Hacts for Socialists

FROM THE POLITICAL ECONOMISTS AND STATISTICIANS.

THE FABIAN SOCIETY.

"No one can contemplate the present condition of the masses of the people without desiring something like a revolution for the better" (Mr. R. Giffen, "Essays in Finance", vol. ii., p. 393).

"It is the great error of reformers and philanthropists in our time, to nibble at the consequences of unjust power instead of redressing the injustice itself" (John Stuart Mill, "Principles of Political Economy", p. 579).

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Fabian Gociety.

"For the right moment you must wait, as Fabius did, most patiently, when warring against Hannibal, though many censured his delays; but when the time comes you must strike hard, as Fabius did, or your waiting will be in vain, and fruitless."

Executive Committee (1888-9).

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THE following pages have been compiled for the use of members of the Fabian Society and other advocates of Socialism, from the works of political economists and statisticians of recognised authority, and from official publications. Full and exact references are given in all cases; and it will be easily understood that none of the authors whose works are quoted are in any way responsible for the form or spirit of this compilation, or for anything beyond the words actually quoted from them. The statistics given are believed to be the most authentic that can at present be obtained. But it is evident that they differ considerably in value: some are derived from actual computation, whilst others are only estimates based upon more or less knowledge of matters which have never yet been precisely enumerated.

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FACTS FOR SOCIALISTS

FROM THE

POLITICAL ECONOMISTS AND STATISTICIANS.

I .--- THE NATION'S INCOME.

The annual income of the United Kingdom is estimated by the following authorities at from twelve to thirteen hundred million pounds sterling; or, the population in 1881 being nearly 35,000,000, about £35 per head, or £140 per adult man. In 1840 it was about £20½, and in 1860 £26½, per head (Mr. Mulhall, "Dictionary of Statistics", p. 245).

Sir Louis Mallet, K.C.S.I. (India Office),	£
1883-4, "National Income and Taxa-	
tion" (Cobden Club), p. 23	1,289,000,000
Professor Leone Levi (King's College, Lon-	A THE PARTY
don), Times, January 13th, 1885	1,274,000,000
Mr. R. Giffen (Board of Trade), "Essays in	
Finance", vol. ii., pp. 460, 472 (February,	
1886)	1,270,000,000
Mr. Mulhall, 1883, "Dictionary of Statistics",	
p. 245	1,247,000,000
Professor A. Marshall (Cambridge Univer-	
sity), "Report of Industrial Remunera-	
tion Conference", p. 194 (January, 1885),	
"upwards of"	1.125.000.000

These figures (which are mainly computed from income-tax returns and estimated average rates of wages) mean that the price in money of the commodities and services produced in the country during the whole course of a year is about £140 per adult man.¹ Most of these commodities and services are used up within that period in maintaining the 35,000,000 inhabitants, and Mr. Giffen estimates that not more than about £200,000,000 is "saved" annually ("Essays in Finance", vol. ii., p. 407). The bulk of this "saving" exists in the

¹ It may be observed that the estimated amount of "money" or currency in the country is as under: $\pm 134,000,000$, or nearly ± 4 per head, including bank notes. Gold coin and bullion, $\pm 95,000,000$; silver and bronze, $\pm 15,000,000$; bank notes, beyond gold reserves, $\pm 24,000,000$ (W. S. Jevons, "Investigations in Currency and Finance", pp. 272, 273).

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form of new railways, houses, roads, machinery, and other aids to future labor.

For subsequent comparison the total is represented by the annexed figure :



II.-WHO PRODUCES IT.

The desirable commodities and useful services measured by this vast sum are produced solely by the "efforts and sacrifices" (Cairnes), whether of muscle or of brain, of the working portion of the community, employed upon the gifts of Nature.

Adam Smith "showed that labor is the only source of wealth It is to labor, therefore, and to labor only, that man owes everything possessed of exchangeable value" (McCulloch's "Principles of Political Economy", part ii., sec. 1).

"No wealth whatever can be produced without labor" (Professor Henry Fawcett (Cambridge), "Manual of Political Economy", p. 13).

"That useful function, therefore, which some profound writers fancy they discover in the abundant expenditure of the idle rich, turns out to be a sheer illusion. Political economy furnishes no such palliation of unmitigated selfishness. Not that I would breathe a word against the sacredness of contracts. But I think it is important, on moral no less than on economic grounds, to insist upon this, that no public benefit of any kind arises from the existence of an idle rich class. The wealth accumulated by their ancestors and others on their behalf, where it is employed as capital, no doubt helps to sustain industry; but what they consume in luxury and idleness is not capital. and helps to sustain nothing but their unprofitable lives. By all means they must have their rents and interest, as it is written in the bond; but let them take their proper place as drones in the hive, gorging at a feast to which they have contributed nothing" ("Some Leading Principles of Political Economy", p. 32, by the late John Elliott Cairnes, M.A., Emeritus Professor of Political Economy at University College, London; 1874).

III.-WHO THE WORKERS ARE.

Those who profess to be taking any part in the business of the community were divided, at the last census, into the following classes:

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Industrial	5,899,720	2,097,809	7,997,529
Agricultural	2,435,569	215,108	2,650,677
Commercial	1,158,155	26,344	1,184,499
Domestic	317,868	2,088,668	2,406,536
Professional	652,943	288,919	941,862
a the second	10,464,255	4,716,848	15,181,103
Unoccupied, under 20	6,101,230	6,611,213	12,712,443
Unoccupied, over 20	407,169	$6,584,133^{1}$	6,991,302

16,972,654 17,912,194 34,884,848

(Compiled from Reports of the 1881 Census for England and Wales, C-3,797; Scotland, C-3,657; and Ireland, C-3,365.)

Among the professed workers there are, of course, many whose occupation is merely nominal. The number is swelled by the "sleeping" partners, the briefless barristers, the invalids, and the paupers, prisoners, and sinecurists of every description. Many thousands more have occupations useless or positively detrimental to the community; and others labor honestly, but (in the capacity of domestic servants or professional attendants, for instance) for the personal comfort of the idlers, and might therefore, as far as production is concerned, as well be themselves idle.

Nevertheless there were, in 1881, 407,169 adult men (one in twenty-one) who did not even profess to have the shadow of an occupation. Most of these form the main body of the idle rich, "the great social evil of a non-laboring class" (J. S. Mill, "Political Economy", Popular Edition, p. 455).

It is clear that the labor of the workers is much increased by the presence among them of so large a proportion of persons who take no useful part in the business of life. The possible reduction of the daily hours of work has, however, been much exaggerated. Thus Mr. William Hoyle, writing in 1871. commits himself to the assertion that, "assuming every person did their share, a total of 1½ hours' daily labor would suffice to supply us in abundance with all the comforts of life" ("Our National Resources," p. 56). It appears from the context that his calculation refers to a community composed exclusively of actual workers in the production of material necessaries, whereas in ordinary human societies about half the population is under the age of twenty, and more than half the adults are women doing domestic duties. The 1½ hours daily have, therefore, at once to be multiplied fourfold, and account is even then taken only of food, clothing, houses, and furniture. The whole calculation is indeed of little value, and has never been accepted by other authorities.

¹ Most of these are married women engaged in domestic work, although not so described.

IV .- How THE IDLE RICH LIVE.

"Whence is their purchasing power derived? It does not descend to them from the skies; nor is it obtained by submarine telegraph direct from California or Australia; nor is its presence exhaustively accounted for by the presence of certain figures on the credit side of their accounts in their banker's books" (Prof. J. E. Cairnes, "Some Leading Principles of Political Economy", p. 31).

They live, in the main, upon the portions of the national product which are called rent and interest, caused by the legal "guarantee to them of the fruits of the labor and abstinence of others, transmitted to them without any merit or exertion of their own" (J. S. Mill, "Political Economy", Popular Edition, p. 129).

"It is at once evident, that rent is the effect of a monopoly" (J. S. Mill, "Political Economy", p. 255).

"Monopoly, in all its forms, is the taxation of the industrious for the support of indolence, if not of plunder" (J. S. Mill, "Political Economy", p. 477).

V.-THE RENT OF LAND.

The total "annual value" of lands, houses, tithes, etc., as assessed for income tax in 1886–7, was £196,664,047; and this does not include the rents of mines, quarries, ironworks, gasworks, waterworks, canals, fishings, shootings, markets, tolls, etc. ("Inland Revenue Report", 1888, C—5541). The total net "rent"¹ of the United Kingdom must, therefore, be at least two hundred millions sterling, or one-sixth of the total produce.



P.—Total produce £1,250,000,000.

R.—Rent £200,000,000.

VI.—THE INTEREST ON CAPITAL.

Interest is distinguished by economists from the rent of land on the one hand, and the "wages of superintendence", or other payment for services, on the other.

The profits of public companies, foreign investments, railways, etc.,

¹ In 1843 this total was (for Great Britain) only £95,284,497; in 1855 (for the United Kingdom), £124,871,885.

assessed to income tax in the United Kingdom in 1886-7 amounted to \pounds 115,779,697. The interest payable from public funds was, in addition, \pounds 43,847,528 ("Report of Commissioners of Inland Revenue", 1888, C—5541).

That these amounts are understated may be inferred from Mr. Mulhall's estimate of the stocks, shares, bonds, etc., held in Great Britain alone, as being worth £3,491,000,000 producing an annual income of upwards of £155,000,000 ("Dictionary of Statistics", p. 256). And Sir Louis Mallet estimates the English income from foreign investments alone at £100,000,000 annually. ("National Income and Taxation" (Cobden Club), p. 13.) Nearly the whole of this vast income may be regarded as being received without any contemporary services rendered in return by the owners as such.

We have, however, to add the interest on capital employed in private undertakings of manufacture or trade. This is included with "wages of superintendence" in business profit, both for the purpose of the income tax returns and in ordinary speech. Mr. Giffen estimates it, apart from any earnings of personal service, at £89,000,000 ("Essays in Finance", Vol. II., p. 403).

The total amount of interest cannot therefore be less than $\pounds 250,000,000$. Adding hereto the rent mentioned in the preceding paragraph, we have a total of $\pounds 450,000,000$ for rent and interest together. This estimate receives support from Mr. Giffen's computation that the amount under these heads actually assessed for income tax is $\pounds 407,000,000$ ("Essays in Finance", vol. ii., p. 401). It has often been stated by the Commissioners of Inland Revenue that large amounts of interest escape assessment, and it is well known that much is assessed under other heads.

The following diagram represents the proportion of the nation's income thus claimed from the workers, not in return for any service rendered to the community, but merely as the payment for permission to use the land and the already accumulated capital of the country.



P.—Total product £1,250,000,000. R.—Rent £200,000,000. I.—Interest £250,000,000.

VII .- PROFITS AND SALARIES.

But those who enjoy the vast uncarned income just mentioned cannot all be accurately described as the "idle rich", though they would forego none of it by refusing to work. If they are disposed to increase it by leading active lives they can; and most of them adopt this course to some extent, especially those whose share is insufficient for their desires.¹

When the members of this endowed class elect to work, they are able to do so under unusually favorable conditions. Associated with them in this respect are the fortunate possessors of exceptional skill in hand or brain, and the owners of literary or commercial monopolies of every kind. These workers often render inestimable services to the community, and they are able to exact in return remuneration proportionate not to their utility, nor to the cost of their education or training, but to the relative scarcity of the faculty they possess (see Professor F. A. Walker, "Principles of Political Economy", passim).

The numbers and total income of this large class cannot be exactly ascertained. It includes workers of all grades, from the skilled artisan to the Prime Minister, and from the city clerk to the President of the Royal Academy.

It is convenient, for statistical purposes, to regard only those members of it who do not belong to the "manual-labor class". So defined, this prosperous body may be estimated to receive for its work about £350,000,000 annually.²

Co-operative Aid Association pamphlets: earn-	£
ings of employers and others of that class.	400,000,000
Mr. R. Giffen: total income less rent, interest.	I WAR ON PROPERTY.
and wages of manual-labor class ("Essays	
in Finance", vol. ii., p. 404)	313,000,000
Mr. Mulhall: ditto ("Dictionary of Statistics",	en ell'ai l'ensor
p. 28)	350,000,000
Professor A. Marshall: earnings of all above the	
manual-labor class ("Report of Industrial	
Remuneration Conference", p. 194)	300,000,000
Mr. Mulhall: income of tradesmen class only	, ,
("Dictionary of Statistics", p. 246)	244,000,000
Mr. R. Giffen: salaries of superintendence	
assessed to income tax alone ("Essays in	
Finance", vol. ii., p. 404)	180 000 000
	100,000,000

¹ As the sum is not equally distributed, some of the participants are in comparatively humble circumstances; but it may be observed that the "manual labor class", or the poor, possess practically none of it, the total capital of savings banks, trades unions, benefit and mutual societies of every sort being only $\pounds 169, 395, 210$ in 1886 according to the Blue Book Report (see "Fabian Tract", No. 7, Capital and Land, p. 9, where particulars are given), or not $\pounds 12$ per head of the able bodied workers in the "manual labor class", even supposing the whole was owned by members of that class. Against this, too, must be set the debts of the laborers to shopkeepers and others, which amount in the aggregate to a considerable sum.

² [Some of this might, from another point of view, be reckoned rather as interest on the cost of education of valuable servants of the community, and accordingly deducted from this total and added to that of interest.]

1

VIII.-THE CLASSES AND THE MASSES.

The total drawn by the legal disposers of what are sometimes called the "three rents" (on land, capital, and ability), amounts therefore to about eight hundred million pounds sterling yearly, or nearly twothirds of the total produce. Mr. Giffen, "Essays in Finance", vol. ii., p. 467 £ 720,000,000 Mr. Mulhall, "Dictionary of Statistics", p. 246 818,000,000 Professor Leone Levi (King's College, London), Times, 13th January, 1885..... Professor Alfred Marshall (Cambridge), "Report 753,000,000 of Industrial Remuneration Conference, 675,000,000 p. 194 The manual labor class receives, on the other hand, for all its millions of workers, only four to five hundred millions sterling. £ Mr. Giffen, "Essays in Finance", vol. ii., p. 467 550,000,000 Mr. Mulhall, "Dictionary of Statistics", p. 246 447,000,000 Mr. J. S. Jeans, "Statistical Society's Journal", vol. xlvii., p. 631..... 600,000,000 Prof. Leone Levi (as above) 521,000,000 Prof. A. Marshall (as above)..... 500,000,000¹



¹ These estimates, however, which are based on average rates of wages, multiplied by the number of workers, assume reasonable regularity of employment, and take no account of the fact that much of the total amount of nominal wages is reclaimed from the workers in the shape of ground rent. Much must, therefore, be deducted to obtain their real nett remuneration.

² In this connexion it may be mentioned that the total income of the charities of

IX .- THE TWO NATIONS.

This unequal division of the fruits of the combined labor of the working community divides us, as Lord Beaconsfield said, into "two nations", widely different from each other in education, in comfort, and in security. There is some limited central territory between, and some luckier few escape from the large camp in which their fellows are toiling to the more comfortable fortress of the monopolists, from which, on the other hand, others sink into destitution from extravagance or misfortune. But for the great majority the lines between these two nations are practically impassable.

It is not that this division is based on any essential differences in industry or morality between individuals.

"Since the human race has no means of enjoyable existence, or of existence at all, but what it derives from its own labor and abstinence, there would be no ground for complaint against society if every one who was willing to undergo a fair share of this labor and abstinence could attain a fair share of the fruits. But is this the fact? Is it not the reverse of the fact? The reward, instead of being proportioned to the labor and abstinence of the individual, is almost in an inverse ratio to it; those who receive the least, labor and abstain the most" (John Stuart Mill, *Fortnightly Review*, 1879, p. 226, written in 1869).

We have seen what the "two nations" each receive : it remains to estimate their respective numbers, and the following facts supply materials for this computation.

(a) The Comparatively Rich.

It has been shown that the adult males without professed occupation numbered 407,169 in 1881. This represents a population of about 1,650,000, all of whom were living on incomes not derived from any specified occupation.

The landlords (of more-than a field or a cottage each) number only 180,524, owning ten-elevenths of the total area (Mulhall, "Dictionary of Statistics", p. 266).

The mortgage upon the industry of the community known as the National Debt was owned, in 1880, by only 236,514 persons,¹ 103,122 of whom shared in it only to the extent of less than $\pounds 15$ each

(b) The Comparatively Poor.

The manual labor class number nearly 5,000,000 families.

Mr. Mulhall, "Dic-	
tionary of Statis-	
tics", p. 246;	
families	4,629,000
Prof. Leone Levi,	
Times, 13th Janu-	
ary, 1885; fami-	
lies	5,600,000
Mr. Giffen, "Essays	
in Finance", vol.	
ii., p. 461; sepa-	
rate incomes	13,200,000

rate incomes 13,200,000 Five and a-half million families live in separate houses under £20, and four and a-half million in houses under £10 rental, notwithstanding that the poor in the

¹ These include many banks, insurance companies, foreign potentates, and others not to be included in the present computation.

the United Kingdom, including endowments, amounts to $\pounds 10,040,000$, or little over 1 per cent. of the foregoing total. $\pounds 2,040,000$ of this, it may be added, is expended upon Bible societies alone (Mulhall, "Dictionary of Statistics", p. 78). The total cost of poor relief in 1886-7 was $\pounds 10,099$, 303 (see references at p. 14).

annually (Mulhall, "Dictionary of Statistics", p. 109).

Only thirty-nine out of every 1,000 persons dying, leave behind them £300 worth of property (including furniture, etc.), and only sixty-one per 1,000 leave any property worth mentioning at all.

"It appears . . . that one-half of the wealth of the United Kingdom is held by persons who leave at least £20,000 (personalty) at death" (Mulhall, "Dictionary of Statistics", pp. 278, 279, from Probate and Legacy Duty Returns).

The number of these is given by the Commissioners of Inland Revenue, as 1,129 in 1877: as property passes by death about every twenty years, this gives a class of about 25,000 persons.

The incomes of $\pounds 150$ per annum and upwards are only $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions in number out of $16\frac{1}{2}$ millions of separate incomes (Giffen, "Essays in Finance", vol. ii., p. 467).

There are 222,000 families of the very rich, 604,000 families of the rich, 1,220,000 families of the middle and trading class: in all only about two million families above the manual labor class of nearly five million families (Mulhall, "Dictionary of Statistics", p. 246).

It may therefore safely be concluded that the whole of the £800,000,000 annually is received by about 10,000,000 of the population, giving an average income of £320 per adult man: about twofifths (£333,000,000; Mulhall, "Dictionary of Statistics", p. 246) is enjoyed by a small class of less than 1,000,000 persons, who have, on an average, £1,665 per adult man whether they contribute anything to the product or not.

great towns live in large tenement houses' (Giffen, "Essays in Finance", vol. ii., p. 348).

Nine hundred and thirty-nine out of every 1,000 persons (about half of whom are adults) die without property worth speaking of, and 961 out of every 1,000 without furniture, investments, or effects worth £300 (Mulhall, ("Dictionary of Statistics"—from Probate Duty Returns—p. 279).

The number of persons "employed" at wages in the industries of the kingdom is placed at thirteen to fourteen millions, and this includes over four million women.

Mr. J. S. Jeans,	
Statistical Society's	
Journal, vol. xlvii.,	
p. 631, places the	
number at about	14,000,000
Mr. Giffen, "Essays	
in Finance", vol.	
ii., p. 461 (separate	
incomesofmanual	
labor class)	13,200,000
Ar. Mulhall, "Dic-	
tionary of Sta-	
tistics" n 946	

tistics", p. 246 (separate families of manual labor class).....

4,629,000

Prof. Leone Levi, *Times*, 13th Jan., 1885, number of workersinmanual

labor classin 1881 12,200,000 Out of 10,464,255 males with any occupation at all (see p. 138) 8,180,000 were in receipt of wages, and belonged to the manual labor class (Prof. Leone Levi, *Times.* 13th January, 1885).

We may therefore certainly conclude that the $\pounds 450,000,000$ allotted to the manual labor class is shared among 25,000,000 persons, and is less than $\pounds 35$ per adult (or $\pounds 70$ per adult male) annually.

¹ This includes, of course, the rural districts, where a comfortable house may

Facts for Socialists.





£135; average annual product of the whole community, per adult male.

- $\pounds 320$; average annual income of the comparatively rich (including non-workers), per adult male.
- $\pounds 70$; average annual income of the poor, per adult male.
- £1,665; average annual income, per adult male, of the gentry, about 222,000 families.

X.-THE CLASS WAR.

Between the two classes there is perpetual strife. Disguise it as we may by feudal benevolence, or the kindly attempts of philanthropists, the material interests of the small nation privileged to exact rent for its monopolies, and of the great nation, thereby driven to receive only the remnant of the product, are permanently opposed. "The more there is allotted to labor the less there will remain to be appropriated as rent" (Fawcett, "Manual of Political Economy", page 123).

It is therefore "the enormous share which the possessors of the instruments of industry are able to take from the produce " (J. S. Mill, quoting Feugueray, "Principles of Political Economy", p. 477; popular edition of 1865), which is the one primary cause of the small incomes of the comparatively poor. That neither class makes the best possible social use of its revenues, and that both waste much in extravagance and vice, is an inevitable secondary result of the unequal division, which it intensifies and renders permanent; but it is a secondary result only, not the primary cause. Even if the whole "manual labor class" made the best possible use of the £35 per adult, which is their average income, it would still be impossible for them to live the cultured human life which the other classes demand for themselves as the minimum of the life worth living. It is practically inevitable that many of the poor, being debarred from this, should endeavor to enjoy themselves in ways not permanently advantageous to themselves or to society.

The force by which this conflict of interests is maintained, without the conscious contrivance of either party, is competition, diverted, like other forces, from its legitimate social use. The legal disposers of the great natural monopolies are able, by means of legally licensed competition, to exact the full amount of their economic rents, and the politi-

generally be obtained below £20 annual rental, but more than a third of the population now live in towns, where the poor are often herded together in slums, yielding more than that rental per house.

cal economists tell us that so long as these natural monopolies are left practically unrestrained in private hands, a thorough remedy is impossible.

In 1874 Professor Cairnes thought that some help might be found (at any rate, by the better paid laborers) by means of co-operation in production. He then wrote: "If workmen do not rise from dependence upon capital by the path of co-operation, then they must remain in dependence upon capital; the margin for the possible improvement of their lot is confined within narrow barriers which cannot be passed, and the problem of their elevation is hopeless. As a body they will not rise at all. A few, more energetic or more fortunate than the rest, will from time to time escape, as they do now, from the ranks of their fellows to the higher walks of industrial life, but the great majority will remain substantially where they are. The remuneration of labor, as such, skilled or unskilled, can never rise much above its present level" (Prof. J. E. Cairnes, "Some Leading Principles of Political Economy", p. 348, 1874).

Fifteen years have passed away since these words were written, and it must now be apparent, even to the most sanguine of individualists, that the chance of the great bulk of the laborers ever rising by associations for co-operative production, has become even less hopeful than it ever was, and Dr. J. K. Ingram tells us that modern economists such as Professors T. E. Cliffe Leslie and F. A. Walker, regard the idea as "chimerical" (Article on "Political Economy" in *Encyclopadia Britannica* vol. xix., p. 382). Even so friendly an economist as Mr. Leonard Courtney agrees in this view. Yet this, according to authorities so eminent, is the only hope for the laborer under the present arrangements of Society, or any other that the Professor could suggest.

XI.-Some VICTIMS OF THE STRUGGLE.

The statistics hitherto quoted have been mainly based on the assumption of reasonable regularity of employment. But of the great permanent army of the "unemployed" in London, some idea may be gained from the applicants for dock labor, laborious and extremely intermittent work at fourpence per hour. "The total number of daily applicants for casual labor at all the (London) docks may be roughly put down at 20,000 . . . there would be from 7,000 to 8,000 men who, having no regular employment, daily apply, and apply in vain, for such work" ("Mansion House Relief Committee Report", 1886, p. 7). The average daily number of the "unemployed" in London is placed by the same Committee at 20,000 ("Report", 1888).

This state of things is, of course, not confined to London; in Liverpool, Glasgow, and other large centres of population, there is reported to be a similar class without regular occupation.

The fate of these victims it is not easy to adequately realise. Actual starvation is returned as the cause of death in but a few cases annually, exclusive of infants, of whom about 120 so perish every year; but it is well-known that many thousands of deaths take place from long-continued under-feeding and exposure. The infantile death-rate at Bethnal Green is twice that of Belgravia. Holborn (151,835) and St. George's, Hanover Square (149,748), have almost equal populations; yet in the former 1,614, in the latter only 1,007 children under five died in 1884¹ ("Registrar-General's Report, 1886", pp. 32, 126, C—4,722).

Dr. Playfair says that 18 per cent. of the children of the upperclass, 36 per cent. of those of the tradesman class, and 55 per cent. of those of the workmen die before they reach five years of age (quoted at p. 133 of "Dictionary of Statistics", by Mr. Mulhall, who however thinks it "too high an estimate").

14,860 persons died by fatal accidents in 1886 ("Registrar-General's Report", C—5,138, p. 106) 864 losing their lives in mines, 798 on railways, 249 in working machinery, 54 by explosions, 95 by lead poisoning, and 142 by falls from scaffolding (pp. 180-181). These are the figures for England and Wales alone, and would be much increased by including the accidents in Scotland and Ireland.

The Board of Trade Report on "Railway Accidents" for the year 1887, C—5,474, shows that 414 railway servants were killed and 1,966 injured by accidents on the lines, being 1 in 821 and 1 in 167 respectively, of the persons employed. The number of passengers killed in the same period was 25, or 1 in 29,350,000 of travellers; 538, or 1 in 1,364,000 were injured.

"At present the average age at death among the nobility, gentry, and professional classes in England and Wales was 55 years; but among the artisan classes of Lambeth it only amounted to 29 years; and whilst the infantile death-rate among the well-to-do classes was such that only 8 children died in the first year of life out of 100 born, as many as 30 per cent. succumbed at that age among the children of poor in some districts of our large cities. The only real cause of this enormous difference in the position of the rich and poor with respect to their chances of existence lay in the fact that at the bottom of society wages were so low that food and other requisites of health were obtained with too great difficulty" (Dr. C. R. Drysdale, "Report of Industrial Remuneration Conference", p. 130).

One great cause of the short and miserable lives of the poor is the insanitary condition of the slums in which many of them are compelled to dwell. The strongest testimony to the evil effects of such surroundings comes from the insurance companies. The industrial friendly societies have in each large town their "proscribed streets". The Liverpool Victoria Legal Friendly Society proscribes for Liverpool alone, on account of the unhealthiness of their character, 167 "streets wherein no members of the society may be entered" (Circular of 13th October, 1886). Yet these unhealthy streets are not too bad to be the only homes of thousands of the poorer citizens of that commercial centre.

We clog our public poor relief with irksome and degrading conditions, so that the honest poor often die lingering deaths rather than

¹ No figures for a comparison of this kind are given in the Registrar-General's Reports for years subsequent to 1884.

accept it; yet the paupers in actual receipt of public relief on one day number

England and Wales,	mean number,	1886-7,	796,036	cost	£8,296,230
Scotland, 14th May,	1887,		92,071		899,135
Ireland, average num	nber, 1887,		124,130	,,	904,018

1,012,237 £10,099,383

(Report of Local Government Board for England and Wales, p. 14 of C-5131; Report of Board for Supervision of Poor, Scotland, p. 132, C-5118; p. 4 and 15 of Report of Local Government Board, Ireland, C-5124).

But the relief is not usually given permanently; to obtain the number of different individuals who receive relief during a year, we must multiply the daily number by three (Mr. Mulhall, "Dictionary of Statistics", p. 346) or by $3\frac{1}{2}$ ("National Income", by Dudley Baxter, p. 87. This gives a pauper class during any one year of about 3,000,000 persons, or 1 in 8 of the manual labor class. In some rural districts every aged laborer is a pauper.

The maintenance of these paupers costs $\pounds 10,100,000$ per annum. But in addition to this public expenditure, the various charitable societies spend $\pounds 10,040,000$ annually (Mr. Mulhall, "Dictionary of Statistics", p. 78), and the charity of individuals is known to be enormous. The numbers of the destitute class must therefore be largely increased. Mr. R. Giffen talks of the residuum of five millions "whose condition is a stain on our civilisation" ("Essays in Finance", vol. ii., p. 350. It is the lot of one in five of the manual labor class of 16 in every 100 of the whole population — to belong to this "residuum".

In London one person in every five, and more, will die in the workhouse, hospital, or lunatic asylum. In 1887, out of 82,545 deaths in London, 43,507 being over 20, 9,399 were in workhouses, 7,201 in hospitals, and 400 in lunatic asylums, or altogether 17,000 in public institutions (Registrar-General's Report, 1888, C—5,138, pp. 2 and 73). Considering that comparatively few of these are children, it is probable that one in every three London adults will be driven into these refuges to die, and the proportion in the case of the "manual labor class" must of course be still larger. And the number of persons who die while in receipt of out-door relief is not included in this calculation.

"To me, at least, it would be enough to condemn modern society as hardly an advance on slavery or serfdom, if the permanent condition of industry were to be that which we behold, that 90 per cent. of the actual producers of wealth have no home that they can call their own beyond the end of the week; have no bit of soil, or so much as a room that belongs to them; have nothing of value of any kind except as much old furniture as will go in a cart; have the precarious chance of weekly wages which barely suffice to keep them in health; are housed for the most part in places that no man thinks fit for his horse; are separated by so narrow a margin from destitution, that a month of bad trade, sickness, or unexpected loss brings them face to face with hunger and pauperism. . . . This is the normal state of the average workman in town or country" (Mr. Frederic Harrison, p. 429 "Report

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of Industrial Remuneration Conference", 1886). "The 'average workman' comprises four out of five of the whole population" (Prof. Leone Levi, *Times*, 13th January, 1885).

XII.-THE EVIL AND THE REMEDY.

"The deepest root of the evils and iniquities which fill the industrial world is not competition, but the subjection of labor to capital, and the enormous share which the possessors of the instruments of industry are able to take from the produce" (J. S. Mill quoting Feugueray, "Principles of Political Economy"; p. 477, edition of 1865).

"We have been suffering for a century from an acute outbreak of individualism, unchecked by the old restraints, and invested with almost a religious sanction by a certain soul-less school of writers" (Prof. H. S. Foxwell, (University College, London), p. 249 of essay in "The Claims of Labor, 1886").

"It is, indeed, certain that industrial society will not permanently remain without a systematic organisation. The mere conflict of private interests will never produce a well-ordered commonwealth of labor" (article on "Political Economy" in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. xix., 1886, p. 382, by J. K. Ingram, LL.D., Librarian and late Professor at Trinity College, Dublin).

Socialists affirm that the evil can never be remedied until the "two nations" are united by the restitution to public purposes of rent and interest of every kind, and by the growth of social sympathy promoted by the accompanying cessation of class distinctions. It will be seen by the above quotations that this position is based on the facts of the case as ascertained and declared by the recognised authorities in statistics, and is in entire harmony with the doctrines of Political Economy.

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