

S. Swire
Oxford House
B.9. A

FABIAN TRACTS, No. 8.

Facts for Londoners :

AN EXHAUSTIVE COLLECTION OF STATISTICAL AND
OTHER FACTS RELATING TO THE METROPOLIS ;
WITH SUGGESTIONS FOR REFORM
ON SOCIALIST PRINCIPLES.

PUBLISHED BY
THE FABIAN SOCIETY.

"Hell is a City much like London."—SHELLEY.

PRICE SIXPENCE.

To be obtained of the Secretary, 180 Portsdown Road, W.; of the *Freethought*
Publishing Company, 63 Fleet St., E.C.; & of W. Reeves, 185 Fleet St., E.C.

1889

Fabian Society.

(ESTABLISHED 1883.)

"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."

THE FABIAN SOCIETY consists of Socialists.

It therefore aims at the reorganisation of Society by the emancipation of Land and industrial Capital from individual and class ownership, and the vesting of them in the community for the general benefit. In this way only can the natural and acquired advantages of the country be equitably shared by the whole people.

The Society accordingly works for the extinction of private property in land and of the consequent individual appropriation, in the form of Rent, of the price paid for permission to use the earth, as well as for the advantages of superior soils and sites.

The Society, further, works for the transfer to the community of the administration of such industrial Capital as can be managed socially. For, owing to the monopoly of the means of production in the past, industrial inventions and the transformation of surplus income into Capital have mainly enriched the proprietary class, the worker being now dependent on that class for leave to earn a living.

If these measures be carried out, without compensation (though not without such relief to expropriated individuals as may seem fit to the community), Rent and Interest will be added to the reward of labor, the idle class now living on the labor of others will necessarily disappear, and practical equality of opportunity will be maintained by the spontaneous action of economic forces with much less interference with personal liberty than the present system entails.

For the attainment of these ends the Fabian Society looks to the spread of Socialist opinions, and the social and political changes consequent thereon. It seeks to promote these by the general dissemination of knowledge as to the relation between the individual and Society in its economic, ethical, and political aspects.

LECTURES.—A list of Lectures which are given by members of the Society can be obtained on application to the Lecture Secretary, SIDNEY WEBB, 27 Keppel Street, W.C.

PUBLICATIONS.—Of the series of "FABIAN TRACTS" the undermentioned are still in print, and may be obtained of the Freethought Publishing Company, 63 Fleet Street; W. Reeves, 185 Fleet Street; or of the Secretary, 180 Portsdown Road, W.:

| | | | | |
|-------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-------------------|
| No. 1. Why are the Many Poor? | ... | ... | ... | 3d. per doz. |
| No. 5. Facts for Socialists | ... | ... | ... | 1d. each; 9d. " " |
| No. 7. Capital and Land | ... | ... | ... | 1d. " 9d. " " |

IN THE PRESS.—"FABIAN ESSAYS ON SOCIALISM," a volume containing eight essays by ANNIE BESANT, HUBERT BLAND, WILLIAM CLARKE, SYDNEY OLIVIER, G. BERNARD SHAW, GRAHAM WALLAS, and SIDNEY WEBB.

Facts for Londoners.

THE Socialist Programme of immediately practicable reforms for London cannot be wholly dissociated from the corresponding Programme for the Kingdom. The mighty "province covered with houses," which we know as London, does but sum up, and present in aggravated form, the social problems everywhere awaiting solution. If London's million wage earners are oppressed by the abstraction of rent and interest from the produce of their toil—an inevitable result of private appropriation of the land and other instruments of wealth production necessary for their existence—their oppression is but typical of that of the workers elsewhere, and can be put an end to only in common with that of the rural and provincial workers outside the Metropolitan area.

Accordingly, most of the immediate reforms of greatest importance to London are, at the same time, matters of national concern. To reach the common end—the emancipation of land and industrial capital from individual or class ownership, and the vesting of them in the community for the general benefit—reformers in all parts of the kingdom must push forward together along a common path. The fiscal burdens of the London workers can be relieved only through a thorough REFORM OF NATIONAL TAXATION, by which Customs, Excise and other imposts falling upon the worker or consumer will be superseded by a gradual recovery of the entire Rent and Interest of the country for public purposes by means of an INCREASED LAND TAX, especially on urban properties; a GRADUATED AND DIFFERENTIATED INCOME TAX; and DEATH DUTIES, INCREASED, EQUALISED, CONSOLIDATED, and GRADUATED. The sweating system, and other forms of industrial oppression suffered by the poorer London worker, can be alleviated by a wide EXTENSION OF THE FACTORY AND WORKSHOP ACTS, with an increase in the number of inspectors, and the further gradual reduction, by law, of the maximum hours of labor. The harsh treatment of the destitute poor can be humanized by a general REFORM OF THE POOR LAW AND ITS ADMINISTRATION so as to provide more satisfactorily than at present for the children, the aged, and the temporarily unemployed. The political helplessness of the London citizen can be remedied by ADULT SUFFRAGE, SHORT PARLIAMENTS, PAYMENT OF ELECTION EXPENSES AND OF ALL PUBLIC REPRESENTATIVES, and EFFECTIVE CONTINUOUS REGISTRATION BY PUBLIC OFFICERS. In all these matters the Programme for London is identical with that for every other centre of population in the country.

But London is more than a city: it is a whole kingdom in itself, with revenues exceeding those of mighty principalities. With its suburbs it exceeds all Ireland in population if it were emptied to-morrow the whole of the inhabitants of Scotland and Wales together could do no more than refill it: the three next largest cities in the world could be combined without outnumbering its millions. One seventh of the total population of the United Kingdom is gathered into the metropolitan centre, which forms at once the largest manufacturing town and the greatest port, the chief literary and scientific centre as well as the commercial, banking, shipping and insurance emporium of the world. As such it has needs and problems peculiar to itself. In the following pages the Londoner will find the facts and figures without which he can neither understand his position nor discharge his duties as a citizen.

LONDON'S SIZE AND GROWTH.

THE "Administrative County" of London, with its 58 Parliamentary constituencies, measures $16\frac{1}{4}$ miles in extreme length (east and west) from Plumstead to Bedford Park, and $11\frac{3}{4}$ miles in extreme breadth (north and south) from Stamford Hill to Anerley. This area comprises, including the "City" proper, 75,490 acres, or nearly 119 square miles (being three-quarters the size of Rutland or the Isle of Wight). The independent municipal boroughs of West Ham (population, 1881, 128,953), Croydon (population, 1881, 101,241), and Richmond (population, 1881, 21,302) now adjoin it on the N.E., S., and S.W., whilst on the West and North the "Urban Sanitary Authorities" of Chiswick, Twickenham, Acton, Ealing, Willesden, Hendon, Harrow, Hornsey, Finchley, Edmonton, Barnet and Tottenham also practically belong to the metropolitan aggregation of population.

The 119 square miles had, in 1881, 488,995 inhabited houses, containing at that date 3,814,571 persons (1,797,486 males and 2,018,997 females), being 14.69 per cent. of the population of England and Wales; 51 to the acre, 32,640 to the square mile, 7.8 to each house (Census Report, c. 3563). Particulars as to the distribution of these millions will be found on page 6.

This population was estimated to have increased, in 1889, to 4,306,380 persons, representing about 860,000 families, living in 549,283 houses (Report of Metropolitan Board of Works, 1888, p. 7). Its growth, continuous for at least 500 years, has gone on since the beginning of the century (when it had only 136,196 houses, *ibid.* p. 7) at a prodigious and ever accelerating rate. Taking the best estimates prior to 1801, and the Census since that date, we get the following table:—

| Year | Population | Percentage of England | Year | Population | Percentage of England |
|----------|-------------|-----------------------|----------|---------------|-----------------------|
| 1350 ... | 90,000 ... | 3.60 | 1821 ... | 1,227,590 ... | 10.23 |
| 1600 ... | 180,000 ... | 3.27 | 1841 ... | 1,872,365 ... | 11.78 |
| 1650 ... | 350,000 ... | 6.26 | 1851 ... | 2,362,236 ... | 13.18 |
| 1701 ... | 550,000 ... | 9.16 | 1861 ... | 2,803,989 ... | 13.97 |
| 1750 ... | 600,000 ... | 9.16 | 1871 ... | 3,254,260 ... | 14.33 |
| 1801 ... | 864,035 ... | 9.72 | 1881 ... | 3,814,571 ... | 14.69 |

(Encyclopædia Britannica, vol. xiv. p. 821; and Census Report, C—3797.)

Since the end of the seventeenth century it has overtopped Paris as the largest city in Europe; but its unquestioned commercial, industrial and financial supremacy probably dates only from the "industrial revolution" of the last century and the Napoleonic wars. It is now estimated to contain 250,000 persons of Irish and 120,000 of Scotch parentage; 45,000 Asiatics, Africans and Americans; with some 60,000 Germans, 30,000 French, 15,000 Dutch, 12,000 Poles, 7500 Italians, 5000 Swiss, and 40,000 Jews. (Ency. Brit., vol. xiv. p 822.)

The number of registered Parliamentary electors on 1st January, 1889, was 518,770 (H. C., No. 179 of 1889); in November, 1885, it was 476,294 (H. C., No. 144 of 1888). The number of male adults may be estimated at a quarter of the population, or about 1,075,000 in 1889. Hence less than half the men in London can vote; but at the 1885 election only 351,779 (about one-third) did vote, and in 1886 even fewer. The poorest constituencies have usually not only the smallest percentages of electorate to population, but also the smallest percentages of poll to electorate.

The above statistics take no account of plural votes and duplicate registrations, of which it is estimated that London has at least 50,000 (the City's 31,685 electors nearly all have also votes elsewhere). The 2923 electors of London University are not included.

THE SOCIAL CONDITION OF LONDONERS.

LONDON contains 860,000 families. How many of there are in destitute circumstances, and how many comfortably off? The official census statistics give no information on this point; but Mr. Charles Booth, with the aid of a staff of assistants, has, during the last three years, been making exhaustive inquiries into the subject, and has taken, chiefly by minute investigations into the books of the 66 School Board Visitors, a complete industrial census of East London (Tower Hamlets, Shoreditch, Bethnal Green, and Hackney), comprising about one-quarter of the whole. His results are presented in detail in his book, "Life and Labor in East London" (Williams and Norgate). His classification is given in the following table:—

| Class. | Number of persons (including women and children). | Per cent. of whole population. |
|--|---|--------------------------------|
| A. Loafers, casuals, and semi-criminals... | 1,000 | 14 |
| B. Casual earnings, very poor, below 18s. per week (in chronic want) ... | 100,000 | 11½ |
| C. Intermittent earnings of 18s. to 21s. per week | 74,000 | 8½ |
| D. Small regular earnings of 18s. to 21s. per week | 129,000 | 14½ |
| Total "in poverty" ... | 314,000 | 31½ |
| E. Regular standard earnings, artisans, etc., 22s. to 30s. per week ... | 377,000 | 42½ |
| F. Higher class labor, 30s. to 50s. per week ... | 121,000 | 13½ |
| G. Lower middle-class, shopkeepers, clerks, etc. | 31,000 | 4 |
| H. Upper middle-class—"the servant-keeping class"—mostly in Hackney... | 45,000 | 5 |
| | 891,000 | |
| Inmates of workhouses, asylums, hospitals, etc. | 17,000 | |
| Estimated population, 1887 ... | 908,000 | |

At least a third of the poorer population migrate within twelve months. "A return prepared by one of the School Board visitors, who has a fairly representative district in Bethnal Green, shows that of 1204 families (with 2720 children), 530 (with 1450 children) removed in a single year." (C. Booth, "Life and Labor in East London," p. 27.)

It may be noted that female heads of families (widows, or deserted wives) living in houses of not more than £35 rental were found to number, with their children, 34,020, representing about 8000 households, or nearly 4 per cent. of the whole. Half of these supported themselves by washing or "charing," and one-third were in Class B: that is to say, "in chronic want," (*ibid*, p. 61.)

In his paper read before the Royal Statistical Society (see Journal, June 1888), Mr. Booth has extended his statistics hypothetically so as to include all London. He finds North Lambeth and St. Saviour's Southwark, only just behind Bethnal Green, St. George's-in-the-East, Whitechapel, Poplar, and Shoreditch in wretchedness, while St. Olave, Holborn, St. Giles and Soho are not better than Mile End and Stepney. These are the districts poorer than the London average. The following table gives his classification of London districts in sequence of poverty, with particulars upon which the classification is based:—

| | Population in 1881. | Persons to an acre of inhabited area. | Inhabited houses to an acre. | Persons to an inhabited house. | Ratable value per house. | Ratable value per person. | Estimated percentage of poor (classes A, B, C, D) |
|--|---------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|---|
| Bethnal Green | 126,961 | 195 | 23 | 7.6 | 22 | 2.9 | 45 |
| St. George's and Whitechapel... | 118,520 | 227 | 26 | 8.9 | 43 | 4.8 | 43 |
| Shoreditch | 126,591 | 207 | 25 | 8.4 | 39 | 4.6 | 40 |
| North Lambeth (riverside) ... | 91,281 | 191 | 22 | 7.1* | 37* | 5.1* | 40 |
| St. Saviour's | 195,164 | 177 | 22 | 8.6 | 39 | 4.9 | 37 |
| Poplar | 156,510 | 125 | 17 | 7.7 | 33 | 4.4 | 36 |
| Holborn | 151,835 | 193 | 19 | 10.0 | 59 | 5.9 | 35 |
| St. Olave | 134,632 | 131 | 17 | 7.7 | 45 | 5.8 | 35 |
| Mile End and Stepney | 164,156 | 165 | 22 | 7.4 | 30 | 4.0 | 30 |
| St. Giles, Soho, St. James, and Strand | 125,513 | 175 | 16 | 10.9 | 162 | 14.5 | 30 |
| Greenwich | 131,233 | 62 | 10 | 6.6 | 32 | 4.8 | 30 |
| St. Pancras | 236,258 | 131 | 14 | 9.6 | 59 | 6.2 | 25 |
| Camberwell | 186,593 | 58 | 9 | 6.8 | 31 | 4.5 | 25 |
| Wandsworth | 210,434 | 36 | 5 | 7.1 | 45 | 5.9 | 25 |
| Lewisham | 73,327 | 20 | 3 | 6.2 | 48 | 7.6 | 25 |
| Hackney | 186,462 | 65 | 10 | 6.8 | 36 | 5.2 | 23 |
| Islington | 282,865 | 102 | 12 | 8.6 | 43 | 5.3 | 20 |
| Woolwich | 80,845 | 20 | 3 | 6.9 | 30 | 4.5 | 20 |
| Fulham | 114,839 | 57 | 8 | 7.0 | 34 | 4.9 | 15 |
| Cnelsea | 88,128 | 118 | 15 | 7.9 | 43 | 5.4 | 15 |
| St. George's, Hanover Square... | 149,748 | 114 | 13 | 8.4 | 132 | 15.8 | 15 |
| Lambeth (remainder of) | 162,418 | 53 | 8 | 7.1* | 37* | 5.1* | 15 |
| Marylebone and Hampstead ... | 200,362 | 68 | 7 | 9.1 | 83 | 9.1 | 10 |
| Paddington | 107,218 | 107 | 13 | 8.1 | 91 | 11.2 | 10 |
| City of London | 51,439 | 85 | 11 | 7.8 | 380 | 69.4 | 10 |
| Kensington | 163,151 | 90 | 11 | 8.1 | 83 | 10.2 | 5 |
| Total for London | 3,816,483 | 78 | 10 | 7.8 | 57 | 7.3 | 25 |

* For whole of Lambeth.

"Taking the estimated percentages of poverty as given in the tables, and the population of 1881, we get a total of 963,943 poor in London; or, with the population of to-day as our basis, rather more than 1,000,000. This number does not include indoor paupers, or other inmates of institutions."

| | | | | | |
|-------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----------------|
| Class A. | ... | ... | ... | ... | 50,000 |
| " B. | ... | ... | ... | ... | 300 000 |
| " C. | ... | ... | ... | ... | 250 000 |
| " D. | ... | ... | ... | ... | 400,000 |
| Classes E. F. G. and H. | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3,000,000 |
| | | | | | <hr/> 4,000,000 |

(p. 305 of *R.S.S. Journal*, June, 1888).

One out of four of the whole population is thus computed to be earning—and that irregularly—not more than a guinea a week per family; and over a third of these are receiving much less, and, says Mr. Booth, "live in a state of chronic want" (p. 33 of "Life and Labor in East London"). This corresponds to the proportion indicated by the statistics of mortality.

In London one person in every five will die in the workhouse, hospital, or lunatic asylum. In 1887, out of 82,545 deaths in London, 43,507 being over twenty, 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 much greater.

One in eleven of the whole metropolitan population is driven to accept Poor Law relief during any one year (see p. 20), and that notwithstanding the existence of organised metropolitan charities estimated to disburse over £4,000,000 annually (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. xiv., p. 833), and that in Middlesex and Surrey there were in 1888, 1,152,189 Post Office Savings Bank accounts open, with an aggregate balance of £15,410,541 (H.C. 177 of 1889). In spite of all, 29 deaths were referred, in 1888, to direct and obvious starvation (H.C. Return, No. 136, 1889).

LONDON'S ANNUAL RENTAL.

THERE are no means of ascertaining the exact amount of rent received annually by the landlords of London. The total rental value can, however, be arrived at approximately from the official assessment. All lands and houses throughout the metropolitan area are re-valued every fifth year for rating purposes; and in the meantime supplementary valuation lists include all new buildings and structural alterations as soon as occupied. Under the Valuation (Metropolis) Act, 32 & 33 Vic., the assessment must in all cases

be equal to the full annual value at which the property would let from year to year, the tenant paying taxes, but not executing repairs. Returns of rentals are quinquennially obtained by the Overseers of each parish; and, although the valuation and rental may not be exactly equal, there can be no doubt that the valuation does not, on the whole, exceed the gross rental. The total "gross valuation" for the year 1886 was £37,027,516. The so-called "rateable value," obtained by a fixed deduction from the gross valuation, was £30,446,336 (C—5526, p. clxxxi.).

There can accordingly be no doubt that the total rental of London land and houses is at least

THIRTY-SEVEN MILLION POUNDS

sterling annually. How much of this represents the rental value of the bare site cannot be ascertained. It has been estimated that the so-called "ground rents," or rents reserved in building leases, amount to some £6,000,000 a year; but as all London is not leasehold, these are not universal, and in most cases do not represent the full present value of the site. Calculations based on the increase during the past twenty years (p. 10) indicate that the total annual value of the bare site must exceed **£15,000,000** per annum. This is the price we pay year by year to our ground landlords for the privilege of occupying the low hills and swampy marsh by the Thames, which labor has made so productive.

The balance of **£22,000,000** per annum represents the annual rental value of the buildings on that site. But, in addition to this payment, the total "rates" now levied in London, as described in pages 13 and 14, amount to over £7,500,000, bringing the total annual cost of inhabiting London up to nearly **£45,000,000**, less than one-sixth of this being at present devoted to public purposes.

This total amounts to, on an average, for each of London's 860,000 families:—

| | | |
|-----------------|-----|-------------------|
| For Ground Rent | ... | 6s. 9d. per week. |
| „ House Rent | ... | 9s. 10d. „ „ |
| „ Rates | ... | 3s. 5d. „ „ |
| | | 20s. 0d. „ „ * |

London's landlords include all sorts and conditions of men, from the ducal ground landlord and the wealthy leaseholder, whom the Leasehold Enfranchisement Association fondly yearns to turn into a freeholder, down to the tenant in "beneficial occupation" at less than a rackrent, and the shareholder in a Building Society. But the great bulk of the rental goes into comparatively few hands. Among the largest owners are the Ecclesiastical Commissioners (especially in Paddington, Notting Hill and Lambeth), the City Companies—see p. 44—(especially in the City, St. Giles' and St. Martin's), the

* It must not, however, be forgotten that the rental value of urban centres ought, economically, to be "nationalized," not "municipalized."

National Government, through the Office of Woods and Forests (especially near Regent Street, the Regent's Park and on the Holborn Viaduct), and through the Exhibition Commissioners of 1851 (at South Kensington), various Colleges at Oxford and Cambridge (notably Magdalen), the three great endowed hospitals, St. Bartholomew's, St. Thomas's, and Guy's (especially at Southwark and in the City), and the great charitable foundations (such as Christ's Hospital and the Foundling Hospital).

To this extent the property is, in some sense, already "municipalized" or "nationalized," though the proceeds are often woefully misapplied. Next in order come the great private ground landlords: the Duke of Westminster (Belgravia, Pimlico, the Grosvenor Square district), the Duke of Bedford (Bloomsbury, the Covent Garden district, and Amptill Square), Lord Portman (West Marylebone), Lord Cadogan (Chelsea), Sir W. Carr Gomm (Rotherhithe), the Duke of Portland (East Marylebone), the Marquis of Northampton (Clerkenwell), the Duke of Norfolk (South of the Strand), the Marquis Camden (Camden Town), Lord Southampton (Tottenham Court Rd. and Kentish Town), Sir Spencer Maryon Wilson (Hampstead), Captain Penton, M.P. (Pentonville), the Marquis of Salisbury (St. Martin's Lane), the Tyssen-Amherst family (Hackney), the Eyre family (St. John's Wood), the Curzon family (Mayfair). It will be seen that practically the whole of these "great landlords" are "hereditary legislators." Nearly all their property is in strict settlement, but a life owner has now legally large powers of disposal: it is nevertheless practically impossible to obtain anything more than a terminable lease on the large proportion of London comprised in these and other estates.*

LONDON'S "UNEARNED INCREMENT."

BESIDES the annual rental, the owners of London receive a continual stream of wealth in the "unearned increment" of value constantly being added to their property.

The annual rental of the metropolitan area at the revaluation in 1886 was about £37,000,000, representing a saleable value, if only 15 years' purchase be taken, of £555,000,000. In 1870 the annual rental was only £22,000,000, equal to a saleable value of £330,000,000. The total increment during those sixteen years was, therefore, fifteen millions a year rent, representing a growth in saleable value of no less than £225,000,000. A large part of this increased value was, however, caused by expenditure on new buildings. The suburban districts have been filling up; and the central districts have been extensively rebuilding. Fortunately the annual revision of the valuation list enables us to distinguish between new buildings (together with any structural alterations to old ones) and the rise in rent of unaltered land and buildings. We are thus able to ascertain

* See "The Great Landlords of London," by Frank Banfield, M.A. (Spencer Blackett).

separately, from official figures, the annual growth from this cause in all years except those of the quinquennial revaluation. As those periods have no influence on the building trades, it is fair to assume that the average of the other years applies also to them; and thus we have the total growth in rental caused by building operations very accurately ascertained. Errors of valuation no doubt occur; but these may be assumed to balance each other; and no one can pretend that London is, on the whole, even now over-assessed. Any additional growth must have been due to intensified demand for existing buildings, caused by increasing population, by the advance of London as an industrial centre, and by the helpless condition of the London poor. All landlords do not benefit equally; but from the point of view of the community at large this annual net increase is a real "unearned increment." How much it amounts to, the table given below, compiled from the Local Government Board's report, will shew. (C—5526, p. clxxxi, and previous issues).

| On 6th April. | Gross Valuation. | Total Increase. | Increase due to new buildings (annual rental). | "Unearned increment" of annual rental. |
|---------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------|--|--|
| | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| 1870 | 22,142,706 | .... | .... | .... |
| 1871 | 24,103,083 | 1,960,377 | *549,508 | 1,410,869 |
| 1872 | 24,388,000 | 284,917 | 284,917 | .... |
| 1873 | 24,756,711 | 368,711 | 368,711 | .... |
| 1874 | 25,148,033 | 391,322 | 391,322 | .... |
| 1875 | 25,574,366 | 426,333 | 426,333 | .... |
| 1876 | 27,602,649 | 2,028,283 | *519,508 | 1,478,775 |
| 1877 | 28,464,833 | 862,184 | 862,184 | .... |
| 1878 | 29,037,795 | 562,962 | 562,962 | .... |
| 1879 | 29,682,260 | 654,474 | 654,474 | .... |
| 1880 | 30,421,071 | 738,802 | 738,802 | .... |
| 1881 | 33,384,851 | 2,963,780 | *549,508 | 2,414,272 |
| 1882 | 33,855,917 | 471,066 | 471,066 | .... |
| 1883 | 34,470,725 | 614,808 | 614,808 | .... |
| 1884 | 35,100,704 | 629,979 | 629,979 | .... |
| 1885 | 35,689,244 | 588,540 | 588,540 | .... |
| 1886 | 37,027,516 | 1,338,282 | *549,508 | 788,764 |
| Average of 17 years | £29,461,204 | £14,884,810 | £8,792,130 | £6,092,680 |
| | Increase of 12 ordinary years.... | 6,594,098 | *Estimated at average of the other 12 years. | |
| | Increase of 4 quinquennial periods | 8,290,712 | | |
| | | £14,884,810 | | |

The total "unearned increment" during this period (up to the last general valuation) is thus seen to have been £6,092,680 in annual rental, representing a saleable value of over

NINETY MILLIONS STERLING.

It amounts to one-sixth of the total saleable value of London. It is what we have deliberately allowed the London landlords to receive,

over and above their former annual tribute, during the short space of 20 years. This is the princely gift of the London worker to the London landlord. It must not, however, be supposed that this growth in value has all been received by the freeholder, still less by the "great landlords." A large portion of it has been temporarily intercepted by house-farmers, leaseholders, copyholders, and other types of "landlord."

Let us see what we might have done with it if we had listened to the political economists, who warned us that it would happen. If the existing land tax of four shillings in the pound had, in 1870, been levied on the landlord at the current valuation (instead of upon that of 1692) it would hardly have deprived him of any of his then income; his total payments would have been only slightly in excess of the unearned increase brought to him by London's growth. During the last 20 years just about £90,000,000 has been levied in London by rates. If the landlord had been compelled to pay every farthing of these rates (in addition to anything he may now indirectly bear) he would be as well off now as he was 20 years ago.

The average rise of London rent (on unaltered buildings) is seen to have been £304,634 per annum, or 1.03 per cent. on the average valuation. This annual rise in rent represents an annual addition to the saleable value of the property of about £4,500,000. This is our annual "New Year's Gift" (in addition to the £37,000,000 annual tribute of rent) to those who do us the favor to own London. The total rates levied annually amount now to over £7,000,000, and must inevitably increase with the cessation of the coal dues, the growth of social compunction, and the extension of corporate activity. Would it be anything but bare justice to absorb, in order to meet this deficit (and in addition to any tax on the landlord's rent), the whole of the £4,500,000 annually added to the value of London? A landlord's rate of half-a-crown in the pound on the "rateable value" would realize not quite this amount. It should be deductible from the rent in the manner in which the "property tax" (Income Tax, Schedule A) is now deducted, "any agreement to the contrary notwithstanding."

One suggestion may be added. If the £15,000,000 total increase in London's rental value during 20 years of enormous building operations is divided so that £9,000,000 is due to them and £6,000,000 to "unearned increment," we may hypothetically infer that a similar proportion holds good of the total rental value. In that case, out of the annual rental of £37,000,000, we may estimate that £22,000,000 is for buildings, and some

£15,000,000 FOR GROUND RENT ONLY.

This state of things is not peculiar to London. It is the inevitable result of private ownership of land in advanced industrial communities. Every town in England shews similar results. Thus, in 1866, the annual value of the land and houses in the county of Lancaster was £10,029,967; at the next valuation, in 1872, it had risen to £12,552,000; in 1877 it had increased to £15,626,890; and accord-

ing to the last valuation, made in 1884, and revised to March 31, 1889, it was £18,595,992; so that in little more than 20 years the annual value of the whole county has been nearly doubled. Tables recently compiled by the county auditor for the use of the County Council show the present valuations of the principal boroughs to be as follows;—Liverpool, £3,438,074; Manchester, £2,520,938; Salford, £734,220; Oldham, £480,060; Bolton, £416,362; Blackburn, £413,514; Preston, £341,060; Rochdale, £274,406. ("Tables compiled by the Auditor of the Lancashire County Council, 1889.") Judging from the analogy of London, two-fifths of this annual value would be the rental of the bare site.

The "City" of London alone increased in rateable value sevenfold between 1801 and 1881, viz., from £507,372 to £3,535,494; or from £760 per acre per annum to £5,300 per acre per annum. (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. xiv., pp. 820, 832). The proportion of the rental value of the bare site to that of the erections upon it, is here much more than two-fifths.

MUNICIPAL REFORM.

THE capital of the empire has at last got its directly elected central municipal body of 118 elected members (with 19 co-opted aldermen!) under the name of County Council; but so much still remains to be done before London attains the freedom and social activity of the provincial cities, that municipal reform must still remain a prominent feature in the Social Democratic programme.

Much of the ordinary work of a municipality, including the paving, lighting, watering and cleansing of the streets, the abatement of nuisances, the enforcement of the sanitary laws, the removal of dust, the construction and maintenance of local sewers, still remains in the hands of a congeries of obscure local boards, the 3,000 members of which, though nominally elected, are practically unknown, unchecked, unsupervised and unaudited. The duties neglected by these vestries and district boards are more important than those they attempt to perform. For instance, under the Laboring Classes Dwelling Houses Acts (14 and 15 Vic. cap. 34, and subsequent Acts) they long had power (now transferred to the County Council) to acquire land and to build or hire tenement or lodging houses for the poor. They still have power (under the Sanitary Acts, especially 29 & 30 Vic. c. 90) to condemn and close insanitary dwellings, and (under the Torrens Act, 31 & 32 Vic. c. 130, and others) to acquire and pull down condemned houses. They have power to make and enforce stringent rules for all houses let in lodgings or tenements, providing for their systematic registration, inspection, and sanitation; enforcing proper accommodation; providing against overcrowding, and for the separation of the sexes. They have power (18 and 19 Vic. c. 120, sec. 118) to organize a regular corps of crossing-sweepers—if need be, from the unemployed—and so to put a stop to the present evil system of licensed mendicancy. They

have power in every parish to do what has been done only in a few, to provide public libraries, baths, and wash-houses, mortuaries, water closets, open spaces, seats for the weary, and other conveniences for common use.

But these Acts are not compulsory. The vestry has power to do all these things; but it also has power not to do them until the citizens wake up to their responsibilities and compel it to take action. Unfortunately, those who suffer most from parochial neglect are not influential. There has been no really democratic control: consequently the vestries have almost uniformly neglected their most important public functions, and largely mismanaged those which they have undertaken.

Notwithstanding their mismanagement and neglect of duty, the Vestries and District Boards are exceedingly costly. The total sums levied by the different local governing bodies in the metropolis in five recent years were as follows (C—5526) :—

| LOCAL AUTHORITIES. | 1873-74. | 1879-80. | 1881-82. | 1883-84. | 1885-86. |
|---|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| METROPOLITAN. | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| Poor Law Authorities | 1,602,020 | 1,738,216 | 1,967,620 | 2,231,401 | 2,373,080 |
| Metropolitan Vestries and District Boards, &c. .. | 1,126,825 | 1,655,975 | 1,607,391 | 1,605,752 | 1,632,580 |
| Commissioners of Sewers of the City of London .. | 211,700 | 140,686 | 142,776 | 200,652 | 225,662 |
| Metropolitan Board of Works | 218,780 | 554,448 | 639,582 | 716,186 | 837,575 |
| Commissioners of Police of the Metropolis | 602,028 | 510,205 | 583,967 | 639,751 | 681,154 |
| Corporation of London | 65,393 | 67,154 | 75,670 | 73,542 | 77,520 |
| Burial Boards | 11,181 | 6,955 | 7,589 | 7,613 | 6,097 |
| Churchwardens (Church Rate) | 5,524 | 5,438 | 5,520 | 5,503 | 5,580 |
| School Board | 64,462 | 541,717 | 661,175 | 754,589 | 977,659 |
| Commissioners of Baths and Washhouses | — | — | 5,435 | 9,787 | 13,605 |
| | 3,907,913 | 5,220,794 | 5,696,725 | 6,244,476 | 6,830,512 |

In 1887-8 the total rates levied amounted to £7,562,310 (House of Commons Return 126 of 1889).

As the areas administered by the different Vestries, &c., vary considerably in size, population, wealth, and general character, their resources and their expenditures are very different. The poorer parishes have the heavier burdens. The "rate" levied varies from about 2s. to 3s. 6d. in the £ (irrespective of the Poor Rate—see page 14). The following table gives the particulars for the year 1885-6 excluding the City :—

| PARISHES. | Number of Elected Members of Vestry, or District Board, 1882. | Area in Acres. | Population in 1881. | Inhabited Houses, 1881. | Rateable Annual Value, December, 1886. | Poor Rate, 1886. | General School Board, and Lighting Rate, 1886. | Sewers and Consolidated Rate, 1886. | Total Rate, 1886. |
|---------------------------|---|----------------|---------------------|-------------------------|--|------------------|--|-------------------------------------|-------------------|
| | | | | | £ | s. d. | s. d. | s. d. | s. d. |
| Marylebone | 120 | 1,506 | 154,910 | 16,033 | 1,424,162 | 2 2 1 | 9 2 0 | 8 1 4 | 8 4 8 |
| St. Pancras | 120 | 2,672 | 236,258 | 24,701 | 1,581,823 | 2 2 1 | 11 2 0 | 9 1 4 | 9 1 11 |
| Lambeth | 120 | 3,941 | 253,699 | 35,404 | 1,461,540 | 6 2 0 | 0 10 0 | 5 4 4 | 5 4 4 |
| St. George, Hanover Sq. | 108 | 1,119 | 89,573 | 11,577 | 1,740,168 | 1 10 1 | 7 0 6 | 6 3 11 | 6 3 11 |
| Islington | 120 | 3,107 | 282,865 | 34,046 | 1,600,366 | 9 1 1 | 10 4 0 | 8 1 4 | 8 1 4 |
| Shoreditch | 120 | 648 | 126,591 | 15,156 | 638,657 | 2 0 2 | 1 0 8 | 4 9 4 | 4 9 4 |
| Paddington | 72 | 1,251 | 107,218 | 13,231 | 1,272,408 | 1 11 1 | 10 3 0 | 7 4 5 | 7 4 5 |
| Bethnal Green | 60 | 755 | 126,961 | 16,606 | 397,571 | 2 8 2 | 8 0 9 | 6 1 0 | 6 1 0 |
| St. Mary, Newington .. | 72 | 632 | 107,850 | 13,975 | 449,457 | 2 2 2 | 6 0 11 | 5 7 7 | 5 7 7 |
| Camberwell | 84 | 4,450 | 186,593 | 27,316 | 986,664 | 2 1 2 | 0 1 0 | 5 1 5 | 5 1 5 |
| St. James, Westminster. | 48 | 162 | 29,941 | 3,022 | 694,201 | 1 9 1 | 5 3 0 | 8 3 11 | 8 3 11 |
| Clerkenwell | 72 | 380 | 69,076 | 7,104 | 349,681 | 2 9 1 | 11 0 8 | 5 4 4 | 5 4 4 |
| Chelsea | 60 | 796 | 88,101 | 10,798 | 589,364 | 2 4 2 | 3 0 9 | 5 4 4 | 5 4 4 |
| Kensington | 120 | 2,190 | 163,151 | 20,171 | 1,833,599 | 1 10 2 | 0 3 0 | 7 4 6 | 7 4 6 |
| St. Luke, Middlesex .. | 48 | 239 | 46,849 | 4,801 | 290,143 | 2 10 2 | 10 3 0 | 8 6 5 | 8 6 5 |
| St. George, Southwark.. | 47 | 284 | 58,652 | 6,761 | 262,426 | 2 4 2 | 5 0 10 | 5 7 7 | 5 7 7 |
| Bermondsey | 36 | 626 | 86,652 | 11,083 | 400,899 | 2 8 2 | 4 0 10 | 5 10 10 | 5 10 10 |
| St. George-in-the-East.. | 36 | 243 | 47,157 | 5,781 | 182,715 | 2 6 2 | 2 0 9 | 5 6 6 | 5 6 6 |
| St. Martin-in-the-Fields. | 36 | 286 | 17,508 | 1,716 | 466,538 | 1 6 1 | 5 0 8 | 3 7 7 | 3 7 7 |
| Mill End Old Town .. | 90 | 679 | 105,573 | 14,574 | 361,647 | 2 4 2 | 5 0 9 | 5 6 6 | 5 6 6 |
| Woolwich | 24 | 1,126 | 36,665 | 4,831 | 139,798 | 2 7 2 | 3 0 9 | 5 7 7 | 5 7 7 |
| Rotherhithe | 24 | 753 | 36,024 | 4,847 | 205,250 | 2 5 2 | 2 0 10 | 5 5 5 | 5 5 5 |
| Hampstead | 72 | 2,248 | 45,452 | 5,873 | 557,078 | 2 0 2 | 4 0 9 | 5 1 5 | 5 1 5 |
| Hammersmith | 39 | 4,003 | 71,939 | 10,536 | 480,417 | 2 6 2 | 5 3 0 | 10 8 10 | 10 8 10 |
| Fulham | 39 | 4,003 | 42,900 | 5,833 | 334,183 | 2 6 2 | 7 0 10 | 5 11 5 | 5 11 5 |
| DISTRICT BOARDS.* | | | | | | | | | |
| Whitechapel | 58 | 378 | 70,435 | 7,435 | 374,067 | 2 4 2 | 7 0 9 | 5 8 3 | 5 8 3 |
| Westminster | 57 | 815 | 59,926 | 6,205 | 682,278 | 1 10 2 | 1 7 3 | 4 2 2 | 4 2 2 |
| Greenwich | 84 | 3,426 | 131,233 | 19,781 | 722,708 | 2 7 2 | 0 1 0 | 5 7 4 | 5 7 4 |
| Wandsworth | 81 | 11,488 | 210,434 | 30,748 | 1,507,659 | 2 6 2 | 6 3 0 | 10 4 5 | 10 4 5 |
| Hackney | 57 | 3,935 | 186,462 | 27,476 | 1,086,586 | 2 3 1 | 10 4 0 | 8 4 9 | 8 4 9 |
| St. Giles | 48 | 245 | 45,382 | 3,962 | 382,220 | 2 2 7 | 0 10 5 | 7 7 7 | 7 7 7 |
| Holborn | 49 | 167 | 35,258 | 3,154 | 330,973 | 2 5 1 | 11 0 11 | 5 3 2 | 5 3 2 |
| Strand | 49 | 167 | 32,587 | 2,808 | 472,003 | 1 8 2 | 1 9 0 | 9 1 4 | 9 1 4 |
| Limehouse | 36 | 462 | 58,543 | 8,004 | 301,381 | 2 5 2 | 2 3 0 | 8 4 5 | 8 4 5 |
| Poplar | 48 | 2,335 | 156,510 | 20,474 | 675,819 | 2 10 2 | 7 0 10 | 5 6 6 | 5 6 6 |
| St. Saviour | 39 | 203 | 28,662 | 3,465 | 325,066 | 2 1 1 | 9 3 0 | 9 1 4 | 9 1 4 |
| Plumstead | 37 | 10,394 | 63,663 | 9,989 | 366,404 | 2 7 2 | 5 0 10 | 5 10 10 | 5 10 10 |
| Lewisham | 27 | 6,544 | 53,065 | 8,704 | 612,967 | 2 4 2 | 6 0 9 | 5 8 8 | 5 8 8 |
| St. Olave | 28 | 124 | 11,957 | 1,524 | 193,075 | 2 3 2 | 1 7 0 | 9 4 7 | 9 4 7 |

* The rate opposite the District Board is the average of the Rates in the parishes within it.
(From Firth's "Reform of London Government."—Sonnenschein).

The 41 existing minor municipal authorities, viz.:—

The City Corporation (Common Council of 26 Aldermen and 206 Councillors elected annually by the wards of the City, and Commissioners of Sewers nominated by the Common Council).

25 larger Vestries, performing municipal functions, one-third elected annually by the ratepayers of each parish;

14 District Boards of Works, nominated by the 53 smaller Vestries;

all need to be superseded by a uniform system of directly elected district councils administering the local affairs of areas fairly uniform in population, and subject to the control, supervision, and audit of the County Council. The existing qualification for vestryman, of £40 rateable value (or £25 where five-sixths of the houses in the parish are rated at less than £40), should, of course, be abolished, and the election held upon the same register, and under the same conditions, as that for the County Council. One apparently minor reform, of far-reaching importance, cannot be too strongly insisted upon. A large part of the inefficiency, stupidity and jobbery of the smaller London vestries has been caused or permitted by the absurd custom of allowing the vestry clerkship to be an appanage of some old-fashioned and busy firm of solicitors. The clerk to the district council should in all cases be an independent officer, paid to give his whole time to his municipal duties.

The districts administered by the respective district councils should be approximately equalised, and should preferably be those of the existing Parliamentary constituencies, each divided for election purposes into about half-a-dozen wards of nearly equal population. In order to avoid the harsh inequality of rates now pressing heavily on the poorer parishes, nearly all the bare minimum cost of the ordinary necessary expenses of local administration, the amount being fixed in advance, should be borne from a common fund, raised by the County Council rate and allotted among the district councils (proportionately to population). In order to secure local economy, any excess over this sum might be left to be levied by a local rate; and in order to secure efficiency the County Council must have power to settle the general principles of administration, and, in case of local default, power itself to perform the action required at the expense of the local rate. PAYMENT OF MEMBERS should be established, on principle, for all representative bodies, the County Council and the district councils as well as others; but failing this, shorter hours of labor and evening meetings should adequately enable all classes to attend and freely perform their share of public administration.

Once provided with efficient local machinery, it will be for the electors themselves to see that it is effectively made use of; and it is to be hoped that they will insist on bye-laws being passed providing for:—

Evening meetings of the district councils, so as to allow busy workers to take part in them.

Complete publicity for all council meetings.

Complete abolition of all refreshments or hidden perquisites to members.

Direct employment of labor wherever possible.

Eight hours a day for all public servants.

But these are matters which might fairly be left to the electors themselves to insist on. The education of Londoners in public affairs will be not the least important of the advantages of London Municipal Reform.

POOR LAW REFORM.

THE reform of the Poor Law and its administration is a national rather than a metropolitan question; but the size of London, the extent of its destitution, the want of order or control in its charities, hospitals, &c., and of system in its municipal life, make reform specially urgent within its boundaries.

The administration of the Poor Law is committed in London to

30 BOARDS OF GUARDIANS, acting either for separate parishes (14)
or for "Unions" (16) of smaller parishes;

THE METROPOLITAN ASYLUMS BOARD.

The Boards of Guardians are mainly elected by the "ratepayers" (either annually or triennially, in the month of April, according to the particular arrangement in force for each parish) upon a system of plural voting, each elector having from one to six votes according to the rateable value of his house. If, moreover, he is rated for more than one house, whether as a "house-farmer" or not, his voting power is further multiplied in proportion to the number of his houses. Under this system it occasionally happens (as in Bethnal Green in April, 1889) that a minority of the large householders prevails over the poorer majority. The elections are conducted carelessly, voting-papers being left at each house by a policeman, and collected next day, without any safeguards against personation or fraud. Very little public interest is aroused; and only a small proportion of the papers are filled up.

Yet the Boards of Guardians have to perform functions which are of the highest importance to the public, especially to the poorer citizens. They are bound by law to grant relief to every destitute applicant; but it rests with them to decide whether to grant "out-door relief," in money or food; or merely to admit the applicant to the workhouse, the workhouse infirmary (for the sick), or the "stone-yard" (for imposing task-work on able-bodied men). These institutions, as well as the workhouse schools and the "casual wards" (for poor travellers, officially described as tramps and vagrants), are completely under their control. Justices of the Peace resident in any parish are *ex officio* members of its Board of Guardians; but they seldom attend. The bulk of the work is in the hands of the paid officials, and the "Clerk to the Guardians"—frequently a local solicitor—is often an official pluralist (as in Chelsea) receiving huge emoluments, and practically beyond control.

The Metropolitan Asylums Board is composed of 54 delegates elected by the Boards of Guardians, with 16 members nominated by the Local Government Board. It includes 4 women, and no fewer than 18 Justices of the Peace. It controls and manages the 4 public asylums, 3 "Hospital Ships," 1 Boys' Training Ship, and 6 metro-

politan hospitals for infectious disease, the annual cost of which is £303,640, recovered from each parish in proportion to rateable value of its property, and so ultimately swelling the poor-rate.

Each Board of Guardians administers relief and collects its rates independently of the others; but the cost of the maintenance of the poor inside the workhouse infirmaries and schools is defrayed from a "Common Poor Fund," and divided among the parishes in proportion to the rateable value of their property. With this exception, there is no "Equalization of the Poor Rate," which accordingly varies from 1s. 6d. to 2s. 10d. in the £ (*see* page 14), or even 3s., as lately in Holborn. The unions which benefit by the "Common Poor Fund," and so would gain by an "Equalization of the Poor Rate," are (in order of amount) Holborn, St. George's in the East, St. Saviour's Southwark, Bethnal Green, St. Pancras, Shoreditch, Whitechapel, Poplar, Chelsea, Mile End, Lambeth, St. Olave's, Greenwich, Stepney, Woolwich, Marylebone, St. Giles', Camberwell and Hackney (p. 302 of C—5526). The amount chargeable to the Fund (the already equalized part of the Poor Rate) has risen from £540,876 in 1871 to £929,300 in 1886. The richer parishes enjoy the advantage of a low poor-rate, at the same time profiting by the cheapness of the labor of the residents in the poor parishes, which are made still poorer by the heavy burden of their own unshared and unaided poor-rate.

Thus the Poor Law needs abundant reform; but the change above all others necessary is in the spirit of its administrators. Instead of a harsh and cruel desire to "save the rates" at any cost of human suffering, we need a kindly treatment of the sick, the aged, the children, and those reduced to destitution by accident or misfortune; coupled with a scientific and persistent effort temporarily to relieve the able-bodied and permanently to remove the causes of their misery, without in any way relaxing the tests against sturdy idleness or vagrancy. Even as regards these latter evils, the abolition of their causes rather than the punishment of the offenders should constantly be aimed at.

Meanwhile, certain specific reforms are obviously needed:—

(a). The children, instead of being herded together in pauper barracks or crowded in gigantic ophthalmic workhouse schools, need to be "boarded out" in families, or allotted in small parties to the care of "house-mothers." They should be sent to the ordinary public schools, and trained in some handicraft or useful occupation by which they can fulfil the duties of good citizenship incumbent on them as on others. Sixteen thousand two hundred and sixteen children were in metropolitan workhouse schools in 1886-7. Out of these only 359 were in Standard VI. (only 221 of these "passed"). The inspector deploras "the bad classification of the older workhouses; the poor and imperfect furniture and appliances provided for educational purposes; the low salaries given, preventing the highest grade of teachers applying for vacant schools; the want of technical skill and of the ability to impart practical knowledge on the part of industrial trainers; and the narrow view too frequently

taken by boards of guardians and managers of utilizing the industry of the children" (*Report of Local Government Board*, C—5526, pp. 95-97).

Only 3,551 children in all England are "boarded out," about 500 being from London (*ibid*, pp. 99 and 198).

(b). The aged poor, instead of being imprisoned in "Bastilles," with husband and wife often illegally separated, and always condemned to a grim lingering out of life, must be humanely provided for by pensions or almshouses as they may prefer; and be regarded, not as semi-criminal incumbrances, but as receiving honorably the willingly given pensions to which lives of hardship, toil and want spent in the service of the community have abundantly entitled them.

(c). The sick, the chronically infirm, and the "industrial martyrs" of our civilization, suffering from the evergrowing number of accidents, should be treated generously in the public hospitals—no longer to be stigmatized as "workhouse infirmaries"—and in convalescent homes and asylums, administered by the Public Hospitals Board hereafter referred to (p. 22).

(d). The "temporarily unemployed" should be recognized as a necessary incident of our present industrial life. "The modern system of industry will not work without some unemployed margin—some reserve of labor."* For these it will nearly always be possible to find temporary employment in connection with the large quantity of work of every kind constantly being done by the County Council, Vestries, District Boards, &c., if only there were any real desire to cope with the problem. The Local Government Board has in vain urged local governing bodies to take this course. The Chelsea Vestry † and a few other bodies, have already attempted it with marked success. But in order to enable this to be adequately extended, it is necessary to insist on:—

All public bodies dispensing as far as possible with contractors, and becoming direct employers of labor in every branch.

An "Eight Hours Day" for all public servants.

(e). For the chronic cases of sturdy vagrancy, idle mendicancy, and incorrigible laziness, we must have recourse to organised pauper labor, strictly disciplined and severely supervised. These classes, like the criminals, are the "failures" of our civilization; and whilst they must be treated with all just kindness, and offered opportunities of earning their subsistence, they must nevertheless be sternly denied all relief until they are willing to repay it by useful labor. The present Poor Law system quite fails to deal with them: even individualistic reformers urge further public action. "Thorough interference on the part of the State with the lives of a small fraction of the population would tend to make it possible, ultimately, to dispense with any Socialistic interference in the lives of all the rest."‡ And again, we must "open a little the portals of the Poor

*C. Booth, "Life and Labor in East London" (Williams and Norgate), p. 152.

† See Report by J. STRACHAN, Surveyor.

‡C. Booth, "Life and Labor in East London" (Williams and Norgate) p. 167.

Law or its administration, making within its courts a working guild under suitable discipline" (*ibid*, p. 168) and eliminate the idle loafers from society by making their existence in the ordinary community more and more impossible, whilst we on the other hand offer them constantly the alternative of the reforming "Labor Colony", to which all incorrigible vagrants and beggars could be committed by the magistrate for specified terms.

To effect these reforms the administration of the Poor Law must be brought under democratic control: the existing Boards of Guardians and Metropolitan Asylums Board with their electoral anomalies should be swept away, and replaced by an elected Board responsible for the care of the whole of the aged, the sick, insane and destitute of London. As five-twelfths of the Hospital expenditure must inevitably be under its management, it would seem best for this work to be united with that of the control of London's hospitals; and the Hospitals Board (see p. 22) might well become a general "Charities Board," formed of elected representatives from each Parliamentary constituency on the existing municipal register, charged with the whole central administration, and assisted by elected district committees for local work. Only by some such system can the existing Metropolitan Asylums Board be adequately replaced; the burdens of the poor-rate equalized; effective democratic control established over the welfare of our sick and poorer brethren; the County Council relieved of its burdensome care of lunatic asylums; and London's myriad charities, now often hidden, stolen, jobbed and misapplied, rescued, and the public property of the poor made as secure as the private possessions of the rich.

Notwithstanding social obloquy and rigorous treatment, the number of persons driven to seek Poor Law relief is enormous.

LONDON PAUPERS, 1ST JANUARY, 1888.

| | | IN-DOOR PAUPERS. | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------|---|---------------------------------------|----------|--------------------|---------------------|----------|--------------------|---------|----------|--------------------|--|--------|
| Unions. | Estimated Population in middle of 1887. | ABLE-BODIED AND THEIR CHILDREN. | | | NOT ABLE-BODIED. | | | INSANE. | | | Vagrants relieved in the Workhouse. | Total. |
| | | Adults. | | Children under 16. | Males. | Females. | Children under 16. | Males. | Females. | Children under 16. | | |
| | | Males. | Females. | | | | | | | | | |
| | | Males. | Females. | | | | | | | | | |
| M'sex | 22 | 3,401 | 2,393 | 2,616 | 11,532 | 10,636 | 7,323 | 1,793 | 2,274 | 401 | 796 | 43,165 |
| Surrey | 5 | 508 | 498 | 374 | 3,327 | 2,986 | 4,003 | 502 | 628 | 147 | 128 | 13,101 |
| Kent | 3 | 274 | 239 | 50 | 1,154 | 906 | 1,609 | 107 | 131 | 42 | 53 | 4,565 |
| | 4,215,192 | 4,183 | 3,130 | 3,040 | 16,013 | 14,528 | 12,935 | 2,402 | 3,033 | 590 | 977 | 60,831 |

| OUT-DOOR PAUPERS. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Net Total of Persons relieved. |
|--|-------------------------------|---------------|--------------------|---------------------|----------|--------------------|---------|----------|--------------------|--|--------|------------------------|---------|--------------------------------|
| ABLE-BODIED AND THEIR CHILDREN. | | | | Not ABLE-BODIED. | | | INSANE. | | | Vagrants relieved out of the Workhouse. | Total. | Deduct for duplicates. | | |
| Adult Males. | | Adult Females | Children under 16. | Males. | Females. | Children under 16. | Males. | Females. | Children under 16. | | | | | |
| Relieved on ac- count of their own sickness, Accident, or In- firmity. | Relieved for other causes. | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 594 | 816 | 3,336 | 8,960 | 2,097 | 8,700 | 1,155 | 2,640 | 3,990 | 16 | 64 | 32,368 | 4 | 75,529 | |
| 313 | 364 | 1,871 | 4,784 | 1,032 | 4,076 | 411 | 1,006 | 1,383 | 5 | .. | 15,245 | .. | 28,346 | |
| 129 | 656 | 1,165 | 3,160 | 534 | 2,126 | 342 | 224 | 363 | .. | .. | 8,699 | .. | 13,204 | |
| 1,036 | 1,836 | 6,372 | 16,904 | 3,663 | 14,902 | 1,908 | 3,870 | 5,736 | 21 | 64 | 56,312 | 4 | 117,139 | |

(Report of Local Government Board, C—5526, pp. 192-202)

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 seeking relief in London during any one year of about 400,000 persons, or 1 in 11 of the total population: 1 in 9 of the wage-earning class.

LONDON'S HOSPITALS.

An energetic attempt is being made to induce the London wage-earners to become regular subscribers to the London hospitals. Opportunely enough, a memorandum on the whole of the metropolitan medical charities has just been published by the Charity Organization Society (15, Buckingham Street, Strand), which reveals some of the waste and confusion engendered by our competitive individualism even at the sick-bed.

London's sick are provided for by 11 great hospitals with medical schools; eight smaller general hospitals; 67 special hospitals (many of these unnecessary); 26 free dispensaries; 13 part paying dispensaries; 34 "provident dispensaries"; 27 workhouse infirmaries and sick asylums; 44 poor-law dispensaries; and eight public hospitals for infectious diseases. These

238 SEPARATE INSTITUTIONS

compete with one another for funds, for patients, for doctors, for nurses, and for students. They are distributed geographically over London without the least regard to local necessities; and hardly in any single case is there any co-operation among them. New in-

stitutions are constantly being started, often under very doubtful auspices; and many already existing are obviously maintained mainly as a means of livelihood for the staff. The number of officials employed is returned as 4,359.

The 238 "medical charities" are computed to enjoy an annual income of about

£1,196,471,

of which some £485,502 comes from rates, at least £50,000 from property (endowments), at least £100,000 from legacies, about £50,000 from the "Hospital Sunday Fund" and "Hospital Saturday Fund," probably £50,000 from patients' payments, and some £300,000 from subscriptions, donations, the proceeds of bazaars, concerts, "fairs," "fêtes," and all the thousand and one devices invented by officers at their wits' end for funds to maintain the 17,830 occupied beds (5,729 remained empty last year from lack of money), the 122,047 in-patients (one in 40 of the population) and the 1,576,905 out-patients of the year. The total expenditure is estimated at £1,207,749, or about 9d. in the pound on London's rateable value (more than a third being already defrayed by rates). Few persons realize that we are rapidly municipalizing our hospitals.

"It is worthy of remark that during the last 20 years about 12,000 hospital beds have been provided by the Poor Law authorities for the sick poor of the metropolis, a number far larger than that of the total of all metropolitan hospitals put together." (Report of Poor Law Inspector, p. 52 of Local Government Board Report, 1887-8, C—5526). These include 9,639 "occupied beds" in the Poor Law Infirmaries and Sick Asylums, and 1,820 in the hospitals for infectious disease. The total in the "voluntary hospitals" is only 6,415. Nor are these mainly or exclusively for paupers. By an order dated 7th July, 1887, admission is granted to *any* person affected with fever or small-pox whose removal is advised by any duly qualified practitioner (pp. li. and 9 *ibid*). Under this order the magnificent public hospitals of the Metropolitan Asylums Board are, in times of epidemic, steadily becoming more and more generally used by Londoners. By Sec. 7 of the Diseases Prevention (Metropolis) Act, 1883, this is not deemed "parochial relief." The Metropolitan Asylums Board (see p. 17) accordingly spent, in 1887, £303,640 (p. 262 of C—5526).

One in 12 of London's population will die in one of these institutions: this is the annual proportion of deaths in hospital to the total deaths (see page 7). Probably four out of five of London's adult population use one or more of these so-called "medical charities" during their lives. Yet, except in the workhouse infirmaries and the hospitals of the Metropolitan Asylums Board, the public have at present absolutely no control over the establishment, the property, the expenditure, the management, or the extinction of any of these institutions. Only three of them render their accounts to any public authority. No public superintendence controls their jobbery: no public audit checks their waste. There is absolutely no general supervision, or even inspection, of these essentially public institutions.

Their property, amounting to at least £2,000,000 of investments and perhaps as much more in buildings and plant, is, except in a few instances, at the mercy of the governing body and trustees for the time being. Their income is expended by boards of directors or governors, usually "co-opted," or self-appointed, though nominally elected by the subscribers. Most of the management really rests with the medical staff and the paid officials.

What is needed is:—

Creation of either a Hospitals Committee of the County Council or a separately elected Hospitals Board, charged with the supervision, inspection, and audit of all London medical charities.

Systematic co-operation among existing institutions.

Amalgamation of competing and unnecessary institutions, and geographical redistribution where necessary.

Provision of all new hospitals by the public authorities, instead of as private speculations.

A "grant in aid" from the rates, wherever necessary, accompanied by public control. Ultimately, we must insist on the full acceptance of the principle of London itself collectively undertaking the charge of London's sick.

Meantime a Royal Commission to enquire into the whole hospital system would be the best means of setting reform on foot; and the London County Council should insist on the Government appointing one, and take care that it consists of members of democratic sympathies, able to get at the truth and not afraid to put an end to the barbaric individualism of the existing chaos.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF LONDON.

AFTER nearly twenty years of hard work done by the School Board, London is at present fairly provided with elementary schools.

| | |
|---|---------|
| Total number of Elementary Schools, Voluntary and Board (1888) | 1,040 |
| Average number of children on the rolls... | 645,544 |
| " attendance in March 1889 (showing an increase of 17,413 over the average attendance of Mar. 1888) | 508,340 |

These figures include children between the ages of 3 and 13, belonging to the "Elementary School Class."

BOARD SCHOOLS ONLY.

| | | | | | | |
|--|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|---------|
| Number of Schools | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 395 |
| Average number of children between 3 & 13 on the rolls, 1889 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 434,895 |
| " attendance | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 342,421 |
| Number of places provided | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 415,029 |

TEACHING STAFF.

| | | |
|--------------------------------------|------|------|
| Number of Certificated Teachers: Men | 2319 | |
| " " Women | 4579 | |
| | | 6898 |
| Unclassed ex-Pupil Teachers | ... | 551 |
| Pupil Teachers | ... | 1691 |

9,140

Cost of Teaching Staff in 1889 ... £819,098 10s. 0d.
(Report of School Management Committee, 1888.)

It will be seen that the number of places provided exceeds the average attendance by 72,608; but, on the other hand, accommodation has to be found for 461 children below the age of three, and 18,539 above the age of thirteen (19,000 in all), not included in the table. Even when ample accommodation has been provided, new schools must continue to be built. The annual increase of population is estimated at about 60,000, for one-sixth of whom school places must be found. One new school a month will hardly suffice.

It should be added that the estimate of places provided includes a number—estimated in 1882 at 50,000—"which are reckoned as available, but which, owing to various causes, are of no practical use. Among these causes are the following: School places in districts where there is an excess of School accommodation; unused places in Roman Catholic, Jewish, or foreign Schools; unused places in Schools where the fees are too high for the generality of parents, etc." The number of children scheduled in the spring of 1888 as belonging to the Elementary School class was 763,680. Of these, 166,295 were between the ages of three and five. The estimated accommodation needed was 610,944. (Report of Statistical Committee, 1889.)

A comparison of the two tables shews that the Voluntary Schools have 210,649 children on the rolls, with an average attendance of 165,919. The number of places provided in Voluntary Schools for the year ending March 1889 is not yet calculated ; but the following figures for 1888 shew the proportions then obtaining.

| | |
|--|---------|
| Average number on rolls | 628,801 |
| Average attendance | 490,927 |
| Average number on Board School rolls | 420,914 |
| Average attendance at Board Schools | 328,405 |
| Average number on Voluntary School rolls | 207,887 |
| Average attendance at Voluntary Schools | 162,522 |
| Number of places provided in Board Schools | 407,636 |
| " " " " Voluntary Schools | 262,022 |
| Total number of places provided | 669,658 |

The expenditure on the Board Schools in 1888 was as follows :

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|-------------------|-----------|----------|
| Salaries of Teachers | 804,983 | 8 | 4 |
| Books, apparatus and stationery | 38,866 | 11 | 0 |
| Furniture | 15,378 | 1 | 1 |
| Wages of school-keepers and cleaners | 44,124 | 0 | 5 |
| Rates and rents | 64,515 | 0 | 7 |
| Fuel and Light | 21,302 | 5 | 3 |
| Repairs | 30,512 | 1 | 1 |
| Pupil Teachers' Schools | 11,138 | 5 | 4 |
| Sundries | 21,083 | 4 | 3 |
| | <u>£1,051,902</u> | <u>17</u> | <u>4</u> |

To meet this expenditure there was a total income from the Schools
of £443,485 14s. 8d., made up as follows : £ s. d.

| | ₹ | s. | d. |
|--|-----------------|-----------|----------|
| Government Grant | 316,198 | 7 | 4 |
| School Fees | 121,110 | 1 | 1 |
| Sundries (Science and Art Grants, etc.) | 6,177 | 6 | 3 |
| | <u>₹443,485</u> | <u>14</u> | <u>8</u> |

(Account of Income and Expenditure, London School Board.)

Each child therefore averaged 19/7 per grants, and 7/5 per school fees, contributing £1 7s. 0d. towards the total cost of its education, £3 4s. 1d., leaving a deficit of £1 17s. 1d. to be borne by the local rates.

The nation thus, by imperial or local taxation, pays £2 16s. 8d. out of the £3 4s. 1d. spent on each child's yearly education.

In collecting the odd 7/5 the head teachers each spend from six to ten hours a week at clerical work; managers attend at each school once a week and with the head teachers spend from one to two hours in remitting fees; out of 341,425 children, 110,759 obtained remission in 1888-89; parents are put to an incalculable amount of trouble and annoyance; and an army of 268 visitors is employed to enforce attendance, whose services might be largely dispensed with were it not for the payment of fees. (The number of children obtaining remission is taken from the report of the Committee on Free Meals, July, 1889, and is derived from the school registers.)

In addition to the abolition of School Fees the following changes are imperatively needed:

PROVISION OF FREE MEALS.

The London School Board last winter appointed a Committee to enquire into the existing agencies for the provision of free or cheap meals to necessitous children. The figures obtained by them as regards Board Schools are as follows (only 3 per cent. of the Voluntary Schools have answered enquiries):—43,843 children attending school are in want of food. In the year ending March 1889, 7,943 children received free breakfasts; 745 paid $\frac{1}{2}$ d. and 151 paid $\frac{1}{4}$ d.; 26,585 children received free dinners; 4,435 paid 1d.; and 8,567 paid $\frac{1}{2}$ d. Despite this, it is estimated that **24,739 children "do not obtain enough food."** These statistics, the best that the School Board could obtain, are based on estimates framed for each school, and are not absolutely correct. But they probably much understate the need for additional sustenance among the poorer children.

IMPROVEMENT OF EVENING SCHOOLS SYSTEM.

Evening Classes are held in the Board Schools during the winter months. To these, 16,320 pupils were admitted in the 1887-88 session. The weekly average number on the rolls was 9,077, with an average attendance of 5,805. The chief reform needed is the re-arrangement of the subjects taught, so as to attract those who desire to continue their education: at present the pupils are presented for examination in Standards III. to VII.; and all subjects outside those taught in these Standards are "additional." Shorthand, drawing, and French at least should form part of the regular curriculum. The Recreative Classes, carried on by the Recreative Evening Schools Associations, and the Advanced Classes held for the South Ken-

sington, and the City and Guilds of London Technical Institute Examinations, should be largely extended, and brought under Board control. Only 1,765 pupils were in average attendance at these classes in the 1887-88 session, 967 being presented for examination. About 80,000 children leave the London Elementary Schools every year; less than 10,000 of these attend at the Board's Evening Classes to continue the very imperfect education they have received.

GRADING OF SCHOOLS.

A serious difficulty in the way of the more intelligent children is the small number of scholars in the 7th and ex-7th Standard, and the little attention that can be bestowed on them. There are only 7,348 of these children in the School Boards; and it is highly desirable that these should be drafted into schools at which special attention should be paid to them. The Board has the matter now under consideration; and schools in each division are to be marked for this work. What is sorely needed is the opening of Secondary Schools in which education could be continued, open without charge to all who have passed through the Elementary. The state of Secondary, Technical and Evening Education in the Metropolis is a weltering chaos of uncoordinated individualism, as to which even statistics are unattainable.

PUBLIC TRAINING COLLEGES.

All the existing Training Colleges are denominational, entrance being barred by dogmatic tests. There is great need of the establishment of an unsectarian Training College for London, under public management, so as to bring the training of the teachers into line with the teaching in the schools, and increase the supply of properly trained instructors.

THE HOUSING OF THE PEOPLE.

Few persons realize the extent of the need for the better housing of London's poor. Of the 1,000,000 Londoners estimated by Mr. Booth to be in poverty (see p. 5), practically none are housed as well as a prudent man provides for his horse. These 200,000 families, earning not more than a guinea a week (see p. 5), and that often irregularly, pay from 3s. to 7s. per week for filthy slum tenements of which a large proportion are absolutely "unfit for habitation," even according to the lax standards of existing sanitary officers.* London needs the rebuilding of at least 400,000 rooms to house its poorest citizens, at the minimum of two decent rooms per family, not to speak of the ideal of

THREE ROOMS AND A SCULLERY,

which should be our ultimate goal.

How much has been done towards this work? Not a single Vestry

* See "The Housing of the Working Classes," by J. Theodore Dodd. (National Press Agency; 1d.)

ever exercised its powers of building dwellings. The only public body in London which has followed Liverpool, Glasgow, and other provincial towns in this matter is the City Corporation, which has built blocks in Farringdon Road and Petticoat Lane (Middlesex Street). The blocks in Farringdon Road were built with the special object of accommodating the persons connected with the City's markets. £1,716 was received as rent in 1886-7 (House of Commons Return, No. 423 of 1888, p. 38), representing the payment for about 150 rooms. The other experiment is of greater importance. The Commissioners of Sewers of the City of London cleared about one acre in Golden Lane and about two acres in Petticoat Lane, under the Artisans' Dwellings Acts. The Golden Lane site was agreed to be sold to the Regent's Canal City and Docks Railway Company. On the Petticoat Lane site the Commissioners have themselves erected dwellings. In April, 1888, 240 tenements had been let and 923 persons were in occupation. (House of Lords Return, 1888, 275). The rents received in 1886 were £3,072 (House of Commons Return No. 423, p. 14). No other public authority in London has yet erected any dwellings. The Trustees of the magnificent donation (£500,000, in 1862, 1866, 1869 and 1872) of the late George Peabody have done something towards the housing of the more regularly employed London workers. At the end of 1887 the Trustees had provided 5,014 separate dwellings; 74 of four rooms, 1,782 of three rooms, 2,351 of two rooms, and 807 of one room. The average rent charged is about 4s. 9d. per dwelling, or 2s. 2d. per room, including free use of conveniences of all kinds. The net income of the fund in 1887 was £24,902, and the fund itself at the end of that year amounted to £935,570 (see Report for 1887, in *Times*, 28th February, 1888), besides about £300,000 borrowed from the Government.

The County Council has now hesitatingly resolved to build at Hughes Fields, Deptford. But there is as yet no sign of resolute endeavor on the part of any local authority adequately to cope with the great problem. Scarcely yet is it admitted that London has any concern in the matter.

Over £1,500,000 was, however, spent by the late Metropolitan Board of Works in compensating the owners of property in 22 areas, comprising nearly 59 acres, condemned as unfit for habitation under the "Torrens Acts" and "Lord Cross's Acts" (Report of Metropolitan Board of Works for 1888, p. 47). Instead of the re-housing of the displaced poor by some public authority, we have had these cleared areas let at rents much below the market value to philanthropic and other capitalists, who have erected 344 blocks of dwellings, accommodating 38,231 persons, *ibid*, p. 48). To get this small number re-housed by private enterprise has, therefore, cost the people of London a subsidy of over £39 for each person, leaving still the whole property of the land and buildings in private hands.

The private capitalists thus subsidized comprise 11 Joint Stock Companies, in addition to individual speculators. Some of the statistics of the companies are given below :—

| Company. (Mortgages assumed to be at 4 per cent.) | Capital. £ | Per Cent. Paid. | Net Income to Owners. £ |
|---|---------------|--------------------|-------------------------------|
| Artisans, Laborers and General Dwellings Company ... | 962,050 | 5 | 48,102 |
| Improved Industrial Dwellings Comp'y. | 432,720 | 4½ | 19,472 |
| National Model Dwellings Company | 550,000 | 5 | 27,500 |
| | 104,733 | 4 | 4,189 |
| | 106,363 | 5 | 5,318 |
| Metropolitan Association for Improving the Dwellings of the Industrious Classes ... | 192,200 | 5 | 9,610 |
| | 69,053 | 4 | 2,762 |
| National Dwellings Society ... | 45,750 | 4 | 1,830 |
| | 150,000 | 2 | 3,000 |
| Soho, Clerkenwell and General Industrial Dwellings Company ... | 35,000 | 7 | 2,450 |
| East End Dwellings Company... | 55,500 | 4 | 2,220 |
| Four Cent. Industrial Dwellings Co. ... | 51,640 | 4 | 2,065 |
| | 32,000 | 4 | 1,280 |
| | 8,000 | 3½ | 280 |
| Metropolitan Industrial Dwellings Co. | 35,220 | 5 | 1,761 |
| | 48,300 | 4 | 1,932 |
| National Conservative Industrial Dwellings Association ... | 13,600 | — | — |
| | 16,175 | 4 | 647 |
| South London Dwellings Company ... | 31,300 | 4 | 1,252 |
| Total ... | £2,939,604 | 4½ | 135,670 |

(From "Stock Exchange Year Book," 1889.)

The cost of the dwellings thus erected has accordingly been nearly £3,000,000, on which on an average 4½ per cent. interest (besides occasional "bonuses" and the Income Tax on dividends) is regularly paid. The interest payable by the County Council on such a loan would have been about one-third less.

Provincial towns have long since done what London has feared to attempt. In Liverpool the Corporation has cleared upwards of four acres, and itself erected five blocks of dwellings containing 322 tenements and housing 1,300 persons, at a cost for land and buildings of £130,816. 5,230 square yards still remain unbuilt. (House of Lords Return, 1888, 275.)

In Greenock an area of about 3½ acres was cleared, under the Artisans' and Laborers' Dwellings Improvements (Scotland) Act, 1875) in the years 1879-81. Owing to general depression of the value of property in Greenock it was found impossible to sell the land thus cleared, and the Local Authority itself erected 197 tenements, with the best sanitary arrangements, accommodating 890 persons. (House of Lords Return, 1888, 275.—3½d.)

Glasgow obtained a private Act in 1866, under which the Glasgow Improvement Trust was created. About 80 acres were bought at a cost of £1,600,000. A great part of the property so acquired was cleared, and about 30,000 persons displaced, who were, it is supposed, provided for by a rapid increase of speculative building in the outskirts of the city. The land so cleared was disposed of partly by selling it to a railway company and to builders who erected on it shops, warehouses and middle-class dwellings, and partly by the con-

struction of new streets and a public park. At the same time one block of tenement houses was erected at a cost of £3,426. So far the Glasgow improvements correspond very closely with those of other towns. But between the years 1870 and 1879 the Glasgow Trust tried a very interesting and successful experiment by building and opening, under their own management, seven common lodging-houses (six for men and one for women). From May, 1887, to May, 1888, 637,581 beds were let to men, and 33,986 to women, at 4½d., 3½d., and (in the women's lodging-house) 3d. per night. The net revenue from all seven was £3,999, representing 4½ per cent. on their cost.* These houses are most admirably managed. The beds are clean, and in each house there is a comfortable recreation room in which lectures are delivered, and music is produced by a "harmoniumist" whose salary appears regularly among the expenses. The inmates have ample opportunity for cooking their food and drying their clothes, while cheese, candles, sugar, tea, etc., are sold to them by the Corporation at wholesale prices.

Instead of well-organized municipal lodging-houses, London's poor have access to 25 "casual wards," accommodating 1,139 men and 466 women and children, the average number of occupants nightly being 567 men and 171 women and children. About 4 per cent. of these are identified as habitual visitors, and detained four days as punishment (Local Government Board Report, C—5526, pp. 236-241). Those not destitute of twopence resort to London's 995 "common lodging-houses," accommodating 32,172 inmates, which are registered and inspected by the police, who, in 1888, summoned twelve proprietors for breaches of the regulations (C—5761, p. 6). These "doss-houses" furnish a miserable "home" to thousands of London's citizens. The example of Glasgow shows how municipal organisation could, without cost, immensely raise their "standard of comfort."

Up to now the total efforts of a generation of private and philanthropic work, aided by the immense virtual subsidy from the Metropolitan Board of Works and the magnificent Peabody Fund, have resulted in providing not more than forty or fifty thousand rooms, out of the 400,000 required (see p. 5). In the meantime the overcrowding in the central districts has become positively intensified. The Royal Commissioners of 1885 say in their Report:—"The first witness who was examined, Lord Shaftesbury, 'expressed the opinion more than once, as the result of nearly 'sixty years' experience, that however great the improvement of 'the condition of the poor in London has been in other respects, the '*overcrowding has become more serious than it ever was.*' This 'opinion was corroborated by witnesses who spoke from their own 'knowledge of its increase in various parts of the town.'"

The re-housing of London's poor can only be adequately dealt with by London's collective power. For every penny in the pound

* Statement of the Trustees under the Glasgow Improvements Act, 1866, for the year 1887-88.

levied on the rentals of London's landlords, as many improved dwellings could be built (by raising loans on the rate) as the whole eleven Joint Stock Companies have provided since they began in 1845.

LONDON'S WATER TRIBUTE.

LONDON is at present supplied with water from the works of eight companies of private shareholders, who profess to have expended a total capital of over £14,000,000 upon them. This amount is, however, largely swollen by the former reckless competition between rival companies, by legal and parliamentary charges, and by the wasteful extravagance engendered by abundant wealth. It is probable that duplicates of the existing works, mains and other plant could be constructed for a much smaller sum—say ten millions sterling, which could be raised on the credit of the County Council at about 3 per cent.

AMOUNT AND VALUE OF SHARE CAPITAL.

| Name of Company. | Amount of Share Capital in | | Increase per Cent. | Estimated Value of Share Capital on or about | | Increase per Cent. |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|--|----------------|--------------------|
| | 1872 March or June. | 1883 Sept. or Dec. | | Dec. 31, 1871. | Dec. 31, 1883. | |
| | £ | £ | | £ | £ | |
| Chelsea | 658,692 | 1,000,600 | 51·9 | 797,633 | 1,672,475 | 109·7 |
| East London .. | 1,625,560 | 1,695,260 | 4·3 | 1,970,991 | 3,212,518 | 63·0 |
| Grand Junction.. | 797,390 | 1,070,000 | 34·2 | 1,284,602 | 2,128,300 | 65·7 |
| Kent | 516,460 | 688,907 | 33·4 | 627,390 | 1,665,488 | 165·5 |
| Lambeth.. .. | 755,817 | 1,325,047 | 75·3 | 867,452 | 2,463,616 | 184·0 |
| New River .. | 1,670,428 | 2,019,958 | 21·0 | 3,905,882 | 8,474,000 | 117·0 |
| Southwark and Vauxhall } | 1,082,500 | 1,390,000 | 28·4 | 1,172,515 | 2,350,509 | 100·5 |
| West Middlesex | 848,731 | 1,154,541 | 36·0 | 1,704,365 | 2,828,625 | 66·0 |
| Total | £ 7,955,578 | 10,344,313 | 30·0 | 12,330,830 | 24,795,531 | 101·1 |

AMOUNT AND VALUE OF LOAN CAPITAL.

| Name of Company. | Amount of Loan Capital in | | Increase or Decrease per Cent. | Estimated Value of Loan Capital on or about | | Increase or Decrease per Cent. |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|---|----------------|--------------------------------|
| | 1872 March or June. | 1883 Sept. or Dec. | | Dec. 31, 1871. | Dec. 31, 1883. | |
| | £ | £ | | £ | £ | |
| Chelsea | 170,000 | 150,100 | -11·7 | 170,000 | 183,122 | +7·7 |
| East London .. | 199,600 | 394,440 | +97·6 | 102,000 | 481,217 | +371·8 |
| Grand Junction.. | 208,700 | 265,000 | +27·0 | 210,700 | 291,300 | +38·3 |
| Kent | 42,000 | 42,000 | .. | 42,000 | 42,000 | .. |
| Lambeth | 229,650 | 158,925 | -30·8 | 230,950 | 136,875 | -40·7 |
| New River .. | 1,032,453 | 1,271,571 | +23·2 | 975,347 | 1,406,013 | +44·2 |
| Southwark and Vauxhall } | 372,890 | 432,000 | +15·9 | 383,269 | 510,425 | +33·2 |
| West Middlesex | 30,000 | .. | .. | 30,000 | .. | .. |
| Total | £ 2,285,293 | 2,714,036 | +18·8 | 2,144,266 | 3,050,952 | +42·3 |

(From House of Commons Return No. 136 of 1885.)

Since these dates a further increase has taken place. By H. C. No. 178, May 1889, the total share capital had grown to £10,805,383, worth, at market prices of 31 Dec. 1887, £26,131,750; and the total loan capital to £3,160,475, estimated as worth £3,803,250, giving a total saleable value of £29,935,000.

Even on the inflated outlay, a splendid dividend is paid. The companies make an annual profit of more than a million sterling, equal to over $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the whole, notwithstanding lavish pay and pension to all the superior employes, and handsome fees to directors. The ordinary shareholders often get as much as $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., as, for instance, in the case of the New River Company for the last five years.*

RATES PER CENT. OF DIVIDENDS.

(Corrected from "Stock Exchange Year Book, 1889.")

| Name of Company. | Rate per cent. of Dividend in first half-year of 1872. | | | Rate per cent. of Dividend in last half-year of 1888. | | |
|--------------------------------|--|----|----|---|----|----|
| | £ | s. | d. | £ | s. | d. |
| Chelsea | 6 | 0 | 0 | 9 | 0 | 0 |
| East London | 6 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 0 | 0 |
| Grand Junction | 8 | 0 | 0 | 9 | 0 | 0 |
| Kent | 6 | 2 | 0 | 10 | 10 | 0 |
| Lambeth | 6 | 0 | 0 | 9 | 0 | 0 |
| New River | 7 | 8 | 9 | 12 | 2 | 6 |
| Southwark and Vauxhall | 5 | 10 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| West Middlesex | 9 | 16 | 7 | 10 | 0 | 0 |

DIVIDENDS AND SHARE CAPITAL TAKEN UP BY SHAREHOLDERS AT PAR.

(Forming, as the Stock was saleable at a high premium, a large bonus in addition to the dividends.)

| Name of Company. | Amount of Dividends. | Amount of Capital paid up during the Period 1872-83, taken up by Shareholders at Par. | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------|--|----------|
| | | Share. | Loan. |
| | £ | £ | £ |
| Chelsea | 618,080 | 341,908 | 53,900 |
| East London | 1,256,218 | .. | 150,400 |
| Grand Junction | 793,621 | 213,600 | 36,700 |
| Kent | 860,217 | 174,712 | .. |
| Lambeth | 810,861 | 557,840 | 207,830 |
| New River | 2,356,719 | 366,940 | 225,212 |
| Southwark and Vauxhall | 852,804 | 251,898 | 41,075 |
| West Middlesex | 1,211,013 | 295,535 | .. |
| Total | £8,501,486 | £2,202,433 | £715,117 |

*The shareholders of the New River Company possess, moreover, anomalous electoral privileges. The owner of ever so small a fractional part (provided that it produces £2 a year) of one of the original shares possesses a vote as a freeholder in every county constituency in which the Company owns property, or through which its pipes pass. These shares also escape Probate Duty, and pay only Succession in place of Legacy Duty. One of the original "Adventurer's Shares" was sold by auction in 1889 for £122,800. The original capital contributed on this share was probably about £100.

Between 1883 and 1887 a further sum of £518,627 was allotted to the shareholders in this way (H. C., 178 of 1889.)

These excellent dividends are earned owing to the extraordinary legal rights possessed by the companies, under their private Acts of Parliament, to levy a water-rate in proportion to the rental, without reference to the amount of water supplied. As London houses increase in number or size (about two per cent. per annum) and those already built rise in value (about one per cent. per annum), so the water revenue goes up. It rose 58 per cent. (more than half as much again) between 1872 and 1883, though the number of houses only rose 32 per cent. and the quantity of water delivered per house was nearly always less than in 1872. *There is no limit to the possible tribute thus leviable upon London*, in return for the supply of an article of prime necessity to its inhabitants. The actual figures are given below. (House of Commons Return No. 136 of 1885.)

TABLES SHOWING POSITION OF LONDON WATER COMPANIES—

1872-1883.

From the Return presented to Parliament, H. C. No. 136, 1885.

NUMBER OF HOUSES AND WATER RENTALS.

| Name of Company. | Number of Houses or other Buildings supplied in | | Increase per cent. | Water Rentals from Houses or other Buildings in | | Increase per cent. |
|---------------------------|---|---------|-----------------------|---|-----------|-----------------------|
| | 1872. | 1883. | | 1872. | 1883. | |
| Chelsea | 27,949 | 32,430 | 16·0 | £ 70,963 | £ 103,704 | 46·1 |
| East London | 104,637 | 141,738 | 35·5 | 152,655 | 238,939 | 56·5 |
| Grand Junction | 33,500 | 46,517 | 38·9 | 92,168 | 150,015 | 62·8 |
| Kent | 39,425 | 58,784 | 49·1 | 47,594 | 79,927 | 67·9 |
| Lambeth | 48,558 | 75,623 | 55·7 | 89,551 | 167,455 | 87·0 |
| New River | 120,662 | 140,353 | 16·3 | 274,386 | 412,090 | 50·2 |
| Southwark and Vauxhall .. | 79,075 | 100,854 | 27·5 | 103,215 | 179,528 | 73·9 |
| West Middlesex | 43,930 | 62,950 | 43·3 | 117,745 | 173,399 | 47·3 |
| Total | 497,736 | 659,249 | 32·4 | 948,277 | 1,505,057 | 58·7 |

AVERAGE DAILY SUPPLY OF WATER FOR DOMESTIC PURPOSES
TO EACH HOUSE.

| Name of Company. | Number of Gallons. | | Increase or Decrease in Gallons. |
|---------------------------|--------------------|----------|--|
| | In 1872. | In 1883. | |
| Chelsea | 252 | 246 | — 6 |
| East London | 160 | 205 | + 45 |
| Grand Junction | 279 | 238 | — 41 |
| Kent | 135 | 134 | — 1 |
| Lambeth | 185 | 173 | — 12 |
| New River | 166 | 167 | + 1 |
| Southwark and Vauxhall .. | 171 | 168 | — 3 |
| West Middlesex | 178 | 161 | — 17 |

In 1887 the number of houses supplied had grown to 729,162, and the water rentals to £1,621,678 (H. C., 178 of 1889), so that, whilst the number of houses supplied had in 15 years risen 46 per cent., the rental received had risen 71 per cent. The average payment per house rose from £1 18s. 0d. to £2 4s. 5d., whilst the quantity of water supplied to each house has, on the whole, positively decreased.

The result is shown in the growing profits of the Companies.

PARTICULARS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31ST DECEMBER, 1887.

(Return No. 418 of House of Commons.)

| Name of Company. | Capital Expenditure. £ | Total Receipts. £ | Total Expenditure. £ | Surplus on water supply £ |
|------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| New River..... | 3,493,216 | 457,690 | 169,566 | 288,124 |
| East London | 2,319,317 | 251,159 | 105,960 | 145,199 |
| Southwark and Vauxhall | 2,009,259 | 191,986 | 84,275 | 107,711 |
| Lambeth..... | 1,649,936 | 200,919 | 70,602 | 130,317 |
| Grand Junction..... | 1,470,866 | 173,145 | 63,598 | 109,547 |
| West Middlesex | 1,245,694 | 209,521 | 78,122 | 131,399 |
| Chelsea | 1,190,361 | 123,265 | 39,815 | 83,450 |
| Kent | 761,785 | 118,591 | 37,012 | 81,579 |
| Total..... | 14,140,434 | 1,726,276 | 648,950 | 1,077,326 |

The water supplied is, moreover, often of doubtful quality. Five companies derive it wholly or partially from the River Thames; the two largest mainly from the River Lea; and only one (Kent) from deep wells. As the population in these river valleys increases, and as the extensive use of manures on the land becomes more general, the sources of supply become steadily more polluted. London must, ere long, imitate Glasgow, Liverpool, and Manchester in seeking a supply of water from some lonely lake. We want an aqueduct from the Welsh hills, to lay on a constant supply of pure soft water. But the existing "water lords" will not willingly see their polluted supply made obsolete.*

The necessity for their supersession by a public authority is admitted; and as long ago as 1879 the Conservative Government decided upon this course. The price proposed to be paid (£33,118,000) was, however, so outrageous that the Government was obliged, by the public outcry, to abandon the scheme. After ten more years' extortion, the companies would now, no doubt, demand even heavier terms than in 1879.

The water companies possess, however, no legal monopoly. In the past, indeed, active rivalry frequently existed between them; and even now two companies, in several instances, supply the same area. It is quite open to the County Council to obtain Parliamentary powers to construct a competing supply; and the defunct

* "Farnham, Guildford and Woking still deliver untreated sewage into feeders of the river Thames. Staines continues to pollute the main stream. . . . Instances of pollution of the river Lea are not wanting" (p. 137, Local Government Report, 1887-8, C—5,526).

Metropolitan Board of Works had fully decided to take this step. The London County Council should promptly seek power to construct a new supply, and, at the same time, to arrange to take over the existing service at a fair price. There being no legal monopoly, the shareholders can have no "vested interest" in the present excessive dividends. It is accordingly quite unnecessary to offer them anything more than the actual value of their mains and other street plant. Even if they were reimbursed their whole extravagant outlay (£14,140,434), the interest payable by the County Council on a loan of this amount would not exceed £425,000, or £650,000 less than is now paid to the share and bondholders, irrespective of the saving likely to accrue from unification of management. This amount is equal to sixpence in the pound of London's rates, and would amply suffice to provide any improved service required, as well as afford a useful surplus towards the cost of London government. The metropolis should no longer lag behind nearly every important provincial town, in permitting its water supply to remain in private hands.

With a municipal water supply, the present survivals of the evil cistern arrangement must disappear, and a "constant supply" be made universal. The present statistics on this point are as follows :

NUMBER OF HOUSES SUPPLIED, AND PROPORTION OF THEM, WITH
"CONSTANT SUPPLY."

| NAME OF COMPANY. | Constant Supply. | | | Number of Houses. | | | Per- centage of Houses on Constant Supply on 31st Dec. 1887. | 1887. | |
|---------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|------------------------------------|---|---|-----------------------|
| | 1886. 31st Dec. | 1887. 31st Dec. | Increase during the Year. | 1886. 31st Dec. | 1887. 31st Dec. | Increase during the Year. | | Average Daily Total Supply for Domestic Purposes. | |
| | | | | | | | | Per House. Gallons. | Per Head. Gallons. |
| Chelsea .. | 5,160 | 5,961 | 801 | 34,251 | 34,435 | 184 | 17 | 233 | 29.56 |
| East London .. | 137,238 | 137,859 | 621 | 156,588 | 160,252 | 3,664 | 86 | 190 | 25.43 |
| Grand Junction: | 40,493 | 41,581 | 1,088 | 52,794 | 53,831 | 1,037 | 77 | 251 | 27.73 |
| Kent .. | 35,336 | 37,684 | 2,348 | 68,136 | 70,119 | 1,983 | 50 | 140 | 23.42 |
| Lambeth .. | 40,333 | 43,678 | 3,345 | 84,406 | 86,418 | 2,012 | 51 | 170 | 24.40 |
| New River .. | 42,458 | 51,668 | 9,210 | 148,054 | 149,457 | 1,403 | 35 | 161 | 21.51 |
| Southwark and Vauxhall | 25,180 | 33,389 | 8,209 | 107,191 | 108,741 | 1,550 | 31 | 176 | 23.73 |
| West Middlesex | 20,493 | 23,256 | 2,763 | 68,486 | 69,908 | 1,422 | 33 | 173 | 23.18 |
| Totals .. | 346,691 | 375,076 | 28,385 | 719,906 | 733,161 | 13,255 | 51 | 180 | 24.29 |

The existing "water-rate" (4 per cent. on the rateable value, and upwards) might continue to be levied as part of the County Council rate; but there is no reason why any special charge should be made for water, any more than for roads, drainage, police or other services of public utility. We can at least afford "Communism in water."

THE GAS OF LONDON.

LONDON'S gas supply has now fallen, by successive amalgamations, into the hands of three colossal companies (in 1855 there were 20), whose capital outlay, including past competitive waste and lawyers' bills, exceeds £13,650,000. On this amount they manage to obtain a handsome profit, the annual surplus being over

£1,500,000,

or over eleven per cent. So abundant, indeed, is the profit, that huge salaries and pensions are paid, and unnecessary renewals executed, merely to avoid returning a larger surplus. For, unlike the water companies, our gas proprietors are "limited" by Act of Parliament as to their dividends, according to a sliding scale (the largest company paid $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in 1887), and any excess is now partially devoted to a reduction in the price of gas. The largest company now charges $2\frac{1}{8}$ per 1,000 feet, as against 5/- in 1874. This boon we owe to that veteran reformer, Mr. James Beal.

Here again there is no legal monopoly; and the County Council can obtain Parliamentary powers to construct a competing supply, unless the companies consent to transfer their works on equitable terms. These works could undoubtedly now be constructed for much less than the total capital outlay of £13,654,237; but, assuming the whole of this amount to be reimbursed to the shareholders, the interest payable by the Council would only be £400,000 a year, as compared with over £1,500,000 now paid to the share and bond holders. The resulting profit of £1,100,000 annually would cover the whole net expenditure of the London School Board.

One hundred and sixty-eight different towns and villages in the United Kingdom already own their own gasworks, and supply gas without the intervention of any middleman, to 1,011,139 consumers, or nearly 47 per cent. of the whole. They make an aggregate net profit of £439,467 (after paying interest on the loans incurred); and this amount is devoted mainly to local improvements.*

Manchester, supplying gas at 2s. 8d. per one thousand feet, made £49,786 net profit in 1887, after paying £56,286 interest on gas loans. Why should not London do the same, and ensure, at the same time, the fair treatment of London's ten thousand gas stokers, recently driven into actual revolt against their overwork?

Particulars for the year ended 31 December, 1887 (Return No. 119 to the House of Commons. April, 1888. Price $3\frac{1}{2}$ d.).

| Name of Company. | Capital Outlay. | Total Receipts. | Total Expenditure. | Year's Surplus. |
|--------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| Gas Light and Coke..... | 10,236,325 | 3,194,776 | 2,022,086 | 1,172,690 |
| South Metropolitan | 2,611,851 | 858,669 | 583,151 | 275,518 |
| Commercial | 806,061 | 300,279 | 211,038 | 89,241 |
| Total | 13,654,237 | 4,353,724 | 2,816,275 | 1,587,449 |

*See Return No. 345 to House of Commons. August, 1888. Price $4\frac{1}{2}$ d.

THE TRAMWAYS OF LONDON.

THE 122 miles of tramways in London are in the hands of one large and ten smaller companies, whose aggregate capital, swollen, as usual, by legal and Parliamentary expenses, amounts, as stated in the table below, to

THREE AND A THIRD MILLIONS STERLING.

Their receipts exceed the working expenses by about £185,000 annually, or more than $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on their nominal capital, which goes to maintain the body of eight or ten thousand share and debenture holders who are at present permitted to derive a tribute from London's need of locomotive facilities. The shareholders of the largest company, owning one-third of the whole of the lines (North Metropolitan), get a dividend of between 9 and 10 per cent. per annum on their shares.

PARTICULARS FOR YEAR ENDED 30th JUNE, 1888.
House of Commons Return, No. 347 of 1888.

| Name of Company with date of first Act. | Length open. | Paid-up Capital. | Total Receipts. | Total Expenses. | Surplus. |
|---|--------------|------------------|--------------------|-----------------|----------|
| | Mls. Chs. | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| North Metropolitan (1869) .. | 40 24 | 1,201,225 | 345,881 | 252,223 | 93,658 |
| London (1869) | 19 50 | 610,000 | 266,502 | 209,911 | 56,591 |
| London Street (1870) .. | 11 79 | 357,000 | 109,943 | 94,129 | 15,814 |
| South London (1879) .. | 12 72 | 302,747 | 70,757 | 61,935 | 8,822 |
| West Metropolitan (1873) .. | 8 59 | 202,427 | 25,729 | 21,240 | 4,489 |
| North London (1879) .. | 9 73 | 178,525 | 15,436 | 12,947 | 2,489 |
| Southwark and Deptford (1879) | 4 72 | 162,389 | 23,518 | 20,626 | 2,892 |
| London Southern (1882) .. | 5 60 | 112,500 | 13,699 | 14,051 | 352 loss |
| Highgate Hill (1882) .. | — 57 | 60,407 | 3,499 | 4,075 | 576 loss |
| Harrow Rd. Paddington (1886) | 2 41 | | No return rendered | | |
| Woolwich and South East London (1880) | 4 77 | 69,239 | 12,858 | 10,900 | 1,958 |
| | 122 24 | 3,316,459 | 887,822 | 702,037 | 185,785 |

How this dividend is obtained is known to all men. The 4000 tramway drivers, conductors, horsekeepers and laborers, working London's 940 licensed tramcars (C—5,761, p. 9), are among the hardest worked, most cruelly treated, and worst paid of London's wage slaves. Sixteen hours' work for 4s. wage is no uncommon day's record; whilst Sundays or other holidays are known to them only as times of extra traffic. Nor is it possible to remedy this "white slavery" whilst the tramways remain in private hands. Mrs. Reaney and other well-known philanthropists have in vain used every mode of appeal to the consciences of the shareholders. The pulpit and the press equally fail to induce them to forego even a quarter per cent. of dividend in order to improve the condition of the servants by whose toil they live.

But why should London leave its most important lines of internal communication in private hands, to be used as a source of private tribute, wrung from the oppression of the workers? In thirty-one provincial municipalities and urban districts of Great Britain,

the local authority itself owns the local tramways (see House of Commons Return, No. 347, 1888). Most of these corporations lease out the lines to exploiting companies; but they can put what conditions they please in the leases; and if the tram servants of Liverpool, Glasgow or Birmingham are oppressed, the remedy is in the hands of the municipal electors. But one corporation, at any rate, does not shrink from the

DIRECT ORGANIZATION OF LABOR,

and gives no opportunity to the middleman. The Huddersfield Town Council obtained statutory power in 1882 (45 & 46 Vic. c. 236) to work its own tramways; and has done so with marked success.* The Liverpool Corporation obtained similar statutory power in 1889, but has not yet taken over its lines. The London County Council already owns and works a (free) steam-ferry at Woolwich, served by two steamboats lit by electricity. (Report of Metropolitan Board of Works, 1888.)

London will soon have an unparalleled opportunity in the matter. The tramway companies only received their concessions on condition that the local authority should have power to take over the whole concern at the expiration of 21 years from the time when the promoters were empowered to construct the line in each case, upon payment only of the actual value of the stock and plant (33 and 34 Vic. cap. 78, sec. 43). The first companies complete this period, as regards part of their lines, in 1891; and it is time that the Council began to consider the matter. Only a portion of the lines could be compulsorily taken over at a time, as the 21 years' period expires at different dates for different lengths of line. But the County Council, first imitating Huddersfield and Liverpool in obtaining statutory power to work its own lines, could easily negotiate with the companies.

Assuming that as much as £2,500,000 had eventually to be paid to acquire the whole lines, the interest on this addition to the Council's debt would only be some £75,000 a year, as compared with £185,000 now paid to the share and bond holders, irrespective of the saving caused by unification of management of the eleven competing undertakings. This difference of £110,000 represents nearly a penny in the pound on the London rates. Placed at the disposal of the County Council, it might mean a reduction of the hours of the labor of our "tram slaves" to a maximum of eight per day.

LONDON'S MARKETS.

For market accommodation the greatest city in the world has to depend on two unrepresentative and sectional public authorities, three philanthropists, and two private monopolists, feebly supplemented by a few insignificant so-called "street markets." The City Corporation provides and controls eight markets, through which

* So absurdly jealous was Parliament of this mild extension of municipal activity that a clause was inserted in the Act requiring the Town Council to lease out the lines if a contractor offered what the Board of Trade might deem a fair per centage on cost.

passes practically the whole meat and poultry supply, and nearly all the fish. The "Trustees of the Borough Market," appointed by the Vestry of St. Saviour, Southwark, obtain a large income from London's main potato market. The Baroness Burdett-Coutts and Mr. Samuel Plimsoll have provided markets at Bethnal Green and Walworth respectively. But the Duke of Bedford is still allowed to monopolize the market tolls on London's chief vegetable, fruit and flower market at Covent Garden (established 1661), whilst Sir Julian Goldsmid, M.P. (with the Scott family), is the "proprietor" of Spitalfields Market (established 1682). Both these proprietors enjoy legal power to prevent any other market being established within seven miles if it diminishes their profits; and both derive their "rights" from charters of King Charles II.

The London Riverside Fish Company (Limited) has an abortive attempt at a fish market at Shadwell; and the Great Northern Company Railway runs a potato "depôt" at King's Cross. The Whitechapel and Cumberland (Osnaburgh Street) Hay Markets are dwindling remnants; Oxford Market, on Lord Portman's estate, has almost disappeared; whilst Newport Market and Clare Market are little more than squalid historical relics.* For decent market accommodation we must go to Leeds or Bradford or to the Paris "Halles."

Nevertheless, nearly four millions sterling has probably been already expended in attempting to supply London with markets; and at least £275,000 is annually levied for market tolls, dues, rents, stallages, fees, &c., upon London's food supply. The cost of carrying on the markets is much less than half that amount; and the balance yields about four per cent. on the total capital outlay.

The Corporation of the City is the largest owner of London's market property, levying an annual market revenue of about £217,000, against an expenditure of some £95,000 and a payment of £96,000 for interest on market debt. The parish of St. Saviour, Southwark, absorbs a net annual income of over £7,000 from the Borough Market, which is virtually a subsidy levied on London's potato supply in aid of the local rates, and so of the local landlords.

Out of the total, moreover, the Duke of Bedford draws at least fifteen thousand pounds a year from Covent Garden; and Sir Julian Goldsmid, M.P., a clear five thousand pounds a year net rental from his monopoly of the right to hold a market in Spital Square.

These monopoly rights are derived, not from any express charter or enactment, but by an old inference of the common law. What Charles II. gave to the Duke of Bedford's ancestor and Sir Julian Goldsmid's predecessor was merely the permission to hold a market: it is the lawyers who have invented the doctrine that such a per-

*Many other "markets" in London have gradually disappeared. In the City there were Eastcheap, "Westcheap" (Cheapside), Bartholomew, Queenhithe, the "Stocks," the Fleet, Newgate, Honey Lane and others. In other parts of London, the "Haymarket," Mayfair, Hungerford, Mortimer, and the Bloomsbury Manorial Market are instances.

mission implies the prohibition of competing markets within about six miles and two-thirds (see the latest case, *Great Eastern Railway versus Horner*, in which the proposed Stratford Market was stopped by the owners and lessee of Spitalfields Market). Now, whatever our respect for "private property", no man can possess a vested interest in the continuance of a bad law; and no farthing of compensation must be paid for the extinction of this market monopoly.

PARTICULARS OF LONDON'S MARKETS.

(See evidence in *First Report of Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls*, Vol. II., c.—5550-1. Price 3s. 4d.)

| Market. | Owner. | Estimated Capital Outlay (including Land). | Annual Receipts. | Annual Expenditure. | |
|---|---|--|------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| | | | | On Markets. | In 'st. on Debt. |
| London Central Meat, &c. (Opened 1875) | City Corporation | £ 1,384,000 | £ 82,952 | £ 23,848 | £ 45,283 |
| London Central Fish, &c. (Opened 1886) | Do. | 390,000 | 6,006 | 3,905 | 13,339 |
| Farringdon | Do. | 150,000 | 2,099 | 1,302 | .. |
| Smithfield Hay | Do. | .. | 195 | 64 | .. |
| Metropolitan Cattle (Islington) | Do. | 504,842 | 32,472 | 21,598 | 16,842 |
| Leadenhall | Do. | 150,400 | 7,768 | 2,806 | 3,552 |
| Billingsgate | Do. | 448,250 | 27,473 | 10,817 | 9,405 |
| Foreign Cattle (Deptford). (Opened 1869) | Do. | 351,500 | 58,801 | 30,544 | 7,803 |
| Total, City Markets .. | £ | 3,378,992 | 217,766 | 94,884 | 96,224 |
| Borough | Parochial Trustees (St. Saviour's, Southwark) | 8,000 | 11,438 | 4,171 | .. |
| Total, Public Markets, £ | | 3,386,992 | 229,204 | 99,055 | 96,224 |
| Covent Garden (1661) .. | Duke of Bedford | 227,000* | 25,300 | 10,116 | .. |
| Spitalfields (1682) .. | Sir Julian Goldsmid, M.P., & the Scott family: leased to Mr. Robert Horner at £5,000 a year | ? | 18,000† | 5,500 | .. |
| Shadwell Fish (Opened 1885) | London Riverside Fish Market Company, Limited | 87,220 | 2,000 | 2,000 | .. |
| Columbia | Baroness Burdett-Coutts | ? | ? | ? | .. |
| South London | Samuel Plimsoll | ? | ? | ? | .. |
| | £ | 3,701,212 | 274,504 | 116,671 | 96,224 |

* As estimated by the Duke's Agent, excluding the value of the land.

† As estimated by the Lessee, including the increase derived from enlargement, &c.

What London needs is the creation of a central "market authority," charged with the erection, supervision and control of suitable markets wherever needed. The County Council appears to be the authority best suited for this work. The sectional jealousies and private interests which hinder the growth of local fish markets, stop the enlargement of the Borough Market, cramp Covent Garden, and obstruct the creation of new East End markets, must be merged in one broad, central control.

No tax on London's food supply should be permitted—market dues should be levyable only by the public market authorities, and be limited strictly to the amount necessary for market expenses. Concentration in wholesale markets needs to be supplemented by local distribution of retail markets. The huge metropolis needs not only good central, but also abundant local, distributing agencies.

THE RIVER AND THE DOCKS.

THE careless individualism which allowed the control of London's riverside accommodation to pass uncontrolled into private hands has brought its own punishment. "The Docks" have as their product the casual dock-laborer of the East End; and the persistent refusal of the gigantic dock companies to take any steps to organize this labor or to systematize its employment is the despair of every East End philanthropist. "The Docks" offer a potent attraction to the shiftless casual. No questions are asked; no "character" is needed; habits of decent regular work are rather in the way than otherwise. The ever-present chance of a job of this kind furnishes a perpetual addition of strength to the temptations whereby industrial character is lost.

The London "Docks" are now, by successive amalgamations, in the hands of four huge companies (the largest two of which have further combined under a Joint Committee), having an aggregate nominal capital of over twenty million pounds sterling. Particulars of this capital are given below; and it will be seen that although the companies have been competing ruinously among each other, and with the wharfingers, a net revenue of over £550,000 is yielded annually, being about $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the whole nominal capital. It is to save this income from jeopardy that the directors refuse every request and neglect every suggestion made to them to diminish the evil caused by their manner of employment.

The scandal of the Docks is not so much the low wages to be earned as the uncertain nature of the employment. In order to avoid the expense of a permanent staff, labor is engaged for an hour or two at a time, and left to loaf and starve when not wanted. The Dock Companies recognise absolutely no duties towards those they employ; and a cruel system of sub-contracting intensifies the economic rigor and petty tyranny of the arrangement. The "Joint Committee" of the two main companies is now probably the largest individual employer of labor in London, and there can be no doubt that, for magnitude of evil effect, this chartered industrial Leviathan is the worst.

| Dock Companies. | Capital. | | Pay- ing per cent. | Income to Owners. |
|------------------------------|--|--|--------------------------|---|
| London and St. Katharine. | £1,614,020 1,758,300 1,200,000 420,000 5,756,697 | Debentures " Stock Preference " " " Ordinary " | 4 4 4½ 4½ 1 | £64,560 70,332 54,000 18,900 57,567 |
| East and West India. | £10,749,017 334,535 625,337 764,400 1,906,000 2,385,500 | Mortgage Loans } Advances } Debenture Bonds " Stock Ordinary " | 4 4 4 4 — | 13,381 25,013 30,576 76,240 — |
| Millwall .. | 6,015,772 448,507 58,770 250,000 490,000 599,700 | Debenture Stock Preference " " " " " Ordinary " | 4 5 4½ 5 4 | 17,940 2,938 11,250 24,500 23,988 |
| Surrey Commercial.. | 1,846,977 140,000 348,000 154,000 964,814 | (Average.) Debenture Stock Preference " " " Ordinary " | 4½ 4½ 5 6 6 | 6,300 17,400 92,40 57,888 |
| | 1,606,814 | | | 90,828 |
| | £20,218,580 | | | £582,013 |

(Compiled from "Stock Exchange Year Book," 1889: the East and West India Dock Company, in 1888, suspended temporarily the payment of their interest).

THE NUMBER AND GRADES OF MEN EMPLOYED (OUT-DOOR STAFF)
BY EACH OF THE THREE EAST END DOCK COMPANIES

ARE AS FOLLOWS:—

| | London & St. Katharine Docks. | East & West India Docks. | Millwall Docks. | Total. |
|--|--|--------------------------------|--------------------|--------|
| Foremen, &c. | 400 | 457 | 300 | |
| Police | 100 | 114 | | |
| Artisans and Permanent Labourers | 570 | 247 | | |
| Total regularly employed | 1,070 | 818 | 300 | 2,188 |
| Irregulars: preferred for employment ("Ticket" men or "Royals") | 450 | 700 | 500 | |
| Others (maximum employed) | 3,250 | 1,655 | | |
| Total of irregularly employed | 3,700 | 2,355 | 800 | 6,855 |
| Maximum employed | 4,770 | 3,173 | 1,100 | 9,043 |
| Minimum employed | 2,170 | 1,418 | 300 | 3,888 |
| Average employed | 3,270 | 2,129 | 500 | 5,899 |

Compiled from C. Booth's "Life and Labour in East London," p. 190, the figures in italics being added as conjectural estimates.

These statistics (which do not include the Surrey Commercial Docks, employing probably 1500 men) are much below the estimate formed in 1886 by the Mansion House Relief Committee.

"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). Assuming, however, that those who apply in vain for work at 4d. per hour do not exceed, *on an average*, 3,000, rising to a maximum of 5,000, the influence of this perpetual lottery is unquestionably evil. "In truth, the occasional employment of this class of labor by the docks, waterside and other East End industries is a gigantic system of out-door relief" (p. 202, Booth's "Life and Labor in East London"). It creates a demoralized and vicious "leisure class." "I venture to think," says Miss Beatrice Potter, "that the existence and, I fear, the growth of this leisure class in our great cities, notably in London, is the gravest problem of the future" (*ibid*, p. 204). "The conscience of the country was awakened to the iniquity of allowing the whole factory population to be deteriorated and brutalized by overstrain and absence of all moral and sanitary regulations. Why should we suffer the greater evil of a system of employment which discourages honest and persistent work, and favors the growth of a demoralized and demoralizing class of bad workers and evil livers?" (*ibid*, p. 206).

This "greater evil" is perpetuated for the sake of the dividends of the dock shareholders. To organize permanent employment for the average 3,000 excluded would cost, at most, £150,000 a year out of the £550,000 annually taken in dividends, without deducting what value the extra labor thus employed produced. No body of shareholders will make this sacrifice, or any part of it; but why should not London take over the control and management of its own docks? The Clyde, the Mersey, the Tyne, the Wear, the Severn and the Avon are in the hands of representative public authorities; and Liverpool, Glasgow, Dublin, Bristol, Swansea, as well as most other great ports, have their docks free from private control.

There is already a public authority for the River. The "Thames Conservancy Board," formed by 21 and 22 Vic., c. 104, and 27 and 28 Vic., c. 113, has jurisdiction over the Thames from Cricklade to Yantlet Creek, and consists of 23 members nominated by the Corporation of London, the Trinity House, the Lord High Admiral, the Privy Council, the Board of Trade, and the owners of ships, river steamers, lighters, tugs, docks, and wharves. One party only seems unrepresented on this queerly composed body governing London's river, i.e., the people of London. It raised, in 1886-7, £85,530; spent £75,850; and owed £102,400 (H. C., 431, 1889, p. 39).

The substitution for the Conservancy Board of either a Committee of the County Council or a representative "Dock and River Trust," with power to take over the property of the four great companies, and levy dues adequate to cover all its expenses, appears to be the

best practicable means of organizing the demoralized dock laborers, and so healing the spreading social ulcer of the East End. The task of managing the London Docks would be great, but no greater than that already successfully undertaken by Liverpool, where the "Mersey Docks and Harbor Board" had, in 1886-7, a capital debt of £17,006,169, with receipts of £1,405,562 and expenditure of £617,228, with £791,731 for interest and sinking-fund. (House of Commons Return, 431 of 1889, p. 39.)

PUBLIC BATHS AND WASH-HOUSES.

ONLY 17 London Vestries have established public baths and wash-houses, although these are of inestimable advantage directly to the poor, and indirectly to the public through their reaction on health. When properly managed they do not involve any appreciable expense from public funds. Those at Whitechapel, Marylebone, St. Pancras, and Bloomsbury even yield a considerable annual profit, after paying all expenses and interest on loans outstanding. The Islington Vestry determined, in August, 1889, to follow their excellent example.

| YEAR 1887-8. | Receipts (other than from rates). | Expenditure (including interest but excluding repayment of Loans). | |
|------------------------------|---|---|---|
| | £ | £ | |
| Bermondsey.. .. | 1,973 | 3,000 | Including £1,091 on New Buildings. |
| Bloomsbury | 2,520 | 3,506 | |
| Greenwich | 1,200 | 1,247 | Including £1,405 Special Repairs paid for out of accumulated profits. |
| Lewisham | 1,897 | 2,522 | |
| Paddington | 4,190 | 5,368 | |
| Poplar | 1,132 | 2,045 | |
| Rotherhithe | 2,091 | 2,589 | |
| St. George's, Hanover Sq... | 4,141 | 5,042 | Including £1,360 Special Repairs. |
| St. James', Westminster .. | 3,034 | 3,758 | |
| St. Martin's-in-the-Fields.. | 2,052 | 2,395 | Including £1,594 Special Receipts, and £1,700 Special Expenditure on New Buildings. |
| St. Marylebone | 3,520 | 3,152 | |
| St. Pancras | 6,941 | 6,409 | |
| Westminster: St. Margaret's | 2,183 | 2,565 | |
| Whitechapel | 5,385 | 4,892 | |

Battersea, Hampstead and Kensington were not open in 1886-7. (Compiled from H. C. 341, August, 1888, p. 325)

Every parish in London ought to have at least one of these useful institutions; and there is no reason why, like the roads, bridges, libraries, reading-rooms and (presently) elementary schools, they

should not be freed from toll. The total receipts for tickets in the 14 baths and wash-houses open in 1886-7 only amounted to £38,322 (baths, £27,592; wash-houses £10,730), representing the fees collected for admission at an average of 3d., from about 3,000,000 people; yet not amounting to much more than a farthing in the pound on the rates for London. Would it not be well for London to emulate ancient Rome and allow its millions unlimited opportunity to wash? Communism in baths, as in roads and bridges, would result in a saving of trouble, annoyance and expense, and could not have other than beneficial consequences on the public health.

Other public conveniences are still lacking. No London Vestry has yet provided any public water-closets for gratuitous use, although twenty-seven provincial municipalities do so. Only three metropolitan authorities provide this accommodation on payment (the City Corporation, the Strand District Board of Works and Kensington Vestry), though the value of the service is proved by the large profit obtained in these cases. Shoreditch and Clerkenwell are now timidly following suit. No public accommodation is anywhere provided for women, though this is successfully done at Glasgow, Nottingham and Sheffield. (Report of Surveyor to Strand District Board, 1889.)

PUBLIC LIBRARIES.

UNDER a series of Acts of Parliament the Vestries have power to establish public libraries and reading-rooms; but until quite recently this power was practically unheeded. The Parish of St. Margaret and St. John, Westminster, established a useful little library in Great Smith Street in 1857, but for 29 years it found no imitator; and Londoners had to crowd the Guildhall Library (City Corporation) and the British Museum, or to rely on the few libraries and reading-rooms provided at various points by private philanthropy. Wandsworth got its free public library in 1886; and now the Acts have been adopted in Battersea, Bermondsey, Camberwell, Chelsea, Clapham, Clerkenwell, Fulham, Hammersmith, Kensington, Lambeth, Putney, Rotherhithe, and St. Martin's in the Fields; but—such is official dilatoriness and the power of obstruction possessed by the landlords on whom the rate falls—the Commissioners for carrying out the Acts for these places “had no financial transactions before the close of the year” 1886-7 (H.C. 341, 1888, p. 333).

The great majority of parishes still neglect to adopt the Acts, though the maximum library rate is limited to a penny in the pound. No East End Vestry has yet provided its constituents with a library.

We want numerous small *local* reading rooms and libraries, so that every child, as well as every adult, may be able easily to resort to them. Every parish, without exception, should adopt the Acts, and establish, not only central, but also branch libraries.

A LONDON CHURCH-RATE.

THROUGH special exemptions in the Compulsory Church Rate Abolition Act, 1868, 74 parishes still levy rates applied to Church purposes. One of these is in London (St. Marylebone); and the rate collected there in 1886-7 amounted to £6,241, of which only £500 was applied to repayment of debt, the rest being given to the maintenance of public worship in the five Marylebone Churches (H. C., 431, 1889, p. 33). In this case the outstanding loan of £10,800 ought to be discharged within two years by the devotion of the whole rate to that purpose, and the rate then abolished. Some other parishes have what are practically church-rates under various disguises, and Bethnal Green has a small but irksome "Composition Rate," applied to ecclesiastical purposes. The incumbents of some parishes have still, in some cases, rights to fees on the interments of persons who had resided in their parishes. The main expense of London's 400 Churches is, however, defrayed by the public property in the hands of the beneficed clergy. The "Ecclesiastical Commissioners", as successors to various Church dignitaries, are amongst the largest owners of London land and houses.

THE CITY GUILDS.

A PROPERTY worth at least £15,000,000, clearly belonging to the people of London, is now secretly administered by the 1,500 members of the self-appointed "courts of assistants" of the seventy-four "livery companies," the ancient trade guilds of the City of London. The total income of these companies (besides their valuable halls, plate, etc.) is at least

£750,000 A YEAR,

derived mainly from land and house property in London and elsewhere. They are, indeed, among the very largest of London's ground landlords. About a quarter of this income is devoted to special charitable trusts; some good—such as schools, almshouses, pensions to the aged, etc.—but needing democratic control; and some bad, such as pauper doles, City lectureships, etc. The balance of the companies' income, about £600,000 a year, is their corporate property, and is regarded by the members as being at their own disposal. Accordingly, whilst generously contributing about half of it to various public purposes (schools, technical education, charities, etc.), they divide the rest practically among themselves: about £175,000 a year being devoted to "management and maintenance," a large portion of it paid to the 1,500 members of the respective "courts of assistants" in fees for their attendance, about £100,000 consumed in banquets, and about £60,000 in salaries of officers, etc.

TABLE SHOWING THE CORPORATE AND TRUST INCOME OF THE
LONDON LIVERY COMPANIES, 1879-80.
TWELVE GREAT COMPANIES.

| Company. | Corporate Income. | Trust Income. | Total Income. | Number of Liverymen. | Number of Court. |
|---------------------|----------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|
| | £ | £ | £ | | |
| Mercers | 47,341 | 35,417 | 82,758 | 157 | 30 |
| Grocers | 37,736 | 500 | 38,236 | 214 | 35 |
| Drapers | 50,141 | 28,513 | 78,654 | 302 | 29 |
| Fishmongers | 46,913 | 3,800 | 50,713 | 432 | 34 |
| Goldsmiths | 43,505 | 10,792 | 54,297 | 170 | 25 |
| Skinners | 18,977 | 9,950 | 28,927 | 190 | 30 |
| Merchant Taylors .. | 31,243 | 12,068 | 43,311 | 195 | 35 |
| Haberdashers | 9,032 | 20,000 | 29,032 | 460 | 38 |
| Salters | 18,892 | 2,148 | 21,040 | 173 | 27 |
| Ironmongers | 9,625 | 12,822 | 21,647 | 52 | 55 |
| Vintners | 9,365 | 1,522 | 10,887 | 220 | 18 |
| Clothworkers | 40,458 | 10,000 | 50,458 | 150 | 44 |
| | 363,227 | 147,532 | 510,760 | 2,715 | 400 |

THE TWELVE LARGEST OF THE MINOR COMPANIES.

| Company. | Corporate Income. | Trust Income. | Total Income. | Number of Liverymen. | Number of Court. |
|--|----------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|
| | £ | £ | £ | | |
| Leathersellers | 16,395 | 2,333 | 18,728 | 139 | 28 |
| Brewers | 3,157 | 15,482 | 18,640 | 75 | 30 |
| Carpenters | 10,378 | 940 | 11,318 | 134 | ? |
| Saddlers | 10,243 | 1,000 | 11,243 | 92 | 24 |
| Armourers | 8,026 | 60 | 8,086 | 66 | 21 |
| Cordwainers | 6,154 | 1,600 | 7,754 | 96 | 20 |
| Coopers | 2,420 | 4,700 | 7,120 | 170 | 20 |
| Dyers | 6,000 | 1,000 | 7,000 | 83 | ? |
| Cutlers | 5,337 | 50 | 5,387 | 88 | 23 |
| Stationers | 3,170 | 1,576 | 4,746 | 312 | ? |
| Girdlers | 2,932 | 1,374 | 4,306 | 91 | 24 |
| Apothecaries | 3,398 | 500 | 3,898 | 150 | 24 |
| | 77,610 | 30,615 | 108,226 | 1,296 | 300 |
| Fifty smaller Companies, about.. .. | 40,000 | 10,000 | 50,000 | 3,500 | 800 |
| Total in 1879-80 .. | 480,837 | 188,147 | 668,986 | 7,500 | 1,500 |
| Annual Value of Halls, Plate, &c. | 100,000 | — | 100,000 | — | — |
| Probable Increase in Income in 10 years .. | 70,000 | 30,000 | 100,000 | — | — |
| Probable Total, 1889 .. | 650,837 | 218,147 | 868,986 | 7,500 | 1,500 |

(Summarized from Firth's "Reform of London Government," and Royal Commission Report, c-4c73, Vol. iv.

EXPENDITURE OF CORPORATE INCOME, 1879-80.

| Name of Company. | Corporate Income. | Court & other Fees. | Salaries. | Entertainments and Wine. | Management and Maintenance. | Contributions. | Miscellaneous. |
|------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| Mercers | 47,341 | 8,766 | 5,643 | 4,909 | 7,729 | 15,236 | — |
| Grocers | 37,236 | 762 | 3,672 | 6,014 | 2,298 | 17,491 | 1,860 |
| Drapers | 50,141 | 4,984 | 4,149 | 6,112 | 16,576 | 12,320 | 997 |
| Fishmongers | 46,913 | £6,994 | — | 9,311 | 7,247 | 19,993 | 8,344 |
| Goldsmiths | 43,505 | 1,576 | 4,292 | 6,266 | 6,954 | 28,414 | 2,736 |
| Skinners | 18,977 | 2,566 | 2,617 | 5,602 | 1,498 | 5,272 | 2,212 |
| Merchant Taylors | 31,243 | 1,291 | 4,685 | 8,985 | 1,936 | 11,694 | 457 |
| Haberdashers | 9,932 | 2,496 | 762 | 2,024 | 1,115 | 1,176 | 276 |
| Salters | 18,940 | 3,101 | 1,072 | 3,046 | 2,345 | 2,557 | 8,474 |
| Ironmongers | 9,629 | 873 | 1,534 | 2,479 | 2,866 | 1,057 | 1,350 |
| Vintners | 9,335 | 1,104 | 1,726 | 3,070 | 1,607 | 1,508 | 499 |
| Clothworkers | 39,149 | 3,524 | 3,070 | 3,742 | 7,517 | 19,473 | — |
| Apothecaries | 3,398 | 296 | 498 | 778 | 153 | 631 | — |
| Armourers and Braziers | 8,086 | 1,405 | 660 | 1,923 | 1,996 | 3,283 | — |
| Bakers | 1,911 | 347 | 186 | 778 | 384 | 393 | — |
| Barbers | 1,383 | 166 | 250 | 556 | 201 | — | — |
| Blacksmiths | 684 | 102 | 77 | 370 | 46 | 128 | — |
| Brewers | 3,157 | 307 | 773 | 628 | 478 | 606 | — |
| Carpenters | 11,318 | 941 | 691 | 1,289 | 973 | 1,227 | 2,147 |
| Coachmakers | 1,179 | 182 | 131 | 238 | 353 | 178 | — |
| Cooks | 2,560 | 356 | 244 | 1,122 | 319 | 189 | — |
| Coopers | 2,420 | 1,401 | 377 | (included with Court Fees) | 371 | 190 | — |
| Cordwainers | 6,259 | £2,206 | — | 1,070 | 1,542 | 1,050 | — |
| Curriers | 1,295 | 129 | 278 | 320 | 1,250 | 105 | — |
| Cutlers | 5,885 | 702 | 585 | 2,343 | 695 | 1,155 | 200 |
| Founders | 1,853 | 271 | 250 | 410 | 839 | 54 | — |
| Girdlers | 4,356 | 319 | 442 | 1,052 | 1,461 | 177 | — |
| Glaziers | 285 | 36 | 45 | 189 | — | 11 | — |
| Innholders | 1,327 | 184 | 150 | 222 | 360 | — | — |
| Joiners | 1,312 | 244 | 120 | 783 | 83 | 264 | — |
| Leathersellers | 16,395 | 2,200 | 1,070 | 2,666 | 9,100 | 2,795 | — |
| Painters | 793 | — | 44 | 325 | 362 | 31 | — |
| Plumbers | 887 | 316 | 86 | 393 | (included with entertainments) | 66 | — |
| Saddlers | 10,243 | 3,140 | 773 | 1,755 | 1,365 | 1,845 | — |
| Scriveners | 836 | 184 | 114 | 383 | (included with salaries) | 245 | — |
| Stationers | 3,173 | — | 335 | 644 | 1,077 | 560 | — |
| Wax Chandlers | 1,375 | 2,092 | 220 | (included with Court Fees) | (included with Court Fees) | — | 15 |
| Wheelwrights | 319 | — | 48 | 225 | 34 | 40 | — |

From Firth's "Reform of London Government."

These companies formerly discharged various public functions connected with their respective trades, and were once doubtless of great public utility. Every trading citizen, rich or poor, man or woman, could become a member, and was sometimes obliged to do so. It is probable that the companies are still legally "empowered to compel every tradesman in London or the suburbs to take up his freedom in the company; and every tradesman or craftsman has the right to be admitted. The companies are bound to teach the trade to all who come to learn, and to

PROVIDE FOR THE POOR,

infirm, and decayed out of the lands which they were by charter permitted to acquire." (Firth's "Reform of London Government," pp. 101-2. London: Sonnenschein—"Imperial Parliament" Series.)

It need hardly be said that the companies themselves recognize no such obligations. The Goldsmiths' Company still exercises a vexatious and unnecessary "hall-marking" of gold and silver; the Fishmongers' Company still inspects and condemns stinking fish; the Apothecaries' Company maintains botanic gardens and grants inferior medical degrees; the Gunmakers' Company tests and stamps gun-barrels; and the Stationers' Company sells almanacks and maintains (most inefficiently) a register of published books. But these, with some feeble efforts of the Plumbers, Turners, Coachmakers, and a few other companies, practically cover the surviving public services rendered in return for the magnificent public property administered by the companies.

The necessity for reform has long been manifest. In 1884 a Royal Commission presented an exhaustive report, signed by such moderate reformers as the Earl of Derby, the Duke of Bedford, Viscount Sherbrooke, Lord Coleridge, and Alderman Sir Sidney Waterlow, in which they recommended the

IMMEDIATE INTERVENTION OF THE STATE

"for the purpose of (1) preventing the alienation of the property of the companies of London; (2) securing the permanent application of a considerable portion of the corporate income thence arising to useful purposes; (3) declaring new trusts in cases in which a better application of the trust income of the companies has become desirable." They also recommended that the companies should be compelled to publish accounts; that their constitution should be re-organized; and that admission to the livery should cease to confer the Parliamentary franchise (C., 4073, 1884).

But as the companies now fulfil practically no useful functions, and can no longer be made open to all London citizens, there is no reason why they should still be permitted to deal with London's inheritance. They must be dissolved, and their functions, rights, property and duties transferred to the County Council (or perhaps to the suggested Hospitals and Charities Board, see p. 22) as the representative of the people of London. The first step is to pass through Parliament a bill to safeguard this public property from secret alienation, conferring upon the London County Council power to prepare a scheme for the management and distribution of the magnificent heritage of the people of London.

THE PROPERTY OF THE POOR.

OF the vast amount of property given or bequeathed by way of endowment of various charities, much has been stolen; and much is still being jobbed or misapplied. There is no complete record even of existing charities; no official statistics exist of the charitable endowments; no general public audit, supervision or control checks the waste or misappropriation of the Property of the Poor. The "Charity Commissioners" interfere, sometimes unadvisedly, in special cases, but they have no general authority over charities as such. Trustees of charitable funds are bound to render accounts to the Commissioners, and, in the case of parochial charities, to the Vestry (18 & 19 Vic. c. 124, s. 44), but many disobey the law, which is not enforced. Those returns which are received are not published.

The annual income from charity property administered by the City Companies is about £218,000 (see p. 45); the income from property of 19 general hospitals is £41,962 (Memorandum on Medical Charities, by C. O. S.—see p. 21); the "City Parochial Charities," re-organized in 1887-9, possessed an income of £108,000, of which about £40,000 or £50,000 a year is being diverted to "Polytechnics," "Open Spaces," etc.; the income from property of other endowed charities of London is estimated to exceed £150,000 (see List in *Charity Organization Review*, Aug. 1888, p. 356). Some of them, such as "The Foundling" and Christ's Hospital, are among the "great landlords" of London (see p. 9). The total property income of all the London Charities must amount to at least half a million sterling annually (not including the "corporate" income of the City Companies—see p. 45). The total income from all sources of metropolitan charities is put at £4,000,000 (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. xiv. p. 833); or, at least, £3,000,000 (see the statistics in *Charity Organization Review*, Aug. 1888, p. 358).

For all England and Wales, Mulhall (*Dictionary of Statistics*, p. 79) estimates English Charitable Endowments in 1876 as follows:—

| | Capital. | | Income. | |
|-------------------|-------------------|-----|------------------|--|
| Real Estate | £31,100,000 | ... | £1,558,000 | |
| Stock... .. | 20,000,000 | ... | 640,000 | |
| | <hr/> £51,300,000 | | <hr/> £2,198,000 | |

"The real estate comprises 154,000 acres of land and some house property." It is believed that this is an under-estimate of the present value, and that much school and other property is excluded. The old Charity Reports of fifty to seventy years ago showed an income of £1,209,395, and large groups of charities were exempted. The Charity Commissioners since 1853 have authorized sale of land value £6,715,550, and their official trustees hold about fourteen millions sterling of investments. The older Universities possess (with the Colleges) over £10,000,000 of property. "The Endowments are—£280,000 per annum in Oxford, and £235,000 in Cambridge" (Mulhall, p. 457). The charitable endowments bear, however, a very small proportion to the whole property of the community. Even if they amount to £100,000,000, this is little over 1 per cent. of the aggregate wealth (see "Capital and Land"—Fabian Tract No. 7).

PERVERSION OF CHARITIES.

Much London property has been, and is being, diverted from the poor and working classes, for whom it was given or left, to the benefit of others. Property left by Atwell, for employing the unemployed, and by Hunt for apprenticing boys and relieving decayed tradesmen of the Skinners, has been taken for middle-class or secondary education. The usual plan of the Charity Commissioners is to take poor's money, and (with the help of the Education Department) pervert it to middle-class education, giving a small portion to be competed for by children from elementary schools. Much of that property of the colleges at Oxford and Cambridge which was given for poor scholars is now thrown open to competition, and largely obtained by the rich, whose sons have, by training, advantages over poor men's sons. The abuses of Christ's Hospital and "God's Gift," Dulwich College, are well known. A scheme for the perversion of Southwark Free Grammar School was begun in 1889. Rent-charges belonging to charities (generally each of small value) have been, and are being, lost by neglect. Even now, the Charity Commissioners make new schemes, appointing as trustees of charities persons elected by the London close vestries or "co-optated." Very frequently, donors of charities left land to corporations subject to keeping so many boys at a school, or paying such a sum to charity. Frequently (but not always) it is held that no part of the unearned increment of value of the land accrues to the charity.

By the "Mortmain" Acts, Parliament forbade land to be left to the people, and also threw hindrances in the way of free gifts of land to the people for charitable or public purposes. There are, however, a number of specially favored charities or charitable objects to which gifts of land by will or otherwise are partially allowed. The time has come to repeal the Mortmain Acts entirely. Now that land in mortmain is (partially) subject to "corporation duty" in lieu of death duties, and charities are subject to revision by Parliament, most of the reasons for the Mortmain laws are gone. Voluntary "land nationalization" for charitable purposes should be encouraged, not discouraged.

THE POLICE AND THE POLICE COURTS.

LONDON has two entirely distinct police forces, the "Metropolitan" and the "City" Police. The former (established under Mr.—afterwards Sir—Robert Peel in 1829) is now wholly paid for out of the rates levied by the several parishes, but is nevertheless entirely controlled by the Home Secretary. He appoints the chief officers, supervises the administration and the accounts, and is consulted about all important orders. The people of London have nothing to do but to pay the bill. The bill is heavy. In 1888-9, the total expenditure was £1,597,832, equal to almost precisely one shilling in the pound in London's rates (one-fifth of the whole rates).

(House of Commons Return, No. 127 of 1889.) The City police cost, in addition, £117,746 annually (expenditure for 1886-7). (House of Commons Return, No. 423 of 1889.)

The Metropolitan and City police district (established by 2 and 3 Vic., c. 47) comprises, however, an area more than five times that of the "administrative county" of London. It has a radius of 15 miles from Charing Cross, and covers 688 square miles. It is a rapidly growing area. Since the year 1849, when the police numbered 5,493, there have been built 513,278 new houses, and 3,123 are still in course of erection; 1,853 miles of new streets have been added to the charge of the police, and the population has increased from 2,473,758 to 5,590,576, which means that in regard to population alone, the cares of the police have increased 126 per cent. To guard that enormous population, the Metropolitan police provides 30 superintendents, 837 inspectors, 1,369 sergeants, and 12,025 constables, a total of 14,261. (Report of Chief Commissioner, 1889, C-5761; price 4½d.). The City police furnishes, in addition, about 1,100 men.

Drivers and conductors of public carriages deposited with the police 23,187 articles in the course of the year, and of these 10,338 were returned to their owners, and the rest were sold. The convictions for drunkenness recorded against drivers and conductors were 1,527. The number of summonses issued on the application of the police was 12,574, and in 11,710 the result was conviction; this shows a marked increase on 1887. Another growing duty of the police is the taking of persons injured, or otherwise wanting medical aid, to the hospitals. Of such cases there were 6,300 last year, or 17 every day—an increase of 300 on the year before. The total number of persons apprehended was 75,807, or 207 every day, and of these 49,606 were summarily convicted, 22,711 were discharged, and the remainder committed for trial; 4,400 beggars were "run in"; 481 persons were apprehended for "having no visible means of subsistence," and 295 of them were duly punished therefor; 2,797 prostitutes were apprehended for "annoying male passengers" and other offences. (C-5761.) The police register, license and inspect common lodging-houses (see p. 28), cabs and omnibuses (see p. 51), tramway cars (see p. 35); they license drivers and conductors, as well as hawkers and pedlars; and they are responsible for carrying out the Smoke Nuisance Abatement Acts (53 summonses; £278 16s. 8d. fines and costs imposed, in 1888). Yet the people of London have no shadow of control over them or their proceedings.

The twelve police courts are paid for out of the national exchequer, and London's representatives have no control over the twenty-two magistrates. The courts and magistrates cost £66,564 in 1888-9, of which £12,519 was recouped by fees (H.C., No. 127 of 1889)—largely a tax on the "justice" of the poor.

With proper precautions against abuse, the fees for summonses might well be abolished. "To no man will we sell, to none deny justice" (*Magna Charta*).

LONDON'S PUBLIC HOUSES.

THE licensing of public houses was not affected by the Local Government Bill, and still rests in the hands of the Justices of the Peace, an exclusively capitalist body, nominated by the Lord Chancellor. The following are the statistics for Middlesex and the metropolitan divisions of Surrey and Kent :—

| | Population. | Fully Licensed Houses. | " Off Licenses." | Total Licenses. |
|---------------------|-------------|------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| MIDDLESEX : | | | | |
| Including London) | | | | |
| North of Thames } | 2,869,833 | 6,515 | 1,726 | 8,241 |
| SURREY : | | | | |
| Newington Division | 845,247 | 1,620 | 461 | 2,081 |
| Wandsworth „ | 170,873 | 320 | 171 | 491 |
| KENT : | | | | |
| Blackheath Division | 268,237 | 611 | 177 | 788 |
| | 4,154,191 | 9,066 | 2,535 | 11,601 |

(House of Commons Return, Session 1889, No. 152.)

Although the area covered by these statistics is not precisely that of the "Administrative County" of London, it may be taken as fairly representing it as regards the number of licensed houses in proportion to population. This stands at one licensed house to every 358 people. The proportion for all England and Wales is one to every 202 (H.C., No. 152, 1889). The total number in the Metropolitan Police District is 14,028; on the other hand, the number of bakers in the metropolis is only 3,346 (C—5761).

Whether this proportion is considered correct or not, it appears absolutely necessary to place the full control over the granting of licences to sell alcoholic liquors in the hands of the people of each locality, through popularly elected representatives.

LONDON'S CABS AND OMNIBUSES.

THE first "hackney coaches" date from about 1625, when there were 20 of them: the first omnibuses from 1829 (Ency. Brit., vol. xiv. p. 823). The number licensed in 1884 and 1888 respectively was as follows :—

| | Hansoms. | Four-wheelers. | Omnibuses. |
|----------|----------|----------------|------------|
| 1884 ... | 6,832 | 3,737 | 1,528 |
| 1888 ... | 7,396 | 4,013 | 1,898 |

(C.—5,761.) There are 585 cabstands, and only 38 "cabmen's shelters." The police also license conductors and drivers (in the case of cab-drivers, after an examination as to knowledge of London geography, at which over one-third of the candidates fail). The number licensed in 1888 was, cab-drivers, 15,514; omnibus or tram-car drivers, 5,395; conductors, 7,238; total, 28,147 (*ibid.*, p. 12). The licensing may be convenient to the public, but why charge these poor men fees for it?

That the business of running omnibuses—now nearly all under joint stock management—is a profitable one to the capitalist, the following statistics of the four companies will shew:—

| Company. | Capital. £ | Per Cent. of Dividend. £ | Net Income. £ |
|-------------------------------------|---------------|--------------------------------|---------------------|
| London General Omnibus | 594,100 | 10 | 59,410 |
| London Omnibus Carriage | 16,225 | 6 | 973 |
| | 6,000 | 5 | 300 |
| London Road Car | 156,750 | 3 | 4,702 |
| Railways and Metropolitan Omnibus.. | 16,515 | 5 | 825 |
| | 2,500 | 5 | 125 |
| Total | 792,090 | 7½ | 66,335 |

(From "Stock Exchange Year Book," 1889.)

THE BURIAL OF THE DEAD.

THE burial of the dead is supervised in London by 29 "Burial Boards," appointed by the local vestries (in the City, by the Common Council). About 17 of these have their own public cemeteries, including Paddington, Hampstead, the City, Kensington, Fulham, Hammersmith, St. George's (Hanover Square), St. Pancras, Islington, Lambeth, Wandsworth, Lee, Charlton and Woolwich. Brompton Cemetery (which ought to be closed) belongs to the national government, and is administered by the Office of Works and Buildings, the annual receipts being paid into the Exchequer. The Metropolitan Burial Boards present the following statistics:—

| | From Burial Fees. £ | From Sale of Graves, Vaults, &c. £ | From Rates. £ | From Other Sources. £ | Total. £ |
|--------------|------------------------------|---|---------------------|--------------------------------|-------------|
| Receipts ... | 34,947 | 10,495 | 5,828 | 2,500 | 53,770 |

| | Burial Grounds & Bldgs. £ | Fees to Chaplains, Sextons, &c. £ | Salaries. £ | Other Payments. £ | Interest on Loans. £ | Loans Repaid. £ | Total. £ |
|-------------|------------------------------------|--|----------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------|
| Expenditure | 17,943 | 7,849 | 5,527 | 8,898 | 4,589 | 5,985 | 50,791 |

Loans outstanding, £108,602 (H.C., 341, 1888, p. 248).

This does not by any means exhaust the taxation levied on London's funerals. Owing to past individualist neglect, the provision of burial places has been allowed to become a matter of private speculation, and some of the largest London cemeteries are in private hands. Complete statistics for these are inaccessible, but the following particulars of four joint stock companies can be given:—

| Company. | Cemetery. | Capital. | Estimated Dividends per annum. |
|---|----------------------|-----------|--------------------------------|
| London Necropolis and National Mausoleum Company | Woking | £ 149,160 | £ 1,500 |
| London Cemetery Company | Highgate and Nunhead | 137,806 | 6,200 |
| Abney Park Cemetery Company | Abney Park | 41,990 | 3,150 |
| Manor Park Cemetery Company | Manor Park | 25,618 | 3,200 |

(See "Stock Exchange Year Book," 1889.)

The total annual number of deaths in London is about 83,000 (in 1887, 82,545; see C—5138), or about 20 per 1,000 of the population (1885, 19·8; 1886, 19·9; 1887, 19·6).^{*} A death occurs in each household on an average once in every 10 years.

Why need we add to the trouble and economic disturbance necessarily incident to death by levying a toll on burial? The disposal of the dead is a matter of common concern; the fulfilment of this public duty presses crushingly on the poor in their hour of greatest need; "communism in funerals" is not likely to lead to reckless increase in the demand for graves; and any simplification of the extravagant expenses now incurred in the matter would be a great boon.

"Free burial" would, moreover, enable the total abolition of infant insurance, with its accompanying evil of infant murder. No valid plea for the insurance of children would remain if the need for individual provision of funeral charges were obviated. The Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies (Mr. J. M. Ludlow) emphatically recommends the public management of funerals (as in Paris). "The real remedy as respects infant insurance, he persisted in "thinking, lay in vesting the carrying out of burials, for all classes "alike, as a public function, (in) such (authorities) for instance, as "town or county councils, or, at all events, in large companies act-

^{*}This death-rate shows a great decrease even during the present generation, due almost entirely to the steady, though largely unconscious, progress of "Municipal Socialism." In 1854, the "cholera year," the death-rate was 29·4, and in 1855 (a normal year) 24·3 per thousand. The difference between this last figure and the present rate represents the saving of 18,000 lives per annum (Report of Metropolitan Board of Works, 1888, p. 7). How many more could be saved by an extension of this municipalization?

The present low death-rate is, moreover, an average for all London, obscuring the fact of a terrible mortality in the poorer quarters. "The rate of "mortality in a certain quarter of St. Pancras was stated by the excellent "medical officer of that parish, Mr. Murphy, to have reached in the year 1882 "the enormous rate of 70·1 per 1,000, but this was a calculation for a very "small number of buildings. In Wellington Square, however, which was "stated in evidence to belong to a member of the St. Pancras Vestry, the rate "the same year was 53·7 per 1,000, and in Derry Street, 44·4 per 1,000." (Report of Royal Commission on Housing of the Poor, 1884, p. 14.) In one street in St. Giles', in 1886, the death-rate was 53 per 1,000; in Bloomsbury a few hundred yards off, only 14 per 1,000. (Medical Officer's Report.)

"ing under their authority." (Evidence of Mr. Ludlow before Select Committee on Friendly Societies, see *Times* report, 13th July, 1889.)

The actual provision of burial grounds, and the bare cost of interment, might, at any rate, be made a public charge, borne by all collectively instead of by each in turn. As soon as cremation becomes generally adopted, this should also be made a matter of public administration. The Paris Municipal Council, which maintains all cemeteries and controls all funerals, has its own "crematorium" at Père la Chaise, for the use of which only a nominal fee is charged.

LONDON'S FINANCIAL BUDGET.

THE various public authorities of the metropolis had a total income in 1885-6 of £10,108,761, a revenue exceeding that of any British Colony, and only surpassed by 14 Empires and Kingdoms. The expenditure was £9,462,577, or £11 per family per annum, being nearly equal to the average share per family of the national expenditure. The total outstanding debt was £37,999,350, or just about one year's rental. We pay to the landlords every year, for permission to live in London, as much as the total outstanding cost of our schools, parks, drains, and magnificent street improvements. (Report of Local Government Board, C.—5,526, p. 437.)

The municipalization (by purchase) of the gas and water supply, the tramways, the docks, the monopolist markets, and the private cemeteries might add another fifty-five millions sterling to London's corporate debt, but the addition would be merely nominal. At present we are paying nearly £3,500,000 annually to the share and bondholders who are permitted to "own" these undertakings; and this amount would provide, at 3 per cent., the annual interest on no less than £115,000,000 addition to the County Council debt.

| | Capital Outlay. £ | Estimated Market Value of Shares, &c. £ | Present Income. £ |
|-----------------|-------------------------|--|-------------------------|
| Docks | 20,218,580 | 15,000,000 | 584,463 |
| Water | 14,140,434 | 30,000,000 | 1,077,326 |
| Gas | 13,654,237 | 30,000,000 | 1,537,449 |
| Tramways | 3,316,459 | 4,000,000 | 185,785 |
| Total | 51,329 710 | 79,000,000 | 3,385,023 |

Even buying up these undertakings at their present inflated market price of some £80,000,000 would enable a saving of nearly a million annually in interest. If we were to pay out the shareholders at cost price, we might save nearly £1,500,000 per annum, or eight pence per week per family, and have at the same time the advantage of complete public control over what are essentially public services. Each year's such saving would provide half as many artisans'