td>
<td>5,417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>19,480</strong></td>
<td><strong>10,391</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
industries occupy 75% of the labour force in the Coalville area, and only about one-third of the total at Melton, where the service industries together occupy over half of the labour force, with more than 11% in public administration (rather more than in agriculture), almost 10% in the retail trades, and more than 6% in transport. Service industries in the Coalville area only provide employment for a quarter of the total working population but it should be noted that the numbers employed in the service industries are almost the same in both districts.

These differences in the employment structure in the districts clearly bring out the fact that contrasting types of areas are under consideration, and the differences will, as we shall see later in the chapter, have repercussions on the relationships between town and hinterland.

Finally, on the last diagram is depicted the distribution of population and service provision in the hinterlands of the two towns. In the hinterland of Coalville, only four of the 16 settlements have a population of less than 1,000 and there is only one with a population below 400. By contrast, there is only one settlement within Melton's hinterland - the 'steel' village of Asfordby - which has a population of more than 750, and many have less than 250 inhabitants. The average settlement size is only 327 - that is, less than a fifth of the corresponding figure of
1,748 for the hinterland of Coalville.

It is this difference in the settlement size in the two hinterlands which accounts for the contrasting hinterland service provision. In Table 33 are detailed the distribution of certain food shops (viz. general stores, grocers, butchers, and bakers) in the two hinterlands (see also Fig. 46). In the hinterland of Melton, there are 86 such shops with no settlement having more than a total of nine. In the hinterland of Coalville the shops number 154, and one settlement - viz. Ibstock - has 31 of them; two more - viz. Hugglescote and Whitwick - have more than 25; and two others - viz. Thringstone and Ellistown - have more than 10.

Of the 16 settlements in Coalville's hinterland, almost one third have at least one representative of each of the four facilities and another four have three of the facilities. In contrast no fewer than 16 of the 43 settlements in Melton's hinterland are without any facilities, and another 13 have only one, this most usually being a general store. Only five of the 43 settlements have a complete range of the facilities. Such a situation means that many settlements are dependent on the food retailers in Melton Mowbray for supplies, and hence the multiplicity of delivery services such as we examined in an earlier chapter. From Coalville, on the other hand, the demand for such services is negligible. This is especially true of the grocery trade for, in all but
four of the settlements in Coalville's hinterland, the Coalville Co-operative Society provides a grocery store with a range of supplies equal to that normally found in a town shop (See Fig.75).

Apart from these food shops, the settlements in Melton's hinterland are almost devoid of service facilities. Doctors are available in four of the settlements but no other of the 21 services examined in connection with the Index of service provision, are available in any settlement. In Coalville's hinterland, however, such weekly facilities are found. Ibstock was classified as a subsidiary service centre in the chapter which dealt with the urban hierarchy, as it possesses a range of the specialised 'weekly' shops together with banking and entertainment facilities. These latter services are also available at Whitwick - to the north of Coalville. Hence, while the population of Melton's hinterland is entirely dependent on the central town for weekly service provision, the same is not true of the relations between Coalville and its hinterland. At Ibstock, whose population amounts to one-fifth of the total in the hinterland, most weekly requirements can be obtained locally, and Coalville needs only to be used as an alternative centre; in the contemporary situation of cheap and frequent transport facilities, the alternative facilities may be

i. (See above p.373 )
ii. (See above p.386 )
sought in the even more attractive, though more distant, centre of Leicester. Direct bus services to Leicester from 11 of the 16 places in the hinterland of Coalville make this a possibility from most of the area, and is another factor serving to diminish the influence of Coalville over the area functionally related to it.

The extent and the structure of the hinterlands have been examined, and an attempt made to indicate the extent to which Coalville and Melton Mowbray are respectively viewed as central settlements by the populations of their hinterlands. It now remains to examine the importance of the hinterlands to the towns themselves, and to comment briefly on the main factors influencing the development of the towns as central settlements during the present century.

The census returns of 1951 reveal that Melton Mowbray is currently a town of over 14,000 people compared with less than 7500 at the beginning of the present century and with only just more than 4,000 a century ago. (and only 1,766 in 1801). Industrial development in the town has, of course, been largely responsible for the rapid expansion of the population. The first factory was not established in the town until 1825 but, by 1900 there were almost 1000 people working in manufacturing industry. By 1931, this number had doubled to more than 2,000. No comprehensive figures of employment in the town are available for a
later date, but estimates of employment collated by the Ministry of Labour and National Service indicate that, in 1951, industry in Melton itself employed about 1600 workers, and, as shown in the journey to work survey, about 1000 of the workers in the iron and steel works at nearby Asfordby live in Melton. Thus at least 2,600 of Melton's population was employed in manufacturing industry a few years ago, and since then, with the development of a new industry in the town (preparation of animal foodstuffs), there has been some expansion. Today, therefore, industry provides employment for up to 3,000 workers - or rather more than 40% of the total number employed in the town (compared with 70% in manufacturing industry and mining at Coalville).

But although industry is now the most important single employer of labour, the importance of the service trades in the economy of the town can still be clearly recognised. More than one third of the employed population have jobs in public transport, the public utilities, or some aspect of trade or professional service. This is more than twice the average for the county as a whole. Those employed in the centralised services - viz. the distributive trades, commerce and finance, central government services, and the professions - total 22.1% of the employed population; this compares with an average for the county of 13.0%.

In addition, there is a higher than average percentage in
local government service - viz. 6.1% compared with 3.7% - as a result of the location in the town of both urban and rural council offices and also local district offices of the county council administration. These figures adequately confirm Melton Mowbray's position as a central settlement, and also clearly indicate that the employment created by the provision of these centralised services is an important factor contributing to the prosperity of the town.

The trade of the town is also greatly enhanced by the provision which is made to the inhabitants of the hinterland. An attempt was made to determine the importance of the out-of-town trade to individual retailers but most of the score interviewed said that it was impossible to state it with any degree of accuracy. Even for those with delivery rounds, for which the takings would, of course, be known, cash purchases over the counter by out-of-town customers complicate the situation. One retailer explained the situation in the following terms,

"Melton is the centre of a large rural community, the population of which is 19,110 as against an urban population of 13,470. These figures must serve as our only guide to your question, what percentage of trade do we do with townsfolk compared with the out-of-town trade. Exact figures are not available, as quite a large part of turnover
is comprised of 'catch trade', and the supplying of non-registered customers whose address is unknown to us."

In other instances, where managers of shops were willing to estimate their percentage of out-of-town trade, the figures ranged from 30% to 45%. All the estimates were made by persons connected with the food trade - viz. grocers and butchers - and who must compete with the village shops; hence for other branches of retailing - for example, clothing, furnishings, hardware, etc. - for which, as we have already seen, there is no competition in the hinterland, we might expect the degree of dependence on out-of-town trade to be even greater.

The Census of Retail and Services Trades of 1950 provides statistical evidence of the importance of Melton's out-of-town trade. In that year the turnover through the 317 retail and service establishments in the town was £2,323,000. This gives an average sale per head of the locally resident population of £173, but over the county as a whole the equivalent figure was only £121. Thus sales in Melton were 43% above the county average; this would seem to give a quantitative indication of the importance of the out-of-town trade. Without the trade accruing from the population of the hinterland, the town of Melton Mowbray would lose about one third of its retail turnover.

1. (In letter from the Manager of one of the grocery shops in Melton Mowbray).
The Census revealed that 938 persons were employed full-time in the town's retail and service establishments, and another 290, part-time. Without the hinterland sales, therefore, a maximum of 400 workers less would be needed.

Statistics of employment and of trade leave no doubt as to the importance of relations with the surrounding area in maintaining the prosperity of the town. The appearance of the town on market day leaves no doubt as to its popularity amongst the inhabitants of the surrounding area. Its narrow shopping streets are occupied by some 80 to 90 market stalls, by outside displays by shopkeepers, and by many hundreds of shoppers, so that progress through the town for vehicular traffic is made a very slow business; any proposals to build a by-pass, however, would be strenuously resisted by the townsfolk who consider that such a development would take away 'catch' trade now accruing to the town by virtue of its position at the crossing place of two main roads.

Melton Mowbray's position as a centralised settlement has certainly not diminished during the present century, as has been the case with other ancient market towns - for example, Lutterworth in Leicestershire. Several factors have contributed to this.

The first is the town's location midway between the heavily industrialised settlements of Leicester, Nottingham,
THE SHOPPING STREETS IN MELTON MOWBRAY.
Loughborough, and Grantham. The dominance of industry in these places has enabled Melton to develop its agricultural connections and contacts without serious opposition from the periphery of its catchment area.

Secondly, no large nucleations of population have grown up within the hinterland of Melton whereby rival service facilities could have been established, based, first of all, on the custom of the locally resident population, but inevitably leading to the provision of service facilities to other settlements. Hence, as we have seen earlier in this chapter, Melton remains as the only centre over a very wide area from which weekly and other facilities can be obtained. Had the iron and steel works at Asfordby developed five miles away from Melton then the associated settlement would have developed into a distinct unit with its own service facilities. As, however, they developed but 2½ miles away, Melton has been able to act as the service centre for the new population and indeed, as we have seen, to provide the place of residence for more than a 1000 of the 1750 workers.

These factors, however, are but negative facets of the continuing importance of Melton. In addition, there are several positive factors which have contributed to enhance the status of the town. Firstly, the development of industry in the town, with a consequent rapid increase in
the population; had Melton remained merely as a centralised servicing centre then its importance must surely have declined. A locally resident population of about 5,000 (the maximum number which a service centre could support) could not have allowed an economic development of Melton's facilities to take place, and had the range of shops and social services etc. not expanded concurrently with the rising standard of living, then the facilities would have been sought elsewhere - from the settlements on the periphery of Melton's hinterland (such a situation did occur at Lutterworth, where the town population remained static, and hence, provided no economic basis on which expansion of facilities could take place - areas of the 19th century hinterland of the town have been lost to the peripheral settlements of Leicester, Rugby, Market Harborough, and Hinckley). Industry in Melton, however, allowed expansion of the town's facilities which were then also available to the population of the hinterland.

Secondly, the development of Melton's cattle market has brought people from a very wide area into the town. There is unanimous agreement in the town that this feature of its weekly activities attracts the most attention. The growth in the importance of the market may be seen in table 34. The figures for 1919 represent the trade accruing from the local catchment area of six or seven miles radius
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Cattle</th>
<th>Total number of animals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>about 9000</td>
<td>about 30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>23,500</td>
<td>73,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>19,046</td>
<td>111,857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>26,075</td>
<td>87,677</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>36,827</td>
<td>129,292</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
round the town, plus any Scottish, Irish, or other long distant traffic conveyed to the market by rail. By 1926 a concentration of marketing on the town can already be seen for the neighbouring markets at Grantham, Oakham, and Loughborough were smaller than the Melton market at this date. By 1938 further expansion had taken place as a result of the further developments in road transport, and after the end of the 1939-45 war, a record figure of almost 130,000 animals passing through the market was achieved in 1950. In the thirty years, therefore, since 1919, the market has increased in size by more than four times.

In a period when cattle markets in many of the smaller towns have been dying out—as, for example, at Oakham, and Loughborough—or declining very severely, we must examine the cause of the rapid expansion at Melton Mowbray. The pre-occupation of peripheral centres with industrial affairs has already been mentioned as a factor influencing Melton's development as an agricultural centre; this, however, does not imply that there has been an absence of competition as far as stock marketing is concerned. Leicester is only 12 miles away, and Nottingham less than 15, and the markets in both these centres handled over 100,000 animals at the sales held in 1926. Grantham and Newark both handled more than 50,000 animals in the same year.
In spite of competition from these places the catchment area of Melton's market has expanded very considerably. The cause of this has undoubtedly been the formation and development of the Melton Farmers' Association - a producers' co-operative with membership open to farmers and poultry keepers.

The Association was founded in 1919 in order to carry on business as auctioneers in the Melton cattle market, as a protest against the high charges of the private firms established there. These firms extracted a charge of 10/- per beast sold; the M.F.A. entered the market charging only 4/- per head. Success in the business was immediate for, in the first year of operation, a turnover of £166,350 was achieved; a profit of £410 was made; and a dividend of 2/6 in the £ paid to the 422 members. The Association sold over 15,000 animals, or rather more than the total number disposed of by the two principal private firms in the market. In 1920, the Association handled over 9,000 fleeces of wool in the town's annual wool sales, these amounting to more than a third of the total number sold. In 1925, almost 25,000 cattle and sheep were auctioned, these being about 50% of the total number passing through the market. By 1951, the number sold had increased to 45,000, the association accounting for 53% of the beasts and 34% of the sheep. Thus, as far as animal marketing has been
concerned, the Melton Farmers Association stimulated the use of the market by instituting a 60% reduction in the charges; the reductions had to be matched by the private auctioneers if they were to remain in the business, and hence, the service offered to the farming community at the Melton market attracted attention from an extended area which gained accessibility to the town by means of road transport.

However, facilities offered by the Association were not limited to the provision of auctioneering facilities. In 1919 a farmers' supply department was started, and in 1928, an egg marketing scheme was initiated as a result of the dissatisfaction of farmers with the prices offered by buyers 'rings' in the egg sales held in the open market. In 1938, when a new grading depot was opened, more than 15,000,000 eggs were being handled annually.

By 1939, the numbers of members in the Association had increased to 745, but membership was restricted and throughout the period there had been a waiting list of would-be-members anxious to secure the financial benefits of membership in an era of difficult times for British farming. Since the war expansion has been rapid, and the membership now stands at 2364. In 1948, a grain drying and storage plant was opened, and recently, the supplies department has increased greatly in importance with the opening of an
Membership of the Association extends over an even wider area than that served by the cattle market (see Fig. 70), for there are many members in Stamford and district taking advantage of the egg packing station near that town. There are also many members around Loughborough for, in 1936, the Loughborough Farmers' Association was incorporated into the M.F.A. when the former Association got into financial difficulties. This incorporation would apparently explain the expansion of the cattle market hinterland of Melton in this direction, for members of the Melton Association in this district would, of course, benefit financially from using the Association Auction. Such a transfer of business to the market at Melton Mowbray must also have been an important contributory factor to the decline of Loughborough's cattle market.

The ultimate aim of the M.F.A. is to provide a comprehensive agricultural service to its members, including the supply and repair of implements and other machinery, as well as marketing facilities for all products. To the farming community the advantages of a strong association are manifold, eliminating as it does the farmer's dependence on 'middle-men'. Should agriculture in this country return to compete in a 'free' market, then an association will be of even greater importance in securing fair returns
to the farmers. The Association's importance to Melton Mowbray is of equal note. It has been the main factor influencing the town's expanding functions as an agricultural centre over the past quarter of a century. Road transport has made a wider hinterland possible for the town; it has been the Melton Farmers Association which has oriented such a wide hinterland on the town in preference to any one of the neighbouring centres, each of which initially had the same advantages as Melton Mowbray.

In his study of the urban hierarchy, A.E. Smailes excluded agricultural markets from the list of criteria by which the status of a town could be defined 'for they are no longer a "sine qua non" of a town.' However, he went on to qualify this statement by adding,

"This is not to suggest that agricultural markets are unimportant features of towns. Though not essential urban features they are undoubtedly valuable accessories and towns at which regular and frequent livestock marts take place have their status powerfully enhanced by the business and personnel these bring in."

Nowhere can the qualifying statement be more true than in the case of Melton Mowbray for numerous interviewees stressed that a farmer visiting the cattle market usually made some

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use of the town for other facilities, and often brought his wife along with him to take advantage of the shopping facilities and the like. The manager of one of the grocery shops reported that when the cattle market was closed for a period of several weeks in 1952, owing to the occurrence of foot and mouth disease, all the traders suffered a serious decline in their turn-over. In the case of this particular manager's shop, it being one of the grocery shops, the market day takings were down by some £40 to £50. Without the link with Melton resulting from the influence of the cattle market some part of the other trade of the town would undoubtedly be lost, especially from those places on the periphery of the hinterland where Nottingham, Leicester, or Grantham are also accessible. Two other factors contributing to Melton's importance as a central settlement may be briefly referred to. The first is the street market; this comprises some 70 to 80 stalls on Tuesdays and about half that number on Saturdays. Traders in the market sell a considerable range of articles, often at prices below those in the shops - this is especially the case as far as clothing is concerned. Thus, the market is well patronised by the wives of the farmworkers, whose husbands' needs for clothes suitable for working in are unending ones. Many people thus visit Melton to take advantage of these facilities, whereas otherwise they might
THE STREET MARKET IN MELTON MOWBRAY.

Sherrard Street.

The Market Square.
be attracted by the shops of Leicester or Nottingham. Once in the town, of course, all purchases are not made from the market, the shops also benefitting from the increased custom. The market stalls and the shops tend, therefore, to be complementary, not competitive; the shops gaining custom from people who might not otherwise visit the town.

Secondly, an extremely good road transport system is focussed on the town. Comparisons with the system around Market Harborough have been made in a previous chapter, and, as Figs. 52 and 72 show, this applies not only to the question of general accessibility but also to the provision of early morning and late night facilities. Three companies provide the great bulk of the services into the town at the present day, the local private operators having been bought out over the last 20 years. Barton's Transport, the most important firm, established themselves in the town in 1935 taking over the garage and the vehicles of a local firm. They were then operating with ten, small 15 to 20 seater buses from Melton; today a fleet of 28 buses, with a seating capacity ranging from 29 to 56 - are based on the Melton depot. This can be a rough measure of the increase in traffic into the town today, as compared with the pre-war situation, and to which reference was made in the opening chapter of this section. The fact that a depot has been

i. (See above p. 441)
established in the town has ensured that local interests can be fully safeguarded.

Statistics of employment and trade do not give clear evidence of the importance of the centralised services to the town of Coalville because they apply to the local government area of which Coalville is the centre — viz. the Urban District of Coalville with a population of 25,720. As mentioned earlier in this section, the urban district cannot be regarded as a single unit of settlement. Within the district, in addition to Coalville, are the settlements of Hugglescote, Ellistown, Donington-le-Heath, Whitwick, and Thringstone. Ellistown and Thringstone are both more than three miles distant from Coalville. Moreover, each of these settlements, with the exception of Ellistown, was formerly a nucleated village and the tradition of social cohesion in each village still remains, to a varying extent. This is perhaps reflected best of all in the religious life of the community for in each case the parish church remains of importance.

It is, however, in Coalville itself that the bulk of service provision, especially of the centralised services, is concentrated, and the relations between Coalville and the other settlements in the urban district are of the same kind as those between Melton Mowbray and the villages located around it — for example, Asfordby, Old Dalby,
Kirby Bellars etc. In 1931, when the Urban District of Coalville had a population of 24,474 the civil parish of Coalville, which, generally speaking, covers the area within a ½ to ¾ mile radius of the shopping centre, had a population of 10,391. In the past 20 years population growth has been slow - the Urban District's population only increasing by 5.2% - and we may therefore assume that Coalville's population is not greater than 11,000; somewhat lower than the population of Melton Mowbray.

The employment structure is, of course, not detailed for areas apart from the Urban District, and the service industries appear to be of little significance when compared to the situation at Melton Mowbray. The distributive trades, commerce and finance, central government services, and the professions only accounted for 11.3% of the employed population of Coalville in 1931, compared with a figure for Melton of 22.1% and an average for the county of 13%. We can assume, however, that there is a degree of concentration, of those employed in the service industries, in Coalville itself; to determine this degree of concentration is impossible, but it would most certainly give Coalville a percentage in excess of the county average.

Similarly with the statistics of retail trade and services; these also apply to the Coalville Urban District. In the district, the average sales per head of the population
are £104 compared with the county average of £121, and the average for Melton of £173. Although this points to the fact that over the district as a whole there is a deficiency of retailing service facilities, the 'gap' being filled by dependence on Leicester, yet it does not automatically imply that Coalville has no significant function as a servicing centre. As we have seen earlier in this chapter, food shops are liberally scattered throughout Coalville's hinterland, and not least in the other settlements within its urban district (see table 33), and hence Coalville's importance as a central service centre for these facilities is not very great. For example, there are six grocery branches of the Coalville Co-operative Society located in Coalville itself; and another six branches found in other parts of the Urban District, with one in each of the separate settlements. Hence the 15,000 people registered with the Society in the Urban District (about 60% of the total population) obtain their grocery requirements in the local shop rather than from one in the centre of Coalville.

Other types of retailing establishments are, however, concentrated in the settlement of Coalville. In the eight groups of establishments shown in table 35 there are 126 shops in the Urban District; apart from a dozen or so relatively small shops they are all found in Coalville itself, and the great majority in its central shopping streets.
Table 35

Sales in Groups of Retail Shops in Coalville 1950 (Based on the Census of Retail Trades and Services)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Shop</th>
<th>National Average Sales per person</th>
<th>Total Sales in Coalville</th>
<th>Population served (assuming national average expenditure)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Domestic Hardware &amp; Ironmongery</td>
<td>£1.8</td>
<td>£91,000</td>
<td>50,556</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drapers</td>
<td>£0.67</td>
<td>£18,000</td>
<td>26,866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electrical Equipment, Glassware, etc.</td>
<td>£2.6</td>
<td>£67,000</td>
<td>25,769</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boots &amp; Shoes</td>
<td>£2.7</td>
<td>£64,000</td>
<td>23,704</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men and Women's Wear</td>
<td>£11.1</td>
<td>£328,000</td>
<td>23,428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemists Goods</td>
<td>£3.2</td>
<td>£73,000</td>
<td>22,813</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furniture Group</td>
<td>£4.9</td>
<td>£83,000</td>
<td>16,939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewellery, Leather Goods</td>
<td>£1.6</td>
<td>£21,000</td>
<td>13,124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>£28.57</strong></td>
<td><strong>£745,000</strong></td>
<td><strong>26,079</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
For each group the population which could be served, assuming that the purchases per person averaged out at national average of expenditure, has been calculated. The overall average sales of these groups of shops were sufficient to satisfy the needs of a population numbering 26,000, whereas earlier in the chapter we have seen that the population of Coalville itself is only about 11,000. Thus, we have an approximate indication of the extent to which Coalville is the centre for the provision of weekly shopping facilities. In the table we note that the ironmongers shops have particularly high sales. This is due to three factors; firstly, to the fact that three of the leading ironmongers in the town also deal in electrical equipment and, hence, a correlation of the ironmongers sales with those for electrical equipment etc. would give a fairer indication of the situation with reference to these types of goods. Total sales of these two groups would serve a population of almost 36,000. This figure, however, is still considerably higher than the average figure for the town's shops and this is related to the two other factors; firstly, to the fact that two of the ironmongers in the town have comprehensive delivery services and/or travelling shops covering a wide area of west Leicestershire (see Fig.75) - they are the only private traders to offer such a service; and secondly, to the fact that the census was taken in the months immediately following
the introduction of the B.B.C. Television Service to the Midlands and hence sales of electrical equipment were probably somewhat greater than the national average.

The low sales in the furniture and jewellery and leather groups of shops are a result of the diversion of custom to establishments in the city of Leicester, many of whose furnishing houses offer free, regular delivery services to Coalville and district, and in which city the choice of goods is so much more extensive.

In an earlier chapter dealing with the urban hierarchy it was ascertained that settlements with a population of some 36,000 looked to Coalville for some aspects of weekly provision. The analysis just concluded would indicate that, as far as weekly shopping requirements are concerned, sales in Coalville in 1950 met the requirements of about 15,000 people outside the town. Correlating the two sets of figures it would appear that Coalville provides about 45% of the weekly shopping services demanded by the 36,000 people in these settlements; the remainder of the requirements are met locally or from an alternative centre, especially Leicester.

The different areal basis on which the statistics have been compiled for Melton Mowbray and for Coalville, and the absence of a detailed analysis of sales in Melton, make a direct comparison of their functions as service centres

i. (See above p. 404)
impossible. It is only possible to record that an analysis of the information available suggests that service function plays an important role in the activities of the two centres. Melton Mowbray's total sales are 43% higher per head than the county average (46% higher than the national average), and the specialised retail establishments in Coalville serve a population more than twice the size of that resident in the town itself. The factors behind Melton's 20th. century importance have been examined. It is now necessary to outline the factors which have influenced the status of Coalville as a central settlement since the period of the previous analysis, at the beginning of the century.

Firstly, however, we must note the basic difference between Melton Mowbray and Coalville. Melton has been a central settlement for near on a 1000 years and it was only quite recently that the town developed significant industrial functions. On the other hand, Coalville was initially an industrial settlement located around a couple of collieries and a rail-head. Its service functions have been grafted on to its functions as an industrial centre. In an earlier section we suggested that the railways played an important part in the process by which Coalville was selected, from a group of industrial villages, to develop as a central settlement. In the present century two other factors have emerged

1. (See above p. 314)
to consolidate and further develop the situation; viz. the orientation of local bus services on Coalville, and secondly, the development of the Coalville Co-operative Society as an immense trading concern.

It is necessary to treat the two factors separately, but for the past 30 years they have operated simultaneously. The Coalville Co-operative Society was not started until 1882, (compared with the beginning of the Hinckley Co-operative Society in 1861 and Market Harborough's in 1862). The late date, itself, is indicative of the absence of any tradition of trading in the town until almost the end of the 19th century. Twenty years later in 1902, the Society had a turnover of £64,377 and a membership of 2,697. Apart from a small central drapery branch and a boot and shoe repairing department the trade was in groceries at six shops, two of which were in Coalville, and the others at Ellistown, Whitwick, Swannington, and Ibstock (see Fig.75). Additional grocery branches were established at Thringstone and Bagworth, and, by 1912, butchers shops were also available at Ellistown, Whitwick, Ibstock, Hugglescote, and Bagworth. Up to this date, however, the Society had merely succeeded in achieving a trading system which had made several settlements around Coalville self-sufficient in basic food needs, and little or nothing had been attempted to concentrate trade on Coalville itself. Developments in hand
when the 1914-18 war broke out were to change this picture, and in 1916 new central premises in Coalville, designed to serve both members in the town and those in the surrounding villages, were opened. These included millinery and outfitting, furnishings, and hardware and crockery departments together with a café. At the same time, the Society adopted motorised transport so that deliveries might be facilitated. The Society now had a dual role in promoting the service functions of Coalville. Firstly, the town had become the wholesaling centre for a large district, supplies being drawn in bulk from the Coalville warehouse for distribution to the out-of-town branches, at which the total trade in 1917 amounted to £150,000.

Secondly, the central premises, offering by far the best facilities in the town for purchasing dry goods, would act as a stimulus for country members to journey to Coalville to obtain their requirements.

Expansion in both of these facets of the Societies' activities has proceeded almost without interruption. New grocery and butchery branches were opened in neighbouring villages (see Fig.75), and development of the central premises took place from time to time as, for example, in 1927 with the expansion of the hardware department and the opening of a drug department; and in 1939 with the development of a soft furnishings and floor-covering department and a
The central premises of the Co-operative Society are amongst the few in the town centre which were built specifically as retailing establishments.
fancy goods and jewellery shop. Both facets have combined to enhance Coalville's prestige and importance as a trading centre. The Central premises of the Co-operative Society are amongst the few in the town centre which were built specifically as retailing establishments. The private traders largely use converted houses which do not present an attractive shopping facade nor make for easy management of the enterprises. In those villages to the south-east of the town whose inhabitants have reported visiting Coalville as well as Leicester for weekly shopping requirements, it has been ascertained that the attractions in Coalville are the central departments of the Co-operative Society and the retail market. This is not meant to suggest that the private traders do not also benefit but, as at Melton, where without the cattle market or the street market, trade would be lost to the town, so at Coalville, without the attraction of the consumer co-operative, there would be less circulation into the town.

Today the Coalville and district Co-operative Society has a membership of more than 16,000 and an annual turnover approaching £2,000,000. In Table 36 are shown comparisons between the total sales in Coalville and those which fall to the Co-operative Society. (absence of information prevents comparisons for other groups of retail establishments). With co-operative sales ranging from 40% to 88% of the total,
Table 36

Retail Sales in Coalville: showing the sales of the Co-operative Society

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commodity</th>
<th>Total Sales in Coalville</th>
<th>Sales of the Co-operative Society</th>
<th>Co-operative Societies' Percentage of Total Sales</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>127,000</td>
<td>61,855</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boots &amp; Shoes</td>
<td>64,000</td>
<td>25,271</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furnishings</td>
<td>83,000) (174,000)</td>
<td>72,780 (89,657)</td>
<td>88 (52)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hardware</td>
<td>91,000)</td>
<td>16,877)</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
and with an average figure of just under 50\%, the general situation between co-operative and private trade in the town is brought out, and the dominant position of the former emphasised.

In 1900, local railway passenger transport facilities gave accessibility to Coalville from several settlements around the town. In addition, local carriers' carts were available from the town but no information as to their journeys has been located. After the 1914-18 war, however, the development of bus transport made accessibility to Coalville very much better. By 1923, the Birmingham and Midland Omnibus Company was operating local bus services into Coalville along seven routes, with considerable strengthening of the Friday (market day) services. By the following year an additional four services had been provided, and, by 1932, there were 18 services into the town including five operating on market days only. By this date an area more extensive than that shown on Fig. 48 had direct market day accessibility to Coalville as there were also services from Nuneaton, Oakthorpe and Donisthorpe via Measham, Snarestone, Swapstone, and Heather, and from Copt Oak.

The opening of a garage of the B.M.M.O. Company in Coalville in 1927 marked an important milestone in the development of bus services around the town, for it ensured that the interests of the locality for good communication would be
well looked after.

There can be no doubt that the development of road transport into Coalville in the 1920's led to an expansion in the town's sphere of influence, especially in the area to the south-west of the town, where connections had formerly been with Ashby-de-la-Zouch. Elsewhere, the bus services brought Coalville into closer contact with those settlements whose inhabitants looked to the Co-operative Society for the provision of their material needs.

A more intensely developed system of local communications; a more comprehensive range of servicing establishments; the flourishing of the retail market (compared with the gradual decline of the market at Ashby-de-la-Zouch); and the development of better cinema and other entertainment facilities all contributed to secure for Coalville the position of leading service centre in north-west Leicestershire.

In conclusion, from discussions with tradespeople in the town it would seem that Coalville probably reached its zenith as a trading centre immediately prior to the outbreak of war in 1939. Then, many of the private traders gave extensive delivery services to the surrounding areas but these were withdrawn in the war and have not been reintroduced. Bus services were then available from a wider area than at present, again the services having been withdrawn in the war and not reintroduced. But of most
The shopping streets in Coalville have been described as 'the converted main streets of a colliery village'
importance is the fact that before 1939 there was considerably less contact with Leicester, both by the inhabitants of Coalville itself and by those of the settlements within the town's hinterland. Lower 'real' wages - especially amongst the mining section of the community - and considerable unemployment meant that needless expenses such as bus and train fares had to be avoided, and hence, shopping facilities were sought in the local community. The improvement in the standard of living of members of the working class has enabled them to break away from these local connections and journey further afield to Leicester for their requirements.

Perhaps this feature of post war living has affected Coalville rather more than Melton for three main reasons; firstly, from the Melton district the transport facilities to Leicester are not so good as from the Coalville area (see Figs. 47 and 49); secondly, the shopping streets of Coalville are not particularly attractive - they have been described by the secretary of the local Chamber of Trade as 'the converted main streets of a colliery village'; and thirdly, the tradition of trading in Melton has been established through many generations, whereas in the case of Coalville no such tradition exists, and hence, there is less compunction about taking trade out of the town.

i. (In conversation with the writer).
CHAPTER EIGHT

THE HINTERLANDS OF THE CITY OF LEICESTER

In previous sections reference has been made, 'en passant', to the more important position of Leicester in the urban hierarchy, as compared to the position of the other market towns of Leicestershire. This was first seen in the 10th century when Leicester was made the head town of one of the Midland shires. By 1564, it had a population more than twice the size of that of the next largest market town and it was the only centre for which the rights to hold two weekly markets were obtained. In 1800, the information available indicated that the markets at Leicester had a slightly greater range of influence than those of the others in the county, and, in addition, that weekly transport was available to the city from an area of the county greater in extent than contact with the marketing hinterland demanded. By the middle of the 19th century, Leicester's population had expanded to more than 60,000 forming well over a quarter of the total for the county as a whole, and almost six times as large as that of the population of the second town - viz. Loughborough. An examination of the transport facilities at that period showed that there were very few

i. (See above p. 80.)

ii. (See above p. 56.)

iii. (See above p. 108 et seq. and Figs. 10 and 12)

iv. (See above p. 144 and Fig. 19)
parts of the county not in direct contact with the city on at least one day in the week. The problem of feeding a city the size of Leicester was evidently causing the agricultural resources of much of the county to be tapped. At this period, too, the Leicester Journal, which had been founded in the middle of the 18th century, remained the only newspaper in the county, and was utilised as an advertising medium for clients living over a very wide area (see Figs. 30 and 31).

The roads in the county had for long emphasised the central position of Leicester (see Fig. 6). Russell is of the opinion that the centralisation of the road system on the city dated from the period of shiring. He writes,

"Ever since the district around Leicester was organised as a shire the outstanding feature of the communications must have been a series of tracks converging on the county town forming the easiest way by which people of the scattered villages might reach their common place of justice, business, and defence."

Good communications between city and county were emphasised by the opening of the railways in the second half of the 19th century. Leicester became a railway centre of some importance, and lines radiated from it to various parts of the county. No fewer than 63 stations in the county (out

1. (Russell P. A Leicestershire Road. Leicester 1934.p.13)
of a total of 78 had direct train services to Leicester. This facility of modern communication widened considerably the area from which the city could draw on support for its special events. For example, in 1888, it was reported, "The pleasure fair is a very important one for it brings a good deal of money into the town; something like 30,000 people visited the town for the last fair; They bring money with them and special trains are run for them."

The Act of 1888, making the counties primary units in the system of local administration, further enhanced the importance of Leicester as a central settlement. By 1900, its population was over 211,000 - almost 50% of the total for the county, and it covered an area of 8586 acres (nearly 2 square miles) compared with less than 4000 acres some 70 years earlier.

In the early 20th century, its function as a county centre was limited by the low standard of living of the majority of the population. As suggested in the first chapter of this section, a visit to Leicester was in the nature of an annual 'treat', even from places within 15 minutes rail-journey of the city. At the beginning of

i. (For further details see above p. 304 and Fig. 34)
iii. (See above p. 319)
the present century the needs of the working class were met by the shops and the services of the local market town and industrial village. It is only with the all round increase in the standard of living, coupled with the development of a flexible mode of modern communications, in the form of the motor bus, that Leicester has assumed social functions on a par with its administrative and legal functions. The revolution in town-country relations has had the greatest effect in the case of cities such as Leicester, for while some doubt remains as to whether the introduction of motor transport has benefitted the smaller market towns, no one doubts the increased importance of Leicester as a service centre by virtue of the effects of the revolution.

Before we turn to an examination of the hinterlands of Leicester it is necessary to first assess the importance of the service facilities to the city itself. Table 37 clearly brings out the dominating position of industry as the principal raison d'être for the settlement of almost 300,000 inhabitants. However, it also illustrates the concentration of the distributive trades in the city when compared to the figures for the county as a whole. In the case of the other centralised services - viz. other commerce and finance and the professions - there is also a degree of concentration of employment opportunities; viz.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Employment</th>
<th>Number Employed</th>
<th>Percentage of Total</th>
<th>Percentage of County Total in this Employment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Employed</td>
<td>121,775</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Manufacturing Ind.</td>
<td>73,731</td>
<td>60.5</td>
<td>54.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Distributive Trades</td>
<td>15,806</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Commerce and Finance</td>
<td>1,522</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Central Gov. Services</td>
<td>1,209</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Government</td>
<td>4,338</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the Professions</td>
<td>2,828</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.55% compared with a county average of 3.0%. Hence, although industry may be the dominating factor in the life of the city, yet the importance of the centralised services still remains apparent.

The Census of Retail trade and Distribution for 1950 permits a more detailed examination of the centralisation of the distributive trades in Leicester. As a city with more than 250,000 inhabitants a very detailed breakdown of Leicester's retailing facilities is given in the returns. With 5,365 retailing and service establishments the total turnover in Leicester in 1950 was £46,780,000; an average figure per head of the population of the city of £162.7. As in the case of Melton Mowbray, this gives an initial indication of the importance of Leicester as a centralised retailing settlement, for the average figure of sales per head throughout Great Britain was £118.8, and the average figure in Leicestershire was £122.2. As there is no evidence that the people in Leicester spent an average of almost 40% more than the people in the rest of the country or 33% more than the rest of the inhabitants of the county, we are able to assume that the high average volume of expenditure in Leicester is due to its function as a central town for the provision of these services. Assuming that the people in

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i. (Census of Retail Trades and Services. 1950. Volume 1. Area Tables. p.34.)

ii. (See above p. 558.)
Leicester spent the same average amount on retail trade and services as in the country as a whole, then the turnover in Leicester in 1950 was sufficient to meet the needs of 393,821 people, a population more than 100,000 in excess of the population of the city itself.

Taking, however, only the retail trades, Leicester's importance was even further enhanced, for the turnover of £39,504,000 was sufficient to satisfy the needs of 423,904 people expending money at the same rate as the national average. Even allowing for the 3% higher expenditure in the county—a reflection of its prosperity and virtual absence of any unemployment—Leicester's sales were still sufficient to meet the needs of 411,204 people.

An analysis of individual groups of retail establishments brings out significant variations in the use made of Leicester's shopping facilities. In Table 38 are detailed the numbers of persons whose needs could be satisfied for various commodities assuming, firstly, that the national average of expenditure on each commodity was maintained, and secondly, that the county average of expenditure is reached. Thus for the grocery group of shops the sales of £7,705,000 in Leicester would meet the requirements of 321,966 people, assuming the national average purchases of £23.9 per head; and 312,366 if the sales were three percent higher at the average figure for the county.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Trade in Leicester</th>
<th>National Average Expenditure</th>
<th>Pop. Leicester shops could serve assuming national average Expenditure</th>
<th>Pop. Leicester shops could serve assuming average expenditure 3% higher i.e. the average for the County</th>
<th>Hinterland Population Served</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jewellery, Leather and Sports Goods</td>
<td>875,000</td>
<td>£1.6</td>
<td>546,868</td>
<td>530,668</td>
<td>243,148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furniture Group</td>
<td>2,818,000</td>
<td>£5.2</td>
<td>541,923</td>
<td>525,723</td>
<td>238,203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing Group</td>
<td>8,523,000</td>
<td>£18.1</td>
<td>470,884</td>
<td>456,784</td>
<td>169,264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hardware Group</td>
<td>2,063,000</td>
<td>£4.5</td>
<td>458,222</td>
<td>444,422</td>
<td>156,902</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other food retailers (except Grocery)</td>
<td>7,432,000</td>
<td>£18.7</td>
<td>397,326</td>
<td>384,426</td>
<td>96,906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemists</td>
<td>1,095,000</td>
<td>£3.2</td>
<td>342,187</td>
<td>331,987</td>
<td>44,467</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confectionery and Tobacco</td>
<td>3,013,000</td>
<td>£9.3</td>
<td>323,978</td>
<td>314,261</td>
<td>26,741</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grocery Group</td>
<td>7,705,000</td>
<td>£23.9</td>
<td>321,966</td>
<td>312,349</td>
<td>25,829</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Retail Trade</strong></td>
<td>37,504,000</td>
<td><strong>£100.4</strong></td>
<td>423,904</td>
<td>411,204</td>
<td>123,684</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Assuming County Average of Expenditure.  + Not a total of Groups above.
In each group of establishments the sales figures show that Leicester's shops were used by people other than those residing in the city. For groceries 312,366 people were served, some 25,000 more than the population of the city; at the other end of the scale, jewellery sales were sufficient to meet the requirements of 530,000 people, a total equalling the city population plus an additional 243,000.

For groceries, confectionery and tobacco, and for chemists requisites less than 50,000 looked to the city for supplies. This is related to the fact that these commodities are obtainable locally in many settlements - grocery shops, for example, in the settlements shown on Fig. 46 - and hence, a majority of the inhabitants would not wish to take advantage of the facilities in the city. For jewellery and furniture, however, the catchment area of the city shops is greatly extended, taking in not only the population of the subsidiary shopping centres near to Leicester, but also those of the other more important shopping towns of the county - for example, Coalville, Loughborough, and Melton Mowbray, etc. - in which the choice of goods offered by the local shops is insufficiently wide to keep trade within the town. It was, for example, determined in a previous chapter that the sales of the furniture shops of Coalville were sufficient to meet the needs of only
16,000 people, whereas 30,000 were supplied by the clothing shops. Within the broad groupings given in the table further significant contrasts can be picked out for separate items of goods sold. Within the clothing groups, for example, sales of boots and shoes in Leicester supplied 375,637 people; but sales of women's clothes were sufficient to supply 275,000 compared with approximately 145,000 in the city. Thus 24% of Leicester's sales of boots and shoes went to visitors to the city, while 47% of women's clothing was sold to visitors. In the hardware group only 7% of sales of domestic hardware went to visitors, whilst these sales of china and glass-ware accounted for 53% of the total.

This brief analysis of the census of distribution has revealed the overall importance of the hinterland trade to the prosperity of the distributive trades in Leicester, and it has also revealed that there are significant variations from commodity to commodity in the extent to which the city acts as a retailing centre.

In a previous chapter the hinterlands of the eight Leicestershire market towns based on the provision of weekly facilities were determined (see Fig.67). In this instance Leicester was treated as of equal importance with the smaller market towns of the county. This was also the case when transport and administrative hinterlands were determined (see Figs.50, 51, 61 and 66). In these instances the
spheres of influence of Leicester were limited in extent by the competition from the other market towns which provide similar services. The index of Centrality of Leicester was also determined in relation to the services which it provided when compared to those supplied by these other centres. In Fig.79 the weekly shopping hinterland of Leicester has been determined in this manner. The extent of Leicester's hinterland represents the area over which weekly shopping facilities (and also other services such as cinema entertainment and banking facilities) are sought from Leicester, and not from one of the other market towns. Within this hinterland the settlements have a total population of about 110,000 but Leicester does not supply all the weekly requirements to all these people for, as shown in Fig.79, there are some subsidiary shopping centres in the hinterland which meet some of the needs of their own populations and also those of the populations of neighbouring settlements. Of especial significance are Wigston (population 14,880) and Syston (population 5437) whose status as central settlements has already been examined.

At Wigston there is a comprehensive range of shops supplying weekly facilities, and theoretically there is no need for the inhabitants to shop in Leicester to secure commodities

i. (See above p. 398 and appendix 3.)

ii. (See above p. 407.)

- DERBY
- NOTTINGHAM
- LEICESTER
- COVENTRY
- NORTHAMPTON

LEGEND
- Leicestershire & Peripheral Market Towns
- County Boundary - indicated by continuous line.
- All settlements within this boundary dependent on Leicester for weekly shopping facilities with exception of:
  - Subsidiary Shopping Centres
  - Villages served from the Sub-Centre indicated
  - These settlements served partly by Leicester & partly by the Market Town indicated by the arrow
- All settlements within this boundary look to Leicester for specialised shopping & other services.
- Settlements in Leicestershire outside the hinterlands of Leicester look to Nottingham (N) and/or Derby (D) or Coventry (C).

SCALE OF MILES

Based on analysis of survey conducted by M.T.C.P. No. 3 Region 1949-50.

Fig. 79.
such as clothes, hardware, and the like. The greater choice of goods available in Leicester is, however, preferred by many people of the town; and for the hundreds of Wigston people who work in the city it is easier to obtain requirements from Leicester, as the shops in their place of residence will be closed by the time they arrive there after work. In these parts of the hinterland an individual decision can be made as to whether domestic hardware, or chemists requisites, or boots and shoes etc. shall be purchased in Leicester or in the subsidiary shopping centre. Leicester's sales of boots and shoes in 1950 suggested 90,000 out-of-town customers; its sales of chemists goods, 44,000 out-of-town customers; and domestic hardware, 31,000 of these customers. The variations in these figures reflect the varying use made of the shopping facilities in Leicester by the 110,000 inhabitants of its 'weekly' hinterland.

However, in this chapter it is an analysis of the functions of the city as a 'county' centre with which we are primarily concerned. In Fig.1, showing the regional setting of Leicestershire, the neighbouring urban centres of 'county' significance are indicated. They are Nottingham, Peterborough, Northampton, Coventry, Birmingham and Derby. All these places have populations exceeding 100,000 (except Peterborough with 54,000) and have a range of service
provision additional to that found in the smaller market towns. Amongst these specialised services are daily evening newspapers, a soccer team playing in the Football League (except Peterborough — and even in this case application for admission to the League has been made on numerous occasions), theatres, specialised medical institutions, and a comprehensive range of specialised retail services, perhaps of most significance in determining their spheres of influence. This is not meant to suggest that their functions are entirely similar. Peterborough, for example, as a smaller place situate in an almost wholly rural environment cannot support the range of retailing facilities available in Leicester or Nottingham. On the other hand, Nottingham and Birmingham each have significant functions as regional centres (although in the case of the former city it will be shown later that these functions have an insignificant effect on its social connections); and Coventry has a theatre enjoying a catchment area extending over much of west and central Leicestershire. Basically, however, their relations with a dependent area are the same — they are all centres to which visits are made for specialised services not obtainable in the smaller market towns.

On Fig. 79 the outer hinterland boundary delimits the area from which settlements look to Leicester for these specialised services. The extent of the hinterland has
been determined by an analysis of the replies made in each settlement to the following question; "Which town do you occasionally visit for special shopping, visits to the theatre, etc." Leicester's hinterland has a total population of 337,828. Additionally there are settlements with a population of 22,488 which look partly to Leicester, and partly to another centre, for these services. Furthermore, several peripheral market towns also look partly to Leicester for these services. They include Burton-on-Trent, which also has connections with Derby and Birmingham; Swadlincote, also looking to Derby and Nottingham; Nuneaton, also looking to Birmingham; Rugby, also looking to Coventry and Birmingham; Kettering, also having connections with Northampton; and Stamford (not shown on Fig. 1), which also has connections with Peterborough. These have a population of almost 200,000 but the benefit which Leicester secures from their trade and support is more or less matched by that which the city loses when the people from the Leicestershire market towns of Loughborough, Melton Mowbray and Ashby-de-la-Zouch travel to Nottingham for specialist facilities, or from Hinckley, travel to Birmingham as an alternative centre to Leicester. (See Table 39 for full details).

Thus, we can see that the specialist services of Leicester, in addition to catering for the 287,000 people in the city itself, also provide facilities for a catchment area.
Table 39

Leicester as a 'County' Centre: Its hinterland's Population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pop. of Leicestershire</td>
<td>343,749</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pop. of Leics. i. In the hinterland of Leicester</td>
<td>319,871</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Looking partly to Leicester and partly to another 'County' Centre</td>
<td>8,308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11i. In hinterland of another County Centre</td>
<td>15,570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pop. of settlements in other Counties and the hinterland of Leicester</td>
<td>17,956</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pop. of settlements in other Counties looking partly to Leicester and partly to another 'County' centre</td>
<td>14,180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Population of the Hinterland of Leicester</td>
<td>337,827</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Population of settlements looking partly to Leicester and partly to another 'County' centre</td>
<td>22,488</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Pop. of Leicester hinterland plus Boundary zone</td>
<td>360,315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population of Leicester</td>
<td>287,520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Occasional' Service Area Population</td>
<td>647,835</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
area outside the city containing a population of over 360,000. The total population in Leicester's specialist hinterland is almost 650,000. It is against the background of these figures that we must view the turn-over of some of the specialised retailing groups in the city. Thus, the fact that the sales of china and glass-ware are sufficient to meet the needs of 620,000 people suggests that the Leicester shops attract a clientele from the whole of the hinterland. The sales of women's clothing - sufficient for 275,000 women - confirms Leicester's position as the 'fashion' centre for the majority of the women in the hinterland. Furniture sales cover the average needs of a population of 525,000, suggesting that the Leicester shops supply about 80% of the population in the city and hinterland.

Thus, a close correlation of the two items of evidence examined is possible; specialised retail establishments in the city, catering adequately for the hinterland in which the population of the settlements reported occasional visits to Leicester. The variations in the sales-coverage of the different commodities may, in this case also, be related to the extent to which each of the commodities is obtainable from settlements within the hinterland, and especially in the other market towns of Leicestershire. In Table 40 are detailed three specialised retailing services offered by three of these settlements. Lack of further detail for
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Pop. served by sales of Jewellery, Leather and Sports Goods</th>
<th>Pop. served by sales of Mens and Womens Clothing</th>
<th>Pop. served by sales of Boots and Shoes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Loughborough</td>
<td>39,406</td>
<td>40,992</td>
<td>47,783</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hinckley</td>
<td>16,368</td>
<td>24,390</td>
<td>24,071</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coalville</td>
<td>12,732</td>
<td>22,790</td>
<td>23,633</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>68,506</td>
<td>88,172</td>
<td>95,487</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hinterland Population served by Leicester's sales</td>
<td>243,746</td>
<td>177,436</td>
<td>87,907</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
these places, and the absence of detail for the other towns of the county, makes a more comprehensive analysis impossible, but even with these three sets of figures it is apparent that the extent of the facilities offered by the smaller market towns has a direct bearing on the amount of trade that a particular group of retailers in Leicester has with the hinterland population.

The extent of the 'county' hinterland of Leicester is related principally to two factors. Firstly, the efficiency of transport facilities into the city; and secondly, the strength of the competition from the surrounding county centres.

On Fig. 47 are shown the areas accessible to Leicester by bus and train. This pattern of transport facility to the city basically determines the extent of Leicester's hinterland, for it is in those areas of the county without direct transport facilities to Leicester that the influence of other centres is most strongly felt; and, on the other hand, it is the areas of other counties which have direct transport facilities to Leicester that mainly fall within its sphere of influence.

From north-east Leicestershire the only direct transport facilities to Leicester are provided by the buses on the Grantham - Melton Mowbray - Leicester service. It is in this area that the influence of Nottingham is most extensively
and strongly felt. Through transport to Nottingham is available from the great majority of the villages which indicated occasional visits to Nottingham only, these lying mainly north and west of the Grantham to Leicester route. To the south and east of this route, through transport services are available to neither Leicester nor Nottingham and in order to reach either of the cities it is necessary to change at Melton Mowbray. Hence, there is an equal opportunity from this area of visiting either city, and most villages concerned reported such a situation.

From Grantham itself there is, as already mentioned, the direct bus service to Leicester, thus making this city accessible, but from this town, Nottingham is the most frequently visited centre as the transport facilities to it are considerably better than those to Leicester. In addition to a more frequent bus service (half hourly compared with hourly), there is also a regular service of fast trains available.

In the north-west of Leicestershire the influence of Nottingham and Derby are more important than the influence of Leicester. This again is a reflection of the lack of through transport services to the latter town. The absence of suitable through transport facilities may also reflect the absence of demand, for both Derby and Nottingham are nearer than Leicester to the settlements in this area.
For example, Kegworth, on the main road from Leicester to Derby, and with daily buses to both cities, looks to Nottingham for its specialised services, this city being only 10 miles distance, whereas Leicester is 17.

Along the western and south-western edges of the county the spheres of influence of Birmingham and Coventry are encountered. South-west of Ashby-de-la-Zouch, the three settlements from which both Leicester and Birmingham are visited stand on, or near, the main Nottingham to Birmingham road with an hourly bus service to both of these cities. In contrast only one of the three settlements has a direct service to Leicester and this on market days only.

Between Hinckley and Lutterworth the weekly and the occasional hinterlands' boundaries of Leicester are very nearly coincident. In this area the weekly hinterland of the city bulges outwards as a result of good transport facilities being available compared with poorer or non-existent ones to the competing centres of Hinckley and Lutterworth; on the other hand, the extent of the occasional hinterland is restricted because of competition from Coventry.

The four settlements — two in Leicestershire and two in Warwickshire — which reported connections with both cities lie on, or near, the direct bus route between Leicester and Coventry, along which an hourly service is available in either direction. The mean distance of these four settle-
ments from the two cities is slightly less to Coventry, thus suggesting the somewhat greater attraction of Leicester as a county centre. To the east, the hinterland of Leicester extends a considerable distance into Rutland to include those areas with direct transport facilities to Leicester. There is no competition against Leicester's influence in the Uppingham district, but from Oakham a choice can be made between Leicester and Nottingham. Comparable rail facilities are available to both of these centres. Cheap market day returns are issued on Wednesdays and Saturdays to Leicester and Nottingham, the cost being practically identical to both of the cities (4/6 to Leicester compared with 4/9 to Nottingham). In 1953, of the total issued, 62% were for journeys to Leicester and 38% for journeys to Nottingham. This would appear to be excellent qualitative evidence of the relative importance of the two cities, as the bus services - to Leicester only - are of minor significance.

In Northamptonshire, the villages to the east of Market Harborough lie within Leicester's hinterland. As Fig. 47 shows, they have direct transport facilities to Leicester whereas a journey to Northampton necessitates changing at Market Harborough. To the south of Market Harborough, the settlements are served by both Leicester and Northampton, having direct transport facilities to both centres. These places are located nearer to Northampton, and, of course,
within the county of that name, and the fact that they look to Leicester for occasional visits is indicative of the relative importance of the two centres.

Kettering is within 14 miles of Northampton, and about 30 miles from Leicester, but the excellent rail connections to the latter place make it as accessible from a time-distance point of view. Frequent express trains from Kettering to Leicester (on the London St. Pancras to Leeds and Manchester line) cover the distance in just over 30 minutes, and the local trains take less than an hour. By contrast, buses from Kettering to Northampton take over 50 minutes. Market day return tickets from Kettering to Leicester - cost 4/6 - are considerably more expensive than the return bus fare to Northampton - viz. 2/6 - but, as only occasional visits are involved, and the expeditions are likely to be expensive overall - for example, cost of specialised purchasing etc. - the financial disincentive of relative journey costs would not appear to outweigh the better transport facilities to Leicester, and the superior shopping and other attractions of the city when compared to those of Northampton.

To east and south the hinterland of Leicester extends over rather more than half the distance to the neighbouring centres of Northampton and Peterborough. Between Leicester and Nottingham, however, the dividing line between their spheres of influence lies approximately midway between the
two centres. The only villages which reported as looking entirely to Nottingham for services, and which are actually nearer to Leicester are one or two immediately to the west-north-west of Melton Mowbray. This evidence would suggest that Nottingham's sphere of influence for social purposes has not expanded with its growing importance as a regional centre. Further evidence of this was seen in the dominance of Leicester's influence at Oakham, although this town is equidistant from Leicester and Nottingham.

Fig. 1 shows Nottingham as the regional centre for the 'North Midlands' and it is the headquarters of the regional offices of the various Ministries and official bodies. Officially, therefore, it is on a par with Birmingham, the regional capital of the West Midlands, but, unlike Birmingham, it has not succeeded in attaining a dominant position amongst the large cities of its region. Worcester, Wolverhampton, Stafford, etc. are dominated by the influence of Birmingham. The evidence of social groupings of the population indicates that Leicester and Nottingham are still considered equals when the need for specialised services arises.

We have already noted Oakham's preference for Leicester. The Leicestershire towns of Melton Mowbray, Loughborough, and Ashby-de-la-Zouch also stand at the boundary of the spheres of influence of the two centres, and they all have good communications with the two cities. These are detailed
**Table 41**

Saturday Transport Services from Certain Leicestershire Towns to Nottingham and Leicester

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>From the Town of</th>
<th>Bus Services</th>
<th>Rail Services</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To Nottingham</td>
<td>To Leicester</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. of buses</td>
<td>Journey Time(mins)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashby-de-la-Zouch</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loughborough</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>55 to 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melton Mowbray</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
in table 41. In each case the transport facilities are such as to make either centre of almost equal accessibility. The difference in the fares to Leicester and Nottingham from each place amount to but a few coppers. For example, the Loughborough to Leicester day return fare by train is 1/6; from Loughborough to Nottingham it is 1/8.

At Ashby and Melton Mowbray, the general opinion amongst the persons interviewed was that Leicester was by far the most popular place to visit. At Melton, observation of late afternoon market day trains returning from the two cities revealed a considerable traffic from Leicester and quite a negligible amount from Nottingham. The closer contact with Leicester is also revealed in the sale of evening papers in the town. Two evening papers are published in both Nottingham and Leicester and a survey showed that the Leicester ones were by far the most popular - viz.

Leicester Mail - taken by 26% of the households in Melton
Leicester Mercury - taken by 53% of the households in Melton
Nottingham Evening News - taken by 5% of the households in Melton
Nottingham Evening Post - taken by 14% of the households in Melton

Thus, the Leicester papers are four times more popular than their Nottingham counterparts - perhaps a fair reflection of the relative importance of the two centres.

1. (Repford Ltd. Investigated Press Circulations. London 1932)
Loughborough's connections with Leicester and Nottingham could hardly be bettered. Train services from two stations in Loughborough - located almost a mile apart and thus serving different parts of the town - provide a cheap, frequent, and speedy service to both Leicester and Nottingham. As mentioned previously, the fares to the two cities are 1/6 and 1/8 return respectively - a price considerably below that to either of the cities from any other of the towns in Leicestershire. In 1953, equal numbers of these cheap day tickets were issued to each of the cities; the balance of popularity was probably swung in favour of Leicester by the rather better and quicker bus services available. The buses serve a part of the town away from the railway stations, and hence, in spite of more expensive fares, are used to a considerable extent. It has not proved possible to obtain figures of movements by bus to the two cities as no fewer than eight companies are involved in providing the services.

To suggest, however, that Loughborough can be placed in the sphere of influence of Nottingham or Leicester would be an illogical attitude to take. The equally divided returns from the railway authorities indicate the marginal position of the town between the two centres. From contacts made in the town it would appear that there is a marked distinction between the services sought in the two cities. For shopping, both are equally good with Leicester perhaps
the more popular. For theatre entertainment, however, Nottingham's attractions are greatly superior. Leicester, on the other hand, is the chief attraction for the devotees of first-class association football.

It should be pointed out that Loughborough, in spite of its having the greatest accessibility to the 'county' centres, when compared to the other towns in the county, has probably suffered least from competition as far as specialised shopping is concerned. Referring back to table 40, it will be seen that for each group of retail concerns, Loughborough's sales are equal to, or almost equal to, those of Coalville and Hinckley added together. It is even more pronounced in other groups of shops; for example, Loughborough's sales of furniture are sufficient for more than 65,000 people. Loughborough as a shopping centre is more attractive than either Coalville or Hinckley. (There is some traffic from Coalville to Loughborough for shopping purposes but there is none in the opposite direction). As a Municipal Borough, Loughborough is far more of a community than either of the Urban Districts of Hinckley or Coalville. In the latter's Urban District in particular, there are important subsidiary shopping centres at Barwell and Earl Shilton (see Fig. 76), both places being on the road to Leicester, to which centre, rather than to Hinckley, the inhabitants tend to make their journey for requirements
which cannot be obtained locally. No such tendency exists within the municipal borough of Loughborough. In this case, the centre of the town has to be negotiated before the journey to Leicester or Nottingham can be commenced.

It has not been possible to give detailed consideration to the relationships between Leicester, Nottingham, and the other 'county' centres. In this chapter an attempt has merely been made to indicate the contemporary importance of these larger centres in supplying the requirements of a population whose standard of living has increased to a great extent in the past generation. The local centres no longer offer a wide enough range of consumer goods; the local football teams no longer attract the crowds who prefer to journey up to 20 or 30 miles regularly, in order to see a first class game; local theatricals stand but little chance against the professional performances in the larger centres which only can draw on an extensive enough hinterland to make professional performances an economic possibility. In all these, and many other, respects circulation between the county centre and its hinterland has become of great significance in the last two decades, and especially since the end of the 1939/45 war.

The hinterland of Leicester for these several purposes has been delimited and briefly examined. In competition with its chief rival in the east Midlands - viz. Nottingham -
it has maintained its position as a commercial centre in spite of the choice of Nottingham as the official regional capital; its possession of a morning newspaper; and a University. Whether Nottingham can develop into a 'fully-fledged' regional capital, as Birmingham and Manchester have done, when faced with commercial and social rivalry from Leicester, and, to a lesser extent from Derby, and when it is not endowed with a good position in the national system of communications, would appear to be very doubtful. Regional relations in the East Midlands could be profitably studied in very much greater detail.
CONCLUSION.

Throughout this thesis constant reference has been made to the factors influencing changing town-country relationships, and, at several periods, their effects have been noted and discussed. For example, the initial effects of the growth in population resulting from the industrial revolution were examined in the survey of town-country relationships in the middle of the nineteenth century; the effect of the development of rail transport was studied as part of the 1900 investigations; and detailed consideration has been given in the last section to the effect of the modern phenomena of a rapidly rising standard of living and of the development of motorised road transport.

These changes, and the others discussed, have left their mark on the contemporary relations between town and country. As suggested in the introduction(i) the development of new factors has not occasioned 'catastrophic' changes in the relationships; rather, in a cumulative process, have the factors re-acted with, and against, each other to bring about the contemporary situation. It might, for example, be thought that motor bus transport, having almost entirely replaced rail connections between a market town and its hinterland, has negatived the influence that rail transport had on determining the extent of a given town's hinterland. This is not necessarily true. In many cases road transport operators took advantage of the demand for travel in a

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(i) (See above. p. 41.)
particular direction created by the existence of rail facilities, and offered journies between the same points; or, in cases
where railways have been closed for passenger traffic, bus
transport has been provided serving exactly the same villages.
Such a feature was noted between Ashby-de-la-Zouch and Nuneaton.
When the railway between the two towns was closed in 1931, an
alternative bus service passing through the same villages, and
with the same frequency of service, was made available. In this
district, therefore, the bus services have served to re-emphasise
the spheres of influence of the two towns concerned; not
entirely, of course, for, from many of the villages, alternative
bus services, to Hinckley, Coalville, and Leicester, were
gradually developed, thus grafting new patterns of movement on
to the older established ones.

Other changes, for example, the development of industrial
populations within the villages of the county, have greatly
affected the type of service which a central settlement has been
called upon to provide. In some cases, the old established
market towns have not been able to meet all the new demands; as,
for instance, at Lutterworth; in other cases, the demands for
new services have given rise to new centres to provide them, seen
in Leicestershire in the case of Coalville; but in the county as
a whole, in the large majority of cases, the ancient market towns,
whose functions as service centres have been traced for near on a
1000 years, have responded to the new demands, and to-day, towns
such as Melton, Mowbray, Loughborough, or Market Harborough are
as important as centres as they were in the 18th century, when
their sole function was that of marketing towns for the
surrounding agricultural countryside.

Only by an examination of the development of urban
spheres of influence has it been possible to fully consider
and comprehend the contemporary situation. The stage reached
to-day, however, cannot be viewed as the penultimate stage.
New factors are arising which must inevitably affect town-country
relations. It has, for example, been suggested that the
stagnation of the town of Lutterworth, in the late 19th and
early 20th centuries, has occasioned its contemporary
unimportance amongst the market towns of the county. (i) In the
past 15 years, however, the development of industry, and hence
of population, in the town has become of importance. Were this
process to continue, then the resultant development of service
facilities in the town could lead to the re-establishment of
Lutterworth as one of the major market centres of the county,
with a consequent extension of its hinterland, perhaps to cover
the area served by the town at the beginning of the 19th century.

An even more definite process can be seen occurring some
miles away to the east. On Fig. 71, the settlement of Corby is
shown as a subsidiary centre on the eastern periphery of the
hinterland of Market Harborough. As one of the new towns,
however, Corby is destined to develop into a settlement with a
population of about 40,000. In 1954, the new shopping centre
is to be opened; a twice weekly market is to be initiated; and

(i) (See above. p. 415.)
a network of road transport facilities around the town is to be developed. With these facilities, and with the additional employment opportunities which will become available in the centre, the town must eventually carve out a hinterland for itself, taking in part of the sphere of influence of Market Harborough. Thus, as in the past 50 years Coalville has developed into an important central settlement affecting town country relationships in the north-western part of the county, so, in the next 50 years, Corby will assume a similar importance in the urban hierarchy, and affect relationships in the south-eastern part of Leicestershire. Market Harborough will lose that part of its hinterland for which it has acted as service centre since the middle of the 19th century, when rail facilities put the area more closely in touch with Harborough than with its former market settlement of Uppingham. (i)

The importance of changing conditions has been emphasised so as to bring out the dynamic nature of the relationships which have been examined in this thesis, and to stress that contemporary conditions result from a synthesis of factors which have been of importance in preceding situations.

It is from a full understanding of the contemporary situation of the geographical aspects of the structure of society that any development in the re-organisation of the political and administrative map of the country should be made. In Leicestershire, the existence of the hierarchy of service centres

(i) (See above. p. 310)
and their areas of influence has been distinguished. Of special significance at the present time are, firstly, the 'units of circulation' oriented around the market towns of the county (see Fig. 77), and secondly, the sphere of influence of the 'county' centre of the city of Leicester. (See Fig. 79). It is these areas which may perhaps be utilised for purposes of government and administration.

In neither case, however, are the boundaries coincident with the boundary of the ancient county, whose area to-day forms the primary unit in local administration; and moreover, the boundary of Leicester's 'county' hinterland is not coincident with the boundaries of the hinterlands of the market towns, and hence, the latter cannot be viewed merely as subdivisions of the former, in any pattern of local government areas which might be drawn; furthermore, it has been shown that significant areas of circulation do not occur in Leicestershire above the level of the county centre and its hinterland: a region based on Nottingham would be hard to justify from the point of view of social geography for, to the 'man in the street' in Leicestershire, Nottingham is an alternative centre to Leicester, and not a centre of greater significance from which certain services are received.

An analysis of the geographical aspects of the social framework within Leicestershire has clearly brought out the existence and extent of these and other complications. Armed with the facts, however, there is a much greater likelihood of a more logical and realistic pattern of governmental boundaries
being achieved. It is hoped that the results of the analyses in this thesis may suggest lines along which re-orientation might take place.
APPENDIX ONE.

THE INDEX OF SERVICE PROVISION FOR 1851. (see Section 2, Chapter 2, p.121.)

1. Certain retailing and other services, when viewed in total, may be taken as indicating the existence of service function in a settlement.

2. Following criteria were selected on which an analysis of service function can be made:
   a. Retailers and Urban Craftsmen: Confectioners; Chemists; Earthenware Dealers; Clothiers; Drapers; Grocers; Haberdashers; Hairdressers; Hatters; Ironmongers; Wine Merchants; Milliners; Boot and Shoe retailers and repairers; Furnishers; Tailors.
   b. Professional Services: Accountants; Auctioneers; Dentists; Doctors; Solicitors;

3. The number of each of the services in the whole of the County were totalled (information from the Enumerator's returns made in the Census of 1851): depending on the numbers of units of each service in the County a specific number of points was allocated to each service. Viz:
   If less than 20 units of the service in the County : 2 points allocated to the Service.
   If 21 to 50 units of the service in the County : $1\frac{1}{2}$ points allocated to the Service.
If 51 to 200 units of the service in the County: 1 point allocated to the Service.
If 201 to 400 units of the service in the County: \( \frac{1}{2} \) point allocated to the Service.
If more than 400 units of the service in the County: \( \frac{1}{3} \) point allocated to the Service.

This method is based on the assumption that the fewer units of a particular service there are in the county, then the greater the number of people who must theoretically take advantage of each unit, and hence they will be located in places accessible to the most people: or else, a small number of units of a service may indicate that it is used only by a small minority of the population and that, therefore, each unit must be located at a place easily accessible to sufficient numbers of this minority so as to make its provision an economic proposition.

4. Examination made of the number of units of each of these services available in each settlement and points allocated accordingly. The points then totalled for each settlement.

5. This points total represents the INDEX OF SERVICE PROVISION for the settlement.
APPENDIX TWO.

THE INDEX OF CONCENTRATION OF SERVICE FACILITIES. 1851.

(See Section 2. Chapter 2. page 126.)

1. Total Points of Service Provision in the County of Leicester. (excluding Leicester) = 1471
   (see appendix ONE and table 6.)
2. Total Points of Service Provision in the City of Leicester = 756
   Total for County and City = 2227

3. Total Population of Leicester and Leicestershire in 1851 was 233,096.

4. Therefore average number of points of service provision per 1000 of the population = \( \frac{2227 \times 1000}{233096} = 9.5 \)

5. This represents the Index of Concentration of Service Facilities in the County.

6. For each settlement a similar index can be worked out, viz:
   Index of Concentration of Service Facilities in any settlement = \( \frac{\text{Total Points of Service Provision in the Settlement} \times 1000}{\text{Population of the Settlement}} \)

7. Where a settlement has an index in excess of that for the County as a whole it may be considered as providing service facilities for a population additional to its own inhabitants.
APPENDIX THREE.

THE INDEX OF CENTRALITY.

(See 'The Urban Hierarchy in Leicestershire. Section 4. Chapter 2. page 398)

Dr. H.E. Bracey, in his studies in south-west England, has attempted to compare the importance of 'central' towns by analysing the use made of them for certain shopping, medical, and other professional services. From each unit of settlement in the area of study he ascertained which town (or towns) was visited when the following services were required:

a. The Services of a dispensing chemist.
b. The facilities of a bank.
c. Weekly shopping requirements (clothing, household goods, etc.)
d. Cinema Entertainment.

Bracey, H.E. "Some Rural Social Trends". A paper read to the summer school of the Town Planning Institute. 1952.

For each of these services provided by a centre to a settlement ONE point was allocated. If the settlement reported dependence on two or more centres for a service then a proportion of the point was allocated to each centre. This might perhaps be made clearer by giving an example:

Settlement X stands between centres A and B. By questioning inhabitants of settlement X the following situation was revealed:
The population of settlement X was dependent on centre A for services of a dispensing chemist.

The population of settlement X was dependent on centre B for banking facilities.

The population of settlement X was equally dependent on centres A and B for weekly shopping.

The population of settlement X was dependent on centre B for Cinema Entertainment.

Centre A, therefore, provides settlement X with $1\frac{1}{2}$ of the 4 services (i.e. dispensing chemist plus half weekly shopping) and, therefore, $1\frac{1}{2}$ points allocated to this centre to indicate its importance as a central town to this particular settlement.

Centre B provides settlement X with $2\frac{1}{2}$ of the 4 services (i.e. Banking facilities, cinema entertainment, and half weekly shopping) and, therefore, $2\frac{1}{2}$ points allocated to this centre.

The position was analysed in a similar manner for every settlement in the area. The number of points scored to each centre from each settlement were totalled: the total so obtained has been termed a centre's INDEX OF CENTRALITY: this index measures a centre's importance in providing services to other settlements.

The Index of Centrality in Leicestershire.

Information concerning the centre from which each settlement in Leicestershire is dependent for THREE of these services is available from a Ministry of Town and Country Planning Survey. Information concerning provision of the services of a chemist is
not available. This, however, in Leicestershire, would not appear to be a serious omission as chemists shops have almost identical distribution as cinemas and banks (see table 22). Chemists are found in 32 towns and villages, banking facilities in 32 and cinemas in 29. Only one place out of the 32 with a chemists shop has neither bank nor cinema and places have both these other facilities. Hence we may assume that in an overwhelming number of cases the centre visited for banking and/or cinema facilities is also the one at which chemists requisites are obtained.

It is, therefore, possible to work out an index of centrality for each centre based on its provision of the 3 services to other settlements. However Dr. Bracey's failure to take into account the population of individual settlements meant that it was not possible to directly apply his method to Leicestershire. In the areas where Dr. Bracey's experiments have been conducted it was apparently sufficient to determine only the numbers of settlements to which a town provided services. This, of course, can only apply in an area where there are no significant differences in the populations of individual settlements. It would seem, however, that even in areas where the population of the settlements concerned varies from 100 to several hundred that this is a factor which must also be considered when assessing the Index of Centrality of any town. Surely a town providing all 4 services to two villages with populations of 500 each is as important as another town serving 10 villages
each with 100 inhabitants, for both are providing an equal number of services to an equal number of people. Yet, by Dr. Bracey's method, the Index of Centrality of the former town is 8, and, of the latter town, 40.

In Leicestershire settlement size varies from a few score (small hamlets of East Leicestershire), up to large agricultural villages of 400 to 600 (for example, in the Vale of Belvoir), and thence to industrial-cum-residential urban villages with populations up to several thousand and which are still dependent on other settlements for weekly shopping, banking facilities, and cinema entertainment. It is essential that these great population differences are taken into account, for in measuring a town's "importance as a centre for the surrounding countryside" (i) what really matters is not the extent of the area which it serves, not the number of different villages which look to it for service provision: the prime factor is the number of people who look to it for each of the services.

Dr. Bracey's method has, therefore, been adapted to take this factor of population into consideration. Instead of taking each settlement as the basic unit from which points for service provision are distributed to the centres, each population unit of 250 within each settlement is taken. Multiples of 250 inhabitants in a single settlement result in this particular settlement being allocated as equivalent multiple of the 3 basic

(i) (ibid.)
points available for distribution to the 'central' settlements. For example, in a settlement of 750, there are 3 basic population units (3 x 250) and, therefore the number of points which this settlement will have available for distribution to these centres supplying the 3 services will be 9 (3 x 3). A settlement with 1250 inhabitants (5 x 250) will have 15 points available (5 x 3).

The method by which the points are distributed to the centres is the same as that used in Dr. Bracey's method. If town A provided all 3 services to the settlement quoted above with a population of 750 then all nine points would be scored to it. In a more complicated situation, where more than one service centre is utilised, the division could be as follows:

Banking facilities for the settlement: provided by town A: 3 points, therefore, allocated to A.

Cinema Entertainment: provided by town A, and town B: 1\frac{1}{2} points allocated to A and to B.

Shopping Facilities: provided by town A, town B and town C: 1 point allocated to each town.

Total points scored to A = 3 + 1\frac{1}{2} + 1 = 5\frac{1}{2}: to B = 1\frac{1}{2} + 1 = 2\frac{1}{2}: to C = 1.

**INDEX OF CENTRALITY** for a centre then obtained, as in Bracey's method, by adding together all the points scored to it for the several settlements looking to it for all or some of the 3 services: the index will now measure not only the number of settlements served but will also reflect the differing
populations of the settlements. Two objections may be raised to this method of computing the Index for a centre:

i. Method is cumbersome because population of each settlement must be correlated individually to the distribution of points from it to the centres.

ii. By having a basic unit of population of 250 the final index is not directly related to the population in the settlements concerned because of discrepancies from this basic unit, for example, most settlements depending on one centre may have populations of only 100: or most settlements may be just below a mean figure at which the number of points to be allocated from a settlement is changed: for example, settlements with population of 374 have 3 points to allocate to the centres concerned: with populations of 376 they have 6 points to allocate.

Therefore a more accurate and an easier method of assessing a centre's index of centrality is to include the calculations concerning the population of the settlements after the distribution of points to the centre has been made.

Index of Centrality of a Centre given by following formula:

\[
\text{viz: Total number of services scored to the centre from the dependent } \frac{x}{\text{settlements. Total number of services distributed from these settlements.}} \times \frac{\text{Total Population of dependent settlements}}{250} \times 3 = 205.3
\]

Referring to Table 25:

Index of centrality of Coalville: \[
\frac{37}{26 \times 3} \times \frac{36071}{250} \times 3 = 205.3
\]
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<td>Slater's National and Commercial Directory.</td>
<td>London</td>
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<td>White, W. Historical Gazeteer and Directory of Staffordshire.</td>
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<td>Drake's Directory of Leicester.</td>
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<td>Kelly's Directory of Derbyshire.</td>
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