



Kent Academic Repository

Jackson, Kenneth (1977) *Housing Standards of the English Working-Classes, 1837-1914*. Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) thesis, University of Kent.

Downloaded from

<https://kar.kent.ac.uk/94438/> The University of Kent's Academic Repository KAR

The version of record is available from

<https://doi.org/10.22024/UniKent/01.02.94438>

This document version

UNSPECIFIED

DOI for this version

Licence for this version

CC BY-NC-ND (Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives)

Additional information

This thesis has been digitised by EThOS, the British Library digitisation service, for purposes of preservation and dissemination. It was uploaded to KAR on 25 April 2022 in order to hold its content and record within University of Kent systems. It is available Open Access using a Creative Commons Attribution, Non-commercial, No Derivatives (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>) licence so that the thesis and its author, can benefit from opportunities for increased readership and citation. This was done in line with University of Kent policies (<https://www.kent.ac.uk/is/strategy/docs/Kent%20Open%20Access%20policy.pdf>). If you ...

Versions of research works

Versions of Record

If this version is the version of record, it is the same as the published version available on the publisher's web site. Cite as the published version.

Author Accepted Manuscripts

If this document is identified as the Author Accepted Manuscript it is the version after peer review but before type setting, copy editing or publisher branding. Cite as Surname, Initial. (Year) 'Title of article'. To be published in *Title of Journal*, Volume and issue numbers [peer-reviewed accepted version]. Available at: DOI or URL (Accessed: date).

Enquiries

If you have questions about this document contact ResearchSupport@kent.ac.uk. Please include the URL of the record in KAR. If you believe that your, or a third party's rights have been compromised through this document please see our [Take Down policy](https://www.kent.ac.uk/guides/kar-the-kent-academic-repository#policies) (available from <https://www.kent.ac.uk/guides/kar-the-kent-academic-repository#policies>).

HOUSING STANDARDS OF THE ENGLISH

WORKING - CLASSES,

1837 - 1914

Kenneth Jackson

85008

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of
requirements for the degree of Ph.D.

University of Kent at Canterbury

1977

ABSTRACT

This thesis deals with the question of changes in the standards of working-class housing over the period from 1837 to 1914. As many, if not most, of the population until the late nineteenth century had experience of living in rural areas, it is by such standards that urban conditions are judged. Using a nineteenth-century basis of reference makes it easier to understand the problems which confronted those involved in bringing about changes at the time, whereas the use of a more modern benchmark only makes such understanding more difficult.

The first part of the thesis deals with the analytical structure, involving an examination of both demand and supply factors, and the way in which they could have been expected to have affected the situation. Out of this first part comes the expectation that the explanations of changing standards differ as between the rural and the urban context. In rural areas, after the eighteen thirties, depopulation seems to assume a dominant role in explaining the possible improvements in housing conditions, through its effect on the demand side. In urban areas, by contrast, demand increased so rapidly that supply was liable to fall behind it in some periods, and overall provide the basis for only a slow and gradual improvement.

With these basic expectations in mind, the actual conditions are examined in the second half of the thesis, starting with the rural situation. By using such yardsticks as the number of rooms per house, number of inhabitants per house and the sort of materials used in construction, a pattern of housing improvement is built up. This confirms the expectations of depopulation as the most important rural factor, and the late nineteenth century as the time of greatest improvement, by some criteria at least.

Comparing these results with those for the urban scene, reveals that not only were the large towns and cities more dependent upon an increase in supply in order to change their standards, but also conditions in rural areas were, by the early twentieth century, far closer to the urban ones than in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Owing to the slow pace of urban changes, it is even possible to suggest that by some criteria rural standards were somewhat in advance of urban ones. In consequence it can be asserted that whatever it was that attracted migrants into the towns and cities, better housing played a diminishing role by the late nineteenth, and early twentieth century.

T A B L E O F C O N T E N T S

	<u>Page Numbers</u>
<u>Introduction</u> : Aims and Scope of the Study	1 - 5
<u>Chapter One</u> : The Literature	6 - 52
(i) Sources available for the study of housing, their extent, usefulness and particular problems.	
(ii) The extent of economic theories currently available to the researcher and their role in analysing the nineteenth-century situation.	
(iii) Historical studies of the question, their extent and deficiencies.	
<u>Chapter Two</u> : The Demand for Housing	53 - 112
(i) Aggregates, national and local.	
(ii) The structure of demand; income levels, rents and wages, population changes, the distinction between the rural and urban demand levels, the rural "demand model".	
<u>Chapter Three</u> : The Supply of Housing	113 - 176
(i) The aggregate situation.	
(ii) The role of the landlord, philanthropy and private enterprise; returns and capital expenditure.	
(iii) The builder, large and small.	
(iv) The urban "supply model".	

Chapter Four : Rural Housing Standards

177 - 253

- (i) Rural housing standards, compared regionally c. 1840. The search for objective indicators of relative standards - resulting in the use of measures such as : number of rooms per house, their dimensions, the materials utilised for construction, and consideration of the siting, sanitary conditions, furnishings and fittings of rural dwellings.
- (ii) Changes in standards over time, 1840-1914, by means of the above indicators.

Chapter Five : Urban Housing Standards

254 - 306

- (i) A summary view of urban housing conditions providing parallels with the results of Chapter Four. Considers number of rooms and other "objective" factors used in the analysis of rural conditions. The decrease in cellar dwellings as a measure of improvement. Outlines changes in conditions from the middle of the nineteenth century, to the early twentieth century.

Chapter Six : Case Studies of Specific Attempts
To Deal With the Problem of Urban
Land Costs

307 - 369

- (i) The Middle-Class Suburb.
- (ii) Cellars, Tenements, and Cottage Flats.
- (iii) Back-to-Backs.
- (iv) Lodging-Houses.

Chapter Seven : Summary of Conclusions

370 - 405

A summary comparison between the expectations derived from the first half of the thesis and the actual changes as revealed by the second half.

Appendices

406 - 449

Bibliography

450 - 472

Acknowledgements

I am indebted to several people for their endeavours, not always successful, to eliminate both academic and stylistic errors from this thesis. At the risk of omitting many people who have played a substantial role, I must specifically thank Theo Barker, Michael Drake and Alan Armstrong for their efforts at supervision, Geoff Braae, John Horsman and Imogen Ingram for their comments on various drafts and the latter for her superhuman efforts not only as a typist but as a translator of my manuscript. I am indebted too, to the S.S.R.C. for their financial support, to my wife for her academic and emotional support, and finally to my late father for his general encouragement, and his practical introduction to the economics of the Building Industry.

Abbreviations Used

A.O.	Archive Office
B.M.	British Museum
H. of L.	House of Lords
H.L.G.	Ministry of Housing and Local Government
L.C.C.	London County Council
<u>Local Reports</u>	<u>Local Reports on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of England</u>
M.B.W.	Metropolitan Board of Works
M.O.H.	Medical Officer of Health
P.P.	Parliamentary Paper
P.R.O.	Public Record Office
R.C.	Royal Commission
R.D.C.	Rural District Council
R.O.	Record Office
<u>Sanitary Report</u>	<u>Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain</u>
S.C.	Select Committee
S.P.	Sessional Paper

I N T R O D U C T I O N

"The houses inhabited by the poor in this district are generally in a most dilapidated condition; consisting of one room on the ground floor, and one bedroom, having no other place for their potatoes, fuel, etc. Scarcely one house in ten is weathertight, and there is generally an accumulation of filth in front of the doors, as they have no proper receptacle for refuse."¹

This general description of Cornwall in the late eighteen thirties is typical of much of the nineteenth-century writing on housing conditions. Quantification is imprecise, where present at all, and there is as much concern for superficial appearance as for actual structure. There is little attempt to examine standards objectively, which is one of the basic aims of this thesis, in both rural and urban areas of England and Wales. This involves an examination of how far such standards altered during the period between 1837 and 1914. The difference in the experience of housing conditions in rural areas from that found in the towns and cities is here linked to the different demand and supply conditions. The roles played by certain characters engaged in the provision and maintenance of the housing

1 Report of J.F. Smith, Medical Officer to the 5th district of Launceston union, in Local Reports on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of England H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, p. 11. (Subsequently referred to as: Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII.)

stock, namely: landlords, builders and government are examined but are given secondary importance to the influences of the economic climate in which they all operated.

The starting date for the thesis is dictated by the sources, which become more plentiful after 1837 than for the earlier part of the century. By halting at 1914 the disruptive effects of the First World War and the novel, widespread move into the supply of housing by government are not dealt with. The period under review has a homogeneity in the sense that it is a time when the major suppliers of working-class housing could be said to have operated in a virtually free market. Even when some small addition to the housing stock was made through council housing projects, the justification for such action seems equally concerned with unemployment relief as it does with solving the housing problem. The advantages of such schemes as a counter to unemployment is revealed by a (1915) report to Barking Council which said that:

"Distress is confined chiefly to general and casual labourers, and to the building trade."

The report went on to say that the combination of relief works and the erection of artisans' dwellings for the council seem to be providing employment for almost all of these.¹ The supply of houses by government, either central or local, was not a concept that was entertained widely, if at all, during the nineteenth century. The avoidance of

1 Ministry of Housing and Local Government Records: Barking P.R.O. H.L.G. 1/93 Reg. No. 808, 31/04, 18th Jan. 1915. Note also the use of the term "artisan" as signifying the sort of group that might expect to benefit from the provision of council housing.

public ownership and the encouragement of owner-occupancy were suggested as likely to lessen any threat posed to the owners of property by the working classes in times of strife.¹

With little provision other than through the open market, working-class housing standards were affected by fluctuations in a building industry predominantly composed of small units liable to stop building in difficult periods due to bankruptcy, even if it was suggested that building sometimes continued regardless of changes in demand, due to firms' need to keep their capital equipment employed.² While this may have been true for the larger concern, it was not the case for the small firm which provided most working-class housing and about which the more usual complaints were either of their lack of capital equipment, or of difficulties in obtaining suitable sites.³ Complaints concerning the overall ability of private enterprise to meet the challenge are also noticeable. One observer, by 1900, saw the open market as a conspicuous failure in improving existing dwellings, while new accommodation was both costly and unsuitable.⁴ The impact which such factors had upon the working man, together with changes in his ability to pay rent, are sufficiently

1 Suggested by J. Begg, Happy Homes for Working Men (1866), p. v.

2 Evidence of Thomas Burton, London General Builder, to S.C. on Manufactures, Commerce, and Shipping P.P. 1833, VI, Qq. 1,735 and 1,736.

3 Memorial on Conditions of Dwellings from Royal College of Physicians to First Lord of the Treasury P.P. 1874, LII, p. 675.

4 W. Thompson, Housing of the Working Classes (undated but probably published around 1900), p. 3.

great to warrant a careful study.

Such a study may make a contribution to the broader standard of living debate, at present somewhat stalled on the aggregate numbers approach, with attention diverted to either regional studies, or those of particular commodities such as food or housing. Questions of changing housing standards are of great importance, both in terms of the need for adequate terms by which to measure them, and of a logical analysis to explain them. Both of these needs have been only partially met so far.

Of the commodity approach, while food forms a basic part of the overall working-class budget, probably over half throughout the century, the other components cannot be neglected. Government investigators saw that:

".. rent, clothing, fuel and light account in the aggregate for so great a proportion of the remaining expenditure of the working classes that is it not possible to draw any certain inferences as to changes in the total cost of living from an extensive study of the prices of food."¹

It would seem essential to know something about changes in all the basic commodities to come to any worthwhile conclusions through this approach. What a study of housing provides is, therefore, a step along the way to greater knowledge on the standard of living question generally, and the commodity approach in particular.

Certainly it is possible to qualify the suggestion that housing holds little hope of encouragement to the optimist,²

1 Second Series of Board of Trade Memoranda, Statistical Tables and Charts with Reference to Various Matters Bearing upon British and Foreign Trade and Industrial Conditions P.P. 1905, LXXXIV, p. 31

2 The History of Working Class Housing, ed. S.D. Chapman (Newton Abbot, 1971), p. 12.

while not believing for a moment that the best possible results were achieved by the open market system. To the individual tenants, hopes of improving their own fortunes must often have seemed quite forlorn, if thought about at all. Nor were the house agents, of whom records remain,¹ likely to have been overly concerned with the needs of working men or with improving their conditions. There were sufficient middlemen between ground landlord and eventual tenant in any case. The chain was said to have been sufficiently long that on occasion the houses were built without the permission or knowledge of the ground landlord, especially where they were fitted into back gardens or other available open spaces.²

What follows involves an outline of the extent of existing knowledge, an examination of changes in housing standards, reasons for those changes and the part played by particular attempts to solve the problem. The geographical scope is limited to England generally with some reference being made to Wales where appropriate, and to elsewhere, particularly Scotland, for the purposes of comparison. Such a comparison is particularly important in the case of the type of housing found in the north-east, which bears greater similarity with the situation north of the border than with the rest of England.

1 Journal of Messrs White and Sons, Journal Number 7, undated but about September 1878. Surrey R.O. S.C. 99, 1/7.

2 The R.C. on the Housing of the Working Classes P.P. 1884-5, XXX, p. 36.

C H A P T E R

O N E

THE LITERATURE

Few books of recent publication have dealt specifically with housing. The more usual references to be found in the historical literature are brief accounts in general works, or scattered articles on specialised aspects of the topic. The same cannot be said of the sources for historical research. They are abundant but not always as useful as one might wish. They are usually patchy in their coverage, and leave some enormous gaps. There are also large quantities of theoretical material available which can be employed by the historian to aid analysis. A brief survey of all three of these aspects of the available literature is essential as a starting point for a study of the topic, and this is undertaken in the first chapter, commencing with an examination of the original source material.

PART I

The Original Sources

The major sources form what might be called the problems of contemporary literature, although some of them are statistical or pictorial in nature rather than verbal. The

major problem in using such diverse material is to make the information truly comparable, or compatible. Difficulties arise not only because of the different nature of the written word and figures, but also because of differences between one piece of verbal evidence and another, or one piece of statistical evidence and another. Problems may arise from trying to resolve two authors' differing viewpoints, or from the fact that different needs or bases of compilation led to sets of statistics which are not strictly comparable one with the other. However, an outline of the material available takes precedence over the assessment of its worth and the specific problems it poses.

There are some broad categories into which most, if not all, of the material can be placed. As may be seen from the bibliography,¹ eight such categories have been used. Of these, the printed parliamentary papers are probably the most widely referred to, both in this thesis and in other general studies of housing. This classification includes not only the mass of written evidence in the form of reports of one kind or another, but also the statistical evidence to be gathered from the census returns. Such data gives both national aggregates and some degree of insight into local conditions by county and district. Indeed by using the enumerator's returns it is possible, by 1841, to obtain some rudimentary data on specific individuals. John Hackleton,² for example, is known to have been a railway labourer, unmarried, thirty five years of age or thereabouts, and to

1 See below, p. 450.

2 Enumerator's return for Gaydon, Warwickshire, 1841, P.R.O. R.G. 10/3218 Schedule 7.

have been living with his widowed mother. This information, together with his birthplace, is about all that is available on individuals and their households. While individuals can surface in such a manner, the more immediate concern of this thesis is with the general case rather than the specific. The census enumerator's books also provide an example of a second classification - that of unprinted government material. Such manuscripts also include minutes of evident to the Select Committees on bills, the minute books of government agencies such as the General Board of Health, and various other similar records.¹ Unprinted records have specific problems of interpretation as will be pointed out later. Such data is of course not confined to the government sphere which spreads the range beyond minute books, to include inventories of firms and individuals, letters and a host of other material characterised as much by its diversity as by any common properties.

The remaining five classifications all deal predominantly with printed material. Non-parliamentary government papers give a vast wealth of information, mainly on local conditions, such as that contained in the General Board of Health reports on individual localities. The question of rural areas in particular, is very well dealt with by the articles which appeared in various journals such as that of the Royal Agricultural Society. This aspect is less well covered in the many books which were written on housing, and associated topics, during the nineteenth century. The books themselves² give an insight into the newer problem

1 For further examples, see below p. 456.

2 See below, pp. 463-4.

of the growing urban areas especially towards the end of the century when the whole question of living standards seems to have been a subject for hot debate.

Two classifications remain: firstly printed material other than books, put out by those unconnected with central government or its agencies, a classification which includes reports prepared for local government bodies, and the information to be found scattered in various newspapers. Secondly there is a miscellaneous category for items which do not fit neatly into any classification.

Having outlined the general nature of the sources, some appreciation of their value, and inherent pitfalls, is necessary. Basically the problems appear to be: the accuracy of the information available, the comparability of varying forms of data, and some problems of compatibility. Apart from these difficulties the historian is faced with the existence of a great volume of evidence, extravagantly abundant in size and simultaenously inadequate in scope and content. This problem faced contemporary investigators no less than present-day historians.

"No adequate data yet exist for a complete and systematic investigation of the condition of the population, as to house accommodation, when regarded family by family."¹

This was how one contemporary writer voiced his despair in considering what he thought ought to appear in the census publications. He went on to point out that while material was abundant in many respects it was difficult to ascertain much detail, or anything regarding the quality rather than the

1 R.H.I. Palgrave, 'On the House Accommodation of England and Wales, With Reference to the Census of 1871', Journal of the Statistical Society of London Vol. 32 (1869), p. 411.

quantity of housing.¹ This was not, however, thought to be sufficient reason for delaying an attempt to study the question. In fact by the time of Palgrave's writing some such information was available although not from the census returns. It could, however, be so detailed as to lessen its usefulness for generalisation. The amount of detail in the Whitehaven report can best be judged by the following short tabular excerpt on page 11.

The information is concise, tabulated and very useful, except that it only relates to one part of one town, at a particular point in time. The detail makes the Whitehaven report notable, unfortunately, for its unique value as an authoritative source rather than for any other reason. Elsewhere the seven people with one bed in Number 1, Robinson's Fold, Queen Street, would provide the sort of example most likely to be quoted alone, rather than any overall picture.

The lack of comparability between reports is, however, a grave problem. With different inspectors undertaking the task, differences as to what constituted the major objectives of the inquiry could occur. Such reports also only appear in certain circumstances: where the crude death rate had been abnormally high (that is 23 per thousand) over a seven-year period, or where such an inquiry was specifically called for by the town in question.² It was therefore likely that conditions in the towns reported on would be somewhat worse than

1 Palgrave, op. cit. p. 412.

2 T.W. Rammell, Report on a Preliminary Inquiry into the Sewerage, Drainage, and Supply of Water, and the Sanitary Condition of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Aberdare (1853), p. 8.

FIGURE 1.1

SAMPLE OF PART OF REPORT OF SUPERINTENDING INSPECTOR TO THE BOARD OF HEALTH *

Names of Streets etc.	Nos	Owners	Occupiers	Dimensions of Rooms			Dimensions of Windows		Staircase	Light or Dark	Particulars of Rooms				Particulars of Tenements		Number and Descriptions of Beds and Furniture		Space near Tenement	Ventilation	Number of Persons Living on Each Property	Condition of Tenement	REMARKS
				Length	Breadth	Height	Length	Breadth			No. on Floor	No. to Ceiling	No. of Rooms	No. of Persons	No. of Beds	Per Week	Beds	Furniture					
Smith's court, Queen-street	1	Mrs Smith	Hannah Mounsey	17 3	9 0	7 0	3 3	2 1	2 9	Dark	2	1	2	1	1 1		Very good	Clean & good	Enclosed	None	7	Clean	Smith's court is situated in low Queen-street, about 250 yards from any water; the tenements in this court have no place for their ashes, but get clear of them the best way they can; they have likewise no privy.
	2	"	Jane Robinson	17 3	9 0	7 0	3 3	2 1	2 9	"	-	1	1	1	0 10		Clean & good	"	"	"	"	"	
	3	"	John Burns	17 3	9 0	7 0	3 3	2 1	2 9	"	2	2	4	1	1 6		"	"	"	"	"	"	
Robinson's fold, Queen-street	1	John Douglas	Elizabeth McDonald	12 0	11 10	7 7	4 5	2 4	2 7	Light	4	2	7	1	1 3		"	"	"	"	26	"	No water; 3 dirty ash-pits, and a privy. Robinson's-fold is situated in Middle Queen-street, and is about 400 yards from the nearest water supply. There are 3 ash-pits and privies, but they are very dirty, and in bad repair, so as to be unfit for use.
	2	"	John Emerson	12 0	11 10	7 7	4 4	2 4	2 7	"	-	2	4	1	1 3		Dirty & bad	3 chairs, 1 stool	"	"		Dirty	
	3	"	Margaret Black	18 3	14 3	7 7	1 6	1 4	2 10	Dark	4	2	5	2	1 0		"	4 old chairs, 1 box	"	"		"	
	4	"	Eleanor McGee	11 7	11 0	7 7	2 0	1 6	2 10	"	-	2	1	1	1 0		Clean but bad	4 old chairs, 1 stool	"	"		Clean	
	5	"	James Murphy	12 8	12 3	7 7	4 5	2 4	2 7	Light	4	2	5	1	1 4		Dirty & bad	2 old chairs, 1 stool	"	"		Dirty	
	6	"	Thomas James	12 8	12 3	7 7	4 5	3 4	2 7	"	-	2	4	1	1 4		"	Clean & good	"	"		"	

* SOURCE: R. Rawlinson, Report on a Preliminary Inquiry into the Sewerage, Drainage and Supply of Water and the Sanitary Condition of the Inhabitants of the Town of Whitehaven (1849), Supplement pp. 2-3.

the overall standard of all towns.

If the General Board of Health reports are treated with caution they can prove to be a most valuable source of information on conditions in particular localities at particular points in time. Their origins are derived from the Report on the Health of Towns¹, through the setting up of the Central Board under the 1848 Public Health Act. In their own way they alone may have produced as much pressure for change by their detailed revelation of conditions, as did the rest of the efforts of the Central Board in its short and troubled lifespan.

In general, these reports provide examples of some of the major deficiencies in all the available sources, of whatever nature and origin. Each house in the street or courtyard was inspected in the Whitehaven case, and the results were given in terms of the names of both occupiers and owners, room, staircase and window dimensions, plus numbers of rooms both per floor and per tenement, rents, numbers of beds and people per tenement, and descriptions of the furniture. All this, together with remarks on space, ventilation, overcrowding and conditions in general,² provides a wealth of information. The major drawbacks are twofold: firstly how to compare this with the reports for other towns which do not go into the same detail, or use the same approach³, and secondly

1 Report of the S.C. On the Health of Towns H. of L.S.P. 1840, XXVIII, p. 18.

2 See above, p. 11.

3 For example there is the summary type approach of W. Ranger, Report to the General Board of Health on a Preliminary Inquiry into the Sanitary Condition of the Borough of Doncaster (1850), pp. 37-38 where the houses were described as mostly of two sleeping rooms and small in size, not in the detail of Rawlinson's work on Whitehaven.

how to interpret these results on a general basis, both in terms of Whitehaven or other towns inspected, and for society as a whole. While accuracy and compatibility of such reports with other sources do not usually pose great problems, comparability and how best to use them give distinct problems. Perhaps the greatest is that such succinct and useful sources of information are so few and far between that they can almost be described as anecdotal where they do occur. Rather than the source itself being a problem, it is the lack of other comparable sources of information for other places or different time periods that poses the real difficulty. This brings Palgrave's comment¹ back to mind. Quality remains a difficult factor to measure, even when information is available. In the absence of such information it is impossible.

If the General Board of Health reports were comparable one with another, this would not ease the problem of comparing their findings with those of different bodies or researchers either for the same time, or later in the century. They can be used to present a cross-section in time, a snapshot view of a particular town or towns, but if it is desired to go beyond this point and consider later housing standards, and attempt to discover the reasons for any change, it is necessary to compare the data of various unrelated sources, probably constructed with a variety of aims in mind.

The problem is not greatly eased by considering reports undertaken on a national basis, in the expectation that these would more easily lend themselves to generalisation than local ones. Often the problem remains one of too great

1 See above, pp. 9-10.

a degree of specificity, this time along the lines of the scope of such inquiries rather than that of their geographical area. Reports such as that on heating and ventilation¹ are even narrower than the title would suggest. In this case concern was virtually exclusively with smoke pollution and the efficiency of various forms of heating, rather than the more wide-ranging concepts which could be included under such a heading. Somewhat better is the report on sanitary conditions which gives some picture of the state of industrial towns and points out the crude death rates associated with them as a proxy for a measure of the rate, and degree, of change.²

Since crude death rates as a proxy for housing conditions were much favoured by the Board of Health and have continued to be used in such a manner, it might be appropriate to comment on their relationship at this point. In some circumstances, there is obvious justification in linking sanitary conditions in particular and thus housing conditions in general with crude death rates, especially in cases where environmental factors could influence the impact of disease.³ However, in many cases, the composition of the population, the relative proportions of very young or very old in the total, could affect the crude death rate to a greater extent

1 Report by Commissioners to the General Board of Health on the Warming and Ventilation of Dwellings P.P. 1857, Session 2, XLI, p. 309.

2 Papers Regarding the Sanitary State of the People of England P.P. 1857-8, XXIII, p. 267.

3 The General Board of Health worked on this basis and various authors have used such measures, using the information given by the Registrar-General, who from 1837 published comparative tables of Death Rates with local variations.

than housing, or other aspects of living conditions, especially when infant mortality generally ran as high as 47.66 per thousand for children under the age of ten, as in London in the eighteen eighties.¹ It was also possible that increased mortality might be due to the inhabitant's overall generally lower standard of living rather than to their housing. Poor housing and high mortality were symptoms of the same disease, rather than cause and effect. Back-to-back houses have in this regard been somewhat invidiously compared with through houses, but they were somewhat cheaper to rent and it is likely that their inhabitants were less immune to disease, because of their general lifestyle, than were inhabitants of through dwellings.² The use of a proxy such as the crude death rate as a measure of improvement is therefore fraught with difficulty.

Back-to-backs alone provide the subject matter for many reports, not just those emanating from the General Board of Health. Whatever their subject matter, however, these other sources also provide problems. Changes of authorship or function are the cause of some of these. Many difficulties have been pointed out in using government sources generally including the blanket warning that "blue books" are a poor source mainly due to the difficulties arising from their only considering the worst conditions, rather than taking a balanced view. It is suggested that the major drawbacks arise

1 Report of the Poplar Board of Works (1883), p. 31. (If the crude death rates of those over one year of age were considered, the figure fell as low as 17 per thousand.) Age specific figures would be needed to compare different areas on this basis, but this would still leave several other variables such as income to be considered.

2 Excessive mortality was found in Back-to-backs from chest diseases, bronchitis, and pneumonia plus those diseases associated with defective growth and development of the young child. Report to Local Government Board on Back-to-Back Housing P.P. 1910, XXXVIII, p. 896.

from their main purpose being reform, and their concern with questions only peripherally related to housing.¹ Other cases show complete inaccuracy rather than just bias.² The various questions associated with such problems relate to all sources rather than just blue books, the questions of: who is writing, when, for what purpose and how, must all be asked if a true appreciation of the relative value of any particular source is to be ascertained. Particular points of view can be taken by authors of contemporary books or articles, or compilers of figures, no less than writers of official reports, and lessen their usefulness in consequence. A good example of the committed author is one of the "blue books" critics, Ebenezer Howard, writing at the turn of the century. The subtitle to his book on garden cities is the third edition of Tomorrow A Peaceful Path to Reform.³ The book refers to existing housing, including that in rural areas and to concern over rural depopulation⁴. It also stresses the advantages of garden cities in combatting the latter of these. Such authors may have highlighted the problems, in order to enhance the possible attractions of their

1 Chapman, op. cit. p. 10, T.S. Ashton, 'Treatment of Capitalism By Historians', in Capitalism and the Historians, ed. F.A. Hayek (1954), p. 35.

2 H.J. Dyos writes on the accuracy of demolition statements which had to be provided from 1853 onwards where 30 or more houses of the working class were demolished after compulsory acquisition. 'Some Social Costs of Railway Building in London', Journal of Transport History Vol. 1 No. 1 (1954), pp. 23-30.

Report of the R.C. on the Housing of the Working Classes P.P. 1884-5, XXX, p. 86 said that evidence presented to it was unanimous in that the Standing Orders of both houses regarding the rehousing of displaced people were either evaded or insufficient.

3 E. Howard, Garden Cities of Tomorrow (1902), Title page.

4 Ibid., p. 12.

own proposals, no less than did the authors of government reports.

While Ebenezer Howard conveys some description of actual conditions, the major portion of his book is concerned with what might be possible, and this is the case with much of the available contemporary literature. Some publications give details of designs and layouts which probably approximate to the case of Prince Regent's model cottages, emulated by only one person.¹ At worst such models may never have been physically reproduced. Alternatively, they may have been of the "cottage orné" type, not the sort of house that would ordinarily be inhabited by members of the working class, rather an idealised version thereof, such cases sometimes appearing in exhibitions and books of designs.²

The desire to put ideas or organisations in the best light possible is an understandable one from a human point of view, but it has its drawbacks as far as the historian is concerned. The building society movement and its role in providing housing, originally directly, and later through the provision of finance, is a case in point. Most of the pamphlets and books - of which there are an abundance on this topic - were written by prominent members of the movement who were not likely to play down the importance of societies in general, and their own in particular. They can give a slanted account of their contribution to housing the working

1 Howard, *op. cit.* pp. 9-19.

2 For example, J. Gandy, Designs for Cottages, Cottage Farms and Other Rural Buildings (1805); and

Edwin Chadwick, 'Dwellings for the Poor Characterized by Cheapness Combined with the Conditions Necessary for Health', Reports on the Paris Universal Exhibition by the Executive Commissioner P.P. 1867-8, Series III, XXX, Part II, report page 261.

classes as in reality they mainly benefited the shopkeepers and "better class of people".¹ The original prospectus of the Halifax Building Society is reputed to have commented on the benefits conferred on the "middle and industrious classes of society" by building and investment societies generally.²

Other sources can suffer from a degree of overenthusiasm by their writer. Prone to deal with the sensational aspects rather than the general ones are the accounts to be found in both newspapers and journals. This is attributable to journalistic desires, namely to make their publications of interest and therefore more likely to sell, rather than to serve the interests of future historians. From the newspaper accounts, if taken to extremes, it is possible to suppose that houses collapsing were, if anything, more frequent than were housing improvements. Seven dead out of a total of 35 inhabitants when a tenement collapsed in Islington in 1855,³ for example, is a more newsworthy story than that the numbers of people per inhabited dwelling had declined from 5.48 in 1851 to 5.35 in 1861.⁴ The problem in the Islington case incidentally, was said to be due to internal alterations undertaken without much knowledge or consideration for the likely consequences.

Perhaps contemporary journals were in fact less likely to sensationalise than were newspapers. Articles appearing

1 Edmund Ashworth so described the activities of building societies in Bolton in the 1830's. Report of the S.C. on the Health of Towns H. of L.S.P. 1840, XXVIII, Q. 1,875.

2 O.R. Hobson, A Hundred Years of the Halifax (1953), p. 23.

3 The Builder Feb. 17th and 24th 1855.

4 1901 Census Report P.P. 1903, LXXXIV, p. 1.

in some journals provide an intriguing and valuable source of information, especially with regard to rural housing conditions.¹ However, even journals can be somewhat unreliable and may even descend to the facetious, such as the supposed "letter from a lodger" signed Wrinkleton Fidgit, which appeared in Blackwoods Edinburgh Magazine complaining of the problems facing those involved in sharing accommodation and whose lot it was "to be domiciled with a monster".² Of equally doubtful value are articles which mix comparatively straightforward comment with statements revealing more about the author's value judgments than of actual conditions. A statement on the contents of furnished lodgings and their cost, in relation to the extra rent required by landlords, would seem to be the type of information sought. However, when it is included with such remarks as - the worst hovels may be the accommodation forced on people for a while but those who continue to live in them indefinitely have only themselves to blame³ - the credibility of the whole statement is somewhat reduced.

The diversity of material extends beyond that already mentioned to include pictorial sources such as maps, paintings, prints and photographs, all of which present problems similar to those of other forms of evidence. Rarely is it possible to get a good run of maps for the same area which might provide information on the choice of sites, for example, or densities, or even the pace of geographical expan-

1 Extensive use was made of the Journals of the Royal Agricultural Society in this regard.

2 Blackwoods Edinburgh Magazine Vol. XV (March 1824), p. 251

3 'On the Choice of a Labouring Man's Dwelling', The Penny Magazine of The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge Vol. 1 (1832), pp. 15 and 16.

sion. In particular circumstances pictorial evidence can be very effective. J.N. Tarn's use of photographs in considering the architectural aspects of the subject is a good example.¹ In this thesis, however, such sources are used in a complementary rather than a fundamental sense.

While the emphasis of the analysis is towards the underlying economic, demographic and social factors, some reference is made to the personalities involved in all of these aspects. Sources for this purpose include personal biographies and papers, directories and other scattered or sporadic references. As with other sources, their usefulness and accuracy depend upon the accuracy and objectivity of their author.

Leaving the personalities aside, it is often suggested that what is really lacking for more effective generalisation is an adequate statistical source. It is with a consideration of this major and important question, the adequacy of the various available statistics, together with that of the cross-checks on them, that this section is concluded.

Statistics exhibit many of the problems to be found in verbal evidence. If words can be anecdotal so too can statistics, as was the case with Rawlinson's report on Whitehaven insofar as it provides only a snapshot at a point in time. Statistics are equally as liable to error as written evidence through the judgment of their compiler, interpreter, or user. Statistics make the observer no more likely to be objective than if he employed words. The user of statistics

1 J.N. Tarn, Working Class Housing in Nineteenth-Century Britain Architectural Association Paper Number 7 (1971), p. 1.

may, however, have had to face greater problems of definition, thus rendering his work more reliable. Definitions in themselves can provide extreme problems of consistency. One of the gravest difficulties associated with statistical evidence concerns changing census definitions, such as what constituted either a "house" or a "family". If the problem of the house is taken as an example, the definition alters over the course of the nineteenth century. Prior to 1851 it was left to the enumerator's discretion,¹ but in the guidelines for 1841 each separately-occupied unit under the same roof was instructed to be taken as a dwelling or house.² This affects calculations as between census figures let alone comparisons with non-census material. An increasing problem later in the century, however, is the question of block dwellings still being counted as one house. Thus whereas the 1841 figures may be overestimates in some respects, the last two or three census returns of the century are almost certainly underestimates in total, and lead to overestimates in the resulting figures for overcrowding.³ There

-
- 1 B. Weber, 'A New Index of Residential Construction 1838-1950', Scottish Journal of Political Economy Vol. 2 (1955), p. 115.
 - 2 Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVI, p. 121. (Subsequently referred to as the Sanitary Report H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVI.)
 - 3 In the case of Bethnal Green in 1881 the number of inhabited houses was cited as 16,663. The Medical Officer of Health reckoned this as a shortfall on "dwelling" numbers of 1,058. Each block of tenements had been enumerated as one house. This applied to all blocks having a common staircase. Report of Medical Officer of Health to Bethnal Green Vestry (1880), p. 2.

An estimate of the ratio of tenements to separate houses in England for the census returns of 1891 and 1901 gives 112 tenements per 100 houses. Thus figures would have to be inflated by a coefficient of 1.12 to arrive at total dwellings. G.R. Porter, The Progress of the Nation Revised Edition by F.W. Hirst (1912), p. 92. (Hirst was the editor of The Economist.)

are problems over definition as between different census years, and as between different census enumerators in the early years. As a result, the comparability of census returns is at least questionable, although they remain the greatest single statistical source.

The problems do not end at the level of what was a house. There is the question of what constitutes a "room". A rigid definition is found to be virtually impossible to arrive at, so that even if some general classification of a house was supposedly agreed upon, as was the case for the latter part of the century, it was still very much in the hands of the enumerator as to what constituted a "room".¹

The discrepancies thus possible can be gauged by the fact that to cover the two parishes of Bow and Bromley in East London, 58 enumerators were required for the 1871 Census.² This means that discrepancies could arise within parishes, let alone between parishes, in the same Census. If the possibility for change from one Census to another is added to this situation, the result is to suggest caution at least in using these figures in a comparative manner.

One possible way to reduce the problems of the statistical sources could be to use one as a cross-check against the others. However, this in itself presents certain difficulties. In more than just isolated cases the "original" source being consulted is found to be based upon earlier

1 The 1911 Census was the first to define "room", sculleries, landings, lobbies and other small areas had been included before, thus understating the totals of small dwellings. 1911 Census Report Vol. VIII (1913) (Cd. 6910) p. iii.

2 Report of the Medical Officer of Health for the Northern District to the Poplar Board of Works (1872), p. 46.

work, meaning no cross-check is possible. The informative book by Porter relies heavily in its housing sections upon government reports, especially the Census, although it has the redeeming feature of adopting a somewhat critical approach to the material. In addition to the census links, an earlier edition relied heavily upon Excise records for details of productions figures for bricks.¹ Similarly the cited work by Palgrave relies in its turn upon Porter, which he takes as his starting point,² as well as drawing upon the resources of government in considering some further points on rural housing.³ There is even the problem that the 1851 edition and that of 1912 are by different authors, since Porter died in 1852. Hirst's edited work, however, does follow the original closely in both form and content.

The interrelationship between apparently distinct source material is accentuated where authors of alternative sources of information to government reports were also involved in giving evidence to Royal Commissions, sitting on them, or in promoting legislation.⁴ Such a situation lessens the possibility of finding credible cross-checks upon available data,

-
- 1 G.R. Porter, The Progress of the Nation (2nd ed. 1851), p. 528. More complete details are to be found in the work of R. Shannon, 'Bricks, A Trade Index 1785-1849', Economica Vol. 1, New Series (1934), pp. 300-318.
 - 2 Palgrave, op. cit. p. 415.
 - 3 Ibid. p. 421. The Hirst edition of Porter used government sources for details on rents, those on p. 97 of the 1912 edition come from the Board of Trade Report of 1905.
 - 4 R.A. Slaney was a prominent protagonist for improvements in housing conditions, being at least a partial instigator of the Select Committee on the Health of Towns of 1840. He also was the author of the book A Plea to Power and Parliament for the Working Classes (1847). This relied on government reports for some material including that of 1840.

although it hopefully does not render the problem insoluble. Compatibility and comparability are no longer issues in such cases. What is needed is independent corroboration, not repetition of the same points because of the use of identical sources under different names. While comparability and compatibility may be satisfied the third question posed earlier in this section, accuracy, remains unchecked.

What must be attempted is to assess the accuracy of the data employed, to cross-check when possible through the use of different sources, and to search for a satisfactory explanation when apparent discrepancies arise. All the available evidence has drawbacks of one kind or another, awareness of the problems involved is the only protection that is readily available.

PART II

Theory, History and Analysis

The aims of the historian and of the theorist are not always identical. Besides the quest for as accurate a description of events as is possible, the historian seeks to explain changes as they took place. The relevance of his theory of change to present-day, or future, developments is of minor importance to him. Similarly, a modern applied researcher working on empirical data is concerned only with an immediate problem, the relevance of his explanation of events to another time period is of secondary importance. There is a link between the two however. The basic princi-

ples of economics, for example, should hold true whatever its time period or subject matter. The changing nature of societies can alter the degree of importance of some of the principles and may render some modes of analysis inappropriate. Modern theoretical ideas can be useful in attempting to analyse an historical situation, but they must be handled with care.

An outline of the theory available, and its value for the present task, illustrates what can be achieved. It is apparent that there has been a history of developments in the economic theory relating to housing, no less than that of housing itself. For a nineteenth-century starting point there is Engels' formulation of a "law" relating the amount spent on housing to the general level of income. This has since been variously interpreted, but generally as a rise in income leading to a decrease in the proportion spent upon more urgent needs such as rent.¹ In other words, rent was seen as the cost of a necessary good and therefore likely to have a low income elasticity of demand. If people became better off they would need to spend, or would decide to spend, a lower proportion of their income on rent.² This would not preclude the absolute value of rents increasing as more money could be spent in this way, but the relative amount would decrease. Conversely, if income levels fell, the relative share of rent would increase, together with expenditure on food as another "necessary" good, leaving the disposable income after paying for these necessities very small, perhaps non-existent or even negative by means

1 A. Bowley and R.G.D. Allen, Family Expenditure (1935), p. 7.

2 This concept is also referred to as "Schwabe's Law".

of credit.

Subsequent studies, in looking at this problem, have generally concluded that people spend a higher proportion of their income on rent as their income increases. Although A. Bowley and R.G.D. Allen, after considering Germany and America in 1927-8 and 1918 respectively, found little increase in expenditure on rents at higher levels of income thus confirming Engels' law,¹ they are in something of a minority.

In contrast Margarent G. Reid followed up the observations of Alfred Marshall that, in a healthy society, an elastic demand for house room seems to be in evidence.² Her results suggest that for the United States in the period 1918-19 to 1960 the income elasticity of demand for housing was between 1.5 and 2.0,³ suggesting a considerably greater proportion of any increase in income would be spent on housing. The reasons for the differences of opinion are several, mainly based on the figure taken as "income", whether it is a measured income; or that part on which the consumer bases his decisions to purchase goods, in Reid's terminology "normal income". Such a semantic discussion may be of limited interest here, except that it is possible, and important, to point out three factors at work. The first is that initial differences of opinion do exist, thus it is not possible to take even what might be called the conventional wisdom, and apply it to nineteenth-century Britain. The second factor is that other than purely economic considerations can come

1 Bowley and Allen, op. cit. pp. 24-5.

2 A. Marshall, Principles of Economics 8th ed. (1920), p. 90.

3 M. G. Reid, Housing and Income (1962), p. 6.

into play. The difference between the initial Engels' type suggestion and the later Reid findings can be partially explained by the image people wish to project through their housing standard, and how this affects their decisions on expenditure. Once beyond the barest essential the scope for deciding how much to spend, becomes much greater. The third factor is that little work of this nature has been done for nineteenth-century Britain partly because of the difficulty of obtaining data, but in a general sense some use can be made of the concept as will be seen later.¹ To provide a brief example of how this economic concept can be used, linked with social attitudes of the working-classes, it has been said that for those living in Sheffield the accepted tradition

".... lay in paying a minimum weekly rent which would provide a profitable return for the landlord, and for themselves the tenancy of a shoddy house in the worst quarters of a dirty and insanitary town."²

Such an attitude seems inconsistent with the viewpoint that demand for poor-quality housing varies inversely with changes in household income.³ Income levels in this case would have little or no effect upon the amount spent on rent, at least in a situation of increasing income. Some change would, however, be possible in times of falling income.

It is possible to suggest a degree of compromise, that both suggestions are true - in certain circumstances. The suggestion that the income elasticity of demand for accommo-

1 See below p. 111.

2 Quoted in S. Pollard, History of Labour in Sheffield (1959), p. 23.

3 R.F. Muth, 'Slums and Poverty' in The Economic Problems of Housing, ed. A.A. Nevitt (1967), p. 14.

dation is less than unity, could be seen as true in cases where income levels were low, relative to modern-day standards, and where that income fell. Thus the demand for housing would be inelastic downwards. Simultaneously it would still be possible for the second proposition to hold true, that the demand for housing was elastic as income increased. This approach seems to make considerable sense, as it enables social factors to play their part as well as economic ones.¹

It is certainly possible to observe cases where the demand for accommodation did fluctuate. Increasing the numbers sharing a house or rooms was one way of decreasing each individual's payment.

"In some parts of Bolton at this time the families are removing from their houses, and crowding together several families into one house, using one fire, and living at the expense of one rent. This is the pressure of the times. The greatest part of the mills are working short time."²

Another stock reaction at such times was for the poor to drop any pretence at separate dwellings, and swarm into the lodging-houses in the large towns.³ The problem at such times was to discover some way in which expenditure could be reduced below the rather minimal amount suggested by the Sheffield experience. It is also of interest to note in passing, that contained in the quote on Sheffield is a crucial reference to the supply side, as well as the demand side.

".... a minimum weekly rent which would provide a profitable return for the landlord...."

1 The point is followed up below, see p. 54.

2 Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, p. 281.

3. Minutes of Evidence of the S.C. on Manufactures, Commerce and Shipping P.P. 1833, VI, Qq. 1,802-3.

The return to the landlord was crucial to the operation of the system. Only by increasing the return relative to that obtainable from alternative investment opportunities would the supply of accommodation be increased. Even then some severe constraints existed particularly in the short-run, as will become evident later.

What theory can do is to point out possible lines of investigation and the sort of questions that are worth asking in order to start an analysis of the situation. It helps to suggest definite lines of inquiry either through what might be expected to occur in given situations, or how such a situation might arise in the first place.

Part of this thesis considers the role of particular groups in affecting housing standards. Theory can be a useful tool in this regard by keeping things in perspective. The part played by these groups can be overemphasised, if care is not taken, simply because material about them is available, as was pointed out in the previous section with references to the sources.¹ Social reformers have been credited with a great deal, by direct action and by example, and it has been said that it was 1918 before interest in housing had widened much beyond their circle.² It was of course always the concern primarily of those living in the houses, and in some ways the concern of those owning or building such dwellings, although possibly for somewhat different reasons. It is certainly true that government interest, particularly as a landlord, only really became apparent

1 See above, pp. 17-18.

2 G.P. Braae, Fluctuations in Investment in Housing in Britain and America (Between the Wars) 1919-1939 (Oxford University D. Phil. thesis, 1960), p. 2.

after 1918. Interest and concern do not, however, necessarily equate with the ability to affect events. The individuals most able to affect the situation were not the social reformers, the philanthropists or societies associated with them, but the landlord and the tenant. Among those who have written theoretical works on housing, H.W. Richardson has a reminder for the historian in this case:

"Market mechanisms underlie even those urban phenomena that might appear to be primarily social in origin and character - slums, central area blight, suburban sprawl ..."¹

To alleviate such problems mainly requires an increase in either the supply of a better product (possibly equivalent to its concentration in the latter case) or changes in the pattern of demand for that product, rather than work by government or philanthropy as intervention by both seems to have been ineffective in nineteenth-century Britain.

Too great a concern with particular aspects of the housing question can only result in a slanted approach. The reformers were constrained by the underlying economic circumstances no less than were those who formed the human part of demand and supply, the tenants and the landlords.

Although emphasis has been placed on the necessity to use the concepts available as the starting point, or as aids to analysis, it cannot be assumed that any problem can be solved by just discovering the appropriate theory and applying it. Apart from the possibility of apparent conflict in theory, as in the case of the income elasticity of demand for housing, there are the problems of what are called the background

1 H.W. Richardson, Urban Economics (1971), p. 15. This work provides a review of much of the relevant theoretical literature.

and initial conditions.¹

The availability of sufficient data to verify or negate the explanation provided by a particular theory adds to these problems. In the case of housing, background conditions would have to include such considerations as the likelihood of renting or owning a house. Something of a culture clash exists in this regard, between nineteenth-century Britain and the twentieth-century markets examined by many of the recent economic theorists. With over 50 per cent of the population of England and Wales now owner-occupiers, it makes much more sense to talk of the relative importance of interest rates and loan value ratios² in determining the level of present-day housing demand than it does in a nineteenth-century situation where owner-occupancy levels seem to have been less than 10 per cent.³ The nineteenth-century need is for a theory which concerns itself with the demand for house-room and levels of rent, rather than directly with the prime cost of housing, although this latter factor affects the situation through the purchasing decisions of the landlord.

The considerations involved in house purchase by the owner-occupier, however, seem to include factors not strictly related to investment decisions such as one might expect to be the case for the landlord. While a prime determinant for

1 R.L. Basmann, 'The Role of the Historian in Predictive Testing of Proffered "Economic Laws"', Explorations in Entrepreneurial History 2nd Ser. Vol. 2 No. 3 (1965), pp. 159-60.

2 By loan value ratio is meant the proportion of the purchase price which is lent, the residual, and important part to the purchaser, being the cash deposit necessary.

3 Economic Progress Report Central Office of Information, (27 May 1972), p. 2

M. Bowley, Housing and the State (1945), p. 84, suggests while owner-occupancy levels have not been reliably estimated pre-World War I, they are generally considered to have been very low.

the occupier is either the level of weekly repayments or the amount of cash deposit, the landlord is more concerned with the rate of the interest foregone by not investing in an alternative, compared with the rate of return available from housing, with a high premium placed on the degree of security of the investments. Certainly such rational decisions were not part of the make-up of every nineteenth-century landlord, even if most of them were more interested in rent returns than the one encountered by Octavia Hill in her examination of housing conditions. This man, an undertaker who owned some cottages in London, was reputed to have said:

"Yes miss, of course there are plenty of bad debts - its not the rents I look to, but the deaths I get out of the houses."¹

Changes in the environment, both economic and social, can render theories appropriate only with careful use. Some of the expected attitudes of the purchaser, be he owner-occupier or renting landlord, are similar while others are very different. Even landlords' attitudes can change over time, especially if Octavia Hill's observation had any real substance to it.

In many respects the nineteenth-century situation is somewhat less complicated than the modern one. The widespread dominance of renting rather than outright purchase means that the various distinct, yet connected and interdependent markets for housing which do exist, are simplified. The various markets in twentieth-century terms include that for land, and that for houses, either new or old, with the further distinction that these can either be purchased for cash

1 O. Hill, 'Cottage Property in London', Fortnightly Review Vol. 6 (1866), p. 684.

or some form of time payment by means of mortgage finance, with the further alternative of renting. In fact it is possible that the land can be rented or "leased", while the house itself is purchased. Alfred Marshall was careful to make such distinctions in commenting upon rising rents. It was the ground rent that accounted for rises in the total, he commented, not rises in house rents.¹ More usually the two are inextricably linked together making it difficult to assess them separately, but certainly the continual complaints of the nineteenth century included one concerning the high cost of land and its prevention of more being achieved by the philanthropic bodies in the large cities.² The continuing competition for building sites through to the present-day has led to land prices rising in advance of overall building costs. From the nineteenth-century tenant's viewpoint, if purchasing his own home was virtually ruled out, the variety of choices was much reduced. The rental cost of both house and land is all that is of concern. The other possible influences can only affect this situation through their impact upon the decisions of landlords and builders.

The situation has also changed greatly as far as the choice of sites is concerned. Not only are land costs rising, but the land thought desirable to build on has altered too. Some of the latest behaviouralist studies stress the importance of the choice of house, the area and its proximity to recreational or other facilities, at the expense of travel-

1 Marshall, op. cit. pp. 562-3.

2 L.C.C., The Housing Question in London (undated, circa 1900), p. 63. See also E. Harper, L.C.C. Statistical Officer, in evidence to the R.C. on London Traffic P.P. 1906, XL, Q. 5,087 with regard to the cost of rehousing and land costs in the Holborn and Strand areas.

ling time to and from work.¹ The links with the choices made by the nineteenth-century Englishmen, working-class or not, seem somewhat remote. To him journey times seem to have been all-important. The unknown writer observing developments in Upminster in the eighteen eighties, when a railway link with London ensured that travel from there was quicker than from already-developed Hornchurch a mile nearer, was in no two minds as to the way things would go.

"Hornchurch may put up the shutters as a residential suburb."¹

His opinion was strengthened by the fact that the fare was no different. There is also ample evidence from elsewhere to suggest that home-to-work journey times were the most important variable, especially for those who were engaged in casual labour, such as dockers, or those who wished to be near the resulting concentrated market, such as the costermongers. This resulted in some crowded areas, while other areas might have numbers of uninhabited houses suitable for occupation by the working class.³ The choice of site in the crowded areas included the backyards of existing houses or other empty space. Parts of Poplar suffered particularly from this sort of concentration due to their proximity to the London docks.⁴

-
- 1 R.H. Ellis, 'Modelling of Household Location : A Statistical Approach', Highway Research Record (1967), No. 207, pp. 42-51. Also M.A. Stegman, 'Accessibility Models and Residential Location', Journal of American Institute of Planners Vol. 35 (1969), pp. 22-9.
 - 2 Quoted as from a "Native Writer" by H.E. Priestly in his 'Notes on Upminster and Hornchurch', single sheet of typescript (undated but used for classes 1954-5 and 1955-6). Essex Record Office T/P 117/116.
 - 3 Report of the R.C. on the Housing of the Working Classes P.P. 1884-5, XXX, p. 31.
 - 4 Report of Poplar Board of Works (1887), p. 24

The more appropriate theory, unless a detailed study of the location of favourite public houses as possible points of recreation is undertaken,¹ would seem to be one based on the time taken to travel from home to work, and the availability of cheap transport at early or late hours if walking was not possible. Such theories have been put forward by sociologists² and economists³ alike. However, these are of more use, in present circumstances, in characterising the deficiencies of their kind than they are in aiding the historian's quest. In general the assumptions made are such as to render them only approximate guides to more or less useful lines of inquiry. Beckmann makes the general assumption that all households' residences are defined by their distance from the Central Business District and that the city tends to be centred on the one place.⁴ It does not take much to demonstrate that anywhere at any time, let alone in nineteenth-century England, such assumptions are likely to make his model somewhat unreal. The fact that Hornchurch was a mile nearer to the city area of London, could not save it in the anonymous writer's mind, since the time it took to travel from Upminster was less. Time and distance do not necessarily equate. Further it is probably only in cases of a very small indus-

1 In general these sort of facilities would tend to shift to their source of patronage, rather than the customers shift to be near them.

2 See L. Schnore, The Urban Scene (1965), pp. 324-6.

3 See M.J. Beckmann, 'On the Distribution of Urban Rent and Residential Density', Journal of Economic Theory Vol. 1 (1969), pp. 60-7. And A. Montesano, 'A Re-statement of Beckmann's Model on the Distribution of Urban Rent and Residential Density', Ibid. Vol. 14 (1972), pp. 329-354.

4 Beckmann, *op. cit.* p. 60.

trial town with one source of employment that a monocentric concept will emerge. While the docks in Poplar may have provided such a source of employment to those employed there, they did not do so for the costermongers and hawkers who were engaged in servicing the dockers' needs. The chance of a town developing equally in all directions at once is even more unlikely, even if the mining villages of the north-east, or south Wales are taken into account. The nature of life in them and their reason for existence are such as to make it unlikely that there is free choice by the inhabitant of his site. These, together with some other assumptions, render the Beckmann model somewhat simple in concept. This may be necessary for the mathematics of the model but as Montesano points out, with the investigation of specific examples it could well be that "realism may exclude generality".¹ Reality may in fact be too complicated to generalise either mathematically or verbally.

It is comparatively simple to point out deficiencies in the theoretical approaches when put up against reality, but this does not remove their fundamental usefulness for the historian, that of pointing the way to appropriate lines of inquiry. It may be, for example, that for the casual labourer it is not the cost of transport in terms of cash that is most important but the cost in terms of travelling time and reliability of the service. The validity of models relating to the economics of housing can only be applied or tested for the nineteenth century in a very general sense. This underlying problem arises from the sketchy nature of some of the basic source material, and its lack of comparability. Theory

1 Montesano, op. cit. p. 354.

as a starting point to an examination of the demand situation remains the key. There is also some theoretical work relating to supply. It is particularly concerned with fluctuations in activity in the residential building industry, and consequent effects upon the general trade cycle. In fact it has been suggested that most of the interest stems from house-building being an important and unstable constituent of fixed investment, sometimes accounting for a quarter or more of the total.¹ Extreme interest has been evident in the role of residential house-building in Britain in the interwar period, as a provider of a "floor" to slump activity and as a subsequent leader in recovery. In 1933-5 the importance of house-building was such that it is estimated to have accounted for over 40 per cent of gross fixed capital formation.² Investment in housing during the nineteenth century does not seem to have reached this level at any time, even at the height of the building boom in the eighteen nineties. Suggested figures for this date would be in the region of 18.6 per cent arrived at by computations from available statistics.³

Analysis of fluctuations in construction rates, of changes in the market for new houses rather than the overall supply of both new and existing houses, leads to the conclusion that there is little apparent link between the trade and building cycle.⁴ In this case the emphasis can quickly shift back

1 R.C.O. Matthews, The Trade Cycle (Cambridge, 1959), p. 98.

2 G.P. Braae, 'Investment in Housing in the United Kingdom 1924-38', Manchester School of Economic & Social Studies Vol. XXXII (1964), p. 20.

3 C.H. Feinstein's estimates in B.R. Mitchell and P. Deane, Abstract of British Historical Statistics (1962), p. 374. Only once do they rise above 25 per cent. See below, p. 114.

4 Matthews, op. cit. p. 100.

to considerations of demand rather than supply. With rents somewhat rigid and some inertia visible in the response of the industry,¹ the tendency for short-run fluctuations to arise from changes in demand is readily apparent. The links between these changes and those in birth rates, both directly and immediately, through their effect on real disposable income levels,² and by their consequent effect twenty to thirty years later, on the numbers of the population coming into the marriageable age-group, have also been extensively studied.

Demographic approaches are useful to the historian. The crude reaction for house numbers to follow the upward drift of population is simple enough to note. In aggregate terms, decennial rates of growth for both tend to move together. The population variable is one of the three major components of the level of demand, the others being income and prices. A straight link between population growth, and the growth in house numbers does not reveal very much, but it is certainly a necessary first step in considering demand factors.

Generally the demand position appears more attractive to the economist than does that of supply. Constraints, at least in the availability of data, if not methods, make it appear that the important changes occur in demand rather than supply. The economist considering the structure of the industry, as through an examination of the relative proportions of total cost accounted for by particular factors of production,³ is concerned mainly with the causes of constraints or

1 Matthews, op. cit. p. 102.

2 Braae, op. cit. (1964), p. 38

3 For example, G.T. Jones, Increasing Return (1933), pp. 67-8, considers the relative shares in carpentry and joinery of both labour and material costs.

attempts to overcome them, rather than directly with the cause of fluctuations.

If the supply of housing is not of great excitement, neither is innovation a startling process in the nineteenth- or twentieth-century residential building industry, as is clearly shown by Marion Bowley in her historial introduction to the topic.¹ Demand is the more dynamic factor, and therefore the more attractive and interesting topic for study.²

The questions of divisibility and homogeneity of product plague the modern writer, and they have some interesting aspects for the historian too. Both qualities were important for nineteenth-century housing. At times, however, these qualities are themselves seen as the major problems of the age. Homogeneity was exemplified by the back-to-backs of Birmingham or Leeds;³ divisibility by old Liverpool houses split into tenements of one room. One of the latter was especially noteworthy because the house, inhabited by five families, had been blown, or had just fallen, down during the night, resulting in the loss of three or four lives.⁴ While the product itself might not be physically homogeneous, it could be made to serve as if it were so, and by means of subletting the "desired" divisibility could be achieved even if this was at the expense of convenience, health, or even physical danger.

1 M. Bowley, Innovations in Building Materials (1960).

2 Comprehensive treatment of demand factors is to be found in several books, including those of L. Needleman, The Economics of Housing (1965) and W.F. Smith, Housing (1970).

3 See below, p. 330.

4 Evidence of James Riddal Wood, The S.C. on the Health of Towns H. of L.S.P. 1840, XXVIII, Q. 2, 241.

The homogeneous product went beyond the bounds of one court or street. It was said that only half a dozen towns provided the exceptions to the claim that three-bedroom houses for labourers could be built anywhere for letting at three shillings per week, provided situation was no object and no particular problems were encountered in building.¹ A conservatively-minded industry, plus the spread of builders' pattern books, provided some degree of homogeneity, although stylistic, regional differences did occur. Put on the individual level, of course, with the addition of the concept of a "home" as opposed to a house, it is impossible to suggest effective substitutability of one home for another. Even in economic terms it is difficult to counter the problems raised by the general market imperfections noticeable in the urban context, such as proximity to amenities or work, the existence of neighbouring run-down buildings, or of problems from nearby commercial or industrial premises. In Whitehaven, adjoining 1-5 Swinburncourt was a herring yard with uncomfortable effects on the other inhabitants of the area. Worse was to be found in Caledonia Street, underneath the tenements of which were:

"... a number of nailmakers' shops, as dark as a dungeon, and the smoke goes from floor to floor through the whole building." ²

An alternative example of external effects on the inhabitants of poor housing was the impact of demolition for street improvements or railway works. The resultant overcrowding was seen as leading to disease, drunkenness and, that fear of

1 'Housing of the Poor in Towns', in 8th Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health to the Privy Council P.P. 1866, XXXIII, p. 475.

2 Rawlinson, op. cit. supplement pp. 10-11.

Victorian "society", discontent among the poorer sections of the community,¹ with all its implications. In general such externalities bore disproportionately hard on the working-classes not so much because they lacked the necessary political power to prevent such things, but because the dwellings they lived in were cheaper to buy² than were those of the others in society. Those engaged in improving roading or in the construction of railways in central city areas wanted to use the cheapest land possible.³

It is necessary to be aware of the existence of these external factors affecting the welfare of the inhabitants. The measurement of such factors, however, is difficult enough when sources of information are good, let alone when they are considerably deficient. Some general account must be taken of them, and the lack of measurement clearly acknowledged.

To summarise the main points from this survey, while most of the factors which provide possible explanations of the course of events have undergone theoretical analysis at some time or another, demand, due to its more noticeable effect on the rest of the economy, is the most frequently considered factor. The constraints which operate on supply make changes in it possible only to a limited extent, both in the long- and short-run, so the concentration on demand is only to be expected. Unfortunately much of the theoretical literature relating to the demand for housing for purchase by owner-occupiers

1 Memorial on Conditions of Dwellings from Royal College of Physicians to the First Lord of the Treasury P.P. 1874, LII, p. 675.

2 Generally, of course, only the landlord received any compensation. With regard to housing obligations, which were usually avoided, see below, p. 166.

3 J.R. Kellett, The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities (1969), p. 322.

is of limited value for the nineteenth century where the dominance of renting is unchallenged. Future references to theoretical works will be made at appropriate points later in the thesis.

PART III

Modern Historical Studies

"... there has been nothing on housing beyond an article or two in academic journals and a few pages more in general works..."¹

Chapman's comment has some truth in it; certainly his symposium and Enid Gauldie's book² are two of few serious studies to appear on the subject. In this final section of the chapter a classification of the work so far written is made, and a study undertaken of the extent of that work within each category.

The primary distinction to be drawn is between those who employ mainly descriptive techniques, and those who draw quite substantially upon economic theory as a basis for their analysis, often being concerned with only one part of the whole process, such as investment or the structure of the building industry. In making this distinction no preference is revealed for either method; both have their good and their bad exponents. Both can be viewed as essentially descriptive or explanatory in nature.

1 Chapman, op. cit. p. 9.

2 E. Gauldie, Cruel Habitations (1974).

Part of the difference in approach is due to the changing nature of historical inquiry generally. It is among the more recent work that the most explicit use of theory is likely to be found. Books and articles of the nineteenth, and early twentieth, century employ far less explicit theory even in their attempts to explain the economics of the situation. The latter part of the nineteenth century, and the very early twentieth century, provide us with examples such as the work of George Haw¹ and W. Eassie², which both appeal to reason by force of an argument based upon the accumulation and presentation of "facts", rather than by propounding or considering particular aspects of theory.

This approach is to some extent also evident in more modern works on the subject such as H.J. Dyos' study of Camberwell³ and at least one of the contributions to S.D. Chapman's volume.⁴ The qualification to some extent is necessary since an awareness of basic economic concepts is more apparent in some of the better (from the economic historian's point of view) recent works such as these. The major concern, however, remains that of explaining the general development of conditions as they existed in the nineteenth century. When restricted, it is usually in a geographical context as well as a temporal one. The end-result is a succession of careful case studies, sometimes breaking new ground by look-

1 G. Haw, No Room to Live (1899) and Britain's Homes (1902).

2 W. Eassie, Healthy Houses, Handbook to the Historical Objects and Remedies of Drainage, Ventilating, Warming and Kindred Subjects, (1872).

3 H.J. Dyos, Victorian Suburb : A Study of the Growth of Camberwell (Leicester, 1961).

4 A.S. Wohl, 'The Housing of the Working Classes in London, 1815-1914', in Chapman, op. cit. pp. 13-54.

ing at a previously unconsidered area, as in the example of the examination of Halifax and its housing plans.¹ At other times the importance of such work lies in its updating and revising previous studies for the same geographical area, such as the way in which our present knowledge of conditions in Leeds largely originates from the work of W.G. Rimmer² added to later by M.W. Beresford.³

The broad descriptive approach characteristic of many of the earlier works reaches its peak in the references to housing made in some of the more general texts. The classic example of this is probably that of Sir John Clapham, who dealt with housing conditions generally within the space of a very few pages.⁴ Other examples would include T.S. Ashton's contribution to the subject which again covers a great deal in a very concise manner.⁵ This is all that can be expected from a small part of a more general text, and in fact it is testimony to their ability that these two historians managed to convey so much so concisely.

It is clear that there are large gaps in our knowledge of this subject. This is particularly true of rural housing. It is not surprising that, since rapid urbanisation greatly aggravated the housing problems of towns in the nineteenth

-
- 1 J.L. Berbiers, 'The Victorian Working-Class Homes of Halifax', Municipal Review Vol. 39 (Jan. 1968), pp. 24-5.
 - 2 W.G. Rimmer, 'Working Mens' Cottages in Leeds 1770-1840', Thoresby Society Publications XLVI, pt. 2: No. 108, (1960).
 - 3 M.W. Beresford, 'The Back-to-Back House in Leeds 1787-1937' in Chapman, op. cit. pp. 93-132.
 - 4 J.H. Clapham, An Economic History of Modern Britain Vol. 1 The Early Railway Age (1964), pp. 27-42.
 - 5 Ashton, op. cit.

century, it is the urban conditions that have attracted the most attention. Nevertheless in the middle of the nineteenth century, by the Census Commissioner's definition, a majority of the population were still living in rural areas and it is a pity that more regard has not been paid to rural conditions. The most recent coverage of rural housing is contained in a part of Enid Gauldie's book. Her conclusions, however, are questionable, as will be seen in later chapters. J.N. Tarn's point of view, that the housing problem of the nineteenth century, like that of the twentieth, is essentially an urban one,¹ may need to be qualified. While the rural problem was different in type and possibly in quantity as the century progressed, it existed nonetheless. The major work available on rural housing would seem to be that by William Savage,² which is useful, but could be improved upon. In the sixty years since its publication some of our interests have altered, if not our knowledge. More recent authoritative writing on rural standards is conspicuous more by its absence than by its abundance. This is particularly unfortunate since the basic problems regarding sources for such work are no worse than for the urban situation, although the nature of the problems may be different. The one attempt to look at the question in any apparent depth at all stops short at the very beginning of this period.³

There are large gaps in our knowledge of the basic conditions of both rural and urban working-class housing. There

1 Tarn, op. cit. p. 1.

2 W.G. Savage, Rural Housing (1915).

3 G.E. Fussell, The English Rural Labourer - His Home, Furniture, Clothing, and Food. Tudor to Victorian Times (1949).

is much left unsaid in even the most general terms: how far did standards rise, if at all, were there differences between rural and urban experiences, and what were the reasons behind such differences or changes? The approach which deals with one facet of the whole question helps to fill a few gaps, but not all of them, and not completely. Mention has already been made of J.R. Kellett's specialised work on the impact of railway construction¹, and to this might be added examples such as E.W. Cooney's study of the "master builder".²

Useful though such work may be, they represent cases where the information regarding housing is scattered, and even somewhat incidental to the central theme of the book or article. This difficulty also arises in some of the general texts on social conditions, in one of the best of which, the preface to the reprint of the Chadwick report, written by M.W. Flinn, housing gets some mention, but only as part of the whole aspect of social conditions.³ There are various other works of this type, details of which can be found in the bibliography, and in the ensuing chapters where they are appropriate.

There remains the useful work based on the explicit use of economic concepts, much of it undertaken by economists. Among the more notable contributions of such work are J. Parry Lewis⁴ and Brinley Thomas⁵. Again, however, only parts

1 See above, p. 41.

2 E.W. Cooney, 'The Origins of the Master Builder', Economic History Review 2nd Ser. Vol. 8 (1955-6), pp. 167-176.

3 Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain, 1842, ed. M.W. Flinn (Edinburgh, 1965).

4 J. Parry Lewis, Building Cycles and Britain's Growth (1965).

5 B. Thomas, Migration and Urban Development (1972).

of such studies are of immediate interest here. There is, for example, a wealth of information upon the questions of domestic investment in building and its supposed relationship with the flow of funds abroad. In addition to that by Brinley Thomas there is the work of A.K. Cairncross¹ and others on this topic. This point of debate, together with the link between fluctuations in the building industry and the domestic economy in general, has been somewhat more fully covered than others, particularly for the late nineteenth century. The examination is, however, far from complete, or even sufficiently settled to allow great reliance to be placed upon its results.

In some cases there are advantages to using an approach which concentrates upon a particular aspect of the problem originally derived from economic concepts, or some other structural form such as Garth Higgin's and Neil Jessop's analysis of the building industry and the problems arising from its organisation.² Such an approach may aid more rigorous analysis, but there remains a more difficult aspect to consider. This is working-class housing as a social question. This involves distinguishing between the concept of a house and that of a home. The result is more nebulous, and attempts to consider it have been made by several writers in various ways, usually with little or no attempt at a theoretical base. A recent example is provided by R. Roberts' book on life in Salford in the early part of the twentieth century,³

1 A.K. Cairncross, Home and Foreign Investment 1870-1913 (Cambridge, 1953).

2 G. Higgin and N. Jessop, Communications in the Building Industry (1965), pp. 40-43.

3 R. Roberts, The Classic Slum (Manchester, 1971).

which is interesting and informative but only in a descriptive manner.

This area of study has proved difficult for precise analytical work. Perhaps the contemporary novel can play an important part here, by giving an impression of the subjective, emotive feelings within the home as much as a description of the conditions. Anecdotal though it may be, or even fanciful at times, Arthur Morrison's A Child of the Jago¹ conveys as much, in its own way, about life inside working-class homes as do the government reports with their description of physical conditions.

The nearest that it is possible for a physical description to come to conveying home life is through the information available on the provision and use of internal furnishings and fittings, the equipment that could make home life somewhat more attractive. Such a study has the twin drawbacks of both a lack of suitable all-embracing evidence, and that it still has very little to tell about changes in personal relationships within the family. This last must be left in trust for the sociologist to investigate. Fortunately it is an area which has received some attention of a rigorous analytical nature. Of particular importance to this thesis is the revelation of factors such as the increased likelihood of co-residence among different generations of the same family after the children's marriage in the nineteenth-century urban scene, than was the case in the pre-industrial era.² It would appear that such close family ties as living

1 First published in 1896.

2 M. Anderson, Family Structure in Nineteenth-Century Lancashire (1971), p. 177.

under one roof were not necessarily a feature of traditional rural life, but possibly a relatively recent, economic necessity of urban life. This has some important implications for the analysis of attitudes to housing conditions, and sharing, by the working classes themselves. In summary it becomes apparent that even if an "economic" approach is adopted it is necessary to bear in mind the concept of the home as well as that of the house itself.

It only remains to point out the major areas of deficiency in the general literature available. Whatever type of approach is adopted, general or specialised, it is likely that some points will be omitted, due to lack of data or possibly because a wealth of source material or information on one aspect of the problem leading to an unbalanced approach. The particular concern with urban problems has already been pointed out.¹ To it could be added the examination of the role both of building and philanthropic societies. An examination of the existing literature would lead to the assumption that these two agencies played a leading role on the supply side. However, as was pointed out by Octavia Hill in 1875, the total effect of philanthropic efforts were somewhat inconsequential, not even sufficient to be attributed a dynamic marginal influence upon the general situation.² The influence of building societies was of similarly limited extent,

1 See above, p. 45.

2 The total combined efforts of the philanthropists over the previous thirty years would have housed the equivalent of six months' growth of London's population. W. Ashworth, The Genesis of Modern British Town Planning (1954), p. 84

The total contribution from this source to London was reckoned at 4 per cent by 1885. Chapman, op. cit. p. 11.

despite claims of their housing large numbers of the working classes in such places as Birmingham during the nineteenth century. As will be seen later their influence was confined principally to the wealthiest sections of the working class and, more importantly, to those who enjoyed a greater regularity of employment than was generally the case. Apart from the early part of the century, the main thrust of building society activity was towards the ownership of housing. Building societies ceased developing large estates by about the late eighteen sixties and from 1874 they were prohibited from owning land except for their own office accommodation.¹ Home ownership by the working classes, however, was a strictly limited affair, as was home ownership in general. Even with suburban development, such as that of the late nineteenth-century villas on the southern side of London, the numbers of rented dwellings remained as high as between 70 and 85 per cent of all residential property.² Only by the nineteen thirties was much attention paid by building societies generally to the working class as borrowers, and then only because the middle-class market had been oversupplied in the preceding decade.³

A lopsided approach must be guarded against, as must the temptation to overstress the importance of particular topics purely because of the greater availability of evidence for them. It would be easy, for instance, to devote much space

1 S.J. Price, Building Societies, Their Origin and History (1958), p. 52.

2 H.J. Dyos, The Suburban Development of Greater London South of the Thames 1836-1914 (London University Ph.D. thesis, 1952), p. 90

3 Braae, op. cit. (1960), p. iv.

to sanitary conditions, possibly to the detriment of other basic determinants of housing standards. This particular question can also serve, however, to underline one further problem facing the investigator, that of what constitutes an improvement?

In the field of sanitary changes, the introduction of water closets is generally taken as a change for the better.¹ Up to the present-day, it has been one of the criteria by which standards have been judged. Contemporary observers were certainly clear as to its benefits for the inhabitants of houses previously only served by middens.² Current thinking, however, suggests that the benefits may be more apparent than real, and that w.c.'s only shift the problem from the individual to the community at large.³ Even where water closets were provided these could give some cause for concern, leaving the question of what constitutes an improvement open:

"Existing closets are frequently in a disgraceful condition. Of old and bad type, with basins thickly furred and even cracked, traps utterly defective, and soil-pipes badly fitted and leaking, their existence is often more dangerous to health than their absence."⁴

When the closets operated properly what was achieved was to shift the incidence of the problem away from the immediate

-
- 1 B. Keith-Lucas, 'Some Influences Affecting the Development of Sanitary Legislation in England', Economic History Review Vol. VI No. 3 (1935-6), p. 294; and General Board of Health Minute Book No. 2 P.R.O. M.H. 5/2, entry dated 29 Dec. 1849. Board of Trade Report on Working Class Rents, Housing and Retail Prices in the Principal Industrial Towns of the U.K. P.P. 1908 CVII, p. 485.
 - 2 F. Peek and E.T. Hall, 'The Unhealthiness of Cities', Contemporary Review Vol. LXI (Feb. 1892), p. 223.
 - 3 R. Rodale, 'Goodbye to the Flush Toilet', Compost Science: Journal of Waste Recycling Vol. 12 No. 6 (Nov.-Dec. 1971), p. 24.
 - 4 E. Bowmaker, The Housing of the Working Classes (1895), p. 17.

vicinity. Sanitary problems arose from poor operation of the system as much as from the system itself. Such changes can be viewed as improvements or not, depending upon the original standpoint taken.

In summary the literature seems to have one basic aim in view, namely to more accurately or fully describe the course of development, its causes and consequences. Some works, especially those of the more general type, are more descriptive than others, but the usual aim of what might be termed the analytical historical approach is to provide an explanation of an unique event in both the geographical and temporal sense. This aim is in essence a descriptive one since it may, or may not, have applicability outside its original area, whereas economic theory should provide an explanation of more than just one event, allowing for differing circumstances.

The real need for historians would seem to be to continue the explanatory process rather more fully than has been done so far. There is not a great deal of exact information available, even now, as to the when, why, how and where of housing changes. Even if this task were to be fully accomplished there would still remain a considerable amount necessary to complete the picture. To use a quote from the early twentieth century:

"... the house itself is only the beginning of the housing problem. Surroundings, means of transit, open spaces, and light and air have an equally important part to play."¹

Add to this the factors relating to the home rather than the house and it becomes apparent that what follows will give some insight into the beginnings of enlightenment, rather than completing the picture.

1 J.S. Nettlefold, Practical Housing (Letchworth, 1908), p. 1.

C H A P T E R

T W O

THE DEMAND FOR HOUSING

"The 'housing problem' does not arise from difficulty in measuring supply or demand, but from the manner in which these forces interact."¹

Any attempt to distinguish the effects of changes in supply from those in demand is fraught with problems. Yet, while their interaction is the important factor in the end, it remains vital to try and separate the roles played by supply and demand. The relative importance of these two factors must be assessed in understanding why changes in housing standards took place and how they came about. There are essential differences between what was happening in urban, as opposed to rural, areas. Whereas in the latter case particular periods of improvement can be ascertained, they are not so clearly visible in urban areas. This can be explained by suggesting that a decrease in demand in rural areas existed at particular points in time, whereas any improvement in housing in towns and cities resulted from the stock of housing being increased faster than population. With the length of time

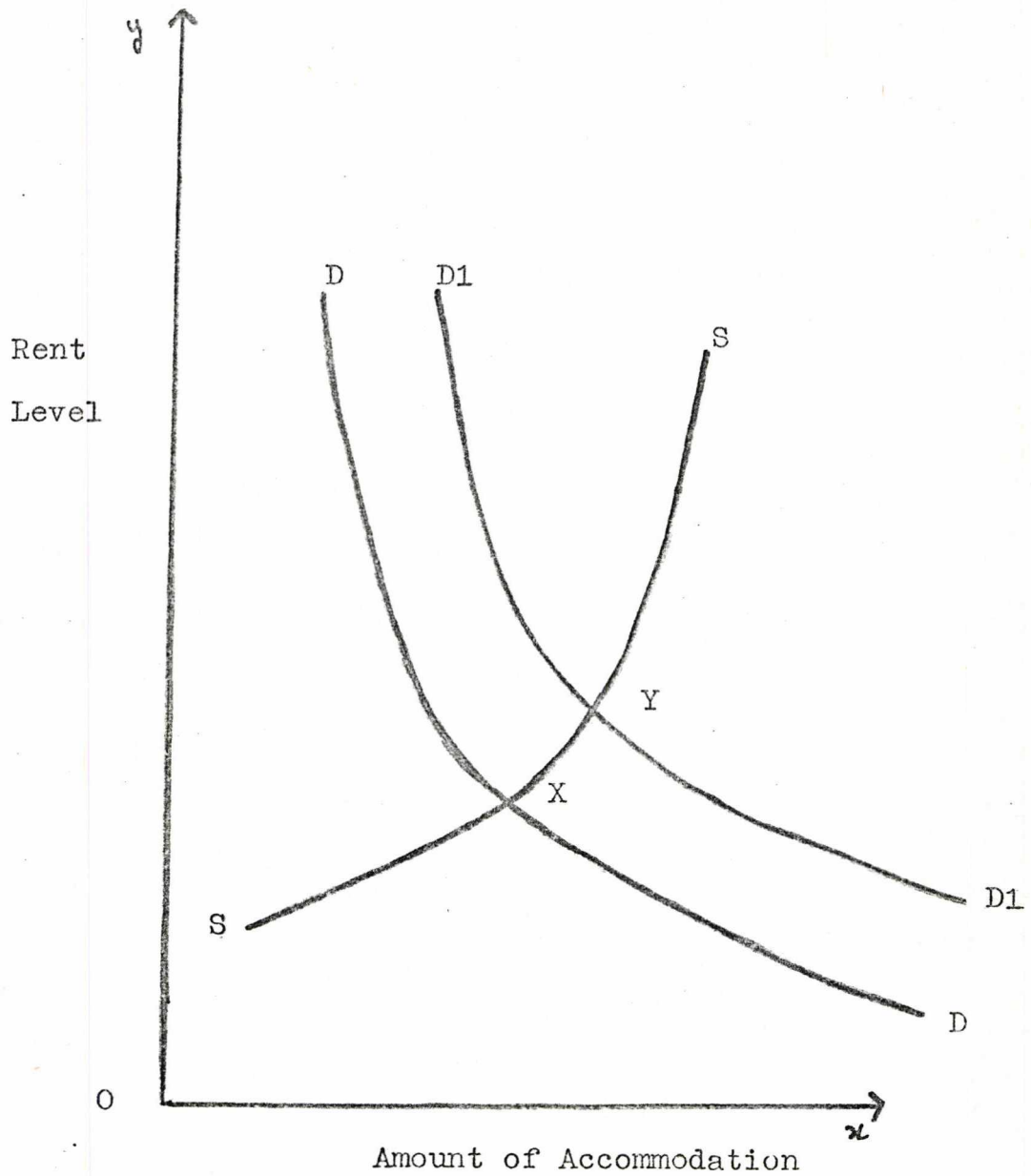
1 Smith, op. cit. pp. xi-xii.

needed to bring about a greater supply of housing, the course of any such improvement was likely to be slow.

The supply of housing seems relatively fixed in the very short-run, unless stocks of "empties" exist, but demand can change fairly dramatically as a result of population movements, migration in particular, together with associated changes in income and tastes. Supply can only respond if there are "empties" available to be taken up. Once such stocks run out in any area, however, problems are encountered. Virtually no accommodation can be brought in from outside. All that can be done is to build new, or convert old, houses to accommodate more people, and this takes a considerable time to achieve. Increasing pressure for accommodation beyond the position where stocks are exhausted, means that prices move upwards as bidding for the scarce resource goes on. The suggested situation on the demand side is one where a fairly steady level of accommodation is wanted at some price but beyond that price the curve becomes kinked. People are willing to consider housing a luxury good above a certain level of accommodation whilst regarding it as an essential beneath that level. With supply virtually fixed above the stock position, the supply curve too becomes relatively steep above that point. Beneath or around the nil stocks point the curve may well flatten out, landlords wish a certain return before offering accommodation for letting.¹ The position looks something like the following graphical representation, in the short-run at least.

1 In effect they must at least cover their variable costs, i.e. rating bills may be lower or non-existent on empty houses, or collection costs avoided if the house is unlet, deterioration may be less and so on.

FIGURE 2.1
Graph of the Suggested Short-run Demand^{1.}
and Supply^{2.} Curves for Housing



1. The suggested shape of the Demand curve is that used in Parry Lewis, op. cit. p. 46.

2. The Supply curve is a suggested shape.

The move from Curve DD to D_1D_1 represents the possible result of an upturn in general activity, rising real incomes, and pressure on existing accommodation in a particular area. Point X shows an equilibrium point with some flexibility in supply, such as the existence of a number of empty tenements for example. Business activity picks up and the new equilibrium is at Point Y where stocks are virtually exhausted. From this point on, any further increase in demand will result in greatly increased prices, disproportionate to the amount of extra accommodation such price rises bring forth. Relatively rapid increases in house rents in particular areas were to be found at various points in time, such as east London in 1898.¹ Such a mechanism seems to describe the short-run urban situation quite well; demand could change relatively rapidly while supply, once stocks ran short, took longer to respond.

For the moment, however, it is the components of demand which are of concern rather than supply, which is dealt with in the next chapter. If price changes are temporarily left aside, there are two main factors determining the level of demand for housing: the demographic, and the economic. These two factors can be described as how many people require accom-

1 Bethnal Green Vestry Report (1898), pp. 13-14. Rent increases from 11/- to 11/6d up to 18/- to 19/6d noticeable in two particular streets, and rises general throughout the district. In some cases Jewish immigrants were said to be the cause of rent increases. The level of rents was said to go up by 50 or 60 per cent once a particular street "turned Jewish", L.P. Gartner, The Jewish Immigrant in England 1870-1914 (1960), p. 156. In Spitalfields, in one street tenants of 12, two-roomed houses found themselves paying 4/6 a week in July 1898, and 7/6d in Aug. on a change in ownership, plus the institution of key-money for newcomers amounting to £2, and 8/- per week by Oct., following yet another change in ownership. Haw, op. cit. (1899), p. 68.

modation, and how much they are willing and able to pay for that accommodation.

Both of these factors can be further broken down. The demographic aspect can be refined by considering the number of households, or heads of households, rather than overall aggregates. The economic factor involves changes in income levels, not just as they affect the level of rent people are willing to incur, but also how this in turn affects household formation. Good economic conditions and rising real incomes thus have an effect on both the economic and the demographic factors. If income levels rise people will marry earlier, thus increasing the number of separate households, younger and older dependants will also be able to maintain their own separate dwelling place. Apart from incomes the economic factors involved include the level of unemployment or underemployment with consequent effects upon the ability to pay rent consistently, if at all. An increase in unemployment can also lead to an increase in mobility which in turn leads to the situation where houses are available, but not in the areas in which increased demand is felt. Demand and supply are only equated with some level of empty houses due to this migration. With increased mobility higher national vacancy levels, as occurs over the course of the nineteenth century, may be consistent with increasing demand rather than the decreasing demand which might be expected in such circumstances.¹

Taking these two factors in turn, the demographic ones might be said to play a crucial role in determining the under-

1 Smith, op. cit. pp. 104-107.

lying aggregate demand. The potential for greater household formation due to economic changes operates in addition to the overall changes in population. It has been suggested that such economic factors are of more relevance to the present-day situation than to the earlier periods.¹ This suggestion would seem to be borne out by the tendency for population growth to frequently outstrip housing supply, leaving economic factors to explain more of the changes in standards than in overall demand. A reservoir of possible families exists awaiting favourable economic circumstances for their actual formation.

Aggregate figures show population growth fluctuating both above and below the growth in house numbers. On four

FIGURE 2.2

DECENNIAL PERCENTAGE INCREASES IN POPULATION AND

INHABITED HOUSES, ENGLAND AND WALES 1801-1911

<u>(1)</u> <u>Years</u>	<u>(2)</u> <u>Inhabited Houses</u>	<u>(3)</u> <u>Population</u>
1801-1811	13.77	14.00
1811-1821	16.16	18.06
1821-1831	18.83	15.80
1831-1841	18.59	14.27
1841-1851	11.57	12.65
1851-1861	14.04	11.90
1861-1871	13.92	13.21
1871-1881	13.43	14.36
1881-1891	12.83	11.65
1891-1901	14.87	12.17
1901-1911	14.07	10.89

SOURCE: Summary table from Appendix 2A,
see below, p. 407.

occasions out of the eleven observed, the population rise exceeded that in house numbers. In terms of overall numbers

1 A. Block, Estimating Housing Needs (1946), p. 81.

per house the position changes very little as is shown by Column (8) of Appendix 2A:¹ the highest number of people per inhabited house occurred in 1821 with 5.75, and the lowest in 1911 at 5.04. While this suggests some degree of improvement over time, it was never dramatic but rather gradual in its effect. A growing population always throws a great strain on the construction industry which, in this case, was apparently just about able to cope and, as the population pressure eased in the second half of the century, began to make some progress.

The link between the actual growth in population numbers and the subsequent rise in demand for accommodation is somewhat more complex than the straight comparison, however. It is possible to demonstrate a closer link between population growth in one decade and the growth in house numbers one decade later. Parry Lewis' suggestion is that this reflects the growth in demand resulting from the increased family earning capacity due to the entry into the labour force of children between the ages of 10 and 14.²

By the use of a scatter diagram, the rather tighter formation of a lagged relationship of this type can be seen. Figure 2.4 demonstrates this effect, in comparison with the result obtained from Figure 2.3. Figure 2.5 shows the result of lagging the relationship by two periods instead of one. This acts as an approximate test of the assumption that it is the number of people in their twenties that determines the demand for housing. If such an assumption were correct,

1 See below, Appendix 2A, p. 407.

2 Parry Lewis, *op. cit.* p. 55.

FIGURE 2.3

SCATTER DIAGRAM TO SHOW THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PER-CENTAGE
CHANGE IN HOUSE NUMBERS AND THE PER-CENTAGE CHANGE IN POPULATION

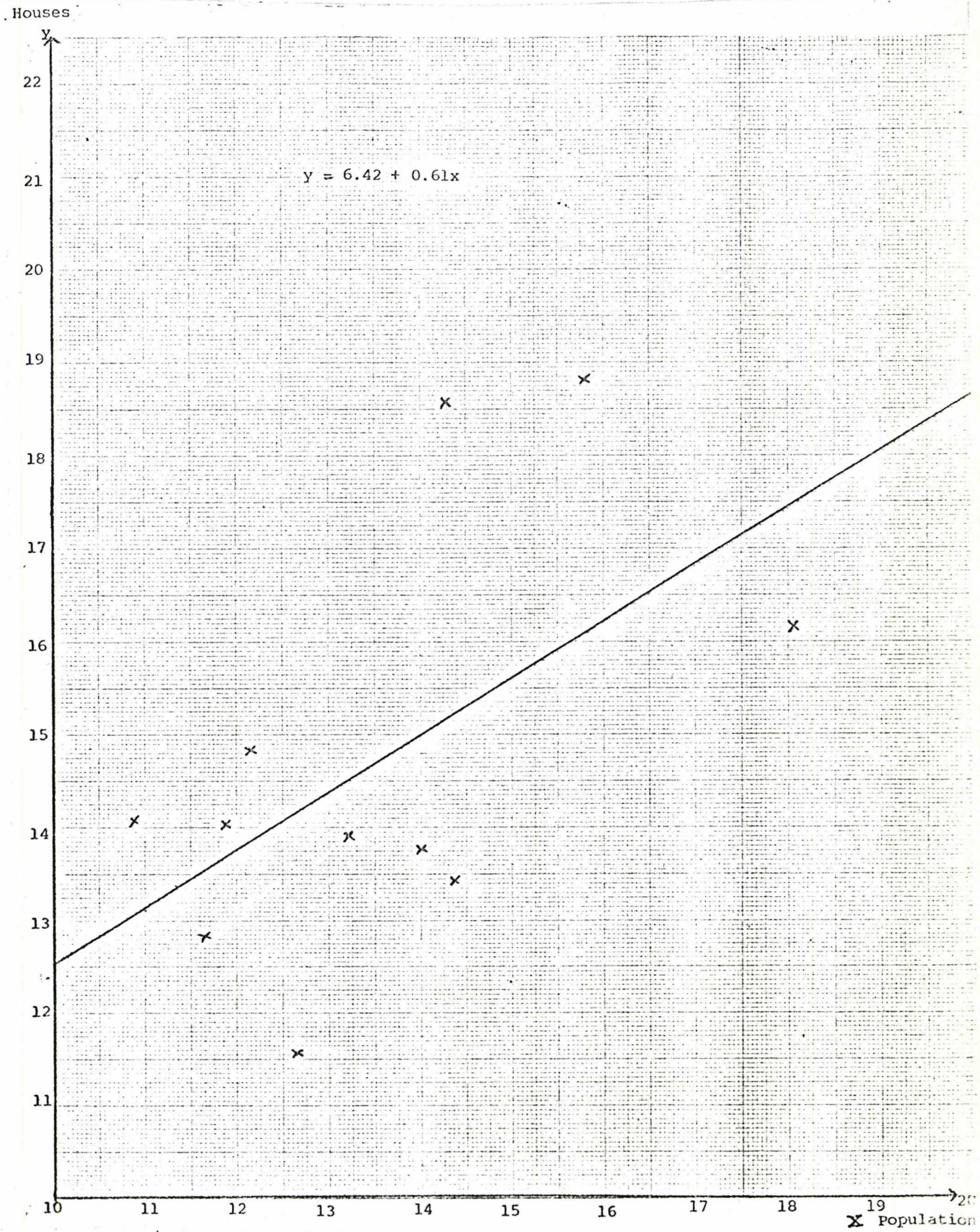


FIGURE 2.4

SCATTER DIAGRAM TO SHOW THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PER-CENTAGE CHANGE
IN HOUSES AND THE PER-CENTAGE CHANGE IN POPULATION ONE DECADE EARLIER

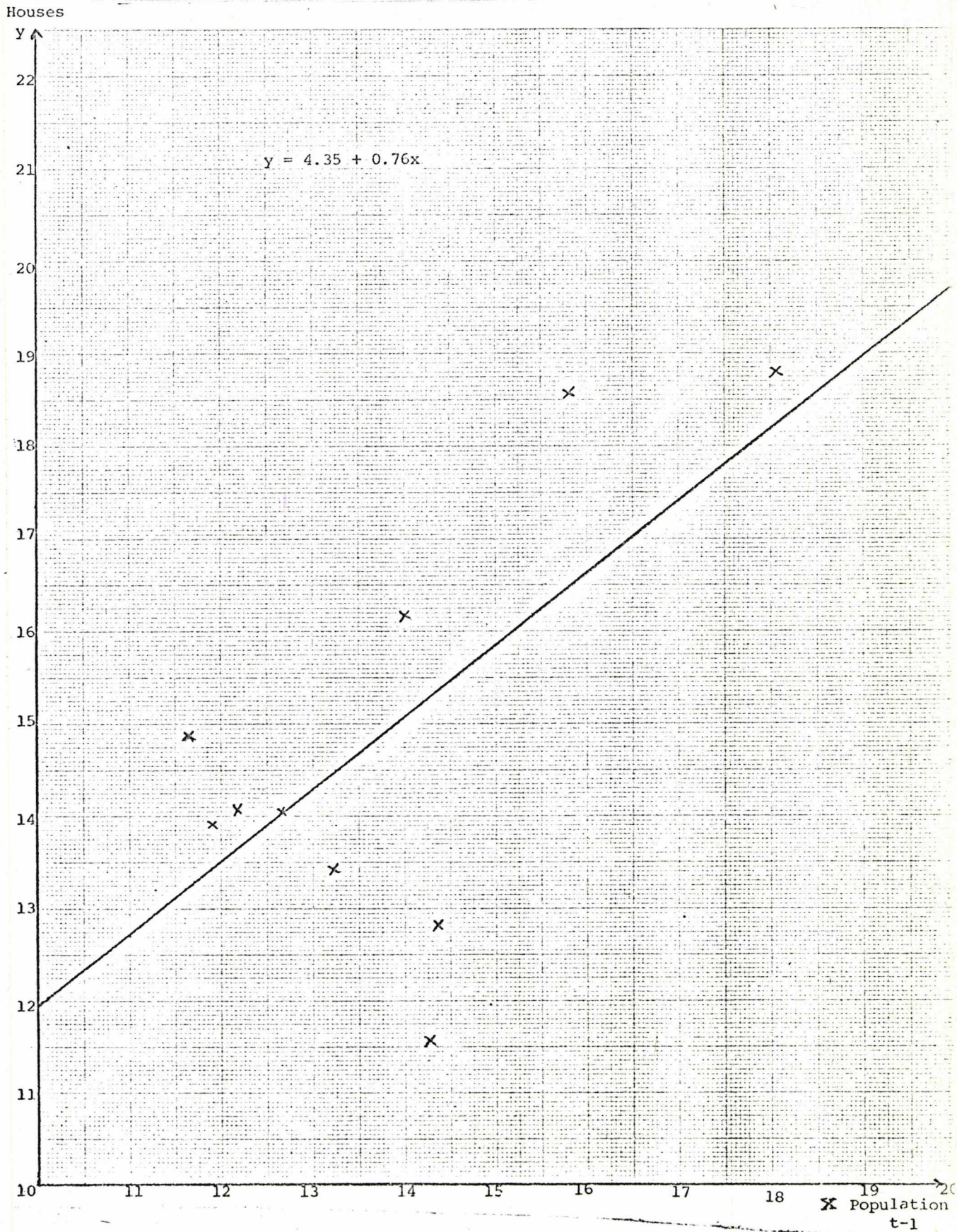
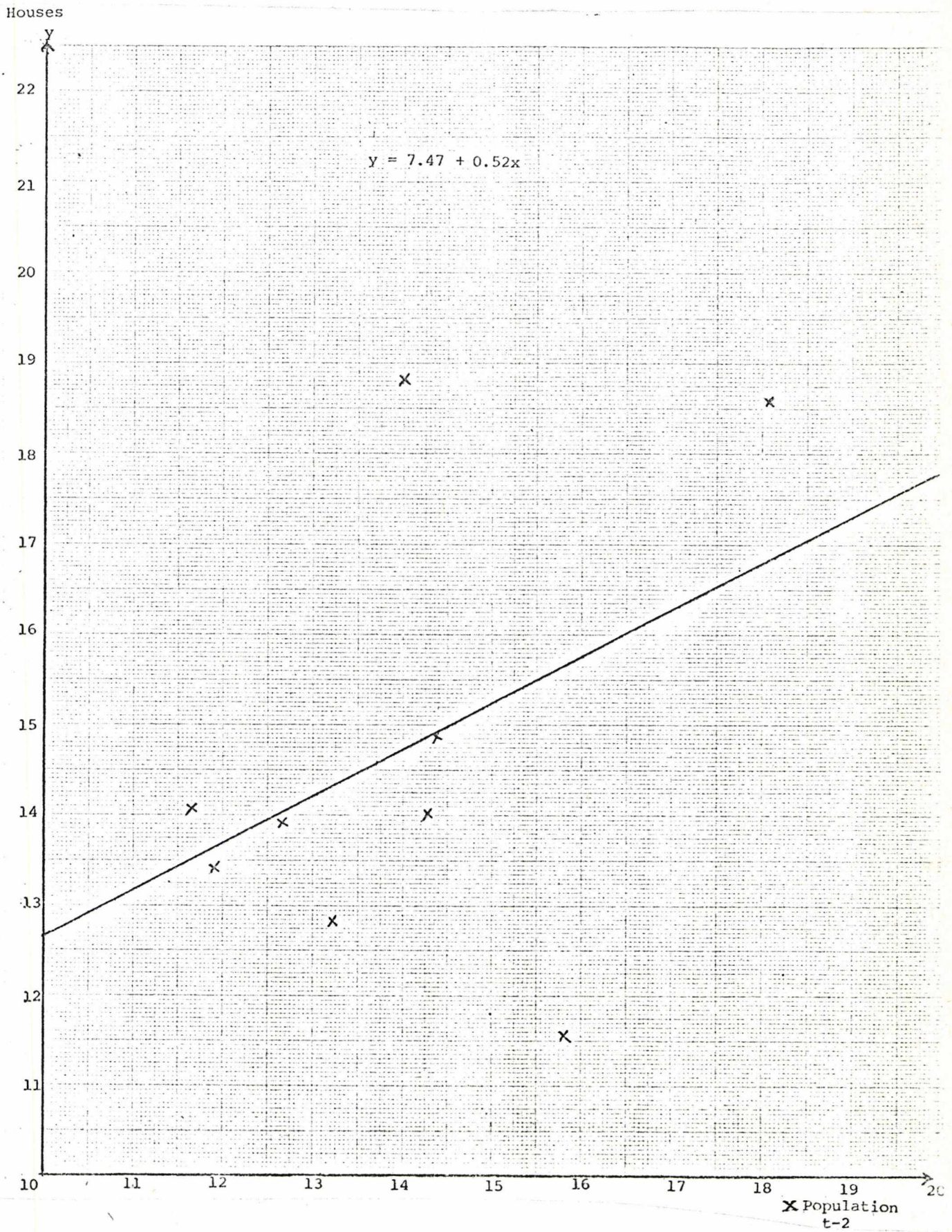


FIGURE 2.5

SCATTER DIAGRAM TO SHOW THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PER-CENTAGE CHANGE
IN HOUSES AND THE PER-CENTAGE CHANGE IN POPULATION TWO DECADES EARLIER



the degree of correlation should be higher in this case than in either of the other two. In fact the reverse is true, the scatter is far greater in the case of this third approach. Basing such an analysis on so few observations, however, renders the results suspect, interesting though they are, in that they suggest the straight comparison, or one decade lagged approach show the best direct relationships, and then only poor ones. So poor in fact, that it appears there was either little obvious link between population growth and the demand for housing, a result which seems intuitively unlikely, or that the link was rather more complex than any of these tests could reveal.

Perhaps the missing component, income, plays a rather more important role than Block appears to give it credit for.¹ A mechanism such as the Parry Lewis hypothesis mentioned above² states that the demand for housing increases some 12 to 14 years after a baby boom, as long as good employment opportunities exist for these young children. The family's subsequently increased earning power as the deciding factor means that in this instance both demographic and economic factors have to be considered. Poor though the results of lagging population increase by one decade were, they certainly do not refute this hypothesis and tentatively suggest it as the least poor of the three alternatives considered. As for refining the test by considering when boom conditions appear, the use of census data means that whole decades are being considered, whereas the hypothesis would need annual data for

1 See above, p. 58.

2 See above, p. 59.

effective testing, and then would probably relate to particular areas only. What is achieved by this one decade lagged approach is to obtain figures for housing which only twice fail to exceed those for population growth, namely in the 14.27 per centage increase of 1831-1841 compared with the 11.57 per centage increase for 1841-1851; and the 14.36 per cent of 1871-1881 compared with the subsequent decade's 12.83 per cent rise in house numbers.¹ Looked at in this way it appears that something other than population was pushing the effective demand for housing beyond the level to be expected purely from demographic change.

Before considering the later years of the century when rather more statistical data becomes available, there are two other approaches which must be looked at. The first of these concerns the result of comparing only the difference in the rate of increase of population to the increase in housing. Parry Lewis suggests that:

"The general agreement in timing of the fluctuations in population growth and house-building is unmistakable. Less satisfactory is the agreement in the degree of the movements."²

By applying this technique to the figures for England and Wales rather than, as Parry Lewis does, to Great Britain as a whole, the result is as shown in the following table.

1 See above, p. 58 and below, p. 407.

2 Parry Lewis, *op. cit.* p. 165. Based on the work of B. Weber.

FIGURE 2.6

INCREASE IN POPULATION AND HOUSING STOCK, ENGLAND AND WALES 1801-1911*

<u>For Decade Ending</u>	<u>(1) Increase in Population</u>	<u>(2) Second Differences of Column (1)</u>	<u>(3) Increase in Housing Stock</u>	<u>(4) Second Differences of Column (3)</u>
1811	1,271,720		290,652	
1821	1,835,980	+564,260	309,339	+ 18,687
1831	1,896,561	+ 60,581	443,596	+134,257
1841	2,017,351	+120,790	515,733	+ 72,137
1851	2,013,461	- 3,890	314,341	-201,392
1861	2,138,615	+125,154	492,666	+178,325
1871	2,646,042	+507,427	596,263	+103,597
1881	3,262,173	+616,131	697,733	+101,470
1891	3,028,086	-234,087	605,486	- 92,247
1901	3,525,318	+497,232	886,103	+280,617
1911	3,542,649	+ 17,331	840,649	- 45,454

* SOURCE: Columns (1) and (3) are from Census data;
columns (2) and (4) are computations.

Comparing Columns (2) and (4) reveals only one decade in which the direction of change differed; that of 1901-1911. The rate of change is increasing in all decades for both population and housing stock with the exception of 1841-1851 and 1881-1891, when the rate of increase is seen to have fallen away. These results are possibly slightly better than Parry Lewis obtained for Great Britain. Two decades in this period, 1821-1831 and possibly 1851-1861, both show changes in different directions.¹ However to split one aggregate to obtain a better result for part of it is presumably only achieved at the expense of worsening the results for the other part. Thus if this form of aggregative analysis has any validity it does so only for England and Wales, the results in terms of Scotland would be worse than for Britain as a whole. How far a general principle is established is open to question when it depends on the precise aggregate taken as to how good the results turn out to be. The explanation provided by Parry Lewis for 1821-1831 as unique, is also insufficient to explain 1901-1911 sharing similar symptoms in the case of England and Wales.

There is consistent agreement in the direction of change in the increase in both housing stock and in population, but there the similarity ends. There are vast discrepancies in the extent to which the two variables undergo changes in their rates of increase. Thus in 1841-1851 the change in Column (2) is virtually negligible while that in Column (4) is considerable. While housing stock is used as a variable

1 Parry Lewis, op. cit. pp. 164-5.

in this case and inhabited houses elsewhere, apart from the latter showing some greater changes due to income effects (through effects on the level of "empties"), the particular variable used seems only marginally to affect the overall analysis. Since population does not appear to have had a clear and decisive role in an aggregate sense, it probably matters little which variable is taken. In the last example total housing stock is used purely and simply because this was the measure employed by Parry Lewis. In general, however, it is the level of demand represented by the number of inhabited houses that has been used. Similarly the total population has generally been taken as the population variable since to refine this leads to problems related to the cross-effects of the two variables. While house numbers have an effect on the level of overall population they are here presumed to exert a much greater, and probably unquantifiable, influence upon the number of marriages and family formation.

Apart from the problems of such interrelatedness, some difficulty remains with those figures which relate to family formation. Figures for separate occupiers are available up to 1911,¹ with the exception of 1841, but these leave something to be desired as estimates of the number of families. The Registrar-General, in 1931, estimated the number of families for the period from 1861, using as a base the numbers in set age-groups and marital conditions.² These estimates are based on such factors as the numbers of married women, but it would seem logical to consider the potential "heads of

1 These are shown below in Figure 2.8, p. 69.

2 M. Bowley, 'The Housing Statistics of Great Britain', Journal of the Royal Statistical Society Vol. 113, Ser. A (1950), p. 404.

households", that is males aged 20-44, as the likeliest indicator of overall potential demand for accommodation. Again, however, the link is not a good one as can be seen from the following table.

FIGURE 2.7

TABLE SHOWING INCREASE IN NUMBER OF MALES 20-44
AND INCREASE IN HOUSES, BY DECADE 1841-1911

	(1) Percentage Change in Numbers of Males Aged 20-44 in England and Wales *	(2) Percentage Change in Number of Houses +
1841-1851	12.64	11.57
1851-1861	8.91	14.04
1861-1871	11.03	13.92
1871-1881	15.36	13.43
1881-1891	13.68	12.83
1891-1901	19.07	14.87
1901-1911	13.25	14.07

SOURCES: * Computed from figures in Mitchell and Deane, op. cit. p. 12

+ Taken from Figure 2.2, see above, p. 58.

If these figures provide any reliable information it is to show that the period 1851-1871 was one of relative overbuilding, and that thereafter potential demand far outstrips the amount of housing available until the beginning of the twentieth century. As an indication of how the availability of housing helps in the formation of new households, or longer retention of existing ones, it is instructive to note that the decade in which building most outstrips the increase in number of males between 20-44 (1851-1861) also sees the greatest increase in the number of separate occupiers - over 20 per cent.

FIGURE 2.8

NUMBER OF SEPARATE OCCUPIERS 1801-1911 ENGLAND AND WALES *

AND PERCENTAGE INCREASE PER DECADE

	Numbers	(2) Percentage Change in Previous Decade
1801	1,896,723	
1811	2,142,147	12.94
1821	2,493,423	16.40
1831	2,911,874	16.78
1841	Estimate 3,334,901 ⁺	Estimate 14.53
1851	3,712,290	Estimate 11.32
1861	4,491,524	20.99
1871	5,049,016	12.41
1881	5,633,192	11.57
1891	6,131,001	8.83
1901	7,036,868	14.77
1911	8,005,290	13.76

SOURCES: * 1911 Census Report Vol. 1 (Cd. 6258), p. xi.

+ The estimate of the 1841 number of separate occupiers was obtained by dividing the 1841 population total by the number per separate occupier for 1831

Only for the last two decades does it appear that there was any close connection between changes in these figures for separate occupiers and those for changes in the number of houses. The only close link would appear to be that obtained for the post-1870 period. By taking C.H. Feinstein's estimates of quinquennial changes in the population aged 20-44 from 1871 to 1910 and then lagging the number of houses built by one time period, Parry Lewis obtains almost perfect results with the exception of the first calculation; the population increase in 1871-1875 compared with houses built in 1876-1880.¹ Unfortunately this latter figure, together with those later

¹ Parry Lewis, op. cit. p. 169, Table 7.3.

ones which give such a good fit, are all false in that no account is taken of replacement demand. Thus, compared to Parry Lewis' figure of 1,008,000 houses in the period 1871-1880, the net addition to total stocks, both occupied and unoccupied, amounted to under 700,000.¹ Where there is almost perfect agreement between the estimated increase in population from 20-44 and the number of houses subsequently built, it would be possible to suggest that conditions were deteriorating since the increase in housing was well below that shown in the table. This would certainly fit in with Block's findings regarding the position of the household/adult ratio which shows a deterioration (an increase in adults) consistently from 1871 onwards.²

To summarise the aggregate demographic position, it would seem that there is cause for scepticism as to the extent to which this provides a satisfactory explanation of changes in the demand for housing. This is true of the aggregates in general, and of the various "refined" measures which can be derived from them, such as family numbers. The degree of interrelatedness between population and housing is too great, in an aggregate sense, for definitive analysis. There is a relationship, that is apparent, but so unclear as to render population growth alone not a good indicator of housing demand. A more important role for population is to be found lower than the national aggregate level. Population decline in some rural areas has been suggested to have exerted a dominant influence on housing experience.

1, Computed from figures in Appendix 2A. See below, Appendix 2A, p. 407.

2 Block, op. cit. p. 72.

As far as can be ascertained, rent levels in rural areas remained fairly stable throughout the period, and in relative terms fell behind those in urban areas.¹ This is consistent with suggesting that the degree of improvement in rural standards depended on demand and thus on the level of population and how many people were seeking accommodation. That the population decreased in particular areas from an early date is beyond dispute.² Population decrease on a general level in rural areas is to be found from the eighteen fifties onwards, as can be seen from Figure 2.9.

Part of the decline was due to agricultural labourers shifting into towns rather than continuing to live in rural areas, although still working on the land.³ Part, by the eighteen seventies, was due to emigration from agricultural work entirely, with labourers moving to London, the Midlands and abroad.⁴ Part was also due to shifts between agricultural districts which affected some particular areas.⁵

To suggest rural depopulation as a prime cause of housing improvements means taking issue with Hirst's comment that this very movement was the cause of poor housing in rural areas, as it affected building.⁶ With the migration from rural areas at its height in the eighteen seventies and

1 See below, p. 107.

2 J. Saville, Rural Depopulation in England and Wales 1851-1951 (1957), p. 9.

3 J. Dennis, 'Our Rural Poor', The Fortnightly Review Vol. 1 (1865), p. 348.

4 Evidence of Rev. A.T. Fryer, to R.C. on the Housing of the Working Classes Vol. II P.P. 1884-5, XXXI, Q. 2,038.

5 A few Essex and Cambridge labourers were to be found in Durham, for example. Evidence to the R.C. on the Housing of the Working Classes Vol. II P.P. 1884-5, XXXI, Q. 16,301.

6 Hirst. op. cit. p. 103.

FIGURE 2.9

POPULATION OF 105 REGISTRATION DISTRICTS

WITH NO URBAN AREAS, OR PARTS OF URBAN AREAS *

(1) Year	(2) Population	(3) Increase or Decrease Over Preceding Decade
1801	852,313	
1811	913,713	+ 7.20
1821	1,044,331	+14.30
1831	1,115,641	+ 6.83
1841	1,181,758	+ 5.93
1851	1,212,548	+ 2.61
1861	1,207,580	- 0.41
1871	1,202,499	- 0.42
1881	1,187,124	- 1.28
1891	1,174,958	- 1.02
1901	1,189,713	+ 1.26
1911	1,306,471	+ 9.81

* SOURCE: 1911 Census Report (Cd. 5705), p. 38

eighteen eighties,¹ if this coincided with a relatively rapid improvement in standards,² it would seem likely that Hirst had misinterpreted the cause and effect relationship between housing standards and population levels. Population decrease, in easing the pressure on existing accommodation, meant that only the better houses needed to be tenanted and eased pressure on rent levels, helping to keep them low relative to those in the towns, despite rising costs and falling rates of return for the landlord. That supply was kept up at all suggests that the workings of the market were not as fully operative in rural areas as in urban ones. Philanthropic motives on the part of some large estate owners must have played some part.

1- Saville, op. cit. p. 11.

2 See below, p. 245.

For whatever reason, in rural registration districts generally, numbers supplied are steady up to 1891 and then show the rise noticed by Brinley Thomas.¹

FIGURE 2.10

RURAL HOUSING SUPPLY : REGISTRATION DISTRICTS WITH NO TOWN
OF OVER 20,000 POPULATION IN 1891 CENSUS. NET INCREASE.*

1841-1851	81,000
1851-1861	98,000
1861-1871	113,000
1871-1881	93,000
1881-1891	85,000
1891-1901	157,000
1901-1911	241,000

* SOURCE: Weber, op. cit. p. 119.

An overall absolute decline in population is not apparent, but rather a falling rate of increase. The total population in rural registration districts more than doubled between 1801 and 1911, and in no decade was there an absolute fall.² Certain areas, however, experienced absolute declines and their net changes in housing stock still suggests some degree of improvement in terms of numbers per house. In those registration districts where population fell between 1871 and 1881 Weber found that while the net change in housing stock showed a fall of 20,000, this has to be compared with an overall decline in population of some 345,000.³ Most purely rural areas seem to have been hard pushed to find sufficient opportunities to keep their natural increment in

1 Brinley Thomas, op. cit. p. 34.

2 Weber's material, as quoted by Parry Lewis, op. cit. p. 322, Table 3.

3 Parry Lewis, op. cit. p. 333, Table 4.

population after the middle of the century and lost many young adults to the towns or overseas.¹ Even some counties had begun to experience absolute falls in population by this date. Cambridgeshire's population fell from 185,405 to 176,033 from 1851-1861, and Norfolk, Rutland and Suffolk also experienced absolute declines, while others such as Oxfordshire and Huntingdonshire only narrowly avoided following suit.² Cambridgeshire staged some recovery in its growth in the next decade, but then virtually stagnated, adding only some 4,000 to its population in the thirty years to the end of the century. Taking 1851 to 1911 as a whole, areas which lost population in absolute terms form a band running from the extreme south-west, across the southern Midlands and into East Anglia. These areas, together with some in Wales, form a patchwork across the centre of England and Wales, and a thin, irregular band continues from East Anglia northwards, across the Humber and thence to the north-west and back to the north-easternmost part of England. Other isolated patches of depopulation are also visible as can be seen from the map of population changes on the following page.

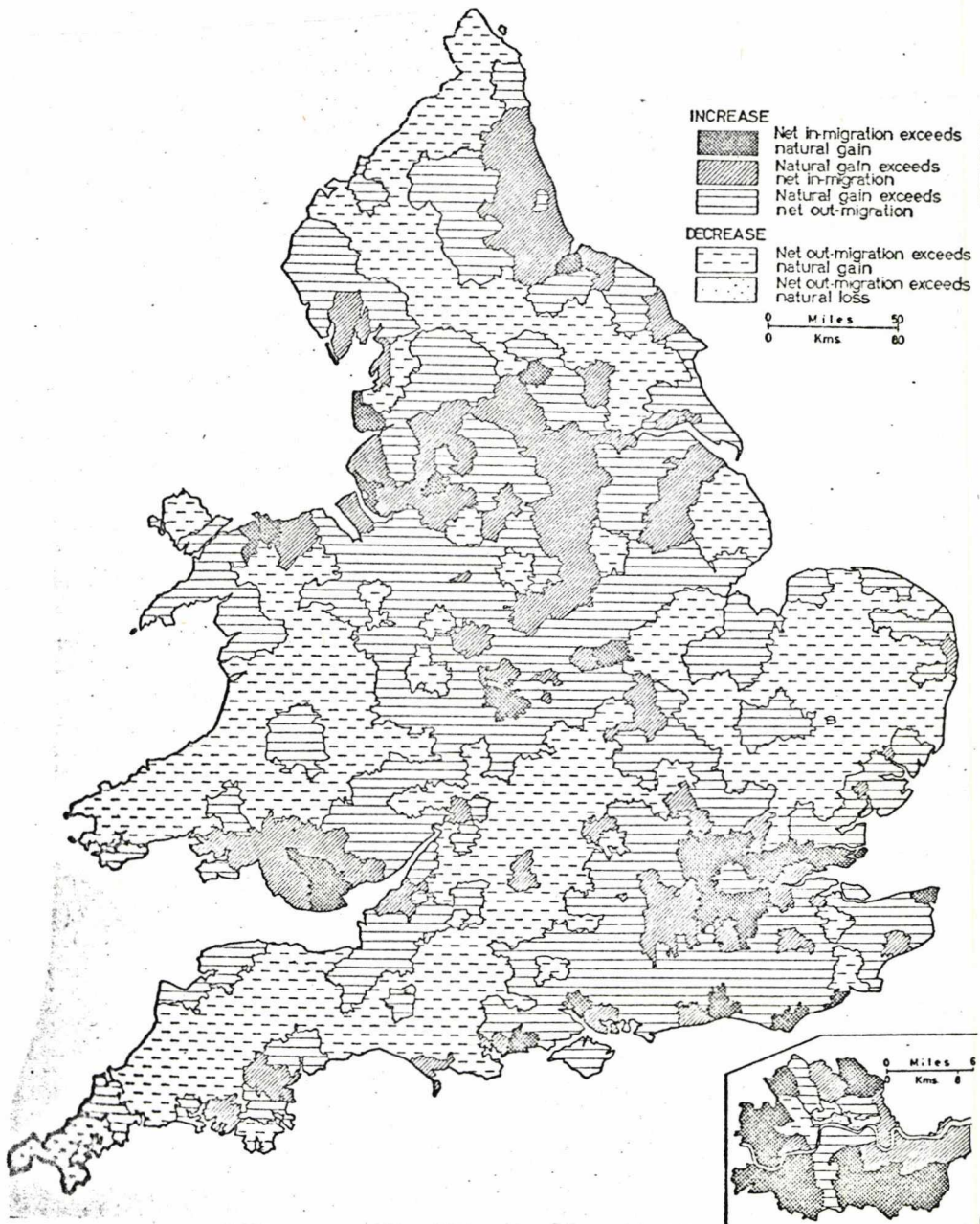
Absolute losses of population are a generally widespread phenomenon in the agricultural areas of England and Wales. By the early twentieth century, when rural areas in general appear to be losing less people by migration, much of the growth is due to the incursion of mining or manufacturing industry into such areas. Additional pressure came from the

1 R. Lawton, 'Rural Depopulation in Nineteenth-Century England', in Liverpool Essays in Geography, eds. R.W. Steel and R. Lawton (1967), p. 241.

2 See below, pp. 409 and 411-414.

FIGURE 2.11

MAP OF POPULATION CHANGE 1851-1911*



* SOURCE: R. Lawton, 'Population Changes in England and Wales in the Later Nineteenth Century: An Analysis of Trends by Registration Districts', Transactions of Institute of British Geographers No. 44 (1968), p. 67.

growth of towns in what had previously been purely rural communities.¹ In registration districts with no urban area of over 10,000 population, some 335 in number, the natural increase was 521,184 from 1901-1911, whereas the actual increase numbered only 344,330 due to net emigration.² That the increase was as large as it was, the Census Commissioners suggested, was due to the factors mentioned above - the incursion of urban growth and industrial activity. More recent work has resulted in even bolder statements regarding the part played by the growth of towns in rural areas: that, in fact, population has only grown in those places where urban growth has provided a source of employment.³ Net emigration is a constant feature of later nineteenth-century rural life, being particularly heavy from the southern part of the country.⁴

Several counties exhibited absolute losses at various points in time during the century.⁵ If, as seems likely, net emigration held the key to possible improvement, then the times at which these losses occurred should have coincided with improvements in conditions. This hypothesis is tested later.⁶ It is certainly not a suggestion which would have met with the total approval of some contemporary observers, John

1 1911 Census Report (Cd. 5705), p. 39.

2 Ibid. p. 38.

3 Lawton, op. cit. (1967), p. 227.

4 Cairncross, op. cit. p. 76.

5 In England there were losses in Cambridgeshire, Cornwall, Dorset, Herefordshire, Huntingdonshire, Norfolk, Oxford, Rutland, Shropshire, Suffolk, Westmorland and Wiltshire. Wales too provided examples of this, only three counties, Carmarthen, Denbigh and Glamorgan, showing an increase in 1881-1891.

6 See below, Chapter 4, pp. 177-253.

Dennis suggesting that in the ten years prior to 1865 houses were being pulled down faster than the population was declining. In 821 separate parishes or townships houses had been demolished despite a rising population. This, he said, was all due to the iniquitous system of open and closed parishes.¹ Such qualms are mirrored by more recent writers on the subject.

"It may at first sight seem rather curious, but quite evidently it was the case, that rural depopulation had not left our most exclusively farming districts a substantial legacy of shuttered and empty cottages."²

Neither the pulling down of cottages, nor the supposed lack of "empties" necessarily refutes the hypothesis that it was a fall in demand which was instrumental in obtaining better rural housing. How many houses were demolished Dennis does not tell us, while it remains clear that some building was still in progress. Nor would a higher rate of "empties" necessarily be implied by a decline in the population, for one of the principal indicators of improved conditions would be a reduction in the numbers living in each house. In point of fact, it is noticeable that not only did this come about, Dorset for example showing a decline of over 4,500 between 1871-1881 and a fall in the numbers per house from 4.962 to 4.799 in the decade,³ but that in rural counties generally, after some years of depressed circumstances, the percentage of empty houses rises in contradiction to Lucas' statement. If the ten most rural counties are considered, the definition being that used by Lucas himself, namely those counties with

1 Dennis, op. cit. p. 346.

2 G.R. Lucas, 'Uninhabited Houses in England in the Nineteenth Century', in Steel and Lawton, op. cit. p. 267.

3 See below, Appendix 2B, Dorset, p. 409a.

the highest percentage of their male population ten years of age and over engaged in agriculture in 1881,¹ the position is as outlined in Figure 2.12 on the following page.

As a general observation it would appear historically true that agricultural counties had a relatively low proportion of empty houses. 1801 was an exceptional year in this respect, and even then only four out of the ten had an above-average level of uninhabited dwellings. Thereafter only a few sporadic instances of high levels are to be noted, six occasions in all for all counties before 1881. So far Lucas' suggestion implying the most rural counties had the lowest levels holds true, but a remarkable change takes place, which he fails to notice, in the last three decades of the century. In 1881 no less than seven of the counties exhibit an above-average level of "empties", only Norfolk, Bedford and Cambridge remaining below the national average. In 1891 again seven counties are above-average, with Rutland, Cambridge and Wiltshire just barely scraping below the mark. Finally by 1901 the set is complete, all ten most agricultural counties, by Lucas' definition, have a rate of empty dwellings in excess of the national average. It seems reasonable to assume that this tendency over time could be linked to migration from rural areas which in turn affected the demand for housing.

It is in the three decades from 1871-1901, and in the eighteen seventies and eighteen eighties in particular, that the major outflows from rural areas are noticeable. The estimates compiled by A.K. Cairncross show over 800,000

1 Lucas, op. cit. p. 269.

FIGURE 2.12

TABLE SHOWING THE PROPORTION OF EMPTY HOUSES IN TEN MOST RURAL ENGLISH COUNTIES 1801-1901*

COUNTY	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Huntingdonshire	1.94	1.98	1.86	2.82	3.08	4.54	3.73	4.29	7.70	8.27	9.19
Rutland	2.59	2.26	1.67	2.45	2.74	3.23	3.79	3.93	6.55	6.44	7.93
Cambridge	1.90	1.47	1.17	2.31	3.57	4.19	4.78	3.09	5.78	6.47	6.93
Herefordshire	5.24	3.75	3.85	3.82	5.80	4.75	3.12	4.69	6.47	8.18	8.45
Suffolk	1.68	1.65	1.51	2.23	3.54	4.29	4.61	4.90	6.38	6.83	7.31
Lincolnshire	2.57	2.32	1.79	3.19	2.99	4.07	4.72	4.23	6.37	7.89	6.83
Bedfordshire	1.53	1.62	1.29	1.77	2.39	2.61	2.67	4.47	5.84	7.94	7.68
Oxfordshire	2.80	2.15	2.03	2.81	4.29	3.73	3.56	4.98	6.99	7.01	8.65
Norfolk	3.10	1.95	2.00	3.69	4.15	3.63	4.90	5.31	5.72	7.12	7.61
Wiltshire	3.68	2.71	2.64	3.94	4.03	4.17	4.24	4.35	6.51	6.58	7.68
NATIONAL AVERAGE	2.74	3.20	4.57	5.51	4.44	4.67	5.73	7.34	6.35	6.63	5.39

* SOURCE: Figures computed from Census data, see Appendix 2B below, pp. 409-415.

leaving rural areas in the eighteen seventies and eighteen eighties and a further 660,000 in the eighteen nineties.¹ If migration played a dominant role in improving standards, these are the periods in which change for the better would be expected to appear.

For the pre-1870 period, however, the migration possibilities are supposedly interrupted by the operation of the closed and open parish system already mentioned. Open parishes were those where the labourers could live, while the closed ones were supposedly kept for the employers and as few labourers as possible, thus minimising the cost of poor rates and associated welfare schemes. Dennis was particularly incensed by conditions in the open villages:

"Hovels built at the cheapest rate by speculators, to receive, I cannot say accommodate, labourers whose work perhaps lies on some farm three or four miles distant."²

The results of such a naked exercise of power would be felt through the hindrance it imposed on free movement and its tendency to level out housing conditions in rural areas. To the extent that such a scheme was successful it would have tended to create pockets of local overcrowding and poor conditions generally. It would most immediately have affected the choice of sites, allowing settlement only in the open parishes. The Union Chargeability Act of 1865, which was designed to counter the problem by spreading responsibility for the cost of the poor rates over several parishes, removed any financial incentive for the system. The impact of this measure, however, seems

1 Cairncross, op. cit. p. 76.

2 Dennis, op. cit. p. 346.

to have been limited.¹ Conditions in closed parishes did not radically, or rapidly, improve after 1865, any more than they had before. Nor was the concept of the closed parish apparently successful in reducing the poor rates.² The overall pressures of migration and demand for houses would seem more important in explaining housing conditions than the open and closed parish system, or attempts to abolish it.

The general definition of a closed parish, when one is offered, usually involves suggesting that either ratepayers were few in number,³ or that the population was sparsely scattered with the number of wage-dependent families kept at a bare minimum by limiting the number of cottages.⁴ The latter tautologically ensures that cottages were few in closed parishes, but does not provide an adequate explanation as to why this should have been the case. Did cottage demolition force people out, or did people leaving lead to cottage demolition? B.A. Holderness and E.L. Jones question the assumption that an oversupply of labour between 1850-1875 was the cause of attempts to retain closed parishes in order to cut the cost of poor relief⁵ leaving little justification for their existence.

Conditions in what were known as the open villages were often adversely remarked upon. They were crowded, and with occasional back-to-backs they provided some of the worst of all rural conditions.⁶ The relative attractiveness

1 B.A. Holderness, '"Open" and "Closed" Parishes in England in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', Agricultural History Review Vol. 20 (1972), p. 127.

2 Ibid. p. 138.

3 J.A. Shepherd, 'East Yorkshire Agricultural Labour Force', Agricultural History Review Vol. IX (1961), p. 53.

4 Holderness, op. cit. p. 126.

5 E.L. Jones, 'The Agricultural Labour Market in England 1793-1872', Economic History Review 2nd Ser. Vol. 17 (1964-5), p. 322.

6 C.S. Read, 'Recent Improvements in Norfolk Farming', Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society Vol. 19 (1858), p. 292.

of the towns with their higher wages and greater opportunities, could be seen as key to the initial depopulation. Consequent attempts to increase the use of machinery in farming were responses to labour shortage rather than the result of farmers, or farm-owners, attempting to force labourers into the towns. The destruction of cottages¹ was part of this response, not the cause of the rural urban drift.

The question of the success or otherwise of the closed and open parish system is inextricably linked to that of the demand for agricultural labour. Jones suggests that the level of migration determined wage levels, and that 1851-1871 generally saw much improvement in wages and the offer of perks such as better housing. There were some periods of industrial recession which saw migrants drifting back to rural areas,² in similar vein to the movement of modern, internationally migrant labour. Presumably such a return to closed parishes would not have been possible if the migrants had been forced out in the first instance, by demolitions and the determination of the land-owner.

The provision of better housing and other perks to attract labour is cited as occurring particularly in the eighteen fifties and eighteen sixties, and even earlier in some areas.³ This would suggest that improved standards of housing could have been visible in rural areas even before the mass emigrations of the eighteen seventies. It does not appear that the system of closed and open parishes was ever fully effective, at least not in gene-

1 Gauldie, *op. cit.* p. 29.

2 E.L. Jones, *op. cit.* p. 338.

3 *Ibid.* pp. 329 and 334. Also Holderness, *op. cit.* p. 131.

ral. It was not only closed parishes that had inadequate supplies of labourers' cottages. Of 40 Bedfordshire parishes defined as deficient in cottages only 25 were closed, and only 12 of these needed to draw labourers in from outside. At the same time, northern Northumberland exhibited some of the worst examples of rural housing, with no juxtaposition of closed and open parishes.¹ Most counties provided one or two notorious examples of the closed parish, and demolition together with emigration was the most frequent explanation of dwindling village populations, sufficient cases, in fact, to give rise to the traditional view of demolitions causing depopulation on a wide scale.

In certain cases there were particularly extreme declines such as in Lincolnshire in the early part of the century. Cottages had been pulled down and labourers were moving into the towns or larger villages.² The results, however, seem inconclusive. Which came first, population drift or demolition? Whichever it was, the average rate of increase in poor rates for closed parishes was no less than that for the whole country from 1785-1787 to 1825-1829, so that their prime objective was not apparently achieved,³ at least in this period. This is not to suggest that migration did not take place, it did, and some land-owners took advantage of this to reduce cottage numbers in an attempt to restrict new settlements. However, migration can be viewed as the cause of the phenomenon rather than the effect. By the eighteen fifties, with

1 Holderness, *op. cit.* p. 132.

2 *Ibid.* p. 130.

3 *Ibid.* p. 138.

labour shortages in some rural sectors, forced migration by demolition or any other means would have been contrary to the best interests of the farmers.

If the closed parish system did not achieve its avowed objective of reducing the poor rate, either the population must have suffered no radical decline, or disproportionate numbers must have gone on relief. If the young were the most likely to move, leaving elderly dependents as a greater proportion of the total in such places, then a rise in poor rates would be the expected result. It could be assumed that the attractions of towns, and therefore open parishes, were the lures that pulled these young emigrants out of the closed parishes. The closed parishes, and their labour problems, by the eighteen fifties at least, can then be viewed as the product of migration, rather than its cause.¹ The poor housing conditions in open parishes are explained by the increased demand due to migration, which itself played a dominant role in determining overall rural housing conditions. Unfortunately, widescale testing of such a suggestion by reference to examples is problematic because of the lack of any clear idea as to what constituted a closed parish. It appears to have been as much an attitude of mind as an actual condition.

The origins of the traditional view that demolition forced people out could lie in the records or memory of a few authentic cases where this did happen, rather than in any general such occurrence. Recent evidence suggesting labour shortages in some sectors of agriculture, together with rising poor rates, seem consistently better explained by the

1 Holderness, *op. cit.* p. 129.

migration of young adults attracted to an urban environment than by forced emigration, which presumably would have been concentrated on those most likely to become a burden on the poor rates.

Such an explanation also means that the farmers, or their landlords, would not have been directly responsible for the threat to the efficiency of labour posed by the men's exertions in walking several miles to and from work.¹ Nor were they responsible for the absolute lack of labour which seems to have existed later in the century. Probably in most cases it was marginal labour which was employed from a distance, the services of reliable and particularly skilled men being too valuable to risk losing. If the farmer were only a tenant, he would almost certainly apply pressure on the landlord to obtain cottages for such men, or at least to retain cottages where they were already in existence.

Migration from closed parishes, or perhaps more generally from rural areas, into the growing towns holds an important place on the urban demand front too. The migratory flow from rural areas represented a straight addition to those requiring urban accommodation. The peculiar situation of central city areas as represented by London on the map on page 75 being a feature of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries generally rather than typical of the period from 1837-1914. An outflow of population and a negative rate of natural increase was certainly peculiar, if not unique, yet that was what was happening in central London by the second half of the century. Central area decay, however, was accom-

1 Holderness, op. cit. p. 137.

panied by an overall increase in London's population, which by the last decade of the nineteenth century had reached 85,000 people per year.¹ A.S. Wohl reminds his reader that:

"Extensive as was the geographical expansion of London, the astounding growth of its population was of greater significance; unless the demographic pressures are constantly borne in mind, it is impossible to understand the seriousness of the housing problem."²

The impact of migration in London's case can be judged by the fact that it accounted for one-half of the overall increase between 1850 and 1890.³ The newly-developing parts of the city received the bulk of this influx. Walthamstow's population grew to 25 times its original size between 1851 and 1911,⁴ and Hammersmith's nearly tenfold from 1831 to 1891.⁵ In the rapidly-growing areas, the level of stocks represented by "empties" were usually only high following over-speculation and a falling off in trade generally. Such a situation existed in Hammersmith in 1881 when "empties" were at a level of 14 per cent of the inhabited house numbers, 1,492 to 10,543.

Generally there was a strong positive correlation between

1 Wohl, op. cit. p. 16.

2 Ibid. p. 15.

3 H.A. Shannon, 'Migration and the Growth of London 1841-1891. A Statistical Note', Economic History Review 1st Ser. Vol. V (1934-5), p. 86.

4 J. Bird, Notes from Walthamstow Vestry Minutes and other Papers (circa 1905) Essex R.O. T/P 75, unpaginated. Population figures for Walthamstow were:

1801	3,006	1851	4,959
1871	11,092	1901	95,125
		1911	124,597

5 Hammersmith Vestry Report (1890-1), p. 212. Population figures were:

1801	5,600	1831	10,222	1851	17,760
1871	42,691	1891	97,235		

the number per inhabited house and the number per uninhabited house, as can be seen from Appendix 2C.¹ Overcrowding and potential demand were greatest where stock levels were lowest, a situation in which building would be expected to be at its height, although builders sometimes did not operate as theory might lead one to expect.²

The only difference between London and other large towns, or fast-growing small ones for that matter, was one of size. Only some of the rural migrants moved abroad; the majority were heading townwards to form the real problem of demand in urban areas. The net additions to urban areas by migration show over 1,250,000 for London from 1841-1911, and nearly 900,000 for the eight largest northern towns.³ Not all migrants to the towns came from rural parts of England and Wales. Ireland and Scotland provided their share too,⁴ but in the case of towns in the north-west and the Midlands the majority of migrants from the surrounding localities rather than any great distance.⁵

Influxes of this sort threw great strain on urban areas and their ability to cope with the demand. Such movement also hindered national improvement since it increased the geographical disparity between supply and demand.⁶ Consequently the role of population factors in the overall urban demand

1 See below, Appendix 2C, p. 416.

2 S.B. Saul, 'Housebuilding in England 1890-1914', Economic History Review 2nd Ser. Vol. 15 (1962), p. 128.

3 Cairncross, op. cit. p. 78.

4 Saville, op. cit. p. 4.

5 A. Redford, Labour Migration in England 1800-1850 2nd Ed., edited and revised by W.H. Chaloner (1964), pp. 62 and 64-5.

6 It equates to Smith's mobility component of demand, see above p. 57.

position is one of compounding problems, of making improvement more difficult, rather than explaining it. The reasons for improvement in this case are evident only after a search has been made on the supply side. An increase in supply had to be induced by a willingness to spend more on rent on the part of the urban dwellers. Before considering this point, however, there is one other feature of urban demand, connected with migration, that must be looked at. This factor is movement within town boundaries which was to some extent a local parallel to Smith's national mobility component of overall demand.

There are conflicting views on this topic. Traditionally it would appear that the literary evidence suggests quite high levels of local migration, perhaps only a matter of a few houses, or streets, but a definite and fairly frequent move. The housing manager of the London County Council said the habit was pronounced, even within districts, especially for people whose work might shift.¹ He suggested that some 33 per cent of tenants in London as a whole would move each year.² Among those most likely to move were the building workers,³ but it was also apparent that those who did move often were not considered as among the solid, dependable members of the working-classes. It was thought to be a matter of whim as much as need to be near work or desire for better or cheaper accommodation.⁴ Elsewhere, earlier in the century, rather

1 Evidence of S.G. Burgess to the R.C. on London Traffic P.P. 1906, XL, Qq. 5,684 and 5,826-8.

2 Ibid. Q. 5,859.

3 Evidence of A Young, Valuer to L.C.C., to R.C. on London Traffic P.P. 1906, XL, Q. 7,356.

4 Ibid. Qq. 7,358-9.

more exact motives were attributed to those who made such short movements. Migration from one area of Bedford to other parts of the town between 1831 and 1841 was said to be caused by dilapidated housing in St Cuthberts Ward, where the migrants came from, and their desire to find something better.¹ Work on street directories for places such as Cardiff, has revealed that labourers moved less than other members of the community, so perhaps whim was less dominant than good cause. In the case of Cardiff, M. Daunton found that the proportion of labourers who moved in any one year was about 13 per cent either out of Cardiff or internally, whereas for the whole community the proportion was about 20 per cent.² The study, however, was only concerned with heads of household not lodgers, who may very well increase the migration rate.

In a more general study of family life in Victorian Lancashire, it has been noted that working-class mobility was high, at least on a local scale, in urban areas.³ Only 14 per cent of males and 19 per cent of females aged ten years and over in Preston were living in the same house in 1861 as they had been in 1851.⁴ Of the men, many had moved only a short distance: 12 per cent less than 50 yards, 6 per cent 50-99 yards and 8 per cent between 100 and 199 yards.⁵ Anderson also cites Chadwick's findings, which reveal a similar pattern of exper-

1 W. Lee, Superintending Inspector's Report on a Preliminary Inquiry into the Sewerage, Drainage and Supply of Water and the Sanitary Condition of the Inhabitants of the Borough of Bedford (1855), p. 9.

2 M. Daunton, Aspects of the Social and Economic Structure of Cardiff 1870-1914 (University of Kent at Canterbury Ph.D. thesis, 1974), pp. 383 and 387.

3 Anderson, op. cit. p. 20

4 Ibid. p. 41.

5 Ibid. p. 42

ience for ten parishes in York, with over one-third of the population moving within two years.¹

Whatever the reasons, it is clear that a fairly rapid turnover of tenants, although perhaps not as high as some impressionistic observers claimed, was far from uncommon and that this mobility was not confined to the thriftless members of the working class. If the inducement was better housing, it implies a willingness to pay for this improvement and to seek it out in the first place. On a local scale, a keen market and high level of knowledge on the part of renters of accommodation would seem to be in evidence.

The willingness to pay for better accommodation together with movement to better areas meant that income levels became of importance in conjunction with migratory trends. What were people willing to afford, and how did wage movements affect their decision? While emigration alone was sufficient cause for improvement, in rural areas, migration to the urban centres just compounded the problem. To explain how these difficulties were at least partially met something must be known of the expenditure on rent. Although wage levels were somewhat higher for the industrial occupations,² the urban dweller's effective income after rent was not so far in advance of his rural counterpart. Rent levels in urban areas had to increase further still in order to achieve an improvement in housing conditions through an inducement to suppliers to increase the amount available. This need to increase

1 Anderson, op. cit. p. 41.

2 E.L. Jones, op. cit. p. 238, suggests agricultural wages were some 46 per cent of industrial ones by 1850.

expenditure on rent was added to by the adverse effects of migration. Such a process obviously took time. In the short-run only a few individuals could hope to improve their position at the expense of their fellow urban-dwellers, by outbidding them in the open market. The rural dweller could take matters into his own hands (or feet) inducing a relatively more rapid period of improvement by affecting the demand side through migration. In relation to what he paid for his accommodation he could be said to be rather better off than his urban counterpart through the period from 1837-1914. In absolute terms the urban dweller had a rather higher standard, but his advantage may have been cut back by 1914, and he had had to endure cellar dwellings, particularly in the earlier years, and far worse general surroundings.

With this perhaps contentious background in mind, the course of incomes and rent expenditures becomes a crucial factor, particularly in explaining improvements in the urban areas.

The problems which faced the working-class tenant included that of irregular income and how many of the family could earn something. The handloom weavers of the eighteen thirties were classic examples of the irregular earnings available to some members of the working-classes. They also show how the various individuals in the family contributed towards the total income. Complete families in Trowbridge, Wiltshire in 1840 were earning an average of 7/1 weekly by weaving, with possibly another 5/- or so coming from other work. Rents averaged a low 1/9 per week for the relatively poor housing.¹

1 Reports of Assistant Commissioners on Hand Loom Weavers P.P. 1840, XXIII, p. 426.

Other work was necessary since the outworkers were the first to be laid off in poor times, adding irregularity of employment to the problem of low pay.

Most families could expect to experience poverty at some time or another, depending upon their position in the life-cycle. The size of the family, the occupation of its head and, particularly, the regularity of employment, were all important factors in determining how a family fared. J.O. Foster in his study of Oldham suggests that only some 15 per cent of all working-class families managed to avoid poverty at some stage.¹ Not only did a large number of young children place an excessive burden on family income at one point in time, but the nature of employment seems to have been altered for urban workers as they got older. Many men had to change from highly-paid, more regular cotton factory employment to casual labouring tasks once they reached their fifties, and their eyesight or dexterity began to falter. This left them in that irregularly-employed group which bore the brunt of any slump in industrial activity. Such considerations operated over and above the general state of employment and income levels, but meant that experiences of hardship were more spread than if people remained in the same type of employment throughout their working life.

Irregularity of employment on a day-to-day basis continued to be a major problem throughout the century. Even by 1900 only three-quarters of the working classes were said to be in regular employment either as labourers or as skilled artisans.² For the rest, casual and irregular employment

1 Cited by Anderson, *op. cit.* p. 30.

2 Thompson, *op. cit.* p. 3.

remained the real problem in meeting such commitments as rent payments. Hawkers, costermongers, dock labourers and other such groups could earn quite well in one week and then receive virtually nothing the next.¹ Dock labourers were usually not employed for more than 2 days each week on average, and their wages varied from as low as 8/- to 9/- per week, up to 12/- or 18/-.²

While underemployment was a constant problem for some, others of the working classes faced actual unemployment. In 1887 a survey was taken in London which revealed the differences between rents paid while in employment, and what was paid during periods of unemployment. On average, those in work were paying 6/2, those out of work 4/8.³ Probably other sources of earnings than that of the head of the household provided the ability to pay even the reduced rent. However, the small difference between the two levels suggests that there is validity in the kinked demand curves as shown in Figure 2.1. In reduced circumstances people did not spend a much smaller amount on rent. The only readily available alternative was to share accommodation and "huddling" rose markedly in time of prolonged depression.⁴

Figures relating to wages alone, however, do not tell the real story. A consideration of wage/rent ratios has to

-
- 1 R.A. Cross, 'Houses of the Poor in London', The Nineteenth Century Vol. 12 (July-Dec., 1832), p. 233.
 - 2 R.C. on the Housing of the Working Classes P.P. 1884-5, XXX, p. 29.
 - 3 Report and Tabulation of Statements Regarding Work and Labourers' Dwellings in London Made by Men Living in Certain Selected Districts of London in March 1887 P.P. 1887, LXXI, p. 315. See below, Appendix 2D, pp. 417-418.
 - 4 Anderson, op. cit. p. 150.

be attempted to see what trends are visible over time. In attempting this it is assumed that movements in wages generally reflect movements in overall family earnings throughout the period.

Over the period of approximately the first 50 years of the timespan covered by this thesis, the average amount spent on rent in London more than doubled as can be seen from the following table.

FIGURE 2.13

TABLE SHOWING RENT EXPENDITURE 1831-83*

(1) Year	(2) Houses	(3) Population	(4) Rent £	(5) Rent per House			(6) Rent per Inhabitant		
				£	s	d	£	s	d
1831	197,000	1,655,000	6,170,000	31	-	6 - 0	3	-	15 - 0
1841	256,000	1,948,000	9,150,000	35	-	10 - 0	4	-	14 - 0
1851	301,000	2,362,000	12,100,000	40	-	1 - 0	5	-	2 - 0
1861	369,000	2,804,000	16,200,000	43	-	0 - 0	5	-	15 - 0
1871	445,000	3,254,000	22,800,000	51	-	0 - 0	7	-	1 - 0
1883	541,000	3,955,000	35,060,000	64	-	12 - 0	8	-	15 - 0

* SOURCE: M.G. Mulhall, 'The Housing of the London Poor: Ways and Means', Contemporary Review Vol. XLV (1884), p. 233.

Unfortunately, knowledge on such a complete basis as this is not available at the national level. Nor is the information for what happened in London post-1883 so conveniently summarised. A picture has to be pieced together from various sources. The intention is to try to achieve this for London first and then use this as a basis for comparison with the rest of the country. Mulhall's figures hide some of the differences that existed over both area and within classes. Particular groups, or areas, had rent levels far above average. Where both of these factors coincided, such as with

casual labour around the dockland or market areas in the centre of large ports and towns, the resulting problems could be very acute.¹ Even within a specific area wide differences could appear. Bermondsey in the eighteen eighties had rents for one room which ranged from 1/3 to 3/6.²

Rents per house and per inhabitant in this period tend to rise fairly consistently, the only breaks being in the eighteen forties and eighteen fifties for rent per inhabitant, and the eighteen fifties alone for rent per house. The eighteen forties were a poor time for the supply of additional accommodation, and the continuing rise in rent per house, as opposed to rent per inhabitant, suggests a possible increase in sharing took place in order to keep costs down.

One last word of caution on Figure 2.13 is that the early eighteen thirties were a period of relatively low rents compared to the general situation since the Napoleonic Wars. Some of the apparent consequent rise in rent expenditure would therefore have to be discounted. Between 1823 and 1833 it was estimated rents in London suburbs had fallen by over a third on average.³ This had been accompanied by a large rise in the stock of "empties".⁴

-
- 1 Evidence of P. Williams, The First Report of the S.C. on Rating of Tenements P.P. 1837-8, XXI, Qq. 375-7, said in Hardwick, Manchester, with some 10,000 inhabitants, low rented accommodation was under much pressure, that to let at weekly rentals amounting to six pounds per annum totalled not more than 50 units.
 - 2 R.C. on the Housing of the Working Classes P.P. 1884-5, XXX, p. 143. Variations in the rent charged for one room in Whitechapel 1876-77 were from 1/6 to 5/6. L.C.C., op. cit. pp. 298-9.
 - 3 Evidence of T. Burton to S.C. on Manufactures, Commerce and Shipping P.P. 1833, VI, Q. 1,753.
 - 4 Ibid. Q. 1,725.

To conclude the summary of London rents, the period 1880 to 1900 saw a further increase despite a generally falling price level. The total increase for all houses in London over this period amounted to 8.2 per cent. However, if only houses rented at under 50 pounds per annum are considered, the rise is greater, totalling some 13.7 per cent.¹ Since the houses at the cheaper end of the range were the ones which the working class inhabited, this meant that their housing expenditure was increasing faster than rents in general. By 1900, it was suggested, rent levels could not be less on average than 4/- to 4/6 per room per week in some central parts of London such as Whitechapel.² The pressure was so great in some particular areas that furnished rooms were being let by the night for ninepence each, or 5/- weekly.³

1900 was a time of generally rising rents in the Metropolis, especially in the central zone.⁴ Despite some later reversal of this trend, by the beginning of the second decade of the twentieth century central London still had the highest costs in the country. The next two tables show the range of actual rent levels paid in London in the early twentieth century.

1 Hirst, *op. cit.* p. 98.

2 L.C.C., *op. cit.* p. 89.

3 C. Booth, Life and Labour in London (1902), 3rd Ser. Vol. VI, p. 159.

4 L.C.C., *op. cit.* p. 89.

FIGURE 2.14

AVERAGE RENTS IN CENTRAL, MIDDLE AND OUTER ZONES OF LONDON* (IN SHILLINGS AND PENCE)

(1) Zone	(2) 1 Room Range	(3) 2 Room Range	(4) 3 Room Range	(4) 4 Room Range	(6) 5 Room Range	(7) 6 Room Range
Central	3/- to 6/-	5/6 to 8/6	7/- to 10/6			
Middle	2/6 to 5/-	4/6 to 7/6	6/- to 9/-	7/6 to 10/6	9/- to 13/-	10/6 to 15/6
Outer			5/- to 8/-	6/- to 9/6	7/6 to 11/6	9/- to 13/-

* SOURCE: Board of Trade Report on Working Class Rents, Housing and Retail Prices in the Principal Industrial Towns of the U.K. P.P. 1908, CVII, p. 388.

FIGURE 2.15

PREDOMINANT WEEKLY RENTS IN LONDON 1912* (IN SHILLINGS AND PENCE)

(1) Zone	(2) 2 Room Range	(3) 3 Room Range	(4) 4 Room Range	(5) 5 Room Range	(6) 6 Room Range
Inner	5/- to 8/-	6/6 to 10/-			
Middle	4/- to 7/-	5/6 to 9/-	7/- to 10/6	8/6 to 13/-	10/- to 15/-
Outer		5/- to 8/-	6/- to 9/6	7/6 to 11/-	8/6 to 12/6

* SOURCE: Report of an Enquiry by the Board of Trade into Working Class Rents, Prices and Wages in Industrial Towns, 1912 P.P. 1913, LXVI, report p. xxii.

Figures 2.14 and 2.15 again present problems since variations occurred within particular areas, as can be seen from the range of figures given in the results. There appears to have been some decline in rent levels in the last few years of the first decade of the century and the first two years of the second decade. Rents had altered relatively swiftly in response to changes in the market situation. Before considering how such a result could occur, how typical was London's experience for the country as a whole?

The short answer is that London was not typical as its rent levels were far in excess of those existing elsewhere. Estimates vary, and the relative position changes over time, but by the early twentieth century rent levels in London were put at 40 to 50 per cent higher than elsewhere.¹

In the earlier part of the period the rent levels nationally from 1845 through to 1882 rose by something like 62 per cent - from an index number of 100.0 to one of 162.6 by H.W. Singer's calculations.² An alternative measure is that of an absolute increase from about £ 37,000,000 in 1841 to £ 89,000,000 by 1881, which just about kept pace with the increase in National Income over the same period. Rent expenditure and National Income ran closely together after 1841, as is shown by Figure 2.16. It is possible that as a greater proportion of the population became urban dwellers so that proportion of rent expenditure rose, since urban workers paid more of their income in rent.

1 Hirst, op. cit. p. 99.

2 H.W. Singer, 'An Index of Urban Land Rents and House Rents in England and Wales 1845-1913', Econometrica Vol. IX (1941), p. 230.

FIGURE 2.16

GROWTH IN EXPENDITURE ON RENT AND ITS RELATIONSHIP
TO NATIONAL INCOME*

(1) Year	(2) Expenditure on Rent of Dwellings £,000,000	(3) Rent Expenditure as a Percentage of National Income
1801	12.2	5.26
1811	17.2	5.71
1821	17.9	6.15
1831	22.0	6.47
1841	37.0	8.18
1851	42.6	8.14
1861	50.3	7.53
1871	69.4	7.57
1881	89.1	8.48
1891	104.0	8.07
1901	134.2	8.17

* SOURCES: Column (2) is taken from Mitchell and Deane, op. cit. p. 366.
Column (3) is a computation.

The increase noted by Singer relates to payment of rent per dwelling, that is the equivalent of Column (5) in Figure 2.13. This shows a relatively more rapid increase in London rent levels over the period 1841 to 1883, from £35 - 10s - 0d to £64 - 12s - 0d per dwelling, a rise of about 82 per cent compared to Singer's overall figure of 62 per cent - the discrepancy from that point through to the end of the century, seems, if anything, to go in the reverse direction, rents outside London rising faster than in the Metropolis.¹ Alternative indicators of rent levels show something of this trend too, and provide a check to the information from the various sources used so far.

1 Hirst, op. cit. p. 99, suggests a 25 per cent rise in rents of houses under twenty pounds annual rental, including rates, from 1880-1900, compared with the 13.7 per cent of houses under fifty pounds annual rental in London.

Two possible checks on Singer's rent index are available later in the century, namely the indices compiled by Cairncross and Weber.¹ The latter of these starts in 1874 and suggests that Singer's figures are approximately correct, showing considerable agreement. Cairncross's work suggests, however, that from 1870, the date for his first calculations, Singer's index is far too low. It is the early eighteen eighties before the two begin to coincide which must cast doubt upon the 62 per cent figure given above. Cairncross's work suggests that the amount of change in national rent levels was somewhat less than that put forward by Singer, which would widen the difference between London and the rest of the country. The literary evidence is not specific enough to substantiate either of these suggestions rather than the other, but tends to suggest that little change in the relationship occurred between about 1840 and 1880.

The rent per house figure given in Figure 2.13, being an average of all houses, is somewhat above normal working-class rent levels. The general sort of weekly payment in central areas has been summarised as about 2/6 per room in the eighteen forties, 2/6 to 3/6 in the eighteen sixties, 3/- to 4/- by the mid eighteen eighties, and 4/- to 4/6 by 1900.² Extremes above and below this can be discovered throughout the period, and as can be seen from Figures 2.14 and 2.15 the 1900 figure will suffice as a general average through to 1914.

Outside London in the eighteen forties, rents were far lower than 2/6 per room. Cottage rents in Leeds for example,

1 All three are given together in Parry Lewis, op. cit. p. 370.

2 L.C.C., op. cit. pp. 88-9.

ranged from two pounds to ten pounds per year, age being one deciding factor, cottages in their first decade or so of existence obtaining a premium.¹ Even the new cottages, however, were only costing 4/9 per week.² The majority of working men were paying 1/7 to 2/10 weekly.³ Renting one room in Newcastle cost the tenant 1/2 per week,⁴ while most people in Manchester paid between 2/- and 3/- per week.⁵

Elsewhere, variations occurred depending on what earning power was available to the household. In Abergavenny, for example, day labourers were paying only 9/- per month, or just over 2/- per week, usually for two rooms, while furnace-men and other more highly-paid workmen spent double that, about 18/- per month.⁶ Something of the order of 2/- to 3/- would appear the average for two rooms outside London in the early eighteen forties, which leaves London at about double, or just less than double, the external level. Such a level of rents continues through to the end of the eighteen forties and into the early eighteen fifties judging by the various General Board of Health Reports.⁷

-
- 1 Rimmer, op. cit. p. 181. In 1839 there were 18,279 houses in Leeds, 13,603 of which were let for ten pounds or less, while 5,272 went for less than five pounds per annum. Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, p. 357.
 - 2 Rimmer, op. cit. p. 189.
 - 3 Ibid. p. 188.
 - 4 Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, p. 431.
 - 5 Ibid. p. 242.
 - 6 Ibid. p. 99.
 - 7 For example, see Rawlinson, op. cit. supplement pp. 3-27; or W. Lee, Report to the General Board of Health on a Preliminary Inquiry into the Sewerage, Drainage and Supply of Water, and the Sanitary Condition of the Inhabitants of Rotherham and Kimberworth (1851), p. 32.



The inhabitants of central London still paid rents almost double those elsewhere at the end of Mulhall's period, in 1883. Thereafter the statistics suggest a continuation of this gap. The literary evidence of the 1884 Royal Commission clearly supports this view: London was said to require 3/- to 4/- per room, while rents were reported as "much lower in the provinces". In particular cases, however, the difference was not so great. Newcastle was one area which had prices not far behind those of London. 2/6 per week was needed to rent one room.¹ This town and others in the same area, however, were noted for their high rent costs as will be seen later.

Elsewhere, cases of particularly high provincial rents were to be found for specific reasons. Some mill-owners for example, were said to receive abnormal rents which were paid by the tenants for the sake of their jobs.² Such exceptions were doing little to close the gap on London rent levels.

Figure 2.17 demonstrates the continuation of this saga of differentials between 1880 and 1900 when some closure is at last found, albeit a very slight one. Earlier in the century, unfortunately, little can be found to definitely substantiate or contradict Singer's findings.

-
- 1 R.C. on the Housing of the Working Classes P.P. 1884-5, XXX, p. 30.
 - 2 Evidence to S.C. on Friendly and Benefit Building Societies P.P. 1871, XXV, Qq. 5,617-23.

FIGURE 2.17
RENT LEVELS 1880-1900^{*}

(1) Year	(2) London	(3) Great Britain Less London	(4) 20 Large Towns ⁺	(5) London Tenement Rents ^o		(6) 20 Large Towns Actual Rents Average in Pounds (plus rates)
				1 Room	2 Room	
1880	87.9	79.8	85.2	3/1½d	5/-	10.80
1885	92.3	82.6	87.8			11.13
1890	91.0	86.2	88.7	3/2½d	5/3d	11.25
1895	97.5	90.8	95.0			12.04
1900	100.0	100.0	100.0	3/5½d (1899)	5/8d	12.68

SOURCES: * Second Series of Board of Trade Memoranda, Statistical Tables, and Charts with Reference to Various Matters Bearing Upon British and Foreign Trade and Industrial Conditions P.P. 1905, LXXXVI, pp. 34-5.

+ The 20 large towns were: Newcastle, Sunderland, Gateshead, Bradford, Halifax, Leeds, Sheffield, Liverpool, Manchester, Salford, Preston, Oldham, Bolton, Birmingham, Leicester, Northampton, Derby, Yarmouth, Bristol, Glasgow. Ibid. p. 44.

o Ibid. p. 41.

The difference had lessened slightly over the twenty-year period, but the national average rent for a three- or four-roomed dwelling by 1900 was about the same as that for a two-roomed tenement in London, so that a distinct difference still existed. It was only in the philanthropic dwellings in very large cities that rent levels anything like their equivalent in London could be found.¹ The philanthropic rents are not really typical of the open market, since land was often given to them, or sold below market value, and it was the land which had become extremely valuable.² The closeness of Newcastle's rents to those of the Metropolis in 1884 is reflected in its being by 1912 the second most expensive place to live in the whole country. With London rents as a base number of 100, the relative levels in Newcastle gave it an index number of 84.³ The north-east was in general a high-rent area as can be judged from Figure 2.18, which summarises Appendix 2E by area.

Variations still occurred over a relatively short period of time, a situation revealed by comparing Appendices 2E and 2F which give the indices for 1908 and 1912. In those few years the relative position of several towns had changed, Newcastle being a case in point in moving from an index number of 76 in 1908 to one of 84 in 1912, overtaking Croydon,

1 For London the average Council and Philanthropic rent per room in 1903 was 2/3d per week, in Manchester it was 1/11 and in Liverpool 1/7. Smaller towns such as Blackburn, Leicester and Rochdale averaged 1/- per room per week. Board of Trade Memoranda, Statistical Tables and Charts with Reference to Various Matters Bearing on British and Foreign Trade and Industrial Conditions P.P. 1903, LXVII, p. 470.

2 See below, p. 121.

3 See below, Appendix 2E, p. 419.

FIGURE 2.18

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION AND RENTS 1912*

(1) Geographical Group	(2) Number of Towns	(3) Mean Rent Index Numbers
London		100
Northern Counties & Cleveland	9	66
Yorkshire (except Cleveland)	10	58.5
Lancashire & Cheshire	17	56.9
Midlands	14	52.3
Eastern Counties & East Midlands	7	53.4
Southern Counties	10	63.7
Wales & Monmouthshire	4	64.8

* SOURCE: Report of an Enquiry by the Board of Trade into Working Class Rents, Prices and Wages in Industrial Towns, 1912
P.P. 1913, LXVI, report p. xxvii.

Plymouth and Devonport. Areas changed far less than individual towns, although their relative index numbers did alter slightly. A summary table by area is included for the purpose of comparison with Figure 2.18. Again the northern area was the dearest after London itself.

FIGURE 2.19

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION AND RENTS 1908*

(1) Geographical Group	(2) Number of Towns	(3) Mean Rent Index Numbers
London		100
Northern Counties & Cleveland	9	62
Yorkshire (except Cleveland)	10	56
Lancashire & Cheshire	17	54
Midlands	15	51
Eastern Counties	7	50
Southern Counties	10	61
Wales & Monmouthshire	4	60

* SOURCE: Board of Trade Report on Working Class Rents, Housing and Retail Prices in the Principal Industrial Towns of the U.K.
P.P. 1908, CVII, p. 336.

London's rent level remained nearly twice that of other towns virtually throughout the period. Some other towns, particularly those in the north-east, had high levels, but there was some degree of urban uniformity if London is removed from the list. In terms of change over time, there was a slight pause in the upward trend of rents during the eighteen forties. This was therefore a period when some deterioration in standards could be expected to have occurred, or at least no real improvement. Rents were sticky between 1905 and 1912 - levels actually remained stationary or declined in nine out of ten of the largest towns during this period.¹ This gives two time periods when little change could be anticipated in urban conditions, but otherwise a generally rising trend in rent levels seems evident which could have produced gradual improvement through a greater supply being called forth.

In the rural case little change appears noticeable in rent levels. Rural rents were on average lower than urban ones in the eighteen forties, by something like 25 per cent.² Overall, rents varied from one part of the country to another. In Devon and Cornwall poor, two-roomed cottages were let from £2 - 8s - 0d to £2 - 15s - 0d per annum.³ These were exceptionally cheap, despite reports of 1,000 Derbyshire cottages let at 4/- to 5/- per annum in the eighteen thirties.⁴ All of

1 Report of an Enquiry by the Board of Trade into Working Class Rents, Prices and Wages in Industrial Towns, 1912 P.P. 1913, LXVI, report p. xxxi. As a result 1900 prices probably roughly equal those for 1914.

2 Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, p. 135.

3 Ibid. p. 10.

4 Evidence of William Smith, farmer, to S.C. Appointed to Inquire into the Present State of Agriculture and Persons Employed in the Same P.P. 1833, V, Q. 12,256.

the latter had gone by the time of the later investigation at the end of the eighteen thirties.

More usual rates ranged from 1/6d to around 2/- or 2/6d per week with, as one observer pointed out, the situation of the cottage determining its rent level rather more than its size or condition.¹ Thus only at the top end of the scale was the rural cottage inhabitant paying almost the same as the provincial urban tenant.

Similar rent levels appear general up to the mid-eighteen sixties. Cottages put up for sale in the area of Bocking in Essex, where it was said accommodation was much in demand, were only fetching rents of £2 - 12s - 0d to £4 - 10s - 0d in 1861.² Even by the mid-eighteen seventies 2/- per week was thought to be a high figure in East Anglia.³ Buckinghamshire too, in the eighteen seventies, had cottages for 1/- or less per week up to 1/6d or more.⁴ In a more general vein, rent levels seem much the same by the mid-eighteen eighties, certainly no higher.⁵ Any general improvements in such cottages do not seem to have been bought by the tenants through higher rents. By the end of the century, when some improvement had taken place, rent levels, while varying from as low as ninepence per week to 7/- weekly, were still around 1/6 per week

1 H. Newnham, auditor, in Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, p. 87.

2 Newspaper Advertisement for Auction of 22 March 1861. From catalogue of sale particulars, Essex R.O. D/DU 56/4.

3 F. Clifford, 'The Labour Bill in Farming', Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society Vol. XI, (1875), p. 115.

4 R. Usher, Essays on the Dwellings of the Poor and Other Subjects (1877), pp. 7-8.

5 R.C. on the Housing of the Working Classes Vol. II, P.P. 1884-5, XXXI, Qq. 16,270-1 and 17,238.

or four pounds per annum.¹ Two points were made by one author concerning this state of affairs:

"That rent has generally no relation to the size of the cottage, the cost of its construction, the accommodation which it affords, its condition as regards repair or sanitary arrangements, or to the earnings of the occupier."

and that:

"The rent which is received for cottage property in rural districts is not sufficient to make the building of good cottages profitable."²

Housing experience in rural areas did improve and improve fast later in the century. Rents and economic factors in general do not appear to offer anything in the way of a satisfactory explanation for such a trend. If anything, rents fell relatively to urban ones. Partly this was due to the wages received by agricultural workers. In 1842 it was estimated ¹ 1 - 5s - 0d per week was needed to keep a man, wife and five children exclusive of rent, and this was about double the average agricultural wage.³ The agricultural labourer, like his urban counterpart, suffered irregular employment, winter seeing less work than summer. With rents at 1/- to 2/6d, and wages around 10/- to 12/- per week, the ratio of rent to earnings was a relatively high one in the eighteen forties, and it had only declined slightly by the end of the period, when the average agricultural labourer was receiving something like 14/6d to 15/- per week.⁴ Rents of 1/6d or so were still gene-

1 Savage, op. cit. p. 26.

2 Ibid. p. 25.

3 Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, p. 37. Based on costs in workhouse.

4 Continuation of Board of Trade Memoranda, Statistical Tables and Charts on Various Matters Bearing Upon British and Foreign Trade and Industrial Conditions P.P. 1909, CII, report p. 213.

ral by the early twentieth century, although more was paid by some, which meant that the ratio was still around one-tenth of income. Regional variations were noticeable, such as the higher wages generally in the north of England,¹ are difficult to take into account fully because of differences regarding bonus payments, and payments in kind of various types.² The open market was thickly disguised even where it can be found, and there seems good reason to agree with contemporary observers that there was not a strictly commercial system in operation in rural areas.³

Overall the ratio of rent/wages seems to depend partly on occupation, or wage rates. In the eighteen forties, plumbers, glaziers, carpenters, bricklayers, masons, nailors, cordwainers and lace-workers in Tewkesbury were all paying about one-eighth of their wages in rent, while watermen, stocking weavers and other labourers paid one-sixth.⁴ Variations occurred too, over the rest of the country. Leeds workers paid from one-seventh to one-fifth of their wages in rent,⁵ while

-
- 1 Day labourers in Cumberland were paid 18/- with a cottage provided in 1893, while in Gloucestershire they received 10/- to 11/- with no cottage. W.E. Bear, 'The Farm Labourers of England and Wales', Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society Vol. XXIX (1893), p. 666.
 - 2 Labourers on the Duke of Cumberland's estates in Durham received a cottage rent-free, a ton of coal at Christmas, a boll of wheat and 40 stone of potatoes. Evidence to R.C. on the Housing of the Working Classes Vol. II P.P. 1884-5, XXXI, Q. 16,299.
 - 3 R.C. on the Housing of the Working Classes P.P. 1884-5, XXX, p. 46; and B.S. Rowntree and M. Kendal, How the Labourer Lives (undated, circa 1913), pp. 28 and 30, where rents were put at 2/- and a commercial one estimated at 4/- for 1913.
 - 4 Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, p. 98
 - 5 Ibid. pp. 360-1.

in Newcastle, noted for its being a high-rent area in terms of rent per dwelling, the average seems to have been around one-fifteenth or less.¹ Even within the area of the north-east the discrepancy in rent/earnings ratios was a noticeable one. Large towns had a ratio of one-tenth, market towns one-twelfth, seaports one-fifteenth, coal districts one-thirteenth, and lead mining and manufacturing districts one-ninth.² The area thus had high rents per dwelling, but low ones per tenant. A general average seems to have been about one-eighth over the whole country, and the usual range one from one-tenth to one-fifth. Thus, besides a time factor to consider, it would appear that occupation and income level affected the ratio. Generally, the more skilled and highly-paid seem to have paid a lower proportion of total income on rent than did labourers. Besides this a geographical diversity is apparent, which could be linked to fashions, people in any one area all tending to spend what was considered "normal" as rent.

By 1869 one observer concluded that compared to earlier experience there was no sign of a diminution in the percentage of income spent on rent.³ Some signs of an upward shift were evident. In Birmingham one-fifth had become the average by 1871,⁴ a figure exceeded by more than 88 per cent of the lowest paid in London by the early eighteen eighties.⁵ London, being more highly rented, probably forced on its inhabitants the pay-

1 Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, p. 431.

2 Ibid. pp. 411-2.

3 Palgrave, op. cit. p. 427.

4 Evidence of Mr Taylor, to S.C. on Friendly and Benefit Building Societies P.P. 1871, XXV, Q. 3,894.

5 R.C. on the Housing of the Working Classes P.P. 1884-5, XXX, p. 30.

ment of a higher proportion although it is interesting to note from Appendix 2D that one-quarter would have been more typical by 1887, and possibly up to one-third.¹

Such a proportion was undoubtedly higher than that for the country as a whole. With labourers earning something between £1 to £1 - 5s - 0d per week by 1912,² and average rents being between 4/6d and 5/6d for a four-roomed dwelling,³ the typical ratio was one of just under one-fifth. Part of the reason for the improvement through the open market system, buying better housing by higher rents, can therefore be traced to a willingness on the part of the tenant to devote a higher proportion of income to rent. Rent expenditure rose more than proportionately as income rose, again suggesting the shape of the demand curve as being that shown above,⁴ and verifying Alfred Marshall's passing comment.⁵ As real incomes rose over the century so did rent expenditure as a proportion of income. Contrasting with this tendency to spend more on rent as income rose is the generally-observed tendency for the relatively highly-paid to spend less on rent as a proportion of income than did the lowly-paid, as can be seen from Bowley and Hurst's work⁶ and in London from Column (4) of Appendix 2D.⁷

-
- 1 See below, p. 418. Note one-quarter was also suggested as normal by S.G. Burgess, L.C.C. housing manager, in his evidence to the R.C. on London Traffic P.P. 1906, XL, Qq. 5,876-7.
 - 2 Report of an Enquiry by the Board of Trade into Working Class Rents, Prices and Wages in Industrial Towns, 1912 P.P. 1913, LXVI, report p. lvi.
 - 3 Board of Trade Report on Working Class Rents, Housing, and Retail Prices in the Principal Industrial Towns of U.K. P.P. 1908, CVII, p. 334.
 - 4 See above, p. 55.
 - 5 See above, p. 26.
 - 6 A.L. Bowley and A.R.B. Burnett-Hurst, Livelihood and Poverty (1915), p. 24.
 - 7 See below, Appendix 2D, London, p. 418.

In summary, it is expected that should improvement be found to have occurred, it is most likely to have been in the eighteen fifties onwards in rural areas, due to net emigration and particularly in the eighteen seventies and eighteen eighties. In urban areas improvements are anticipated to have been more gradual. Population pressure was such that only by increased rent levels inducing a greater supply could much change have occurred. Possible periods of little or no improvement were the eighteen forties and 1905-1912 when rents remained sticky or did not rise at all. The extent of any change, however, depends on what happened on the supply side. How much of any increased rent was spent on higher costs, without any improvement, or conversely, did cost reductions occur which could have hastened the advent of higher standards? Supply must be examined to try to take account of these factors.

C H A P T E R

T H R E E

PART I

The Supply of Housing

In dealing with the supply factors it is necessary to distinguish between the existing amount of accommodation at any point in time and changes to that amount over time. Essentially the first varies only with fluctuations in the number of vacant houses, the second changes in the short-run by conversion, in the long-run by the net effect of new building, less demolition or any other reasons for a decrease in the stock of housing.

The aggregate amount of new housing was determined overall by the resources allocated to residential construction within the economy. As a proportion of Gross Domestic Capital Formation investment in housing fluctuated over the period as a whole, and only once rose above 25 per cent of the total, as can be seen from the table on the following page.

There seems to be a general feeling that this level of expenditure on housing construction, out of about a 10 per cent share of Gross National Product, had to be kept as low as possible in order to guarantee the success of the industrialisation process, and for the maintenance of a high level of ex-

FIGURE 3.1

RESIDENTIAL CONSTRUCTION AS A PROPORTION OF GROSS DOMESTIC CAPITALFORMATION IN THE U.K. 1856-1914*

(1) Date	(2) Gross Domestic ⁺ Capital Formation	(3) Residential ⁺ Construction	(4) Residential Construction as a Percentage of G.D.C.F. $\sqrt{(3) \div (2) \times 100}$
1856	44	9.3	21.1
1857	42	8.5	20.3
1858	42	9.0	21.4
1859	39	7.8	20.0
1860	43	8.0	18.6
1861	50	7.9	15.8
1862	61	10.1	16.7
1863	68	11.5	16.4
1864	79	11.1	14.1
1865	82	9.7	11.9
1866	89	10.4	11.7
1867	66	12.1	18.3
1868	57	13.0	22.8
1869	56	14.5	25.9
1870	74	16.5	22.3
1871	86	17.7	20.6
1872	98	20.2	20.6
1873	96	19.4	20.2
1874	110	20.9	19.0
1875	114	26.1	22.9
1876	121	27.8	23.0
1877	120	26.1	21.8
1878	108	21.4	19.8
1879	91	16.9	18.6
1880	94	17.3	18.4
1881	91	16.1	17.7
1883	95	16.9	17.8
1883	98	16.6	17.0
1884	88	16.1	18.3
1885	79	15.0	19.0
1886	66	14.4	21.8
1887	65	14.9	22.9
1888	72	15.3	21.3
1889	82	15.7	19.1
1890	86	15.6	18.1
1891	91	16.2	15.6
1892	98	16.8	15.1
1893	91	17.0	18.7
1894	96	17.9	18.5
1895	93	17.5	18.8
1896	105	21.2	20.2
1897	131	26.6	20.3
1898	156	33.9	21.7
1899	173	35.4	20.5
1900	190	33.6	17.7
1901	191	33.1	17.3
1902	196	34.6	17.8
1903	192	34.4	17.9
1904	185	29.5	15.9
1905	173	27.5	15.9
1906	164	29.0	17.7
1907	150	28.0	18.7
1908	120	22.5	18.8
1909	121	21.9	18.1
1910	124	19.7	15.9
1911	120	16.1	13.4
1912	129	13.3	10.3
1913	157	14.0	8.9
1914	151	12.5	8.3

* SOURCE: Columns (1) to (3) are from C. H. Feinstein's estimates, given in Mitchell and Deane, op. cit. pp. 373-4.

+ Current prices (in millions of pounds).

ports of both capital and goods.¹ What would have eventuated with a higher-wage economy is not known, but in the even lower-wage continental countries, such as France, housing conditions were far worse than in Britain, and industrialisation was more retarded.² Within an essentially open market system improvements came from the acquisition of higher real incomes which permitted those who wished to do so, to pay for a higher standard of accommodation. Higher wages could have meant better houses, they also could have meant no lessening of the flow of exports or even of capital to invest abroad. These last two points depend upon the effects higher wages, and possibly higher living standards, would have had upon productivity levels. Hypothetical though this analysis is, it is equally as reasonable as the peculiar assumption that low wages were essential, which assumes that no other effects of the type outlined above would have occurred if wages had been higher, only that domestic consumption would have risen and exports fallen. It is not clear that a poor standard of housing and other social conditions were essential to industrialisation. This conclusion relies on a peculiarly static approach to the economics of the situation.

1 H.J. Dyos, 'Slums of Victorian London', Victorian Studies Vol. XI (1967), p. 27.

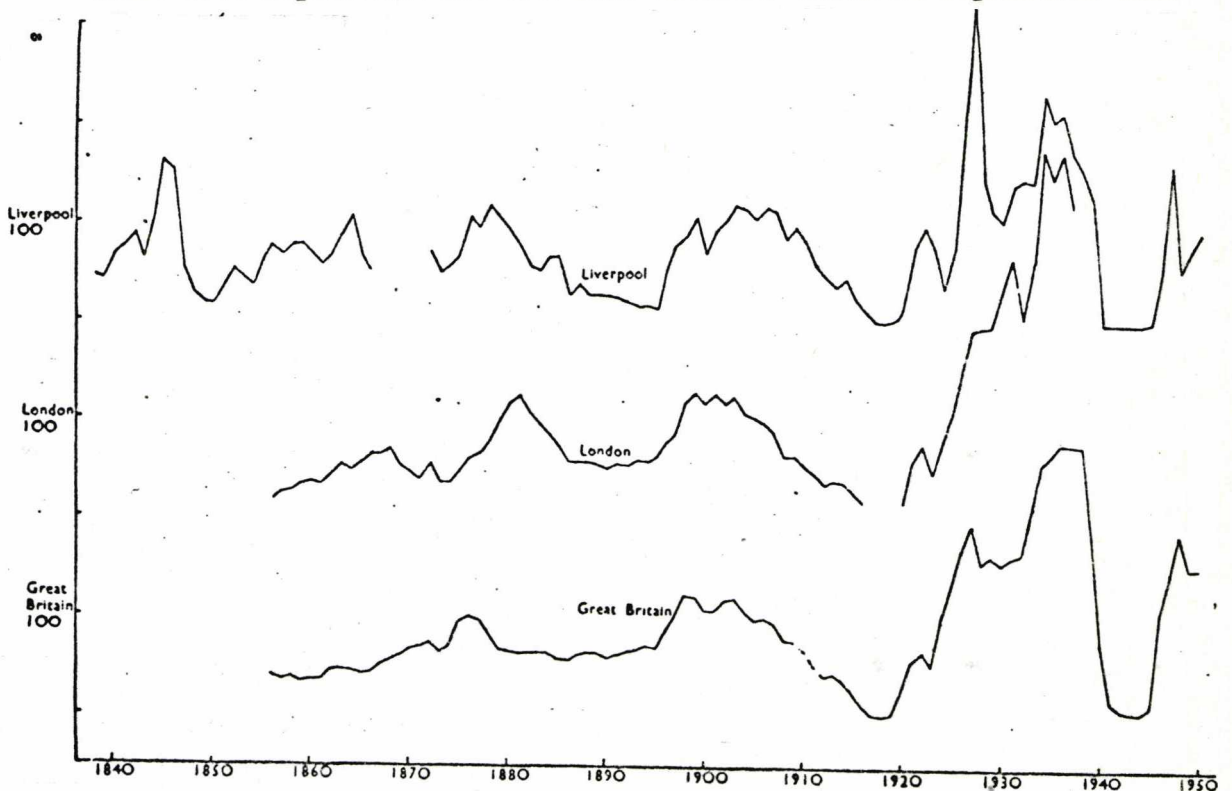
2 The condition and rents of working-class dwellings in France was noted by Du Mesnil in 1899 where rents were somewhat lower than in London, cited in Board of Trade Memoranda, Statistical Tables and Charts with Reference to Various Matters Bearing on British and Foreign Trade and Industrial Conditions P.P. 1903, LXVII, p. 480. Conditions in France, however, were worse too. "Model dwellings" in the eighteen sixties in Mulhouse were three-room back-to-back semis in blocks of four on plots 27 feet by 15. Report on the Paris Universal Exhibition by the Executive Commissioner P.P. 1867-8, Sess. III, XXX, Pt. II report, pp. 248-9.

The expenditure pattern shown by Feinstein's work sets an overall limit to the availability of funds for construction. It is a known and quantifiable constraint in aggregate terms. It also reflects fluctuations in what is known as the building cycle. Various measurements of this phenomenon have been attempted. Probably the most often referred to summary of such movements is that compiled by B. Weber.¹ Like most other surveys of housebuilding it is limited in its area of observations for the early period, dealing only with Liverpool for 1838, but by 1900 being based on data from 34 towns.² The following graph shows the results of Weber's observations of fluctuations in building.

FIGURE 3.2

HOUSEBUILDING 1838-1950*

(1900-1909 represents 100 and each vertical division represents 100)



* SOURCE: Weber, op. cit. p. 111.

1 Weber, op. cit. p. 104.

2 Ibid. p. 105.

There is a considerable measure of agreement in terms of the general movements shown by the graph and those in Column (3) of Figure 3.1. The peak in the late eighteen seventies appears in both with a slight disagreement in the timing of that of the late eighteen nineties, a disagreement which can probably be explained by the fact that whereas Figure 3.1 relates to the United Kingdom, Figure 3.2 relates to Great Britain or, more correctly, to certain towns within Great Britain. These figures, however, give an outline at least of two major and linked constraints, the level of activity and the amount of investment in housebuilding. Since one is a real measure of output, the other of expenditure, the remarkable degree of agreement between them is relatively convincing of their authenticity as to the timing of peaks in what is really, not a cycle in the true sense, but a series of fluctuations.

In order to explain why the supply curve should be supposed to kink sharply upwards above the point of full utilisation of stocks, it is necessary to consider for a moment how many houses could be built, and how quickly. From the information given by the census returns, the average ratio of houses under construction to the total number of houses, both inhabited and uninhabited, is something of the order of three-quarters of a percentage point or less. It never reaches 1 per cent, 1831 being the nearest year to it, only just failing to reach that level. 1911 on the other hand is almost down to one-half of 1 per cent.¹ If the average time taken to complete a house was about three to four months, it would mean that

1 See below, Appendix 2A, p. 407, Column (4).

an amount equivalent to some 2 to 3 per cent of the existing stock could be provided each year, with the industry working near capacity completion times are difficult to gauge. Work done in this field includes suggestions of six months between the granting of a permit and completion,¹ but this includes projects involving more than one house, and other difficulties associated with permit figures. While some projects were slowed, a year or more being taken on occasion, other projects were probably finished in far shorter time. Changes in building practice were not such as to suggest any diminution in the length of time to build a house as will become apparent later in this chapter. Thus by allowing for the need for some replacements to come out of the census totals, the possible addition to the housing stock was somewhat limited even in the long-term. The decennial increase in inhabited dwellings never goes above the 18.83 per cent it reaches in 1831,² or about 1.8 per cent per annum. If at any point in time something under 1 per cent was the total under construction, and allowing possibly 1 per cent per annum for replacement, then an average rate of four months for completion would seem appropriate.

In the short-run therefore, new building could add little to the total stock. This had to come from conversions of existing dwellings into flats and tenements, or by the occupation of empty houses. In the long-run the situation suggests that some immediate scope for improvement could only be

1 Cairncross, op. cit. p. 19 and Price, op. cit. p. 54. To comply with building societies' terms, houses needed to be completed within six months.

Council houses in Barking begun in Nov. 1914 were not completed until Dec. of the following year. P.R.O. H.L.G. 1/93 Reg. No. 808, 31/04, entry dated 14 Aug. 1916.

2 See above, p. 58.

anticipated when the output of the industry hit a peak such as in the mid-eighteen seventies, or the late eighteen nineties. Overall it would seem likely that any improved conditions due to the supply factor would make only a gradual appearance. Some idea of the level of occupied housing at the beginning of each decade is given by the census figures and these show a relatively steady rate of increase throughout the century. It should be noted also that it is the occupied house numbers that are of importance in considering the quality of housing experienced by the inhabitants. Empty houses and additions to their numbers only affect the potential supply, they do not directly affect the standard of accommodation actually experienced, except insofar as they have an effect on rent levels. It is to this question of rent levels, returns expected by landlords, and cost factors that attention must now turn. To induce a greater supply, returns should theoretically be increased relative to other possible investment opportunities. What happened to returns on funds invested in housing during this period?

The usual level of return expected from cottage property was around around 10 per cent. While many landlords were unlikely to rapidly switch in and out of house-owning to gain higher returns, investing in houses more for the sake of security in old age for example,¹ there was a speculative element among the landlord group. These people needed to obtain a return of around 10 per cent if supplies were to be maintained. Such a return was sufficient in the eighteen forties to put cottage owning in the front rank of income-earning invest-

1 See below, p. 168.

ments.¹ Something about this level was the going rate, as can be seen from Appendix 3A, drawn from information collected for Chadwick's report of 1842. Allowing for repairs and so on, returns averaged 8 to $8\frac{3}{4}$ per cent on cottages costing 40 to 65 to construct.² Dearer cottages, those costing nearly £100 to build, were returning nearly 10 per cent. This contrasts to the general observation that it was the lower-rented cottages which gave the highest returns on capital, due to the greater risks run by owners of this type of property, complaints concerning collection difficulties being frequent.³ The returns typified in Appendix 3A are generally applicable, the best class representing a four-roomed house. A further table for Shropshire shows the variation in costs even within one union, and a general tendency for rents to approximate to a 10 per cent level of return on invested capital. A more general table for various places in England and Wales shows something less than 10 per cent being the rule,⁴ although the range of costs given make an exact judgment difficult.

Variations in local costs and returns at this time still made it possible to build cheaply. In Manchester, a person of the type likely to build a shack on a piece of freehold land and a person likely to live in such a place provided the following anecdotal dialogue:

"Jack, what woul' build us ' house for?...
Fifty shillings .. but if 'twants a good 'un,
I'll have five pounds."⁵

1 Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, p. 123.

2 See below, Appendix 3A, p. 423, and Sanitary Report H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVI, pp. 401-2.

3 Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, p. 98.

4 See below, Appendix 3B, p. 425.

5 Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, p. 251.

Other large towns could not always provide such examples of cheap housing, and note that the land costs were not included here. A more typical total cost for Birmingham in the eighteen thirties was around £60, which rented for 2/6d to 4/- weekly, a return of 10 to 15 per cent.¹ A higher return was expected in London. Houses costing £60 to £70 in Bethnal Green in the eighteen thirties were rented at £10 or £12 per annum.² The major difference in costs, apart from transport, was the question of land prices. Where competition was keen, rents rose and returns went up with them. This situation led in turn to a bidding-up of house and land prices, which brought returns back down again.

In large towns the question of land costs became increasingly important. 3/- to 4/- per yard was apparently considered too dear for cottages in Leeds by 1842³ and land costs were forming one-fifth to one-eighth of the total by that date.⁴ Competition for sites pushed prices up, and when total costs rose rapidly, as they did in the eighteen fifties, the rise in land prices was part and parcel of this process.⁵ As prices rose, so rents had to rise in order to keep up returns and the supply of housing. In towns such as London the question of land costs became critical, and economising on land led to what were to become slum areas in the twentieth cen-

1 C. Gill, History of Birmingham Vol. 1 Manor and Borough to 1865 (1952), p. 368.

2 Evidence of T. Burton, to S.C. on Manufactures, Commerce and Shipping P.P. 1833, VI, Q. 1,726.

3 Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, p. 358.

4 Rimmer, op. cit. p. 190.

5 J.N. Tarn, 'The Housing Problem a Century Ago', Urban Studies Vol. 5, Vol. 3 (Nov. 1968), p. 292.

ture.¹ The problem, however, was not peculiar to London. Manchester experienced a threefold rise in the value of central land between 1862 and 1871.² Bradford had experienced a similar rise from 1820-1840.³ Generally, the rising cost of central land meant either the land content had to be reduced, by means of tenements, back-to-backs and blind backs, or cheaper sites sought on the outskirts of towns, where the competition from commercial interests was lower. Rising land costs as the prime cause of back-to-backs has, however, been challenged, at least for Leeds.⁴ The problem continued to be acute throughout the century. London, being the largest city, exhibited perhaps the greatest problems. Prices for land of £200 per inhabitant for the area around Covent Garden were being quoted by the early twentieth century. The porters working in the market all wished to live within walking distance, since they had to be at work by two or three o'clock in the morning.⁵

Shifting the population out of the centre was certainly an answer to rising land costs. If contrast is made between Bermondsey and the outer suburb of Eltham, as was done by the London County Council, it is apparent that £21,000 per

-
- 1 D.A. Reeder, Capital Investment in the Western Suburbs of Victorian London (University of Leicester Ph.D. thesis 1965), especially p. 228, instance of Notting Hill.
 - 2 H. Baker, 'On the Growth of the Commercial Centre of Manchester', Transactions of the Manchester Statistical Society (1871-2), p. 94.
 - 3 Evidence of J. Ellison, to the S.C. on the Health of Towns H. of L.S.P. 1840, XXVIII, Q. 1,952.
 - 4 Beresford, op. cit. pp. 119-21
 - 5 Evidence of E. Harper to R.C. on London Traffic P.P. 1906, XL, Q. 5,087.

acre, the cost in Bermondsey, meant a rent of 6/8d per week per dwelling, just for the land. At $\frac{1}{2}$ 200 per acre the cost in Eltham was just 1½d per week. These figures are both for five-rooms, a cottage in Eltham and a tenement in Bermondsey.¹

The effect of these rises was not necessarily to make people consider the costs of rent plus travel as equivalent to higher rents in the more central areas as theory might lead us to expect, mainly because of the casual nature of much working-class employment. Proximity to the job was considered to be of the utmost importance. Thus some at least of the increasing rents paid by the urban working classes went to maintain their position in the centre of the large towns, rather than towards a higher standard of accommodation.

Rising rents could be accounted for, partly by rising land costs, and partly by an increase in the number of rooms per dwelling, with overall returns remaining at much the same level; a geographical range of 5 to 15 per cent was still usual by the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Extremes did exist, as they always had done, such as the 18 per cent return found in Banbury in the eighteen fifties,² the 28 per cent found in the eighteen eighties,³ or the 50 to 60 per cent returned from Collier's rents which was made famous, if not notorious, by appearing in cartoon form in Punch.⁴ Land costs

1 Evidence of E. Harper to R.C. on London Traffic P.P. 1906, XL, Q. 5,799.

2 T.W. Rammell, Report on a Preliminary Inquiry into the Sewerage, Drainage and Supply of Water and the Sanitary Condition of the Inhabitants of the Borough and Parish of Banbury and Township of Neithrop (1850), p. 26.

3 Evidence to R.C. on the Housing of the Working Classes Vol. II P.P. 1884-5, XXXI, Q. 15,983.

4 Quoted in Dyos, op. cit. (1967), pp. 20-21.

were said to be especially important in areas where overall rents were low,¹ cheap housing being partly necessary to compensate for high land costs in such cases. Tastes, and the overall willingness to pay, must also have played their part in all this. Pressure of demand could raise or lower rents regardless of what was happening to costs, and prime land costs might well be fixed by long-term leases. In such cases higher costs would initially affect the level of return, only appearing in rents as market forces allowed. This is a pertinent reminder of the importance of the interaction of demand and supply in the market place.

Apart from land, other costs of construction had also changed, Maiwald's index giving an indication of this. While stone, brick, tiles and cement were all subject to local fluctuations they show a marked stability over time, except for cement which fluctuated sharply, but with a decisive downward trend. Generally costs were fairly stable through to the eighteen seventies, then showed a sharp rise, peaking in the middle of the decade, and falling back until the early eighteen eighties. There is one other period of increase, namely the late eighteen nineties with a peak around 1900.² In general these fluctuations closely coincided with those already revealed by the analyses of building activity,³ again providing mutual support for their accuracy.

1 Board of Trade Report on Working Class Rents, Housing and Retail Prices in the Principal Industrial Towns of the U.K. P.P. 1908, CVII, p. 336; and the attack on leasehold forcing up ground rents in Cardiff in the late nineteenth century. Dauntton, op. cit. pp 266-268.

2 D.K. Maiwald, 'An Index of Building Costs in the U.K. 1845-1938', Economic History Review 2nd Ser. Vol. 7 (1954-5), p. 187.

3 See above, pp. 114 and 116.

Early in the century some overall decline in costs of about 7½ per cent between 1823 and 1833 had been noticeable.¹ More importantly there were changes in the relative costs of different materials. Brick prices fell less than timber and deals, while slates and lime altered little.² Smaller buildings were more affected by this because of their higher walling costs, due to their internal divisions.³ Wages appear to take on a greater portion of total costs between 1845 and 1914,⁴ and for smaller houses they had always been at a high level of around 50 per cent.⁵

Different effects were felt depending on the locality of operations. Transport remained a major problem leading to what were quasi-independent localised industries. A good example of this, even in more modern times, is shown by Figure 3.3 on the following page which shows the distribution of major brickfields in the country. Before transport allowed even moderate movement, the building supply industry, no less than the building industry itself, was localised. Small brickyards and brickfields abounded, being found on maps wherever building was taking place in a particular locality.⁶ Bricks, which

1 Evidence of J. Stewart to S.C. on Manufactures, Commerce and Shipping P.P. 1833, VI, Q. 4,843.

2 T. Burton, evidence to ibid. Q. 1,730.

3 Could mean brickwork accounted for between one-half to two-thirds of of the total cost of construction. Reports on the Paris Universal Exhibition by the Executive Commissioner P.P. 1867-8, Sess. III, XXX, Pt II, p. 280

4 Maiwald, op. cit. p. 192.

5 Stewart's evidence to S.C. on Manufactures, Commerce and Shipping P.P. 1833, VI, Q. 4,844.

6 See for example S. Hall, A Guide Through London and the Surrounding Villages (1821), B.M. Maps 15 and 17; or Ordnance Survey, Map of London and its Environs (Southampton, 1896-7), Scale 1:2,500, sheet LIX.

FIGURE 3.3



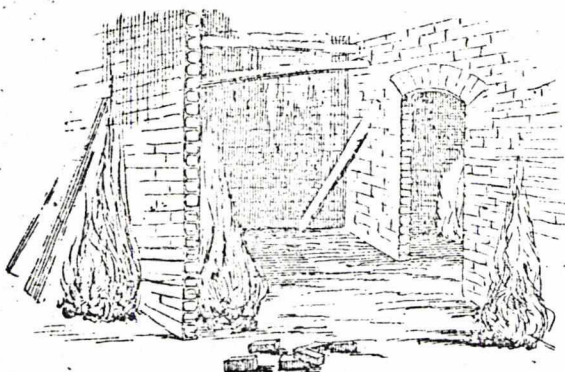
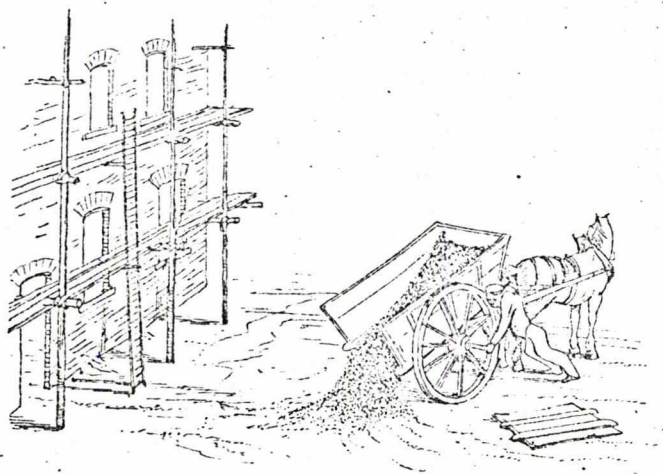
* SOURCE: Brick Industry 1st Report of Committee.
Ministry of Works and Buildings, Non-
Parliamentary Paper (1942), p. 25.

together with bricklayers' wages accounted for half or more of total costs, were manufactured locally.¹ It was only the relatively less important timber which was imported,² and slates which came from long distances.³ Other materials such as gravel, mortar and plaster could be got locally, often too locally.⁴ The results of poor materials can be seen in the illustration on the following page where artificial drying is in progress.

Fires have been lit in an attempt to dry out the mortar and the walls propped so as to keep them upright until setting has taken place. Even when set, such walls still retained large greasy patches which showed through the surface white-wash and crumbled if any fixture was applied to them.

In Leeds, one builder maintained that spent lime from tar-pits had been used for mortar and plaster with similar results.⁵ In London considerable quantities of plaster were made from the collections of slop shoots.⁶

-
- 1 Sand from the Thames, collected in special boats, ashes and clay were used in London. 'Bricks and Brickmaking', The Penny Magazine of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge Vol. 12 (1843), p. 263. In Manchester, it was the clay subsoil on which the city stood. T.R. Marr, Housing Conditions in Manchester and Salford (1904), p. 10.
 - 2 Evidence of J. Stewart to the S.C. on Manufactures, Commerce and Shipping showed the use of Baltic and Canadian timber. See P.P. 1833, VI, Qq. 4,902, 4,904-5, and 4,908.
 - 3 Ministry of Works, The Welsh Slate Industry Non-Parliamentary Paper (1947), pp. 4-5.
 - 4 J.C. Reynolds, surveyor, in evidence to S.C. on Metropolis Management and Building Acts Amendment Bill P.P. 1878, XVI, Q. 224, shows mortar from garden mould. Gravel was taken from the streets which were being built. Evidence to R.C. on the Housing of the Working Classes Vol. II P.P. 1884-5, XXXI, Q. 9,284.
 - 5 T. Pridgin-Teale, Dangers to Health, a Pictorial Guide to Sanitary Defects (2nd Ed. 1879), opposite plate XXXVII (unpaginated).
 - 6 S.C. on Metropolis Management and Building Acts Amendment Bill P.P. 1878, XVI, Qq. 149-151.



T.P.T. Inv.

“Road muck” and “midden refuse” for mortar and plaster.

Development of a canal and railway network improved conditions somewhat as Midland bricks, Flettons in particular, could then be used in southern England. However, localised sources of production kept going as can be judged from the map. With an industry organised on the basis of many small operators, working in particular localities, overall national fluctuations in relative prices may have been of lesser consequence than local ones. G.T. Jones' work, as well as Maiwald's, covers the general situation for the whole century,¹ but such aggregates may hide as much as they reveal.

The lack of any startling innovation in the technique of the suppliers is demonstrated by changes in the numbers engaged in supply and in building occupations as shown by the census figures for 1841-1911. These show a rise of just over 203 per cent, for building and 202 per cent for the building supply industries. The overall rise in the occupied population was nearly 154 per cent. The decennial changes are shown in the following table:

FIGURE 3.4

PER-CENTAGE DECENNIAL INCREASES IN NUMBERS OF MALES ENGAGED IN BUILDING
AND BUILDING SUPPLY INDUSTRIES*

(1) Years	(2) Building	(3) Suppliers to Building Industry
1841-1851	31.91	56.25
1851-1861	19.56	24.00
1861-1871	20.07	4.30
1871-1881	22.89	14.43
1881-1891	2.74	7.21
1891-1901	35.26	27.73
1901-1911	-6.25	-1.35

* SOURCE: Mitchell and Deane, op. cit. p. 60

1 G.T. Jones, op. cit. p. 76. By Jones' figures brickwork accounted for 40-45 per cent of the total costs, but there are problems with his sources, which include some large building contracts as well as houses. Small houses may have included more brickwork in their construction. H. Barnes, Housing (1923), p. 393, put it at 50 per cent for local authority houses, 24.7 per cent for timber and nothing else over 7 per cent. Figures include labour costs.

The overall consistency between the growth rates is remarkable, despite fluctuations between census dates. With relatively little change noticeable in the structure of the building industry, particularly for the lower end of the scale,¹ the similarity in employment growth at least suggests a comparable lack of innovation on the part of many suppliers. The employment figures for building, in Column (2) of Figure 3.4, also reflect in a very crude fashion Weber's building spurt of the late nineteenth century and the subsequent decline of the first decade of the twentieth century.

This conservatism in methods of operation is reflected in the lack of change in the overall cost structure. It seems fair to assume that in terms of an overall trend, very little of the rising rent levels noticed in Chapter Two went on increased costs. Small rises in some factors were cancelled out by falls elsewhere, apart from the case of land, especially in the central city areas. That overall costs were not in fact reduced can be partly attributed to a lack of innovation on the part of builders, and partly to the activities of government.

Government affected the cost of materials in two ways. As a tax levyer it imposed direct increases on costs, and as a regulator it is claimed that it prevented some experiments with new materials,² by strict operation of the building codes or reluctance to approve new materials. The more general reference to the impact of building codes is to suggest ineffectiveness rather than too great an efficiency. They were

1 See below, p. 175.

2 M. Bowley, The British Building Industry (1966), pp. 19-20.

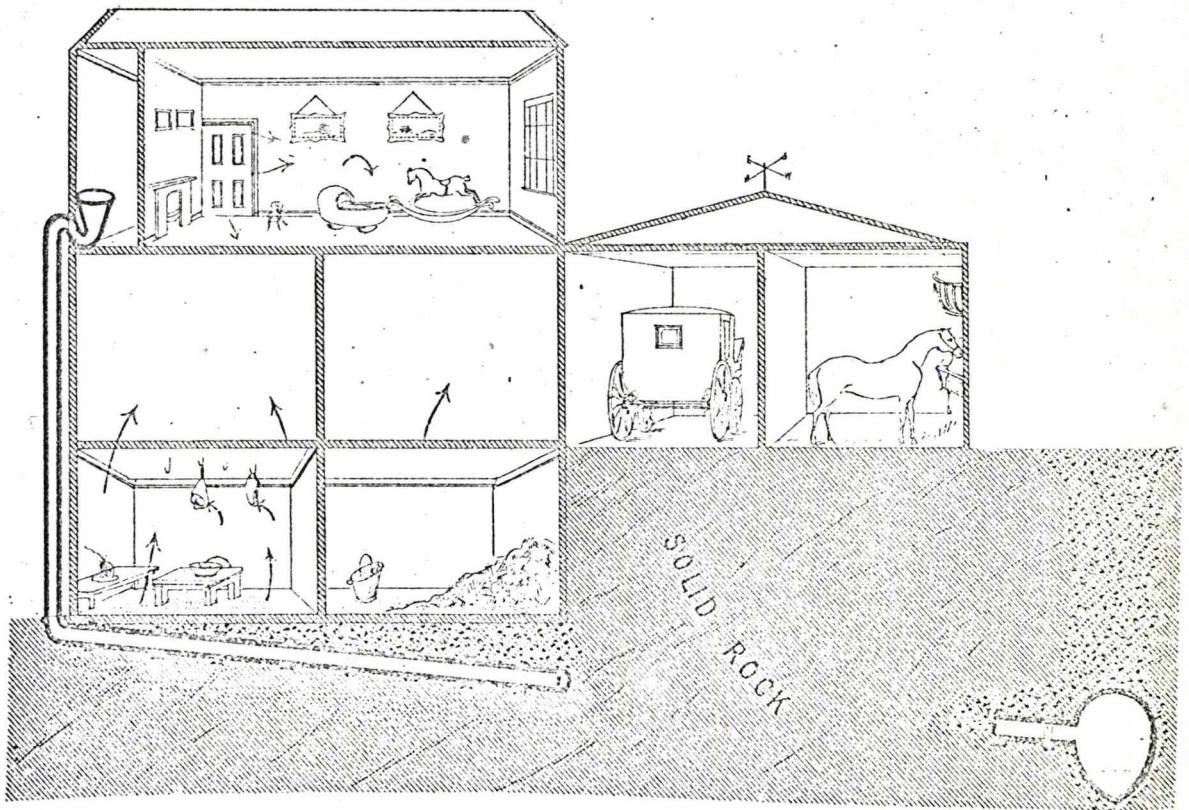
mostly ad hoc and local in type, often poorly administered and in fact it was the nineteen sixties before national building regulations began to appear.¹ On the local scale, inspection played a key role in this affair. The problem was sufficiently bad at the end of the century for bodies such as the Mansion House Council on the Dwellings of the Poor to conduct their own inspections, feeling that local authorities were inadequately performing this task.²

Even where inspection did take place problems of evasion could still occur. T. Pridgin-Teale graphically described this problem:

"Until recently in Leeds and probably in many a town besides, the following was the practice as to the inspection of sewers by the local authority. The Borough Inspector, having received due notice from a builder of his intention to connect a house drain with a public sewer, came and 'saw the last pipe put in'."³

Even where inspection took place it was obviously no guarantee of actual completion. Nor could inspection obviate the litigation problem of definition as to what constituted "mortar", "cement", "bonding" or "bad foundations", there was a need for constant definition or redefinition.⁴ Alternatively, acts could be too restrictive in geographical scope. Given satisfactory definition in the metropolitan area, building

-
- 1 Local housing bye-laws could be replaced by building regulations on a national scale only under the 1961 Public Health Act. The first such regulations did not come into force until 1966 Report of the Inquiry into the Collapse of Flats at Ronan Point, Canning Town (1968), pp. 56-7, paragraphs 200-1.
 - 2 Haw, op. cit. (1899), p. 126.
 - 3 Pridgin-Teale, op. cit. opposite plate XLIII and see illustration below, p. 132.
 - 4 Evidence of W. Selway, Metropolitan Board of Works Building Act Committee Chairman, to S.C. on Metropolis Management and Building Acts Amendment Bill P.P. 1878, XVI, Qq. 683 and 684.



T.P.T. Inv.

“To be continued in our next.”—“The authorities saw the junction.”

SOURCE: Pridgin-Teale, op. cit. plate XLIII.

took place just outside the boundary in a manner that would not have been permitted within it.¹

For this and other reasons, oversight of building could be poor or virtually non-existent. Even a large number of inspectors and well-drafted acts could not have guaranteed good results. No formal training or qualifications were needed, many inspectors being old soldiers unable to obtain alternative employment.²

If inspectors became too efficient for the vestry's liking, they risked dismissal rather than approbation. Inefficiency was upheld and honoured while zeal was criticised. Seats were obtained on councils with the intention of keeping an eye on the inspector, and conspiracies entered into to thwart effective action. So said one inspector.³ Economy may have prompted the desire to curb inspectors' zeal, and almost certainly prompted attempts to replace medical inspectors by unskilled men, as was attempted in Liverpool in 1849.⁴ Inspection difficulties included those of needing to realise a problem existed, getting it seen to and reinspecting to check the work. All of these moves involved time, which cut down the overall number of houses which could be inspected.

1 Sanitary Report H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVI, p. 394.

2 R.C. on the Housing of the Working Classes P.P. 1884-5, XXX, p. 56.

3 Haw, op. cit. (1902), pp. 36-7 and Medical Officer to Culross Parochial Board who wrote to the General Board of Health informing them of his dismissal because of his urging action on the Board's regulations. General Board of Health Minute Book No. 2 P.R.O. M.H. 5/2 entry for 12 Jan. 1850, and letter from Dr Wilson of Kelso who complained that the Parochial Board there had dismissed the whole of the visiting staff. Ibid. entry for 12 Oct. 1849. (Reason not stated).

4 General Board of Health Minute Book No. 1 P.R.O. M.H. 5/1 entry for 6 Aug. 1849.

Generally it would appear that Cubitt's suggestion that it was strict regulation which prevented innovation is unlikely. That new materials were slow to be approved in codes did more to prevent scamping than to hinder true innovation. It was the former method of cutting costs that was generally resorted to by the small builders concerned with working-class houses rather than innovation. This latter process was probably the preserve of the large firm if it appeared anywhere. The small builder learnt his trade "on the job" and would be concerned with finishing the houses and selling them. Any improvements in technique were liable to be confined to small adjustments to his long-standing working methods. It was the larger builders and materials suppliers who seem to give the only hope of innovation leading to reduced costs.

One experiment with new materials stands out by its relative novelty. Liverpool tried cheaper forms of housing, building three-roomed tenements for £100 a time, out of crushed clinker and Portland cement blocks. An experiment in pre-fabrication too, since the whole of the sides, floors and roofs of each room were moulded in one piece at the council's destructor depot near the source of the materials, and conveyed from there to the construction site.¹ This experiment, however, seems notable for its novelty rather than its typicality. For the small builder the risk of failure was probably too great, the returns from conservative technique too alluring.

Taxation still remains, taxation both on existing housing and on the materials for renovation or new building. Raising

1 Marr, op. cit. p. 86.

government revenue, in this manner, produced predictable hostility, not only from the inhabitants, but also from landlords and builders. Petitions and complaints about taxes were common from an early date. The attitude to taxes on dwellings and window tax can be seen from the petition to the House of Lords by inhabitants of Liverpool which asked:

"That their Lordships will hasten to abolish the direct taxes on their dwellings and on the apertures therein for light and air, and thereby confer on a large part of the people of England one of the most acceptable boons in the power of the legislature to bestow."¹

Both these particular taxes bit less upon the inhabitants of smaller buildings than those in larger houses. Those with less than eight windows were exempt from window tax.² Later in the century there was also exemption from inhabited house duty for houses meeting the approval of the local Medical Officer of Health, and rented at under 7/6 weekly unfurnished, or 10/- weekly furnished. This latter act³ encouraged landlords to keep their property in good order, so as to obtain tax relief, and thus at least was a positive step.

There is some argument as to the overall effect of taxes levied on dwellings either in the form of local rates, or of central government taxes. One conclusion is that the tax burden fell more heavily on poorer houses, up to 25 per cent of their rental, as opposed to the 3 per cent of the rental of better houses.⁴ However, low-quality houses were often exemp-

1 House of Lords Journal 11.G.4 and 1.W.4, p. 476.

2 W. Vere-Hole, The Housing of the Working Classes in Britain 1850-1914 (University of London Ph.D. thesis, 1965), p. 46; and Dyos, *op. cit.* (1952), p. 371.

3 Customs and Inland Revenue Act 1890.

4 V. Zoond, Housing Legislation in England 1851-67 with Special Reference to London (University of London M.A. thesis, 1931-2), p. 19.

ted some local rates such as poor rates. In fact this caused complaints that those wishing to build good houses did so outside borough boundaries so as not to be unfairly treated.¹ More probably they wished to evade any rates they could, rather than being concerned with equity.

In a situation where the landlord was acting in conditions approximating to perfect competition, most being small-scale operators and thus more of a price-taker than a price-setter, the effect of taxes generally was to cut into profit levels, and perhaps eventually to cut back the supply of housing because of lower returns. Thus the suggestion that when by 1851 houses under £20 annual value were exempted from house duty the benefits were all to the landlord, since he did not lower his rent, and none to the tenant,² would seem contentious. The increased return to the landlord should have induced further suppliers of accommodation to enter the market, leading in the long-run to either more accommodation at existing price levels, or a reduction in price, or most likely an adjustment to both of these variables, to the benefit of the tenant. Landlords whose property was on the borderline of this valuation, however, would be unlikely to make small improvements, the benefits of which in the form of increased rent returns they might consequently have reduced by taxation. It is also possible to agree with Miss Zoond that some areas were affected adversely by vestries' attempts to close low-quality and cheap housing, in order to cut down the possible number of claimants for poor relief.³ This latter policy

1 Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, p. 49.

2 Zoond, op. cit. p. 19.

3 Ibid. p. 20.

would only have succeeded in producing overcrowding in the surrounding area.

There is then some reason for supposing that the incidence of taxes on the really low-quality housing was reduced by exemptions,¹ although it could still be regressive if tax was paid. The overall effect on quality is unclear although when they were levied, taxes reduced quality by increasing costs. Quantification of its exact role would be difficult if not impossible. To the extent that some duties were removed by the middle nineteenth century, however, would only result in change for the better.

The effect of excise, and import duties on building materials can also be outlined. Commodities such as glass, bricks and timber were all increased in price due to tax.² This also resulted in a somewhat forced use of substitutes, Canadian timber for Baltic for example, due to tax differentials of 100 to 500 per cent, a move against the probably prejudiced wishes of the builders.³ It also led to smaller sizes in windows to reduce the amount of glass,⁴ and small brick sizes⁵ which in turn prejudiced chances of productivity increases in bricklay-

1 Said to number one house in three in Suffolk, and one in seven in Hampshire by the middle of the century. Ashton, op. cit. p. 50.

2 Till 1845, 1850 and 1866 respectively. Other commodities subject to duty included tiles, stone, slate and wallpaper.

3 Report of the Commissioners on Hand Loom Weavers P.P. 1841, X, p. 71. Evidence of J. Stewart to S.C. on Manufactures, Commerce and Shipping P.P. 1833, VI, Q. 4,909 and Q. 4,913 where ships were said to have come from the Baltic via Canada in an attempt to evade duty.

4 Savage, op. cit. p. 74.

5 Under 10" x 5" x 3" duty was 5/10 per thousand bricks. Over 10" x 5" x 3" duty was 10/- per thousand bricks, if smoothed. J. Bennett, The Artificers Complete Lexicon for Terms and Prices (1833), p. 24.

ing. Since the small house contained more brickwork, such a tax acted regressively, more tax being paid on the materials used to construct these houses. It was not just the duty itself which raised the costs of bricks. The regulations of the excise system, the need to have bricks counted, cut output and imposed limitations on the siting of brickfields, at least legal ones. Despite protestations,¹ however, it must have been difficult for Government to even contemplate reconciling itself to the loss of nearly £500,000 duty in a good year from bricks.²

Up to the time of their abandonment, these taxes had a significant impact on the costs of materials, the effect on bricks being particularly unfortunate since these formed such a high proportion of the total costs of the small house. Taxes on bricks, together with those on timber, the second largest item, would have made improvement, either to existing stock or by replacement, far more costly than it need have been.

Insofar as the duties were removed from the various commodities this would have directly lowered costs, and reduced the problems facing companies wishing to expand production by new techniques previously hindered by the demands of the bureaucracy. Bricks were a prime example of this latter case. The better machine production of Flettons in particular³, and their distribution by rail was one of the few major technical

1 The General Board of Health was concerned with the effects of brick and window tax. General Board of Health Minute Book No. 2 P.R.O. M.H. 5/2, entries for 22 Feb. 1850 and 29 Dec. 1850.

2 Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, pp. 339-40.

3 Bowley, op. cit. (1960), p. 64.

innovations to reduce costs which were visible in the nineteenth century.

Overall changes in costs can be seen as varying little over the whole period from the eighteen thirties through to the early twentieth century. The costs of a finished house reflected quality changes such as overall size, and the materials used as well as changes in material prices. Consequently costs are difficult to use in a comparative sense as these other measures can be. However, the continuing economic problem, especially that which faced Londoners, can be gauged by considering that early twentieth-century building costs were put at a minimum of £40 per room and an average of £48.¹ With a four-roomed dwelling costing in the region of £200 minimum, without land, 8/- per week rent was necessary in order to furnish a 10 per cent gross return on the building alone.

Materials and building costs affected supply only in the long run. It was what had to be paid in rent to obtain an existing house which mattered in the short-run. On the supply side landlords looked for a return of something like 10 per cent gross, thus incomes, rents, costs and returns all become important, interwoven factors.

The situation in rural areas was rather different to that in urban ones. In summary it can be said that costs rose, much as they did for urban suppliers, but that rents show very little alteration over time, which means that returns fell. For this reason the question of returns to landlords and relative movements in costs are not of great moment in determining the supply of cottages. The possibility of cottages being

1 H. Cubitt, Building in London (1911), p. 258.

a paying proposition declined over the whole period. In the eighteen forties when they could be built for £50 to £60 and might fetch £4 they were economically viable. Daub and wattle could cost as low as £10,¹ and even if rented at only 1/- per week, they returned nearly 25 per cent gross. Costs lower than this can occasionally be found, some in Ireland incidentally, were put at a total of £2 - 10s - 0d to £5.² On the other hand, costs of over £100 were not uncommon even by this date, and these would have needed 4/- per week to return 10 per cent gross. The cost of the average two-roomed cottage was £52,³ and this would be about all one could expect in commercial terms for 1840. In contrast the typical new cottage of East Anglia by the eighteen seventies cost something in the region of £150, for five rooms, while rents had remained around the 2/- mark,⁴ a gross return of $3\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. This was unlikely to tempt the speculator to rapidly increase the supply.

By the eighteen eighties, costs had moved to £250 to £300

1 Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, p. 106.

2 'Cottage - Thatching', Penny Magazine of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (1840), p. 94.

Cost breakdown was:		
Timber for roof		12s - 0d
Ton of straw		25s - 0d
Carriage of stones		5s - 0d
Carriage of timber		2s - 6d
Carpenter for roof		2s - 6d
Doors etc.		5s - 0d
Building cabin wall		10s - 0d
Thatcher		4s - 0d
TOTAL		£3 - 6s - 0d

This was for the better class of turf cabin! Breakdowns for clay and stone cottages were also given.

3 Sanitary Report H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVI, p. 401.

4 Clifford, op. cit. pp. 114-5.

for five rooms,¹ and with the continuing failure of rents to rise above the 2/- to 2/6d level, some creeping up to 4/- or 4/6d by the end of the century,² returns were always insufficient to bring forth an adequate supply. It is not in the workings of the open market that an adequate explanation of rural improvement is to be found, at least on the supply side. It can only be found through a decrease in demand following population decline, a situation which would have ensured continuing low rents and returns.

The effects on supply both in the short- and long-run can also be viewed in a more personal way by considering the characters involved in the provision of housing. In discovering the characteristics of the landlord and the builder, some further light can be cast on changes in the structure of the business of house-ownership and that of building. The second half of this chapter is concerned therefore with the suppliers of housing, the landlord and the builder.

PART II

The Suppliers of Housing

Distinctions such as that between landlord and builder are only convenient generalisations. The network of relationships could and did become complicated in the extreme. People and roles do not always neatly coincide. As an example, one

1 Evidence to R.C. on the Housing of the Working Classes Vol. II P.P. 1884-5, XXXI, Q. 16,260.

2 Savage, op. cit. p. 168.

group of private landlords, the owner-occupiers, provided cases where one man might well be tenant, landlord and indeed builder. Alternatively any of these roles could be played by several people, a builder sub-contracting work for example. It is not only the roles which are of importance, but the fact that they were played by people. Not all of their actions were totally economically-determined.

As the more immediate supplier it is appropriate to consider the landlord first. There seem to be two major types of landlord in the modern era: those in the public sector and those in the private sector. With regard to the public sector in the nineteenth century, the overall impression gained is of its minimal contribution. Both central and local government bodies were generally inactive as landlords, being rather more concerned with regulation than with the supply of housing, and not overly effective in that respect either.

Council housing appears to have amounted to so little in numerical terms that it could not have achieved any impact upon overall standards. Where it did exist there seem to have been little complaint about its actual standard. Council tenements were said to be superior in all respects to those supplied at the same price by private enterprise in the same neighbourhood. Liverpool's were described as untypical of what was generally available,¹ and Sheffield's as substantially built.² Huddersfield's superior qualities were represented by their being four-roomed through dwellings,³ as were those in Brad-

1 Board of Trade Report on Working-Class Rents, Housing and Retail Prices in the Principal Industrial Towns of the U.K. P.P. 1908, CVII, p. 653.

2 Ibid. p. 787.

3 Ibid. p. 601.

ford,¹ while bathrooms were a common feature.² The general drawback was one of cost rather than of quality.

The proposed cost of council housing in Barking by 1904 was in the region of £200 per house,³ while the national average per capita cost for councils to rehouse people under Part One of the 1890 Act was estimated at £77 - 15s - 0d.⁴ Action under Part Three of the 1890 Act, which gave power to build, was costing the L.C.C. nearly £50 per head by 1906. Repairs were a cheaper form of improvement, and it is a pity that more was not done in this field. To house people on borrowed capital meant that rents had to cover interest and repayment charges, together with maintenance costs. In such a situation the prevailing rate of interest became a crucial factor, and the activities of the Local Government Board in providing loan funds were important. If £200 was borrowed at 4 per cent for 30 years from the Local Government Board, payments of about £11 per year would be needed to service the debt. Adding just 1 per cent for maintenance meant a rent of something in the region of 5/- per week with no allowance for administrative costs. Barking's proposed rents were 5/3d per week, which made them the cheapest in the neighbourhood.⁶ If the length of repayment was shortened or the interest rate increased, then the rent would have to be increased also. In

1 Board of Trade Report on Working-Class Rents, Housing and Retail Prices in the Principal Industrial Towns of the U.K. P.P. 1908, CVII, p. 484.

2 Marr, op. cit. p. 87.

3 Local Government Records : Barking P.R.O. H.L.G. 1/93 Reg. No. 808 31/05, entry for 18 Feb. 1904.

4 Nettlefold, op. cit. p. 24.

5 Ibid, p. 140.

6 Local Government Records : Barking P.R.O. H.L.G. 1/93 Reg. No. 808 31/05, entry for 18 Feb. 1904.

the case of the private landlord there would need to be some extra payment to cover the higher interest rates on the open market, and his return.

Despite lower rents than for similar private accommodation, the impact of council housing was limited. Complaints of good housing going to the thriftless and indigent¹ can be contrasted with the tendency for council tenants to be of the same sort as those in philanthropic housing. The similarity even extended to the rules laid down by both,² some of which effectively precluded many of the casually employed.

It has been estimated that some 57 per cent of council tenants in London had skilled or clerical occupations.³ Even when such housing was available to the unskilled they ran a greater risk of loss than did skilled or clerical employees. Those who at any time became reliant upon poor relief, other than for short periods or because of an accident or illness, were liable to immediate eviction.⁴ Casual labour and unemployment as a common relationship rendered this a pertinent threat.

The most important drawback was the overall lack of accommodation provided. Little use was made by councils of the powers available to them to provide dwellings. Only between 1909 and 1915 did a significant amount of council building take place, and then local authorities were only responsible for about 11,000 of the 200,000 houses constructed.⁵ By 1907,

1 Thompson, op. cit. p. 2.

2 St Giles Board of Works Report (1897-8), p. 84.

3 Vere-Hole, op. cit. p. 432.

4 Working Class Housing Act 1890, Sec. 63.

5 Ministry of Health, Private Enterprise Housing Non-Parliamentary Paper (1947), p. 5.

London and six of the principal boroughs - Liverpool, Manchester, Sheffield, Plymouth, Southampton and Salford - had provided places for some 55,000 people in tenements, houses, shops and lodging-houses combined.¹

This pitifully small number was some 12 times larger than the 1895 figure. The position was summarised by the L.C.C.'s Housing Manager in 1906, in saying that:

"... if one hundred County Councils (were) building at the same rate as us for a long time to come they would never cope with overcrowding."²

The numbers living in council houses were never very extensive throughout the period to 1914.³ The only hope for the future was that the public-sector landlord had made an appearance, even if the contribution made was limited in the extreme.

The bulk of working-class housing was, therefore, provided through the open market by the private-sector landlord. The particular groups involved in this operation can be classified in terms of their actual or expected economic returns, which gives three such groups, each of which will be discussed in turn. The groups were firstly owner-occupiers, secondly the philanthropically and non-speculatively motivated owners, and thirdly the speculatively motivated. Such a sequence of definitions involves a gradation of anticipated direct returns,

-
- 1 Statistical Memoranda and Charts Prepared in the Local Government Board Relating to Public Health and Social Conditions (Cd. 4671), p. 22, gives figures for both 1907 and 1895.
 - 2 Evidence of S.G. Burgess to R.C. on London Traffic P.P. 1906, XL, Q. 5,913.
 - 3 Although Local Authorities could provide new houses from 1851 onwards little use was made of their powers prior to 1919. Ministry of Health Report of the Sub Committee of the Central Housing Advisory Committee Non-Parliamentary Paper (1944), p. 5.

in an economic sense, from the provision of housing. Thus for the first group, the owner-occupiers, the returns can be said to be calculated in a non-specific manner. A high rate of cash return was not a prime motive for their actions. Returns were more implicit, the advantages of security of tenure and such factors being of greater importance. If it is assumed that the motivation for such a form of ownership was similar to that found in more recent times, then the basis of judgments on rates of return, when they were made, appears likely to have involved only a "rule of thumb" approach. The number of owner-occupiers would tend to stay at a steady level, at least in the short-run, even if alternative opportunities for investment improved, not least because of transfer costs. Owner-occupancy as the accepted general form of tenure is a feature of twentieth-century British life, rather than historically the case.

The other two groupings, those of the non-speculative and the speculative owners, are somewhat easier to deal with in terms of explicit monetary returns. The speculative group were out to charge what the market would bear. This includes all those engaged in the supply of houses as a strict business proposition, and is not confined to the common image of the term "speculator" which seems to be associated with a minority group, out for extortionate rates of profit in a temporary circumstance of short supply.¹ This third group is the major source of supply, the open market based on profit levels as

1 Emotional use of terms such as speculation was evident even in the reports of official observers, for example the area of the West Derby union of parishes in Liverpool saw cottages which were "in general built more with a view to the percentage of the landlord than to the accommodation of the poor". Sanitary Report H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVI, p. 18. The emphasis is placed on the undesirability of this attitude, rather than accepting it as an inevitable part of the functioning of an open market system, and directing criticism at this aspect of the supply of housing.

indicative of excess, or insufficient, supply. The non-speculative group is, therefore, those excluded under the owner-occupier definition, who were knowingly charging something significantly less than full market rates, or were supplying houses as an undertaking which was clearly subordinate to their main line of business. This definition includes not only the "5 per cent philanthropists" but also suppliers such as the various companies which provided accommodation for their workers at a rate below that which such accommodation would bring in the open market. Some companies were motivated to do this in the belief that by this means they attracted and kept skilled men particularly, and possibly thus increased their overall profitability. Considering housing as a separate economic activity, however, they were in a loss-making position in the sense of opportunity costs, if not in strict accounting terms.

With the criteria underlying the three groupings explained, each can now be considered in turn.

The majority of early owner-occupiers could also be classified as members of the self-building group, sometimes literally by their own hand, sometimes with the help of friends or, more especially in towns, with the aid of building clubs. Such houses were generally reckoned as of the poorest quality. In Manchester, building clubs' members owned small houses built in so insubstantial a character that people unacquainted with their flimsiness of construction, it was said, were astonished at the speed of their erection. They were good in that they had no underground accommodation, but bad in that they had nothing underground by way of foundation either.¹ It was

1 Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, p. 240.

estimated by 1842 that anything up to 25,000 houses could already have been built by such clubs.¹ Even if as many as this had been constructed, not all of them would have remained in owner-occupation, some having been let and others sold by this time.

The 1842 reports continually mentioned the self-built squatter's house as being the worst examples of dwellings to be found in any district. Those on the outskirts of the Forest of Dean were said to be:

"In a much worse state of repair, and have less accommodation than those that are rented."²

Such places occurred throughout the country at that time, and still existed in 1864, although not so frequently. Dr Hunter documented the method by which the squatter acquired his home. The first step was to enclose a portion of the waste with hurdles, then to erect a stone wall followed by a dwelling, possibly a tent in the first instance, then by a hut which was in turn superseded by a shed and finally by a house. Those who in one night built their dwelling obtained a "copyright tenure". In pre-enclosure days these "mushroom halls", or "now-or-nevers" as they were called, gained a "right" which was rarely disputed as long as the commons were relatively unproductive. As enclosure gathered pace, more interested parties than the commoners were less willing to allow such encroachments, and it was the tendency to enclose which seems to have ended this sort of construction. The "mushroom hall" usually ended up in the form of a two-roomed, one-storey dwelling, in which the standard of both materials and construction were

1 Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, p. 241.

2 Report from Richard Meyer, the Relieving Officer of the Newland District of Monmouthshire Union. Quoted by Sir Edmund Head, Bart., in *Ibid.* p. 100.

bad. The common response as to why such conditions were tolerated was, "but it is our own".¹ These rural, self-built dwellings were basically an early-century phenomenon, although a few survived,² even into the twentieth century.³

The urban counterpart of these rural "mushroom halls" originated from the infant building clubs and building societies which enjoyed fluctuating success, being the "rage" of 1825-6 but by the eighteen thirties described as "knocked on the head".⁴

After the early building clubs, which appeared from the late eighteenth century onwards,⁵ came the first terminating societies, virtually all of which were concerned only with new building.⁶ Their general aim was to ensure a house for each member, built by the society and financed from their own funds, provided by members paying subscriptions until all of them had a house.⁷ Subscriptions seem to have been of the order of 2/6d per week,⁸ and after twelve to fifteen years, and by "sustained thrift", each member might own his own house.⁹

-
- 1 'Inquiry on the State of the Dwellings of Rural Labourers', Appendix 6 of the 7th Report of the Medical Officer of Health to the Privy Council on the State of Public Health P.P. 1865, XXVI, p. 136.
 - 2 Those held by squatters are still mentioned as among the worst in the R.C. on Labour, Assistant Commissioners' Reports on Agricultural Labourers Vol. V General Report P.P. 1893-4, XXXVII, Pt II, Paragraph 241, p. 104
 - 3 Savage, op. cit. p. 25.
 - 4 Evidence of T. Burton to the S.C. on Manufactures, Commerce and Shipping P.P. 1833, VI, Q. 1,733.
 - 5 Price, op. cit. p. 14.
 - 6 Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, p. 414.
 - 7 Ibid. p. 19.
 - 8 Ibid. p. 28; and Hobson, op. cit. p. 24.
 - 9 Ibid. p. 23.

For those subject to fluctuations in employment or even in income such a sustained commitment was usually far beyond their ability to keep up.

From the beginnings made by the terminating societies came the permanent ones, with their division between investors and borrowers. They were mainly southern-based to begin with. Even by the middle of the century permanent societies were still to catch on in a big way in the north.¹

Uncertainty as to the length of the repayment period was a major drawback for working-class members of the terminating societies, a drawback removed by belonging to a permanent society. For each member to obtain a house could take ten years or longer, by which time each share was worth possibly £120, leaving a quarter of the total cost still to be financed.² Some terminating societies, however, went on for longer than ten years. To obtain an early advance a large discount might be accepted which lowered the amount of mortgage funds available to the borrower. Premiums for advances of shares could reach as high as £50 and £60,³ meaning the £120 share was halved in terms of the advance, and there was still a total payment of £84 to be made over the ten-year period,⁴ or longer if losses were sustained in the process. Only terminating societies with a set date gave any limit to the

1 The late eighteen forties saw their start in the north. S.C. on Friendly and Benefit Building Societies P.P. 1871, XXV, Qq. 7,698 and 5,291.

2 S.C. on Town Holdings P.P. 1888, XXII, Qq. 297-8.

3 Ibid. Q. 2,851.

4 The difference between £84 and £120 represented the "interest" on the share payments over the ten-year period.

length of the repayment period. These gave greater security to the borrower, whereas the undated societies gave greater security to the lender.

In contrast, permanent societies, as their name implies, continued indefinitely.¹ It was possible to be purely an investor, using the society as a savings bank with no intention of obtaining an advance, and it was into this latter category that most working-class members fell. They provided the funds for the more regularly-employed to use for house purchase, the society performing for them the role of a savings bank. It was said that the desire not to have rows of similar housing assisted the demise of societies to build,² an idea which seems curious if contrasted with the rows of speculatively-built terraces which dominate the urban scene as evidence of what was achieved.

That the permanent societies represented, if anything, a change away from potential working-class owner-occupancy seems evident. The Halifax Building Society put special emphasis on trying to attract owner-occupiers by the early twentieth century but with little apparent success.³ Before this much of the money had gone in relatively large advances, of which the first two made by the Society had been of £1,200 and £1,800 respectively, and obviously not to the prospective owner-occupier of a working-class, terraced house.⁴ Advances policy and

1 Successive terminating societies, first, second, third etc., or groups within a society, could give some degree of permanence to the terminating concept.

2 S.C. on Friendly and Benefit Building Societies P.P. 1871, XXV, Q. 2,895.

3 Hobson, op. cit. p. 69.

4 Ibid. p. 22.

the interest rates charged, which varied from 3½ per cent¹ to 9 per cent,² affected the chances of working-class owner-occupancy very little. The need for large cash payments remained the major stumbling block,³ which accords with the general findings of more recent studies. Even if they had the deposit there were legal costs to meet. These could amount to the equivalent of one or two year's rent.⁴ All of this was perhaps fortunate in some ways for housing standards, since the general agreement was, at least in the early days, that the club-built houses were the worst possible.⁵

At worst the working classes became involved in the financing of building operations which failed, resulting in a large loss of funds. Thomas Fatkin, secretary to the Leeds Permanent Society, estimated in 1888 that working-class people in Sheffield had lost something over £1,000,000 in the preceding decade through societies and clubs. Many of the borrowers of the money were not small owner-occupiers, but larger-scale house jobbers after funds for their activities.⁶

The whole working population of some towns was described as taking little or no part in building societies' activities,

1 S.C. on Town Holdings P.P. 1887, XIII, Q. 8,134.

2 S.C. on Friendly and Benefit Societies P.P. 1871, XXV, Q. 7,050.

3 Edward Ryde's evidence to the S.C. on Town Holdings P.P. 1886, XII, Q. 7,843, and

See above, p. 31.

4 Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, p. 340.

5 Ibid. p. 119; and Sanitary Report H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVI, p. 233.

6 S.C. on Town Holdings P.P. 1888, XXII, Q. 247. Mills and factories also competed for the funds of some building societies, which rendered them a mechanism for organising small savings for investment purposes. Sir Harold Bellman, Bricks and Mortals (1949), p. 30.

either as lenders or borrowers, as in Newcastle.¹ Other towns, particularly Birmingham and Liverpool,² were seen as centres of activity, but in general it was thought that the type of people involved were more likely to be tradesmen or skilled workers (those more assured of a regular and higher income). One or two observers, such as James Taylor, claimed that Birmingham was by the eighteen seventies a virtual mecca of such enterprise, such that of ten or twelve thousand members nearly all were working class, and that some 13,000 houses in Birmingham were owned by members of the working class.³ This statement contrasts with that of Mr R.E. Farrant, the deputy chairman and managing director of the Artisans, Labourers and General Dwellings Company, who reckoned that only the Leeds Permanent Society was administered for the benefit of the poor man.⁴ Both of these statements may be extreme views, but regardless of area or society, overall impact of building societies on the number of working-class owner-occupiers appears limited. In general, borrowing members' rates of pay were somewhat higher than those of investing members. Mr Taylor unfortunately made no distinction between borrowers and investors, only declaring his members to have an average weekly wage of 30/-, with some as low as 12/- to 14/-.⁵ Liverpool provides the slightly more discriminating observation that the working class

-
- 1 Evidence of J. Hole to S.C. on Friendly and Benefit Building Societies P.P. 1871, XXV, Qq. 196-9.
 - 2 Liverpool by 1871 was said to have 150-180 permanent societies. Ibid. Qq. 6,523-4.
 - 3 James Taylor's evidence to Ibid. Qq. 3,652 and 3,666.
 - 4 Evidence to S.C. on Town Holdings P.P. 1887, XIII, Qq. 131-4.
 - 5 Ibid. Q. 3,898.

in general formed a larger part of the investors, not of the borrowers.¹ The same was said to be true of Ashton-under-Lyne² and Manchester, where the average wage of borrowing members was put at £2 weekly.³ A similar figure was arrived at for the borrowing members of societies in Bradford.⁴ In Bradford's third equitable society the working class formed about half the borrowers and some four-fifths of the investors.⁵

More investors than borrowers were needed since most could not afford to invest the amount necessary to buy a house. This was the drawback of the terminating societies to build. With average deposits in savings banks of about £26, and a modal group in the £1 to £10 range,⁶ numerous investors would be required if societies were used to obtain money for house purchases by their members. This sort of situation suited itself to the permanent societies' method of operation, where very few invested as much as £200.⁷

Overall the impact of such societies in promoting home ownership appears limited in the extreme, due to the problem of the initial need of large cash sums and regularity of payment. The societies were the vehicle by which working-class

1 Evidence to S.C. on Town Holdings P.P. 1887, XIII, Qq. 5,262-5 and 5,372.

2 Ibid. Qq. 5,499-5,500.

3 Ibid. Qq. 5,891-3. The investing members' average wage in Ashton-under-Lyne was estimated at 17/- or less per week. Ibid. Qq. 5,501 and 5,560-1.

4 Ibid. Qq. 6,686-7.

5 Ibid. Qq. 6,688.

6 Appendix to Report of S.C. on Savings Banks P.P. 1850, XIX, p. 111.

7 S.C. on Friendly and Benefit Building Societies P.P. 1871, XXV, Q. 3,684.

savings provided borrowed capital for landlords to purchase the very houses they then let out to the workers themselves. Capital was, however, thus mobilised, not only to provide homes but also jobs and who knows if it would otherwise have been provided. Whatever was done with the savings, it appears clear that the owner-occupier represents only a small group in the total concept of who was the landlord of the working classes, as can be verified by the high percentage figures estimated to have rented their houses at the end of the nineteenth century.¹

The non-speculative owner group includes not only philanthropists, but also companies and all those knowingly and willingly operating at below market rates for some identifiable purpose. Special attention is later given to one such organisation, the Salvation Army and its hostels,² but the first philanthropic body to operate in London seems to have been the Metropolitan Association for Improving the Dwellings of the Industrious Classes, incorporated by Royal Charter in 1845³ and formed four years earlier. The middle of the century saw the emergence of other societies, including the famous Peabody Trust. Their common problem was one of cost, compounded by the long-term and nebulous nature of the return on housing investment. It was difficult for a society to draw up accounts which showed social benefits to offset against economic costs, yet this was their aim. Their grea-

1 See above, p. 31.

2 See below, pp. 359-363.

3 C. Gatliff's evidence to S.C. on Town Holdings P.P. 1887, XIII, Qq. 8,424-5.

test role was to shift out the upper strata of the working classes into new or renovated accommodation, leaving the old accommodation for others to move into.

The question of cost eventually brought the demise of such ventures. By the end of the century land costs in cities such as London made it almost impossible to build even on the expectation of a 5 per cent return. By the eighteen nineties only the East End Dwellings Company and a few individuals were building such dwellings.¹ The East End company was one of two Jewish ventures, the other being the 4 per cent Industrial Dwellings Company,² founded by Lord Rothschild. The accommodation provided was fairly representative of the philanthropic block dwellings in which tenants had two rooms and shared toilet and kitchen with the occupants of another flat.³

The general aim of these builders of block dwellings, cottage improvement societies, and renovators of old buildings is summed up by the description of the efforts of the Central London Dwellings Improvement Company with 20 houses in Parker Street, Star Court and Crosss Lane, St Giles. After these were bought by the company in 1863 their condition was said to be better than had previously been the case, and the management of the undertaking was arranged so as to pay a small dividend on the outlay. But only 20 houses were affected.⁴

1 L.C.C., op. cit. p. 63. The weekly rent to cover land costs alone in Holborn by 1900 was put at 4/- per room, evidence of S.G. Burgess, Housing Manager, L.C.C., to the R.C. on London Traffic P.P. 1906, XL, Q. 5,793.

2 Gartner, op. cit. p. 155.

3 Ibid. p. 156.

4 Report of the Medical Officer of Health to the St Giles Board of Works (1866-7), p. 14.

The real impact of such efforts to alleviate housing problems, especially those of the poorly-paid or casual worker, was very limited. While they appear to provide better accommodation,¹ the numbers they affected were low. By 1884 it is estimated only about 32,500 people had been housed by some 28 societies.² This figure had risen fourfold by 1905 for the nine principal London associations, but from 1881-1901 the net addition to the population was over 6,500,000. Only a fraction of the increase in numbers of the working classes can have been housed by such efforts. The impact was only significant at all in particular areas, such as Bermondsey, where in 1891 nearly 10 per cent of the population were housed in model lodging-houses or improved artisan's dwellings belonging to philanthropists.³ Contemporary comment backs the statistics, suggesting that such dwellings were not only small in number, but where they did exist they were beyond the scope of the poorer classes.⁴ Such an effect was produced not so much by the rents, which were usually equal to or just slightly below the average private rent for one or two rooms, as can be seen from Figure 3.5, but from the rules and regulations, and stress on punc-

-
- 1 In the cholera epidemic of 1854, death rates in dwellings of two of the philanthropic societies were 27 per 10,000, while the average for poorer districts such as the Potteries in Kensington was 259 per 10,000 and even in Westminster, where not all homes were inhabited by the working-class, death rates reached 130 per 10,000. G. Glover, Common and Model Lodging-Houses, Metropolis (Epidemic of Cholera 1854) P.P. 1854-5, XLV, p. 290.
 - 2 Ashworth, op. cit. p. 84. By the turn of the century, nearly 200,000 people were estimated to be living in "block dwellings", about half of them in poor sanitary conditions. Haw, op. cit. (1899), p. 45.
 - 3 Bermondsey Vestry Report (1898-1900), pp. 208-210.
 - 4 Cross, op. cit. p. 238; and R.C. on the Housing of the Working Classes P.P. 1884-5, XXX, p. 89.

FIGURE 3.5

RENTS FOR PEABODY AND SIMILAR BOCK DWELLINGS RELATIVE TO RENTS FOR PRIVATELY-OWNED DWELLINGS IN LONDON*

(Weekly Rent)

(1) Zone		(2) 1 Room	(3) 2 Room	(4) 3 Room
Central	Private	3/- to 6/-	5/6 to 8/6	7/- to 10/6
Central	Block	2/6 to 5/-	5/- to 8/-	6/6 to 11/-
South	Private	2/6 to 5/-	5/- to 7/-	6/6 to 9/-
South	Block	2/6 to 4/-	5/- to 7/6	6/6 to 10/-
East	Private	3/- to 5/-	5/6 to 7/6	7/- to 9/-
East	Block	2/6 to 4/6	5/6 to 7/6	6/6 to 10/6
West	Private	3/6 to 6/6	6/- to 8/6	8/- to 11/-
West	Block	2/6 to 5/-	6/- to 8/-	8/- to 11/-

* SOURCE: Board of Trade Report on Working-Class Rents, Housing and Retail Prices in the Principal Industrial Towns of the U.K. P.P. 1908, CVII, pp. 384-5.

tuality of rent payments. This latter effect meant that many casual workers were unable or unwilling to take advantage of block dwellings run by philanthropic bodies. An example of the regulations is given in Appendix 3C. The rules effectively disbarred large families because of their inability to pay for the number of rooms necessary to avoid overcrowding and note the virtual parity of rents for three rooms in Table 3.5. It also ensured the exclusion of costermongers and others who had to keep either the wares of their trade, which could become offensive to others, or animals to pull carts. The tenants were usually tradesmen, carpenters, compositors or other skilled men,¹ and railway workers or policemen, all with some security of employment. Labourers appear only rarely in the lists of tenants.

Philanthropic building, especially of block dwellings in the central areas, increased problems for the lower-paid as much as it alleviated them. Demolition for block dwellings caused the original inhabitants to move elsewhere, usually a short distance, and increased rents in surrounding districts. This is precisely the process that had taken place in Great Wild Street. Demolition was caused by the building of a Peabody block and a Board school. The inhabitants of the area moved out, and rents of all rooms in the neighbourhood rose by 6d to 1/- per week.² Few of those displaced ever obtained a place in the new blocks; a general occurrence with Peabody blocks. Some found houses elsewhere before the building was

1 C. Gatliff, Text with map (of London) showing The Locality of the Several Blocks of Improved Dwellings Belonging to ... Different Agencies etc. (1875), p. 17. British Museum, Maps 30.a.29.

2. R.C. on the Housing of the Working Classes P.P. 1884-5,XXX, p. 35.

complete and did not want to move again, and others were considered unfit to tenant Peabody dwellings.¹ They were for the aristocracy of labour rather than for the poor. While their rent levels were about that of private accommodation, it is probable that most of the unskilled and casual workers paid less than this by crowding into a smaller space than was permitted in block dwellings, or by taking in a lodger, also prohibited in Peabody buildings (see Rule 2 of Appendix 3C).²

Other philanthropic landlords, while also having strict rules, did not cause so many problems by demolishing property. Cottage Improvement Societies and individuals such as Baroness Burdett-Coutts tended to emphasise renovation rather than rebuilding, although some new building was undertaken by them.

Philanthropic bodies in general had only a limited effect on supply. Most were small-scale organisations, the Redhill and Reigate Society had a total capital of £8,000, sufficient to build only 31 cottages.³ The Wimbledon Cottage Improvement Society hoped for £3,000 capital, and seems to have built only 12 cottages.⁴ National societies were notable more by their absence than by their achievements. The so-called Cottage Improvement Society was small in size, centred on London, and survived for about ten years.⁵

1 R.C. on the Housing of the Working Classes P.P. 1884-5, XXX, p. 90

2 See below, p. 426.

3 R.F.D. Palgrave, A Handbook to Reigate and the Adjoining Parishes of Galton, Merstham, Chipstead, Betchworth and Leigh (1860), 3rd page of supplement to Chapter One (unpaginated).

4 Minute Book of the Wimbledon Cottage Improvement Society Ltd, Surrey R.O. Acc. 528. Director's 2nd report to shareholders 17 July, 1861 and entry for 1 Feb. 1858.

5 Henry Martin appears as its agent in Post Office Directories of London from 1864 till 1874.

The major contribution of such efforts was limited to example, with houses of two rooms downstairs and three up, outhouses, large gardens and plentiful fittings including stoves for heating in all bedrooms and fitted dresser in the scullery.¹ Example was the main contribution also of the individuals who engaged in this work. Baroness Burdett-Coutts owned 189 improved dwellings, C.J. Freake a further 108.² Octavia Hill was seen as the originator of this sort of work, references being made to other individuals such as Edmund Wilson, as working "along the lines" of Octavia Hill's scheme.³ With such philanthropy providing only small amounts of accommodation, the remaining alternatives were company housing or the open market.

Some companies did provide accommodation for their workers, some of it in the form of model villages, such as Port Sunlight and Saltaire. On a more widespread local scale it has been stated that most country mills built a row of cottages near the factory.⁴ The larger company towns, such as Bournville, which consisted of 600 houses by the early twentieth century⁵ were not as common as this. In fact, the numbers of company houses were large only in certain areas. Railway towns, such as Swindon or Crewe, had what might be termed large holdings, although probably never much in excess of

1 The Building News 12 Oct. 1866. Details of cottages of the Land, Building, Investment, and Cottage Improvement Company Ltd.

2 Gatliff, op. cit. pp. 2-3.

3 Marr, op. cit. p. 75.

4 S.D. Chapman, The Early Factory Masters (Newton Abbot, 1967), p. 159.

5 Board of Trade Report on Working-Class Rents, Housing and Retail Prices in the Principal Industrial Towns of the U.K. P.P. 1908, CVII, p. 463.

about 20 per cent of the total dwellings.¹

In towns not directly dependent upon any one employer the provision of company housing seems to have been quite small - Cardiff had only 270 in total, belonging to Dowlais' Iron Company and the Great Western Railway.² It was often a matter of how reliable the profits from an industrial venture were, and how necessary housing was, that determined the extent to which companies became involved in supply. In mining areas, which were sometimes rural, housing could be a great problem. In the north-east some accommodation was provided by companies.² In the south-west, however, the mines were considered too precarious a venture for their owners to construct housing as well.⁴

The motivation to build seems to have originated sometimes from a genuine desire to achieve social objectives, and sometimes to ensure the acquisition or retention of skilled men in particular.⁵ McAlpine's project at Kilbowie Hill, Clydebank in the eighteen nineties was an attempt at an early garden city development,⁶ originating from a company town. A few others obtained houses from companies in scattered fashion (stationmasters, for example) but it generally was a source

1 W.H. Chaloner, The Social and Economic Development of Crewe 1780-1923 (Manchester, 1950), p. 51.

2 Daunton, op. cit. p. 291.

3 Advertisement for Auction of Collieries near Blyth and Wallsend all with cottages attached. Sale Catalogue, Auction 20 July 1858 Essex R.O. D/Du 56/4.

4 M.E. Weaver, 'Industrial Housing in West Cornwall', Industrial Archaeology Vol. 3 No. 1 (1966), p. 27.

5 T.C. Barker, Pilkington Brothers and the Glass Industry (1960), pp. 102-3.

6 J.S. Childers, Robert McAlpine (Oxford, Private Circulation, 1925), pp. 35 and 95.

of supply which was limited in terms of overall numbers, and more likely to provide for the skilled rather than the mass of labourers who had to rely upon the open market.

Company houses do seem to have been of good quality for those fortunate enough to obtain them.¹ Rents were also somewhat more reasonable than in the open market. Returns expected were of the order of 5 per cent rather than the 10 per cent normally expected by the commercial landlord.²

That council, philanthropic and company housing in total contributed only a small proportion of the supply seems the inevitable conclusion. Where they did exist, such houses were of good standard, but for most people, certainly virtually all of those engaged in casual labour, the only source of supply was to rent in the open market. In fact, for the labourers, companies tended to make matters worse, as far as housing supply was concerned. It was companies such as the railways which reduced supply through demolition for "urban improvement" of one kind or another. By the early eighteen sixties one Medical Officer of Health noted in London that the capital was subject to what he termed an "improvements tendency", the result of which was to overcrowd the working man. Even demolition to provide new streets, he considered unsatisfactory, since those displaced go to houses elsewhere in the district, families having only part of the house to themselves. He complained bitterly of the Bill, then (1863) before Parliament,

1 Chapman, op. cit. (1967), p. 159; and Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, p. 247.

2 Chaloner, op. cit. p. 49.

for constructing a railway through St Giles. This together with a new street in the area would, he estimated, leave at least 2,500 homeless.¹ Similar complaints were also registered concerning the improved dwellings companies and their demolitions.²

The activities of the demolishers were such that in 1880 one Medical Officer wrote a footnote to the effect that:

"If this sort of thing goes on much longer, it looks very much as though London in a few years would become a huge agglomeration of board schools intersected by railways and new streets."³

While railway companies' activities in theory were regulated as to the provision of satisfactory alternative accommodation for the working class, this was not always done. By 1897 regulation forbade the acquisition of 20 or more houses occupied as tenants or lodgers by members of the working class unless satisfactory conditions for rehousing were provided, satisfactory that is to the Secretary of State for Housing and Local Government.⁴ Arguments ensued as to who was a member of the working class (also the case once the phrase appeared in the London Building Act of 1894),⁵ and over the period of residence, since only those who lived in a house for more than twelve months came under legislative protection. At the end of 1902 and the beginning of 1903 the South-Eastern Railway was engaged in such an exercise in south-east London.

1 Report of Medical Officer of Health to St Giles Board of Works (1863-4), pp. 15-16. Similar comments to be found in Bermondsey Vestry Reports (1898), pp. 16-17, and (1864), p. 14.

2 Report of Medical Officer of Health to Bethnal Green Vestry (1879), pp. 6-7.

3 Report of Medical Officer of Health to Bethnal Green Vestry (1880), p. 1, footnote *.

4 Local Government Records : Deptford P.R.O. H.L.G. 1/49, File 720:601:02, letter dated 3 Feb. 1903.

5 Cubitt, op. cit. pp. 96-100

A consideration of two of the shorter widening schedules shows some of these points, as can be seen from the following tables:

FIGURE 3.6 *

SCHEDULE OF WIDENING SCHEME 4 S.E.R. 1902

<u>Number</u>	<u>Street</u>	<u>Inhabitants</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
29	Caxson Place	5	All of these inhabitants accommodated at Guinness Buildings and elsewhere under the temporary scheme.
4	Landrail Place	4	
5	Landrail Place	4	
6	Landrail Place	4	
71	Artillery Street	6	
73	Artillery Street	6	

* SOURCE: Local Government Records : Deptford P.R.O.
H.L.G. 1/49 File 720:601:02, entry dated
18 Nov. 1902.

FIGURE 3.7 *

SCHEDULE OF WIDENING SCHEME 4(a) S.E.R. 1902

<u>Number</u>	<u>Street</u>	<u>Inhabitants</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
45	Frean Street	7	Company provided another house.
17	Priter Road	5	£4.15s.0d compensation to tenant for removal.
16	Priter Road	-	Let to slate merchant, not labouring class rental £56 per annum.
12	Priter Road	10	£6.1s.0d compensation to tenant for removal.
80	St James Road	8	£6.6s.0d compensation and company provided other premises.

+ SOURCE: Local Government Records : Deptford P.R.O.
H.L.G. 1/49 File 720:601:02, entry dated
18 Nov. 1902.

Evidently not all those affected under Schedule 4(a) received anything in the way of a replacement house, only com-

pensation for removal expenses. While it is impossible to call this unfair or bad practice on the part of the railway company, it did reduce the housing stock since no actual replacement was provided. Those who were transferred as in Figure 3.6 to temporary accommodation might also move again, or decide to stay where they were, thus relieving the company of any further obligation to rehouse them.¹ Some houses were built by the company, details of which can be found in Appendix 3D, but the number of houses built was nowhere near the equivalent of those taken by the scheme. Before 1885, no such schemes for rehousing were carried out in London, yet 56,000 were displaced by demolitions.²

For the mass of labourers, it is almost certainly true that company activity in housing provision was virtually non-existent, and positively harmful if demolitions are taken into account. As with councils, and philanthropic bodies, it was the better paid anyway who gained any benefits which might be going. For the labourers the main, if not the only, source of supply was that to be found in the commercial sector.

Who was the commercial sector landlord? It might well be that a chain of people all had an interest in a specific property,³ some with agents which reduced their personal know-

1 Note Footnote 3 of Appendix 3D, the reduction in the number of cottages from 15 to 11. Below, p. 428.

2 H.J. Dyos, 'Railways and Housing in Victorian London', Journal of Transport History Vol. II (1955), pp. 14 and 18. Much agitation was stirred up about this at the time of the Royal Commission. Suggested remedies included moving those affected out to the country, without too much thought as to employment or transport problems e.g. A. Marshall, 'The Housing of the London Poor : Where to House Them', Contemporary Review Vol. XLV (1884), p. 231.

3 Evidence of John Wright, Nottingham builder, to S.C. on Town Holdings P.P. 1888, XXII, Q. 14,831.

ledge of it. Each link in the chain expected some return, which finally came from the rent paid by the tenant. Edward Ryde outlined the process whereby the owner of the land leased the property to a builder, who, after laying out the main roads and subdividing the property, leased the subdivisions to a number of smaller builders who in turn let to someone else, or to a number of small builders each able to put up two, three or four houses.¹ Profit was the necessary motive for each of these entrepreneurs. Many administrators were violently opposed to leaving housing solely or chiefly to the open market. G.S. Jenks reported to the Brighton Poor Law Commissioners in 1842 that:

"In the construction of houses, and the place chosen for them, the working-classes should not be left to the mercy of speculators."²

Despite such protestations, the private sector remained the principal source of such housing. Little is known of the type of people who owned working-class housing, but a typical response as to their character is shown by Thomas Cubitt's evidence to the Select Committee on the Health of Towns quoted by W. Ashworth.³ Cubitt suggested that they had little capital and could well be shopkeepers. Ashworth's question as to whether this general and impressionistic evidence is true, is a valid one. A valid answer is somewhat more difficult to come by. Certainly the eventual ground landlord, such as the Duke of Bedford or Sir John Harmer Bart. M.P. could be a man

1 Evidence of E. Ryde, surveyor, to the S.C. on Town Holdings P.P. 1886, XII, Qq. 7,916 and 7,917.

2 G.S. Jenks M.D. quoted in Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, p. 86.

3 Ashworth, op. cit. p. 21.

of much capital. Sir John was paid ground rent for some streets in London, but the tenants inhabiting the house paid rent to a middle-man who leased the area in his turn.¹

To the individual tenant, the landlord was all too often a man or woman of small means. Those in lodgings or having only part of a house probably had a landlord who was engaged in sub-letting, needing their contribution in order to meet the full amount of the rent due in turn to his immediate landlord. Practically all the houses in Bethnal Green by the end of the century were in this state.² Elsewhere sub-letting grew in times of hardship and lessened as times improved.³ The impressionistic evidence is strongly in favour of the immediate landlord, the man the rent was paid to, being predominantly in a small way of business right through to the end of the nineteenth century at least. The vast majority in Buckinghamshire, said a witness to the 1884-5 Royal Commission, were small men, lace buyers and straw-plait buyers.⁴ Elsewhere it was tradesmen, using houses as a form of pension fund for retirement purposes.⁵ Specifically cited were some houses at Wighton in Somerset, quickly constructed and which looked well, although they were really very fragile and returned only

1 Examples would be Welch's and Kennedy's courts and Hampshire Hog-yard. St Giles Board of Works Report (1858-9), p. 46. Large freeholders as ground landlords were also to be found in provincial towns, such as Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Evidence to R.C. on the Housing of the Working Classes Vol. II P.P. 1884-5, XXXI, Q. 7,632.

2 Bethnal Green Vestry Report (1897), p. 14.

3 Board of Trade Report on Working Class Rents, Housing and Retail Prices in the Principal Industrial Towns of the U.K. P.P. 1908, CVII, p. 443; and Anderson, op. cit. p. 51.

4 Evidence to R.C. on the Housing of the Working Classes Vol. II P.P. 1884-5, XXXI, Qq. 15,972 and 15,984.

5 Edward Ryde's evidence to S.C. on Town Holdings P.P. 1886, XII, Q. 7,875.

about 6 per cent,¹ not a very good return.

Large owners did exist. One such was a foreman in Kidderminster who was able to ensure that new employees in the carpet outwork business in which he was responsible for recruitment, had to live in one of his houses. This had the double advantage that he could charge high rents and deduct them directly from wages, thus making the collection procedure more certain. This resulted in the foreman amassing a large amount of property.² Others had notably large holdings including Lewis Davis, a brewer, known to have owned 750 houses in Plumstead, besides other buildings, at the time of his death in 1869.³

These large owners tended to be the exception rather than the rule, however. Some idea of the size of holdings can be obtained from auction details. From a sample of those conducted by White and Sons over the century, the average holding is seen as worth only about £300.⁴ Another source to confirm that landlords generally held only a small number of houses are the reports to the General Board of Health. From that on Whitehaven, a check of landlords of small tenements shows the largest owner to have had 69 houses. The modal figure is 2, 13 people owning this number, the arithmetic mean being just under 6.⁵

Local vestry reports on action taken against owners of

1 Evidence to R.C. on the Housing of the Working Classes Vol. II P.P. 1884-5, XXXI, Q. 16,356.

2 Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, p. 119.

3 Davis Papers, No. 561, Part 2, Kent A.O.

4 White & Sons, Journals and Auction Details, Surrey R.O.

5 See below, Appendix 3E, p. 430.

unfit dwellings also tend to suggest numbers of 12 or less houses per owner.¹ While thorough study of rate books is probably the only way a more complete statistical record of holdings will emerge, it seems clear that the cursory glimpses of statistics provided here support the impressionistic evidence. The large owner did exist, but the more typical one was a man of little capital. This of course had drawbacks, mainly that capital was not available to undertake repairs where they were needed, assuming that owners were willing to incur such expense. The usual attitude was one of disinclination to spend anything for the benefit of the tenants.² Frequently the leasing system worked to disadvantage. Any lessee with only a short time to run on his lease was unlikely to spend more than was absolutely essential. Charles Harrison, a solicitor, gave evidence on the deterioration of property as the expiration of leases approached,³ although others such as Edward Ryde suggested that covenants in leases were sufficient to discourage such practices.⁴

It is possible that through the leasing system more finance was put into housing, or the provision of land for housing, than would otherwise have been the case. If only freehold tenure had been allowed, or the custom, the land-owners would have had to have been bought out. As it was they were prepared to leave their investment in land and to lease it. Some areas

1 e.g. Poplar Board of Works Reports various dates.

2 Bethnal Green Vestry Reports (1884-87), p. 34.

3 Charles Harrison's evidence to S.C. on Town Holdings P.P. 1886, XII, Qq. 8,337, 8,355 and 8,357-8.

4 Edward Ryde's evidence to Ibid. Q. 7,828.

were developed on freehold tenure. Leeds was almost all freehold land,¹ while other places such as Blackburn were developed on long leases of 999 years.² Problems only really arose when short-term leases, or leases on the houses themselves, were involved. Land tenure mattered little to the house tenant unless the landlord tried to pass higher costs on to him in the form of rent. Suggestions that ground rents adversely affected overall rents³ depend purely upon costs and supply factors. Unless the demand had been there too, higher ground rents would have only cut into the profit margins of the suppliers since it appears they were mainly the owners of only a few houses, and unlikely to be able to greatly control the prices they received. The demand for land, and thus the effect on ground rents, was only a derived demand. If the ultimate demand for accommodation fell away then the demand for land would also fall. Ryde, among contemporary observers, noted that leasing or freehold tenure little affected the rent level.⁴ It is arguable that it was not costs alone that determined rents. The landlord was in no position to independently alter rents except in boom conditions.

Whatever the system of tenure, the builder himself rarely appears to have also been the landlord, only holding on to those houses he was unable to sell. The owner was to all intents and purposes a separate group.⁵ However, the builder

1 S.C. on Town Holdings P.P. 1887, XIII, App. p. 736.

2 Ibid. Q. 3,823.

3 Daunton, op. cit. pp. 266-8.

4 Evidence to S.C. on Town Holdings P.P. 1886, XII, Q. 7,829.

5 Evidence of Mr Vigers, surveyor, to S.C. on Town Holdings P.P. 1887, XIII, Q. 1,078.

himself is the ultimate link in the supply chain, and no examination of the characters involved in that chain would be complete without some consideration of him and his operations.

Numerous derivations of the notorious term "Jerry builder" are to be found, all of them implying a rather temporary or shoddy piece of work.¹ People certainly had clear ideas on the sort of builder who deserved the name, as can be judged by the descriptions of him, typical of which is one of an inferior speculator:

"... with little credit, less money, and no reputation, builds probably 75 per cent of the houses inhabited by the poorer and lower middle class population."²

or, in a more literary vein:

"That very large class, who, having risen by their industry and skill as master bricklayers and ought to have remained in that position, and not to have started forward as the builders of heaps of houses and innumerable streets, filling our extensive suburbs with ill-drained, incommodius, damp and shapeless abodes."³

Thomas Burton, a builder himself, also described the speculative builder, and divided the whole trade into three classes: those engaged in the construction of public buildings, those in the shop and commercial sphere and lastly those who went in for housing speculation.⁴

The large and medium size building concerns did exist, especially after the development of the general contracting

1 The earliest dating seems to be Ashton's one of 1830 for Liverpool, op. cit. p. 44.

2 Peek and Hall, op. cit. p. 228.

3 C. Dickens, Household Words 22 Feb. 1851, p. 513.

4 Evidence of T. Burton to S.C. on Manufactures, Commerce and Shipping P.P. 1833, VI, Q. 1,660 and Q. 1,841.

business, usually attributed to Thomas Cubitt in the early nineteenth century.¹ Others prominent here included Sir Edward Banks, noted for construction of canals, the Surrey Iron Railway and Dartmoor prison,² or John Laing, John Mowlem³ and George Pearson.⁴ The major point is that such large undertakings were not concerned with working-class housing. If they erred from Burton's first classification, moving out of public works into the housing market, then they did so to build houses which let for considerable sums of money. Cubitt can serve as a model, since he built some houses in Tavistock Square, London in 1820. These were subsequently let for £150 per annum, and were said to be not up to his usual standard of furnishings and fittings.⁵ The only way such houses would ever have come into the possession of the working class was after subsequent conversion if the area became a twilight zone.

Much of the same could be said for the less illustrious second group, the medium-sized builder, usually the old style master-builder including firms such as Lawrence and Sons, whose principals were active in civic life.⁶ This firm

1 Cooney, op. cit. p. 168. Obituary of Cubitt in Gentleman's Magazine Vol. 45 (Feb. 1856), p. 203, where his setting-up of permanent workshops was hailed as an innovation. The estate was estimated at over £1,000,000 upon his death, 20 Dec. 1855. See also The Builder 29 Dec. 1855, pp. 629-30.

2 Anonymous, Life Story of Sir Edward Banks 1770-1835, Contractor. Typescript, Purley Reference Library (undated), pp. 1-2.

3 J.A. Williams, Building and Builders (1968), p. 96.

4 R.K. Middlemass, The Master Builders (1963), p. 165.

5 Gentleman's Magazine Vol. 45 (Feb. 1856), p. 204.

6 Both sons of William Lawrence became Lord Mayor of London Illustrated London News Supplement, 7 Nov. 1868. The firm arose from an earlier partnership of William Snr. and John Cover who died in 1823.

had yards in Commercial Road, Lambeth and Bread Street, Cheap-side. At John Cover's death in 1823 the balance in the bank was about £500, and about £2,500 was outstanding to them,¹ while stock in hand was worth in the region of £1,300, including over £80 worth of wine!² Property was also held, including eight cottages built by the firm and let for just over 12/- weekly.³ With rents paid by working-class tenants in the eighteen twenties around 3/- to 4/-, it would seem unlikely that these places were for them. Although the firm had been engaged in cottage building, thus contravening Burton's second classification, it had never engaged in speculative house-building for the working class.

The small speculator seems to have been the man most involved in low-cost housing. Burton described his operations⁴ as did Peek and Hall, as a process whereby the builder took land at ground rent, usually for a peppercorn sum during the first twelve months which obviated the pressing need for capital. Four or five houses were constructed in that time, which were sold, leased or mortgaged to obtain funds to clear debts from merchants or the freeholder.⁵ The net result was that the builder either made great profits or went bankrupt. Nineteen out of twenty were said to go insolvent in Liverpool in the eighteen thirties,⁶ a period when much speculative build-

1. Inventory of Stock in Trade, book debts etc., taken 14 May 1823, Cover and Lawrence, p. 66 (Guildhall manuscript 7,379).

2 Ibid. p. 50.

3 Ibid. p. 53.

4 Evidence of T. Burton to S.C. on Manufactures, Commerce and Shipping P.P. 1833, VI, Q. 1,691.

5 Peek and Hall, op. cit. p. 230.

6 Evidence of J. Stewart to S.C. on Manufactures, Commerce and Shipping P.P. 1833, VI, Q. 4,822.

ing was also in progress on the southern side of the Thames.¹ Even by late in the century small firms still seem to have predominated. 161 out of 936 firms engaged in housebuilding in south London in 1880 built only one house, and 83 per cent were responsible for less than 12 each, in total accounting for more than half the new houses built.²

Although some larger firms existed, at least by the beginning of the twentieth century,³ their overall influence was still restricted, or they were concerned with the more secure artisan market. It was the small firm that dominated the supply of working-class housing. As demand grew so the capacity of the industry was increased by newcomers chancing their arm on their own account. This multiplication of small firms could be expected to have led to hold-ups in the innovation of new techniques. Traditional methods were preferred since capital was lacking to institute any new alternatives. The really successful probably tried to move to more secure building operations, leaving the field in turn to more newcomers.

The small man working in such conditions was not the best protector of standards for it was in his interest solely to maximise profits, as was the case with the landlord. Nor were they likely to innovate, so new types of material were slow to

1 Evidence of T. Burton to S.C. on Manufactures, Commerce and Shipping P.P. 1833, VI, Q. 1,694.

2 Dyos, op. cit. (1952), p. 379; and see Dyos, op. cit. (1961), p. 125 for activity in Camberwell 1878-80.

3 Warner Estate Company was building about 150 houses per year in the early twentieth century; it expected to put up 300 in 1902, mainly for artisans. Evidence of C. Warner to City and N.E. Suburban Railway Bill H. of L.S.C. 25 April 1902.

take a hold, and brick, tile and slate remained the principal forms of cladding till after the First World War, and even through the interwar period. A poem concerning Sir Robert McAlpine and his championing of the cause of concrete¹ is remarkable for the novelty of its subject matter, but concrete remained a novelty for housebuilding. The industry was in a very competitive situation, especially in the speculative housing market. The main source of hope for rapid improvement due to the interference of man rather than the economic laws of supply, demand, costs and returns lay not with the builder, but in the shape of government intervention, which made little impact before World War I.

The supply side of housing gives an impression of the dominance of the open market, and very few changes in building practice, and certainly no revolutionary ones. The industry was protected by natural barriers from outside competition, and showed little sign of progress. Any improvement on the supply side could only be expected to have been slow in coming.

1 Childers, op. cit. pp. 67-8.

C H A P T E R

F O U R

RURAL HOUSING CONDITIONS

In this second half of the thesis, the expected developments in changes in standards are compared with the actual results, as far as these can be ascertained. In the case of rural housing, therefore, what is anticipated from the examination of supply and demand, is that rural depopulation played a decisive role on the demand side, leading to the possibility of relatively rapid improvements within certain time periods. principally the eighteen seventies and eighteen eighties. In order to test this out, the condition of rural housing about 1840 is considered, and used as a basis for later comparison, to see if, or to what extent, any improvements occurred.

"... a glimpse of whitewashed walls, ... (a) line of creeper bound cottages ... Here and there rustic beehives (giving a total appearance of a) little nook shut in on almost every side by orchards."¹

This romantic vision was not all it seemed, for when the author, Francis George Heath, penetrated the vision, he found abject poverty and misery, a leaking roof, broken window panes,

1 F.G. Heath, British Rural Life and Labour (1911), p. 181 onwards. Substantially quoted in J. Burnett, Plenty and Want (1968), pp. 149-50.

and heaps of rages in use as bedding in two of the bedrooms. The external appearance hid more than it disclosed. The immediate problem is to penetrate such visions and obtain a relatively objective view of rural standards based on consistent criteria. The method adopted here is to consider such factors as numbers per house, the number of rooms per dwelling, the size of those rooms, the method of construction and materials used in construction, siting and sanitation, and wherever possible something of the fitments and furnishings which transformed houses into homes.

Low-cost materials were a major determinant of quality and, as a result of imperfect transport facilities, they were very localised as was true also of styles of building. The more acute roof angles of Derbyshire cottages had as one of their functions the lessening of pressure on the old clay, mud or turf walls which were generally used to support them.¹ Such regional diversity showed itself in ways other than style and materials used. It was also evident in the number of rooms in each dwelling.

Concern over room numbers had a moral basis as much as being for the physical well-being of the inhabitants. The fear of incest was greater than that of overcrowding. W.H. Newnham, commenting on three-bedroomed cottages, bemoaned the fact that since it was usual to take in a lodger, the result was that:

"There are a few instances in this union where the employers of labour have erected a better description of cottage containing three bed-rooms ... with the laudable intention of creating greater habits of delicacy ... the mere construction of the cottage will not produce the desired effect; the prospect of obtaining a lodger is too great a temptation." ²

1 'Cottage - Thatching', The Penny Magazine of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, Vol. 9, 1840, p. 93.

2 Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, p. 88.

Even with more room there was overcrowding, since lodgers, paying 9d to 1s per week, helped families to meet their rent payments. Again the underlying economics come to the surface. To the individual family it was these economic factors rather than moral ones that determined their actions.

The Definition of Rural Dwellings

While it is somewhat difficult to distinguish between urban and rural areas, especially where the two merge, most general classifications appear to rely on a numerical basis. The Census Commissioners suggested that a rural population was that inhabiting:

"... detached houses, the villages, and small towns without markets."¹

Since a numerical basis was easier, however, they then termed places with 2,000 inhabitants or more urban, while those with lesser concentrations were considered to be rural. By 1851, on this basis, England and Wales had 8,936,800 rural dwellers and 8,990,809 inhabitants of urban areas. Before this date rural inhabitants had always exceeded those in urban areas.²

The problem of defining rural inhabitants is not completely solved by adopting the census definition, since even the commissioners were unsure how much their definitions had changed over time. The change which took place between the Census of 1871 and that of 1881 was so radical that the figures are not comparable in any meaningful fashion.³ Regardless of

1 Census of Great Britain, 1851, Population Tables 1 Vol. II (Command 1632) (1852), Appendix, p. xlvi.

2 Ibid. table xxiii.

3 Rowntree and Kendall, op. cit. p. 15.

the problems of definition it is apparent that up to the middle of the nineteenth century the majority of the population were used to dwelling in rural areas and their experience is of immediate importance in assessing the overall situation. By the second half of the nineteenth century, there was still a substantial minority of people living in rural areas and only late in the century did a generation appear, the majority of whom had known nothing other than an urban environment. Before 1870 or 1880 the standards of rural dwellings would therefore be those by which urban housing was judged by its inhabitants.

If a definition of rural areas is fraught with difficulty, so is a definition of rural people. Agriculture is often equated with rural, but even some farm-workers were themselves town dwellers, living in those places with populations of 2,000 or more. For whatever reason, where the farm-workers lived in speculatively-built cottages in large villages, their housing conditions were among the worst in the country, all crushed together despite lower land costs than in urban centres.¹ Nor were rural areas devoid of industrial sites. This was particularly true of pit-villages which had to be set up wherever coal seams were to be found, and which were often endowed with poor housing even late in the century.² The situation was made

1 7th Report of the Medical Officer of the Privy Council on the State of Public Health P.P. 1865, XXVI, p. 11.

2 These areas posed problems which remained into the twentieth century. The development of a mining village in Skelmersdale in the eighteen seventies led to a sudden demand following the opening of the pits, and the consequent erection of many terraces of two-roomed cottages built to a very low standard of building. Cited as a problem by F. Langsbeth-Thompson, Outline Plan for Merseyside 1944 Non-Parliamentary Paper, Ministry of Town Planning, (1945), p. 24.

even less clear-cut by the fact that a number of the rural-dwellers were dependent upon some form of industrial work, perhaps on a part-time domestic basis. Even where the Census attempts to distinguish between those engaged primarily in agricultural activity and those in handicraft or manufacturing employment of one sort or another, the results are not very satisfactory. Much of the problem rests upon how to classify those who were engaged in support tasks of one sort or another. The service sector provided employment for an important part of the rural population, no less than for the urban one. This problem is compounded by the lack of uniformity adopted by the enumerators in their classification. As a result those classed as other than primarily dependent upon agriculture or manufacturing could far exceed the combined totals of those who were.

Neither the size of the settlement nor the occupation of its inhabitants provide a clear basis for definition. A clear geographic division cannot be made, nor does a looser definition such as that of the Census Commissioners cited above¹ lead to anything useful. Such definitions as an urban area is composed of:

"An aggregation of dwellings within a narrow compass, whether constituted as a municipality or not, and whether under several authorities or one; but above all, a market for the supply of surrounding districts."²

cannot be strictly followed except with difficulty. For reasons of simplicity it is convenient to adopt some numerical

1 See above, p. 179.

2 T.A. Welton, 'On the Distribution of Population in England and its Progress in the Period of Ninety Years from 1801-1891', Journal of the Royal Statistical Society Vol. LXIII (1900), p. 527.

limit, realizing that this will inevitably include a spectrum of people who were dependent for their livelihood upon non-agricultural activities. The way in which these people's housing is to be examined has already been outlined; the first and most important criterion to be considered is that of the number of rooms per house.

Early Standards : Numbers of Rooms

Rural housing standards were far from uniform over the whole country in the late eighteen thirties. One of the most notable features is the widespread existence of one-roomed dwellings, with the northernmost counties, Northumberland and Durham, as their area of greatest concentration. In these two counties, together with their western neighbours Cumberland and Westmorland, the cottages were said to be rarely other than of one room:

"In the rural districts, the cottages of the greatest proprietors have rarely more than one single room for every purpose. In the pit-rows and in towns they have nominally two rooms, but even there the inhabitants are accustomed to live and sleep (irrespective of sexes) in the same room."¹

In having a high incidence of one-roomed dwellings these northern areas exhibited greater similarity with Scotland than with the rest of England and Wales. 226,723 of Scotland's 666,786 "houses" in 1861 were of one room.² Twenty years earlier they probably formed a major portion of the total stock. Only one other part of Britain exhibited anything more than isolated examples of this form of accommodation. This was

1 Report of Sir John Walsham, Assistant Poor Law Commissioner, in Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, p. 415.

2 Begg, op. cit. p. 65.

north Wales, of which William Day, an Assistant Poor Law Commissioner, wrote that out of a total of 17 unions on which reports had been sent to him, 14 had examples of one-roomed cottages, six of them containing many such dwellings. The major sources of one-roomed dwellings would appear to be the periphery of the country, to both north and west. A few occurrences of such accommodation were noted elsewhere, many in some parts of Shropshire but few in other parts,¹ in Worcestershire,² Somerset, Dorset,³ Norfolk and Suffolk.⁴ Most, if not all, counties seem to have been able to provide examples of this basic dwelling form in the late eighteen thirties and early eighteen forties.

They were not, however, the principal type of rural dwelling over the whole country at this time. In Norfolk and Suffolk they only occurred "here and there", and it was reckoned unusual for them to house more than two people when they were found, so that they were not unduly overcrowded. It would seem relatively safe to assume that they were widespread in their occurrence, and formed a major proportion of rural dwellings in the northernmost counties, and parts of north Wales, although this cannot be quantified in an exact manner.

Two-roomed houses, either of two storeys or with both rooms on the same level, were also a widespread phenomenon.

1 Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, p. 227.

2 Report of Sir Edmund Head, in Ibid. pp. 104-5.

3 Sanitary Report H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVI, p. 10.

4 Report of Edward Twisleton, Assistant Poor Law Commissioner, in Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, p. 134.

A large part of the west Midlands and Wales, including Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Shropshire, Worcestershire, Monmouthshire, Brecknock and Radnor commonly relied on two-roomed dwellings for a major portion of their housing stock, whereas one-roomed tenancies were a rarity.¹

A considerable proportion of the rural population of Norfolk and Suffolk, lived in one-up/one-down houses of two rooms,² examples of which were to be found elsewhere, although some of the cases cited for Northumberland were on the estates of the Greenwich hospital not in the normal villages or built by speculators.³ In fact the quality of these estate cottages was somewhat above that to be found generally in the north-east at this time, being built of stone properly worked, with Welsh slate for the roofs.⁴

Two-roomed dwellings were generally to be found also in the eastern Midlands, in Devon, Cornwall,⁵ Sussex and Kent, although in particular areas the dominant form was of three, rather than two, rooms. The larger houses were apparently built on a two rooms upstairs/one room downstairs basis, with scullery or pantry attached.⁶ Local differences as well as regional differences could, and did, occur. Even in the north, around Penrith in Cumberland, three-roomed dwellings were to be found, although they were claimed to be well above the ave-

1 Report of Sir Edmund Head in Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, p. 107.

2 Report of Sir Edward Twisleton, Assistant Poor Law Commissioner, in Ibid. p. 134.

3 J. Grey, 'On the Building of Cottages for Farm Labourers', Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society Vol. 6 (1845), p. 239.

4 Ibid. p. 244.

5 Sanitary Report H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVI, p. 9.

6 Report of Edward Carleton Tufnell, in Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, p. 44.

rage for the district.¹

Perhaps some of the best conditions in rural areas at this time were found in parts of Radnorshire, Breconshire and Herefordshire. Here the two-up/one-down type of three-roomed dwelling was said to predominate. Tenants in these areas also had the benefit of gardens ranging from one-eighth to one-quarter of an acre in size,² a benefit not always to be found in rural areas.

Four-roomed dwellings seem to have been very rare in the early nineteenth century, in any area. Some were just being built in Devon and Cornwall, although other new building was also said to be contributing to the stock of houses of an "inferior type".³

To summarise the position, rural housing for the working classes in the early nineteenth century was generally composed of two- and three-roomed dwellings in most counties. The only exceptions to this were those counties in the extreme north of the country and parts of Wales, where one-roomed dwellings were apparently very common, if not predominant. Elsewhere one-roomed cottages were to be found only in isolated pockets as was the case more generally with houses of four rooms or more.

Unfortunately a great deal of reliance must be placed upon the personal observations and statements of the various contributors to government reports for details of the early part of the century, since it is impossible to successfully quantify

1 Report of Sir John Walsham, in Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, p. 428.

2 Report of Sir Edmund Head, in Ibid. p. 107.

3 Sanitary Report H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVI, p. 7.

the situation. Most of the nineteenth century remains a mystery as far as quantified material is concerned, since the Census figures relating to the number of rooms per tenement only start in 1891. Even then, the 1891 and 1901 figures are admitted, by the Census Commissioners, to be of doubtful validity.¹

Source problems render absolute accuracy impossible, but it is possible to suggest some broad trends of housing experience and that standards varied within localities and over the country generally. Sweeping generalisations of the type made by J.F.C. Harrison that:

"The house of the Blades family was like all the houses of the agricultural labourers ..."²

cannot cover the whole variety which existed, particularly if the north-east is contrasted with the rest of the country. The apparent deficiencies of the north-east can, however, be mitigated somewhat if the questions of room sizes and the amount of living space per dwelling are considered.

Room Sizes

Modern standards are usually reckoned in Parker-Morris terms, The report of the committee chaired by him, in 1961, reckoned that the total floor space provided in a typical five-person local authority house was 900 square feet, including the space occupied by all general storage facilities.³ This

1 1911 Census Report (Cd. 6910) (1913), Vol. VIII, pp. vi and vii, the 1891 and 1901 figures are reckoned to understate the number of tenements containing four rooms or fewer.

2 J.F.C. Harrison, The Early Victorians 1832-1851 (1971), p. 63.

3 Ministry of Housing and Local Government, Houses for Today and Tomorrow (1961), paragraph 155, p. 33.

was for a five-roomed house of three bedrooms upstairs and two main rooms down. This classification is used here for illustrative, rather than comparative, purposes. The basis for comparison to determine if, and to what extent, improvement took place, must be that available to the nineteenth century working classes. By what standards did they judge their own accommodation? To decry late century housing by comparing it with modern standards is misleading and unrealistic.

Floor dimensions in the northern counties' one-roomed dwellings were somewhat larger than the multi-roomed cottages of both their neighbours and their southern counterparts. 24 feet by 16 constituted a typical size for the Gateshead area,¹ and more generally in the north-east. By comparison, the "above average" cottages on the Greenwich hospital estates were slightly smaller with rooms of 22 feet 6 inches by 15 feet.² This gave them a total floor space of 675 square feet. Whilst such isolated examples cause problems for the purpose of generalisation, they do suggest that individual sizes in "larger" houses may have been somewhat smaller than in the one-roomed dwellings. As larger dwellings become more general in the north-east, so room sizes were reduced. One-up/one-down houses built around Prudhoe, Northumberland, in the eighteen sixties, had main room dimensions of 16 feet 8 inches by 16 feet, with a small back addition scullery 4 feet square downstairs.³ Others built in the area at the same time were

1 Sanitary Report H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVI, pp. 22-3.

2 Grey, op. cit. p. 242. The downstairs height was given as 8 feet, the upstairs height as 6 feet 6 inches.

3 H.J. Hunter, 'Inquiry on the State of Dwellings of Rural Labourers', Appendix 6 of the 7th Report of the Medical Officer of Health to the Privy Council on the State of Public Health P.P. 1865, XXVI, p. 182.

said to have rooms measuring 16 feet square.¹

It begins to appear that the fewer the rooms a cottage contained, the larger the size each room was likely to be. As a result, the extra space available to inhabitants of multi-roomed dwellings may well not have been so great as would at first appear. In some ways with suitable partitioning it is possible to envisage a situation where the single room would enable more efficient use of what space was available. It would certainly represent the opportunity for a more flexible arrangement of space.

It is interesting to note that Scottish rooms were asserted to be generally larger than English ones.² Again the similarity between northern England and Scotland presents itself. Elsewhere in England it is certainly true that rooms were smaller in size. Bedfordshire afforded some examples of the smallest. The average was reckoned to be about 12 feet by 10 with some admitted to be much smaller.³ Major deviations from a fairly uniform size are exceptional. Between Bedfordshire and the northern counties, both geographically and in terms of room dimensions, lie the east Midlands, where a fairly typical three-roomed dwelling of the two-up/one-down variety was to be found. These had a sitting-room downstairs of 12 or 14 feet square which, together with a scullery, gave an overall dimension of 12 or 14 feet by 17 or 18 feet.⁴ Out of

1 H.J. Hunter, 'Inquiry on the State of Dwellings of Rural Labourers', Appendix 6 of the 7th Report of the Medical Officer of Health to the Privy Council on the State of Public Health P.P. 1865, XXVI, p. 183.

2 Board of Trade Report on Working Class Rents, Housing, and Retail Prices, In the Principal Industrial Towns of the United Kingdom P.P. 1908, CVII, p. 324.

3 7th Report of the Medical Officer of Health to the Privy Council on the State of Public Health P.P. 1865, XXVI, p. 147.

4 Report of Edward Senior, Assistant Poor Law Commissioner, in Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, p. 153.

this floor area had to come the upstairs bedrooms, giving something like 12 by 10 or 12 by 8 feet as likely, depending on how the stairs affected the overall floor space available.

Such dimensions appear fairly general, only those provided by philanthropically-motivated landlords were larger, and they were generally better all round. The diagrams on the following pages, of "model" cottages' ground plans, show what might have been achieved.

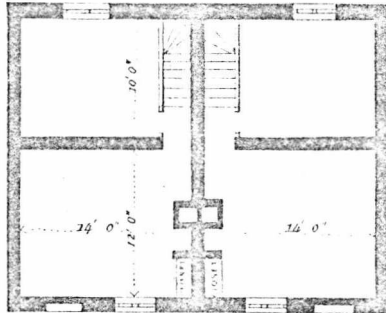
The Benyon de Beauvoir cottages have three rooms, on a one down/two up basis, the main downstairs room being 14 feet by 12, and the two upstairs 14 by 12 and about 11 by 10, since some space at the back was taken up by the staircase. Those built in pairs, incidentally, cost on average about £85 each to construct, or £170 for the pair.¹ This would have meant an annual rent of something like £8 - 10s - 0d to obtain a 10 per cent return gross. Actual rents were £3 - 3s - 0d,² or $3\frac{2}{3}$ per cent, hardly likely to set a speculator's eyes gleaming. Their high standard appears uneconomic, or at least non-commercial.

The illustration of the earlier model cottages built at Holkham in 1818 shows the very small sizes of third bedrooms when these were put in. Something of the order of 9 feet long by 5 feet wide at its smallest, and

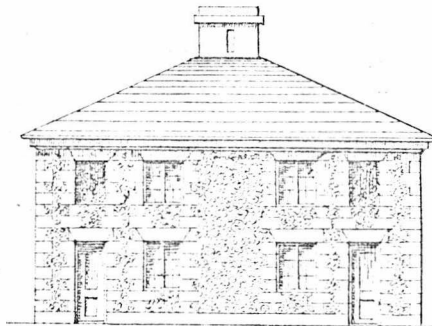
1 Sanitary Report H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVI, p. 266.

2 Report of Edward Twisleton, Assistant Poor Law Commissioner, in Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, between pp. 136-7.

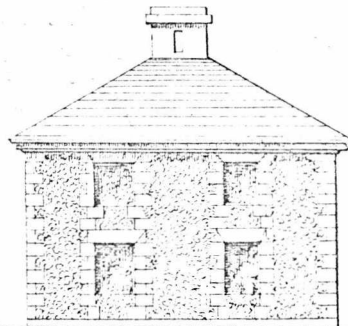
Plans of Cottages Built for Benyon de
Beauvoir at Culford, Suffolk ^{1.}



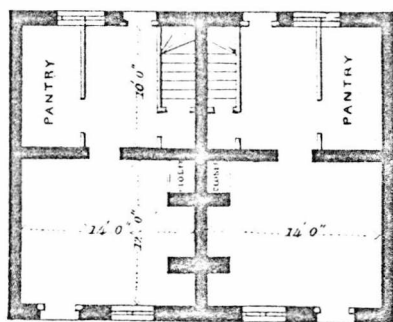
CHAMBER PLAN OF TWO COTTAGES



ELEVATION OF TWO COTTAGES



END ELEVATION.

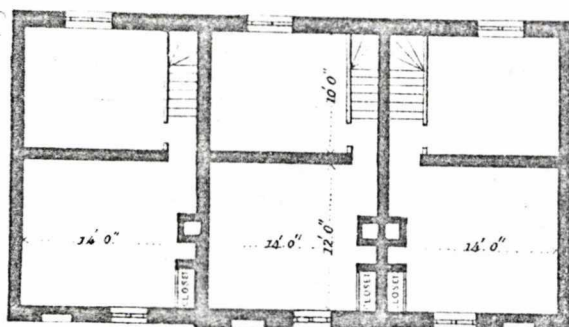


GROUND PLAN OF TWO COTTAGES

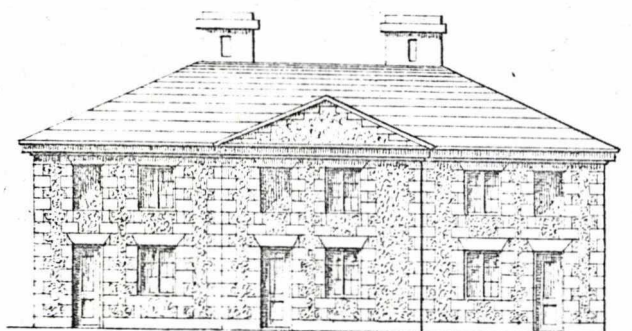
The whole Village, consisting of 50 Cottages, has been built in a similar style. Rent from £2 10' to £3 3'.

1. Local Reports H.of L. S.P. 1842, XXVII, between pp. 136-7.

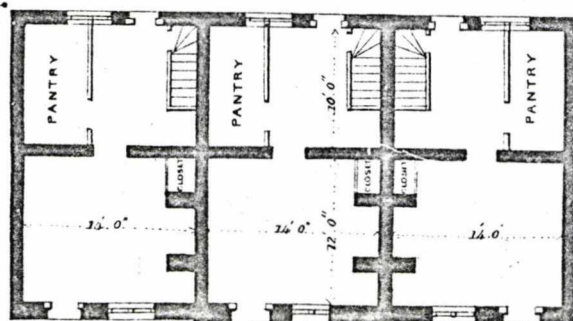
Plans and Elevations of Cottages built for Benyon de Beauvoir
at Culford, Suffolk ^{1.}



CHAMBER PLAN OF THREE COTTAGES.



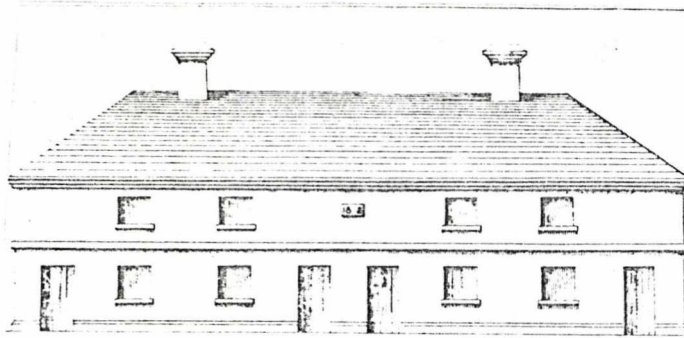
ELEVATION OF THREE COTTAGES



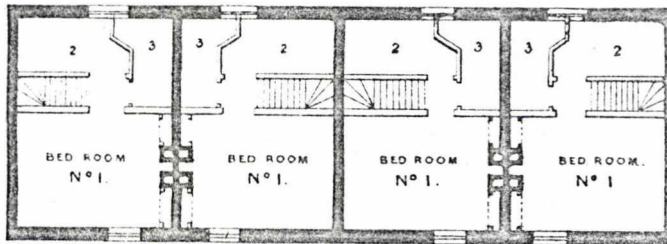
GROUND PLAN OF THREE COTTAGES.

1. Local Reports H. of L. S.P. 1842, XXVII, between pp. 136-7.

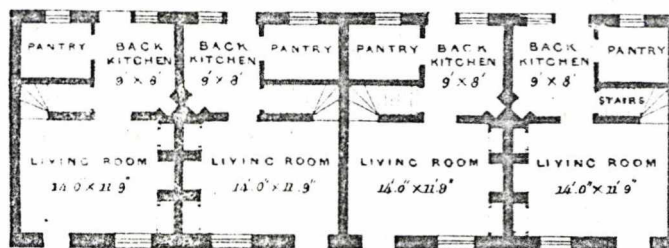
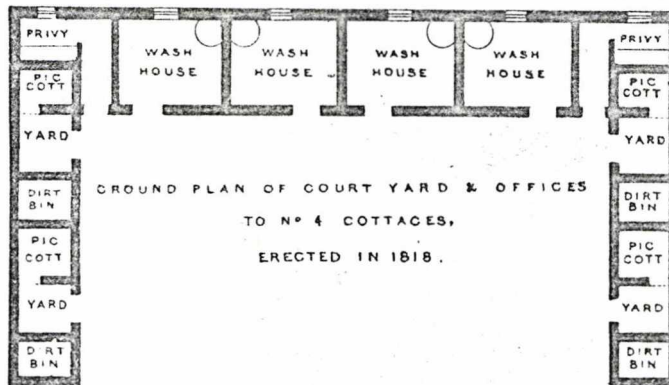
Plans of Cottages Built for the Earl of
Leicester at Holkham, Norfolk, 1818^{1.}



ELEVATION OF N° 4 COTTAGES, ERECTED IN 1818.



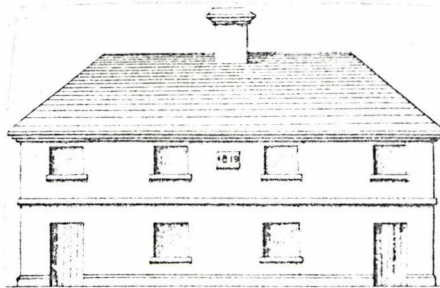
CHAMBER PLAN OF N° 4 COTTAGES, ERECTED IN 1818.



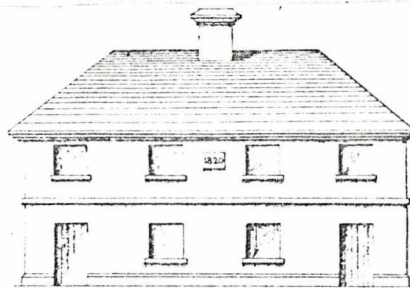
GROUND PLAN N° 4 COTTAGES, ERECTED IN 1818.

1. Local Reports H.of L. S.P. 1842, XXVII, between pp.136-7.

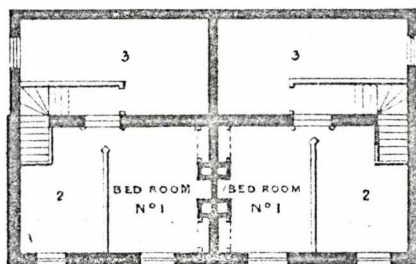
Cottages Built for the Earl of Leicester at
Holkham, Norfolk. 1819 and 1820¹.



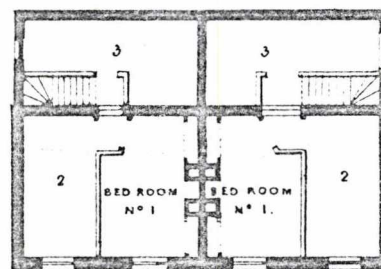
ELEVATION N°2 COTTAGES, ERECTED, 1819.



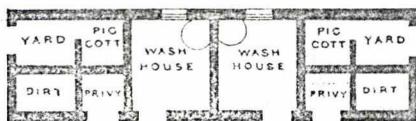
ELEVATION N°2 COTTAGES, ERECTED 1820.



CHAMBER PLAN N°2 COTTAGES, 1819.



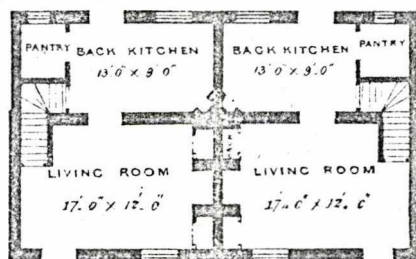
CHAMBER PLAN N°2 COTTAGES, 1820.



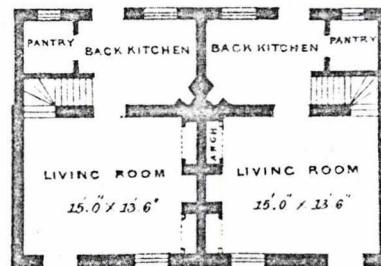
PLAN OF OFFICES N°2 COTTAGES, 1819.



PLAN OF OFFICES N°2 COTTAGES, 1820.



GROUND PLAN N°2 COTTAGES, 1819.



GROUND PLAN N°2 COTTAGES, 1820.

1. Local Reports H. of L. S.P., 1842, XXVII, between pp. 136-7

possibly 6 feet 6 inches at the window end seems likely in this case. It would almost certainly have been a more useful arrangement to have had one large back bedroom able to be divided by portable partitions if necessary, rather than to have a permanent dividing wall giving a room of such small dimensions.

A glance at plans for cottages on this estate in later years shows that the total amount of space available had increased, and the back kitchen was of much greater size. In fact the additional area nearly equalled that of the third bedroom in the 1818 cottages. The three bedrooms upstairs seem to have a rather more even allocation of space than before. Extra rooms did not necessarily give more living space. Two- or three-bedroomed model cottages typically contained some 600 square feet of floor space.¹ This was almost equal to that found in the one-bedroomed Greenwich hospital estate cottages, or about the same size as for the Midlands area three-roomed house.² It appears that only the exceptionally small southern cottages such as the Bedfordshire type and the single-room northern dwellings had living space much below an average of around 600 square feet, regardless of how many rooms were involved.

1 Duke of Bedford's Dorsetshire cottages, and those of a Mr Sturt. L.H. Ruegg, 'The Farming of Dorsetshire', Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society Vol. 16 (1855), pp. 443 and 445.

2 See above, pp. 187-8.

Little can really be added regarding the height of rooms. These varied from case to case, but do not appear to have greatly differed from one area to another. A suggested common sort of upper and lower limit to cover most cottages would be of the order of from 8 feet down to about 6 feet 6 inches. The amount of information is so scarce as to make any more exact judgment difficult, if not impossible.

Materials Used

The diversity in type of materials used is as great as that experienced in any other feature of rural housing in the late eighteen thirties. The way in which the immediate decision was taken as to which materials were to be used can be illustrated by a quotation from the Penny Magazine that:

"In England, cottages are built of the material which the immediate neighbourhood supplies"¹

As a result regionalism was a notable feature of this aspect of housing quality. More important still than regional diversity is the effect the predominant use of local materials had upon standards.

The likely materials are demonstrated by the map on the following page which outlines the areas of incidence of the major building stones and other materials. It shows the general incidence of various types of stone, particularly in the north and to the west, with generally isolated outcrops of slate there too, although with a gap to the north-east. This position alters as attention moves south and east. Here the stone deposits vary both in type and quantity, and by the time

1 'Cottage-Thatching', The Penny Magazine of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge Vol. 9 (1840), p. 93.

FIGURE 4.1

The Distribution of Building Materials. ^{1.}



Slate, Granite.



Sandstone.



*Older Rocks and
Coarser Stone.



Plaster and Flint,
from Chalk.



Brick and Tile from
Clays.



Oolitic best quality
Limestone.

* This includes gritstone, old red sandstone, and carboniferous limestones etc., some of which are used for building.

East Anglia, Dorset, Hampshire, Kent, Sussex and Surrey are reached, stone deposits are a rarity. Thus greater reliance had to be placed on the use of brick from clay, or plaster and flint from chalk. These latter materials are those derived in the twentieth century but this degree of processing was not always possible in the eighteenth century.

Transport costs were the reason for the reliance on local materials, rendering it impossible to economically bring such bulky commodities from any great distance, even though the cash cost could be lower in rural areas than in urban ones.¹ Farm carts were employed to transport building materials, when not in use on the farms, at little apparent cost to their owner. The anecdotal tales of cartage included one of a 14-year old boy in charge of a two-wheeled cart, pulled by an ass, which conveyed six hundredweight of slates 35 miles. The total journey, out and back, took 44 hours to cover the 70 miles, the ass fed on the roadside verges and only cost half-toll at the turnpikes, so that the overall costs of cartage were said to be "little or nothing".² The imputed costs, however, even in this case were not inconsiderable.

The use of slates was not widespread by 1840. Movements between sources such as Carnarvonshire and even relatively close areas of demand, such as Radnorshire, came slowly

"owing to the improvement of the roads ... and (it) is found in the long run to be the cheapest material of the kind,"³

-
1. Rev. Copinger-Hill, 'On the Construction of Cottages', Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society Vol. 4 (1843), p. 357.
 2. Quoted in a footnote, Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, p. 109.
 3. Ibid. p. 109.

but even so remained confined to particular localities. Elsewhere, such as when Welsh slate was used in the construction of Northumbrian cottages,¹ it was the exception rather than the rule.

Where breakdowns of building costs were provided, these were usually said to be exclusive of cartage. The Greenwich hospital estates cottages put the onus of such costs onto the original tenants, not the landlord.² Elsewhere the degree of proximity to materials could alter the price of brick and tile cottages by anything up to 20 per cent.³ Bricks, which formed something like half the total costs of small cottages, were the obvious drawback. They were bulky and relatively low-cost items, meaning that transport, especially over land for any distance, represented a high proportion of total costs. The importance of nearby brickyards was therefore paramount. A glance at the map reveals the clay bands near to the towns and villages devoid of large stone deposits, mainly in the southern half of the country. However, supplies could well vary even between different parts of the same district. Much depended on how nature had set the pattern.

The diversity of materials employed in construction can also be gauged by the number of craftsmen enumerated in various counties in the 1831 Census. The major contributors to walling were masons and wallers in stone areas, and bricklayers elsewhere. While these occupations included some men not engaged in housebuilding at all, their relative numbers give

1 Grey, op. cit. p. 244.

2 Ibid. p. 243.

3 Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, p. 115.

an indication of how particular areas made use of specific materials. Masonry was not a strong trade in the southern and London regions of the country, as can be gauged from the numbers employed in Essex (61),¹ Surrey (203),² and Kent (240).³ In other parts of the country their numbers were strong, in such geographically-diverse examples as Northumberland with 1,157,⁴ and Devon with 3,170.⁵ Where mason and wallers were strong in numbers, bricklayers were weak, and vice versa, among the above counties. Essex for example had 1,082 bricklayers in contrast to its 61 wallers and masons.⁶ Among several counties which had a more even distribution was Lancashire with 1,785 bricklayers and 3,203 wallers and masons,⁷ suggesting varied use of materials within the county, a suggestion backed by reconsidering the map which shows various types of stone available in the north, and clay in the south of the county near the sites of major towns such as Liverpool.

Walling provided the best chance to make use of stone, where it was available. A comparison can be made in this case between Derbyshire and Yorkshire, with good supplies of stone, including workable sandstone and limestone, and the poorly-endowed Kent and Essex.⁸ Stone deposits in both southern

1 1831 Census Report P.P. 1833, XXXI, p. 198.

2 1831 Census Report P.P. 1833, XXXII, p. 664.

3 1831 Census Report P.P. 1833, XXXI, p. 282.

4 Ibid. p. 474.

5 Ibid. p. 139.

6 Ibid. p. 198.

7 Ibid. p. 306.

8 The lack of employment for masons and wallers suggests this.

counties were limited in variety and distribution. Kent was relatively better-off in the sense that some supplies of flints were available and widely used to build cottages, some of which still stand today. Of the stone deposits, perhaps the most used were Wealden sandstone and Kentish ragstone, to be found on the North Downs. Other types found in isolated deposits were little-utilised. Wealden sandstone was reckoned to have been employed for building anything from cottages to castles. The building of castles or monuments of this, or any other stone directly aided cottage building, as the rubble from quarrying or construction provided a cheap form of infill material. This was used for walls in much the same way as flint, often with the relatively scarce brick, or dressed stone, placed at the points of stress or wear. In general, though, Kent was poorly-endowed with natural building stone compared with Derbyshire or Yorkshire. Within Kent, in the eastern part of the county, there were virtually no useable deposits at all. This was also true for virtually the whole of Essex, where stone was so lacking that little notice was taken of any deposits either by nineteenth century writers or by more modern authors, including the source of this information.¹

The possible alternatives in areas with little stone were relatively unprocessed "natural" materials, or the more processed "manufactured" ones such as brick. In the case of many of the southern counties including Kent and Essex there was a widespread use of clay, chalk and basic materials of an unprocessed nature. These types of materials, however, had their

1 B.C.G. Shore, Stones of Britain (1957), pp. 55-70.

advantages for if one observer is to be believed, stone was poor on two counts. It was not impervious, and sucked up moisture from the ground, and it produced condensation if the inside of the cottage was warmed, while the outside remained cold.¹ Comments on stone and other materials included:

"Wood and wattled houses such as our forefathers built, are the driest and warmest of all; brick is inferior in both these requisites of a comfortable house; but stone as it is necessarily employed for cottages, is the very worst material possible for the purpose."²

Such suggestions may possibly have an emotive desire to ensure the retention of some traditional materials, but they also have a basis of rationality, if the tendency for stone and brick to absorb water is considered. Properly finished, the wattle-and-daub wall could ensure less water retention, better insulation and greater warmth than either some types of stone or brick.³ This depended to a great extent on the type of material and its quality, and the method of construction. If too much vegetable-matter was used to bind a mud wall, this could decompose, leaving the wall exceedingly porous and any

1 Sanitary Report H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVI, p. 268.

2 Ibid. pp. 267-8.

3 Stone said to be "rustic" but always damp. 7th Report of the Medical Officer of Health to the Privy Council on the State of Public Health P.P. 1865, XXVI, p. 139.

A common brick could absorb one pint of water, resulting in a damp wall requiring a fire to keep the room healthy, warm and avoid condensation. Evidence to the R.C. on the Housing of the Working Classes P.P. Vol. II 1884-5, XXXI, Q. 13,945.

An external brick wall one brick thick, taking 12,000 bricks to construct could contain some 1,500 gallons of water when saturated. The softer and thereby more workable stones had varying degrees of absorbancy and were often more retentive of moisture than common bricks. E. Chadwick, 'Dwellings for the Poor Characterized by Cheapness Combined with the Conditions Necessary for Health', p. 260, in Reports on the Paris Universal Exhibition by the Executive Commissioner P.P. 1867-8, Sess. III, XXX, Pt. II.

thatch in contact with it would decay rapidly.¹

The late eighteen thirties saw much use of mud, half sun-baked clay, and chalk in the south in contrast to stone in the north. Different types of mud cottage originated in particular areas with local names for their mode of construction. "Wattle-and-daub", "cob", "mud-and-stud" or "clot-and-clay" were all descriptions of mud cottages from different parts of the country. The materials were basically the same as those known to the ancient Egyptians and Greeks, and methods had changed little since that time too.

The "clot-and-clay" method came from south and west Lancashire and involved the use of a wooden framework, infilled with wattled shed work, which was then covered by clay and wet straw.² The walls were rammed down between a shuttering of two parallel rows of poles lined with planks, which when removed were used for joists and rafters.³ In Devon, the "cob" walls were built up in layers piled one on top of the other, without shuttering, each layer being trimmed and dried before the next was placed upon it.⁴

Such methods and materials were used in the construction of cottages in several counties including Devon, Somerset, Norfolk, Suffolk, Worcestershire and Lancashire. The building could be quite substantial, and lasted for hundreds of years

1 Sanitary Report H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVI, p. 268.

2 G.A. Dean, Essays on the Construction of Farm Buildings and Labourers' Cottages (1849), Essay II, p. 6.

3 Ibid. p. 7.

4 H. Tanner, 'The Farming of Devonshire', Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society Vol. 9 (1848), p. 492.

if looked after.¹ There were basically four categories of mud construction. These were: "cob" construction, which used no framework or shuttering, shuttered or form-worked "pise de terre", hand-moulded earth blocks of the "adobe" type and mud bricks formed in a mould and air- or sun-dried.² All of these variations were to be found in one part of the country or another.

Variety in construction was not confined to mud cottages. Stone areas also employed many different methods, the major distinction being between those areas which made use of some form of timber framework and infills of rubble, mortar, turf, furze or whatever was available, and those that did not. In these latter areas either stone was plentiful, or timber not so. Where stone could be obtained easily little panel filling seems to have been done.³

The Canon of Durham described such cottages in the border counties as:

"Built of rubble or unhewn stone, loosely cemented; and from age, or from badness of the materials, the walls look as if they would scarcely hold together. The chimneys have lost half their original height and lean on the roof with fearful gravitation. The rafters are evidently rotten and displaced; and the thatch yawning to admit the wind and wet in some parts, and in all parts utterly unfit for its original purpose of giving protection from the weather, looked more like the top of a dunghill than of a cottage."⁴

From the illustration on the following page the tumbledown

1 Evidence to the R.C. on the Housing of the Working Classes Vol. II P.P. 1884-5, XXXI, Q. 17,337. Also report of Alfred Power, Assistant Poor Law Commissioner, in Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, pp. 135 and 136; and report of Sir Edmund Head, in Ibid. p. 104.

2 N. Davey, A History of Building Materials (1961), p. 21.

3 Bowley, op. cit. (1960), p. 56.

4 Sanitary Report H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVI, p. 22.

The Good and the Bad ^{1.}



GROUP OF NORTHUMBRIAN COTTAGES COPIED FROM REV^d D^r GILLY



GROUPS OF DOUBLE COTTAGES AT HARLAXTON



1. Sanitary Report H. of L. S.P. 1842, XXVI, facing p. 266

appearance is obvious, as is the small size of the openings for windows and doors. The overall contrast with the stone cottages at Harlaxton is a stark one, only the latter have their rubble or flint protected at points of wear by a dressed stone edging. The other model cottages, the Norfolk ones illustrated above,¹ provide an example of rendered or stucco fronts, which gave them a relatively smooth finish and added to the appearance of a somewhat Italianate design. The numbers of such well-built cottages, however, were far below the number of those similar to the tumbledown illustration.

The eighteen forties did see some signs of change for the better in Northumberland at least. Near Alnwick, it was said, while cottages with rough walls of lime and stone covered with thatch, together with an earth floor and perhaps one or two flags near the hearth, represented the average, more of blue slate, plastered side walls and flagstone floors had been built of late.²

The variety of materials used in rural cottages in the early years of the century is typified by the situation in Norfolk and Suffolk. These counties had cottages of lath and plaster, the dominant materials also in Essex till late in the century, of clay, of stone (near quarries), and of brick, all with permutations of thatch, tile or slate roofs. In general, even at this early date, the majority of cottages in Suffolk and Norfolk were reckoned to be built in brick and tile.³ If this were true of the whole country, observers must have noted

1 See above, pp. 192-3.

2 Report of Sir John Walsham, Assistant Poor Law Commissioner, in Local Reports 1842 H. of L.S.P., XXVII, p. 419.

3 Report of Edward Twisleton, in *Ibid.* pp. 135-136.

the use of mud as it was the more remarkable, rather than the general. However, it seems unlikely to have been a national feature.¹

Other possible constructions were also numerous. Wattle and plaster over "blackpoles",² so named because of their being taken from coppices after standing over a fall of underwood and obtaining a dark colouring, lath and plaster and various wooden constructions were all used where they were locally available. Relative costs played a part in determining what was used. The blackpole cottages were common in one part of Hereford since they cost only £35 to construct compared to £60 for stone.

With no innovation in industries such as brick-making, as Professor Bowley has noted, the important semi-dry pressed Fletton brick industry was much restricted until the period after 1880,³ and difficulties with transport meant that traditional local materials continued to dominate for a considerable period. Only where a choice between them was possible without considerable expense did relative costs seem to play an immediate part in the decision.

A similar situation existed in the choice of roofing materials, with thatch the dominant form. While any vegetable-matter could be used, reeds were recommended, since they were more durable than straw,⁴ and were commonly used in areas such

1 e.g. Essex on this page, or more generally the prevalence of thatch as a roofing material.

2 Report of Sir Edmund Head, in Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842 P.P. XXVII, p. 108

3 Bowley, op. cit. (1960), p. 68.

4 'Cottage-Thatching', The Penny Magazine of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge Vol. 9 (1840), p. 100.

as Norfolk.¹ Some Irish cabins made use of turves, potato stalks or furze bushes,² which shows the wide variety of vegetable material that could be employed, if nothing else. The carriage of slates was viable particularly if water-borne. Thatch, however, seems to have maintained its grip until at least the last decade of the century. While liable to be a poor material unless properly laid, and well-maintained, it was initially the cheapest and most readily available form of roofing. Tiles, the other locally-available material, were in general heavy and relatively costly to replace if broken.³

Nor were slate and tile free from the criticisms aimed at stone and brick. The Rev. Copinger-Hill, on slate and tiles, said:

"... no-one who has not experienced it can conceive the discomforts of a cottage covered with tile or slate. Ask the inhabitants, and they will tell you what they suffer from heat in the summer and cold in the winter."⁴

A thatch roof, he went on to say, would last thirty years or more, provided the straw was flailed and not machine-threshed. The reverend gentleman appears to have been prejudiced against novel methods which were affecting rural life, and in particular cottage construction.

Tiles did have an advantage over thatch, however, in that a lower pitch to the roof could be used because they were ligh-

1 7th Report of the Medical Officer of Health to the Privy Council on the State of Public Health P.P. 1865, XXVI, p. 237.

2 'Cottage-Thatching', The Penny Magazine of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge Vol. 9 (1840), p. 94.

3 Dean, op. cit. Essay I, p. 8.

4 Rev. Copinger-Hill, op. cit. pp. 357-8.

ter than a similar area of thatch, an advantage which slates also had over tiles. This meant less timber was needed in the roof, partly because of the lower pitch and partly because of the lesser need for support. Consequently slates led to lower timber costs. Despite this, thatch appears to remain dominant till late in the century except where slate or tiles were readily and cheaply available as alternatives. Tastes probably played a part in this situation.

The general impression is that much depended on the availability of materials; the map of stone and other available resources outlines what was most likely to be used. Change depended upon the supply of alternatives and the state of transport, as one writer put it:

"But for tolerable roads, tiles and slates, or the best materials for building, would be unattainable in a remote district, and the labourer's cottage must continue to be roofed with the material most accessible on the spot, in lieu of some more weather proof covering."¹

Siting and Sanitation

These two factors are closely linked, drainage depending upon nature and the question of siting thus becoming a crucial one in this regard. Land could be expected to have been cheaper and more available in rural areas than in urban ones, but what is regularly found is that collections of speculatively-built cottages were pushed together, much as in some of the larger towns.² There were even cases of rural back-to-backs

1 Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, p. 109.

2 7th Report of the Medical Officer of Health to the Privy Council on the State of Public Health P.P. 1865, XXVI, p. 11.

being constructed.¹

The size of the overall plot determined whether or not a worthwhile garden, an important supplement for the rural labourer, could be attached. In the eighteen thirties few of the newly-built cottages in Somerset had land attached to them.² Many appear to conform to Richard Morgan's description of rural Monmouth in the eighteen forties where many cottages were:

"built on waste land, and by the roadside."³

which resulted in problems of an acute nature. With no flooring, those built in damp areas were quickly in bad condition. Marshy ground seems to have been used generally as the sites for cottages,⁴ while the external problems of such places in Dorsetshire were compounded by their proximity to cesspools and other accumulations of filth.⁵

The normal site was an area which otherwise would have been of little or no account, or was determined by an attempt to save money through using an existing building to form one side of the cottage.⁶ That this might be a pig-stye was of little account, although it was recognised that this might mean problems for the inhabitants. It seems not to have

1 W. Ranger, Report to the General Board of Health on a Preliminary Inquiry into the Sanitary Condition of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Cheshunt (1849), p. 4.

2 S.C. Appointed to Inquire into the Present State of Agriculture and Persons Employed in the Same P.P. 1833, V, Qq. 4,796-7.

3 Report of Richard Morgan, Relieving Officer of Newland district, to Sir Edmund Head, in Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, p. 113.

4 Report of Alfred Power, in Ibid. pp. 271-2.

5 Sanitary Report H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVI, p. 9.

6 Grey, op. cit. p. 237. Note, this practice would render overall levels in construction much more difficult to achieve than building from scratch with no existing building to join on to.

greatly bothered even the inhabitant himself, at least not to the point where frequent complaints were ever recorded. Where the site's surface was only just above the water-table, drainage and sewerage were made even more difficult.

All of these factors were, however, only part of the sanitary aspect of the quality of rural housing. Important contributions also came from the purity of water supply, and the efficient ventilation of dwellings, neither of which seem to have been particularly good for the earlier part of the century.¹

Siting, and the quality of sanitation, drainage and water supply were so bad that outbreaks of cholera were only to be expected.² It was not thought to be so necessary to improve rural conditions, since population pressure was less acute than in urban areas. Far lower standards than existing knowledge could provide were the result. While earth closets in place of water closets, well-constructed cesspools and natural drainage would have been satisfactory in rural areas, too great a reliance on nature with insufficient space to allow it to work normally was a formula for disaster. Without sufficient space and time, nature could not provide a suitable system.

The question of sanitary conditions in general is probably one of the areas which has received most attention already,³

1 Report of Mr Smith, Medical Officer to the Bromley Union, quoted by Edward Carleton Tufnell, in Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, p. 46.

2 General Board of Health Minute Book No. 1, entry for 28 June 1849, P.R.O. M.H. 5/1.

3 Prominent would be: R. Lambert, Sir John Simon 1816-1904, and English Social Administration (1963), and S.E. Finer, The Life and Times of Sir Edwin Chadwick (1952), among many others.

although little is said of the rural areas in the eighteen thirties and eighteen forties. Standards seem remarkably poor and much of the blame can be attributed to badly-sited cottages.

The other aspect of siting was the result of the closed and open parish system.¹ To the extent that labourers moved into the larger centres, for whatever reason, they suffered longer journey-to-work times, often far in excess of those endured by their counterparts in the large towns and cities.² The resulting concentration compounded the siting problems already set out.

The Early Rural Home : Numbers per
House, Furnishing and Fittings

Regional diversity is a continuing theme of rural conditions in the eighteen thirties. It is also found in the quantified evidence of the census returns, details of which can be found in the Appendices.³ In relative terms the four northernmost counties had large numbers of people per inhabited house. Northumberland and Durham were similar with just over six per house in the 1831 Census figures, while something over five people inhabited each house in Westmorland and Cumberland, the actual figures being 5.3 and 5.5 which would approximate to the national average for that date. The regional diversity observed here is, however, somewhat different to

1 See above, p. 80.

2 Shepherd, op. cit. p. 51. Some labourers faced daily journeys of four miles to and from work, or longer.

3 See below, Appendix 4A, p. 433.

that found in the number of rooms per house. Generally, the Midland counties have lower numbers per house than did either the north or south. Among the mainly rural counties in the south, Devon had more than six persons per house, and Sussex almost six on average. If the ten rural counties used previously¹ are considered alone, they range from Rutland's 4.9 per inhabited house to Suffolk's 5.9. Most are clustered just below the national average for 1831 of 5.6.

The eighteen thirties can be viewed as the last period of substantial population expansion in rural counties, and of any improvement principally resulting from an increasing supply. Only one county out of these ten, namely Rutland, shows higher numbers per inhabited house for 1841 than for 1831.² All the other nine show a decrease, with the modal figure for 1841 being five per inhabited house. The most remarkable change is visible in Suffolk, which on average had one fewer person per house by 1841.³ For these ten counties⁴ as a whole, the first forty years of the century had seen an average population increase of 54.1 per cent, an addition to inhabited house numbers of 76.5 per cent⁵ and a reduction in average numbers per house from 5.66 to 4.94.⁶

It is from about the late eighteen thirties therefore that

1 See above, p. 79.

2 See below, p. 433.

3 See below, p. 433.

4 Huntingdonshire, Rutland, Cambridgeshire, Herefordshire, Suffolk, Lincolnshire, Bedfordshire, Oxford, Norfolk and Wiltshire.

5 See below, p. 433 for figures from which these were computed.

6 See below, p. 433.

rural depopulation could be seen as an important factor. Before this date supply seems to have been increasing. For immediate purposes it is sufficient to note that substantial changes had been taking place in the period before the starting point of this thesis. While the figures used in this particular part of the study have some drawbacks, they are reliable enough to provide an idea of general trends, and when used in combination with other evidence, help to provide a clear picture of overall events. Quantitative evidence together with that of a literary nature can provide an effective combination.

The most extreme counterpart to the statistical evidence is the literary material relating to furnishings and fittings found in working-class housing. These helped to make the house a home, but unfortunately little evidence remains to discover what equipment was to be found inside homes at this time. The overall impression gained is one of simplicity where five to six strong wooden chairs, two or even three tables, a chest of drawers and sometimes a clock were the normal. The frills were to be found in the provision of candlesticks and pictures, favourite subjects being royalty, religion or allegorical topics.¹ This was in Norfolk while conditions elsewhere varied from Sussex cottages furnished with only a couple of tables, half a dozen chairs, a cupboard and all sorts of minor articles,² to the skilled north-east pit-man's house with its good feather bed, mattress, sheets, blankets, quilts and counter-

1 Report of Edward Twisleton, in Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, p. 139.

2 Report of Edward Carleton Tufnell, in *Ibid.* p. 38.

pane, plus hangings, foot-poles, mahogany double chest of drawers, a clock, looking-glass, half a dozen chairs, and other requisites, costing a total of between £20 to £40.¹

More generally people appeared willing to try to achieve some level of furnishing and to obtain decent furniture became a matter of pride.² The major sources of supply were to obtain it second-hand, to self-adapt it or to self-build it. The small jobbing cabinetmakers in most villages and towns would not have been the major source of supply for most people, and it was the late nineteenth century before factory, machine-made furniture appeared in any quantity.³ A similar rudimentary sort of provision was to be found with respect to fitments such as fire-grates or shelves, the only major point of note being that the notorious border cottages gave the northern counties a poor reputation in respect of fittings as well as numbers of rooms. No window frames, ovens, copper, grate or shelves were provided in them,⁴ a situation said to derive from the insecure days of border raids. While window frames were more generally provided elsewhere,⁵ the incidence of ovens, coppers and other equipment was distinctly variable, within as well as between localities. Overall generalisations are consequently difficult, if not impossible, to arrive at.

With an outline of how overall conditions varied from region to region by the eighteen thirties, it is now possible

-
- 1 Report of Sir John Walsham, in Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, p. 421.
 - 2 Evidence to S.C. Appointed to Inquire into the Present State of Agriculture and Persons Employed in the Same P.P. 1833, V, Q. 2,403.
 - 3 A. Hayden, Chats on Cottage and Farmhouse Furniture (1912), pp. 32-3.
 - 4 Sanitary Report H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVI, pp. 22 and 23.
 - 5 The problems with windows seem to have been related to size and whether they would open or not. See below, p. 250.

to consider changes in the same indicators of standards over time. How does improvement show itself between the late eighteenth thirties and the early twentieth century?

Later Rural Housing Standards : 1840-1914

The period from about 1840 has some consistency in its reliance upon population movements rather than increases in supply as a dominant explanation of change.¹ As a result indicators such as numbers per house were more likely to change rapidly than, say, the type of materials used, due to any subsequent slowing-down in construction rates. However, if an absolute decline in the population of an area takes place, it is presumably the worst houses, by all indicators, that go out of occupation. With slower growth rates the average age of dwellings could be reduced. It is also important to note, however, that the particular timing of any evidence could affect what it has to say on factors like numbers per house. In poor times, such as the apparent trough in the trade cycle for 1837, fewer migrants would have left rural areas than in good times, such as 1839.² In poor times there was some drift back to rural areas and doubling-up of families. Such factors affect not only census data, but the literary evidence which could well relate to impressions of a short-time span.

Poor economic conditions did produce sharing in rural areas, although it was reckoned rarer than in the small towns, with noted examples to be found in south Devon by the early eighteen sixties.³ Besides noting this aspect of the housing

1 See above, p. 212.

2 W.W. Rostow, British Economy of the Nineteenth Century (1948), Table II, p. 33.

3 7th Report of the Medical Officer of Health to the Privy Council on the State of Public Health P.P. 1865, XXVI, p. 172.

problem, Dr Hunter also remarked on the large size of both houses and rooms by this date and it is to these criteria of standards that attention now returns.

Number of Rooms per House and Room Sizes

The general trend of evidence on this point is such as to suggest improvement between the eighteen forties and the eighteen sixties. Typical of the reports from various parts of the country is that of the Lancaster Union of Parishes which suggests cottages of the poor were far better than had formerly been the case.¹ Even Northumberland gave cause for hope. While many of the old cottages were admitted to be worthy of condemnation, conditions were said to be improving due to a recent increase in the amount of attention paid to the problem.² By 1858, Henry Tanner, writing for the Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society, thought it remarkable that in Shropshire there were scarcely any cottages with more than two bedrooms.³ The three-roomed cottage was probably still the standard, as it had been earlier, but it was clearly the sort of minimum criterion for judgment rather than one or two rooms. Criteria were of course in a continual state of change, as were the levels of expectations of those living in nineteenth-century dwellings.

Expectations could rise far more easily than actual standards, a fact which contributes to the housing problem's con-

1 Victoria County History of Lancaster Vol. II (1908), p. 315.

2 J. Grey, 'A View of the Past and Present State of Agriculture in Northumberland', Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society Vol. 2 (1841), p. 185, footnote *.

3 H. Tanner, 'The Agriculture of Shropshire', Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society Vol. 19 (1858), p. 62.

tinuing, and probably permanent, existence.

Dr Hunter's report of 1865 is the next major governmental literary source of evidence after those of 1842. Undertaken in the summer of 1864, it was a small survey of rural labourers' housing and covered a total of 5,375 occupied houses from all over England, looking at the bad districts in general, but not specifically choosing only bad houses.¹ Of the total number of dwellings looked at: 2,195 had one bedroom, 2,930 had two bedrooms, and 250 had three or more. Allowing for the fact that all of these came from poor districts, it would seem likely that by 1864 the majority of rural labourers probably lived in three-roomed (that is two-bedroomed) houses, or a similar sort of result to that found in the eighteen thirties, with room for some improvement with fewer people living in extremely small cottages.

Some problems have been brought to light regarding the validity of information contained in this report. Contemporary evaluation of it following along the lines that:

"... the statements contained in it are, in a few instances, inaccurate or one sided, for the survey was too limited, and was made too rapidly to permit a thorough grasp of the subject. But despite these drawbacks, the Report has been accepted as containing a truthful representation of the condition of our rural poor."²

Dennis went on to say that Hunter's findings coincided with views expressed generally in the Agricultural Society's journal, the Registrar-General's statistics and with the reports of the Poor Law inspectors.

1 7th Report of the Medical Officer of Health to the Privy Council on the State of Public Health P.P. 1865, XXVI, p. 137 onwards.

2 Dennis, op. cit. p. 345.

It would appear that the report was based on a representative, if somewhat small, sample. The picture which emerges from it shows the continued existence of regional variations by 1864, the most striking to be found in the case of the northernmost counties which still had more one-roomed dwellings than anywhere else. Many such dwellings continued to exist, although there were some larger cottages fitted with a back room.¹ The overall impression is one of limited improvement since the eighteen thirties and early eighteen forties. Most places were moving to a situation in which the normal cottage had two bedrooms.²

Articles appearing over this twenty to twenty-five year period also confirm that some improvement was taking place. For example, by 1848 labourers' cottages in the North Riding were seen as improving rapidly although remaining rather small in size,³ and in 1856 some isolated examples of exceptionally good housing were to be found in Buckinghamshire, although at the high cost of £160.⁴ In contrast to such optimistic views, however, the extremes of poor housing were still in existence, as in the "great number" of one-roomed dwellings to be found in Buckinghamshire by the eighteen seventies.⁵ Some reduction in the extremes appears to have taken place, but experience of

1 7th Report of the Medical Officer of Health to the Privy Council on the State of Public Health P.P. 1865, XXVI, p. 187.

2 Ibid. pp. 177 and 219.

3 M.M. Milburn, 'On the Farming of the North Riding of Yorks', Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society Vol. 9 (1848), p. 520.

4 C.S. Read, 'Report on the Farming of Bucks', Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society Vol. 17 (1856), pp. 313-4.

5 Dean, op. cit. Essay 1, pp. 6-7.

extremely poor conditions remained.

The other two convenient periods of study for numbers of room per house are from the eighteen sixties to the mid-eighteen eighties, when the report of the Royal Commission appeared, and from there through to 1914, with specific reference to census reports.

Sources became progressively more available and once 1885 is reached, there is a succession of government reports. The first is the Royal Commission on Labour which provides an exhaustive study of the early eighteen nineties. Also available by this time, 1891, is the first census to give details of room numbers, although somewhat suspect in its findings. Rather more reliable are the census results for 1901 and 1911. Outside of government sources, journal articles and books published on the topic become more numerous in the latter part of the century.

Conflict between sources is sometimes more apparent than real, as with the suggested absence of single-room tenements in country areas reported by the 1885 Royal Commission, and the contrast of this with the later findings of the census which shows a continued presence of one-roomed, rural dwellings into the twentieth century. The 1885 reference was to tenement- or flat-type dwellings, and did not rule out the possibility of one-roomed cottages. These were in fact noted, although only rarely, in rural areas generally.

It was the two-roomed rural dwelling which was reckoned to be very common and it was in these that the overcrowding problem was at its most acute. In Dorset and the adjacent counties, in the eighteen eighties, two rooms were a common feature, while the one-down/two-up house was thought to be

the basic provider of dwellings,¹ as it had been in the mid-eighteen sixties.

The position in 1885 can be summarised as one in which the majority of the rural labouring population were housed in one-down/two-up, three-roomed cottages. Some of the evidence for this date, however, like that for 1842, is very dependent upon the degree of objectivity or otherwise of the individual witness or observer.

The continued incidence of regional variation by the eighteen eighties and early eighteen nineties is best covered by looking at the Commission on Labour. This survey showed that although the old Northumbrian two-roomed cottages still existed, they were generally more comfortable than their counterparts in the eastern counties.² This was probably because they were of larger dimensions. In Dorset, together with the counties of Wiltshire, Worcestershire, Kent, Surrey, Essex and Somerset, new cottages were almost always of three bedrooms (presumably at least four- if not five-roomed). It was the old ones which provided a majority with only two bedrooms.³ It is worth noting that by this date, in talking of Northumberland, it is the two-roomed cottages which are generally referred to as the old, or poor. Little, if any, reference is made to one-roomed dwellings by this date. The 1891 Census suggested that one-roomed dwellings only accounted for about 1 per cent of all

1 The R.C. on the Housing of the Working Classes P.P. 1884-5, XXX, p. 42.

2 The R.C. on Labour, Assistant Commissioner's Reports on Agricultural Labourers Vol. 1, England, P.P. 1893-4, XXXV, report of A.F. Fox, Paragraph 27, p. 18.

3 Ibid. report of A.J. Spencer, Paragraph 31, p. 15.

rural houses,¹ and those that did remain were only inhabited by small families, the majority by 1911 being lived in by one person.²

The 1892 report classed as "good cottages" those which contained five rooms on a two-down/three-up basis. The "fairly good" usually had one-down and two-up, and the "bad" had one-down and one-up, or possibly a bedroom upstairs with an annexe used as a second bedroom fitted up on the landing.³ In the northern areas, the one-up/one-down sometimes became the one-beside- (or behind-) the other, the house being built on the one level.⁴ Specific areas such as Northumberland had experienced some improvement during the period from about 1870 to 1890.⁵ Generally, however, three-roomed dwellings still formed an important if not dominant proportion of the total. It is not until the early twentieth century that much change appears in the number of rooms per dwelling. The 1911 Census Report made it plain that the typical rural labourer's house contained more rooms than its early nineteenth-century counterpart.

Only a few counties still contained one-roomed dwellings to any appreciable extent by this date. Northumberland was one, with 856 out of a total of 27,041 rural tenements, there being 6,530 with two rooms, 7,765 with three rooms and 5,010 with four rooms. Northumberland was also one of the few areas

1 See below, Appendix 4B, p. 436.

2 See below, p. 437.

3 R.C. on Labour, Assistant Commissioner's Report on Agricultural Labourers Vol. 1, England, P.P. 1893-4, XXXV, report of Cecil M. Chapman, Paragraph 90, pp. 32-3.

4 Ibid. report of A.W. Fox, Paragraph 51, p. 106.

5 Ibid. Appendix B.14, pp. 130-1.

to have a significant number of people living in one-roomed dwellings with some 2,172 so housed.¹ Durham was the only other area where this occurred to any appreciable extent, 2,464 people in that county living in 987 one-roomed, rural dwellings. All but 200 of these were inhabited by families of three or fewer,² and even to have 250 each inhabited by three people was exceptional. In most areas the few one-roomed dwellings were inhabited by only one, or possibly two, people. Kent for example, with another "large" total of such dwellings, namely 596 out of an overall total of more than 68,000, housed only 811 people in such a fashion. In this county the majority were housed in four- or five-roomed houses,³ a typical size for most of the dwellings. Units of four to six rooms in both urban and rural areas accounted for 78.8 per cent of all those in Derbyshire, 77.3 per cent in Lancashire, 75.4 per cent in Nottinghamshire, 74.5 per cent in Bedfordshire, 72.9 per cent in Leicestershire and 71.6 per cent in Buckinghamshire. The most notable exceptions to this generalisation came from Northumberland with 32.4 per cent, Durham 43 per cent, Cardiganshire 46.3 per cent, Radnorshire 47.5 per cent and Anglesey 47.6 per cent.⁴

Anglesey in fact provided an example of a relatively even spread between two-, three- and four-roomed rural dwellings. Out of 8,050 rural tenements, 1,099 were of two rooms, 1,432 of three and 1,626 of four rooms.⁵ For the vast majority of

1 1911 Census Report (Cd. 6910) (1913), Vol. VIII, p. 248.

2 Ibid. p. 88.

3 Ibid. p. 143.

4 Ibid. p. XIX.

5 Ibid. p. 436.

areas, however, the four- or five-roomed cottage would seem to form most of the supply by 1911.¹ Even part of the north had succumbed: Cumberland and Westmorland had come more into line with the rest of England. Cumberland had only 120 one-roomed dwellings, and most of its housing stock contained between three and five rooms.² Westmorland had only 13 one-room dwellings and the majority were in the range of between three and six rooms.³ There was also the apparent decline in importance of one-roomed dwellings both in Northumberland and in Durham. Although these two counties still exhibited some of the smallest houses in the whole country, these now contained two or three rooms rather than one or two.

Nationally, by 1911, one-roomed rural dwellings formed only 0.6 per cent of the total, while those with two rooms accounted for 5.5 per cent and three-roomed ones some 13 per cent. It was the four- and five-roomed tenements that were dominant, comprising nearly one-half the total.⁴ There is also reason to think that 1891-1901 had been a period of movement towards a better quality in this respect too. The total percentage of all rural tenements containing between one and four rooms was in fact lower in 1901 than it was by 1911 - about 42 per cent in 1901 compared with nearly 47 per cent by 1911.⁵ However, the 1901 figures are not entirely comparable as will

1 See Appendix 4B below, p. 437.

2 Report of 1911 Census (Cd. 6910) (1913), Vol. VIII, p. 49.

3 Ibid. p. 355.

4 See below, p. 437.

5 See below, p. 436.

be seen later.

By and large, rural houses did contain more rooms by the end of the century than in the eighteen thirties and eighteen forties. It would appear, however, that up to the late eighteen eighties at least, improvement took the form of a reduction in the extremely poor housing, which gave a trend to more rooms per dwelling. The effect on what might be termed the typical house was somewhat slight as from the eighteen thirties through to the mid-eighteen eighties the net effect was one of a gradual increase in three-roomed houses and a relative decrease in two-roomed ones, as the normal rural housing unit. The amount of four- and five-roomed houses seems to have been very restricted until after the early or middle eighteen eighties. All this is very much based on isolated statistical data and much literary evidence, which must leave it open to some question. By the time of the 1891 Census the apparent dominance of the three-roomed house is certainly challenged as it then accounted for less than 12 per cent of all rural tenements,¹ while the numbers of labourers' houses of this size would be in excess of the overall level, and some change could have taken place in the late eighteen eighties, it must appear that the apparent dominance of the three-roomed dwellings is questionable for 1880.

While the exact timing, and extent, of change is in doubt, there appears little reason to doubt that general change had taken place, and that improvement was not confined to particular areas or particular groups, as has been suggested by at least one recent author.² If this was not so the census fig-

1 1911 Census Report (Cd. 6910) (1913), Vol. VIII, p. x and see below, p. 436.

2 Gauldie, op. cit. p. 24.

ures would have to reveal larger numbers of small houses, especially in the northern counties. While the position in 1842 is difficult to evaluate, as the reports of that date were unconcerned with strict quantification, the general conclusion that one-room dwellings then formed a significant part of the total housing stock is inescapable.

If the census figures are then compared with Dr Hunter's quantification, some improvement becomes apparent in quantified terms, even if the two are not entirely comparable because of the different bases of their samples, Dr Hunter's being incomplete and concerned only with poor districts. The overall change, however, seems to be from a position in which the predominant number of rural labourers were living in two- or three-roomed houses, to one where they were more likely to have four rooms and certainly three. This change is already apparent to some extent by 1891 but becomes even more distinct by 1901. Improvement in the early period from 1840 to 1865 appears difficult to pin down. The literary nature of the early evidence makes comparison a problem, but it appears unlikely that great strides were made much before the middle eighteen sixties, from which point on there is limited growth in the number of four-roomed cottages and an apparent reduction in single-roomed ones.

Independent observers were noting general improvements from the later eighteen seventies at least.¹ New cottages by this date were said to normally contain a living-room, scullery or washing-place, and small pantry, together with three bedrooms.² H.J. Little in an article in the same year, 1878,

1 Bear, op. cit. p. 671.

2 E.P. Squarey, 'Farm Capital', Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society Vol. XIV (1878), p. 434.

said:

"In nothing has a greater improvement been evident in than this (cottages) within the past 30 years."¹

This last observation stretches the possible time span back to around 1850, the speed of change depending upon the pace at which replacement of old cottages by new could take place, and this depended upon both the rate of building, and population growth or decline.

Books critical of rural standards are frequently found in the early twentieth century.² Their line of argument is that far from there being any improvement at this time, little if anything was done to ensure the upkeep of the existing fabric of cottages, and even less towards the replacement of older ones.

"The evil conditions that exist, together with dearth of cottages throughout the countryside, are sapping the very life-blood of the nation."³

The census figures in contrast show a small change over the twenty years, and imply considerable change from earlier times. Some care has to be exercised in using the census data as 1911 was the first time that a "room" had even been defined for the enumerators. In this definition, while a kitchen was permissible, sculleries, landings, lobbies, out offices and other small parts of the house were omitted. It must be assumed that this definition was felt to be necessary as such small rooms had figured in the 1901 returns. If no returns were made for

1 H.J. Little, 'The Agricultural Labourer', Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society Vol. XIV (1878), p. 778.

2 Examples include Savage, op. cit. Haw, op. cit. (1902); and H. Aronson, Our Village Homes (1913).

3 Aronson, op. cit. p. ix.

any particular house in either 1891 or 1901 it was automatically assumed that the dwelling contained more than four rooms, since only those with four or fewer were taken account of.¹ By extending the Census to encompass all dwellings the figures must have been rendered far more accurate. That it took place for the 1911 Census throws suspicion on the 1901 figures at least. This could partially explain what at first sight appears to be a dramatic fall in the number of rural tenements with three rooms or fewer between 1891 and 1901, from 21 per cent of the total to 16.3 per cent.² If 1901 is suspect, and a stricter definition of what constituted a room was adopted for 1911, it could be expected that results would appear worse for this later Census. More houses of fewer rooms should appear. Any sign of improvement despite this would be an understatement of the real trend. In fact, if no real change had taken place some rise in numbers of "small" dwellings could be expected. As a result the fall in the proportion of dwellings of three rooms and fewer from 21 per cent in 1891 to 19 per cent in 1911³ could arguably be taken to represent a greater, if unknown, improvement in overall standards due to the early census figures' understatement of the overall number of houses with four rooms and fewer.

By 1911, only some 14.5 per cent of the rural population were housed in tenements of three rooms or fewer.⁴ Overall, the census figures seem to reflect an early improvement, but

1 1911 Census Report (Cd. 6910) (1913), Vol. VIII, p. iii.

2 See Appendix 4B below, p. 436.

3 1911 Census Report (Cd. 6910) (1913), Vol. VIII, p. x.

4 Ibid. p. ix.

not as dramatic as the 1901 figures would have us believe, followed by stagnation or even deterioration thereafter, which could have been sufficient to have prompted the adverse comments of contemporary observers. Such comments may also have resulted from changes in expectations, changes in what standard was acceptable, a factor which is pertinent to all the literary type of evidence. A small actual improvement could engender a great rise in expectations and thus dissatisfaction.

The lack of certainty as to timing of any improvement in the number of rooms per house is matched by a similar uncertainty in other facets of change. Room sizes do not provide much in the way of a clue as to when change took place. The switch from fewer, but larger rooms, to more but smaller ones occurs gradually, and cuts into the apparent increase in living space provided by more rooms. If the late eighteen seventies saw many new cottages being built they also saw relatively small room sizes.

Typical of the sort of new cottage being built in 1878 were those designed by James Martin. Many thousands were said to have been constructed to this design. The kitchen and parlour downstairs measured about 10 feet by 13, and the three bedrooms upstairs were 7 feet 6 inches by 9 feet 4 inches, 12 feet 8 inches by 8 feet 6 inches, and an odd shaped one about 16 feet by 8 inches.¹ This new breed of cottage gave about 600 square feet of living space in total, or about equivalent to, or slightly less than that of the two-roomed Greenwich hospital estate cottages of the eighteen forties mentioned above.²

1 Little, op. cit. pp. 781-2.

2 See above, p. 187.

This could be compared again with the Parker-Morris modern equivalent. Local authority housing was reckoned to give some 900 square feet,¹ including both in- and out-door storage space, stairs, hall, landings and all the other areas necessary besides that contained in the main rooms. If some allowance is made for these factors in the case of the nineteenth-century houses outlined above, the discrepancy does not seem too great.

That room sizes decreased as their number increased is further borne out by the evidence available from the various journal articles. Several of these include details of actual sizes, as well as details of what was supposed to be the hypothetical typical room. While this latter concept may be less reliable, it does give a useful indication of the trend of expectations. In the late eighteen forties, one-bedroom, two-bedroom and three-bedroom cottages were said to give overall space amounting to 362 square feet,² 440 and 550 square feet respectively.³ By normal classifications used later for the 1911 Census these probably equated to two-roomed, three-roomed and four-roomed dwellings. Again there were falling average sizes as the numbers of rooms increased.

The sketch plans on the following pages give some idea of how these cottages appeared to their inhabitants, at least as far as size was concerned. As for the external aspect - it is known they were to be built as pairs of semi-detached cottages.⁴

1 See above, p. 186.

2 Duke of Bedford, 'On Labourers' Cottages', Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society Vol. 10 (1849), pp. 188-9.

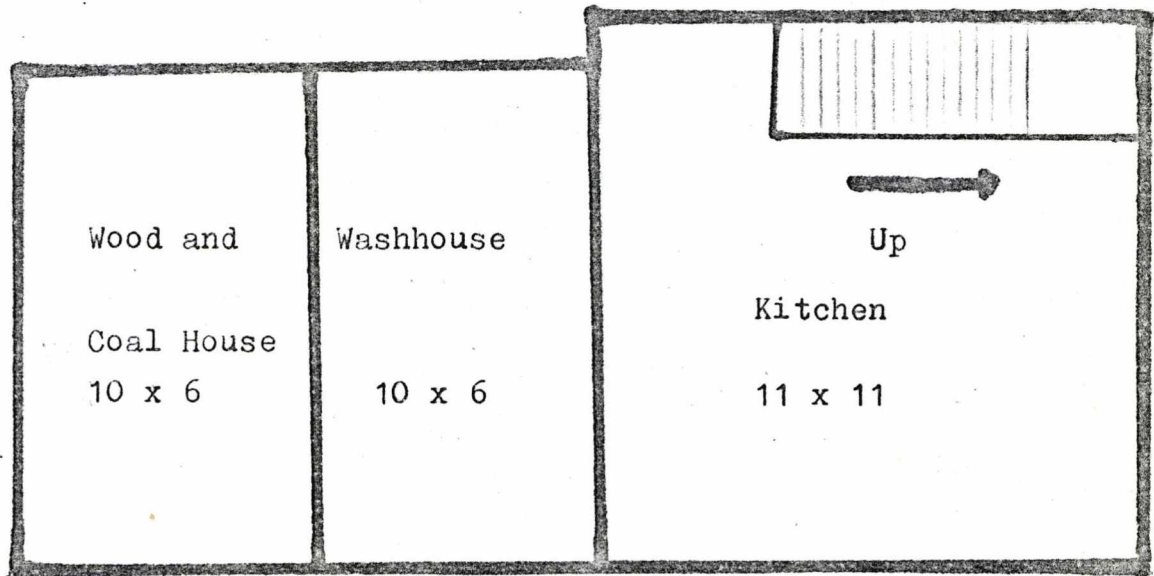
3 Ibid. pp. 190-1.

4 Ibid. p. 188.

Sketch of Cottage Plan

One-Bedroom Cottage

Ground Floor



First Floor

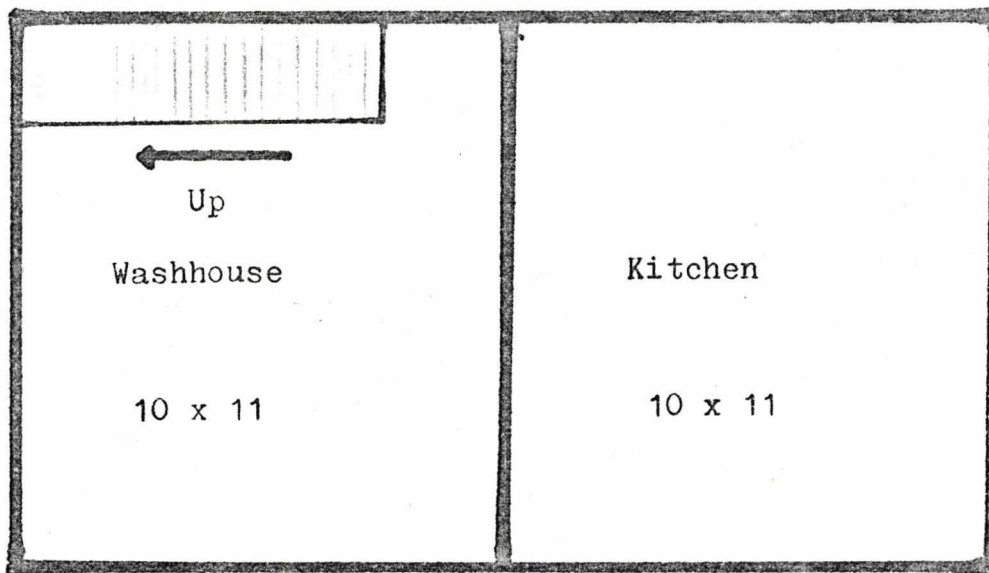


SOURCE: Drawn from dimensions given in: . Duke of Bedford, op. cit.
pp. 188-9.

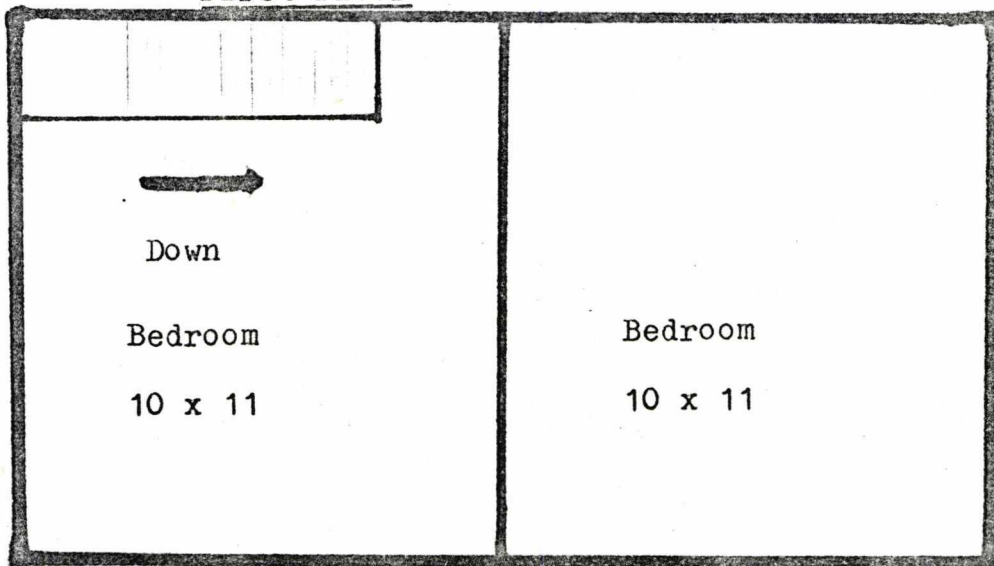
Sketch of Cottage Plan

Two-Bedroom Cottage

Ground Floor



First Floor

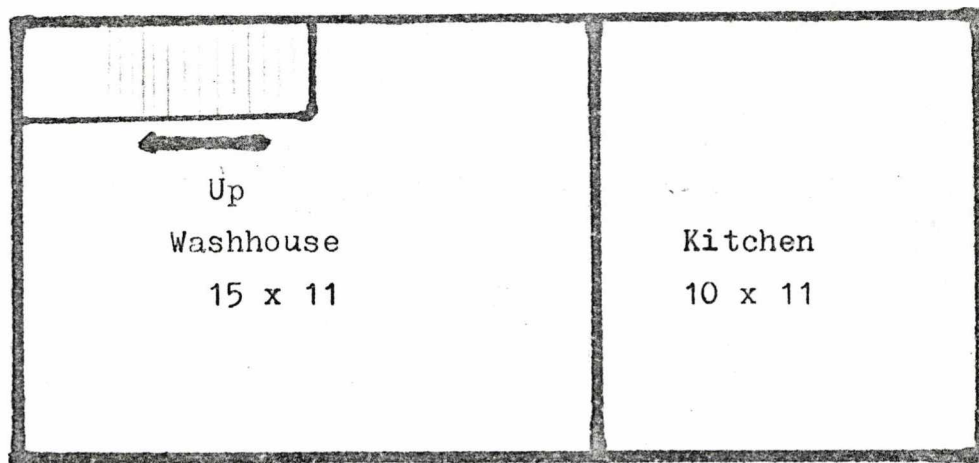


SOURCE: Drawn from dimensions given in: Duke of Bedford, op. cit.
pp. 190-1.

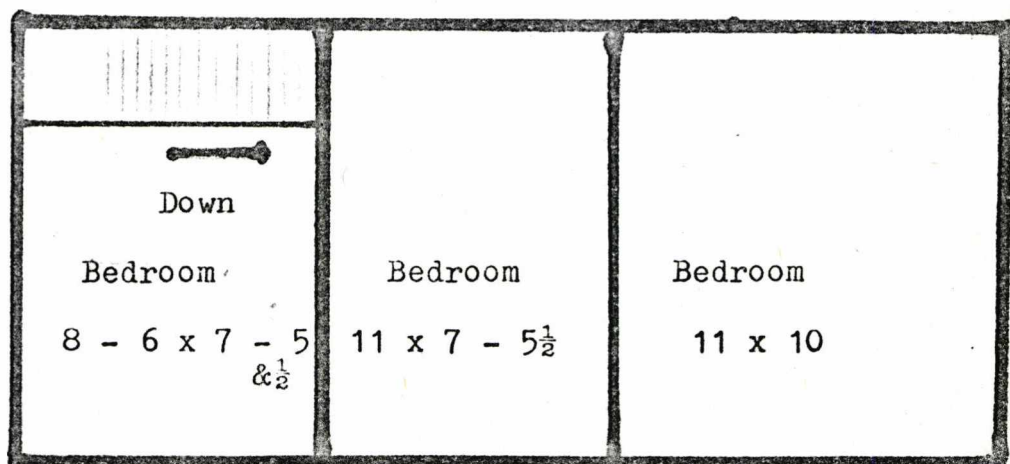
Sketch of Cottage Plan

Three-Bedroom Cottage

Ground Floor



First Floor



SOURCE: Drawn from dimensions given in: Duke of Bedford, op. cit.
pp. 190-1.

The space afforded by such cottages can be contrasted with what government agencies considered necessary by the nineteenth century. 557 square feet for a two-bedroomed cottage with parlour, 457 without a parlour, and 599 square feet for a three-bedroomed cottage.¹ Obviously, something approaching 600 square feet for a four- or five-roomed cottage seems to have been the normally expected standard. Other examples of expected size of good cottages generally refer to something around 600 square feet in total, with only the exceptional going much above this figure, although they can be found, 700 square feet being mentioned for some three-bedroomed cottages in Lincolnshire in the eighteen sixties.² Certainly it would seem that more rooms did not mean much increase in living space for the inhabitants of rural cottages.

Materials

Changes over time in materials used in the construction of cottages seem to have been governed fairly closely by economic considerations. The new materials co-existed with the older, more traditional type, appearing only in the newer cottages or where repairs of a fairly extensive character were necessary for old cottages. A general view of changes in the type of materials used, as between 1840 and the mid-eighteen sixties would be that improvement was visible, but that there

1 Quoted by C. Winkworth Allen, 'The Housing of the Agricultural Labourer', Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society Vol. L (1914), p. 22. (Relates to the Report of the Departmental Committee on Buildings for Small Holdings and the R.C. on Labour 1882-3).

2 H.M. Jenkins, 'Farm Reports, Aylesbury, Riby, and Rothwell Farms, near Grimsby, Lincolnshire; in the Occupation of Mr William Torr', Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society Vol. V (1869), pp. 438-9.

was continued usage of the older materials. Worcester, for example, had cottages of brick and tile by the later date, while at the same time it still had some of timber and thatch, which were described as "miserable huts".¹ Huntingdon seems to have been among the worst-off. The majority of its dwellings in 1868 were still of mud and plaster with dirt floors and thatched roofs.²

By the mid-eighteen sixties the western part of the country was also feeling the effects of change. Gloucester was beginning to have more stone and tile dwellings, and in some areas, such as Wick, the old thatched cottages were already reckoned to be few in number.³ However, not all the country could by this time be said to have progressed towards a more satisfactory standard, that is if the new materials were an improvement, and not everyone was convinced of that.⁴

The change from mud and thatch to relatively greater use of more processed materials seems to have been a continuing process over the quarter-century or so from 1840, if not for a longer period. Louis Ruegg, writing in 1855, said of Dorsetshire:

"The old mud-walled and thatched cottages are rapidly disappearing before neat and often handsome erections of brick and stone."⁵

-
- 1 C. Cadle, 'The Agriculture of Worcester', Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society Vol. III (1867), P. 464.
 - 2 G. Murray, 'On the Farming of Huntingdon', Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society Vol. IV (1868), pp. 270-1.
 - 3 7th Report of the Medical Officer of Health to the Privy Council on the State of Public Health P.P. 1865, XXVI, p. 196.
 - 4 See above, p. 207.
 - 5 Ruegg, op. cit. p. 442.

Dr Hunter put Dorset, along with Hampshire and Huntingdonshire, among the worst areas by 1865, because of the lack of stone in these counties and because only the better buildings were constructed of brick. Many of the cottages were still mud or clay, with or without pebbles and straw mixed in.¹ Hampshire in fact was described in 1861 as being more deficient in all building materials, except lime, than anywhere else.² The overall availability of easily accessible building materials can be gauged from the map on page 196. The basic materials do not greatly change over time, the only changes being in the technology of the supplying industries or in transport, and these appear to have been limited. They do, however, make supplies more generally available than they had been earlier. Such changes were also reflected in the relative price movements of the basic materials. Relatively: tiles, slates and bricks did become a little cheaper over time, brought about partly by a growing scarcity of skilled workers in other materials as they went out of favour. The construction of mud and thatch cottages, for example, became more expensive as time went on. One witness before the 1884-5 Royal Commission in fact commented specifically upon the way in which the spreading use of brick and tile was leading to a decline in the numbers of men skilled in the "art" of mud making.³

1 7th Report of the Medical Officer of Health to the Privy Council on the State of Public Health P.P. 1865, XXVI, p. 199.

2 J. Wilkinson, 'The Farming of Hampshire', Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society Vol. 22 (1861), p. 324.

3 Evidence to The R.C. on the Housing of the Working Classes Vol. II, P.P. 1884-5, XXXI, Q. 17,339.

Slate's relative position by 1849 was such that for 100 square feet the cost was put at £1 - 5s - 0d, while thatch was reckoned at £2 - 5s - 0d, for the same area of roof. Plain tiles cost £1 - 18s - 0d, and pan tiles £1 - 8s - 0d. Roofing felt was the only thing which could compete in terms of price, costing 14/-, but fears as to its durability restricted its use.¹ Slate's advantage was increased due to its lighter weight and consequent need for fewer, and lighter, rafters and other roof beams.²

Cost changes affected walling materials too. By the mid-eighteen sixties the almost universal grip of lath and plaster in Essex had been broken by the incursion of brick, and some greater use of the rough flints picked out of the chalk hills.³ Bricks could be made fairly easily in most areas wherever clay, sand or lime occurred in any sort of quantity. It was not necessary to have a kiln for their construction. A simple clamp method would suffice. The bricks were piled in long rows, between every two of which were placed some three inches of cinders. Spaces between the bricks at various points were also filled in this way. Cinders were then placed over the top and a fire lit at one end which gradually worked its way through the clamp. The drawback to this particular method was that it could take up to three months for the fire to complete its journey through the clamp.⁴ Such a process was therefore more suited to rural areas than urban ones, where space and time were not so available.

1. Dean, op. cit. Essay 1, p. 9, footnote.

2. See above, pp. 207-208.

3. Dean, op. cit. Essay, 1, p. 8.

4. 'Bricks and Brickmaking', The Penny Magazine of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge Vol. 12 (1843), p. 264.

Brick was still not universally dominant, however, even by the mid-eighteen sixties. Areas such as Kent made extensive use of such alternatives as wood, local stones, and tiles for wall cladding, as well as for roofing. Many of the cottages in this county were said to be new, although a few of the old plaster and thatch type still remained.¹ The rest of the south of England was somewhat similar, Surrey having a mixture of good and bad brick, weatherboard and some with the older timber-framed walls with plaster infill.² Somerset had areas with brick cottages, but elsewhere stone or clay walls remained. The proximity of materials still seemed a dominant factor.³

A mixture of types of cottage walling was found in Yorkshire too, although many, if not most, were of limestone, some tiled, others thatched.⁴ North-west Lincolnshire, in contrast to counties like Essex, had a large proportion of new brick cottages, and even the old ones were more often brick or stone than lath and plaster. Floors in general whether old or new were also usually made of good brick or tile,⁵ which suggests north-west Lincolnshire was an area of high standards, whatever the time period.

As at any time, the exceptionally bad house can still be found. In 1864, in Bedfordshire, there was a dwelling known

1 7th Report of the Medical Officer of Health to the Privy Council on the State of Public Health P.P. 1865, XXVI, pp. 212 and 214.

2 Ibid. p. 273.

3 Ibid. p. 263.

4 Ibid. pp. 294 and 296.

5 Ibid. p. 229.

as Richardson's house, which was thought to be hardly matched in England:

"The plaster wall leaned and bulged very like a lady's dress in a curtsey, one gable end convex, the other concave, and on this last unfortunately stood the chimney, which was a curved tube of clay and wood resembling an elephant's trunk. A long stick served as a prop to prevent the chimney from falling. The doorway and window were rhomboidal."¹

This graphic representation of geometric intricacy was fortunately notable for its novelty rather than its generality.

The general situation consisted of a move towards greater use of more processed materials such as brick, slate and tile at the expense of mud, thatch and plaster in one form or another. This continued through to the middle eighteen eighties as well, although the results were not always as advantageous as they might have been. A combination of common materials and poor workmanship often meant dwellings were unfit for habitation.² Certainly rural housing in some areas by the eighteen eighties was still deficient in many respects.

In times of difficulty for agriculture, attempts must have been made to cut back on capital expenditure through reducing building activity and maintenance, especially since this would not immediately affect output. Instances of cottages falling apart through neglect were cited by the Royal Commission,³ but they were isolated cases rather than representative of a general trend. Alternative extremes can be found, such as the experiments with concrete floors in Durham

1 7th Report of the Medical Officer of Health to the Privy Council on the State of Public Health P.P. 1865, XXVI, p. 148.

2 The R.C. on the Housing of the Working Classes P.P. 1884-5, XXX, p. 22.

3 Ibid. p. 42.

freestone cottages.¹ This material never made a great impact, despite its vehement promotion as a building material which combined cheapness with quality.²

More generally the examples such as Buckinghamshire, with a majority of its cottages still of wattle-and-daub,³ appears typical which suggests that the pace of change in the use of materials may have slowed between 1865 and 1885. Post-1885 improvements seem to have been confined to areas with large estates.⁴ In Buckinghamshire, Berkshire, Cambridgeshire, Cornwall, Devon, Hertfordshire, Oxfordshire and Shropshire only the thoroughly bad cottages were still made of mud, clay, lump or lath and plaster, while the middling sort were stone, rough-cast or timber and thatch. The best consisted of brick walls, slate, or tiled roof, with brick or stone floors on a firm foundation.⁵ In the north, stone still prevailed, while in the east, the old cottages of clay lump or similar materials still represented a significant part of the whole,⁶ while in Essex lath and plaster continued to be prominent.⁷

-
1. Evidence to The R.C. on the Housing of the Working Classes Vol. II P.P. 1884-5, XXXI, Qq. 16,350-1.
 2. For example see George Hunt, Architect and Surveyor to the Royal Agricultural Society, 'On Concrete as a Building Material for Farm Buildings and Cottages', Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society Vol. X (1874), p. 212.
 3. Evidence to the R.C. on the Housing of the Working Classes Vol. II P.P. 1884-5, XXXI, Q. 16,001.
 4. Report of The R.C. on Labour: Assistant Commissioner's Reports on Agricultural Labourers Vol. V General Report P.P. 1893-4, XXXVII, Pt II, Paragraph 242, p. 104.
 5. Report of The R.C. on Labour: Assistant Commissioner's Reports on Agricultural Labourers Vol. I, P.P. 1893-4, XXXV, Report by Cecil M. Chapman, Paragraph 90, pp. 32-3.
 6. Ibid. Report by A.W. Fox, Paragraph 24, p. 168.
 7. Ibid. Report by A.J. Spencer, Paragraph 31, p. 15.

Particularly bad conditions could still be found in the early twentieth century. Cottages owned by New College, Oxford, were described as having:

"rubble walls cracked and bulged. Bedrooms floors dragged out of the gable by displacement of the walls and highly dangerous."¹

Poorly-built cottages, or poorly-maintained ones, were to be found, but conditions were improving slowly. New building with mud seems to have ceased, and it was only the existing structures which gave problems. Where later additions were made to old cottages they were liable to be in more modern materials rather than in mud. Reports on poor cottages in Hampshire in 1905 mention, besides the dilapidated slate of the mud-and-stud walls and thatched roof, the fact that lean-to additions were constructed in brick and tile.² This suggests that the speed with which the newer materials took over depended upon the rate at which new and replacement building went ahead. Rural depopulation could have slowed the demand for new building, and thus reduced the speed of change in materials. On the other hand if cottages became surplus, the worst would have been removed from the housing stock, instead of remaining in use.

Overall change appears slow, at times non-existent, and as William Bear said in 1893:

"variations are greater within any given district than between one district and another, although it appears that the cottages in Wales, as a rule, are greatly inferior to those of any of the English districts."³

1 Haw, op. cit. (1902), p. 48.

2 Report of M.O.H. to Public Health Acts Committee of Louth R.D.C. Respecting condition of Six Labourers' Cottages at Maidenwell P.R.O. H.L.G. 1/108, entry dated 25 April 1905.

3 Bear, op. cit. p. 670.

Most rural inhabitants appear little concerned by the nature of the materials used to construct their dwellings. Lath and plaster, the traditional materials, were still common in the eastern counties in the early twentieth century, and the "new" materials such as concrete blocks, uralite and wire-woven material appear to have been as costly as bricks or stone.¹ Nor does it appear that this was thought important, for:

"It really cannot matter to the general public in rural places ... (whether cottages) ... are built of wood, iron, or any other material, nor what they are covered with - thatch or other substance."²

The lack of rapid change in any period can probably be attributed to the prohibitive costs of transport, and the slow rate of replacement, which is consistent with a lack of growth in demand, and does not preclude more rapid improvement in factors other than materials.

Siting and Sanitation Changes

The problem of distance from work continued to plague rural labourers long after the 1865 Union Chargeability Act and the removal of the motive for the supposed evil of closed parishes. While cottages might be sufficient in each general area, they were not always sufficient in each parish.³ The early disparity between areas of accommodation and areas of work continued throughout the century.

Little improvement is to be found in the case of space

1 A. Dudley Clarke, 'Cottages for Rural Labourers', Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society Vol. XL (1904), p. 146.

2 Ibid. p. 131.

3 Bear, op. cit. p. 670.

around cottages either. In the north with its larger farms, cottages were often pushed together in long rows¹ or in long streets in the villages or hamlets, as in Driffield, Yorkshire.² In such areas, farms with housing were the exception rather than the rule.³ Consequently travelling time was long, and the cottages had little in the way of space around them.

Several writers, such as John Dennis, advocated gardens,⁴ and they do appear to have become a more general feature such that by 1878 they were reckoned to be from one-quarter to a complete acre in size throughout the country.⁵ Even so, cases of rural cottages without garden space continue to crop up, together with the use of unsuitable land for building sites. At the end of the century some houses were still being constructed in damp hollows, excavated hillsides, undrained land or other unsuitable sites,⁶ often with a cow-house or pig-stye placed against them.⁷

Obtaining a good site depended more upon fortune than upon the date of construction. The nearness of cottages to places of employment, despite the 1865 Act, was still giving trouble even by 1915, when William Savage wrote:

1 Little, op. cit. p. 780.

2 R.C. on Labour, Assistant Commissioner's Reports on Agricultural Labourers Vol. V, General Report P.P. 1893-4, XXXVII, Pt II, Paragraph 233, p. 102.

3 Little, op. cit. p. 786.

4 Dennis, op. cit. p. 345.

5 7th Report of the Medical Officer of Health to the Privy Council on the State of Public Health P.P. 1865, XXVI, p. 12.

6 H. Mclean-Wilson, 'Cottage Sanitation', Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society Vol. XXVII (1892), p. 634.

7 Ibid. p. 644.

"The distribution of cottages is irregular and their situation often very inconvenient for the inhabitants."¹

Changing the nature of the sites of the majority of cottages depended, as did changes in materials used, on people's willingness to accept change and upon the rate at which existing cottages were replaced, or demolished, to provide more space for the remainder.

Space became critical as the number of cottages increased in some areas together with pressure on "natural" sewerage and drainage. Both sewerage and water supply were dependent upon Mother Nature's bounty in most areas, throughout the period. Privies, even, were not common items of equipment in rural cottages, an aspect noted by more than one author.²

The cost of full sewerage schemes was beyond the pockets of many small rural areas, drainage schemes undertaken in some parishes provide examples of the way in which it was more expensive per capita, the lower the number of people in the parish.

FIGURE 4.2

SEWERAGE AND DRAINAGE COSTS^{*}

(1) Village	(2) Population	(3) Cost ⁺	(4) Date of Work	(5) Approximate Cost Per Capita <u>£</u> <u>s.</u> <u>d.</u>
Moulton	1,483	980	1874-8	13 - 2½
Whissendine	784	1,000	1889	1 - 5 - 6
Walgrave	603	673	1874-8	1 - 2 - 3½
Harlestone	569	750	1878	1 - 6 - 4½
Brampton Chapel	233	407	1880-1	1 - 14 - 11

* SOURCE: C.S. Read, 'The Disposal of Sewage by Small Towns and Villages', Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society Vol. XXVI (1890), p. 91.

+ Cost in pounds.

1 Savage, op. cit. p. 24.

2 W.C. Little, 'Report on the Farm Prize Competition in Northumberland and Durham in 1887', Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society Vol. XXIII (1887), p. 595; and Aronson, op. cit. p. 10.

Badly-constructed and maintained cesspools, let alone open ditches, could seriously contaminate water supplies. Piped water remained a rarity in rural areas¹ and, in fact, with some places experiencing an increasing population, and the consequent contamination of streams and other sources of supply, water standards generally may well have dropped over the course of the century.

Surface water, the source of supply for many cottages, was liable to contamination from neighbouring dwellings, as well as from adjoining land, if manured heavily. Shallow wells were subject to impurities, while rainwater from the roof needed both a good, clean cistern and a frequently-cleaned roof.² Extremely poor conditions were to be found in the early twentieth century. A report by the Land Law Reform Association, covering 67 villages with 3,739 cottages, showed one in seven to rely on a water supply which was said to be bad, if not non-existent,³ including water drawn from puddles in the garden.

At the end of the century, lack of privies, drainage and water were acute. Absence of water was described as one of the great difficulties of the agricultural labourer's life, especially with a thatched roof. He either had to buy it or obtain what he could from brooks, or dykes.⁴ It appears to be not so much time or area, as fortune which decided the

1 Aronson, op. cit. p. 9.

2 Mclean-Wilson, op. cit. pp. 645 and 647.

3 Haw, op. cit. (1902), p. 50

4 R.C. on Labour; Assistant Commissioner's Reports on Agricultural Labourers Vol. 1 P.P. 1893-4, XXXV, Report by Cecil M. Chapman, Paragraph 94, p. 34.

conditions under which the agricultural labourer lived. He could be helped by nature, or by having a philanthropically-motivated landlord, such as those who constructed the better cottages on the large estates, equipped with earth closets and properly-constructed cesspits and wells. For most of the rural population the situation appears far from good, and to have altered relatively little over time. Only where depopulation did occur, with a consequent reduction of pressure on what facilities did exist, could some general improvement have been possible.

Changes in the Rural Home : Numbers per House,

Furnishings and Fittings

Rural counties had a relatively better position as measured by the number of inhabitants per house by the early twentieth century. Taking the ten counties referred to earlier¹ as the most rural in the eighteen eighties, there is a movement from an average of 4.94 for 1841 to 4.39 by the twentieth century, with a more rapid improvement in the last twenty years or so of the century.² The average house in these rural counties had fewer inhabitants than was the case nationally, as can be judged from Figure 4.3 on the following page, and the gap had widened by 1901.

The faster rate of decline in numbers per house during the period from 1881 to 1901 is accompanied by a significant drop in the rate of population growth,³ which would accord with

1 See above, p. 79.

2 The rate of change increases by nearly one-third comparing 1881-1901 with 1841-1881. Taken from Appendix 4A, see below, pp. 433.

3 Population increases by 13.67 per cent between 1841 and 1881 and by only 4.80 per cent between 1881 and 1901. Allowing for the different length of the time periods, the decline in the rate of increase is of nearly one-third.

FIGURE 4.3

AVERAGE NUMBERS PER HOUSE IN TEN MOST RURAL ENGLISH COUNTIES 1841-1901*

(1) County	(2) 1841	(3) 1851	(4) 1861	(5) 1871	(6) 1881	(7) 1891	(8) 1901
Huntingdonshire	4.94	4.83	4.69	4.54	4.50	4.37	4.24
Rutland	4.96	5.01	4.71	4.63	4.72	4.61	4.39
Cambridgeshire	4.97	5.00	4.68	4.65	4.61	4.72	4.29
Herefordshire	4.87	4.83	4.89	4.75	4.73	4.58	4.48
Suffolk	4.92	4.87	4.62	4.56	4.55	4.54	4.45
Lincolnshire	4.97	5.01	4.76	4.63	4.67	4.56	4.39
Bedfordshire	5.09	5.17	4.93	4.80	4.75	4.65	4.46
Oxford	5.02	4.95	4.74	4.70	4.71	4.66	4.45
Norfolk	4.80	4.75	4.50	4.40	4.43	4.41	4.31
Wiltshire	5.08	4.92	4.70	4.69	4.64	4.61	4.47
NATIONAL AVERAGE	5.42	5.48	5.35	5.33	5.38	5.32	5.20

* SOURCE: Summary of Appendix 4A, see below, p. 433.

rural emigration playing a vitally important role in housing development, and in this period in particular. Numbers of inhabited houses only show small declines in two of these counties between 1881 and 1901 (in Rutland¹ and Herefordshire²) and in both cases the absolute fall in their population is far greater.

Specific areas with a falling population were likely to have benefited in this fashion. The pattern picked up in general of increasing population in rural areas until about 1840 followed by lower rates of increase, with some examples of absolute decline, can be discerned in particular rural parishes. A specific example is that of Laneast, an agricultural parish in Cornwall. On each occasion that population declined

FIGURE 4.4

LANEAST - CORNWALL *

(1) Date	(2) Number of Inhabited Houses	(3) Population	(4) Number per House
1801	30	179	5.09
1811	30	149	4.96
1821	39	229	5.87
1831	45	279	6.20
1841	54	320	5.92
1851	52	299	5.75
1861	48	244	5.07
1871	47	231	4.91
1881	51	259	5.07
1891	45	227	5.04
1901	47	209	4.44

* SOURCE : Census Reports 1801-1901.

1 See Appendix 2B below, p. 413a.

2 See Appendix 2B below, p. 410.

there was an obvious and immediate easing of overcrowding in terms of numbers per house. This is the manner in which the most immediate change for the better could be produced in rural areas. By leaving, the migrants helped those who remained, but by the same token if they emigrated to the larger towns and cities, rather than abroad, they worsened the urban situation at the same time as improving the rural one they left behind. From Laneast's population peak in 1841, the decline was considerable, although it fluctuated and did not neatly "fit" a pattern of before and after 1881. As early as the eighteen fifties, however, depopulation taking place was noted and attributed to low agricultural wages.¹

Rural depopulation as a powerful agent for change in housing standards has been noted elsewhere as in Sweden, Hungary and France during Donnison's "second stage" of housing development during the industrialisation process.² While such a factor can have a widespread effect on numbers per house, as it clearly does, particularly from about 1880, its effects on other factors such as house sizes and materials used in construction are more diffuse and possibly of lesser benefit. Perhaps insofar as the lack of population pressure, and thus housing demand, left rent levels unaltered, more was spent on such things as furniture for the home or food for the family.

Industrial change, insofar as it brought about a lowering in the price of fabrics for curtains or carpets and of furniture in general led to the possibility, at least, of change for the better. It is even suggested that by the sec-

1 1851 Census Report P.P. 1852-3, XXXV, Div. V, p. 59.

2 In Nevitt, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

ond half of the nineteenth century the appearance of machine-made furniture led to the first distinction between that of the rich and of the poor.¹

Floor coverings seem to be rarely mentioned, although some of oil cloth, indian matting and even worsted carpet make an appearance in auction catalogues relating to small cottage property.² On the other hand, the extreme cases of little or no furniture at all were probably always fewer in number in rural areas than they were among the most mobile urban dwellers. Examples, however, of places with just a rough bed did exist.³

Furniture in rural areas was mainly composed of family heirlooms, but its sum total was not great. The average value of small auctions in Surrey carried out by Messrs White and Sons amounted to something around £14⁴ for the period 1818-1884. The general sort of contents continued to be a bed, half a dozen wooden chairs of ash, with cane seats, or windsor chairs in some common wood, a couple of tables, a clock, probably American, with a chest or cupboards to hold other necessities such as pots and pans and general utensils. Little change is noticeable over time, the list applying as much to 1830 as to 1880.

There were often either dutch ovens or ranges⁵ to be

1 D. Reeves, Furniture, an Explanatory History (2nd Ed. 1959), pp. 166-7.

2 Sale Catalogue for Auction No. 2,505 re: Furniture at Mickleham, Surrey 16 June 1882. Messrs White & Sons, Estate Agents, Surrey R.O.

3 7th Report of the Medical Officer of Health to the Privy Council on the State of Public Health P.P. 1865, XXVI, p. 187.

4 White and Sons' journal records show the average recorded value of auctions totalling less than £50 to equal £13 - 14s - 8½ for 1818 to 1884.

5 Auction No. 226, White and Sons.

found in auction sale catalogues. Some form of fire-grate or cooking equipment had to be provided by the tenant. Few iron grates were to be found in some areas such as Dorset by the eighteen sixties, most fires being made on a collection of bricks, stones or anything to hand.¹

In the northern pit houses at that time rather better conditions were expected. Those with "neither setpot nor oven" brought forth criticism, yet such an attitude, said Dr Hunter, would be considered hypercritical by a Midland dweller.² Lack of more than one window in many northern houses³ tended to offset this apparent advantage in fittings, however.

Windows by the eighteen sixties were usually made up from relatively regular pieces of glass in lead casements in contrast to the rudimentary provisions of earlier times. They also were usually hinged so that they could open. One novel idea came from the coal villages of Monmouth where the window was made to serve two storeys, passing through the first floor level.⁴ Devon's windows, although only poor leaden things, generally opened by the eighteen sixties.⁵ Non-opening ones were said to be declining even in the eighteen forties, and the most usual at that time were reckoned to be of the leaded variety rather than the rough single pane, but all of them were described as not only fragile but cold.⁶ If nothing else,

1 7th Report of the Medical Officer of Health to the Privy Council on the State of Public Health P.P. 1865, XXVI, p. 175.

2 Ibid. p. 181.

3 Ibid. p. 187.

4 Ibid. p. 140.

5 Ibid. p. 174.

6 Rev. Copinger-Hill, op. cit. p. 358.

at least some ventilation was provided. Improvements in the fabric of cottages through greater and better provision of windows could in part be attributed to the effect of the removal of excise duty which took place in this period.¹

The major improvement in fittings could be said to be the replacement of the ladders previously used in many cottages, by more conventional staircases. This aided safety as well as general convenience, although it affected the amount of useful space available to the inhabitants. The change occurred as two-storey dwellings became more prevalent at the expense of those which had a sleeping area in the loft. In contrast the fitting of baths, while considered at the beginning of the twentieth century, appears not to have been put into practice to any extent.²

"It is doubtful if a bath should be provided in an agricultural labourer's cottage ... as a rule there is no demand for baths ... the bath, when provided, being almost invariably used for storing coal, potatoes, soiled linen."³

This came from an article suggesting what cottages should be like, so the actual number of fitted baths can be guessed at. Later in the same article comes the admission that water was a problem as it had to be carried, so that even with fitted baths there still remained the question of piped water.

Probably, water supply and sanitation in general show little sign of improvement in the nineteenth century. Other factors such as rooms per house and the overall amount of living space available and the sort of materials commonly used

1 1845.

2 Winkworth Allen, op. cit. p. 22.

3 Ibid. p. 28.

alter somewhat spasmodically. The process depended upon the worst houses being surplus and going out of use as much as upon new building. It was in the disappearance of the poor extremes that most progress was visible - the decline of one-roomed dwellings and mud-walled cottages. The predominant form of housing apparently remained one of only three rooms until the eighteen eighties. After this date one indicator, numbers per house, showed a significant change. With falling rural population, dramatic changes were possible in this respect, whereas most of the other changes were only attained on a longer-term basis.

The earlier slight improvements could be seen as the result of better agricultural circumstances, together with fortune in the form of philanthropic efforts by a few people. The greater changes of the period after about 1880, however, cannot be attributed to these forces. Cereal-growing areas in particular faced the problem of overseas competition, and little was done by philanthropists or by government. By 1906 only about two-thirds of all rural district councils had even formulated bye-laws for new housing, and in those that had, there was practically no inspection.¹ As for actual building, most councils considered that they could not build houses at rents which rural labourers could afford without incurring a burden upon the rates. Out of 332 rural district councils asked if cottages could be provided without incurring a burden upon the rates, 261 answered no, eight said yes, and the rest were non-committal.² Rural areas were omitted generally from legislative

1 S.C. on Housing of the Working Classes Act Amendment Bill P.P. 1906, IX, p. x.

2 Inquiry conducted by National Land and Home League in 1911, question sent to all 655 R.D.C.'s in England and Wales was: "Could the council build cottages for labourers without causing a burden on the rate?" Cited in Aronson. op. cit. pp. 135.7.

control of housing until the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.¹ Depopulation seems to have an important role to play in any explanation of changes for the better, especially in the later nineteenth century. William Little said that the:

"Supply of cottages is not now generally defective in respect of numbers, owing partly to the decrease in the rural population and partly to the large numbers of cottages which have been built by large landowners and others who can afford to build without an expectation of a profitable return for their outlay."²

Most of the philanthropic efforts seem to have been confined to the period from 1840 to 1870, after which date interest waned somewhat, and greater reliance has to be placed on rural depopulation as the means to improve standards.

This movement was not entirely novel, of course, and evidence from the North Riding for the eighteen thirties suggested that in every parish houses had become untenanted.³ It was the extent that had altered. As the pressure on rural housing relented so the worst, smallest, most ill-built cottages could be taken out of occupation. The time of so-called agricultural depression could therefore be seen as the period of greatest rural housing improvement, and possibly, as a result of migration, of increased urban problems.

1 Savage, op. cit. pp. 35 and 166.

General improvement powers were also lacking in the villages. General Board of Health Minute Book No. 9 P.R.O. M.H. 5/No. 9, entry for 25 April 1854.

2 Quote concerning the eighteen nineties from Savage, op. cit. p. 24.

3 Evidence to The S.C. Appointed to Inquire into the Present State of Agriculture and Persons Employed in the Same P.P. 1833, V, Q. 2,525.

C H A P T E R

F I V E

URBAN STANDARDS

"Often have we surveyed with feelings of pleasure, not unmingled with envy, the cheerful appearance of row after row of those comfortable-looking, self contained houses inhabited by English workmen ... their ornate beauty, with the honeysuckle, the jasmine, or the lovely rose tree encircling their doors and windows."¹

Urban housing could elicit romantic visions just as much as rural cottages. Vision and reality could also be just as divorced in this case as in the rural one. The somewhat romantic point of view of the above-quoted Scottish writer can be taken as representative of the fact that England had better standards than elsewhere in the nineteenth century. Dr Hunter's use of Pierre Dupont's revelations of French conditions in Les Ouvriers of 1846 demonstrated that the English working classes were certainly better off than their compatriots across the channel.²

If the contrast made is with rural England, rather than with France or Scotland, (and most migrants to town and cities

1 Begg, op. cit. p. 171.

2 7th Report of the Medical Officer of Health to the Privy Council on the State of Public Health P.P. 1865, XXVI, p. 129.

would be from rural England and thus making this same comparison), the position is seen as one of early advantages which were somewhat reduced over time. Making such a comparison is complicated by houses not always equating to dwelling units. Most of the houses in the newer northern textile towns were usually in single-family occupation, but elsewhere, and in the large cities particularly, multi-occupation was general rather than exceptional. That four-roomed houses predominated at any one time therefore does not imply that the normal dwelling unit was also of four rooms. Two families could well have two rooms each. Similarly a timetable of improvement with regard to materials used in construction is more difficult to arrive at in urban areas, since most houses were of brick and tile, or slate in the eighteen thirties and remained so by the early twentieth century. Government was also active, if not terribly effective, and this too has to be considered.

Consequently a somewhat different approach has to be adopted, commencing with the way in which housing forms changed, such as that from separately-occupied cellar dwellings to courtyard and terraced houses.

The Eighteen Thirties and Eighteen Forties

Contemporary comment upon developments in housing generally, and not just that of the working classes is typified by the following quotation from an article in Household Words.

"The form or outline of my house is in the usual bad modern taste, or rather the usual no taste of the great mass of trading builders of the day ... My second floor back window commands a view of a long row of new houses, which will inevitably be as damp as my own."¹

1 C. Dickens, Household Words (22 Feb. 1851), p. 513.

The author, concerned with middle-class villa development, continued in a vein far from unknown in more recent times. He complained of the similarity of the houses and the apparent lack of any spark of originality in any part of the construction, even to the laying-out of the gardens. The simple mass reproduction of a basic design had been the approach adopted by builders of working-class housing, if anything in advance of its adoption by the villa-building speculator.¹ The terraces of back-to-back dwellings, mentioned in Chapter Six, which made their appearance before the Napoleonic Wars could be seen as the ultimate examples of this form of building. It would be unwise to assume, however, that the appearance of such dwellings, or other terrace housing, was necessarily a retrograde step. Before coming to the conclusion the standard of accommodation they replaced must be considered - a point amply borne out by considering standards in Liverpool and other large towns in the early eighteenth thirties.

Three basic types of house were reckoned to be visible in Liverpool, accommodating the 175,000 estimated members of the working class out of a total population of some quarter of a million. Besides the notorious cellar dwellings there were the courts, the houses of which sometimes consisted of no more than one room. These were said to provide accommodation for about one-half of the working-class population, mainly in three-roomed, back-to-back houses.² While some of the front houses of the Liverpool courts were in the occupation of only one

1 The appearance of pattern and work books aided this tendency e.g. P. Nicholson, New Practical Builder (1823).

2 Evidence to the S.C. on the Health of Towns H. of L.S.P. 1840, XXVIII, Q. 2,392; and Report of Dr W.M. Duncan in Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, p. 284, where it was estimated 86,400 lived in these courts.

family, it was more usual for rooms to be sublet.¹ Even so, these court houses represented a vast improvement over the thousands of cellar dwellings that were still to be found in Liverpool, but were declining in number relative to previous years.

Back-to-back courtyard housing formed a major part of the total housing stock in many urban areas by the eighteen thirties. It was a form of building to be found not only in Liverpool, but in various other places including Derby,² Stockport,³ Nottingham,⁴ Bolton,⁵ and in Hull,⁶ where cellars were said to be impossible because they would have been below the water line.⁷ In the larger towns, some of these houses were built tall, due to the rising cost of land, but in many smaller ones, such as Wigan or Cheadle where pressure of demand was not so great, one- or two-storey buildings were predominant.⁸ The courtyard house could therefore take, in its three-room form, one of the configurations covered by the possible variations: back-to-back or not, on anything from one to three levels, with or without a cellar. Whatever the chosen style, three-

1 Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, p. 285.

2 Report of Dr William Baker on Derby in *ibid.* p. 165.

3 Sanitary Report H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVI, p. 17.

4 Report of Edward Senior, Assistant Poor Law Commissioner, in Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, p. 155.

5 Evidence to the S.C. on the Health of Towns H. of L.S.P. 1840, XXVIII, Q. 1,840.

6 *Ibid.* Q. 2,340.

7 *Ibid.* Q. 2,361.

8 Report of Charles Mott, Assistant Poor Law Commissioner, in Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, p. 234.

roomed houses generally formed the basis of many towns' housing stock. Much of the west Midlands was provided for in this way.¹ The south-east also follows a three-roomed pattern. As elsewhere one-roomed places could be found,² as could four-roomed cottages. These, however, were exceptional and the latter were usually broken down into two, two-roomed tenancies by subletting.

One-room holdings were commonly found in larger houses originally built for a higher class of occupant.³ Liverpool was like most cities in this respect, with many large, old converted houses in neighbourhoods which had declined. One such building, which housed five families, excited particular interest as a result of its being blown, or of just falling down, one night with the loss of three or four lives.⁴ Building standards of all converted dwellings did not inspire the greatest confidence, nor according to Dr Southwood Smith were the new buildings any better.⁵ Building codes were insufficient or ineffectively administered where they did exist. When legislation was passed it was often not used, or used only infrequently. Such extreme laissez-faire attitudes were not without even contemporary critics:

"With all our reverence for the principle of non-interference, we cannot doubt that in this matter it has been pushed too far."⁶

1 Sanitary Report H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVI, p. 98.

2 Ibid. p. 44.

3 Sanitary Report H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVI, p. 37.

4 Evidence to the S.C. on the Health of Towns H. of L.S.P. 1840, XXVIII, Q. 2,241.

5 Ibid. Qq. 125 and 126.

6 Report of the Commissioners on Hand-Loom Weavers P.P. 1841, X, p. 73.

The General Board of Health, set up under the 1848 Public Health Act, encountered severe problems regarding the Act's enforcement. It tried to urge the local boards who were actually responsible for its operation to greater activity. Many were found to be holding off because of the loose wording of the Act and the consequent fear of prolonged legal action against them.¹ Such fears were true not only of the 1848 Act, but also of later measures. Government activity depended upon the effectiveness of several steps in both the legislative and administrative processes.

The first of these steps was that of inquiry. The Royal Commission of 1884-5 provides an encouraging example of the operation of this first step. It concerned itself almost exclusively with housing at the cheaper end of the scale and it heard evidence about a number of places spread throughout the country from a variety of people with special knowledge of the towns and districts selected for study.² Unless all these considerations were borne in mind by those setting up an inquiry, any results would be of doubtful value, and the consequent likelihood of effective action was severely reduced. After this first step there was a need for effective legislation.

Most of the principal Acts are probably well-known. Torrens and Cross appear in most of the textbooks, usually at the expense of their rather more far-reaching and effective counterpart of 1890. It is not really the Acts themselves which are important, except to the extent of seeing if they were

1 General Board of Health, Rough Minute Book No. 7 P.R.O. MH 6/6, entry for 26 May 1851.

2 R.C. on the Housing of the Working Classes P.P. 1884-5, XXX, pp. 12-13.

mandatory or merely permissive, nor even what conditions they were intended to impose. These factors are background to the essential questions of how far the proposals were implemented, and how effectively. The scope of legislation does increase over time. There is a move away from a concern solely with sanitary conditions to a more general one, with materials used, space available and methods of construction. Legislation also changes from being concerned with local issues to applying to wider geographical areas. It moves from the local and essentially private Act to the general measure, from the local in scope to the national, and from a concern with "improvements" such as street cleaning and lighting and nuisance removal, to concern with the exact structural condition of the house itself. Progress, however, was slow and in many respects failed to affect the housing of the working class.

The eighteen forties saw portents of central activity without much overall effectiveness. Slaney's Bill of 1840 or the Metropolitan Building Act of 1844 were both more stringent than previous measures. The 1844 Act¹ contained measures against some underground rooms, which local authorities used to obtain better ventilation, and prevent overcrowding.² It was, however, still local whereas the Public Health Act of 1848 was national in scope.

Legislation right through to the twentieth century had major drawbacks. As with the Public Health Act it was often mandatory only in certain circumstances, if at all, and relied

1 7-8, V. c. LXXXIV.

2 St Giles Board of Works Report (1858-9), p. 47.

on the zeal with which it was administered for its eventual effectiveness.

Zealous administrators could still be thwarted by problems beyond their control, but for the early periods it was as much lack of effective legislation as anything that failed to control poor conditions. The actual cost of providing better conditions would still have had to be found from somewhere within the economy but, for the eighteen forties at least, government activity seems to have been restricted to reports, and somewhat ineffective health legislation. In the one area where legislators appear to have been active, the local improvement act, the eighteen thirties and eighteen forties were apparently a period of quiescence rather than of fevered activity, as can be judged from the following table. Even where they were passed, such measures affected working-class housing very little,

FIGURE 5.1

INCIDENCE OF LOCAL IMPROVEMENT ACTS BY DECADE 1800-1914*

	Number of Acts
1801-1809 (9 years)	6
1810-1819	17
1820-1829	14
1830-1839	6
1840-1849	9
1850-1859	20
1860-1869	27
1870-1879	50
1880-1889	60
1890-1899	66
1900-1909	54
1910-1914 (5 years)	19
TOTAL	348

* SOURCE: Based on a 10 per cent selected sample from The Index to Local and Personal Acts 1801-1947 (1949), produced by noting all Acts relating to Sewerage, Public Health and Building Regulations on every tenth page. One Act also related specifically to Working-Class Housing in Stretford.

being concerned more with paving, lighting, water supply and such factors in the predominantly middle-class areas of the towns to which they related.

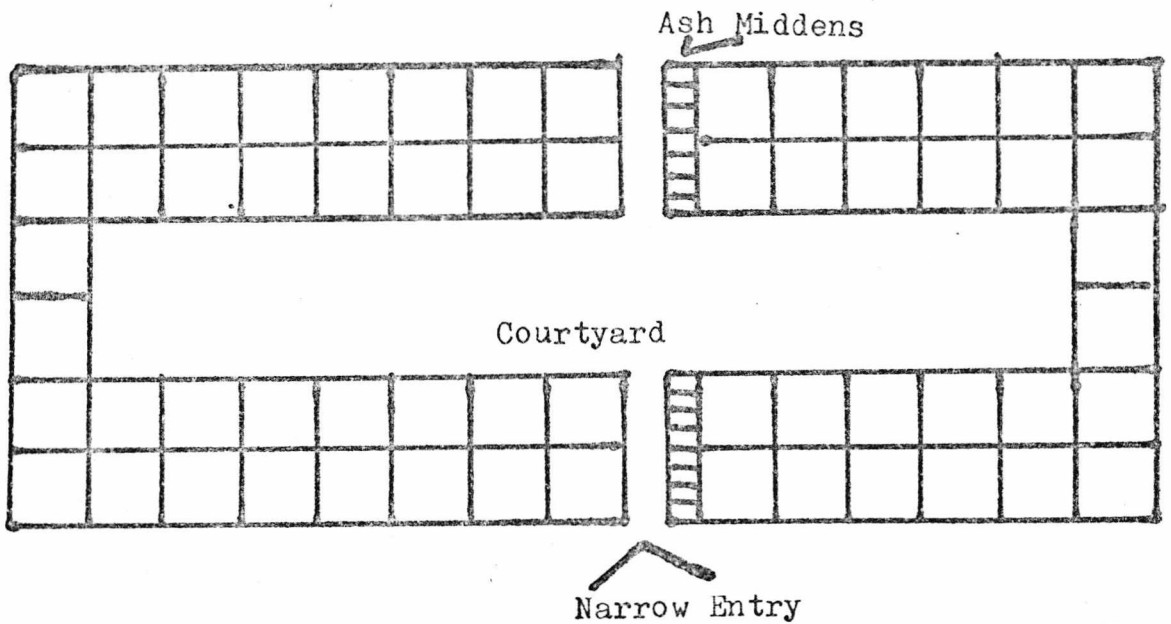
As a consequence of the lack of control, new and converted housing in the major towns and cities in the eighteenth forties suffered from poor quality of workmanship and materials. This affected those living in the converted tenements as much as, if not more than, most of the population. They were, however, probably better placed than those in either the lodging-houses or cellars.

Standards in converted tenements or court houses depended to some extent upon their age. Conversions were more likely to age quickly, and it was the new court houses in the manufacturing districts that exhibited better conditions, although still far from perfect. The layout of houses in Ashton-under-Lyne was typical of most court house areas. The plan on the following page shows what they were like, with some 36 "front" and 24 "back" houses, forming a quadrangle round a central area which also served as the entrance to the inner houses, approached by narrow entries in which the middens were placed. The photograph of back houses in Young's Terrace, Nottingham, shows what such places were like. The Ashton-under-Lyne houses had a room on the ground floor, with one bedroom about 16 feet square above. In many instances this bedroom contained three or four beds, which could frequently accommodate between 10 and 15 people. Such overcrowding was not helped by the internal layout of the houses. The stairs opened directly into both rooms, with no intervening bedroom door. The inhabitants had intensified their own ventilation problems by blocking up the chimneys with straw or some other such material in an

Sketch Plan of Quadrangle of 60 single houses, typical
of manufacturing towns and districts, taken from
Ashton-Under-Lyne¹

36 Houses facing street (Front Houses)

24 Houses facing inwards (Back Houses)



Houses 16 x 16

1 General Board of Health, Correspondence file Number 8.
entry for 10 Nov. 1848 Letter to Board from M.D. Lees M.D.

PHOTOGRAPH OF YOUNG'S TERRACE, NOTTINGHAM

TAKEN 1970 BY THE AUTHOR



attempt to prevent rain falling through. The chimneys were wide-mouthed and short, lacking a proper chimney-pot, which meant that any attempt to light a fire was doomed to fill the room with smoke due to the vicious downdraft. The lack of adequate chimneys resulted in inadequate heating and ventilation, which was also affected by the one-frame, sashless windows.¹

Although there were many variations in type of house or tenement available to the urban dweller, back-to-backs, courtyard houses, cottage flats and others, in terms of general numbers of rooms available the majority seem of two or three rooms, with some of one or four rooms. In the older towns the various types of accommodation depended upon many factors which had made themselves felt over a long period of time. By comparison, towns such as Ashton-under-Lyne had mushroomed overnight, as if constructed according to some uniform plan, albeit that of a madman. Diversity in housing types is marked and dependent upon age, area, soil types and local conditions in general.

The Second Half of the Century

This period saw a continuation of legislative efforts to combat the worst evils of overcrowding and cellar dwellings, both on a local and a national scale. The General Board of Health continued to function until its eventual demise by the middle eighteen fifties. Leicester's new building was brought to the notice of the Board in 1853. The local authorities complained of the unhealthy nature of the new houses,

1 General Board of Health, Correspondence File No. 8, entry for 10 Nov. 1848. Letter to General Board of Health from M.D. Lees M.D. (District Medical Officer for Ashton-under-Lyne) P.R.O. MH 13/8.

while the builders attempted to justify the plans which they had drawn up. The only response made by the General Board was to intimate that such matters were beyond its jurisdiction.¹ It would appear that such official bodies were only likely to become involved after slums were well established, the construction of potential slums being beyond their scope of interest.

Even where conditions were already poor, the General Board of Health was not always prompt to act. The shop and sweating system led to low-income levels among journeymen tailors and others and consequently they suffered poor housing. Thousands in this trade were forced to live in bad conditions, but a complaint on their behalf to the Commissioners of the Board met with the reply that a superintending inspector would be sent to look at the dwellings complained of, when the Board was not so hard pressed as it was at that time.²

The eighteen fifties seem to have been a period when the pressure of demand made itself especially felt in urban areas, and improvements resulting from legislative action could have come only in particular localities. The lack of any effective central legislation in this period meant that the incidence of improvement from this source must have been restricted indeed, dependent upon the existence and use of local bye-laws rather than general acts. The famous Torrens and Cross Acts come later, in 1868 and 1875. Torrid might better describe the passage into law of the first of these, with Bills appearing

1 General Board of Health Minute Book No. 8. P.R.O. MH5/8, entry for 2 Sep. 1853.

2 General Board of Health Minute Book No. 2. Representation by a deputation of the journeymen tailors. P.R.O. MH5/2, entry for 13 March 1850.

in 1866, 1867 and 1867-8 together with three more amended Bills before gaining approval. The usual fate met by the earlier Bills had been one of constant deferment until eventual withdrawal. Local authorities faced problems in implementation even where they did try to use it. St George's vestry in Southwark had to fight appeals against demolition orders under the act.¹ The chances for litigation were great, and of course it only gave power to deal with single houses. It was not until the Cross Act was passed that powers were obtained to deal with complete streets or areas.

Both of these Acts suffered the drawback that they were difficult and costly to operate. Success with the Torrens Act was limited due to its complicated nature, and this produced calls for something like the provisions contained in the Cross Act, since dealing with single houses did not cure the problem.² Even with the Cross Act in force, administrators complained that much time and effort was wasted in making official representations, and trying to define, in the terms of the Act, what constituted "ill construction", "want of ventilation", "density of population", or a sufficient amount of these, plus death and sickness, to justify action.³ The major act of 1890⁴ was principally based on the earlier ones, simplifying many procedures and tightening others in view of the findings of the 1884-5 Royal Commission. So the format of much subsequent legislation

1 Poplar Board of Works Report (1871), p. 22. Poplar was thought to be the first local authority to make use of the Act and they were keen to hear other's experience of operating under it.

2 St Giles' Medical Officer of Health's Report (1870-1), p. 16.

3 Bermondsey Medical Officer of Health's Report (1883), 5 Nov. p. lvi.

4 See below, p. 440.

was laid down by the eighteen seventies, only changing in detail and scope through to 1914. The exception to this was that one different principle did appear before the end of the century. Power to provide loan money for residents to purchase their own dwellings was given to local authorities in 1899.¹ Four-fifths of the estimated value of the property was to be the loan limit on houses whose market value was not over £400. The interest charge was not to exceed 10 per cent above the rate at which the Local Authority could borrow from the Public Works Loans Commissioners. Relatively little use appears to have been made of this provision, no vast number of owner-occupiers making their appearance, probably as much because of the need to find 20 per cent cash deposit, as for any other reason.

The usual state of government activity on the housing question was one of a lack of any attempt to positively enforce regulations, so that they went by default. This sometimes occurred virtually deliberately as with the local Board of Health in Bromyard which ceased to hold meetings, elect chairment or anything else. Eventually the members were all technically disqualified under the 1848 Public Health Act, but nothing could be done to replace them, neither the General Board of Health nor anyone else having the power to act,² and Bromyard ceased to be effectively covered by the Act's provisions. The other way in which administration lapsed appears to have been not deliberate but due to forgetfulness or ignorance. Chelsea and Hackney were the only local bodies in the Metropolis said to have put the provisions of the 1866 Sanitary Act into effect. Some of the others appear to have forgotten that they had ever had such powers.³ Newcastle, with powers under the same Act,

1 Small Dwellings Acquisition Act 62-63, V. c. 44.

2 General Board of Health Minute Book No. 7 P.R.O. MH5/7, entry for 13 May 1853.

3 R.C. on the Housing of the Working Classes P.P. 1884-5, XXX, p. 38.

let these drop out of use so that the city engineer had no knowledge of their existence.¹

The basic question remains that of how far government contributed to urban housing improvement. As a regulator the crucial test of the government's role is the question of effectiveness. This seems to have been manifestly lacking. If effective control had been introduced without increases in supply, then conditions for those evicted could only have deteriorated. As two observers noted: firstly there would theoretically have been no overcrowding if existing sanitation laws had been put into effect,² and secondly regulations could not be successfully carried out unless the means of the people involved were adequate for compliance.³ Government regulation was ineffective due to poor administration, and the permissive nature of the Acts themselves.⁴ Nor could it have been effective unless the underlying market situation was such as to permit it. The pressure of demand was a more important factor in determining housing standards than regulation could ever hope to be. Where this pressure came suddenly, with the arrival of immigrants, the problems were all the more acute. Sea-ports with poor housing conditions and large numbers of migrants were a common feature.

There were specialist lodging-houses set up to house the migrants from Europe, on their way to the New World. Cholera also came with them. September, 1853 saw outbreaks in both Hull and Newcastle at the same time as the disease was consid-

1 R.C. on the Housing of the Working Classes P.P. 1884-5, XXX, p. 50.

2 Haw, op. cit. (1902), p. 15.

3 Bethnal Green Vestry Report (1897), p. 14.

4 For details see below, Appendix 5A, pp. 438-441.

ered epidemic in Hamburg.¹ From Hull many emigrants made their way across country by rail to Liverpool and from there to America. A lack of medical checks upon those entering at Hull meant cases of cholera were also recorded in Liverpool.² More general problems of immigrants causing overcrowding in lodging-houses were reported from towns all over the country, such as Cardiff³ and Keighley,⁴ where the Irish were held to blame, and Southampton where the immigrants were of German origin.⁵ Complaints to the General Board of Health produced only pious exhortations to build more lodging-houses specialising in accommodation for both immigrants and sailors.⁶

Large inland towns suffered from similar problems to the sea-ports, but some managed to combat them fairly effectively from the viewpoint of most of their working-class population, by the eighteen sixties. Dr Hunter, in talking of the Midlands and the north, said that:

"The immense number and comfortable state of the people of Birmingham and Sheffield show that not only are the hideous abominations of cellar bedrooms and bedrooms over privies unnecessary in great industrious communities, but that working men can do very well without single-room tenements, or even sub-let houses at all, for very few such are found in those great towns."⁷

-
- 1 General Board of Health Minute Book No. 8, P.R.O. MH5/8, entry for 10 Sep. 1853.
 - 2 Ibid. entries dated 8 Sep. 1853 and 6 Sep. 1853.
 - 3 General Board of Health Minute Book No. 2. Reports on a letter received from the clerk to the Guardians of the Cardiff Union. P.R.O. MH5/2, entry for 22 Feb. 1850.
 - 4 General Board of Health Minute Book No. 5, P.R.O. MH5/5, entry for 21 Aug. 1851.
 - 5 General Board of Health Minute Book No. 10. Report of letter received from the Medical Officer of the Local Board of Health for Southampton. P.R.O. MH5/10, entry for 27 Oct. 1854.
 - 6 General Board of Health Minute Book No. 6, P.R.O. MH5/6, entry for 13 Feb. 1852.
 - 7 8th Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health to the Privy Council P.P. 1866, XXXIII, p. 470.

London too, was said to be showing signs of change for the better, with the areas of new building south of the river, in which there was little incidence of separate inhabitation of underground rooms, although such places still existed in combination with rooms above ground level. The use of underground cellars as separate dwellings was under considerable official attack from the late eighteen forties through to the end of the nineteenth century.¹ Opposition to official action came both from the landlords, who in times of high demand were likely to re-open previously closed cellars, and from the inhabitants themselves.² Cases of opposition to proposed bans on the use of basements as separate dwellings on the part of tenants were based mainly on the cost of the alternative accommodation. If supply were restricted, especially in periods of high and rising demand, the resulting increase in rents could be formidable.

Price was seen as the basic reason for poor housing conditions by some contemporary observers. Much of the problem in the fast-growing urban areas was associated with the competing demands for a relatively fixed supply of land.³ Some groups, such as clerks, able to earn a wage somewhat above average, spent rather more money upon their rent than did unskilled manual workers. The average weekly earnings of clerks in London in 1887, for example, was put at about 29/4d compared with 24/8 for unskilled labourers. The average level of rent was 7/3d per week, whereas for the other groups it was 5/9d,⁴

1 It was specifically attacked by Section 67 of the 1848 Public Health Act, and thus banned in those districts where this measure was adopted.

2 St Giles Board of Works Report (1858-9), p. 7.

3 8th Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health to the Privy Council P.P. 1866, XXXIII, p. 503.

4 Report and Tabulation of Statements Regarding Work and Labourers Dwellings in London Made by Men Living in Certain Selected Districts of London in March 1887 P.P. 1887, LXXI, 309.

similar proportions for both groups, but a higher absolute amount for the better-paid, which enable them to enjoy better living conditions.

Generally the least well-paid, and those in the most insecure types of employment, also had the worst accommodation. Casual dock labourers and costermongers were the group with most of their members living in tenements of only one room, with 50 per cent of the former and 46 per cent of the latter being so housed.¹ At the other extreme were policemen, only 1 per cent of whom had less than two rooms. An apparent measure of the stability of employment can also be gauged by the marriage rates of the various groups of occupants, as well as their ability to obtain more, or less, house room. The policemen had a marriage rate of 98 per cent while that of dock labourers was the lowest at 78 per cent.²

In London, the example par excellence of the large town, families living in one room were a constant feature throughout the nineteenth century. While the number of rooms per house might have increased in large towns over the course of the century these houses were often occupied by more than one family. Sharing, in an explicit sense may have been rare in rural areas, but it was far from uncommon in urban areas, as mentioned above.³

Sharing, in extreme cases, meant that conditions would be such as George Haw noted:

1 Ibid. p. 311.

2 Report and Tabulation of Statements Regarding Workers and Labourers' Dwellings in London Made by Men Living in Certain Selected Districts of London in March 1887 P.P. 1887, LXXI, p. 311.

3 See above, p. 93.

"Among some families at Spitalfields the beds are rented on the eight hour principle, having three different sets of sleepers every twenty four hours."¹

Of a less extreme nature is the picture to be gathered from a survey undertaken in the mid-eighteen eighties in Bermondsey. The Medical Officer of Health inspected all the courts and smaller houses throughout the parish. This included 198 streets with 3,465 dwellings of which 3,234 were reported upon. Of these, 1,701 housed only one family, leaving 1,533 in multi-occupation; 1,130 shared by two families, 305 by three, up to the four which contained seven families.² Thus out of the cheapest 30 per cent of the dwelling units in Bermondsey (there were 11,083 inhabited "houses" according to the 1881 Census) something over two-thirds of the families lived in multi-occupied dwellings, few of which were designed or built as such. As for size of houses, the four-roomed type was predominant, with a total of 1,425 which was almost as many as the rest put together. Some of the really large houses, such as the 21-roomed example, may have been lodging-houses or accommodated some of the larger families adequately, but the majority were of four rooms or fewer and likely to be in multi-occupation. The Medical Officer of Health pointed out, however, that the larger the house the more likely it was to be both multi-occupied and in a filthy state, equally discreditable to owners, agents and occupiers. While the four-roomed house predominated, it was not the typical size of the dwelling unit, which would be somewhat lower due to the incidence of sharing. Perhaps a four-roomed house with two families was more normal. The complete

1 Haw, op. cit. (1899), p. 11

2 Bermondsey Vestry, Medical Officer of Health's Report (1884), p. XXVII.

results can be judged from the following two tables which set out the findings by family and by rooms.

FIGURE 5.2

A. NUMBER OF FAMILIES PER DWELLING BERMONDSEY 1884*

1,701 single-family dwellings
1,130 two-family dwellings
305 three-family dwellings
66 four-family dwellings
17 five-family dwellings
11 six-family dwellings
4 seven-family dwellings

The total number of families covered was 5,319.

B. NUMBER OF ROOMS PER HOUSE

No single room houses	32	7-room
437 2-room houses	23	8-room
305 3-room houses	10	9-room
1,425 4-room houses	3	10-room
419 5-room houses	3	11-room
540 6-room houses		plus one each of
		12, 13, 14, 15 and
		21 rooms

* SOURCE: Bermondsey Vestry, Medical Officer of Health's Report (1884), p. XXVII.

This discrepancy between the size of houses and the size of dwelling units was noted by Charles Booth in his survey of London in the late eighteen nineties. He described one-roomed houses as accidental curiosities, but there were plenty of one-up/one-downs, in rows or whole streets. Three-roomed houses with workhouse-kitchen were comparatively rare, while the next usual size was the four-roomed one with a downstairs parlour about 10 or 12 feet square, a smaller kitchen, and two rooms up, the best being the front one, often let out unfurnished. The five-roomed house took the form of a four-roomed one enlarged in similar fashion to that which transformed a two-roomed house into three, namely the addition on the ground

floor of extra space for a kitchen area, leaving two day-rooms free. Six-roomed houses were all old-fashioned with two of the rooms usually in a basement below street level. Families in these houses and old eight-roomed ones often sub-let some of the upstairs rooms, better-off families making them furnished. There were only a few specialised buildings just coming into vogue of six and nine rooms designed for letting in separate tenements.¹ A similar situation was to be found in other large urban areas, but greater uniformity was only noticeable in the northern industrial towns where most of the building was of a more recent vintage.

In terms of rooms per house, bearing in mind the question of multi-occupation, the urban situation by the end of the century is summarised by Appendix 4B² which estimates that one-roomed tenements accounted for just over 6 per cent of all urban dwellings. Two- and three-roomed units both totalled some 12.6 per cent while four-roomed dwellings formed nearly a quarter of the total. On the whole, the position appears somewhat worse than in the rural areas. The figures in this appendix continue the analysis of the situation into the early twentieth century, and greater use will be made of them later.

Urban housing exhibited a great, and possibly increasing, variety. It is, however, difficult to summarise the course of any improvement in terms of rooms per dwelling as was done for rural areas, as already mentioned. The major type of housing in the eighteen nineties probably included far more four-roomed

1 Booth, op. cit. 2nd Ser. Vol. II (1902), pp. 234-5.

2 See below, p. 436.

dwellings than had been the case in the middle of the century. Multi-occupation, however, meant that this apparent improvement was not as great as it might have been. Improvement in terms of the reduced use of cellar dwellings as a sole form of accommodation is to be found, but cellar dwellings had, of course, no real parallel in the rural situation. While builders were supplying more four-roomed houses, the pressure of demand ensured their multi-occupation in the large cities such as London. In the newer industrial towns of the north, multi-occupation may well have been much lower¹ in its incidence, except in time of depressed economic conditions when sharing increased.² Generally the likelihood of sharing appears to have been determined by occupation and directly linked to it, the question of income levels, as well as family size.³

The Early Twentieth Century

Urban working-class housing conditions just before the First World War can be gauged from verbal reports such as that of 1906, prepared for the Board of Trade, as well as from the census figures. The Board of Trade report shows the typical house as one of two storeys, self-contained with a total of four or five rooms plus a separate scullery.⁴ The census figures for 1911 show that a preponderance of four-room holdings

1. Anderson, op. cit. p. 33, shows Preston with 9 per cent of houses in multi-occupation in 1851.

2. Ibid. p. 150.

3. Ibid. pp. 49-50.

4. Board of Trade Report on Working-Class Rents, Housing and Retail Prices in the Principal Industrial Towns of the U.K. P.P. 1908, CVII, p. 325.

existed, nearly 25 per cent of the whole population living in such tenements.¹

This was the general situation, though numerical and regional variations were noticeable. Of those houses which contained from three to six rooms: four-roomed ones were found in every one of the 77 towns included in the survey, but a few had no five-roomed dwellings, and a greater number no three-roomed dwellings, although these were still terms as "fairly common". There were also a "considerable number" of towns with six-roomed tenements inhabited by the working class.²

The main areas for the four- or five-roomed houses were the Midlands and the south, and where found outside these areas they were liable to be overshadowed by a greater profusion of local types. The normal layout of the four- or five-roomed dwelling consisted of a front parlour, kitchen and scullery, with two or three bedrooms upstairs. In the Midlands they usually rose direct from the pavement line, with flat fronts, while a southern variation was to have occasional bay-windows or, in some cases, small forecourts. Such variations in the Midlands, however, usually denoted an altogether superior product.³ The stairs were usually positioned parallel with the street, running between the parlour and the kitchen⁴ while in other designs they ran alongside the house leading out of the kitchen, sometimes enclosed by a cupboard-like door at the foot of the stairs.⁵

1 1911 Census Report (Cd. 6910) (1913), p. iv and see below, Appendix 4B, p. 435.

2 Board of Trade Report on Working-Class Rents, Housing and Retail Prices Prices in the Principal Industrial Towns of the U.K. P.P. 1908, CVII, p. 334.

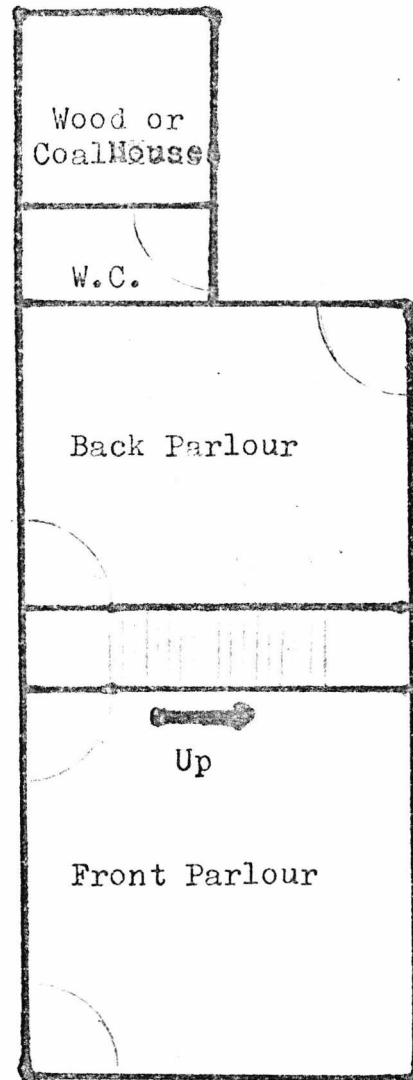
3 Ibid. p. 337.

4 See plan on following page.

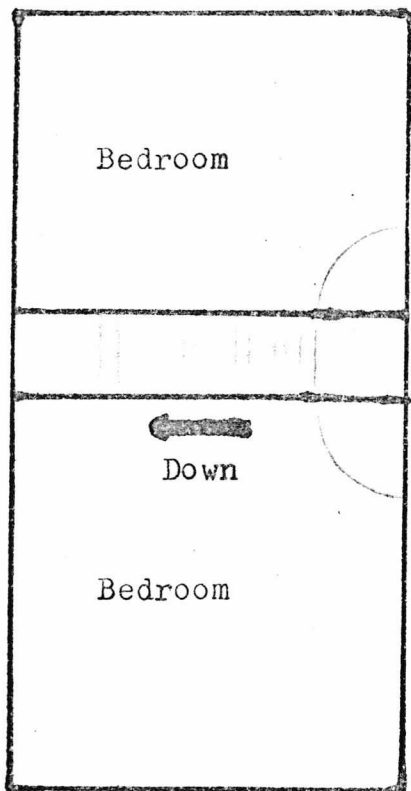
5 See plan on following page.

Suggested Sketch Plan of Cottage with Staircase Parallel
to Street

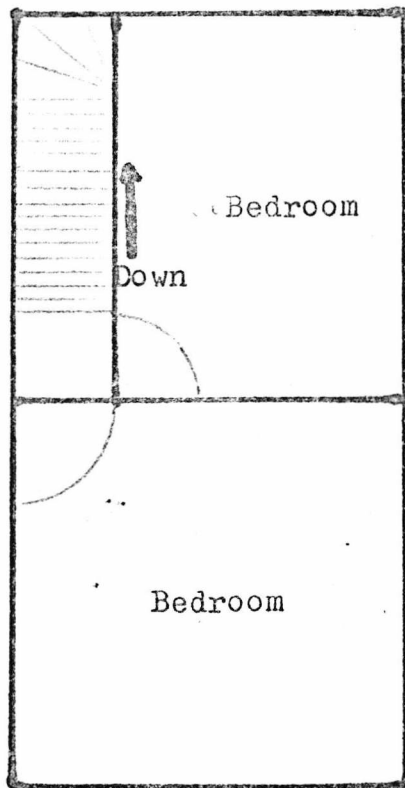
Ground-Floor



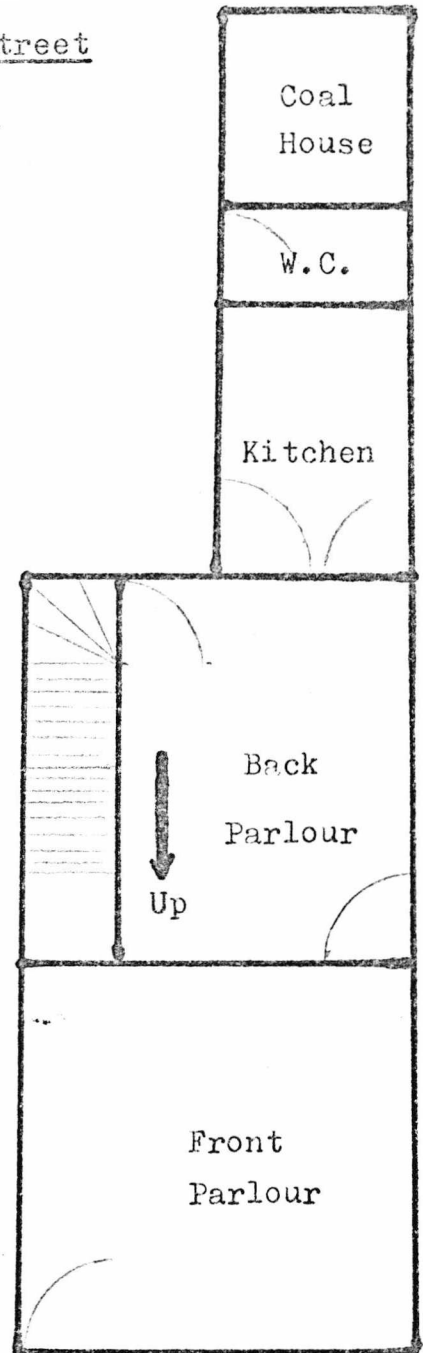
First-Floor



Suggested Sketch Plan of Cottage with
Staircase at Right Angles to the Street



First-Floor



Ground-Floor

Similar styles were to be found in Wales, four-, five or six-roomed houses with back additions forming the predominant part of the housing stock. Regional differences again were noticed, such as in the houses around Merthyr, some of which had no separate scullery, or in the case of some of the four-roomed houses where one bedroom was not placed upstairs but on the ground floor.¹

In the north-eastern counties, by contrast, the type of dwelling outlined above as so common in the south and the Midlands was somewhat exceptional, inhabited only by the better sort of artisan. The actual type of dwelling which dominated the northern scene varied from county to county, and even from town to town. The three- or four-roomed back-to-back house was one of the most prevalent types of dwelling throughout Yorkshire but not in Hull.²

In Hull the normal type of house consisted of through dwellings let at low rents, compared to London. The rest of Yorkshire was reliant upon back-to-backs to a great extent. Leeds represented what might be termed the mecca of such construction,³ but there were some 16,000 of them in Sheffield, although they had been banned as early as 1864.⁴ The layout of many three-roomed back-to-backs was similar to that found in Ashton-under Lyne,⁵ formed round a courtyard, although the

1 Board of Trade Report on Working-Class Rents, Housing and Retail Prices in the Principal Industrial Towns of the U.K. P.P. 1908, CVII, p. 338.

2 Ibid. p. 607.

3 See below, p. 330.

4 Board of Trade Report on Working-Class Rents, Housing and Retail Prices in the Principal Industrial Towns of the U.K. P.P. 1908, CVII, p. 411.

5 See above, p. 263.

entrances to the courts were tunnels passing under the upper storeys of the houses rather than the narrow, open entrances of Ashton. Back-to-backs in York, however, only formed 12 per cent of the total working-class accommodation in the city¹ and they had been banned under local bye-laws since 1870. The incidence of back-to-backs was widespread but their numbers varied considerably from one town to the next.

Local bye-laws were one of the few ways that government regulation was at all effective during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Their effects were piecemeal as only after the appearance of the Home Office model bye-laws of 1877 did some degree of uniformity become possible. The General Board of Health had unsuccessfully tried to get drafts of a general building act considered from as early as 1853.²

Local bodies still had to positively adopt such measures, or initiate their own local acts, the late nineteenth century being the peak period for the local improvement act. 230 out of the 348 acts in the sample in Figure 5.1 were passed between 1870 and 1909 inclusive. During this period many local authorities wishing to bring about changes in conditions apparently thought themselves thwarted rather than helped by the powers given to them under central legislation. It was only in the second decade of the twentieth century that the number of local acts began to decline substantially, at the same point in time, post-1909, that some of the major provisions of housing legislation became compulsory rather than permissive.³

1 B.S. Rowntree, Poverty, a Study of Town Life (1901), p. 159.

2 General Board of Health Minute Book No. 7. P.R.O. MH5/7, entry for 22 March 1853.

3 See below, Appendix 5A, p. 441, Column (3).

Even with the power to intervene granted to local authorities, effective action depended upon the zeal with which they administered and policed these powers. In some areas or periods this was good, in others far from good. That some effect from bye-laws was felt is demonstrated by supposed building booms at specific times, to avoid impending new and stringent regulations.¹ York, it might be supposed, was one of the areas whose inhabitants were among the more fortunate group. Their normal type of dwelling was the four- or five-roomed house, on two storeys, with no cellar or attic, held by separate families with little or not sub-letting.²

Huddersfield provides an example of the general type of back-to-back housing said to be prominent throughout Yorkshire, with passages giving entry to the courts and back houses between every two front ones. Bradford and Halifax had a housing stock which was mainly composed of houses similar to this type, with wider variation including more small, two- or three-roomed houses available in the very centre.³ Further north on the east side of the country, the area around South Shields, Sunderland, Jarrow and Newcastle showed signs of somewhat smaller dwellings. Two- and three-roomed houses, or tenements, were common as well as four-roomed houses, while Sunderland in particular was notable for the existence of somewhat unusual one-storey cottages.⁴

1 Bowmaker, op. cit. p. 7; and Barker, op. cit. p. 99.

2 Board of Trade Report on Working-Class Rents, Housing and Retail Prices in the Principal Industrial Towns of the U.K. P.P. 1908, CVII, p. 501.

3 Ibid. p. 224.

4 Ibid, p. 338.

These had a sitting-room, living-room, bedroom and scullery, although a few boasted an extra bedroom situated in a wing which jutted out from the living-room.¹ In the rest of the north-east, the Tyneside cottage flat² formed a predominant portion of the total housing stock. Variations of these dwellings also existed in the houses of the Gateshead area. Apart from a few pit-cottages, and self-contained houses, the vast majority of the working class were housed in cottage flats of two storeys which were said to be common throughout Tyneside. Even in places where space was freely available this was the style of building generally favoured. The older type were mostly of two rooms, frequently without even an additional scullery. The more modern type usually had three-roomed flats downstairs, and four-roomed ones upstairs, and most had a scullery.³

Stockton, while situated in the same area, provided examples of houses more akin to the western side of the country, principally of the Lancashire type rather than those of other north-eastern towns. Carlisle on the western edge reciprocated in having a few of the Tyneside type of flats, but mainly its stock was composed of four- or five-roomed dwellings.⁴ Carlisle's working-class houses were nearly all new in construction, the three-, four- and five-roomed dwellings surrounding

1 Board of Trade Report on Working-Class Rents, Housing and Retail Prices in the Principal Industrial Towns of the U.K. P.P. 1908, CVII, p. 826.

2 See below, Chapter Six, pp. 317-325.

3 Board of Trade Report on Working-Class Rents, Housing and Retail Prices in the Principal Industrial Towns of the U.K. P.P. 1908, CVII, p. 567.

4 Ibid. p. 338.

the factories to the south and west of the town replacing the older tenements in the centre and the previously general two- and three-roomed cottages with attics, which had formed the older stock of accommodation.¹

Four- and five-roomed houses were also the dominant form of housing to be found to the south of Carlisle in the Lancashire and Cheshire district. These were, however, again a distinctive regional type, having a front and back kitchen downstairs and two or three bedrooms on the first floor. The houses themselves were placed side by side, and had back additions constructed in such a fashion as to give a style of building said to be peculiar to the area, only occasionally being discovered elsewhere such as at Stockton, and only exceptionally very far to the south.²

The back addition to these houses was usually a scullery permitting full use of both front and back kitchens as living rooms. The third bedroom on some plans was built over the scullery, and the resulting house type was found in places such as Blackburn, demonstrating very little variation. They were just small dwellings with plain fronts and the floors were usually paved with well-scoured flagstones.³

Variations on this theme were to be found in other towns in the area. Bolton had many houses of this type as well as nearly 2,000 back-to-backs in 1905,⁴ while Birkenhead bristled with such houses. Birkenhead had various types of accom-

1 Board of Trade Report on Working-Class Rents, Housing and Retail Prices in the Principal Industrial Towns of the U.K. P.P. 1908, CVII, pp. 516-7.

2 Ibid. p. 338.

3 Ibid. pp. 469-70.

4 Ibid. p. 476.

modation including block dwellings, purpose-built flats, houses let in tenements and other houses of varying size. The old, converted tenement houses accommodated many of the casual labourers in very poor two- or three-roomed units rented from a non-resident landlord. In the case of cottages, the older three-roomed type were less common than were the newer four- or five-roomed ones. Within the four-room grouping there were again two types. They both tended to have bigger bedrooms than the three-roomed ones and some even had a bathroom. The first type had a front, and a back, kitchen in the traditional mould, while the second showed some similarity to the southern houses in having a front parlour with the kitchen, and usually a small scullery at the back of the building. This second type sometimes had not four rooms but five, as a result of the addition of a third bedroom.¹

By the beginning of the twentieth century in urban areas generally, as in the case of rural housing, there was a tendency for the north-east to have a smaller number of rooms per dwelling than elsewhere. In the rural case this was compensated for by the greater size of rooms, but in the urban context any such compensation was less pronounced.²

Apart from the north-east, the other main regional variation that London did not share the national increase in the number of rooms found in the average dwelling. This resulted from its greater size, and the consequent pressure of population upon the space available. The worst position was in what

1 Board of Trade Report on Working-Class Rents, Housing and Retail Prices in the Principal Industrial Towns of the U.K. P.P. 1908, CVII, p. 453.

2 See below, p. 291.

was termed the central zone. The general tendency for the middle of any large town to be the site of what were by far the worst conditions and most multi-occupation, was compounded in London's case by the greater numbers involved.

With the exception of central London, much of the south of England, in common with the country generally, showed a great reliance upon the four- or five-roomed dwelling. Smaller holdings were usually the reserve of the lowest strata even of the working class: those who relied on casual labour and who in consequence needed to be in the centre, virtually on top of their source of employment.

Looking at the statistical summary of the situation provided by the 1891, 1901 and 1911 census returns, it is apparent that an improvement takes place even over the twenty-year period. Both one- and two-roomed units decline, with a compensating increase in three- and four-roomed units between 1891 and 1911.¹ If the 1901 figures are omitted because of the problems already associated with them regarding the definition of a room, there is a significant improvement visible between 1891 and 1911. Bearing in mind that the 1891 figures represent, if anything, an under-registration of small houses, this degree of improvement is not only confirmed but may be understated.

The overall situation is one of some improvement to the eighteen seventies or eighteen eighties predominantly evidenced through a tendency for particular areas to start restricting the use first of all of separately-occupied cellar dwellings, and later the building of back-to-backs rather than in the number of rooms per house or dwelling. This tendency was some-

1 See below, Appendix 4B, pp. 434-6.

what countered by the standard of housing found in the central city areas where tenement conversions formed the major part of the stock. As the century progressed it becomes clearer that the position with regard to the number of rooms in each house was also improving. This could be, and often was, upset by the incidence of multi-occupation, especially in central city areas, but from the eighteen forties to the early twentieth century there was a shift from a predominance of one-, two- or three-roomed dwellings to four- and five-roomed ones, with only shaky evidence as to when this transformation took place, which could suggest a gradual process at work. To what extent was this movement offset or enhanced by changes in the size of rooms?

Room Sizes

The dimensions of rooms in urban areas seem to have varied little throughout the nineteenth century, and compare favourably with those of more recent date, judging by the standards set out in the Parker-Morris report.¹

The reports of the early eighteen thirties and eighteen forties were quick to note the very small rooms, the cellars 12 by 10 feet,² and the cottages in Shuter's Gardens, Brighton, which had two rooms, each measuring 8 by 11 feet.³ Larger sizes could, however, be found, such as the 12 by 16 feet in Stockport.⁴ A more complete picture can be gauged from the details of small tenements in Whitehaven. The normal room size there was of the order of 12 by 10 or 11 feet.⁵

1 See above, p. 186.

2 Evidence of Dr Duncan to The S.C. on the Health of Towns H. of L.S.P. 1840, XXVIII, Q. 2,417.

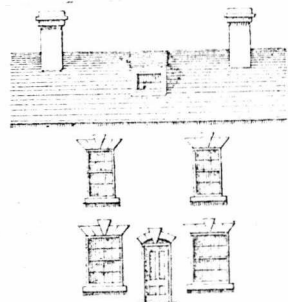
3 Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, p. 62.

4 Sanitary Report H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVI, p. 17.

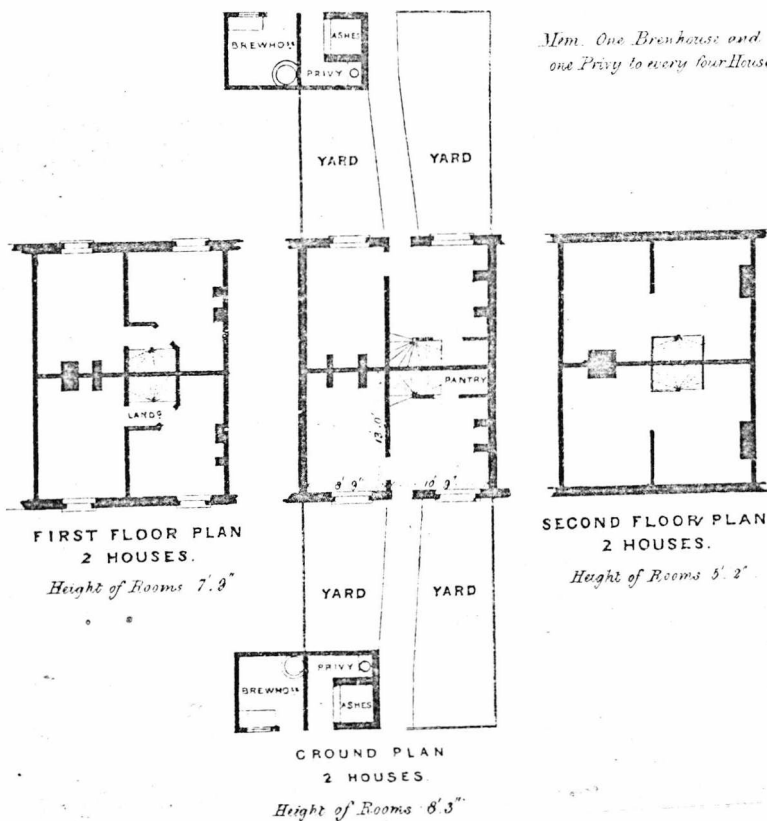
5 Rawlinson, op. cit. Supplement, pp. 2-17.

Elevation and Plans of Houses in Great Russell St.

Birmingham¹



ELEVATION OF ONE HOUSE.

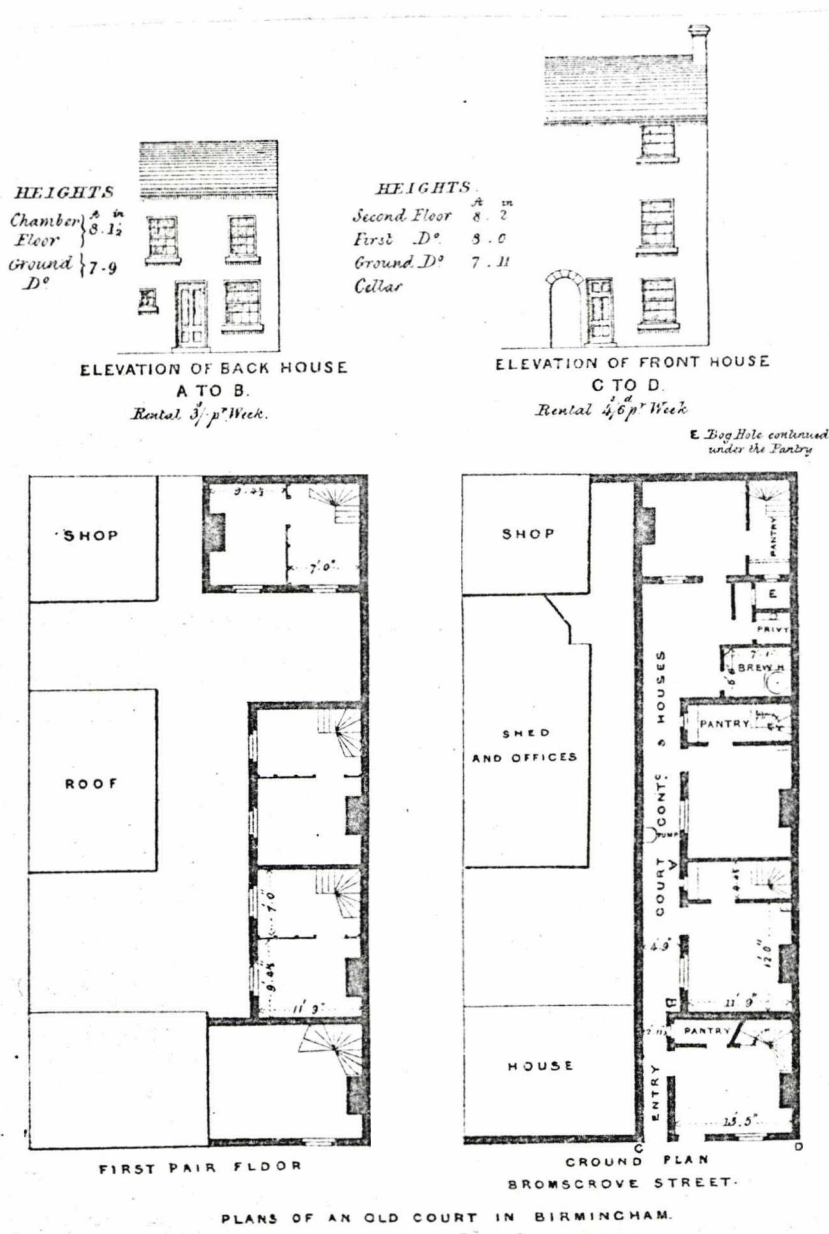


Mem. One Brewhouse and one Privy to every four Houses.

¹ Local Reports H. of L, S.P. 1842, XXVII, between pp. 192-3.

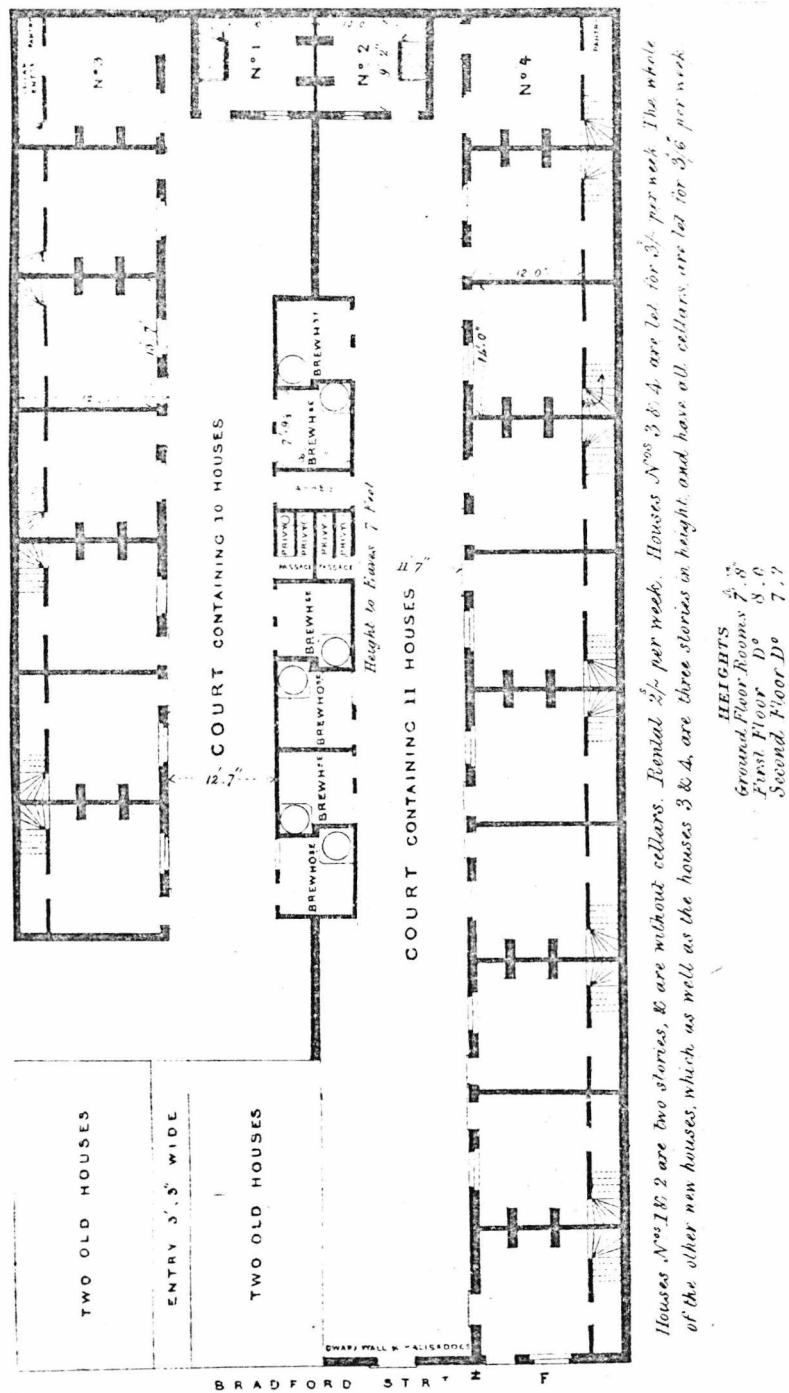
Elevations and Plans of Houses in Bromsgrove St.

Birmingham 1



1 Local Reports H. of L. S.P. 1842, XXVII, between
pp. 192-3.

Ground Plan of Two New Courts of Houses in
Bradford St. Birmingham¹



1 Local Reports H. of L. S.P. 1842, XXVII, between
pp. 192-3.

291

These, however, are only isolated examples, and there seems insufficient general evidence to assist in the quest for a timetable of change, or to clearly indicate its extent. The room sizes typified in the preceding diagrams, give an idea of the space available, as well as the overall layout of the dwellings. The plans relate to Birmingham in the eighteen forties, and from the reports of this period it seems that the usual amount of space available to tenants was somewhere in the region of 130 to 150 square feet per room. The rural phenomena of generally larger rooms in the north-east is also noticeable in the towns, but it does not seem as pronounced. Later, as the cottage flat type dwellings took an increasing hold there, the normal room size came to be something of the order of 12 feet by 14, although larger sizes still frequently existed in older houses.¹

A similar amount of space was to be found in the principal rooms of the houses constructed by philanthropic bodies in the eighteen sixties and eighteen seventies. The dimensions of the living rooms in Peabody flats total about 140 to 150 square feet, although the bedrooms were somewhat smaller, the smallest being around 70 square feet.² This was probably a more useful overall arrangement than that found by Dr Hunter, who reported that, by the mid eighteen sixties, rooms of 100 square feet were predominant for three-roomed dwellings in the worst quarters of Liverpool.³ Similar dwellings to these, with three rooms on three storeys were to be found in Poplar, each room containing 110 square feet⁴ or Birmingham, as shown on the previous pages. Larger living rooms and smaller bedrooms appears to be a more useful division of space.

1 Board of Trade Report on Working-Class Rents, Housing and Retail Prices in the Principal Industrial Towns of the U.K. P.P. 1908, CVII, p. 567.

2 Gatliff, op. cit. p. 20.

3 8th Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health to the Privy Council P.P. 1866, XXXIII, p. 502.

4 Poplar Board of Works Annual Report (1860), p. 37.

Smaller houses in the poorer parts of many towns exhibited similar sizes right through to the end of the century. Part of the problem was that the old stock continued to exist alongside the new. New room sizes were probably much like their predecessors except in the north-east where larger rooms existed in old houses, alongside the newer ones which were nearer the standard size of the country as a whole. The other trend was one of decreasing size as the number of rooms per house increased. The last rooms, especially smaller bedrooms, were well below the average size. In moves such as that from a four-roomed to a five-roomed house, the overall increase in floor space could well be minimal.

By the later part of the century many authorities began to take an objective look at overcrowding, expressing it in terms of people related to the available amount of living space in cubic feet. This took in not only the floor dimensions of the rooms but also their height. As can be noted from Rawlinson's report on Whitehaven,¹ the height of rooms varied considerably. Heights of less than 6 feet were not unknown although rare, an example being shown in the diagram on page 288 where the rooms on the top floor were fitted into the attic. Usually, however, the height was something of the order of 8 feet, or 8 feet 6 inches, which equated to that found in the model dwellings.²

¹ Rawlinson, op. cit. Supplement, pp. 2-17. Lowest was 5 feet, p. 4; highest was 12 feet, p. 16.

² Common and Model Lodging-Houses Metropolis (Epidemic of Cholera 1854)
P.P. 1854-5, XLV, p. 282.

Other Factors Affecting Urban Standards

The other criteria by which rural housing was judged: the materials used in construction, siting, sanitary conditions, fittings and furnishings, are of lesser use in arriving at a timetable, or determining the extent of urban change. Materials were more uniform, both temporally and geographically speaking. The typical urban house was of brick or stone walls, tile and slate roof, whether northern or southern, whether of the eighteen thirties (as can be judged from the various descriptions in the Local Reports of 1842), or the early twentieth century. Stone was more usual in parts of the north than in the more generally deficient south, but the use of relatively unprocessed materials noted for rural areas does not appear significant in the urban context. The supply of bricks came increasingly from larger sources rather than small, localised ones, growth depending mainly on transport facilities.¹

The situation was summed up succinctly by 1912. One basic type of house was said to dominate the entire urban scene by this time, in all English towns with only a few exceptions. This was a small, self-contained four- or five-roomed cottage, with front parlour, kitchen, scullery and two or three bedrooms.

1 A large field near London was developed at Hanwell-Uxbridge by 1865, near to the Great Western Railway at Hayes and West Drayton. 7th Report of the Medical Officer of Health to the Privy Council on the State of Public Health P.P. 1865, XXVI, p. 231.

A large brickmaking area was centred on Manchester by 1861. Bowley, op. cit. (1960), p. 64.

With the more widespread introduction of Flettons in the last quarter of the century, the size of units of production may have increased but this is not certain. Increased output could have come from a multiplication of units of production rather than an increase in unit size. The average size by 1870 was put at 12.7 employees per unit. Ibid. p. 60.

The only major regional variation to be noted was in the south and east where it was rather more likely that the entrance would be through a small forecourt, whereas in the Midlands and the north the front entrance to the parlour came directly from the street.¹

The problems encountered with urban sites do change over the century. In economic terms the increasing commercial value of central city land meant that this was priced out of reach of the working-class tenant. The question of rising competition for valuable sites meant, among other things, that whereas depopulation of a particular area would usually herald an improvement in housing standards due to a reduction in demand, this was not necessarily so in central city areas. Depopulation in the centre of cities could be consistent with declining standards, since it was the result of demolitions, and increasing pressure for commercial development. Parts of inner London were no longer increasing in population even by the eighteen sixties,² but housing conditions, measured by numbers per house, continued to be poor due to the pressure of demand for space in the centre.

Other complaints regarding sites featured the questions of swampy ground and the use of "fill" to make up an area ready for building. Complaints regarding both of these were equally

1 Report of an Enquiry by the Board of Trade into Working-Class Rents, Prices and Wages in Industrial Towns, 1912 P.P. 1913, LXVI, report p. xvii.

2 e.g. The population of St Giles fell in the period 1861 to 1871 by 394, but houses also decreased by 134, and in the south of the parish the average number of inhabitants per house rose from 14.5 to 15.78. Medical Officer of Health's Report to St Giles Board of Works (1871-2), p. 3; and see map above, p.75.

prominent both in the early part of the period,¹ and towards the end of it.² Filling in ground to be used as a building site was a common practice, according to the surveyor of the Wandsworth Board of Works. He gave examples of excavations and filling, taking place in Speke Road, Livingstone Road, Palk Road and numerous others in the district.³ Hackney wick, note the very name of the place meaning "swamp", also saw the use of so-called "made ground".⁴ Such sites were more likely to subside than natural ones, and to cause other associated problems. They were, however, cheap and therefore considered more suitable for working-class housing. The open market again held the key. What would people pay for? But the open market also left openings for land companies to speculate in areas of development reselling later at far higher rates.⁵ The extent of these opportunities depended upon the degree of power to affect price held by the supplier.

1 Vauxhall sites, Tyers St, New St and Vauxhall St, were all said to be built on marshy land. This involved several hundred speculatively-built houses. Evidence to S.C. on the Health of Towns H. of L.S.P. 1840, XXVIII, Qq. 760-1 and 764.

Bethnal Green at the same time was being developed on a "perfect swamp". Evidence of Southwood Smith to Ibid. Qq. 25 and 78.

Tiverton, same complaints, Sanitary Report H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVI, p. 5.

2 Examples of damp sites come from Bermondsey, where houses were built on piles in swampy ground, and Bristol, amongst others. R.C. on the Housing of the Working Classes P.P. 1884-5, XXX, p. 17.

3 Evidence of J.T. Pilditch to S.C. on Metropolis Management and Building Acts Amendment Bill P.P. 1878, XVI, Qq. 7-8.

4 Evidence of J.W. Tripe, Medical Officer of Health for Hackney to Ibid. Q. 63. West Ham was also susceptible, Haw, op. cit. (1902), pp. 87 and 90.

5 The Builder 6th March 1880 p. 295 re: Willesden. Whether this raised eventual house prices or not is debatable. If the eventual sale was in a situation approaching perfect competition then the price would be much the same, with or without such speculation. Where sites were scarce and demand heavy, the speculator could thrive, possibly at the expense of his customer, the landlord.

The extremes of dampness were shown by houses in the Isle of Dogs and around Battersea fields which were built below high-tide level and proved very susceptible to flooding during violent rain.¹ A more bizarre form of damp sites, however, was to be found not in London towards the end of the period, but in Barnard Castle in the eighteen thirties, where some houses had been built so as to form courtyards on the edge of, and actually upon, the old castle moat.²

Over the whole country in the period to the mid-eighteen eighties, the Royal Commission on Working Class Housing saw that that:

"There had been much building, more over, on bad land covered with refuse heaps and decaying matter."³

Attempts had been made since 1879 to enforce the use of a covering of concrete over the whole area on which houses were built, if refuse was used to "make up" the ground, but this regulation had met with problems concerning its enforcement. With insufficient control over the quality of the concrete used, cracking occurred quite often which defeated the whole object of the exercise.

The question of siting is somewhat problematical in terms of whether it improved or not. Commercial pressures made many people live further from their work, not always on better sites, at Hackney wick, for example. Transport improvements, however, involving railways, omnibuses and tramcars all helped to offset

1 Evidence of W. Newall, Clerk to the Dept. of Supt. Architect of M.B.W., to S.C. on the Metropolitan Buildings and Management Bill P.P. 1874, X, Q. 155.

2 Sanitary Report H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVI, p. 21.

3 R.C. on the Housing of the Working Classes P.P. 1884-5, XXX, p. 17.

the full effects. This was particularly true of London,¹ where the distance involved was greater than in the other cities. affected, although their transport services for the working man did develop along similar lines.² Swampy and filled sites remained as great, if not a greater menace at the end of the century as at the beginning. The only redeeming feature was the reduction in the number of cellar dwellers who would have been more immediately affected, especially by dampness or actual flooding.

Among the other categories of possible improvement, the question of sanitary conditions and house fittings can be linked in the shape of the spread of the humble water closet. Some people questioned whether this really constituted an advance or merely shifted the problem from the individual to the community. The widespread existence of such apparatus, however, by the beginning of the twentieth century is beyond doubt. While only just making an appearance in the eighteen thirties in Leeds, following a recent price reduction which enabled the higher-paid workers to adopt it,³ it had taken sufficient hold in the Metropolis, by 1855, to be made compulsory in all houses built, or substantially re-built, after that date. This involved the accompaniment of a piped water supply, although not necessarily a constant one. By the early twentieth century it was said much of the country, certainly that in urban areas, was on

1 For developments in this sphere, see A.A. Jackson, Semi-Detached London (1973), especially pp. 21-89 and T.C. Barker and M. Robbins, A History of London Transport Vol. 1 (1963).

2 Newcastle, for example, indulged in transport by both train and boat for its workmen. Evidence to R.C. on the Housing of the Working Classes Vol. II P.P. 1884-5, XXXI, Qq. 7,347-8.

3 Rimmer, op. cit. p. 182.

water carriage, although the north lagged significantly behind the south.¹ To the individual tenant this probably represented an improvement, aesthetically and medically. The problem of ultimate disposal or treatment was no longer his private concern.

Piped water was an associated area in which a gradual improvement was to be seen. Suspicion regarding the quality of various town water supplies was occasionally expressed, as at Wandsworth in 1858, or Ashford in 1866,² but in general the complaints were that more people could not obtain piped water. Only the older London houses by the end of the century were said to have a tap in the yard, rather than a direct supply to the inside,³ although in other towns and cities, such as Sheffield, the yard tap remained the principal form of supply.⁴ Many Sheffield working-class homes, however, were equipped with gas lighting, which was a novel feature, awaiting pre-payment meters and fixed rentals which covered installation, before making an appearance in the Metropolitan area.⁵ Gas, by the early twentieth century, was becoming common in working-class houses. No fewer than 14,500 pre-payment meters existed in Blackburn alone by 1905.⁶

1 Board of Trade Report on Working-Class Rents, Housing and Retail Prices in the Principal Industrial Towns of the U.K. P.P. 1908, CVII, p. 338.

2 Medical Officer of Health's Report to Wandsworth Board of Works (1858), p. 9. Water from the Thames and Wandle was said to be sewage, more or less diluted. Letter to Local Government Office, dated 28 Nov. 1866 from Ashford Local Board. General Board of Health, Correspondence File No. 8 P.R.O. MH13/8.

3 Report of Immediate Sanitary Requirements, Bethnal Green Vestry Report (1888), p. 37.

4 Pollard, op. cit. p. 100.

5 Dyos, op. cit. (1961), p. 148.

6 Board of Trade Report on Working-Class Rents, Housing and Retail Prices in the Principal Industrial Towns of the U.K. P.P. 1908, CVII, p. 471.

The possibility of gas, or electricity, was a far-flung change from the situation of the eighteen thirties, when few houses were equipped with stoves of any variety or even with grates for a fire.¹ Even the equipment provided in model dwellings, such as Katherine Buildings, was not lavish in extent, limited to a range, a small cupboard and wrought-iron mantel-piece.²

Fitments like the other factors which show change, suggest a long slow trend of improvement, possibly speeding up towards the end of the century. Certainly in respect of piped water and water-closets, urban areas were in advance of their rural counterparts, but then the need for them was that much greater.

Furnishing was more notable for its scarcity rather than its lavishness. In fact extreme cases can be found more readily in urban areas than in rural ones. Lancashire, in the eighteen thirties, provided examples of several places in Padiham, Burnley, Bolton and Oldham where straw formed the beds, and many houses had hardly a chair.³ Even this showed some retrogression by the eighteen sixties, when straw was being phased out in favour of the generally cheaper shavings in tenement houses in the north, the west and also in London.⁴ Nor was there a lack of exceptional cases by the end of the century. George Haw briefly described the furniture of the lowest class of tenants as "none".⁵

The general level of furnishing was not as poor as this, as there did exist some possible sources of furniture at rela-

1 Evidence to S.C. on the Health of Towns H. of L.S.P. 1840, XXVIII, Q. 340.

2 Vere-Hole, op. cit. p. 251. In ordinary lodgings, even highly rented ones, ranges were said to be a rare find. Grainger, Report on Model Lodging-Houses P.P. 1851, XXIII, p. 22.

3 Victoria County History of Lancaster Vol. II (1908), p. 311.

4 8th Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health to the Privy Council P.P. 1866, XXXIII, p. 775.

5 Haw, op. cit. (1899), p. 17.

tively cheap prices. The "garret master" as manufacturers of cheap furniture were known, provided a supply sold from hand-carts.¹ The alternative was either buying second-hand or obtaining discarded items. Various almost apocryphal stories concerning working-class furniture abound. These range from the attempts to obtain respectability by the purchase of a piano,² through to the frustration of McAlpine's intentions of improving the lot of his Scottish tenants by substituting iron bedsteads for the old "let in" beds. A few "moonlight flits" and his beds were said to have disappeared, along with the tenants.³

In a general context, the situation seems somewhat better by the end of the century in comparison with that evident for the early to middle nineteenth century. Complete descriptions such as the report on Whitehaven, are well spotted with rags and straw on the floor substituting for beds, and boxes made to serve as tables, although the majority of houses covered, had furniture of some sort.⁴ The situation by the early twentieth century exhibited less of the extreme cases, so easily discovered in the earlier reports.

Such random and periodic information is not of great use in determining the timing or extent of improvement. To attempt this, the chapter is concluded by concentrating on the question of numbers per dwelling. The impression so far gained is one of no apparent particular period of improvement, but of a rather more general process than in the rural case, occurring over a

1 R.W. Symonds and B.B. Whineray, Victorian Furniture (1962), p. 27.

2 Jackson, op. cit. p. 48.

3 Childers, op. cit. p. 97.

4 Rawlinson, op. cit. Supplement, pp. 2-17.

prolonged period of time. This is shown by the reduction in extremes, the decline in cellar dwellings, the promised, if not actual, decline of the back-to-backs, and the generally larger size of houses if not always of dwelling units. All of these factors were accompanied by some improvements, if only marginal, in particular aspects such as sanitary conditions and lighting.

The overall figures for the numbers of inhabitants per house lend extra credence to this general impression. The only time a large adverse movement was experienced nationally was in the period from 1811 to 1821.¹ From 1831 onwards, that is for the whole period covered by this thesis, the numbers vary from around 5.6 in 1831 to 5.2 in 1901, with only two small adverse movements to be seen in the eighteen forties and eighteen seventies.²

If some of the more industrial or urban counties are considered alone, such as Surrey in the south, Lancashire in the north and Staffordshire in the Midlands, the situation revealed is far less uniform than the overall one. Surrey exhibiting the effects of a growing incursion of the Metropolitan area, had a consistent worsening in numbers per house from 1831 to 1881. Only post-1881 did the situation improve.³ Similar effects are to be noted with regard to Middlesex, although improvement is seen from the eighteen fifties,⁴ and Essex which suffered deterioration from the eighteen sixties.⁵

1 See below, Appendix 2A, p. 407.

2 See below, Appendix 2A, Column (8), p. 407.

3 See below, Appendix 2B, p. 414.

4 See below, Appendix 2B, p. 412.

5 See below, Appendix 2B, p. 410.

Lancashire, on the other hand, showed deterioration in the eighteen forties, but not the eighteen seventies,¹ while Staffordshire exhibited the worsening in both the eighteen forties and the eighteen seventies, with one in the eighteen sixties as well.² The periods of deteriorating standards were linked, in these particular areas, to a rapid growth in population.³ Potential demand for accommodation outstripped the possibility of providing housing, again suggesting the need to look to increases in supply as to reasons for change in standards.

In the case of specific industrial or urban areas within counties, the response is one of slow, slight improvement in the overall trend, with fluctuations from one Census to the next. The following tables outline the experiences of Garstang and Rugeley which demonstrate both of these features, as can be seen in Column (4).

1 See below, Appendix 2B, p. 411.

2 See below, Appendix 2B, p. 414.

3 This is shown in Column (5) of the various tables.

FIGURE 5.3

GARSTANG - LANCASHIRE*

(1) Date	(2) Number of Inhabited Houses	(3) Population	(4) Number Per House
1801	62	731	10.80 ⁺
1811	178	790	5.01
1821	186	—	—
1831	178	929	5.15
1841	171	909	5.30
1851	163	839	5.15
1861	158	714	4.52
1871	155	687	4.43
1881	175	783	4.47
1891	187	856	4.57
1901	187	808	4.31

* SOURCE: Census Reports 1801-1901.

+ Probably 162 Column (2) and thus 4.5 Column (4).
Numbers in table are as given in Census returns.

FIGURE 5.4

RUGELEY - STAFFORDSHIRE*

(1) Date	(2) Number of Inhabited Houses	(3) Population	(4) Number Per House
1801	423	2,030	4.81
1811	453	2,213	4.89
1821	494	2,677	5.40
1831	604	3,165	5.23
1841	677	3,774	5.57
1851	805	4,188	5.20
1861	898	4,362	4.86
1871	939	4,630	4.93
1881	1,349	7,048	5.23
1891	1,358	6,942	5.11
1901	933	4,447	4.75

* SOURCE: Census Reports 1801-1901.

FIGURE 5.5

CHANGES IN NUMBERS PER INHABITED HOUSE IN THE TEN LEAST RURAL COUNTIES 1801-1901*

(1) County	(2) 1801	(3) 1811	(4) 1821	(5) 1831	(6) 1841	(7) 1851	(8) 1861	(9) 1871	(10) 1881	(11) 1891	(12) 1901
Durham	5.90	6.12	6.33	6.23	5.64	6.02	6.00	5.97	5.87	6.03	5.93
Lancashire	5.89	5.74	5.97	5.86	5.76	5.81	5.54	5.32	5.27	5.13	4.97
Yorkshire W.R.	5.08	5.21	5.34	5.13	5.08	5.01	4.78	4.78	4.83	4.74	4.57
Staffordshire	5.29	5.48	5.39	5.26	5.22	5.23	5.08	5.12	5.23	5.16	5.10
Warwickshire	5.10	5.09	4.98	4.93	4.94	4.91	4.83	4.81	4.94	4.86	4.75
Northumberland	5.93	6.09	6.32	6.23	5.14 ⁺	6.36	6.17	6.20	6.14	6.33	6.53
Middlesex	7.25	7.30	7.48	7.52	7.60	8.06	7.90	7.91	7.97	7.67	7.77
Monmouthshire	5.09	5.28	5.44	5.27	5.39	5.32	5.28	5.51	5.46	5.48	5.36
Derbyshire	5.06	5.20	5.33	5.15	5.13	4.99	4.90	4.85	4.98	5.00	4.96
Nottinghamshire	5.48	5.20	5.34	5.01	4.94	4.91	4.70	4.67	4.75	4.69	4.61
NATIONAL AVERAGE	5.65	5.63	5.75	5.60	5.42	5.48	5.35	5.33	5.38	5.32	5.20

* SOURCE: Summary of Appendix 4A, see below p. 433.

Definition of least rural counties is that of Lucas, op. cit. p. 269.

+ Doubtful figure, could be 6.47 judging by trends in population and housing figures before and after 1841.

Figure 5.5 demonstrates that over the whole century four out of the ten most urban counties show an increase in numbers per inhabited house: Durham, Northumberland, Middlesex and Monmouthshire, with only the latter moving into the improving category for the period 1841 to 1901 and then only by the barest of margins. Among those to show a significant reduction in the numbers per inhabited house are Lancashire and Yorkshire. It is the second half of the century that sees most of this change, with only Nottinghamshire revealing any great reduction before 1851. The population growth in Nottinghamshire was far less in the first half of the century than was the case in either Yorkshire or Lancashire,¹ 93 per cent compared to 135 and 202 per cent respectively. While Nottinghamshire maintained a rate of around 90 per cent in the second half of the century, both Yorkshire and Lancashire showed distinctly slower rates of 107 and 117 per cent which would suggest that demographic factors were of extreme importance in urban areas no less than rural ones, in destroying or allowing for the possibility of improved conditions.

There is not, however, uniformity of experience as between counties, or in trends from one date to another. Middlesex is the extreme example of apparently worsening conditions, moving from 7.25 persons per inhabited house in 1801 to 7.6 by 1841 and fluctuating thereafter from below seven to above eight, and ending in 1901 with 7.77. In this case too, the rate of population growth had slowed dramatically by the second half of the century from 131 per cent to 90.² The results achieved else-

1 See below, Appendix 2B, pp. 415 and 411.

2 See below, Appendix 2B, p. 412.

where in such circumstances are muted in this case. The significant deterioration in standards visible up to 1851 is replaced by some slight overall improvement in the second half, albeit with some fluctuations. The particular problem in Middlesex was intimately connected with the growth and concentration of London, and in particular the rising cost of land. It is attempts to combat land costs in cities throughout the country that Chapter Six deals with. To conclude the urban situation generally, it is apparent that change was slow, reliant upon supply outstripping demand and thus upon the ability of the industry to build accommodation.

C H A P T E R

S I X

CASE STUDIES OF SPECIFIC ATTEMPTS

TO DEAL WITH THE PROBLEM OF URBAN LAND COSTS

Land costs played an important part in determining the nature of urban housing. High land prices forced more people into smaller areas of space involving the use of cellar dwellings, back-to-backs, tenements, lodging-houses, terraced rows and other ideas. Local physical features enhanced particular trends, such as the undulating nature of the ground in Sheffield which lent itself towards the easy building of cellars, or in Birmingham, where a loose, sandy soil meant that foundations for large buildings were difficult, so that few flats were built, and virtually no cellars.¹

Whatever the form of land saving in any particular locality, the need for it became evident as the pressure of population increased in the large towns and cities. Converting old houses into tenements was one widespread practice, or more houses were pushed together by building on yards and

1 Evidence to the S.C. on the Health of Towns H. of L.S.P. 1840, XXVIII, Q. 2,268.

2 London levels almost reached in Manchester, Ancoats in the eighteen nineties. S. Martin Gaskell, 'A Landscape of Small Houses' in Multi-Storey Living, ed. A Sutcliffe (1974), p. 103.

gardens, due to the rising costs of central sites.¹ It is the central aspect that is important. Most of the casually-employed preferred to be, or needed to be, within walking distance of their work. The modern theoretical alternatives for analysing commuting preferences in terms of either higher wage seeking with house site fixed, or lower house costs with job fixed,² apply in this case to a limited extent in the latter sense. Some search for lower rented accommodation could be undertaken within a general area around the dockyards or other places of employment. The impact of improved transport systems, however, was somewhat limited on these casually-employed in particular and the working classes generally for much of the century. Trains remained relatively expensive and their availability in terms of cost and times of running tended to restrict expansion of working-class housing to specific areas. Cheaper and more readily available transport such as trams had more of a general impact, in the large cities and the smaller ones too.³ Even where the objections of the casually-employed were overcome the results of spreading the cities into suburban areas were not always to the good.

Many of the inhabitants of the new suburbs were members of the middle class rather than working class, since they were better able to afford the cost of fares, and were usually employed on a regular basis with set hours of work. Working-class housing in some of the new suburban villa developments of the late nineteenth century was sometimes described as forming virtual ghettos.⁴ In such areas the major employment

1 Bowmaker, op. cit. pp. 6-7.

2 J.D. Owen, The Price of Leisure (Rotterdam, 1969), pp. 47-8.

3 Bowmaker, op. cit. p. 60.

4 Thompson, op. cit. p. 1.

opportunities were of a service nature, the travelling was done by the middle class, and the working class inhabitant lived in the area in order to provide the service functions for these commuters.

As a specific case of this sort of development in the middle nineteenth century, there is the area around Surbiton with its villa estate built to accommodate potential commuters on the London and South Western Railway's line. The relatively rapid development of what had been basically a rural, agricultural area led to some general and severe problems, not the least of which were associated with middle-class desires for increased social overhead capital in the form of drains, sewers and other facilities, long denied others in the locality. Surbiton's working-class population was principally engaged in small manufacturing in the locality, or service industries, and was housed in the older parts of the town, the building of which followed a much more haphazard principle than the new middle-class estate.

The cottages in this older area included some in extremely poor condition and sited in areas where even the roads were impassable, somewhat reminiscent of a ploughed field¹ with the dwellings described as:

"Without exception in a most abominable state."²

While structurally these houses were not any worse than either their urban or rural counterparts, those in George Street for example, contained four rooms and were semi-detached, their nonetheless abominable condition resulting from their lack of

1 Surbiton Improvement Commissioners' Minute Book, p. 69, 11 Feb. 1856, Report by Mr Coleman. Surrey R.O. S/B 1.

2 Ibid. p. 70, 11 Feb. 1856.

of adequate sanitary facilities and other public services. They were urban in situation but rural in their methods of sanitation and the state of their surroundings. It was the influx of newcomers to the district which eventually revealed its true shortcomings for an urban existence, as it transformed the area into an urban one.

Surbiton was thought to be basically a naturally healthy area, although W. Lee, the superintending inspector sent down by the General Board of Health, said that:

"systematic provision had been made by several builders for the conversion of Surbiton Hill into a dung-hill."¹

Such a situation was not necessary as can be seen by the effect of change on George Street in one of the principal working-class areas.

Mr Coleman, the Medical Officer of Health, reported in 1856 that over the previous few months nearly all the houses had had drains made, and this had transformed the road which had previously been described as closely resembling a cess-pool. Four-roomed houses, quite a large size by contemporary rural standards, were then prevalent, although they each had to accommodate about six people. George Street had 40 cottages with 257 inhabitants,² one dwelling having 13, another 12 and three 11. The neighbouring Westfield Road with 42 houses, all built in 1854, had 263 inhabitants.³ Structurally, since they were so new, they were not bad, according to Mr Coleman, although they left much to be desired from the sanitary viewpoint. The water was too bad to use, even for washing until the

1 W. Lee, Report to the General Board of Health on a Preliminary Inquiry into the Sanitary Condition of the District of Surbiton (1854) (1854), p. 10.

2 Surbiton Improvement Commissioner's Minute Book, 18 Feb. 1856, p. 73. Surrey R.O. S/B 1.

3 Ibid. p. 73. Westfield and Alpha Roads were both shown as areas of virgin land on the 1840 Tithe Apportionment map.

pumps had been done away with and replaced with piped water which, however, represented little improvement in quality. It came in an intermittent supply and the landlords provided no cisterns, so that only six of the 42 houses had them.¹ With the water supply confined to just two and a half hours each afternoon except Sunday, the lack of cisterns was critical.

Alpha Road, one of the major working-class streets, and described by Mr Coleman as not untypical of the average for the district as a whole, suffered the consequences of all rural areas undergoing change to a suburban environment. Middlemen were employed to collect the rents, and it was difficult if not impossible for either the tenant or the authorities to discover who the real owner might be. The cottages were built close together and drainage consisted of open cesspools, with privies built against the house.²

At the time of Lee's report, 1854, the sewerage position was such that the whole district contained only one public sewer which no local authority had responsibility to clean. The open ditches which comprised the main drainage system were all too often also part of the sewage outlet, and while some of them had a flow of sorts, others remained preponderantly stagnant. The only area where some adequate provision was to be found was on the 70-acre Coutt's and Co. estate.³ All this really achieved was to overload the existing system still further once the edge of the middle-class estate was reached.

1 Surbiton Improvement Commissioner's Minute Book, 18 Feb. 1856, p. 74. Surrey R.O. S/B 1.

2 Ibid. 11 Feb. 1856, p. 69.

3 Lee, op. cit. (1854), p. 12.

Like anywhere else, particularly poor examples can be found. In Surbiton they were found in those areas where laundering was undertaken, or where the privies were emptied into open ditches. Some houses had open drains running the length of the garden, and one connecting ditch ran the entire length of Alpha Road, uncovered for half its distance and full of stagnant sewage.¹ Two of the cottage tenants had kept their common open drain cleaned out, which only resulted in its level being lower than that of the open ditch it was intended to empty into, bringing into existence a large stagnant pool which, since one of the cottagers took in washing, was constantly filled with suds and slops.²

The problem in such areas undergoing a process of urbanisation was not so much the structure or materials of the dwellings - most were new and built of brick - but the lack of the necessary accompaniments of an urban area. These included the sanitary amenities such as adequate and covered drainage and sewerage, and made-up roads. It may well have been only the sudden influx of people that had increased activity to the extent where such factors became essential, but essential they became, and providing them was a costly business.

The authorities' attempts to remedy the deteriorating condition of the district epitomise those made later in the century throughout the country as a whole. The application of the various regulations brought forth violent opposition from the local builders. The attempt to apply the 1848 Public

1 Surbiton Improvement Commissioners' Minute Book, 11 Feb. 1856, p. 68. Surrey R.O. S/B 1.

2 Ibid. p. 69.

Health Act, for example, was met with hostility from all but one of them.¹ Three of these gentlemen: Charles David, Henry Self and George Alderton, presented formal complaints against the petition sent to the Commissioners of the General Board of Health requesting an inquiry and the setting up of a local board, alleging that the signatures to the document were not legal, and the petitioners were not all ratepayers. George Alderton also complained that he had not been asked if he wished to sign the document.² All of these objections were in fact turned down, but they do illustrate something of the hostility shown by builders towards regulations in general.

The problems faced by areas such as Surbiton seem to centre upon the need for acceptable and effective methods of control of the development of new housing and for the provision of adequate services. The existing provisions were usually appropriate to a rural area but inadequate when any degree of urbanisation began. It was in essence a problem created by a growing density of population. Even where such changes as that from well or pump water to a piped and tapped supply had taken place, there could still be serious problems unless purity and continuity could be assured.

Such problems were not unique to Surbiton. They were to be found in purely working-class areas, such as Hulme in Manchester or Hunslet in Leeds, in the new industrial towns and in the expanding, old-established towns too. All had one major factor in common, namely that of growing population pressure. In the suburban areas the particular crisis was one

1 Lee, *op. cit.* (1854), p. 13.

2 Ibid. p. 5.

of the extreme need to rapidly expand the amount of social overhead capital such as roading, sewerage and drainage, or for the inhabitants to suffer the consequences.

Newly-developed, middle-class suburbs probably increased the availability of accommodation, by drawing people out of central areas and leaving older dwellings which then underwent conversion into multi-occupied tenements.

"Houses, which were originally intended for and used by one family, came to be let in tenements, with a family in each room and several families in each house."¹

The withdrawal of the middle classes, and the attempts to withdraw some at least of the working classes still left considerable numbers seeking accommodation in the central area, and competing with other interest for scarce sites. To accommodate these people several alternatives were to be found in the nineteenth century, tenements from conversions of existing houses and the use of cellar dwellings being among the worst. The long-distance, suburban alternative was mainly confined to London until the late nineteenth century. Such working-class suburbs as Everton, in provincial towns remained relatively close to centres of employment. For most people the housing standard in the central city area remained the usual one. The choice was to concentrate population by one means or another, and it is the attempts to do this that are now considered.

Cellars, Tenements and Cottage Flats

The cellar dwelling represents a widespread response to the needs to provide large numbers of people with a dwelling

¹ Bowmaker, op. cit. pp. 6-7.

in high-density areas of 600 to 700 people or more to the acre. While some towns and cities such as Birmingham were virtually free of below-ground dwellings,¹ others, including Manchester and Liverpool were heavily reliant upon cellars. They were neither unique to these localities, nor to the northern industrial towns generally. Southern towns such as Brighton in the eighteen thirties also had their cellars, along with closed courts and back-to-back houses² as a means of increasing the density of their populations. The numbers of such places were few, however, in contrast to the situation in Liverpool where at the same time some 8,000 cellars housed 35,000 to 40,000 people.³ The best change to be hoped for in their case was to move into the growing number of back-to-back, court houses which by the early eighteen forties accommodated some 86,400.⁴

The numbers of cellars had been decreasing for some 14 to 15 years by 1840, while cottage numbers had increased.⁵ Fluctuations in the number of cellars in use followed in the eighteen forties, when the influx of Irish immigrants compounded the problems of the demand for accommodation. A continuing battle ensued between the authorities, much prompted by Dr Duncan, and the owners and inhabitants of the cellars. Closed

1 See above, p. 307.

2 Evidence to the S.C. on the Health of Towns H. of L.S.P. 1840, XXVIII, Qq. 2,754 and 2,756-7.

3 Ibid. Q. 2,370.

4 Report by Dr W.M. Duncan in Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, p. 285.

5 Evidence of J. Stewart to the S.C. on Manufactures, Commerce and Shipping P.P. 1833, VI, Qq. 4,831 and 4,807.

ones were often later re-opened, basically because the needs and possible expenditure on rent of the tenant or potential tenant was insufficient to obtain any other form of accommodation. While the authorities acted negatively in closing premises, they showed little inclination to move in the positive direction of supplying replacements until the second half of the century, and then in only token numbers.

By 1841 over 7,000 cellars still remained in occupation as separate dwellings, housing over 24,000 people,¹ mostly one family to a cellar.² The efforts of the authorities to close such accommodation in the early eighteen forties reduced numbers to just over 6,500 by 1845,³ but even this limited success was held back by the inhabitant's inability to pay the rents elsewhere, before Irish immigration swamped the whole attempt. By 1847 some 3,000 cellars closed at one time or another were re-opened, due to the demand for the accommodation they provided. Despite the economic problem such action posed, Liverpool's authorities continued with their closure policy, some 5,000 being closed by 1851 although re-occupation remained a constant administrative problem.⁴ Liverpool was probably the worst area in terms of its separate cellar dwellings, those to be found in Manchester and Salford, although greater in number (estimated to be 18,250 in the late eighteen thirties)⁵

1 J.H. Treble, 'Liverpool Working Class Housing, 1801-1851', in Chapman, op. cit. (1971), p. 178.

2 Ibid. p. 179.

3 Ibid. p. 196.

4 Ibid. p. 199.

5 Evidence to the S.C. on the Health of Towns H. of L.S.P. 1840, XXVIII, Q. 1,833.

being thought to be of a superior type. Those in Manchester, which sometimes had a front entry with little open areas, were generally inhabited by only one family, and described as often the best part of the house.¹ Cellar dwellings remained, however, one of the major problems connected with urban housing in the eighteen thirties and eighteen forties.

They were also the cause of problems in parts of Scotland,² a country noted for its use of tenements or flats. This latter concept had little appeal, in purpose-built form, for the population in England and Wales. Generally less than 1 per cent of the population were so accommodated in the provincial cities and towns.³ Again London proved to be something of an exception, due to its size and high land costs, but the great exception was to be found in the north-east, in Northumberland and Durham. In Newcastle over half the population lived in the so-called cottage flats, while in South Shields the proportion rose to some 72 per cent.⁴ By 1912 this form of accommodation was said to be still confined to Newcastle and the neighbouring towns, apart from a few examples such as those in the outer districts of the London area.⁵ Isolated examples can be found from elsewhere, some in Brighton even being situated in an area known as Durham, presumably because

1 Evidence to the S.C. on the Health of Towns H. of L.S.P. 1840, XXVIII, Qq. 1,280, 1,282 and 1,285.

2 General Board of Health Minute Book No. 1 P.R.O. MH5/1, entry for 29 Nov. 1848.

3 Sutcliffe, op. cit., p. 15.

4 Ibid, p. 14

5 Report of an Enquiry by the Board of Trade into Working-Class Rents, Prices and Wages in Industrial Towns, 1912 P.P. 1913, LXVI, Report p. xviii.

of the similarity in the style of dwellings to those found in the north-east. They were in a courtyard with what appeared to be six houses, although in fact there were 12. The upper tenements were reached by means of a wooden staircase at the rear of the buildings, with each of the flats containing two rooms, and usually inhabited by six people. The area was also in need of better sanitary arrangements, having no privies, only a wide, deep, uncovered pit, part of which then proceeded underneath some nearby houses.¹

Despite such isolated examples elsewhere, Newcastle provided the focal point for cottage flat building activity. Before the widespread appearance of the cottage flat, most families in Newcastle were reckoned to live in only one room. The numbers occupying two rooms were put as low as one in ten.² Considerable numbers of the working-class population were housed not in their own dwellings, but in common lodging-houses,³ conditions in which were described as very bad, with individual rooms frequently used to accommodate between 15 and 20 persons.⁴ The general situation was not much better than that of the surrounding rural areas as far as space to live was concerned. It was only in the materials that any advantage was evident: while the older buildings were of stone, most new building was already being completed in brick, if this changeover is accepted as an improvement.

1 Dr G.S. Jenks, Report on Brighton, in Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, p. 62.

2 Report of Sir John Walsham, Assistant Poor Law Commissioner, in *Ibid.* p. 416.

3 See below, p. 343.

4 Sanitary Report H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVI, p. 362.

As Newcastle was a booming industrial area, the demand for house-room was intense, as was the pressure on existing facilities such as sanitary arrangements. This is revealed in two mid-century reports by a Mr Dunn: on the colliery districts of Newcastle, and on St Mary's Place. These show a general negligence by the colliers of the need to keep their privies clean, and other sanitary deficiencies. Dwellings in the area were by this time (the early eighteen-fifties) being equipped with a soil pan apparatus, which gave some of the advantages of a W.C. and these were meeting with some success, but the fouled privy continued to be a prominent problem.¹

Over the next few years conditions apparently improved and the existence of W.C.'s, piped water and gas is to be seen from a newspaper advertisement of 1858.² Improvements were also obtained in the number of rooms for each family, This can be gauged from Figure 6.1 on the following page, which sets out the various areas of Newcastle.

1 General Board of Health, Minute Book No. 8 P.R.O. MH5/8, entry for 6 Oct. 1853.

2 From Vol. containing sale particulars from Newspapers Re: Auction 18 Aug. 1858. Essex R.O. D/Du 56/4.

FIGURE 6.1
NEWCASTLE - TENEMENTS 1854*

(1) Parish or Township	(2) Number of Self-Contained Houses	T e n e m e n t s		
		(3) One- Room	(4) Two- Room	(5) Three- Room
All Saints	2,743	3,900	650	150
St John	410	901	396	18
St Nicholas	216	650	199	10
Benwell	53	95	110	5
Westgate	1,200	933	1,423	203
Elswick	452	123	388	73
St Andrew	1,419	1,095	364	46
Jesmond	288	57	51	-
Byker	126	90	1,170	-
GRAND TOTAL <u>20,007</u> comprising:	<u>6,907</u>	<u>7,844</u>	<u>4,751</u>	<u>505</u>

* SOURCE: R.C. on the Late Outbreak of Cholera in the Towns of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Gateshead and Tynemouth P.P. 1854, XXXV, Report p. 469.

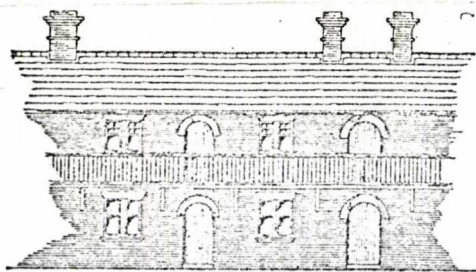
While one-roomed tenements are still very prominent, they do form something less than half of the total, but most people were still living in one- or two-roomed tenements, of a type still to be found late in the century, and following the sort of plans to be seen on the next page.

As elsewhere, the level of wages was one of the determinants of the demand for housing. Booms in the demand for coal at particular times prompted comment such as that of 1873, a boom year for wages, due to a virtual coal famine in neighbouring Durham that many miners

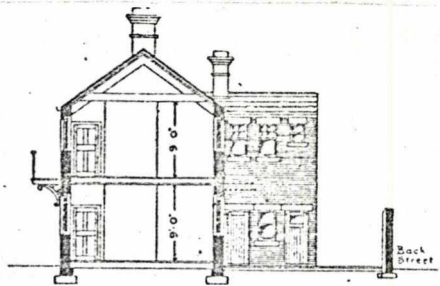
"made enormous wages for very little work."¹

By the time of the eighteen eighties a man earning 35/- per week was reckoned generally to have three rooms at his disposal, and in some cases tenements consisted of four rooms,

1 Evidence to the R.C. on the Housing of the Working Classes Vol. II P.P. 1884-5, XXXI, Q. 16,310.



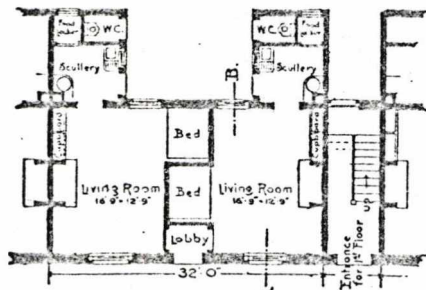
— Front Elevation. —



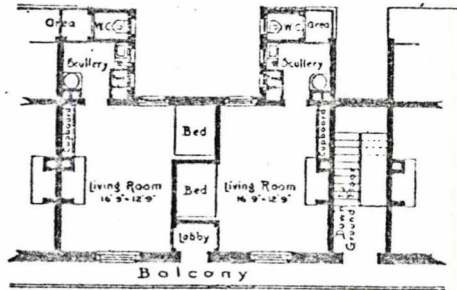
— Section A.B. —

Back Street

Open Yard

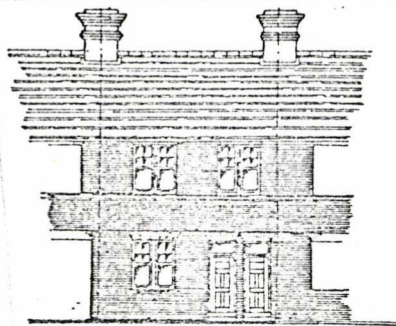


— Ground Plan. —

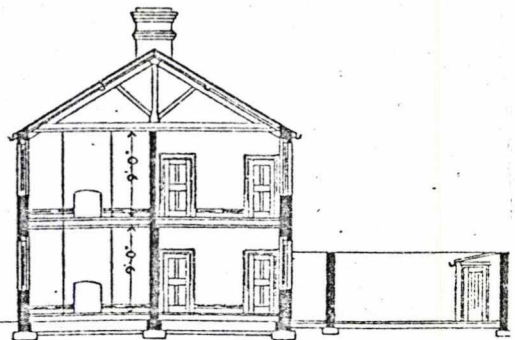


— First Floor Plan. —

SCALE OF 10 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 FEET.

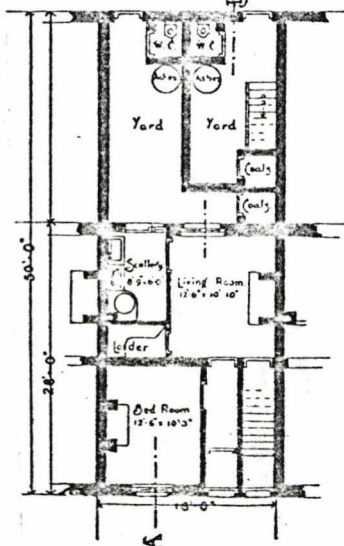


— Front Elevation —

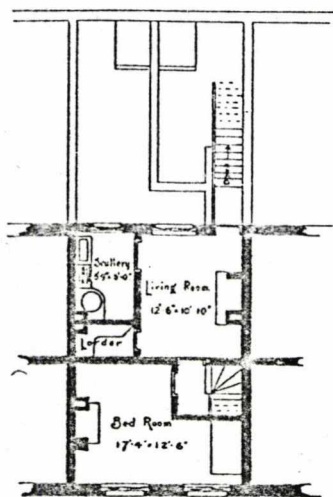


— Section A.B. —

Back Street.



— Ground Plan. —



— First Floor Plan. —

SCALE OF 10 0 10 20 30 40 50 FEET

mainly for the better-off, such as the small clerks or the better class of mechanics.¹ For the lower-paid members of the working class, such as the casual labourer, however, the position was not much altered from that of the earlier part of the century. They were to be found in the old houses built, at the beginning of the century, for occupation by only one family, which had been converted so as to permit them to accommodate several families, each in tenements of one or two rooms.²

The converted tenement was not confined to Newcastle in the way that the cottage flat was. They were the usual form of accommodation for many of the working class, especially in areas vacated by the middle class, and other areas where single-family houses had been built speculatively for a market that never eventuated, leaving the houses to be occupied by two or more families in order to meet the rent payments.

Land prices were crucial in determining the need for high density housing in Newcastle. By the eighteen eighties, land in the central area was estimated to be worth up to a maximum of £40 per yard with the average being somewhere in the region of £15 to £20. Only on the very outskirts and on the worst land did prices fall to between 7/6d to 9/-, such as at Byker which was a noted smallpox and fever area.³ Sites for new houses required 130 to 135 square yards at Byker, which, taking 8/- per yard as an approximate average of land costs, meant that something over £50 was needed for each site.⁴ The cost for

1 Evidence to the R.C. on the Housing of the Working Classes Vol. II P.P. 1884-5, XXXI, Q. 7,732-3

2 Ibid. Qq. 7,635-8.

3 Ibid. Qq. 7,614.

4 Ibid. Qq. 7,615-6.

an equivalent site in the centre of the city would have been astronomical, possibly 50 times as much. With the development of the cottage flat system, of course, the cost of a site was sufficient to cover two dwellings, within the one building.

One of the results of this pressure upon the available space was that the densities per acre in the centre could be very great in particular areas. Dawson's court had a density of 717 per acre and Mackford's entry 720, whereas the average density for the city as a whole was in the region of 28 per acre.¹ The other factor was that rents were higher than in other towns. In some cases they were found to exceed those paid in London, for similar accommodation.²

For this high level of rent, 4/- to 4/6d being a fair average in the eighteen eighties, the tenant of a cottage flat usually obtained two rooms, rarely a garden, sinks outside the rooms and a W.C. for every two families.³ The tenants of these places were usually casual labourers, thousands of whom were at the time suffering from the depressed state of the area and not receiving more than 12/- per week in wages.⁴ In the overcrowded centre many lived in one-roomed tenements, or in the numerous cellars, and it was here that the highest rents were levied, one-roomed cellar kitchens in some cases costing 3/- per week.⁵

1 Evidence to the R.C. on the Housing of the Working Classes Vol. II P.P. 1884-5, XXI, Q. 7,653-4.

2 Ibid. Q. 7,481.

3 Ibid. Qq. 7,392, 7,389 and 7,414-5.

4 Ibid. Qq. 7,397 and 7,401.

5 Ibid. Q. 7,479.

By the twentieth century sanitary standards at least had risen somewhat. In 1906, for example, the city engineer reckoned that some 34,388 houses had W.C.'s which left only some 9,501 with just privy accommodation, and since some of the city remained rural or semi-rural in character, this was not too bad an overall situation.¹ The cottage flat was stating its dominant claim by this time, being the most extensive type of working-class accommodation. By 1904, 70 per cent of habitable houses were of this type, and some were of a better description than those of earlier times, having three or four rooms, three in the downstairs flat and four in the upstairs one, both equipped with copper or set-pot, and usually a sink and piped water. The two-roomed ones still remained, however, some enlarged by the presence of attics. Nearly all of these dwellings were of a fairly uniform design, plain-fronted, although the better ones had bay windows and possibly a small forecourt. The rooms were small in size, normally 12 feet by 12 and 9 feet high.² The extra upstairs room was even smaller, some 7 feet by 8. Those unfortunates who were not in "flats" lived in the centre in the tenements in complete squalor, but nearer to the river and their work.³

The overall picture of Newcastle is of a steady growth in the number of people living in cottage flats, and fewer in the old, converted tenements and as a result, most people had a greater number of rooms than had been in the case in the

1 Board of Trade Report on Working Class Rents, Housing and Retail Prices in the Principal Industrial Towns of the U.K. P.P. 1908, CVII, p. 699.

2 Ibid. p. 697.

3 Ibid. p. 698.

early nineteenth century. The phenomenal pressure on land prices in the centre forced builders to conserve space by building flats of some sort, and to move outwards. In the centre itself the conversion of old houses into tenements was necessary for them to provide the rents demanded by their owners. These rents were very high, comparable in some instances with those paid in London at the same time.

There were also the unfortunate results of converting old buildings by just adding to them. Mount Pleasant and Craig's Alley included houses originally one-storey high, the stones of which formed the base for another "rude stone erection" - which probably dated from Elizabethan times. This was followed by something higher built at a later stage on the top. Several dwellings were said to be of an original construction dating back some four hundred to eight hundred years.¹ It was suggested that age, however, was not a sufficient reason to assume that these houses were below the average as regards standards. Those erected from eight to twenty years before were reckoned to be no better than the worst old ones in the Sandgate area of the city.² It was often a matter of what was done with the housing, rather than how it was originally built, that determined living standards. It would appear that, potentially at least, the cottage flat was a considerable improvement over cellar dwellings, and ad hoc conversions of existing buildings into tenements. They are, however, noteworthy as much for their geographical uniqueness as for their

1 Evidence to the R.C. on the Late Outbreak of Cholera in the Towns of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Gateshead and Tynemouth P.P. 1854, XXXV, Qq. 1,593 and 1,600-01.

2 Ibid. Q. 296.

overall contribution to the general problem of high land costs in urban areas. They certainly were not so violently attacked by reformers as were the back-to-back courtyard houses favoured by many towns to the south of Northumberland and Durham.

Back-to-Backs

These were a widespread form of housing which enabled a saving of space due to the concentration of the population they were able to accommodate. As already mentioned they were to be found in abundance in Liverpool,¹ and many other towns in the northern part of the country. Their particular form of building was a major feature of the urban scene, and a distinguishing factor from the rural experience, where only isolated examples of such dwellings appeared. They were visible in towns up and down the country, from Newcastle, through Doncaster, to Bristol.² Although no complete study of their regional distribution appears to have been undertaken,³ it seems to be generally assumed that they were not to be found in the south-east of England. This is not entirely true, there were examples to be found in London. These were usually the result of building new houses adjoining existing ones, with little or no intention of a back-to-back plan from the first. Some other isolated examples can also be discovered,⁴ admittedly notable more for their novelty than their generality.

1 Evidence to the R.C. on the Health of Towns H. of L.S.P., XXVIII, Q. 2,160.

2 R.C. on the Housing of the Working Classes P.P. 1884-5, XXX, p. 21.

3 Beresford, op. cit. p. 96.

4 Brighton for example, see above, p. 315.

Back-to-back construction, as Professor Flinn has pointed out, was an innovation of the late eighteenth century as a regular practice rather than an exception.¹ Certainly in the nineteenth century their presence was noticeable in many places. 1910 saw the report of an inquiry covering 13 towns in west Yorkshire, which considered those houses in good structural repair, and considered the relative death rates corrected for age and sex variations in both back-to-back and through type of houses over a ten-year period. The results confirmed the findings of earlier, less complete enquiries. In the case of relatively good back-to-back dwellings the death rate was reckoned to exceed that visible in through houses by 15 to 20 per cent, although this excess was somewhat reduced in the case of back-to-backs built in blocks of four rather than in long terraces.² The general effects of living in a house built in the back-to-back style included an increased likelihood of suffering from chest diseases such as bronchitis and pneumonia, together with their having an adverse effect on the development of young children.³

Six towns provided comparable data for back-to-backs built in blocks with a side vent, which therefore had only two party walls instead of three. The evidence on these places showed them to be healthier, the reduction in mortality rates being upwards of 5 per cent compared with those in houses built back-to-back in long rows. Possibly some of

1 Flinn, op. cit. p. 6.

2 Report to Local Government Board on Back-to-Back Housing P.P. 1910, XXXVIII, p. 895.

3 Ibid. p. 896.

of the greater mortality visible in the back-to-backs in terraces was due not to the nature of the house but rather to the relatively lower standard of living of its occupants since these houses were available at lower rents. For each 5/6d spent on renting a through house in such places, the average on a similar-sized back-to-back was 4/6d¹ or about a 22 per cent mark-up for the through house.

An 1888 report by Dr Barry and P.G. Smith, however, stated that the saving on rent should amount to only one penny a week for back-to-backs rather than through houses,² instead of the 1/- suggested by Dr Darra Mair. Some of the divergence in the rents paid for the different types of house was probably due to those who could afford it tenanting a through type of house rather than one of the back-to-backs, pushing up demand for the former. Some 89 per cent of all the back-to-backs covered by the 1910 enquiry cost between 3/6d and 5/6d a week while 88 per cent of the through houses cost 4/6d and upwards.³ With higher incomes it is possible to suggest tenants preferred the through housing where they could get it.

One report on back-to-back houses points a tentative finger towards factors other than the houses themselves, as being responsible for the greater rates of mortality. Dr Niven, the Medical Officer of Health for Manchester, in his

1 Report to Local Government Board on Back-to-Back Housing P.P. 1910, XXXVIII, p. 896.

2 The Builder on the 1888 Report to Local Government Board by Dr Barry and P.G. Smith on Back-to-Back Houses 29 Sept. 1888, p. 223. This was based on estimates of the comparative building costs.

3 Report to Local Government Board on Back-to-Back Housing P.P. 1910, XXXVIII, p. 907.

annual report for 1894, dealt with relative mortality in back-to-back houses in nine selected districts of Manchester. Amongst all of the houses in those districts, he found mortality to be generally higher among the back-to-back dwellers, but with age-specific differences. Considering those aged 15 to 45, the relative advantage actually lay with the back-to-backs, the people who were apparently most affected by living conditions in such houses being the very young and the very old. Those under 15, and those over 45, among the inhabitants of through houses, experienced a lower rate of mortality.¹ With the various death rates for all but one of the districts being relatively high, between 24.8 and 36.3 per thousand, Dr Niven thought that some factors other than those connected solely with the dwellings were responsible anyway.

The proportion of people living in such houses in particular towns was considerable. In the period 1876 to 1886 for example, 61 per cent of houses built in Halifax were of this type.² The bye-laws stated that these houses should only be constructed in blocks of eight. The council could, however, relax its requirements.³ During the same period Bradford had 7,036 new houses which were officially certified as being fit for habitation. Of these some 64 per cent were back-to-backs. Other places had similarly large numbers of these dwellings, such as Sheffield or Leeds, which in the 12 years to August 1887 had seen 50,000 people so housed.⁴

1 Report to Local Government Board on Back-to-Back Housing P.P. 1910, XXXVIII, pp. 900 and 901

2 The Builder on the Report by Dr Barry and P.G. Smith on Back-to-Backs Houses 29 Sept. 1888, p. 223.

3 Ibid. p. 224.

4 Ibid. p. 223.

Nineteenth-century Leeds might be termed the home of the back-to-back , a city which provided a classic example of the use of this particular type of building. Because of this, the city has been dealt with in some detail already, notably by Professors W.G. Rimmer¹ and M.W. Beresford.² Professor Rimmer concerned himself with the position about 1840, while Professor Beresford, although dealing with a complete period rather than a particular point in time, is principally concerned with back-to-back houses to the virtual exclusion of other types of dwellings. Professor Beresford suggests that since they were to be found on both dear and cheap sites, land values were not the reason for their adoption, and that it was more likely to have been the peculiar shape of the building plots available in Leeds that prompted this.³ Even if this was the case for Leeds, such a reason would not explain their widespread appearance in towns without the long and thin building plots of the Leeds area. Perhaps such a style was suited to Leeds for the reason that Professor Beresford has suggested, so that relative land costs were of lesser importance, except in the dear land areas. In other places the adoption of this style of building can be seen more as a choice of a way to combat rising land costs than anything else.

The new additions to the Leeds housing stock of the eighteen forties were said to be probably worse built but more spacious, with the addition of cellars, than their predecessors.⁴ Leeds, together with Bradford, was by the eighteen

1 Rimmer, op. cit.

2 Beresford, op. cit.

3 Ibid. p. 119.

4 Evidence to the S.C. on the Health of Towns H. of L.S.P. 1840, XXVIII, Q. 1,948.

sixties being held up as a contrast to Sheffield where no cellar bedrooms at all were said to be found.¹ The dimensions of the rooms of these dwellings were put at 5 yards square by an incredible 4 yards high.² Professor Rimmer's work throws doubt upon this latter figure since the houses were only 15 feet high to the eaves for both storeys.³ Robert Baker also reported, however, that the contents of the rooms varied from 600 to 1,000 cubic feet.⁴ 15 feet by 15 by 12 gives a capacity of 2,700 cubic feet, so that four yards is most unlikely to have been the correct room height, and with such small overall capacities, doubt is also thrown on the other measurements.

Whatever the dimensions, and they would seem small by cubic capacities, one of the most remarkable features of Leeds housing was the rate of return on working-class property. The lower the standard of housing, the greater the return would seem to have been for the landlord. The best annual interest of any cottage property in the Borough was said to come from the notorious Boot and Shoe yard in Leeds, Kirkgate,⁵ with its 34 houses divided into 43 tenancies in 1839. In total there were 57 rooms housing 174 males and 166 females, at about six to a room. Conditions were said to be those of a wretched hovel with almost no furniture, but they paid total annual rents of £ 214 with none better paid or with less "leakage".⁶

1 8th Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health to the Privy Council P.P. 1866, XXXIII, p. 504.

2 Report on Leeds by Robert Baker Esq. in Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, p. 359.

3 Rimmer, op. cit. p. 181.

4 Report on Leeds by Robert Baker Esq. in Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, p. 359.

5 Ibid. p. 353.

6 Ibid. p. 360.

Conditions in this particular spot had been so bad during the days of the Cholera Commissioners that 75 cartloads of manure had been removed, all of which had been untouched for years. By 1839, however, a surface of human excrement of very considerable extent had re-formed.¹ Some idea of the general sanitary conditions in the late eighteen thirties can be gauged by one woman's comments on three particular streets with a population of 400 to 500 and not a useable privy for all of them.

"They do as they can, and make use of the street itself as the common receptacle."²

Through the eighteen fifties conditions continued to be poor. The problems of back-to-backs, consequent ill-ventilation and the clustering of houses induced the General Board of Health to state that the only remedy was the implementation of the 1848 Public Health Act. The usual problems were experienced at the local level. Only where real emergency conditions arose due to disease was any authority given for cleansing or the relief of dwellings.³ The local board in one instance (Harewood) wrote to the General Board of Health expressing their inability to discover remedies for overcrowded dwellings clustered together on badly drained sites, as was the predominant case within the parish.⁴

The problems faced by Leeds and its inhabitants due to

1 Report on Leeds by Robert Baker, Esq. in Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, p. 353, and in Evidence to S.C. on Health of Towns H. of L.S.P. 1840, XXVIII, Q. 1,687.

2 Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, p. 356.

3 General Board of Health Minute Book No. 1 P.R.O. MH5/1, entry for 23 Jan. 1849.

4 Ibid, 23 Jan. 1849.

back-to-back building were not really alleviated until the beginning of the twentieth century when small through houses began to appear in substantial numbers, although the back-to-back style was far from superseded even in the outskirts. In fact it was 1937 before the construction of new ones finally ceased, although current building of such dwellings made Leeds an exception in the country by 1909, when an Act outlawed their construction except where plans had already been approved. The new through houses predominantly consisted of three-, four- or five-roomed, two-storeyed dwellings with rooms 12 feet by 10 feet by 7 feet 6 inches or 9 feet high. They nearly all had basements, the three-roomed houses having one room down together with a scullery and two rooms upstairs. The four-roomed had an additional attic or ground floor room, although if there were two rooms on the ground floor there was no scullery, the basement being used for this purpose.¹ Behind each row of such houses was a court, with a covered ash-pit or W.C. to every two houses, and there was usually a larder and accommodation for coal built onto the house.² In contrast the new back-to-backs going up at this time had only a small forecourt, with the W.C. being placed in the basement, equipped with a separate entrance from outside the house.³

From a quick glance at the standard of housing in Leeds, the greatest change over the century seems visible in the lessening predominance of the back-to-back type of dwelling, although its complete suppression was not attained. Even where

1 Board of Trade Report on Working-Class Rents, Housing and Retail Prices in the Principal Industrial Towns of the U.K. P.P. 1908, CVII, p. 634.

2 Ibid, p. 635.

3 Ibid, p. 635.

back-to-backs were still being constructed (9 per cent of completions by 1914)¹ their facilities such as W.C.'s and small forecourts were a far cry from the 75 cartloads recovered from Boot and Shoe Yard in the early nineteenth century. It would also seem that more people were living in four- or five-roomed houses rather than the three-roomed ones of earlier in the century, although the size of the rooms, if any store can be set by the early figures, may have deteriorated if anything, as more larger, through houses became available.

In Birmingham by the late eighteen thirties many rows of back-to-backs were in the process of being constructed.² These were constructed in courts, had three rooms, the dimensions of which can be seen from the accompanying illustrations, and were of three storeys. The old courts were said to be narrow, ill-ventilated and badly-drained, in contrast to the newer ones.³ This trend later altered somewhat, so that by the twentieth century only some 30 per cent of the population lived in the three-roomed back-to-backs which had been under construction in such numbers in the eighteen thirties and eighteen forties. Inside these houses, the front door opened into the living-room, with a scullery under the stairs which led to the bedrooms on the next two storeys.⁴

The declining favour for building back-to-backs is mirrored by the growth in bye-laws banning their construction.

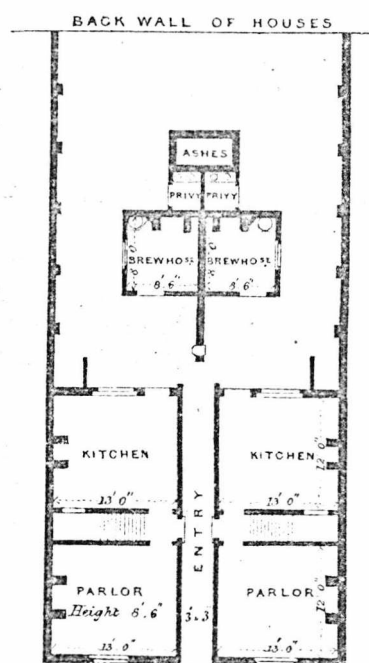
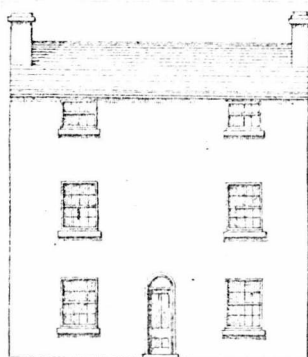
1 Beresford, op. cit. p. 118.

2 Evidence to S.C. on the Health of Towns H. of L.S.P. 1840, XXVIII, Qq. 2,270-1.

3 Report of the Committee of Physicians and Surgeons on the Borough of Birmingham, in Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, pp. 194-5.

4 Board of Trade Report on Working-Class Rents, Housing and Retail Prices in the Principal Industrial Towns of the U.K. P.P. 1908, CVII, p. 460.

ELEVATION AND GROUND PLAN OF TWO, THREE-QUARTER HOUSES
IN TENNANT STREET, BIRMINGHAM



Rental, Each House 18£ per Annum.



PHOTOGRAPH I. — BEFORE REPAIR.



PHOTOGRAPH II. — AFTER REPAIR.

SOURCE: J.S. Nettlefold, Practical Housing (Letchworth, 1908),
between pp. 32-3.



PHOTOGRAPH IV. FRONT ELEVATION, SHOWING HOW LIGHT AND AIR ARE LET INTO THE COURTS.



PHOTOGRAPH V.—ONE OF THE TERRACES AFTER THOROUGH REPAIR.

SOURCE: J.S. Nettlefold, Practical Housing (Letchworth, 1908),
between pp. 32-3.

These came in piecemeal fashion, so that by 1908 it was possible to state that in Yorkshire they had been banned in most towns, although in some places they were still being constructed as new buildings. By this date it was said that they predominated in Bradford, Huddersfield, Leeds and Halifax, while in Sheffield, York, Keighley and Castleford they were still of considerable importance, although in the country generally their numbers were reckoned insignificant, their number being diminished by demolition and conversion.¹

Not all were new in construction. Some were the result of encroachment upon the last remnants of land available to the builder: the gardens of existing houses. In many instances in London a new structure was put up to the rear of an existing one creating virtually the same effect as if the builder had set out with the original intention of building a back-to-back dwelling. Even if the result was not a total back-to-back, the houses might well be so close together that the result was almost the same.²

In other cases a lack of back windows, the resulting houses sometimes called blind backs, gave rise to similar difficulties with regard to the ventilation of dwellings. In addition to a small number of old back-to-back houses, Bethnal Green had some of these dwellings. Although none of them had more than one room on each floor, the resulting impossibility of adequate ventilation was a cause of grave concern.³

-
- 1 Board of Trade Report on Working-Class Rents, Housing and Retail Prices in the Principal Industrial Towns of the U.K. P.P. 1908, CVII, p. 338.
 - 2 R.C. on the Housing of the Working Classes P.P. 1884-5, XXX, p. 21.
 - 3 Bethnal Green Vestry Report on Immediate Sanitary Requirements (1888), p. 35.

They had been built in courts and their original construction was said to have been extremely bad.¹ Princes Court in the parish of St Giles also exhibited examples of such dwellings. Other houses in this parish had such small back yards that they were said to be almost as insusceptible to through ventilation as the back-to-back dwellings.²

Variations were noticeable in the different type of back-to-backs as between particular regions or particular towns. In some instances these dwellings were specially built in order to cater for particular work-groups, such as the weavers. They had three-storeyed dwellings incorporating a living-room, a bedroom and a weaving-room, one above the other. Another design, and one which found favour in places such as Carlisle and Halifax,³ was to have a total of three rooms, with a living-room and a scullery on the ground floor, and two bedrooms on the upper storey, one large and one small.

Back-to-back housing was affected slightly more than through dwellings by the question of fire risk. With the general tendency for any early-century party wall to finish at eave level, the more party walls there were in any building, the greater was the consequent risk of fire spreading through adjoining roof areas. In terraces of both through houses and back-to-backs the roof space would often be open all the way along. The main timbers would then abut, even if they were not actually the same for adjoining houses.⁴

1 Bethnal Green Vestry, Medical Officer of Health's Report (1883), p. 6.

2 St Giles Board of Works, Medical Officer of Health's Report (1871-2), p. 18.

3 Board of Trade Report on Working-Class Rents, Housing and Retail Prices in the Principal Industrial Towns of the U.K. P.P. 1908, CVII, p. 516.

4 The Builder 29 Sept. 1888, p. 224.

The distinctive features of back-to-back housing would seem to be that they were in general bad health risks, and liable to be bad fire risks, although if they were built only in blocks of four dwellings, that is each having only two party walls, then the impact of both these factors were reduced to some extent. Over and above these somewhat easily noted factors are the somewhat more intangible ones concerning the great lack of space surrounding the dwellings. Their design permitted the utilisation of the smallest spaces, some 12 square feet being all the ground space that was generally required to put them. Such economy was especially valuable when urban land values were rising, and gave greater concentrations of inhabitants to the acre, but the full cost of such housing, especially the social cost, is unquantifiable.

Their eventual demise seems to have been caused by legislative activity, as was the case with separate cellar dwellings. The problems, however, were not entirely solved by such means since little was done to provide replacements at prices which the working classes were willing, and able, to pay. Part of the price of this forced restriction of house numbers was to push people further down the housing scale, to multi-occupation, perhaps of one room, or into the lodging-houses, where some accommodation of a rudimentary sort could be found, and in which large numbers were accommodated in the central areas.

Lodging-Houses

These features of nineteenth-century urban life fall into several categories: including common lodging-houses, model lodging-houses, the workhouse casual wards, and the hostels

or shelters put up, or owned, by such bodies as the Salvation Army. All of them provided temporary shelter for those unable to find any more permanent dwelling. Apart from the workhouse they also had in common the fact that a charge was made for their services, usually 3d or 4d per night, although a few charged only 1d or 2d.¹ The most expensive charged 6d, with a normal practice, apparently, of allowing Sunday free to a customer who stayed for the rest of the week.²

The use of the word "common" to describe what were privately-owned lodging-houses seems to have originated with the passing of the Public Health Act, although the exact interpretation of the word's meaning was left to the local authority.³ Some localities saw an extremely comprehensive view taken, such as in one northern area, where the local officer so interpreted "common" as to include brothels in the list, therefore rendering them subject to investigation. He was known to have visited such places, in his official capacity, in the middle of the night and question strangers. Unfortunately for those seeking local colour, reactions to this use of the measure have not been recorded. Elsewhere, an equally zealous officer was the cause of complaints that he had turned people into the streets at three o'clock in the morning. Generally, however, with only sluggish officials, most areas saw few houses even being registered.⁴

1 S.C. on the Health of Towns H. of L.S.P. 1840, XXVIII, Qq. 626 and 2,482.

2 8th Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health to the Privy Council P.P. 1866, XXXIII, p. 471.

3 Report to H.M. Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, by the Assistant Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, upon the Operation of the Common Lodging-Houses Acts, Within the Metropolitan Police District P.P. 1857, Sess. 2, XVI, p. 19.

4 8th Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health to the Privy Council P.P. 1866, XXXIII, p. 473.

Whether registered or not, these houses were to be found in all large towns. London, due to its attractiveness to rural immigrants, had a prominent number of such buildings. The London case can, to a large extent, be taken as typical of the experience of the country as a whole. Where any difference was to be noted it was usually that the London lodging-houses were slightly better-run than their provincial counterparts. Talking of the differences Dr Hunter, in the early eighteen sixties, said that:

"There are few peculiarities in the management of common lodging-houses in most of which the example set by the metropolis should be followed everywhere."¹

In London the houses tended to be larger, since the market they catered for was greater. Liverpool, for instance, had about the same number of registered lodging-houses in 1862, with 1,213, but generally they were smaller in size. Where Liverpool did outstrip London was in the provision of specialist emigrant houses, some 450 of the total being devoted to this purpose.² Birmingham's problems, in contrast, resulted not from emigrants but from the great influx of Irish immigrants in the eighteen forties, a situation partly reflected in the existence of purely Irish lodging-houses.

In both Birmingham and Newcastle large numbers of the population lived in such places. Some streets in Birmingham were said to be composed of nothing else. The buildings themselves fell into three categories: - the Irish, those for mendicants, and those inhabited, or used, by prostitutes.³ One

1 8th Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health to the Privy Council P.P. 1866, XXXIII, p. 505.

2 Ibid. p. 501.

3 Sanitary Report H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVI, p. 357.

owner of such a lodging-house in Birmingham had it secured by means of a padlock and chain, in order to ensure that the tenants did not carry off the furniture or any other moveables which were to hand.¹ This was a situation which reflected on his estimation of his clients' character, as well as his attitude towards human nature.

London had a difference in terms of furnishings since the bedsteads there were noted by Dr Hunter as small, light constructions without posts. This was in contrast to those found in provincial lodging-houses which were nearly all of the old, heavy four-poster variety, and more often than not in a literally rotten condition.² In London the small, light, wooden-framed, single, cheap bedsteads³ were much used following a rule of some two years' standing (in 1866) that all single men should sleep in single beds, a regulation which did not seem to have affected the average price at which lodgings could be obtained. It remained around 3d to 4d per night.⁴

Outside London, before the passing of the 1851 and 1853 Acts relating to lodging-houses, the existence of such places was sufficient justification to arouse immediate suspicions of fever centres. In Whitehaven in 1848, for example, nearly all the fever cases which had come from Ribton Lane were from one or two lodging-houses, said to be always crowded with Irish. Similarly, fear was expressed about one particular lodging-house on Harmless Hill from which 12 cases had come in the previous three months.⁵

1 Sanitary Report H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVI, p. 358.

2 8th Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health to the Privy Council P.P. 1866, XXXIII, p. 505.

3 They actually cost 4/6d each.

4 8th Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health to the Privy Council P.P. 1866, XXXIII, p. 506.

5 Rawlinson, op. cit. p. 11.

In several cases, prejudice against Irish immigrants was connected with prejudice against lodging-houses, especially when they formed the majority of the inmates of a particular house or houses. Conditions in Stockport's Irish lodging-houses in the early eighteen forties were such that seven people were to be found in one room. This was a damp cellar 15 feet square and six feet high, furnished with two beds, and the inhabitants found themselves only joint tenants, having to share the room with a few rabbits.¹ Nor was this an isolated incident of lodging-house conditions. Overcrowding occurred in several other towns at the same time. Among the lodging-houses in Monmouth, one exhibited a case of 25 people sleeping in one room equipped with only six beds,² while in Aberdare a family could rent a bed for 6d per night.³ This was cheap, and allowed concentration of population, but not comfortable accommodation, to say the least.

Before 1850 Whitehaven had a total of 24 lodging-houses of poor standards, such as their containing 120 beds of which 117 were described as "very dirty" and only three as "clean". Moreover, whereas in most towns these would constitute the worst of all housing conditions, in this case they were said to be equal to those found in the single-room tenements which covered a large part of the population. Most of the people using the lodging-houses in Whitehaven were described as vagrants,⁴ as were those in Brighton. This town had a total

-
- 1 From Report by John Rayner, Medical Officer to the Stockport Union, cited in Sanitary Report H. of L.S.P., XXVI, p. 360.
 - 2 Report by Sir Edmund Head, Bart., Assistant Poor Law Commissioner, in Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, p. 113.
 - 3 Rammell, op. cit. (1853), p. 13.
 - 4 Rawlinson, op. cit. p. 16. Out of the 24 houses, six were reported clean in general aspect, all were small: 12 three-roomed, 8 two-roomed and 4 four-roomed. p. 25.

of 43 lodging-houses, inhabited by an average of 1,200 people. Another 25 houses were said to be of a questionable character.¹ The total population was 58,950 in 1849 so that some 2 per cent, at least, of all inhabitants were living in lodging-houses. 31,628 were members of the families headed by "artisans, mechanics etc."² Thus between 3 and 4 per cent would seem a likely minimum estimate of the proportion of the working classes so housed. Among the casually-employed and recent arrivals, the percentage would rise higher still.

In general terms, lodging-houses attracted much criticism in the first half of the century as the "foci of contagious disease", this being the general viewpoint held in almost every town from which sanitary reports were made to the Poor Law Commissioners in 1842.³ More specifically, the report of the Metropolitan Sanitary Commissioners for 1847 noted lodging-houses as a source of epidemic disease, and 1849 saw epidemic cholera found in them.⁴ The other major complaint was of the generally bad conditions which resulted from the cramming together of as many people as could possibly be forced into the buildings. A typical complaint of this nature came from the Rev. John Lyons who, together with his churchwardens and the late medical officer of the Whitechapel Union, wrote to the General Board of Health regarding the state of the lodging-

1 E. Cresy, Report to the General Board of Health on a Preliminary Inquiry into the Sanitary Condition of the Town of Brighton (1849), p. 25.

2 Ibid. p. 6.

3 Sanitary Report H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVI, p. 357. In stark contrast to the report of 1854 by Mr Glover on Metropolitan Model Lodging-Houses which were noted for their immunity from cholera, recorded in General Board of Health Minute Book No. 10 P.R.O..MH5/10, entry for 27 Oct. 1854.

4 G. Glover, Common and Model Lodging-Houses, Metropolis (Epidemic of Cholera 1854) P.P. 1854-5, XLV, p. 262.

houses in Goodman's fields, Whitechapel.¹ Disease was the result and cramming the means of obtaining a high density of town populations.

Such conditions were not confined to lodging-houses tenanted on a daily basis in the towns. Some particular work-groups also had accommodation of this type provided for them. This was a means of providing cheap accommodation, rather than particularly saving on land costs, but the resulting conditions were similar. The railway "navvies" were one example, but another and more permanent illustration was furnished by the miners. William Eddy, a miner living at Greenside, said to be representative of all miner's lodging-houses, gave an account of conditions there. They were housed in a building of 16 beds in an upstairs room, occupied by 50 men, by means of having 3 or 4 men to each bed. As a later improvement floorboards were introduced downstairs, whereas previously there had been neither boards nor flagstones, and cleaning was instituted.² Of the common lodging-houses in towns, only places like Barnard Castle could provide worse conditions, with no beds at all in one lodging-house, tenants sleeping on the floor.³ This was the extreme, but almost inevitable, result of relying on the open market.

Following the 1851 and 1853 Acts, ordinary lodging-houses

-
- 1 General Board of Health Minute Book No. 3 P.R.O. MH5/3, entry for 3 June 1850. Also a similar complaint from W.J. Rudge in Ibid. entry for 2 Aug. 1850.
 - 2 Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, pp. 111-2.
 - 3 W. Ranger, Report to the General Board of Health on a Preliminary Inquiry into the Sanitary Condition of the Township of Barnard Castle (1850), p. 11.

had to be registered. To these were added an increasing number of the model lodging-houses which were intended both to provide a better standard of accommodation themselves, and to encourage others to do so by their example. In the Metropolis the appearance of large philanthropic societies owning these "models", such as the Society for Improving the Condition of the Labouring Classes,¹ accentuated the incidence of large holdings which already existed in London. There were large private landlords, or "keepers" as lodging-house operators were known, such as the Mr Smith who operated in Flower and Dean Streets, catering for 500 lodgers, or the West End keeper who was reputed to have ten 4d houses.²

Larger houses, which were more permanent, and less able to disguise their purpose, were more likely to come under police supervision through the lodging-houses Acts. There were in London by 1853, 1,721 of these permanently-registered houses³ with places for 30,000 occupants,⁴ whereas the further 10,284 houses only more or less under police supervision brought the total of places available to 82,000.⁵ What the total of lodging-houses which entirely evaded police superintendence was, is incalculable, but the assumption must be that more people than those revealed by these figures were residing in such

1 The Society owned four buildings in 1851. Grainger, Report on Model Lodging-Houses P.P. 1851, XXIII, p. 18.

2 8th Annual Report of Medical Officer of Health to Privy Council P.P. 1866, XXXIII, p. 505. Contrast this with Whitehaven in 1849, where of a total of 24 houses, all but two were the sole holding of their owner. Rawlinson, op. cit. Supplement, p. 25.

3 Glover, op. cit. p. 266.

4 Ibid. p. 264.

5 Ibid. p. 266 and footnote.

places. This provides a significant total even before adding in those lodging with a family rather than in a lodging-house.

All of these totals were supplemented by those living in the "model" houses supplied by the philanthropic societies. In four such establishments: - George Street, Drury Lane, Albert Street and Soho Chambers, the average number of permanent lodgers was put at 425, or about one-third of those housed permanently by societies and philanthropic individuals in the same area. The four were further said to represent the sum total of "model" lodging-house accommodation in the Metropolis at that time.¹

The only real effect which "models" could hope to have exerted in this case was as examples to others rather than through the supply situation. An equal, if not greater, effect on supply was exerted by the efforts of the workhouse. In particular there was the one for St Giles and St George Bloomsbury, which had a limit of 900,² large compared to others such as that in the parish of St George the Martyr which had room for only 460.³ This last-named workhouse was notable for one ward, the aged women's sleeping ward, which had been badly-built five years earlier (1844), of old bricks loosely held together and which was in consequence very damp. Another, the women's tramp ward, was represented by a shed in the yard, measuring 20 feet by seven, in which it was usual to have 20 to 25 women and children. This allowed them a

1 Grainger, Report on Model Lodging-Houses P.P. 1851, XXIII, p. 19.

2 Report of Dr Arthur Farre and Mr Grainger to the General Board of Health on 38 Metropolitan Workhouses on 26 March 1849 P.P. 1850, XXI p. 805. Note that on the date the report was made, 7th Feb., this workhouse was full.

3 Ibid. p. 792. 434 were found in this workhouse on 13 Feb. 1849. The total was composed of 121 men, 202 women and 111 children.

piece of floor something under a foot in width each, and it had been known for as many as 40 to sleep there,¹ which speaks volumes about the demand for low-cost accommodation.

Government legislation to deal with threats of disease and overcrowding met with conflicting opinions as to its effectiveness. The police force in the Metropolis was said to be too small to adequately enforce inspection,² while supporters of the Acts, such as the Medical Officer to the St Olave's Union, held that:

"The act of Parliament for the better regulation of common lodging-houses, has been attended with much benefit to the sanitary condition of this union."³

The Metropolitan Medical Officers reported to the General Board of Health in 1857, that the Acts were generally working beneficially, although many lodging-houses had escaped registration due to the difficulty, for the authorities, of discovering them.⁴

The problems seem to have included one of staff, with the Metropolis in 1852 having one Commissioner, one surveying inspector, one superintending inspector, one registrar with a sergeant as his assistant, and 8 inspecting sergeants.⁵ These

-
- 1 Report of Dr Arthur Farre and Mr Grainger to the General Board of Health on 38 Metropolitan Workhouses on 26 March 1849 P.P. 1850, XXI, p. 793.
 - 2 Glover, op. cit. p. 269.
 - 3 Supplemental Report made to the Home Secretary by Assistant Commissioner of Police upon the Operation of the Common Lodging-Houses Acts P.P. 1854, XXXV, p. 125.
 - 4 Report to the General Board of Health of the Working of the Common Lodging-Houses Act P.P. 1857, Sess. 2, XLI, p. 25.
 - 5 Report Made to the Home Secretary by Assistant Commissioner of Police upon the Operation of the Common Lodging-Houses Acts P.P. 1852-3, LXXVIII, p. 526.

were added to in 1853 when one more inspector and an unspecified number of additional inspecting sergeants were provided, who were reported to have had full occupation,¹ which would imply that the extra staff had been much needed. The greatest problem, after that of insufficient staff, was that of getting the houses on the books. In order to inspect, the police needed information that a dwelling was in fact a common lodging-house and then had to register it under the Act.²

In London the interference of legislation had some effect upon the larger houses. The undetected tended to be the small houses which could disguise their function, or become furnished rooms. Some trouble was experienced with the weekly lodging-houses, as only the daily ones were covered by the Act, but despite attempts at evasion some degree of success was claimed. Before the Acts, houses in the Woolwich area were reckoned by the area superintendent, F.H. Mallalieu, to include common thieves, tramps, low prostitutes, beggars, hawkers of petty articles, begging letter-writers, smashers, ballad singers, travelling tinkers, china menders, umbrella repairers and ticket writers. Since the passing of the Act all the thieves and suspicious characters had disappeared from this list.³ The general impressions of the results of

1 Supplemental Report made to the Home Secretary by Assistant Commissioner of Police upon the Operation of the Common Lodging-Houses Acts P.P. 1854, XXXV, p. 117.

2 Evidence to the R.C. on the Housing of the Working-Classes P.P. 1884-5 Vol. II, XXXI, Q. 4,208.

3 Report made to the Home Secretary by the Assistant Commissioner of Police upon the Operation of the Common Lodging-Houses Act P.P. 1852-3, LXXVIII, p. 537.

legislation are summarised by this quote from the 1857 report:

"The houses are now much improved and daily improving, the keepers are of a better class, and without increase of payment, the accommodation provided for the poor is in all respects of a higher standard."¹

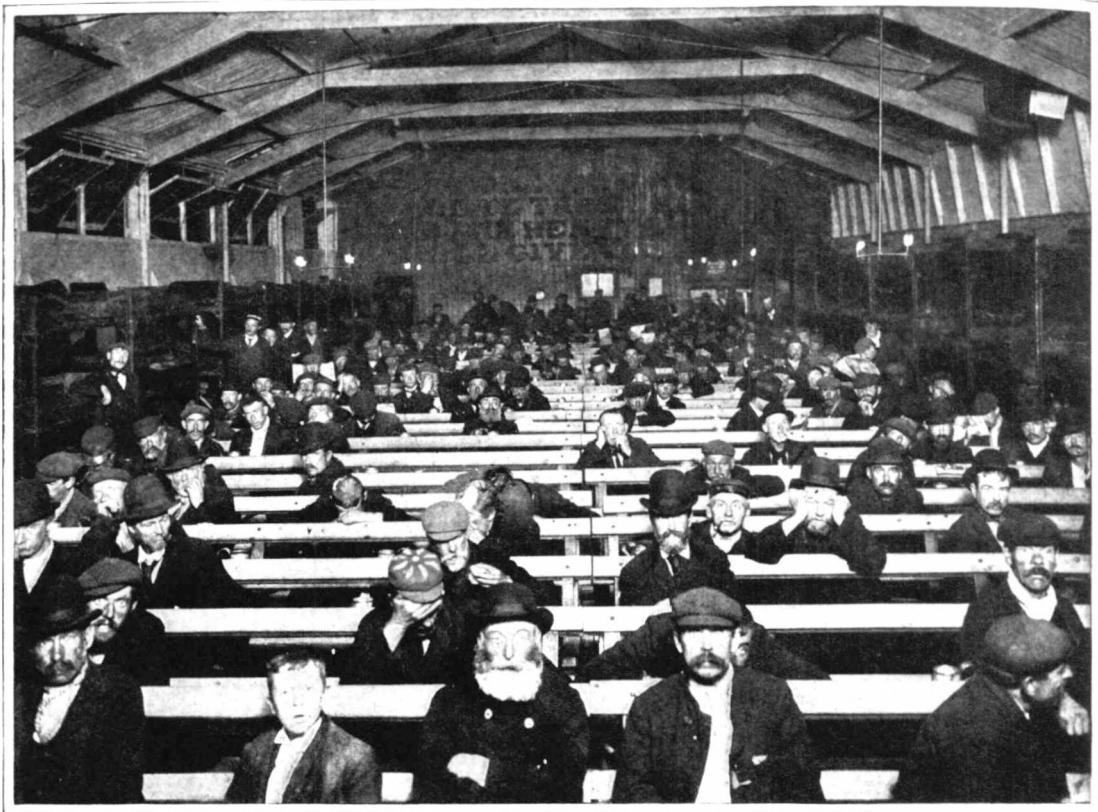
Where the acts seem to have been most ineffective was in dealing, later in the century, with the Salvation Army hostels whose organisers considered them to be outside the law relating to common lodging-houses. In this opinion they were backed up by the judiciary. There was a summons brought against William Booth himself, under the lodging-houses Acts, which attempted to ensure provision of sufficient and proper bedding. The summons referred specifically to the hostel at Hanbury Street where it was alleged, no beds or bedding was provided except sheepskin or leather covers and boxes with American cloth and seaweed beds.² In the judgment little or no comment was made about the adequacy or otherwise of these provisions, all that was said was that the Acts were not applicable to the Salvation Army hostels.³ Illustrations on the following pages remedy this deficiency to some extent by revealing the adequacy or otherwise of the provisions.

Outside London, various places commented favourably upon the workings of the Acts. Bristol, in 1852, had 29 common lodging-houses, generally filthy and badly drained, with bad ventilation and little water supply. 19 of these were regis-

1 Report to H.M. Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department by the Assistant Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police upon the Operation of the Common Lodging-Houses Acts, within the Metropolitan Police District P.P. 1857, Sess. 2, XVI, p. 19.

2 A fairly typical example, as can be judged from Appendix 6A. See below, pp. 442-449.

3 Daily News 7 Dec. 1889.



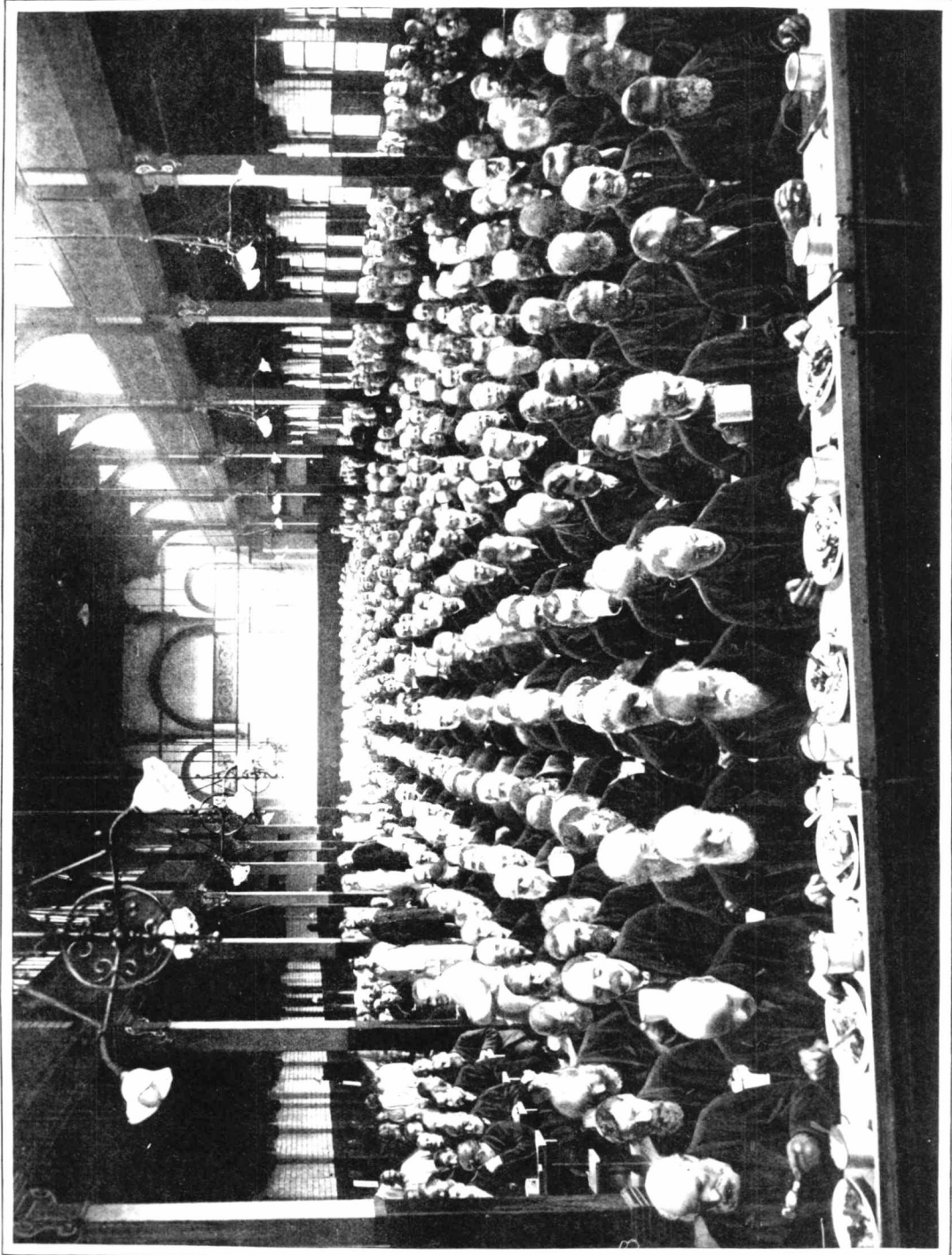
SALVATION ARMY SHELTER (BLACKFRIARS): THE "PENNY SIT-UP."



MEDLAND HALL: INSIDE.

SOURCE: Living London, Vol. 1, ed. G.R. Sims, (1903), p. 334.

LONDON WORKHOUSE



AT DINNER.

SOURCE: Living London, Vol. 2, ed. G.R. Sims (1903), p. 104.



KITCHEN IN A SINGLE WOMEN'S LODGING HOUSE (SPITALFIELDS).



KITCHEN IN A COMMON LODGING HOUSE (SPITALFIELDS).

tered, after improvement, under the 1851 Act, and the others went out of use.¹ However, some worse ones were discovered with no furniture, and straw and wood shavings on the floor for use as beds, with 17 people in one case found sleeping in one room.²

444 people were housed in the 4d lodging-houses in Macclesfield at the same time, and the owners were forced now to sweep the rooms daily, wash floors weekly and wash bed-clothes.³ This was considered an improvement so what conditions were like before this, is an open question. In Accrington with its seven lodging-houses the Acts were said to be beneficial, while in Alnwick with its 18,200 lodgers yearly, mostly poor Irish with a few itinerant English and Scots, the houses were said to be clean and orderly and the Act to operate well. In Altrincham it was said the Acts worked so well that lodging-houses were more healthy than the cottages of the industrial classes.⁴

Generally the response from local authorities was such as to suggest that the Acts worked well. Mr Burr, the clerk to the Keighley local board, summed it up by saying that the enforcement of the 1851 and 1853 Acts, together with their own bye-laws, had meant that the number of lodging-houses had been

1 Report to the General Board of Health on the Working of the Common Lodging-Houses Acts P.P. 1857, Sess. 2, XLI, p. 28.

2 Ibid. p. 29. No comment was made upon the size of this one room, but many of the lodging-houses, particularly provincial ones, were only converted dwellings with normal size rooms rather than large dormitories.

3 Ibid. p. 32.

4 Ibid. pp. 26-27.

reduced and the remainder were cleaner and more orderly.¹

What happened to the potential lodgers who would have tenanted the lodging-houses that had disappeared, and the conditions they lived in was never really considered.

A generalised statement on the optimistic side suggested that in the "R" division of the Metropolitan police prior to the Act of 1851, lodging-houses were the filthiest and lowest habitations. Afterwards they were well-cleaned, the walls and ceilings whitewashed, ventilation improved, the numbers let in regulated and better bedding provided in terms of quality, quantity and cleanliness with a lessened risk of fever.² Such statements carry a fair amount of truth, but the suspicion remains that there were several houses which evaded the obligations imposed on them by the Acts, and perhaps the reports stress success since they came from the people who were expected to ensure success.

If the report, not of police officers or local boards, but of an inspector from the General Board of Health is taken into account, then a different picture emerges. Writing about Shrewsbury in 1854, W. Ranger suggested that of more than 100 common lodging-houses in the town, only 12 were registered, and that a principal defect in the Act was that no power was given to the authorities to enforce action by the landlords.³

1 Report to the General Board of Health on the Working of the Common Lodging-Houses Acts P.P. 1857, Sess. 2, XLI, p. 31.

2 Report Made to the Home Secretary by Assistant Commissioner of Police Upon the Operation of the Common Lodging-Houses Act P.P. 1852-3, LXXVIII, p. 535.

3 W. Ranger, Report to the General Board of Health on a Preliminary Inquiry into the Sanitary Condition of the Borough of Shrewsbury (1854), p. 52.

On the other hand, Dr Hunter taking the country in general, thought that those houses which were registered were good enough.¹ The problem remains as to how many houses evaded regulations and in how many towns did authorities become too lax to enforce them, let alone questioning the definition employed by Dr Hunter as to what was "good enough".

What can be said is that standards for those in lodging-houses probably improved later in the century as a result of the Acts, but how far or how completely is debatable. Some local authorities remained critical of the trends visible in lodging-house accommodation. In the year 1870, for example, a house in Queen Street, St Giles, able to accommodate 100 men, was said to exhibit the faults typical to a common lodging-house. It had unsuited and inadequate kitchens, insufficient day-time room, and the cubicles for sleeping in were far too small in size.² That the criticisms should be these, in contrast to earlier complaints of too many in one room and that no day-room or kitchen existed, points towards conditions in the eighteen seventies being better than those of the eighteen forties. Standards of what was sufficient had at least been raised.

The later years of the century were remarkable also for the spread not only of larger and better lodging-houses, but also for the efforts by such bodies as the Salvation Army and the Church Army to take on part of the role of supplying places

1 8th Annual Report of Medical Officer of Health to the Privy Council
P.P. 1866, XXXIII, p. 505.

2 St Giles Board of Works, Medical Officer of Health's Report (1870-1),
p. 12.

for lodgers in the metropolis. Conditions in some of these hostels or shelters can be judged from the examples shown in Appendix 6A.¹ The furore which surrounded these places centred on the conditions inside them, the competition they provided to "private" owners, and the suggested demoralising or exploiting effect they exerted on those to whom they offered work, in return for lodging. It is probable that the competition aspect was the greatest drawback from the complainants' viewpoint since many of the complaints came from private lodging-house keepers.

One hostel in particular was set up with the idea that it should be a self-supporting project. It was suggested that the profits which were to be made out of keeping a common lodging-house operating on a 4d per night per person basis were well-known.² The idea of this scheme was that it should be in direct competition with the private houses. The basic difference was that while the private enterprise lodging-houses were subject to the restrictions of the law, the Salvation Army hostels were classed as part of a charitable institution, and therefore free from any such restrictions. The commercial aspects of the whole scheme meant that some conflict took place between the Army and the private lodging-house keepers. The writer of the report noted that the Army was to all intents and purposes engaging in a commercial undertaking.

1 See below, pp. 442-449.

2 Metropolitan Police Records. P.R.O. Mepol 2/203, entry for 21 Dec. 1891. In the private sector, profit making was such that the original rent could be multiplied many times over. For example, 21 Church Lane, St Giles was rented from its owners at £25 per annum. The subsequent rent charged sub-tenants totalled £58-10s-0d. In their turn these people received rent from lodgers amounting to a grand total of about £120 per annum. Report Made to the Home Secretary by the Assistant Commissioner of Police Upon the Operation of the Common Lodging-Houses Act P.P. 1852-3, LXXVIII, p. 528.

The question of unfair competition rankled sufficiently to produce complaints from rivals such as Thomas Tempany, of 6, 7 and 8 Widegate, Street, E.C., a proprietor of several registered common lodging-houses in the metropolis who wrote to the Scotland Yard Superintendent complaining about the unfair competition which he and other lodging-house keepers faced from this source. The major cause for complaint was that attempts by the police to impose the regulations of the Acts upon the hostels owned by the Salvation Army had been successfully opposed.

Not being under the rules and regulations which restricted the actions of others, Tempany claimed that the Army, through its operations, was able often to obtain twice the return which could be had from owning a lodging-house operating within the regulations. In some of the shelters the Army, by providing no bed, obviated the cost of bedmaking and of providing bedding. There were no fires to pay for, or servants, and the inmates were more closely packed than would have been permitted in a lodging-house.

Tempany went on to complain about the provisions as regards the kitchen and dining-room to be found in the Salvation Army establishments. In the normal, regulated lodging-houses these were separate rooms which were only in use during the day. General Booth's sitting and bedroom areas were, he said, in contrast one and the same. All available space was utilised for sleeping as many people as possible. Overall, it was possible by such means to only charge 2d and yet to still obtain as great a return as those lodging-house keepers who charged 4d. In blunt terms Tempany reckoned that the Salvation Army were able to, and did, put in double the number of lodgers

with less overheads so that their net receipts were in excess of those obtained by similar operations working within the provisions of the various Acts.

Tempany's last general accusation against the activities of the Salvation Army was their effect on the condition of other lodging-houses. The people who habitually used the shelters and hostels were not of the cleanest sort as regards their habits, and the fear of theft, together with the lack of bedding provided by the Army meant that lodgers were forced to sleep in their clothes in order to keep themselves warm and their belongings safe. Tramp wards providing accommodation for these type of people would have automatically provided baths for them and would also have fumigated their clothing. By not doing so, and by encouraging, if not forcing them not to remove their clothing even at night, the Army was guilty of spreading infection to other lodging-houses and rendering it more difficult to keep them clean.¹

Further criticism came from an inmate, in the form of a description which appeared in the Clerkenwell Weekly News and Chronicle. This concerned General Booth's shelter at St John's Square, and was written by W.C. Williams of Tan-y-Coed. The writer had apparently come to London in search of employment, as had many other inhabitants of the lodging-houses. Having had no immediate success at finding a job and unable to find the 6d needed by 1891 for a "doss", he was directed to Clerkenwell by the Field Lane refuge. Upon entering the room he saw several hundred half-starved and villainous-looking men, and

1 Letter from Thomas Tempany to: Superintendent of Lodging-Houses, Scotland Yard. In Metropolitan Police Records, P.R.O. Mepol 2/203, entry for 17th Oct. 1892.

was given his meal which consisted of a mug of cocoa, and a bit of dry bread. The morning meal at 7.00 a.m. was similar, except that coffee replaced the cocoa. The beds consisted of row after row of boxes which were placed as close together as possible with no space at all between them. Around the room there was no crockery or furniture, giving it an appearance of a vast mortuary with rows of coffins laid out on the floor. The boxes contained no bedclothes, no pillow or mattress, only a small hard cushion of India rubber or mackintosh stuff, and a leather apron.¹ The whole place was swarming with vermin, the washing facilities were bad and:

"Everything is so disgustingly dirty here - no soap, towels, etc., and the stench most horrible - that it is safer not to wash."

These facilities were in a sort of underground cellar having four W.C.'s opening into it, with the whole floor covered with at least an inch of mud.²

The police records also include observations on an extract from the Clerkenwell newspaper, reporting a meeting of the Holborn Guardians concerned with this particular hostel. They complained that its existence meant men could be lodged for a period in the union until becoming qualified for the workhouse. The lodgers were then given a note to certify this fact when they became destitute with the result that men from all over the country were coming to Holborn. Trouble had been growing for some months, reflected in the rising figures of men admitted to the workhouse who had been in the hostel. In May these totalled 28, in June 29, in July 32, in August 44, in

1 See illustration above, p. 353 inside Medland Hall.

2 Clerkenwell Weekly News and Chronicle 31 Oct. 1891.

September 51 and then up to the 24th October they had already amounted to 91. Most of these men had been in an "undescribable condition" and the Guardians felt that at least the hostel should be made liable to the Common Lodging-Houses Act.¹ If such measures had been effective and the numbers accommodated cut in half, there would have been little or no provision for those displaced - at least not in Holborn.

The Salvation Army Hostels were not the only type of such dwellings which were available to people unable or unwilling to find any alternative form of accommodation. There was always the workhouse, in which conditions by the late nineteenth century, and particularly in the casual wards which took in the absolutely destitute, were said to be generally better than those found in the Hostels. In the whole Metropolis there were some 1,500 places available in the workhouses, a number reckoned to be adequate, since never more than 1,000 were ever occupied, which is in sharp contrast to the apparent demand for such places in the late eighteen forties.²

The real limiting factor in the number of applicants for a place in one of these wards, was the requirement that anyone entering the workhouse had to stay for two nights and one day before they could be discharged. As a result the superintendent at the Marylebone institution had only been forced to turn away applicants for admission on two or three occasions during 1891. In all these cases those turned away were men. This workhouse had beds for 65 men and 29 women, all of whom

1 Clerkenwell Weekly News and Chronicle 31 Oct. 1891. Report of meeting of the Holborn Guardians.

2 See above, p. 349.

had either a separate room or "cell". There were three larger rooms which were said to accommodate families of women and children,¹ which seems a considerable improvement over the situation in the eighteen forties, but for far fewer people.

Whatever the conditions of the house, or the type of owner, the occupants of the lodging-houses in the later years of the century included working men and were not composed only of real down-and-outs who could probably not regularly afford the money for most of them. Even those which were noted for the fact that they took allcomers if sober and vermin-free generally charged, although "no cost" accommodation was to be found.² The report on the occupations of the tenants in the hostel known as The Harbour³ revealed a wide spectrum of the working classes, including skilled men such as printers as well as casual workers such as sandwichmen.

The question of vermin in lodging-houses was deemed sufficiently important to warrant an investigation based on the statement that "Common lodging-houses were positively infested with vermin". The general finding was that there was no truth at all in such an assertion, although the people who made use of them were of the poorest class, not even having a change of linen, and often carried vermin about with them in their clothes. The report maintained that steps were taken immediately if any bed should be made dirty to ensure its cleansing with a salt-and-water solution. In fact when everything was considered, the condition of most common lodging-houses, according

1 Metropolitan Police Records P.R.O. Mepol 2/203, Report from "D" Division, entry for 30 Dec. 1891.

2 See below, p. 448.

3 See below, Appendix 6A, 9-10 Stanhope Street, pp. 445-446.

to the Superintendents of "G" and "H" divisions, compared favourably with that of the homes of the poorer working classes¹ which were not under any supervision by the authorities.

In conclusion, it would seem that common lodging-houses at any period, but particularly early on, offered life at a low standard and, it was said, contributed to pauperism and the lowest form of casual labourer.² A great criticism was that they effectively cut people off from their relatives, and led inevitably to the workhouse.³

These criticisms were equally applicable to the early- and the late-century situations. It would, however, appear that, where they were applied, the Acts of 1851 and 1853 did have some impact. The effect of model lodging-houses in contrast would seem to have been limited even if the model tenement dwellings are allowed for, as the philanthropic trusts included them in their claims to have housed the inmates of lodging-houses. Certainly as standards were raised by effective legislation, so some of the displaced tenants had to move elsewhere, and model tenements provided far better conditions than the sub-tenancies of furnished rooms.

The underlying causes probably included a general improvement in economic circumstances which meant that by the eighteen nineties, many could afford the 6d "doss" in place of the 3d or 4d of the earlier part of the century. This, together with tighter regulation of lodging-houses, permitted the situation

1 Metropolitan Police Records P.R.O. Mepol 2/203, entry for 28 Oct. 1891.

2 The R.C. on the Poor Laws and the Relief of Distress Vol. 1 (Cd. 4499) (1909), Paragraph 539, p. 288.

3 Ibid. p. 289.

to improve. By the later years of the century the criticisms were not about how many slept in one room, but how many had to share small day-rooms, or how small the separate cells or cubicles were, which served as sleeping quarters. The real criticisms of the late century were not so much of the private houses but more of their "charitable" competitors, mainly the Salvation Army.

The increasing regulation of lodging-houses, and the lessening of the numbers accommodated in the workhouses, meant that while the later-century inmates of these places may have been better served than were their predecessors, the problems of overcrowding, filth and disease had just been shifted to the less-regulated furnished rooms, or half-rooms, of the great towns.

To some extent the results of this shift are to be seen in the reports of systematic sanitary inspections carried out by vestries in the metropolis. An example, that of Bethnal Green, can be found on the next page.

London, in common with some provincial towns, saw many examples of poor-quality accommodation in the form of furnished rooms, which were occupied by a continuous stream of tenants. The rooms were nearly always filthy, poorly-furnished and habitually overcrowded. Such places were also described as being inhabited by a class of the lowest sort and one which was below that which habitually occupied the common lodging-houses.¹ Even where the standards of the lodging-houses had improved over the period, it is possible that this did not represent an improvement for all those who would have been

1 The R.C. on the Poor Laws and the Relief of Distress Vol 1 (Cd. 4499) (1909), Paragraph 538, p. 288.

FIGURE 6.2

SYSTEMATIC SANITARY INSPECTION OF HOUSES IN BETHNAL GREEN *

Per-Centage Figures for the
Inspections of Principal Streets & C.

NAME OF STREET	(1) Inspections	(2) Structure Decayed	(3) Damp	(4) Floor Below Street	(5) No Underfloor Ventilation	(6) Yard Space Insufficient	(7) Light and Venti- lation Defective	(8) Cellar Entrance to Yard
Boundary Street	34	64.7	88.2	29.4	58.8	26.4	50.0	5.8
Fournier Street	77	84.4	66.2	46.7	33.7	7.1	11.7	3.8
Half Nichol Street and Inkhorn Yard	47	63.8	59.5	0	12.7	14.9	6.3	21.2
Jacobs Street	71	74.6	91.5	61.9	56.3	8.4	11.2	0
Mount Street	80	85.0	67.0	27.5	36.2	30.0	26.2	0
Mead Street	49	79.6	53.0	8.1	0	6.1	0	6.1
New Castle Street	20	0	50.0	45.0	15.0	25.0	25.0	0
New Nichol Street	40	50.0	27.5	7.5	10.0	20.0	7.5	27.5
Old Nichol Street	59	55.9	38.9	11.8	30.5	37.3	30.5	20.3
Sherwood Place	26	34.6	57.7	34.6	65.3	23.0	7.6	0
Turville Street	37	24.3	40.5	21.6	8.1	16.2	10.8	27.0
Total for all Bethnal Green	639	65.1	60.7	25.8	33.5	23.9	21.1	9.4

* SOURCE: Bethnal Green Vestry, Medical Officer of Health's Report (1890), p. 40.

termed their perpetual users in former times, since many were later to be found in these furnished rooms. The numbers reckoned to be dwelling in common lodging-houses by the beginning of the twentieth century were put at 21,864 for all London, with a further 4,473 in Rowton House accommodation.¹ The same writers also reckoned, one of them having sampled Salvation Army hostels for women both in Bristol and Liverpool by this time, that hostels and lodging-houses were then in a relatively good state.² Some things had obviously changed for the better for those towards the bottom end of the housing scale, although as early as 1853 someone at least had foreseen that the problem was only being shifted to furnished rooms. He wanted to see all sub-letting brought under control.³ Like much else requiring government action, this was not to be, nor would it have been fully effective unless some action had also been taken to provide alternatives for tenants shifted on from sub-let accommodation. The fundamental crisis was that of increasing price, especially of central town land, and if concentration of population was the chosen answer, then sub-letting, lodging-houses, back-to-backs, tenements, cottage flats or some other means of producing that concentration had to be found.

In various towns, lodging-houses provided a partial answer. In some northern towns and cities, such as Leeds, it was the back-to-back, while in Newcastle predominantly the

1 M. Higgs and E. Hayward, Where Shall She Live (1910), pp. 84-5.

2 Ibid. p. 167.

3 John Findlater, Relieving Officer to the North District of the Whitechapel Union, in Copies of Papers Received by the Board of Health, Exhibiting the Operation of the Common Lodging-Houses Act P.P. 1852-3 LXXVIII, p. 569.

cottage flat or conversion to tenements, although back-to-backs were also to be found. All these various answers had as their aim the economising of ground space. Pressure in particular towns was compounded by physical drawbacks to expansion. In Newcastle it was the presence of the Tyne and rising ground to the north-west which somewhat constrained expansion. The factor which all towns and cities had in common was mounting population pressure and the resulting increased demand for housing which pushed rents up, as did competition for "scarce" central town or city ground space, meaning that the maximum use of land had to be achieved by some means or other. This factor underlay the urban process in general. In such circumstances, legislative interference, even if rigorously enforced, was only really effective to the extent that economic circumstances permitted it to be, in fact outright condemnation of the "answers" to the land problem may well have worsened the overall housing standards of the urban working classes, rather than improved them.

C H A P T E R

S E V E N

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

Having examined the determining factors of both urban and rural housing standards, together with the extent to which those standards changed between 1837 and 1914, it is now necessary to summarise these two basic aspects of the thesis. In the course of undertaking this summary, it is particularly necessary to consider the extent to which any of the determinants affected developments in working-class housing. With the contribution made to supply by both philanthropy and government largely discounted, it is in the operations of the open market and freely-made changes to both supply and demand, that most of the concern of this thesis has been centred.

In trying to identify the various components of supply and demand, the interaction between them has had, necessarily, to be somewhat obscured. In actual fact it was this interaction which brought about the changes in the actual conditions and separating out the two processes was necessary for analytical reasons, mainly to see which of the two processes was dominant at any point in time, or in any particular area of the country. The major result of this division was to decide that in urban areas an increase in the amount supplied was the necessary factor for any improvement, and

for some criteria of standards to register an improvement, that increase had to be greater than the simultaneous growth in demand. With the demand in urban areas increasing rapidly, mainly through population growth, the need for supply to have increased even more rapidly led to the anticipation that change in urban areas, where it did occur, could only have been slow and laborious. The room for manoeuvre was far too limited to expect anything else. The role of demand in the urban case was a limiting one. The absolute rise in population was too great to allow any real hope of relief, and the level of expenditure on rent had to rise as much to maintain existing standards, as to improve them through inducing an even greater supply.

The expected situation in the rural areas was that specific places showing the effects of depopulation would have experienced a relatively more rapid change in overall housing standards. The cause of improvement in such cases was far more closely connected to events on the demand side, and the demographic component of demand at that, with the accompanying possibility of more rapid change. Emigration could bring about a considerable improvement to any particular area, or a more general improvement within a relatively short period of time whereas the urban reliance upon increases in supply meant that change was slow if, and when, it did appear.

Although the immediate cause of the changes in rural conditions are attributed to the demand side, as in the urban case it is the interaction between supply and demand which produced the end result. It is the relative shifts in demand that are of importance. This is stressed in considering the vocal complaints that demolition was a cause of depopulation,

so that the overall situation remained no better and possibly worse than it was before.¹ During the course of this summary it will become apparent, if it is not already so, that this was not the case. Demolition may have resulted from depopulation, and indeed this was the way in which the worst of rural houses were eliminated from the housing stock. Reversing the argument leads to the third expectation to arise from the first half of this thesis, which follows from the other two regarding the likely differences in the speed of change in rural and urban areas, and links them together.

To the extent that any improvement was to be noticed in the standard of urban housing, it can only have resulted in increasing the attractions of the towns for potential rural emigrants, in a materialistic sense at least. This greater attractiveness, by producing more migrants, would automatically have directly worsened urban standards, at least until the advantage had been cancelled out. By reducing the level of demand in the rural areas standards there should also have risen. In consequence, any improvement in urban conditions was likely to result in rural improvement too. The reverse flow, back to rural areas does not seem to have occurred, so that housing conditions have to be viewed as only one of a whole range of possible perceived benefits of town and city life. With any urban improvement simultaneously producing a change for the better in rural areas, but failing to stem the tide of rural emigrants, powerfully suggests the possibility of error in Enid Gauldie's assertion that:

"the attraction to the towns ... was much more a repulsion from the countryside..."²

1 Gauldie, op. cit. p. 29.

2 Ibid. p. 28.

Her comment that migration to the towns contributed to, if it did not cause, the essential problems of the urban areas seems somewhat easier to agree with. It is the cause of the movement that is contentious rather than its urban effects.

Rural standards, far from being a push factor in the migration process, would over a period of time have approximated more closely to the urban ones. If the first two expectations, of only slow improvement in the towns and cities, and periods of rapid change in the rural areas, are substantiated, then it is more likely that there was considerably greater uniformity by 1914 than had been the case in the eighteen thirties. Perhaps this was sufficiently so as to render sweeping statements regarding the relatively poor state of rural housing standards somewhat contentious, at least for the later period, after the middle eighteen eighties.

There are, then, three basic expectations to emerge from the first half of the thesis, which need to be tested against the knowledge of changes in housing conditions contained in the second half. Were urban areas dependent upon a relative increase in supply, and did this result in there being few, slow, and possibly inconsistent improvements in their housing standards? Did rural communities show greater improvement, at least in certain areas or time periods, owing to depopulation, and did this result in any closing of the gap between urban and rural standards over time?

In the urban areas the question of overall changes in demand, is a somewhat confused one. In fact, demand in an aggregate sense raises some extreme problems, as is evident from the analysis of the situation, which introduces Chapter Two. The linking of the growth in population with that in

houses over the whole period, whether by graph or other means, only tends to hide the considerable discrepancies which occurred from one decade to the next.¹ The degree of agreement between changes in various measures of population increase and aggregate house numbers, is a rather poor one, amazingly so in fact. The economic variables underlying effective demand have to be considered, including the question of income levels, and more particularly the regularity of that income. This was affected not only by the type of occupation but also by the age of the worker, those over the age of about 50 being more likely to occupy casual labouring jobs than younger men, even if they had previously been engaged in a relatively skilled occupation.

A regular income was instrumental in allowing the expenditure of a greater absolute amount of money on rent, partly because there were less worries as to whether the money would always be available. This was an important factor, rendered more so by the fact that the urban housing market, to the extent that it corresponded to an open market model, placed the onus of improvement onto the consumer. He had to increase his rent expenditure in order to in turn induce an increase in supply from the landlord and the builder. Rents did increase as a percentage of incomes, from about 10 per cent to 20 per cent or more, in a more or less consistent fashion between 1840 and 1914. The eighteen forties and the period between 1905 and 1912 were the only times at which there was any visible halt to the overall rise.² While there was only gradual

1 See above, pp. 57-70.

2 See above, p. 106.

change in the various factors by which standards can be judged, so that these specific periods cannot be directly linked to distinct differences in the rate of improvement, it does appear that both of them saw little or no change for the better.¹ For such a change to have occurred, in urban areas at least, a rising level of rents would seem to have been necessary.

Any attempt to discern the effects of increases in rent levels alone tends to be swamped by population growth, which often outstripped the growth in the number of houses in the urban areas. From about 1870 onwards the number of adults seems to have consistently risen at a higher rate than that of houses.² Whatever else was happening, this fact alone does not suggest the existence of any widespread improvement in the urban population to inhabited house ratio.

Fluctuations in the numbers of people per house in urban areas were revealed at the end of Chapter Five. Of the ten counties included in Figure 5.5,³ three had more people per house in 1901 than in 1841, with one more marginally so. In the other cases there was generally little overall improvement to be seen with fluctuations from one decade to the next. The national average fell from 5.42 per house to 5.20 by 1901, but with fluctuations again making their presence felt, the figures rising to peaks in both 1851 and 1881. Any sign of an overall improvement in this sense is at best only slight, with evident fluctuations between improvement and deteriora-

1 See above, pp. 286 and 301.

2 See above, p. 70.

3 See above, p. 304.

tion from one decade to the next. With some specific cases, such as that of Middlesex, it is only in times of relatively slower population growth, in this case the second half of the century, that the deterioration rate was effectively reduced, let alone reversed. London, with its great population, also had the highest rent levels, approximately 80 per cent above those found in the rest of the country. This "premium" was retained virtually intact throughout the period, with only a slight reduction during 1880 to 1900.

It has been suggested that only a part of this general rise in rents went on increased costs, and then mostly to purchase land, or retain it for housing, in the central areas of the large towns and cities. Other cost factors altered in such a manner as to virtually cancel one another out. Assuming approximately constant levels of expected returns to landlords, the remainder of any overall increase in the amount spent on rent should have gone towards obtaining more and/or better accommodation.

Changes in both the amount supplied and its quality could have only been accomplished over a relatively prolonged period of time. The factors which limited the speed of change included the amount of national resources which were devoted to residential construction, and the efficiency with which they were employed by the industry itself. As a proportion of domestic capital formation, the amount invested in residential construction appears to have been quite considerable, accounting for some 20 per cent of the total.¹ With the relatively inefficient use that the industry made of these resources, however, even this level of investment proved incapable

1 See above, p. 114.

of meeting the demands made upon it. A principal source of inefficiency in the industry was its use of the multiplication of many small, under-capitalised units of production in order to meet any increased demand, rather than expansion in the size of the existing units.

If the industry itself could not fully cope with the situation in any satisfactory manner, the same is true of the legislative and administrative machinery which was supposed to oversee the whole process. Administrative decisions alone could not effect a rapid change in the standard of housing, although at times their proponents might have wished to at least give the impression that they did. Making the separate occupation of cellars illegal, for example, did not necessarily prevent their use in such fashion, nor were the overall standards of the cellar-dwellers much changed if their places were forcibly closed down. They either had to regain entry surreptitiously, or find alternative accommodation. If that accommodation, for whatever reason, turned out to be furnished rooms in the immediate vicinity, at a level of overcrowding worse than had been the case in the cellars and at a far higher level of rent, then the administrative aims might well have been accomplished while housing standards were lowered.

The controls over lodging-houses or back-to-backs presented similar problems. Regulation, in this instance by means of local government bye-law, could only be as effective as the underlying economic circumstances would permit, unless there had also been some widespread intervention by government in the supply of housing. For the mass of the population in urban areas, the pressure of demand for accommodation particularly in central locations, was of far greater importance

than was government regulation. Whatever contribution was made by government to the improvement of low-cost housing conditions it appears that it was the relatively better-paid who were generally able to fare best. The worst housing conditions were experienced by the least well-paid and the most insecure in the employment sense.¹

Short of more extreme legislative powers, there was little that the administrators could achieve in the housing field without an accompanying change in the basic economic situation. The fact that the decline in the use of cellars as separate dwellings was only slowly achieved from about 1850 onwards as alternatives became more available, is a good example of this.

Other factors involved in the total make-up of housing standards also altered only slowly. A case in point is the question of the number of rooms per house, which while difficult to use as an effective measure owing to the incidence of sharing in many, if not most, of the large towns and cities, does suggest some change for the better over the period from 1837 to 1914. Changes in urban housing form were also only gradually accomplished. The number of back-to-back houses in the total stock exhibited a slow decline, especially in the second half of the nineteenth century, in one town after another. Their replacement as the dominant structural form by the through house, possibly with the intermediate point of blocks of back-to-backs in groups of four or eight, seems to have had possibly beneficial effects up on the health of their inhabitants. Even in this case a certain answer is

1 See above, p. 272.

impossible to give, since the cause of better health may have been due to the entirely different lifestyles of the inhabitants of the various types of houses, including the crucial questions of diet and clothing. Rents for the back-to-backs in small groups were higher than for those in terraces, and were higher again for through houses. If the family income was such as to induce them to take only the cheapest form of accommodation on offer, then it is also more than possible that they faced problems in other areas of expenditure likely to affect their health. The supposed benefits of banning back-to-backs need to be viewed in the light of what alternatives were considered to be economically viable by their inhabitants, as is also true in the case of other housing forms such as the cellar-dwellings. Forcing the inhabitants into occupying furnished rooms, or other forms of multi-occupation of the remaining through houses, or whatever else was left, did not necessarily represent an unqualified gain. To the extent that such action forced the expenditure of a greater proportion of income on rent, and in so doing reduced the amount available for food purchases, the overall position could well have been one of deterioration. The evidence from more recent poverty studies renders this point even more important. Most of those at the lower end of the poverty scale tend to spend a greater proportion of their income, which is usually lower in the first place, on rent. As a result their disposable income, after housing costs have been met, is such that their poverty is even more acute than it appears to be at first sight. In modern times it is found to be the group which inhabit private rental accommodation that usually form the bulk of this category. These are the people who are relatively

worse-off than those who are either in owner-occupied houses or state rental accommodation.¹ If such a concept is applied to the nineteenth-century British situation, then the working-class tenant is seen as having been very poorly placed, since privately rented accommodation was virtually the sole form of housing available to him. State ownership of housing is virtually absent before the First World War, while the number of owner-occupiers were minute, despite the claims made by some proponents of the building societies and clubs.

Bearing such factors in mind, it is quite apparent that the 22 per cent difference between the rents of through houses and those charged for back-to-backs, would have been a significant factor in determining the ability of many families to cope with the need to maintain expenditure in directions other than housing. Forcing the demise of the back-to-back may have done more for the apparent standards of housing as seen through the statistics than it achieved for the overall, practical living standards of their potential tenants. More may have been achieved in fact by ensuring the transfer of tenants from two-roomed back-to-backs to four-roomed ones, and in so doing possibly restricting the number of people who were forced to resort to the converted older dwellings.

Even where the local style of building used to conserve space was not subjected to heavy criticism, such as Newcastle with its cottage flats, the use of old houses converted into tenements and furnished rooms still provided problems. By the eighteen eighties tenements in the centre of Newcastle were found to generally consist of only one or two rooms.² The

1 R.F. Henderson, A. Harcourt and R.J.A. Harper, People in Poverty: A Melbourne Survey (Melbourne, 1970), pp. 33-4.

2 See above, p. 323.

cottage flat had reduced the predominance of one-roomed tenements, but even the accommodation of 700 or more people to the acre by such means, could not bring about the total disappearance of the old central tenements. It was the way in which the old buildings were used, rather than any deficiencies in their original construction, that made conditions in them so poor. Regardless of how such conditions were brought about the conversion of existing dwellings for multi-occupation was reckoned to provide the worst standard of accommodation. To the extent that legislative and administrative action tended to force the working classes into occupying such dwellings so their overall standard of housing declined, rather than improved. Without a substantial change in the underlying economic circumstances, they were merely exchanging one poor form of housing for another.

A similar process also occurred in the case of the forced closure and stricter regulation of lodging-houses from about the middle of the nineteenth century. Some of the smaller lodging-houses even appear to have circumvented the law by transforming themselves into furnished rooms. While conditions in the remaining lodging-houses do appear to have changed for the better, although some doubts must remain with regard to the specific cases of the hostels run by the Salvation Army, this improvement only affected those who remained in such places. There seems to have been a considerable decline in numbers, such that between the early eighteenth fifties and the early twentieth century, in London, the population of lodging-houses may have fallen by as much as 75 per cent.¹ Many of the surplus were to be found in the furnished

1 See above, pp. 348 and 368.

rooms, housed at a lower standard than they would have been in the lodging-houses.

In summary it can be said that while changes in housing form do give a superficial appearance of improvement, the actual impact of such changes needs very careful evaluation as to the costs involved not only in housing terms but in terms of people's standard of living generally.

This divergence between apparent benefits and actual costs, is typified by the difference between the number of rooms per house and that per dwelling, with sharing quite common in many of the large towns and cities. It is certainly clear that by the end of the nineteenth century working-class tenants had the use of both larger houses, and larger dwelling units. Four- or five-roomed houses appear to have been common by then, or by the early twentieth century. This is in contrast to three-roomed ones which were so predominant in the eighteen forties. Sharing houses had also remained common, however, some two-thirds of Bermondsey's families occupying the cheapest 30 per cent of houses in that area in the eighteen eighties.¹ While such sharing was less common in the newer industrial towns and smaller cities of the north, York for example, its incidence was still sufficient to think that the apparent advantages of larger houses were diluted by its effects. Early twentieth-century houses had only one or two more rooms than those of the middle nineteenth century, and these extra rooms were likely to be smaller in size. This, together with the fact that many of these dwellings would have been shared in one form or another, meant that the overall gains for the urban working class were extremely lim-

1 See above, p. 274.

ited, and standards did not undergo any dramatic change.¹

The other criteria by which to judge standards lend support to this view that little or no dramatic change was noticeable. In the early eighteen forties the usual type of materials employed in the construction of urban housing, were brick or stone for the walls, with the occasional use of cheaper substitutes, lath and plaster in Essex for example, and tiles or slate for the roof. Little had changed in this regard by the early twentieth century. It was not until after the end of the Second World War that there was any real alteration to the type of materials used in the construction of urban housing. The appearance of high-rise flats, mass production methods, and pre-fabricated concrete panels brought about some changes, but even then this was not achieved without the voicing of some opposition, both to the style of building and to the methods and materials involved. Brick and tile remain an important, if not the dominant, form.

Where improvement was to be indisputably found over the course of the nineteenth century, was in some of the more peripheral, but nonetheless important, considerations of housing standards, such as the increasing supplies of piped water, improved sanitary arrangements, and the supply of gas and electricity. Such factors are all outside the area of the actual structure of the house itself, being more concerned with the degree of comfort to be obtained from the equipment or fitments of the home. They are the sort of factor which helps to transform a house into a home, but they were as important in their effect upon the lifestyle of the inhabitants as were the structural factors themselves.

The question of siting provides a further dramatic exam-

¹ The photographs on the next two pages show something of the changes which did occur.

PHOTOGRAPHS SHOW A PRE BYE-LAW COURT

AND AN 1870 STREET

SOURCE: E.D. Simon, How to Abolish the Slums (1929),
between pp. 20-21.



PRE BYE-LAW COURT



PHOTOGRAPH SHOWS : AN 1895 STREET

SOURCE: E.D. Simon, How to Abolish the Slums (1929),
between pp. 24-25.



ple of the lack of any clear trend of improvement. Suburban development, linked to cheap transport, was seen by many as the answer to the problems of high land costs in the central areas of the cities. Where such suburbs were developed for the working classes they were often on land considered unsuitable for anything else. Using refuse as a form of landfill, resulted in unstable ground. While building on damp sites at or below high-tide level also led to some severe problems for the inhabitants, particularly in parts of north-east London.¹

Where suburbanisation took place with the middle classes in mind, as in the case of Surbiton, it could well worsen problems for the locality's working-class inhabitants. The only advantage in such development was that, in the central areas, more old villas, vacated by the emigrants, were available for conversion into tenements or furnished rooms, the standard of which, however, was generally poor, or quickly became so. In the new middle-class suburban area, the existing working-class inhabitants found increased pressure placed upon existing facilities for the supply of water, drainage and sewerage. Whereas a relatively rural type of approach to these problems might have sufficed before, once suburban development began, such an approach was clearly no longer appropriate. It could be argued that the social costs of such development were borne by the existing inhabitants as much as by the newcomers, and the full cost of sewer development, roading and other such expenses should have fallen on the shoulders of those whose arrival made their provision necessary. They were in fact likely to be the most vocal group in call-

1 See above, p. 296.

ing for such improvements anyway. In the case of Surbiton, and other such suburbs, while the quality of the building of the working-class housing was reckoned to be good, it was in the social overhead factors, principally water supply and sanitation, that problems arose.

By virtually all possible standards for comparison, urban housing appears to have shown only small changes for the better, which took a considerable period of time to come about. There were no particular periods of rapid improvement. Certain factors, such as sites, give cause for concern that little if anything had altered by the beginning of the twentieth century. Certain periods, such as the eighteen forties, and from 1905 to 1912, seem to have been stagnant in terms of improvements and times in which little or no rise in rents took place. It is apparent that the link between rises in rent levels, and thus returns to the landlord, provides the key to understanding how change came about. To improve conditions, what was needed was the purchase of more, better-quality housing. This dependence upon changes in the supply of accommodation, with the background of a rapidly-rising demand and little innovation, meant that such change could only have occurred slowly with some periods of stagnation, if not deterioration, possible. Urban housing standards thus confirm the statement by S.D. Chapman that little comfort is to be found for the optimist in the standard of living debate.¹

It would appear that the expectation of slow, and only slight, improvement in the standard of housing of the urban working classes is borne out by the available evidence. As

1 Chapman, op. cit. (1971), p. 12.

the percentage of income spent on rent increased over time, the capability to induce the necessary supply changes, was produced. This level of expenditure was a major determinant of the price of housing and, through the derived demand, of the price of land for building sites. Competition from other sectors such as commercial undertakings, helped to raise the price of land especially in the central city areas. Speculation in land could only have brought about an increase in price up to the level the eventual tenant was willing to pay, and it also depended upon the existence of imperfections in the market system. With the provision of existing housing, or come to that with new building, undertaken by a number of relatively small firms or individuals each contributing limited amounts to the overall supply,¹ a position approximating to perfect competition existed within the open market. That some form of cost-plus pricing, as might be expected in an oligopolistic situation, did not occur, can be gauged from the numerous bankruptcies which occurred in time of depressed activity. If costs had been passed on without much difficulty such a situation would have been unlikely if not impossible.

It was this dominance of the small unit of production, usually with little or not capital, that held back any possibility of changes in the techniques of the industry. Again, more modern studies can be cited to substantiate this finding, by its accord with what might generally be expected, from a knowledge of the theory of innovation where it is the larger firms, and those in a monopolistic market situation

1 See above, p. 175.

who are the most innovative.¹

While little evidence is available, it would appear that virtually no change took place in the length of time taken to build a house, something of the order of three to four months being the probable average,² with the possibility of wide variations depending upon the state of the market. Such a measure, however, even if accurately determined, would not be very informative, since on the one hand it appears the normal house increased somewhat in size, and there is no way of knowing how many man-hours went into constructing a house at any particular date.

What is somewhat more definite is that around 10 per cent gross return was necessary to keep landlords investing in housing. It is unlikely that minor changes would have induced wholesale selling or buying of houses and moves into, or out of, government stock for example. Once in housing, landlords probably looked to that form of investment to provide them with a retirement income or some other form of steady "insurance" payment. Changes in the relative rates of return were more likely to affect the number of new entrants coming into the supply of housing.

New suppliers could only enter the market immediately through the purchase of existing houses, either of a working-class type, or those of a suitable nature for conversion into tenements or furnished rooms. Any widespread action of this type would have driven up the prices of such places, thus lowering the gross rate of return, with eventual rents being set

1 C. Freeman, The Economics of Industrial Innovation (1974), p. 212.

2 See above, p. 118.

in the market by the interaction between the supply from these competing landlords and the demand from tenants. Any considerable shortage of accommodation would have induced the start of speculative building in order to make up the shortfall. Building, however, took time and even at full capacity an amount equivalent to only 2-3 per cent of the existing stock could have been provided in any one year.¹ Allowing for a certain amount of replacement building and the continuing growth in population, it was only very slowly that changes in numbers per house and other such criteria of improvement, could be affected. Replacement might have meant that factors such as the typical materials used could have altered, possibly even being completely replaced within a period of some 70 to 100 years depending upon how rapidly the population expanded. It appears, however, that the traditional materials by the end of the period were much the same as at the beginning of it.

While total building costs on a national basis seem to have been at much the same level for the early twentieth century as for the eighteenth century, it can be argued that it was costs at the local level that really mattered. This is especially true of a major cost factor, and one that does not appear in most people's calculations, namely land. Part of the increasing amount of income spent on rent in urban areas went to finance the purchase of increasingly highly-priced land, particularly in the centre of not only London, but also Birmingham, Manchester, Newcastle and many other large towns and cities. To some extent tenants were paying more in order to

1 See above, p. 118.

maintain existing standards rather than to improve them, in this case to retain central sites. Some of the increased rent expenditure was not spent in this fashion, but succeeded in inducing a greater supply of accommodation, and in bringing about what improvements there were. It was the rapid growth of population on the demand side, particularly by migration, and the virtual inability of the industry to introduce far-reaching, cost-reducing innovations on the supply side, which rendered the problem so difficult to solve.

The very migration which so compounded urban problems provides the key to understanding the different experience in rural housing. Any explanation reliant upon the workings of the open market to raise standards through an increase in rents, and a consequent increase in supply does not seem valid in this case.

In the eighteen forties rural cottages cost around £50 to build and rented for something like £5 per annum, about a 10 per cent gross return. This similarity to the basic urban level of return did not remain, as rural rents showed little change by the early twentieth century, remaining at around £5 per annum.¹ The costs of cottages had increased over the intervening period, partly owing to their increased size by the early twentieth century. With returns of 4 per cent gross or less, there was little or no incentive to invest in rural labourers' cottages. This may explain the increasing amount of agitation over the tied cottage question, visible by the eighteen eighties and nineties. Low rents, low returns and a consequent lack of new building, possibly due to low wages

1 See above, pp. 107-108.

and thus a lack of effective demand, would have put increased pressure on the tenants of tied cottages to ensure their retention. Anyone likely to lose his job because of old age, or any other reason, would be justifiably frightened of also losing his tied cottage. While rents might well have been low in rural areas compared to urban ones, some rent still had to be found. In such circumstances, the 1884-5 Commission's noting that complaints regarding rural cottages were more likely to concern problems of tenure rather than of their physical condition,¹ is thoroughly understandable. It could also partly explain the apparent mistake of one recent writer in suggesting that tied cottages only appeared in the eighteen nineties.² Perhaps they appeared far more frequently in the literature of that period because of the pressing need for tenants to retain occupation of them, even though rents were "low".

It is only on the demand side that an explanation of rural improvement through the workings of the open market is feasible, and then only through the demographic factor of emigration, either abroad or to the towns and cities. Changes in the proportion of income spent on rent were not forthcoming in the rural districts. Rural rents were some 25 per cent or so below urban ones in the eighteen forties, but by remaining relatively constant in absolute terms, they had fallen to around half or even less by the early twentieth century. A more exact comparison is unfortunately, difficult to make for various reasons of definition.

1 R.C. on the Housing of the Working Classes P.P. 1884-5, XXX, p. 45.

2 J. Perkins, Review of, Village Life and Labour, ed. R. Samuel (1975), in Australian Economic History Review Vol. XVII (1977), p. 89, where Perkins points out Samuel's mistake in this regard.

This decline in relative rent levels is consistent with the suggestion of an overall lack of demand. With population pressure less intense than in urban areas, there were not the same problems of the bidding up of rents. There was also a different pattern of experience in the changes in housing standards. The most apparent feature is that standards were capable of being improved far more rapidly than in the towns or cities. In particular areas, and at particular points in time, the changes were very swift. Suffolk showed the greatest in number of people per inhabited house over the course of the century. By 1841 it had already moved from its 1801 position of having the second highest number per house, to being among the relatively better-situated counties, and it continued to show further improvement from that point on. Its greatest period of change was between 1831 and 1841, with the major reason being found on the supply side, although this was somewhat aided by a slackening in the pace of population growth.¹ Thereafter, the predominant cause of any rapid change is to be found in the relative slowing down of population growth, or in its actual fall, such as occurred between 1851 and 1861, when Suffolk's numbers per house fell more rapidly than for any other decade post-1841. A similar pattern applies to the other rural counties. 1841 marked the apparent end of any large-scale increase in the building and supply of new cottages, While new building continued, it was generally at a much-reduced rate, and not capable of bringing about any rapid improvement in conditions. This was achieved by emigration and rural depopulation.

1 See below, Appendix 2B, p. 414 and Appendix 4A, p. 433.

Whether in the form of a relative fall in population growth or an absolute decline in numbers, this easing of population pressure could effect relatively rapid improvement, at least in terms of certain criteria. Where it was a case of absolute decline, any change was likely to be far more rapid. Besides Suffolk, instances of absolute decline were to be found in both Norfolk and Wiltshire between 1851 and 1861. In both cases this was the period of greatest change in their numbers of people per inhabited house.

Such a decline of course, only shows one facet of possible improvement. With demand for houses declining because of such population changes and little evidence of any compensating increase through higher incomes and consequent upward shifts in rent, some of the other factors may not have been altered so successfully. With a lower, but continuing, rate of building, it could well have been that after 1841 it was more difficult to introduce newer materials into the rural housing stock. If little building occurred it could be argued that little replacement of the old materials, or come to that the old, small houses, could have been accomplished. That this was not so was due to the worst houses being taken out of use, a process made possible by the decline in population pressure and the continuing occurrence of building, albeit at a lower level than before 1841.¹ While 1841 saw the beginning of the real divergence between the relationship of rents, returns and supply in rural areas to that in urban areas and also saw something of a fall in the amount of build-

1 See above, p. 73 and below, Appendix 2B, Column (4), 409-415.

ing, some new construction did take place, and standards did improve.

While 1851 to 1861 was a time of change for the better in some rural counties (those with declining populations), on a more general basis, it was the end of the century which saw the greatest changes. The number of inhabitants per house in the ten most rural counties showed a rate of decrease about one-third higher during the period from 1881 to 1901 than for the preceding forty years.¹ There was, at this time, a significant fall in population growth rates generally, which can be associated with this improvement.

Such a change can only be expected to agree in its timing with the anticipations formed from the analysis of the overall demand situation, since it was basically population changes which gave rise to both. Confirmation, however, does demonstrate that the principal benefits were not lost through any lack of building or by any wholesale demolitions. Hirst's contention that poor standards in rural areas resulted from depopulation,² is at least brought into question, if not refuted.

The comparability problem in using the other means of measuring rural housing standards principally involve the possibility that they could have diverged in their movements from those of numbers per house, yet still have been consistent with an overall change for the better. If a lack of building had led to low replacement rates, changes in the predominant size of houses and the sort of materials used

1 See above, p. 246.

2 See above, p. 71.

in their construction, could have been held back. That neither of these factors actually appears to have remained stagnant suggests that some building continued, either for non-economic reasons, or for reasons other than those connected solely with obtaining a profitable rate of return on houses, for example to increase the overall returns from farming. The alternatives were that depopulation was sufficient to allow the worst cottages to be taken out of use, or that a combination of continued building and depopulation took place.

That some building did continue is shown by the evidence, not only of the census figures for predominantly rural or agriculturally-orientated counties, but more directly by the figures for rural districts which have already been given.¹ A partial explanation for this is to be found in the various non-economic motives for providing houses. Not all of these were purely philanthropic. A house could be used to attract labour in times of shortage. That such shortages occurred, even from as early as the eighteen fifties, in particular areas and with regard to particular skills has been shown beyond doubt by such work as that of E.L. Jones.²

Whatever the process was by which change took place, it appears to have been far more dramatic in rural districts than was the case in urban areas. The number of rooms per house altered significantly, not only between 1837 and 1914, but even during specific periods within these dates. By the middle of the eighteen sixties, a slight improvement appears to have already taken place, although probably exceeded by the

1 See above, p. 73.

2 E.L. Jones, *op. cit.* p. 328.

by the accompanying rise in expectations as to what constituted an acceptable standard. Most people in rural areas were accommodated in three-roomed houses by this date, at least, so Dr Hunter's relatively small, but thorough sample and study would suggest. The evidence from other sources prompts some degree of caution as to his conclusion, with regional variations and particular extremes causing confusion in any examination of the overall position. Rising expectations compound these problems, with the possibilities for divergent opinion being plainly demonstrated, especially by the literary evidence. If Hunter's statistics are accepted, and compared with the picture which emerges from the reports of the late eighteen thirties and early eighteen forties, the result suggests an identifiable, but very limited, improvement. The two-roomed house remained very common, forming some 40 per cent of the total in 1865,¹ but its demise as a major component of the rural housing stock was already foreshadowed. Between the middle of the eighteen sixties and the middle of the eighteen eighties, the three-roomed house became the typical size, only to be superseded in turn by the four- or five-roomed one in the early twentieth century.² Problems with the definition of a room render the 1891 and 1901 Census returns difficult to use with any degree of security, but definitions had been tightened up by 1911 when nearly 50 per cent of rural houses contained four or five rooms, and nearly 50 per cent of the total rural population lived in such dwellings.³

1 See above, p. 217.

2 See above, p. 223.

3 See below, Appendix 4B, p. 435.

The literary sources suggest improvement occurred between 1850 and 1880, and that thereafter conditions stagnated if they did not deteriorate. By piecing together what statistical evidence there is, and using the Royal Commission of the mid eighties as a major source, it would appear that such conclusions are not entirely accurate. It is possible to suggest that 1837-1865 saw little increase in the basic number of rooms in rural cottages, with improvement taking the form of a reduction in the extremes such as the one-roomed cottages. The next period from the mid sixties to the beginning or middle of the eighties saw a continuation of this trend. The three-roomed cottages took a dominant position by the early eighties, together with an increase in four-roomed ones. The reports on the condition of agricultural labourers in the early nineties revealed the existence of house sizes ranging from two-roomed, through to five-roomed ones, which suggests there may have been more four- and five-roomed cottages by the early eighties than the Royal Commission report indicated. This conclusion is made plausible by thinking that witnesses could have based their evidence on the memory of past conditions, reinforced by current knowledge of some poor ones. Even if the Census of 1891 is accepted as inaccurate, the evidence still points to major improvement taking place between the late eighteen seventies and the beginning of the twentieth century. Whatever is done to try and revise the figures, and re-evaluate the literary evidence, the conclusion remains that in terms of a greater number of rooms per house, this is the greatest period of change. If the evidence is taken at face value, the period is concentrated between about 1884 and the early eighteen nineties! No matter

how far the end dates are stretched it seems inescapable that it largely coincided with the period of mass emigration from rural areas, which occurred from the middle of the eighteen seventies onwards, and which only abated in the early twentieth century.

The apparent advantages of an increased number of rooms per house were somewhat reduced in rural areas, as in urban ones, by the tendency for them to be smaller in size than had formerly been the case. This occurred both on a temporal and a geographical basis of comparison. In the late eighteen thirties and early eighteen forties, the largest room sizes were to be found in the northern, one-roomed cottages, while further south, rooms generally were of smaller dimensions. That this was as much a function of house size as of regional diversity can be seen from the trends over time, regardless of locality, for additional rooms to be small and for the average size of all rooms in the newer cottages to be below that of their older counterparts. Consequently 600 square feet of floor space, or something approaching that figure, may be said to represent the size of many rural cottages regardless of area, date or housing form.

The source of the apparent conflict between changes in both the number of inhabitants and rooms per house as measures of standards, and the tenor of general literary comment which talks of poor conditions in the late nineteenth century, has to be attributed to the latter's being principally concerned with problems other than housing. Rural depopulation as an "evil" in itself, would be one example. Their expectations of even higher housing standards, or their concentration on the need to see changes in yet other factors of hous-

ing conditons, provide other possible explanations of such an attitude.

The late nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries may have seen little change in factors such as the type of materials used. Most of the changes in this regard were complete well before the end of the nineteenth century, the few remaining examples of houses which employed the relatively unprocessed materials, such as mud walls and thatched roof, were the exception rather than the rule. Once the processed materials, such as brick and tile, or the more substantial traditional materials, such as stone and slate, were in general use, there was little room for further improvement. There was certainly little or no incentive to regress by using the old, unprocessed materials, especially since these had become relatively dearer owing to the decline in the number of craftsmen able to work with them,¹ and had become more difficult to obtain in suitable form anyway.

The type of materials used was a significant factor, but it basically involved only one principal change, that from unprocessed, to relatively processed, materials. Since the changeover was to an extent reliant upon the rate of replacement, or at least the rate of renovation, it has strong dependent links to changes in supply, rather than to demand and depopulation which have been stressed in regard to the other factors. Demand influenced the typical sort of materials employed in the total housing stock when the worst cottages were removed after depopulation.

Sites are more difficult to link to either demand or supply, as was the case in the urban situation. It is certain

1 See above, p. 235.

that they could bring both advantages and disadvantages to the inhabitants of any cottage. Adverse effects were felt late in the century no less than earlier, especially in damp areas. Gardens attached to the cottages appear to have been more general by the late nineteenth century than had been the case earlier,¹ and these gave not only the possibility of some produce, which the tenant did not have to pay cash for and might even sell, but also the chance of better light and ventilation. The continuing need for many labourers to make long journeys to and from work on foot, suggests that it was not the closed and open parish system that produced such an effect, since the position was probably much the same after 1865 and the Union Chargeability Act, as it had been before. It seems more probable that farmers and landlords remained unwilling to provide cottages because of the lack of a satisfactory return, even after the 1865 Act removed any possible benefit to be gained from restricting the supply of cottages for poor rate purposes. With actual shortages of labour in some areas and for particular skills, even from as early as the eighteen fifties, it would seem probable that this lack of labour supply was responsible for the long journeys. Farmers had to seek labour from afar rather than actually causing shortages by restricting labourers' accommodation and thus causing themselves to suffer from tired workers. By citing E.L. Jones' work in support of this view, the unlikely nature of the suggestion that widespread demolitions took place to force people out of their homes in order to save on the poor

1 See above, p. 242.

rates, can also be pointed out. Only if the areas of labour scarcity and the often-mentioned but difficult to estimate forced demolitions can be shown to have been geographically or temporally distinct, can such a view be forcefully held to. The extra cost of attracting labour from the small towns and large villages to work on the farms, not to mention any productivity loss from the journey, would have probably outweighed any gains on poor law expenditure before 1865 and there was certainly little or nothing to be gained after that date.

The major point in rural areas would seem to be that the inhabitants relied mainly on some of their fellows leaving for conditions to improve. In the period up to 1870 it is possible that philanthropic action, together with a general willingness to put capital into farming, may have helped directly, for the lucky few at least. After the eighteen seventies and eighties, philanthropy appears to have been limited, if not non-existent, while in the cereal-growing areas at least, it seems unlikely that much capital would have been put into anything connected with agriculture. This time of "depression" is, however, the very period in which the greatest change in some of the factors involved in housing standards occurred. This highlights the critical difference between the rural and the urban situation. Times of depression were only likely to bring a worse housing experience for urban inhabitants, with more sharing and more empty houses. The different mechanisms involved render a direct comparison between the various factors difficult, if not impossible to undertake, yet in a general sense this was exactly what the rural emigrant was doing in judging his urban environment. It is an important concept that until 1850 the majority of the population lived in rural

areas, and the number having experienced such housing conditions at some time in their lives remained high for another generation at least. By emigrating to the towns and cities rural dwellers could not only compare the two, in the aggregate they could alter the very basis of comparison, through reducing pressure in the villages whilst simultaneously increasing it in the urban centres.¹

This very movement was one of the factors which brought about the noticeable change in the relative standards of urban and rural housing during the period from the late eighteen thirties to the early twentieth century. The view that urban standards while poor, were far above those in the rural areas appears to hold good for the eighteen thirties and forties, but it is less convincing for the early twentieth century. Poor and scarce housing as a factor pushing people from a rural to an urban environment² is at least questionable.

By measures such as the numbers per house, the number of rooms and materials used in construction, the rural inhabitant was far closer, if not superior, to most urban tenants by 1914, to say nothing of the lower rents. It was in factors such as the amenities of the house, the sanitary fittings and water supply, that rural areas were disadvantaged, rather than in any of the structural features. The attractions of the towns and cities by the early twentieth century would have to be

1 Young, single females leaving country areas to enter domestic service in the towns form a special category, since their housing conditions depended upon what was provided by their employers. The housing conditions of living-in, domestic servants probably warrants a study to itself. Since this thesis has been mainly concerned with effects operating through the open market to a greater or lesser extent, such a group is somewhat beyond the scope of the present inquiry.

2 Gauldie, op. cit. p. 68.

sought in the areas of a wider choice of products and services in general, and helped by higher wages, which together were sufficient to compensate for any deficiencies which might appear on the housing side.

It cannot be said that this improvement in rural areas was confined to factors involving population movement alone. The increasing use of similar materials, especially of brick and tile, produced uniformity not only in materials but also in style. With the reduction in the use of local materials so the specific need for local variations of style lessened. Vernacular architecture became of lesser interest as a result, but conditions were somewhat better for the inhabitants.

Regional diversity was reduced in urban areas too, with the reduction in the use of separate cellar dwellings, the decline in the one-roomed house and the move towards the concept of a standard four- or five-roomed through house with relatively minor stylistic differences. Only the surviving back-to-backs, tenements and cottage flats remained significantly different. It is possible to suggest that a national housing experience is far more visible by the early twentieth century than had been the case with the regional diversity of the eighteen thirties and forties. The only major counter argument to this suggestion, is that in terms of the numbers of people per inhabited house, the range was far greater in 1911 than in 1841, the difference between the most crowded county and the least crowded being 3.53 for 1911 as opposed to only 2.8 in 1841.¹

A greater uniformity of housing experience was the result of the different ways in which standards were permitted

1 See below, Appendix 4A, pp. 433.

to change in the urban and rural cases. Change in the urban centres was a long, drawn-out process predominantly reliant upon supply in an open market system incapable of relatively sudden bursts of improvement except as occurred in the country areas, through the fluctuations in demand.

It would appear that more attention than hitherto should be given to the rural situation, especially since these conclusions suggest that conditions there did not remain well below the urban level, at least in several of the factors determining the standards of working-class housing. The attractions of the towns and cities were those of a greater variety of jobs paying higher wages, with a more diverse range of products on which to spend them, rather than those of a consistently higher standard of housing.

LIST OF APPENDICES

<u>APPENDIX NUMBER</u>	<u>TITLE OF APPENDIX</u>
2A	SUMMARY OF CENSUS DATA
2B	SUMMARY OF CENSUS DATA BY SELECTED COUNTY
2C	PRESSURES OF DEMAND IN VARIOUS TOWNS, 1865
2D	WORKING MEN'S HOUSING CONDITIONS, LONDON 1887
2E	1912 RENT INDEX BY TOWN
2F	1908 RENT INDEX BY TOWN
3A	COST OF COTTAGES IN MANUFACTURING DISTRICTS, 1840
3B	TABLES SHOWING THE COSTS OF BUILDING COTTAGES, AND OF REPAIRS, ENGLAND ABOUT 1840
3C	PEABODY ESTATE RULES
3D	TYPE OF HOUSING SUPPLIED UNDER RAILWAY RE-HOUSING SCHEMES
3E	NUMBER OF SMALL-ROOM TENEMENTS PER OWNER, WHITEHAVEN 1849
4A	NUMBERS OF INHABITANTS PER OCCUPIED HOUSE BY COUNTY, 1801-1901
4B	SUMMARY OF TENEMENTS BY SIZE, 1891-1911
5A	LINKS BETWEEN INQUIRY, LEGISLATION AND GOVERNMENT REPORTS
6A	CONDITIONS IN SALVATION ARMY HOSTELS

APPENDIX 2A

SUMMARY TABLES, ENGLAND AND WALES

HOUSING AND POPULATION

FROM CENSUS FIGURES 1801-1911^{*}

Census Date (1)	Inhabited (2)	Empty (3)	Building (4)	Total Population (5)	Decennial Per- centage Increase		Numbers per Inhabited House (8)
					Inhab- ited Houses (6)	Popu- lation (7)	
1801	1,575,923	57,476	No figure	8,982,536	-	-	5.65
1811	1,797,504	51,020	16,207	10,164,256	13.77	14.00	5.63
1821	2,088,156	69,707	19,274	12,000,236	16.16	18.06	5.75
1831	2,481,544	119,915	24,759	13,896,797	18.83	15.80	5.60
1841	2,943,945	173,247	27,444	15,914,148	18.59	14.27	5.42
1851	3,278,039	153,494	26,571	17,927,609	11.57	12.65	5.48
1861	3,739,505	184,694	27,305	20,066,224	14.04	11.90	5.35
1871	4,259,117	261,345	37,803	22,712,266	13.92	13.21	5.33
1881	4,831,519	386,676	46,414	25,974,439	13.43	14.36	5.38
1891	5,451,497	327,184	38,387	29,002,525	12.83	11.65	5.32
1901	6,260,852	448,932 ⁺	61,909	32,527,843	14.87	12.17	5.20
1911	7,141,781	408,652	38,171	36,070,492	14.07	10.89	5.04 ^{**}

SOURCE: * 1901 Census Report P.P. 1903, LXXXIV, p. 1.

+ In the 1901 Census, of the number of houses classed as uninhabited, i.e. Column (3), 189,137 were "in occupation" which is described as being utilised for business or other purposes, but without inmates on the census night.

** 1911 Census Report P.P. 1912-13, CXXXI, p. 15.

APPENDIX 2B

POPULATION AND HOUSES, 1801-1901: SELECTED COUNTY CENSUS DATA

The "Counties" are those defined as the ancient ones, throughout the period.

SOURCES

<u>Census Year</u>	<u>Reference</u>	<u>Page Number</u>
1801	P.P. 1801-2, VII	451
1811	P.P. 1812, XI	427
1821	P.P. 1822, XV	427
1831	<u>Population Census Enumeration</u>	
	<u>Abstract 1831 Vol. II</u>	832
1841	P.P. 1843, XXII	398
1851	P.P. 1852-3, CLXX (Houses)	Vol. p. 184
	P.P. 1852-3, CLXVIII (Population)	Vol. p. 182
1861	P.P. 1871, LIX	Vol. p. 694
1871	P.P. 1871, LIX	Vol. p. 695
1881	P.P. 1883, LXXVIII	vi
1891	P.P. 1893-4, CIV	viii
1901	P.P. 1903, LXXXIV	6

APPENDIX 2B

POPULATION AND HOUSES FOR SELECTED COUNTIES 1801-1901

FIGURES FOR HOUSES

BEDFORDSHIRE

(1) Date of Census	(2) Inhabited	(3) Uninhabited	(4) Building	(5) Total Population
1801	11,888	185	-	63,393
1811	13,286	219	139	70,213
1821	15,412	202	105	83,716
1831	17,978	324	171	95,483
1841	21,235	519	210	107,936
1851	24,673	661	127	127,478
1861	27,422	753	139	135,287
1871	30,508	1,427	177	146,256
1881	31,509	1,955	166	149,473
1891	34,537	2,977	157	160,704
1901	38,348	3,191	378	171,240

CAMBRIDGESHIRE

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1801	16,139	312	-	89,346
1811	17,232	257	93	101,109
1821	20,869	247	217	121,909
1831	26,712	634	161	143,955
1841	33,095	1,227	236	164,459
1851	37,226	1,629	195	185,405
1861	37,641	1,888	74	176,033
1871	40,091	1,280	193	186,363
1881	40,294	2,472	192	185,594
1891	42,027	2,907	167	188,961
1901	44,417	3,309	307	190,682

DERBYSHIRE

(2)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1801	31,822	1,369	-	161,142
1811	35,658	1,196	222	185,487
1821	40,054	1,072	305	213,333
1831	46,098	1,989	357	237,170
1841	53,020	2,492	441	272,217
1851	59,371	2,498	453	296,084
1861	69,262	3,436	521	339,327
1871	78,530	4,172	562	380,538
1881	92,845	7,111	487	461,914
1891	105,676	5,576	659	528,033
1901	128,034	7,080	1,342	620,322

APPENDIX 2B continued

DORSET

FIGURES FOR HOUSES

<u>(1)</u> Date of Census	<u>(2)</u> Inhabited	<u>(3)</u> Uninhabited	<u>(4)</u> Building	<u>(5)</u> Total Population
1801	21,437	825	-	115,319
1811	23,210	841	171	124,693
1821	25,926	766	278	144,499
1831	29,307	1,200	310	159,252
1841	34,576	2,019	299	175,043
1851	36,138	1,587	215	184,207
1861	37,709	1,588	288	188,789
1871	39,404	1,874	188	195,544
1881	39,789	2,542	204	191,028
1891	40,904	3,081	221	194,517
1901	43,466	4,089	289	202,936

APPENDIX 2B continued

FIGURES FOR HOUSES

DURHAM

(1) Date of Census	(2) Inhabited	(3) Uninhabited	(4) Building	(5) Total Population
1801	27,195	1,171	-	160,361
1811	29,033	890	152	177,625
1821	32,793	966	257	207,673
1831	40,740	1,570	345	253,910
1841	57,513	3,293	552	324,284
1851	64,977	2,794	570	390,997
1861	84,807	4,240	594	508,666
1871	114,658	5,688	1,468	685,045
1881	147,082	12,327	554	867,258
1891	168,564	6,800	1,224	1,016,559
1901	200,417	8,789	2,246	1,187,361

ESSEX

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1801	38,371	1,027	-	226,437
1811	42,829	1,012	255	252,473
1821	49,978	1,164	298	289,424
1831	57,152	1,860	354	317,507
1841	67,618	2,490	499	344,979
1851	73,530	3,569	381	369,318
1861	81,254	4,120	636	404,834
1871	92,359	6,077	941	466,427
1881	108,974	9,224	2,236	576,434
1891	146,294	9,718	1,354	785,445
1901	201,510	13,942	3,681	1,085,771

HEREFORDSHIRE

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1801	17,003	941	-	89,191
1811	18,572	724	154	94,073
1821	20,061	804	132	103,243
1831	21,907	869	159	111,211
1841	23,381	1,439	111	113,878
1851	23,890	1,191	77	115,489
1861	25,314	815	170	123,712
1871	26,380	1,298	81	125,364
1881	25,605	1,772	110	121,062
1891	25,299	2,253	61	115,949
1901	25,544	2,357	57	114,380

APPENDIX 2B continued

FIGURES FOR HOUSES

HUNTINGDONSHIRE

(1) Date of Census	(2) Inhabited	(3) Uninhabited	(4) Building	(5) Total Population
1801	6,841	135	-	37,568
1811	7,566	153	23	42,208
1821	8,879	168	46	48,771
1831	9,990	290	40	53,192
1841	11,860	377	65	58,549
1851	13,285	632	64	64,183
1861	13,704	523	49	64,250
1871	14,031	630	46	63,672
1881	13,234	1,110	36	59,491
1891	13,217	1,186	29	57,761
1901	13,618	1,378	106	57,771

LANCASHIRE

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1801	114,270	3,394	-	672,731
1811	144,283	4,269	807	828,309
1821	176,449	5,759	1,735	1,052,859
1831	228,130	11,266	2,842	1,336,854
1841	289,184	23,639	3,680	1,667,054
1851	349,938	17,420	3,463	2,031,236
1861	438,503	19,601	3,592	2,429,440
1871	530,431	38,355	6,186	2,818,940
1881	655,307	68,929	5,697	3,454,441
1891	765,230	59,277	5,205	3,926,760
1901	887,512	67,422	7,590	4,406,409

LINCOLNSHIRE

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1801	41,395	1,094	-	208,557
1811	46,368	1,099	276	237,891
1821	53,813	979	302	283,058
1831	61,615	1,968	268	317,465
1841	72,964	2,246	454	362,602
1851	81,335	3,450	592	407,222
1861	86,626	4,289	530	412,246
1871	94,119	4,152	538	436,163
1881	100,562	6,836	571	469,919
1891	103,701	8,877	475	472,878
1901	113,701	8,329	823	498,858

APPENDIX 2B continued

FIGURES FOR HOUSES

MIDDLESEX

(1) Date of Census	(2) Inhabited	(3) Uninhabited	(4) Building	(5) Total Population
1801	112,912	5,171	-	818,129
1811	130,613	4,326	2,811	953,276
1821	152,969	7,327	2,879	1,144,531
1831	180,493	14,413	3,919	1,358,330
1841	207,629	9,779	3,185	1,576,636
1851	239,362	11,874	3,392	1,886,576
1861	279,153	13,379	3,451	2,206,485
1871	321,021	25,157	4,077	2,538,882
1881	369,282	30,575	7,772	2,920,485
1891	423,986	33,999	4,238	3,251,671
1901	461,462	38,837	5,317	3,585,323

MONMOUTHSHIRE

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1801	8,948	417	-	45,582
1811	11,766	361	158	62,127
1821	13,211	520	166	71,833
1831	18,612	987	170	98,130
1841	24,944	1,432	235	134,355
1851	28,939	1,353	152	157,418
1861	33,077	2,021	226	174,633
1871	35,488	1,668	201	195,391
1881	39,570	3,136	172	211,267
1891	46,080	2,106	431	252,416
1901	54,538	3,237	523	292,317

NORFOLK

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1801	47,617	1,523	-	273,371
1811	51,776	1,031	275	291,999
1821	62,274	1,269	525	344,368
1831	74,793	2,868	439	390,054
1841	85,903	3,720	437	412,644
1851	93,143	3,505	452	442,714
1861	96,672	4,978	359	434,798
1871	99,599	5,589	423	438,511
1881	100,372	6,085	462	444,749
1891	103,008	7,900	487	454,516
1901	106,804	8,803	678	460,120

APPENDIX 2B continued

FIGURES FOR HOUSING

NORTHUMBERLAND

(1) Date of Census	(2) Inhabited	(3) Uninhabited	(4) Building	(5) Population
1801	26,518	1,534	-	157,101
1811	28,258	1,126	168	172,161
1821	31,526	1,166	190	198,965
1831	35,726	1,509	220	222,912
1841	48,710*	3,028	465	250,278
1851	47,737	2,064	386	303,568
1861	55,565	2,706	614	343,025
1871	62,415	3,224	478	386,959
1881	70,682	5,625	338	434,086
1891	79,958	4,639	620	506,030
1901	92,433	5,738	1,408	603,498

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1801	25,611	542	-	140,350
1811	31,344	954	164	162,900
1821	35,022	859	288	186,873
1831	44,936	1,701	456	225,327
1841	50,550	2,760	214	249,910
1851	55,019	1,502	250	270,427
1861	62,519	4,515	498	293,867
1871	68,604	2,677	433	319,956
1881	82,435	4,293	1,076	391,815
1891	95,160	10,036	299	445,823
1901	111,646	6,566	1,067	514,578

OXFORDSHIRE

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1801	20,599	594	-	109,620
1811	22,702	499	116	119,191
1821	25,594	531	245	136,971
1831	29,334	849	197	152,156
1841	32,165	1,442	202	161,643
1851	34,398	1,334	105	170,439
1861	36,034	1,329	207	170,944
1871	37,837	1,860	224	177,956
1881	38,107	2,865	233	179,559
1891	39,836	3,001	184	185,669
1901	40,709	3,854	224	181,120

* 38,710 would seem a more likely total for 1841.

APPENDIX 2B continued

RUTLAND

FIGURES FOR HOUSES

<u>(1)</u> <u>Date of</u> <u>Census</u>	<u>(2)</u> <u>Inhabited</u>	<u>(3)</u> <u>Uninhabited</u>	<u>(4)</u> <u>Building</u>	<u>(5)</u> <u>Total</u> <u>Population</u>
1801	3,274	87	-	16,356
1811	3,325	77	15	16,380
1821	3,589	61	25	18,487
1831	3,935	99	22	19,385
1841	4,294	121	31	21,302
1851	4,588	153	14	22,983
1861	4,641	183	16	21,861
1871	4,772	195	7	22,070
1881	4,537	318	29	21,434
1891	4,486	309	7	20,659
1901	4,495	387	15	19,709

APPENDIX 2B continued

FIGURES FOR HOUSES

STAFFORDSHIRE

(1) Date of Census	(2) Inhabited	(3) Uninhabited	(4) Building	(5) Total Population
1801	45,198	1,995	-	239,153
1811	55,080	1,537	423	295,153
1821	63,319	2,326	429	341,040
1831	78,049	4,088	573	410,512
1841	97,777	5,458	904	510,504
1851	116,273	4,668	958	608,716
1861	147,105	9,043	1,082	746,943
1871	167,487	9,495	1,023	857,333
1881	187,647	15,180	980	981,013
1891	209,982	10,773	1,278	1,083,408
1901	247,938	13,640	2,298	1,234,506

SUFFOLK

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1801	32,253	552	-	210,431
1811	37,227	624	155	234,211
1821	42,773	656	270	270,542
1831	50,139	1,141	259	296,317
1841	64,041	2,352	574	315,073
1851	69,282	3,107	449	337,215
1861	72,975	3,523	221	337,070
1871	76,496	3,942	296	348,479
1881	78,424	5,343	393	356,893
1891	81,843	5,996	318	371,235
1901	86,358	6,809	600	384,293

SURREY

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1801	46,072	1,514	-	269,043
1811	55,434	1,690	1,360	323,851
1821	64,790	2,741	1,096	398,658
1831	80,070	6,102	1,073	486,334
1841	95,372	3,982	1,203	582,678
1851	108,822	5,770	1,540	683,082
1861	130,362	4,670	1,402	831,093
1871	168,109	13,031	2,711	1,090,270
1881	215,354	14,140	4,675	1,436,899
1891	263,627	15,065	1,884	1,731,343
1901	309,660	16,878	4,114	2,012,744

APPENDIX 2B continued

FIGURES FOR HOUSES

WARWICKSHIRE

(1) Date of Census	(2) Inhabited	(3) Uninhabited	(4) Building	(5) Total Population
1801	40,847	2,936	-	208,190
1811	44,940	909	308	228,735
1821	55,082	2,408	403	274,392
1831	68,253	3,882	782	336,610
1841	81,321	6,905	668	401,715
1851	96,731	4,596.	992	475,013
1861	116,351	7,059	679	561,855
1871	131,775	10,708	919	633,902
1881	149,323	12,682	900	737,339
1891	165,646	9,085	949	805,072
1901	188,985	13,710	1,080	897,835

WILTSHIRE

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1801	29,462	1,127	-	185,107
1811	37,244	1,037	234	193,828
1821	41,702	1,129	294	222,157
1831	46,281	1,897	321	240,156
1841	50,879	2,138	253	258,733
1851	51,667	2,250	176	254,221
1861	53,059	2,347	248	249,311
1871	54,821	2,491	363	257,202
1881	55,677	3,877	222	258,965
1891	57,464	4,047	270	264,997
1901	61,296	5,099	418	273,869

YORKSHIRE W.R.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1801	111,146	4,723	-	563,953
1811	125,264	3,484	827	653,315
1821	153,314	7,230	1,275	799,357
1831	190,484	12,147	1,676	976,350
1841	227,357	18,898	2,293	1,154,101
1851	264,302	10,970	2,507	1,325,495
1861	315,722	18,885	1,946	1,507,796
1871	382,787	21,261	4,741	1,831,223
1881	450,358	40,663	3,281	2,175,314
1891	514,390	24,032	4,166	2,439,895
1901	601,060	38,110	6,245	2,744,848

APPENDIX 2C

PRESSURES OF DEMAND IN VARIOUS TOWNS 1865*

Town	(2) Persons per Uninhabited House	(3) Persons per Inhabited House
Devonport	450	12.04
Stonehouse	796	11.52
Plymouth	283	10.28
Newcastle	281	7.70
Sunderland	239	7.79
Gateshead	214	7.64
Cardiff	109	7.11
Berwick	161	7.04
Birkenhead	93	6.93
Bath	90	6.55
Bristol	103	6.53
Newport	90	6.34
Exeter	178	6.26
Winchester	105	6.17
Southampton	91	6.08
Portsmouth	157	5.99
Preston	302	5.51
Swansea	84	5.49
Gosport	185	5.45
Colchester	132	5.35
Oxford	117	5.24
Wolverhampton	56	5.17
Dudley	61	5.16
Reading	157	5.15
Banbury	118	5.13
Merthyr	81	5.20
Chichester	78	5.03
Birmingham	92	5.01
Hull	112	5.00
York	98	4.90
Sheffield	57	4.85
Grimsby	140	4.84
Nottingham	55	4.83
Derby	73	4.79
Chelmsford	162	4.72
Bradford	59	4.71
Leicester	144	4.66
Boston	64	4.58
Ipswich	97	4.58
Coventry	39	4.55
Loughborough	52	4.44
Norwich	101	4.37

* 8th Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health to the Privy Council P.P. 1866, XXXIII, p. 477.

APPENDIX 2D

WORKING MEN'S HOUSING CONDITIONS IN LONDON, 1887*

Occupational Groups

<u>No.</u>	<u>Group⁺</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Group⁺</u>
1.	Commercial Clerk, traveller, Agent.	19.	Wheelwright, coach and carriage builder.
2.	Carman & Carter.	20.	Cabinet maker, Upholsterer, French polisher, Carver and gilder, Wood carver & turner.
3.	Cabman, Omnibus driver, conductor, Coachman, Groom, Horsekeeper, and generally men engaged with carriages and horses.	21.	Furrier, skin dresser, cutter etc., dyer.
4.	Domestic servants, inn and hotel servants, Waiter, Cook.	22.	Sugar baker, refiner etc.
5.	Shopman, Shop assistant, Warehouseman, Storekeeper, General Dealer.	23.	Cigar & tobacco maker and worker.
6.	Baker.	24.	Policeman.
7.	Butcher.	25.	Seaman, Bargeman, Lighterman, and Waterman.
8.	Tailor.	26.	Railway guard, Signalman, railway servant (not porter or engine driver).
9.	Bootmaker, Shoemaker.	27.	Railway Porter.
10.	Watch, clock and philosophical instrument maker, Jeweller, Silversmith and men generally engaged in delicate handicrafts.	28.	Engine driver, Stoker, Fireman, (railway or other).
11.	Engine and machine maker and fitter, Millwright.	29.	Labourer, Coalheaver, Porter (not railway), Scavenger, Navvy, Roadman, and generally men engaged in rough labour requiring no special skill.
12.	Blacksmith, Whitesmith, Coppersmith, Brazier, Tin worker, Pewterer, and generally coarse metal workers.	30.	Dock labourer, Stevedore.
13.	Printer, Compositor, Bookbinder.	31.	Hawker, Costermongers & street sellers generally.
14.	Carpenter, Joiner, packing case maker, Sawyer.	32.	Messenger, Watchman, Timekeeper.
15.	Cooper.	33.	Postman, Letter sorter, Customhouse officer, & others employed in government work.
16.	Shipwright, ship, boat and barge builder.	34.	Artisans not included in any of the above groups.
17.	Mason, Bricklayer, Builder, Plasterer, Whitewasher, Slater, Tiler.	35.	Nondescripts not included in the above.
18.	Painter, Decorator, Grainer, Glazier, Plumber, Gas fitter, Paperhanger.		

* Report and Tabulation of Statements Regarding Work and Labourers' Dwellings in London Made by Men Living in Certain Selected Districts of London in March 1887 P.P. 1887, LXXXI, p. 309.

+ To be defined as a group it had to contain at least 100 people.

APPENDIX 2D continued

UNEMPLOYMENT BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUP*

(1) Group	(2) Percentage Out of Work at Time of Inquiry March 1887	(3) Percentage Out of Work at Any Time Since October 31 1886	(4) Percentage of Men in Work in Regular Employment
All 35	27	58	65
1.	15	22	90
2.	17	38	81
3.	19	39	79
4.	24	39	74
5.	17	30	85
6.	27	45	81
7.	26	48	70
8.	21	67	34
9.	17	68	35
10.	13	37	80
11.	20	35	83
12.	26	49	71
13.	12	29	81
14.	27	59	56
15.	26	47	73
16.	44	66	54
17.	37	79	48
18.	38	72	42
19.	15	34	61
20.	20	61	63
21.	23	48	65
22.	9	16	93
23.	27	56	55
24.	6	8	98
25.	31	54	59
26.	2	5	99
27.	6	9	97
28.	14	25	89
29.	37	62	59
30.	55	89	27
31.	26	60	29
32.	13	25	85
33.	4	7	97
34.	18	41	71
35.	25	41	73

* Report and Tabulation of Statements Regarding Work and Labourers' Dwellings in London Made by Men Living in Certain Selected Districts of London in March 1887 P.P. 1887, LXXI, p. 313.

AVERAGE RENT AND EARNINGS OF MEN IN WORK

AT THE TIME OF THE INQUIRY (1887)*

(1) Group	(2) Average Weekly Rent (s/d)	(3) Average Weekly Earnings (s/d)	(4) Proportion (2) ÷ (3)
All 35	6/2	24/7	0.251
1.	7/5	29/7	0.251
2.	4/7	22/-	0.208
3.	5/10	24/-	0.243
4.	6/7	23/4	0.282
5.	6/10	25/8	0.266
6.	6/4	25/10	0.245
7.	6/4	25/2	0.252
8.	6/9	22/7	0.299
9.	6/2	21/-	0.294
10.	7/2	28/10	0.249
11.	7/-	31/5	0.223
12.	6/5	29/7	0.217
13.	6/10	29/6	0.230
14.	6/11	30/10	0.224
15.	6/7	27/-	0.244
16.	7/-	30/5	0.230
17.	6/6	31/1	0.209
18.	6/6	28/7	0.227
19.	7/-	30/8	0.228
20.	6/7	24/8	0.267
21.	6/1	24/5	0.249
22.	5/9	23/1	0.249
23.	6/5	21/8	0.296
24.	7/-	29/3	0.239
25.	6/-	25/6	0.235
26.	6/11	26/3	0.263
27.	6/1	20/4	0.299
28.	6/7	28/9	0.229
29.	5/4	21/2	0.252
30.	4/5	17/-	0.260
31.	5/-	15/4	0.326
32.	6/9	24/1	0.280
33.	7/3	25/3	0.287
34.	6/6	24/10	0.262
35.	6/3	22/11	0.273

* Report and Tabulation of Statements Regarding Work and Labourers' Dwellings in London Made by Men Living in Certain Selected Districts of London in March 1887 P.P. 1887, LXXI, p. 316.

APPENDIX 2E

1912 RENT INDEX NUMBERS IN DESCENDING ORDER*

London (Middle Zone) Represents 100

(1) Index Number	(2) Town
100	London (Middle Zone)
84	Newcastle
81	Croydon, Plymouth & Devonport
76	Swansea
73	Birkenhead
72	Jarrow
70	Huddersfield, Southampton South Shields
68	Gateshead
67	Sheerness
66	Cardiff, Luton, Sunderland
65	Barrow-in-Furness, Liverpool
64	Manchester & Salford, Newport (Monmouthshire)
62	Bradford, Oldham
61	Birmingham, Middlesbrough, Portsmouth
60	Bolton, Coventry, Grimsby, Normanton, St Helens
59	Carlisle, Darlington, Keighley
58	Dover, Leeds, Swindon
57	Bristol, Chatham & Gillingham, Reading, Sheffield
56	Blackburn, Halifax, Lincoln, Stoke-on-Trent, Wigan
55	Burnley, Nottingham, Rochdale, Stockton-on-Tees, York
54	Castleford, Hull, Preston
53	Merthyr Tydfil, Northampton Wolverhampton, Worcester
52	Chester, Derby, Leicester, Norwich, Stockport
51	Bedford, Warrington
49	Crewe
48	Burton-on-Trent
47	Gloucester, Ipswich, Taunton
43	Walsall
42	Kidderminster, Peterborough
38	Macclesfield

* Report of an Enquiry by the Board of Trade into Working-Class Rents, Prices and Wages in Industrial Towns 1912 P.P. 1913, LXVI, report p. XXVI.

APPENDIX 2F

RENT INDEX 1908*

(Central London Represents 100)

(1) Index Number	(2) Town
100	London
81	Croydon, Plymouth & Devonport
76	Newcastle-on-Tyne
70	Birkenhead
68	Jarrow, Swansea
66	Gateshead
65	Liverpool & Bootle, Southampton
64	Huddersfield
63	Barrow, Newport (Monmouthshire)
62	Manchester & Salford
61	Luton, South Shields
60	Oldham
59	Bradford, Cardiff, Middlesbrough, Sheerness, Sunderland, Swindon
58	Carlisle, Darlington, Grimsby, Reading
57	Keighley, Normanton, Portsmouth
56	Dover, Leeds, Nottingham, St Helens Worcester
55	Halifax, Sheffield
54	Lincoln, Stockton-on-Tees, Stoke-on-Trent
53	Bolton, Bristol, Burnley, Castleford, Wolverhampton, York
52	Burton-on-Trent, Rochdale
51	Derby, Hanley, Stockport
50	Blackburn, Chester, Merthyr Tydfil, Warrington, Wigan
49	Bedford, Chatham & Gillingham, Coventry, Northampton
48	Crewe, Gloucester, Hull, Norwich, Leicester, Preston
47	Taunton
44	Ipswich
43	Kidderminster
39	Peterborough
32	Macclesfield

* Board of Trade Report on Working-Class Rents, Housing and
Retail Prices in the Principal Industrial Towns of the U.K.
P.P. 1908, CVII, p. 335.

APPENDIX 3A

COST OF COTTAGES IN MANUFACTURING DISTRICTS*

Specification of the Cost of Erection, Weekly Rents, Interest on the Capital Invested, and the Numbers of Tenements and Cottages Occupied by the Poor and Labourers; taken from Returns made by the Relieving Officer of their Respective Districts, in 24 Unions in the Counties of Cheshire, Stafford, Derby and Lancaster.

TYPE 1 - Lowest class of cottages, average 1/3 per week, or £3/5/- per year, allowing for repairs, etc.

(1) Town	(2) Number of Tenements or Cottages	(3) Average Cost of Erecting Each Cottage	(4) Interest on the Outlay or Capital Invested	(5) Population
		£	£	
Congleton	1,168	47	7	26,377
Macclesfield	2,481	38	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	50,639
Stockport	3,457	28	11 $\frac{12}{20}$	68,906
Altrincham	1,200	49	6 $\frac{13}{20}$	30,139
Northwich	1,615	52	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	26,906
Nantwich	1,994	47	7	30,992
Lichfield	1,281	34	9 $\frac{11}{20}$	22,749
Newcastle	1,502	57	5 $\frac{14}{20}$	16,476
Stoke-on-Trent	2,181	45	7 $\frac{4}{20}$	37,220
Woolstanton and Burslem	2,292	50	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	23,567
Tamworth	1,278	47	7	12,175
Cheadle	1,438	40	8 $\frac{3}{20}$	14,473
Uttoxeter	672	29	11 $\frac{4}{20}$	12,837
Burton-upon-Trent	2,100	40	8 $\frac{3}{20}$	24,667
Leek	1,281	47	7	18,387
Chapel-en-le-Frith	713	60	5 $\frac{8}{20}$	10,448
Hayfield	270	50	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	9,493
Glossop	142	60	5 $\frac{8}{20}$	9,631
Bakewell	2,519	58	5 $\frac{12}{20}$	25,879
Chesterfield	1,969	45	7 $\frac{4}{20}$	34,246
Belper	3,324	40	8 $\frac{1}{20}$	33,388
Derby	1,035	45	7 $\frac{4}{20}$	25,484
Salford	680	53	6 $\frac{1}{20}$	52,366
Chorlton-upon-Medlock	527	44	7 $\frac{8}{20}$	46,465
Totals	37,119	40 ⁺	8	

* Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, pp. 246-7.

+ General average.

APPENDIX 3A continued

TYPE 2 - Second class of cottages, average 2/3d per week, or £5/15/- per year, allowing for repairs, etc.

(1) Town	(2) Number of Tene- ments or Cottages	(3) Average Cost of Erecting Each Cottage	(4) Interest on the Outlay or Capital Invested
Congleton	2,035	66	$8\frac{11}{20}$
Macclesfield	3,864	60	$9\frac{11}{20}$
Stockport	5,032	53	$10\frac{17}{20}$
Altrincham	1,352	79	$7\frac{6}{20}$
Northwich	2,121	75	$7\frac{11}{20}$
Nantwich	1,158	74	$7\frac{3}{4}$
Lichfield	1,227	68	$8\frac{9}{20}$
Newcastle	1,135	78	$7\frac{7}{20}$
Stoke-upon-Trent	5,610	60	$9\frac{11}{20}$
Woolstanton and Burslem	2,993	90	$6\frac{8}{20}$
Tamworth	376	69	$8\frac{7}{20}$
Cheadle	805	67	$8\frac{12}{20}$
Uttoxeter	471	40	$14\frac{8}{20}$
Burton-upon-Trent	1,270	90	$6\frac{8}{20}$
Leek	650	63	$9\frac{1}{20}$
Chapel-en-le Frith	215	79	$7\frac{6}{20}$
Hayfield	534	80	$7\frac{4}{20}$
Glossop	559	80	$7\frac{4}{20}$
Bakewell	424	87	$6\frac{12}{20}$
Chesterfield	2,618	70	$8\frac{4}{20}$
Belper	2,542	67	$8\frac{12}{20}$
Derby	2,855	75	$7\frac{11}{20}$
Salford	3,741	46	$12\frac{1}{2}$
Chorlton-upon-Medlock	2,463	54	$10\frac{11}{20}$
Totals	46,050	65	$8\frac{3}{4}$

APPENDIX 3A continued

TYPE 3 - Third class of cottages, average 3/6d per week, or £9/2/- per year, allowing for repairs, etc.

(1) Town	(2) Number of Tene- ments or Cottages	(3) Average Cost of Erecting Each Cottage	(4) Interest on the Outlay or Capital Invested
		£	£
Congleton	395	94	9 $\frac{14}{20}$
Macclesfield	2,557	84	10 $\frac{17}{20}$
Stockport	6,436	98	9 $\frac{6}{20}$
Altrincham	540	101	9
Northwich	212	89	10 $\frac{4}{20}$
Nantwich	471	108	8 $\frac{9}{20}$
Lichfield	320	148	6 $\frac{1}{20}$
Newcastle	251	136	6 $\frac{14}{20}$
Stoke-on-Trent	946	90	10 $\frac{2}{20}$
Woolstanton and Burslem	295	150	6 $\frac{1}{20}$
Tamworth	134	117	7 $\frac{16}{20}$
Cheadle	169	101	9
Uttoxeter	-	-	-
Burton-on-Trent	125	115	7 $\frac{17}{20}$
Leek	104	86	10 $\frac{12}{20}$
Chapel-en-le-Frith	95	123	7 $\frac{8}{20}$
Hayfield	627	140	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Glossop	1,050	90	10 $\frac{2}{20}$
Bakewell	74	146	6 $\frac{1}{4}$
Chesterfield	128	105	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Belper	661	107	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Derby	1,026	155	5 $\frac{17}{20}$
Salford	5,445	75	12 $\frac{1}{20}$
Chorlton-upon-Medlock	4,261	83	10 $\frac{19}{20}$
Totals	26,322	92	9 $\frac{3}{4}$

APPENDIX 3A continued
SHROPSHIRE RENTS AND COSTS 1840*

	Lowest Description of Cottage				Average Description of Cottage			Best Description of Cottage		
(1) Name of Union	(2) Number of Dwelling Rooms	(3) Cost of Erection	(4) Rent	(5) Whether Many Such In Union	(6) Number of Dwelling Rooms	(7) Cost of Erection	(8) Rent	(9) Number of Dwelling Rooms	(10) Cost of Erection	(11) Rent
<u>COUNTY OF SALOP:</u>										
Atcham	2	£ 6 to £ 50	£ 1	About 12	2	£ 25	£ 3	3	£ 50	£ 4
Bridgnorth	1 & 2	£ 6	£ 2	No	3	£ 10 to £ 15	£ 3	3	£ 25	£ 4/10
Church Stretton	1 & 2	Not stated	£ 2	About 40	2	Not stated	£ 3/10	3	£ 40	£ 4 to £ 5
Clun	2	£ 30	£ 2/10	Yes	2	£ 40	£ 3/10	3	£ 50 to £ 70	£ 5
Drayton	2	£ 10 to £ 20	£ 1 to £ 1/10	No	3	£ 20 to £ 30	£ 2 to £ 3	3	£ 40 to £ 50	£ 3 to £ 5
Ellesmere	2	£ 20 to £ 40	£ 1 to £ 3	Yes	3	£ 40 to £ 60	£ 3 to £ 5	3 & 4	£ 60 to £ 80	£ 4 to £ 5
Madeley	1		15/- to 30/-	Yes	2	£ 2/12 to £ 4		2		£ 5 to £ 7
Newport	2	£ 20 to £ 25	£ 2/10	Yes	3	£ 35 to £ 45	£ 3 to £ 4	4	£ 60 to £ 80	£ 4/10 to £ 5
Shiftnall	2	£ 20 to £ 40	£ 3 to £ 4	No	3	£ 60	£ 4 to £ 5	3	£ 70 to £ 80	£ 5/5
Wellington	2	£ 10 to £ 20	25/- to 40/-	No	3	£ 30 to £ 60	£ 3 to £ 4/10	4	£ 50 to £ 80	£ 4 to £ 5
Wem	1 & 2	£ 20	£ 2 to £ 2/10	Yes	3	£ 30	£ 3/10	3	£ 50	£ 5

* Local Reports H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII, p. 227.

APPENDIX 3B

TABLES SHOWING THE COSTS OF BUILDING COTTAGES, AND OF REPAIRS, ENGLAND ABOUT 1840 *

RENT OF COTTAGES

(1)	COST OF ERECTION OF COTTAGES		Cost of Repairs (4)	Cottages with only One Room (5)	Cottages with One Room on the Ground Floor, and a Chamber or Bedroom Above (6)	Cottages of the Same Description as Column (6) with a Back- house or Wash- house Annexed (7)	Cottages with Four Rooms, Two Below, and Two Above (8)
	Two- Roomed (2)	Four- Roomed (3)					
Norfolk 22 Unions	40 to 80	60 to 150	4/- to 40/-	10/- to 100/-	30/- to 105/-	40/- to 126/-	65/- to 180/-
Suffolk 15 Unions	30 to 125	60 to 180	2/- to 20/-	20/- to 55/-	40/- to 120/-	60/- to 120/-	60/- to 160/-
Chester 5 Unions	20 to 80	25 to 120	10/- to 30/-	1/6	1/6 to 2/6	2/6 to 4/-	
Derby 7 Unions	20 to 100	40 to 120	2/6 to 20/-				
Lancashire 2 Unions	30 to 50	30 to 55	10/- to 40/-				
Stafford 9 Unions	20 to 80	40 to 100	4/- to 40/-				
Gloucester 3 Unions	About 62		10/-			110/- to 120/-	
Hereford 1 Union	About 62						
Monmouth 5 Unions	About 62						
Worcester 4 Unions	About 65						
Gloucester 3 Unions	About 70					80/-	
Hereford 8 Unions	About 45					70/-	
Brecknock 1 Union	About 45					70/-	
Radnor 2 Unions	About 45					70/-	
Salop 2 Unions	50 to 55		10/- to 12/-			73/6	
Worcester 6 Unions	50 to 55		10/- to 12/-			73/6	
Northumberland 7 Unions	30 to 50		3/- to 5/-	45/- to 80/-			
Durham 8 Unions	50 to 70		10/- to 15/-	80/-	50/- to 120/-		
Cumberland 1 Union	50		3/-		65/-		
Durham 2 Unions	45	60				80/-	
Cumberland 4 Unions	30 to 45		7/-		52/- to 60/-		
Bedford 5 Unions	15 to 60	20 to 120	5/- to 20/-				50/- to 180/-
Bucks. 1 Union	40 to 60		9/- to 10/-				52/-
Hertford 4 Unions	40 to 70	50 to 120	20/- to 30/-				2/6 per week
Northampton 6 Unions	30 to 100	50 to 150	5/- to 20/-				
Stafford 5 Unions	20 to 60	35 to 100	7/- to 45/-				40/- to 80/-
Warwick 7 Unions	20 to 70	50 to 140	6/- to 40/-				
Worcester 2 Unions	10 to 50	45 to 150	10/- to 12/-				

APPENDIX 3C

PEABODY ESTATE RULES *

Little Coram Street Block

1. Must be vaccinated, if past childhood must be re-vaccinated.
All cases of infectious diseases to be removed to proper hospital.
2. Rent for current week to be paid Monday 9.00 am to 6.00 pm at superintendent's office.
3. No arrears.
4. Communal areas to be kept clean in turn by tenants.
5. Washing to be done in laundry, only own clothes. No hanging out of washing.
6. No carpets, mats etc. to be beaten, shaken after 10.00 am.
Refuse not to be thrown from doors or windows.
7. Repairs cost liability of tenants for windows, keys, grates and boilers broken in their own room.
8. Children not to play on stairs, in passages or laundries.

* St Giles Board of Works Report (1892-3), pp. 63-4.

APPENDIX 3C continued

9. No dogs to be kept on premises.
10. Tenants must distemper and whitewash rooms once a year to satisfaction of trustees or agents. Not to paper, paint or drive nails in wall.
11. No underletting, taking in of lodgers, or keeping a shop of any kind.
12. No gratuities to superintendent or porter.
13. No disorderly or intemperate tenants.
14. Gas turned off at 11.00 pm.
15. Tenants must report births, deaths, infectious diseases e.g. smallpox, measles, diphtheria and scarlet fever, typhoid and typhus fever occurring in their rooms. Non compliance will result in notice to quit.

Superintendent is particularly instructed to prevent overcrowding and improper accommodation.

Other philanthropic associations had similar lists of rules for their block dwellings.

APPENDIX 3D

TYPE OF HOUSING SUPPLIED UNDER RAILWAY RE-HOUSING SCHEMES *

South Eastern Railway, Witcher Street, Deptford.

Plan for 15 cottages, 2 storeys high.

Ground floor. Parlour from 128 to 140 feet superlineal. +

Bedroom " 100 to 110 " "

Kitchen about 110 " "

Scullery " 45 " "

plus sink and copper.

Upper floor. Parlour

or Bedroom 168 feet superlineal.

Bedroom 100 to 110 " "

Kitchen 108 " "

with sink,

Second Bedroom 68 " "

W.C. in yard for common use. **

-
- * Local Government Records: Deptford, P.R.O. H.L.G. 1/49 File 720: 601:02, re: Artisan's Dwellings, Witcher St., Deptford. Entry for 23rd Jan. 1903. Letter from Sir Kenelm Digby of the Home Office.
- + Superlineal: in this case equates to the square feet measurement of floor space.
- ** Note that by 4th Feb. 1903 these plans had shrunk to ones to accommodate 115 people in 77 rooms, with 11 cottages in place of the original 15.

APPENDIX 3D continued

South Eastern Railway Scheme, Abbey Buildings, Bermondsey *

Basic plan three blocks, 5 storeys high in rows, giving:

41 two-roomed tenements

67 three-roomed tenements

9 four-roomed tenements

providing a total of 319 rooms for 638 people. All equipped with a scullery and a W.C. and the front doors open off the staircase landings into a private lobby.

Construction

Floors Whole of floors to be of steel joints, and coke - breeze concrete, which were to be boarded in the living- and bed-rooms.

* Local Government Records : Deptford. P.R.O. H.L.G. 1/49
File 720:601:02. re: Abbey and Tower Buildings, Bermondsey.
Entry for 4th Fe. 1903. This entry also details that a similar
block was to be constructed named Tower Buildings, Bermondsey,
with 4, three-roomed tenements, and 8 four-roomed ones.

APPENDIX 3E

NUMBER OF SMALL-ROOM TENEMENTS PER OWNER, WHITEHAVEN 1849*

Total Number of Tenements = 334

Total Number of Owners = 57

Average Number of Tenements per owner = 5.86

Mode = 2

<u>Numbers of Tenements Owned</u> ⁺	<u>Numbers of Owners</u>
1	5
2	13
3	11
4	8
5	3
6	5
7	3
8	1
9	0
10	1
11	1
12	1
13	1
14	1
15	1
20	1
69	1

Number of owner-occupied tenements = 1.

* Rawlinson, op. cit. Supplement pp. 1-17.

+ Figures used include those obtained by combining the numbers of tenements owned by people with a similar name e.g. Joseph Pearson and Mr Pearson are taken as the same person. Males and females having the same surname are treated as separate owners though it is possible they are man and wife or mother and son etc.

APPENDIX 3E continued

2. Number of Cellar Tenements per Owner in Whitehaven*

Total number of tenements = 190

Total numbers of owners = 119

Average number of tenements per owner = 1.59

Mode = 1

<u>Numbers of Tenements Owned</u> ⁺	<u>Numbers of Owners</u>
1	88
2	16
3	6
4	4
5	0
6	3
7	0
8	1
9	0
10	1

3. Number of Small-Room Tenements and Cellar Tenements per Owner
in Whitehaven

Total number of tenements = 528

Total number of owners = 154**

Average number of tenements per owner = 3.43

Mode = 1

<u>Numbers of Tenements Owned</u>	<u>Numbers of Owners</u>
1	84
2	20
3	10
4	12
5	6
6	5
7	3
8	3
9	1
10	1
11	1
12	1

* Rawlinson, op. cit. Supplement pp. 18-28.

+ As in Table 1 owners with similar names have been combined.

** Owners of similar names appearing as both small-room tenement owners and cellar tenement owners have had figures combined.

APPENDIX 3E continued

Number of Tenements Owned

Numbers of Owners

13
14
15
16
19
28
71

2
0
1
1
1
1
1

APPENDIX 4A

NUMBER OF INHABITANTS PER OCCUPIED HOUSE BY COUNTY 1801-1901*

(1) County	(2) 1801	(3) 1811	(4) 1821	(5) 1831	(6) 1841	(7) 1851	(8) 1861	(9) 1871	(10) 1881	(11) 1891	(12) 1901
Bedfordshire	5.33	5.21	5.43	5.31	5.09	5.17	4.93	4.80	4.75	4.65	4.46
Berkshire	5.31	5.35	5.34	5.19	5.09	5.08	4.93	4.96	5.02	4.93	4.72
Buckinghamshire	5.14	5.37	5.39	5.20	5.02	4.93	4.81	4.73	4.69	4.63	4.49
Cambridgeshire	5.29	5.87	5.85	5.39	4.97	5.00	4.68	4.65	4.61	4.72	4.29
Cheshire	5.56	5.51	5.75	5.50	5.39	5.35	5.16	5.07	5.10	5.03	4.82
Cornwall	5.72	5.71	5.87	5.62	5.21	5.23	5.06	4.90	4.74	4.57	4.44
Cumberland	5.44	5.57	5.73	5.47	5.15	5.32	5.07	5.00	5.11	5.09	4.88
Derbyshire	5.06	5.20	5.33	5.15	5.13	4.99	4.90	4.85	4.98	5.00	4.96
Devonshire	5.92	6.15	6.14	6.03	5.63	5.76	5.77	5.71	5.67	5.58	5.35
Dorsetshire	5.38	5.37	5.57	5.44	5.06	5.10	5.02	4.96	4.80	4.76	4.67
Durham	5.90	6.12	6.33	6.23	5.64	6.02	6.00	5.97	5.87	6.03	5.93
Essex	5.90	5.90	5.80	5.56	5.10	5.02	4.98	5.05	5.29	5.37	5.39
Gloucestershire	5.39	5.49	5.51	5.43	5.33	5.31	5.23	5.22	5.27	5.16	4.95
Hampshire	5.73	5.67	5.72	5.56	5.33	5.39	5.57	5.54	5.38	5.31	5.11
Herefordshire	5.25	5.07	5.11	5.08	4.87	4.83	4.89	4.75	4.73	4.58	4.48
Hertfordshire	5.52	5.49	5.60	5.40	5.21	5.14	4.97	4.90	4.92	4.86	4.69
Huntingdonshire	5.62	5.58	5.49	5.32	4.94	4.82	4.69	4.54	4.50	4.37	4.24
Kent	5.96	6.01	6.04	5.83	5.74	5.72	5.82	5.61	5.64	5.54	5.40
Lancashire	5.89	5.74	5.97	5.86	5.76	5.81	5.54	5.32	5.27	5.13	4.97
Leicestershire	5.01	5.01	5.02	4.88	4.82	4.71	4.57	4.59	4.73	4.74	4.59
Lincolnshire	5.04	5.13	5.26	5.15	4.97	5.01	4.76	4.63	4.67	4.56	4.39
Middlesex	7.25	7.30	7.48	7.52	7.60	8.06	7.90	6.98	7.97	7.67	7.77
Monmouthshire	5.09	5.28	5.44	5.27	5.39	5.32	5.28	5.51	5.46	5.48	5.36
Norfolk	5.74	5.64	5.53	5.22	4.80	4.75	4.50	4.40	4.43	4.41	4.31
Northampton	4.94	4.99	5.00	4.94	4.88	4.83	4.69	4.69	4.74	4.73	4.56
Northumberland	5.93	6.09	6.32	6.23	5.14	6.36	6.17	6.20	6.14	6.33	6.53
Nottinghamshire	5.48	5.20	5.34	5.01	4.94	4.91	4.70	4.67	4.75	4.69	4.61
Oxfordshire	5.32	5.25	5.35	5.19	5.02	4.95	4.74	4.70	4.71	4.66	4.45
Rutlandshire	5.00	4.93	5.15	4.93	4.96	5.01	4.71	4.63	4.72	4.61	4.39
Shropshire	5.38	5.47	5.33	5.23	5.06	5.02	4.98	4.89	4.89	4.76	4.65
Somerset	5.70	5.78	5.74	5.67	5.28	5.22	5.09	5.03	4.94	4.86	4.70
Staffordshire	5.29	5.48	5.39	5.26	5.22	5.23	5.08	5.12	5.23	5.16	5.10
Suffolk	6.52	6.29	6.33	5.91	4.92	4.87	4.62	4.56	4.55	4.54	4.45
Surrey	5.84	5.84	6.16	6.07	6.11	6.28	6.38	6.48	6.67	6.56	6.50
Sussex	6.30	6.43	6.42	5.98	5.55	5.74	5.68	5.55	5.58	5.47	5.19
Warwickshire	5.10	5.09	4.98	4.93	4.94	4.91	4.83	4.81	4.94	4.86	4.75
Westmorland	5.27	5.26	5.56	5.32	5.20	5.20	5.16	5.13	4.99	4.98	4.68
Wiltshire	6.28	5.21	5.33	5.19	5.08	4.92	4.70	4.69	4.64	4.61	4.47
Worcestershire	5.22	5.31	5.31	5.08	4.97	4.98	4.87	4.84	4.93	4.85	4.69
Yorkshire, East Riding	5.41	5.52	5.54	5.23	5.03	5.00	4.90	4.78	4.80	4.74	4.61
Yorkshire, North Riding	4.94	4.65	5.14	5.01	4.82	4.84	4.89	4.98	5.02	5.01	4.81
Yorkshire, West Riding	5.08	5.21	5.34	5.13	5.08	5.01	4.78	4.78	4.83	4.74	4.57
NATIONAL AVERAGE	5.65	5.63	5.75	5.60	5.42	5.48	5.35	5.33	5.38	5.32	5.20

* SOURCE: Computed from Census Reports 1801-1901.

APPENDIX 4B

SUMMARY OF TENEMENTS BY SIZE, 1891-1911*

(1) Rooms per Tenement	(2) Number of Tenements	(3) Percentage of Tenements	(4) Percentage of Population	(5) Average Number per Room
<u>1891</u>				
1		4.7	2.2	2.23
2		11.4	8.3	1.73
3		12.3	11.1	1.42
4		23.9	23.5	1.16
5+		47.7	54.9	
TOTAL	6,131,001			
<u>1901</u>				
1		3.6	1.6	2.02
2		9.4	6.6	1.64
3		11.1	9.8	1.36
4		22.7	21.9	1.12
5+		53.2	60.1	
TOTAL	7,036,868			
<u>1911</u>				
1		3.2	1.3	
2		8.3	5.8	
3		13.8	12.3	
4		24.7	23.7	
5+		50.0	56.9	
TOTAL	8,005,290			

* SOURCE: 1911 Census Report Vol. VIII (Cd. 6910), pp. vi-vii.

APPENDIX 4B continued

(1) Number of Rooms per Tenement	(2) Percentage of of Total Tenements	(3) Percentage of Population	(4) Number per Room
<u>URBAN</u>			
1	3.9	1.7	1.91
2	9.0	6.5	1.62
3	14.1	12.7	1.36
4	24.0	23.1	1.10
5	20.2	21.2	0.96
6	14.0	14.7	0.79
7	5.8	6.1	0.68
8	3.2	3.5	0.61
9	1.8	2.0	0.56
10+	3.2	4.2	-
TOTALS	6,223,879	28,162,936	
Non-private	0.8	4.3	
<u>RURAL</u>			
1	0.6	0.2	1.57
2	5.5	3.5	1.40
3	12.9	10.8	1.24
4	27.7	25.5	1.02
5	21.7	22.1	0.90
6	12.2	12.5	0.76
7	6.1	6.4	0.66
8	4.5	5.0	0.61
9	2.5	2.9	0.57
10+	5.6	7.7	-
TOTALS	1,781,411	7,907,556	
Non-private	0.7	3.4	

SOURCE: 1911 Census Report Vol. VIII, (Cd. 6910), p. ix.

APPENDIX 4B continued

PROPORTION OF TENEMENTS OF VARIOUS SIZES IN
URBAN/RURAL DISTRICTS, AS DEFINED AT THE TIME OF THE CENSUS *

(1) Number of Rooms	Percentage of Total Tenements		
	(2) 1891	(3) 1901	(4) 1911
<u>URBAN</u>			
1	6.2	4.5	3.9
2	12.6	10.4	9.0
3	12.6	11.5	14.1
4	22.4	21.7	24.0
1-4 Total	53.8	48.1	51.0
<u>RURAL</u>			
1	1.0	0.6	0.6
2	8.3	6.0	5.5
3	11.7	9.7	12.9
4	27.7	25.8	27.7
1-4 Total	48.7	42.1	46.7

* SOURCE: 1911 Census Report Vol. VIII
(Cd. 6910), p. x.

APPENDIX 4B continued

AGGREGATE OF RURAL DISTRICTS.

FAMILY SIZE AND TENEMENT SIZE PER 100,000 OF POPULATION *

Family Size	R O O M S P E R T E N E M E N T									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10+
1	412	1,456	1,265	1,557	582	300	124	72	30	50
2	106	1,477	2,866	5,384	3,307	1,901	836	507	211	316
3	49	1,046	2,785	5,793	4,231	2,407	1,190	806	398	634
4	22	701	2,215	4,989	4,105	2,284	1,180	857	479	850
5	10	418	1,591	3,754	3,324	1,836	986	750	437	899
6	4	235	1,045	2,610	2,431	1,327	710	569	355	805
7	2	123	628	1,726	1,653	895	482	400	253	655
8	-	58	352	1,028	1,031	587	301	254	155	487
9	-	24	175	560	609	352	176	150	104	336
10	-	9	69	254	315	195	98	88	56	222
11	-	3	28	106	146	98	51	45	29	140
12	-	1	9	40	57	48	25	22	15	91
13	-	-	3	13	22	19	11	11	7	56
14	-	-	1	5	8	6	4	5	4	38
15+	-	-	-	2	3	3	2	3	2	80
Total	605	5,551	13,032	27,821	21,824	12,258	6,176	4,539	2,535	5,659

* SOURCE: 1911 Census Report Vol. VIII, (Cd. 6910), p. vii.

APPENDIX 5A

LINKS BETWEEN INQUIRY, LEGISLATION AND GOVERNMENT REPORTS

(1) Commission or other Inquiry's Report	(2) Act	(3) Conditions Imposed by Act in England, and Wales	(4) Returns from Act
1840 Report of the S.C. on the Health of Towns	Public Health Act, 1848. Preceded by Town Improvement Clauses Bill, 1847 (unsuc- cessful attempt).	<p>Set up General Board of Health for five years.</p> <hr/> <p>Superintending Inspectors to be appointed by General Board of Health to see to working of act.</p> <hr/> <p>Local inquiry on petition by 1/10 of the rate payers, or if death rate up above 23/000 for seven years on Registrar General's returns.</p> <hr/> <p>Local boards shall appoint, Trea- surer, Surveyor, Inspector of Nui- sances, Clerk, etc. May appoint Medical Officer of Health.</p> <hr/> <p>No new or rebuilt houses to be built without drains.</p> <hr/> <p>Local board expected to get drains put into existing houses by owners (wording shall). If notice not complied with they may do the work themselves (if there is outlet within 100 feet of house only).</p> <hr/> <p>Must have privy, W.C. and ashpit in new or rebuilt house. If work not done board may do it. Can have one W.C. or privy for two houses or more.</p> <hr/> <p>Board shall sanction levels and details of privies and cesspools of new build- ings. 14 days of notice of works to commence to be given by the builder.</p> <hr/> <p>Registration of Common Lodging-Houses.</p> <hr/> <p>No cellar to be let which not let be- fore the act. Regulations as to size and position of cellars. One year be- fore it applies to cellars already occupied.</p>	<p>Return of particulars of lodging-houses provided under the Labouring Classes Lodging-House Act 1851.</p> <hr/> <p>Amounts advanced by Public Works Loan Commissioners under authority of Labou- rers Dwelling Houses Acts 1866 and 1867.</p>
1851	Labouring Classes Lodging-Houses Act, 1851	<p>Parishes of 10,000 and over at last Census given power to erect lodging- houses or convert existing buildings.</p> <hr/> <p>Permits public utilities to supply lodging-houses at cut rates.</p> <hr/> <p>When such building unnecessary can be sold. Proceeds going to rate fund or poor relief fund.</p> <hr/> <p>Council can make bye-laws for such houses.</p> <hr/> <p>Such houses open to inspection by local board of health.</p>	

APPENDIX 5A continued

(1) Commission or other Inquiry's Report	(2) Act	(3) Conditions Imposed by Act in England and Wales	(4) Returns from Act
1868 Commons Committee Report on Torrens Bill (1868)	Artizans and Labour- ers Dwellings Act, 1868 (Torrens Act)	<p>Compulsory that Officer of Health be appointed by local authority.</p> <p>Complaint of four local householders, to Officer of Health. Report to clerk of local authority and clerk of peace.</p> <p>Plans and specifications of work to be drawn up. Notify owner.</p> <p>Owner can do work or get local au- thority to buy house.</p> <p>If work not done or unsatisfactory local authority can do it and charge, or shut premises, or buy them.</p> <p>Local authority can demolish if owner does not. Sell materials, giving surplus to owner.</p> <p>Future building subject to local au- thority's approval.</p> <p>Power to remove houses to open out courts or alleys.</p> <p>Local authority given power to make bye- laws for its premises.</p>	<p>Return made to vestry and dis- trict boards in Metropolis by Medical Officers of Health since 21 July 1883 as to places which ought to be dealt with by those boards under Artizans Dwellings Acts 1868-82.</p> <p>1883</p> <p>Return in respect of each urban sanitary district in England of 100,000 population and each Metropolitan parish or district of dwelling houses reported under the Artizans Dwellings Acts during 1883-88 as unfit for human habitation etc. (1889)</p>
1875	Artizans and Labour- ers Dwellings Improve- ment Act, 1875 Amendment Act, 1879	<p>Local Authority has power, with an official representation of unhealthi- ness of a district:</p> <p>To make scheme for improvement, to be confirmed by Parliament.</p> <p>To purchase area affected, and lease to improvers.</p> <p>May do layout of sewers, pavements, etc.</p> <p>Not to build except under supervision of confirming authority. Any build- ings to be sold within 10 years.</p> <p>Regulations on houses built.</p> <p>Permitted Medical Officer of Health to be appointed for Metropolis by Metro- politan Board of Works.</p> <p>Local authority given power to borrow on mortgage or land or houses.</p> <p>Amendment Act 1879. Relaxed re-housing rules. Workers dispossessed by working of act could be housed out of immediate vicinity if this was as convenient.</p>	<p>Return as to Act of 1875 of official representations made since passing of the act up to 31 Dec. 1879 etc. with particu- lars (1881).</p> <p>Account of buildings erected within the Metropolis and City of London, in pursuance of Arti- zans and Labourers Dwellings Improvement Acts, 1886.</p>

APPENDIX 5A continued

(1) Commission or other Inquiry's Report	(2) Act	(3) Conditions Imposed by Act in England and Wales	(4) Returns from Act
<p>1881</p> <p>Report of the S.C. on the Working of the Artizans and Labourers Dwellings Improvement Acts, and Metropolitan Streets Improvement Acts of 1872 and 1877. Proceedings, Evidence, Appendix & Index 1881</p> <p>Further Report 1882</p>	<p>Artizans Dwellings Act, 1882.</p>	<p>To amend 1875 and 1879 Acts. (Cross Acts)</p>	<p>Official Representations under Artizans and Labourers Dwellings Acts 1875-85. (1888)</p>
<p>1884-5</p> <p>Report of the R.C. on the Housing of the Working Classes. 1st England & Wales. Also Scotland 2nd, and Ireland 3rd.</p>	<p>Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1885.</p>	<p>Adopted labouring classes lodging-houses act for Metropolis, City of London, urban & sanitary districts.</p> <p>Amended 1868 Torrens Act. Owner could no longer tell the local authority to buy his property.</p> <p>Amended 1875 Cross Act. Extended to all urban sanitary districts.</p> <p>Gave local authorities power to make bye-laws to enforce sanitary act's conditions, and Section 90 of Public Health Act 1875.</p> <p>Declared tent, shed, or van, used for human habitation, subject to provisions of Section 91 of Public Health Act 1875</p> <p>Gave officials power of entry 6 a.m. to 9 p.m. to enforce regulations.</p> <p>Allowed land for sale under act to be sold below market price.</p>	<p>Working of the 1890 Act.</p>
<p>1890</p> <p>Report from the Standing Committee on Law etc. on Housing Act (Amendment) Bill and Housing Acts Consolidation Bill, 1890.</p>	<p>Housing of the Working Classes Consolidation Act, 1890.</p>	<p>Brought together and amended the Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1885, and the Housing of the Working Classes (Amendment) Bill 1890, Artizans and Labourers Dwellings Act 1882.</p> <p>Medical Officer of Health to report on complaint by two Justices of the Peace or 12 ratepayers. Local authority scheme to be given provisional approval by confirming authority. Later confirmation needed from Parliament.</p> <p>Normally council must re-house all workers in the same area.</p> <p>All council buildings to be sold within 10 years of completion.</p> <p>Loans could be obtained from L.C.C. and Public Works Loans Board. Power of closing or demolition.</p> <p>Could buy, convert, or build lodging houses for workers. Existing ones open to inspection by local authority.</p>	

APPENDIX 5A continued

(1) Commission or other Inquiry's Report	(2) Act	(3) Conditions Imposed by Act in England and Wales	(4) Returns from Act
1890	Housing of the Work- ing Classes (Amend- ment) Act 1890.	Broke procedure into three parts. Part I deal with re-construction of unhealthy areas. (Basically Cross Act.) Part II with repairs, or reconstruc- tion of unhealthy dwellings. (Basi- cally Torrens Act.) Part III gave power for new construc- tion by local authorities, or to buy existing property for conversion. As a result of the returns, etc. on the workings of the Act, its effects were extended in 1900, by 63-64 V 1900 c. 59 to allow Rural District Councils to adopt Part III.	Returns of the local autho- rities in England and Wales who carried out improvement and reconstruction schemes under the Housing of the Work- ing Classes Act 1890. Return as to the number of applications received by County Councils in England and Wales to put into force Part III of the 1890 Act. Number of dwelling houses built by local authorities since 1906 for certain people.
1899	Report from Standing Committee on Law etc. with Proceedings on Small Houses (Acquisi- tion of Ownership) Bill.	Small Dwellings Acquisition Act 1899.	Gave local authority power to loan money to residents of houses in their area in order to buy their houses. Conditions attached to the loan and to the state of the house.
1906	Department of Housing Commission Report.	Housing and Town Planning Act 1909.	Costs of Council Housing 1914-16 Expenditure on Council Housing

APPENDIX 6A

CONDITIONS IN SALVATION ARMY HOSTELS

Salvation Army Hostel Clerkenwell,

60, St John's Square.

Report from "G" Division Metropolitan Police¹

The building was an old warehouse which had been converted into a hostel with three floors, the two upper ones being used for bedspace. The beds themselves were boxes one foot nine and a half inches by six feet. On each of the two floors there were 100 of these placed side by side in rows. Inside the box a bed was made up from American cloth which was stuffed with a sort of seaweed, but no bedclothes were provided, although the men did get a sheepskin cover, and the rooms were said to be heated to a temperature of about 65 degrees during the night.

The ground floor was fitted up as a hall with seats and benches where supper and breakfast, which consisted of a penny roll and a pint of coffee, could be eaten. Beneath the ground floor in the basement, besides the cooking and heating apparatus, was the lavatory which had a good supply of water and washing facilities plus seven W.C.'s, with two more and five urinals, all of the most modern type, on the ground floor.

Conditions in this hostel seem to have been quite good, the premises being well cleaned and ventilated every day, and the total cost for a night's residence including supper and breakfast being just 3d.

1 Metropolitan Police Records, P.R.O. Mepol 2/203, entry for 7 March 1889.

APPENDIX 6A continued

Salvation Army Women's Hostel,

194, Hanbury Street.

Report from "H" Division Metropolitan Police.¹

The accommodation here was similar to that provided in the men's hostel at Clerkenwell.² The beds were of the box type placed upon the floor, equipped with American cloth and dry seaweed stuffed mattresses. In place of the sheepskin coverings, there was a sort of leather apron, in addition to which the women were expected to make use of their own daytime clothing as bedcovers. There was space for a maximum of 192 women in the hostel, although on the occasion of the visit by the police, only 69 adults and three children were found sleeping there, although an unspecified number went in after the completion of the inspection. The charge made for this hostel was also 3d per person per night.

1 Metropolitan Police Records, P.R.O. Mepol 2/203, entry for 18 Nov. 1889.

2 See above, p. 442.

APPENDIX 6A continued

Salvation Army Night Refuges,

272, Whitechapel Road.

Report from "H" Division Metropolitan Police.¹

While this establishment had good accommodation for washing, its other facilities were nowhere near the standard set by the hostel at Clerkenwell. For the same price, 3d a night, the meals consisted of a cup of cocoa at night, and tea or coffee in the morning. Nor was there a separate sleeping and dining area, since there was only one room, in which anything up to the maximum of 150 men had to sleep.

272, Whitechapel Road, Women.²

Conditions here were basically the same as those at the Hanbury St hostel.³ The total space available was sufficient for up to 100 lodgers, but only some 69 were in bed at the time the inspection was made, although some others went in later on. The major difference between this hostel and the others was that it charged 4d per night rather than 3d, and failure to find such a sum meant admission was refused.

1 Metropolitan Police Records, P.R.O. Mepol 2/203, entry for 1 Nov. 1889.

2 Ibid. entry for 18 Nov. 1889.

3 See above, p. 443.

APPENDIX 6A continued

Salvation Army Hostel,

9 - 10, Stanhope Street.

Report from "E" Division Metropolitan Police.¹

This was formerly a registered lodging-house of the private sort, equipped with 117 beds placed in 28 bedrooms on five floors. Since the Army had taken over the running of the building they had changed some of the arrangements, and five rooms on the ground floor had been converted into a general meeting room, and a private apartment for the person in charge. In place of the 117 beds the building now only contained 105, all fully equipped with bedding and all of them iron rather than the box-like constructions used in the Army's other lodging-houses. Eight of these beds were for the use of the hostel's staff, leaving 97 for occupation by lodgers.

The local name for the Hostel was the "Harbour" since it was known to be open to all-comers providing they could pay the charge of 4d per night, which only covered the cost of a bed, with no provision of food, facilities for washing, or shaving. The hostel did have a back kitchen for the inmates to do their own cooking, and one room on the ground floor was set aside for use as a dining-room. This was also used by the poor inhabitants of the neighbourhood for dinners and other meals.

Lodgers in this hostel were treated generally as they would have been in any other registered lodging-house, and the avowed aim which

¹ Metropolitan Police Records, P.R.O. Mepol 2/203, entry for 20 April 1891.

APPENDIX 6A continued

the Army put first and foremost was to ensure that the house was a paying proposition. This creed was followed to such an extent that the inspecting officers thought that at present 17 beds were in use that should not be permitted if re-apportionment were to take place in accordance with the regulations.

Further Report on Stanhope Street.¹

This report concerned itself with the type of men who inhabited these lodging-houses. It was discovered that among the 78 men who were in the house on the night of the inspection occupations were many and varied. They included bakers, grocers assistants, bookbinders, fish curers, painters, printers, sandwichmen, tailors, labourers, porters, shoeblacks, hawkers, warehousemen, and sweeps. Those men had been lodging in the hostel for various periods, some for one night and others for up to six weeks.

1 Metropolitan Police Records, P.R.O. Mepol 2/203, entry for 30 Dec. 1891.

APPENDIX 6A continued

Salvation Army Hostels,

Lisson Street, Marylebone.

Report from "D" Division Metropolitan Police.¹

These premises had only been acquired recently and converted so as to accommodate 800 men, generally in conditions far worse than those in other Salvation Army hostels. The lavatories and W.C.'s situated in the basement were apparently altogether inadequate for the numbers involved, while the wooden rooms were heated by means of hot water pipes. There was some discussion as to whether bedding was provided or not, since only a portion of the general sleeping area was made available for those who wished to lie down. Most confined their demands for comfort to obtaining a seat for the night which cost them 1d in place of the 2d charged for lying down.

1 Metropolitan Police Records, P.R.O. Mepol 2/203, entry for 30 Dec. 1891.

APPENDIX 6A continued

Salvation Army Hostel, Proposed New Building, to be erected at rear
of Temperance Stall, Blackfriars Road.

Report from "L" Division Metropolitan Police.¹

This hostel, a converted packing case factory with 60 bunks and beds, was intended to cater for the more destitute poor and the proposed charge per night was therefore kept down to 1d. The facilities were to consist of a bedroom, and a separate sitting-room with seats and tables. For an additional halfpenny the inmates would be able to purchase coffee, bread and soup, while children were to be charged only a farthing for the same quantity. For the more fortunate a better class of bed was to be made available at a cost of 2d. Unlike the other hostels where not to have sufficient funds meant that one was excluded, this particular place was to offer the chance of obtaining a lodging in return for work.

1 Metropolitan Police Records, P.R.O. Mepol 2/203, entry for 28 Dec. 1891.

APPENDIX 6A continued

CHURCH ARMY HOSTEL,

Crawford Street.

Report from "D" Division Metropolitan Police.¹

The Church Army hostel in Crawford Street, Marylebone, worked upon an entirely different system to that operated by the Salvation Army, or the local workhouses. In this case 24 men were accommodated upon the premises permanently. They did not take people in on an overnight basis, nor did they have any intention of doing so. Conditions for the inmates were not prepossessing by any means. From the outside the building was described as uninviting in appearance, while inside it was not over-clean. Sleeping accommodation was two "bunks" which each contained 12 beds placed closely side by side. In return for their accommodation the men were expected to work during the day at such jobs as chopping wood or other useful tasks.

1 Metropolitan Police Records, P.R.O. Mepol 2/203, entry for 30 Dec. 1891.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Part 1 : Primary Source Material

Government, Non-Parliamentary Printed Papers.

Government, Parliamentary Printed Papers.

Government, Unprinted Records.

Journal Articles.

Miscellaneous.

Non-Government Printed Material.

Non-Government Unprinted Material

Printed Books.

Part 2 : Secondary Sources

Articles and Pamphlets of Recent Publication.

Government, Non-Parliamentary Printed Papers.

Printed Books of Recent Publication.

Theses.

Primary Source Material : Government Non-

Parliamentary Printed Papers

- E. Cresy, Report to the General Board of Health on a Preliminary Inquiry into the Sanitary Condition of the Town of Brighton (1849).
- W. Lee, Superintending Inspector's Report on a Preliminary Inquiry into the Sewerage, Drainage and Supply of Water and the Sanitary Condition of the Inhabitants of the Borough of Bedford (1855).
- W. Lee, Report to the General Board of Health on a Preliminary Inquiry into the Sewerage, Drainage and Supply of Water, and the Sanitary Condition of the Inhabitants of Rotherham and Kimberworth (1851).
- W. Lee, Report to the General Board of Health on a Preliminary Inquiry into the Sanitary Condition of the District of Surbiton (1854).
- T.W. Rammell, Report on a Preliminary Inquiry into the Sewerage, Drainage and Supply of Water and the Sanitary Condition of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Aberdare (1853).
- T.W. Rammell, Report on a Preliminary Inquiry into the Sewerage, Drainage and Supply of Water and the Sanitary Condition of the Inhabitants of the Borough and Parish of Banbury and Township of Neithrop (1850).
- W. Ranger, Report to the General Board of Health on a Preliminary Inquiry into the Sanitary Condition of the Township of Barnard Castle (1850).
- W. Ranger, Report to the General Board of Health on a Preliminary Inquiry into the Sanitary Condition of the Parish of Cheshunt (1849).

Primary Source Material : Government Non-

Parliamentary Printed Papers

- W. Ranger, Report to the General Board of Health on a Preliminary Inquiry into the Sanitary Condition of the Borough of Doncaster (1850).
- W. Ranger, Report to the General Board of Health on a Preliminary Inquiry into the Sanitary Condition of the Borough of Shrewsbury (1854).
- R. Rawlinson, Report on a Preliminary Inquiry into the Sewerage, Drainage and Supply of Water and the Sanitary Condition of the Inhabitants of the Town of Whitehaven (1849).

Primary Source Material : Printed

Parliamentary Papers

Board of Trade Memoranda, Statistical Tables and Charts with Reference to Various Matters Bearing on British and Foreign Trade and Industrial Conditions P.P. 1903, LXVII.

Board of Trade Report on Working-Class Rents, Housing and Retail Prices in the Principal Industrial Towns of the U.K. P.P. 1908, CVII.

Census Reports 1801-1911 inclusive.

Continuation of Board of Trade Memoranda, Statistical Tables and Charts on Various Matters Bearing upon British and Foreign Trade and Industrial Conditions P.P. 1909, CII.

Copies of Papers Received by the General Board of Health, Exhibiting the Operation of the Common Lodging Houses Act P.P. 1852-3, LXXVIII.

'Dwellings for the Poor Characterized by Cheapness Combined with the Conditions Necessary for Health', Reports on the Paris Universal Exhibition by the Executive Commissioner P.P. 1867-8, Sess. III, XXX, Part II.

First Report of the S.C. on Rating of Tenements P.P. 1837-8, XXI.

G. Glover, Common and Model Lodging-Houses, Metropolis (Epidemic of Cholera 1854) P.P. 1854-5, XLV.

Grainger, Report on Model Lodging-Houses P.P. 1851, XXIII.

House of Lords Journal II.G.4 and I.W.4.

'Housing of the Poor in Towns', Appendix 2 of 8th Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health to the Privy Council P.P. 1866, XXXIII.

'Inquiry on the State of the Dwellings of Rural Labourers', Appendix 6 of the 7th Report of the Medical Officer of Health to the Privy Council on the State of Public Health P.P. 1865, XXVI.

Local Reports on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of England H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVII.

Memorial on Conditions of Dwellings from Royal College of Physicians to First Lord of the Treasury P.P. 1874, LII.

Primary Source Material : Printed

Parliamentary Papers

Memorial on Improvement of Dwellings to the Home Department from Council of Charity Organisation Society, and from Committee of Members of Parliament and of Representatives of Societies and Others P.P. 1874, LII.

Papers Regarding the Sanitary State of the People of England P.P. 1857-8, XXIII.

Report and Tabulation of Statements Regarding Work and Labourers Dwellings in London Made by Men Living in Certain Selected Districts of London in March 1887 P.P. 1887, LXXI.

Report by Commissioners to the General Board of Health on the Warming and Ventilation of Dwellings P.P. 1857, Sess. 2, XLI.

Report Made to the Home Secretary by Assistant Commissioner of Police upon the Operation of the Common Lodging-Houses Act P.P. 1852-3, LXXVIII.

Report of an Enquiry by the Board of Trade into Working-Class Rents, Prices and Wages in Industrial Towns, 1912 P.P. 1913, LXVI.

Report of Dr Arthur Farre and Mr Grainger to the General Board of Health on 38 Metropolitan Workhouses on 26 March 1849 P.P. 1850, XXI.

Report of the Commissioners on Hand Loom Weavers P.P. 1841, X.

Report of the R.C. on the Housing of the Working Classes P.P. 1884-5, XXX and Vol. II P.P. 1884-5, XXXI.

Report of the R.C. on the Late Outbreak of Cholera in the Towns of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Gateshead and Tynemouth P.P. 1854, XXXV.

Report of the R.C. on London Traffic P.P. 1906, XL.

Report of the R.C. on the Poor Laws and the Relief of Distress Vol. 1 (Cd. 4499) (1909).

Report of the S.C. Appointed to Inquire into the Present State of Agriculture and Persons Employed in the Same P.P. 1833, V.

Report of the S.C. on Friendly and Benefit Building Societies P.P. 1871, XXV.

Report of the S.C. on the Metropolitan Buildings and Management Bill P.P. 1874, X.

Report of the S.C. on Savings Banks P.P. 1850, XIX.

Primary Source Material : Printed

Parliamentary Papers

Report of the S.C. on Town Holdings P.P. 1886, XII.

Report of the S.C. on Town Holdings P.P. 1887, XIII.

Report of the S.C. on Town Holdings P.P. 1888, XXII.

Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain H. of L.S.P. 1842, XXVI.

Report to H.M. Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, by the Assistant Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, upon the Operation of the Common Lodging Houses Acts, within the Metropolitan Police District P.P. 1857, Sess. 2, XVI.

Report to the General Board of Health of the Working of the Common Lodging-Houses Act P.P. 1857, Sess. 2, XLI.

Report to Local Government Board on Back-to-Back Housing P.P. 1910, XXXVIII.

Reports of Assistant Commissioners on Hand Loom Weavers P.P. 1840, XXIII.

Returns of Local Authorities in England and Wales who Carried Out Improvement and Reconstruction Schemes Under the Housing of the Working-Classes Act 1890 P.P. 1900, LXXIII.

Second Series of Board of Trade Memoranda, Statistical Tables, and Charts with Reference to Various Matters Bearing Upon British and Foreign Trade and Industrial Conditions P.P. 1905, LXXXIV.

S.C. on the Health of Towns H. of L.S.P 1840, XXVIII.

S.C. on the Housing of the Working Classes Act Amendment Bill P.P. 1906, IX.

S.C. on Manufactures, Commerce and Shipping P.P. 1833, VI.

S.C. on Metropolis Management and Building Acts Amendment Bill P.P. 1878, XVI.

Statistical Memoranda and Charts Prepared in the Local Government Board Relating to Public Health and Social Conditions (Cd. 4671).

Supplemental Report Made to the Home Secretary by Assistant Commissioner of Police upon the Operation of the Common Lodging Houses Acts P.P. 1854, XXXV.

The R.C. on Labour, Assistant Commissioner's Reports on Agricultural Labourers Vol. 1 England P.P. 1893-4, XXXV; Vol. V XXXVII, Pt. II.

Primary Source Material : Government Unprinted Records

Evidence to the H. of L.S.C. on the City and North-East
Suburban Electric Railway Bill (1902).

General Board of Health Correspondence Files P.R.O. M H
13.

General Board of Health Minute Books P.R.O. M H 5; and
Rough Minute Books P.R.O. M H 6.

Ministry of Housing and Local Government Records P.R.O.
H L G 1.

Census Enumerator's Returns for Gaydon Warwickshire, 1841
P.R.O. R G 10/3218.

Primary Source Material : Journal Articles

- H. Baker, 'On the Growth of the Commercial Centre of Manchester', Transactions of the Manchester Statistical Society (1871-2).
- W.E. Bear, 'The Farm Labourers of England and Wales', Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society Vol. XXIX (1893).
- Duke of Bedford, 'On Labourer's Cottages', Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society Vol. 10 (1849).
-
- Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine Vol. XV (March 1824).
- C. Cadle, 'The Agriculture of Worcester', Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society Vol. III (1867).
- F. Clifford, 'The Labour Bill in Farming', Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society Vol. XI (1875).
- Rev. Copinger-Hill, 'On the Construction of Cottages', Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society Vol. 4 (1843).
- R.A. Cross, 'Houses of the Poor in London', The Nineteenth Century Vol. 12 (July-Dec. 1882).
- J. Dennis, 'Our Rural Poor', The Fortnightly Review Vol. 1 (1865).
- A. Dudley Clarke, 'Cottages for Rural Labourers', Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society Vol. XL (1904).
-
- Gentleman's Magazine Vol. 45 (Feb. 1856). (An obituary of T. Cubitt.)
- J. Grey, 'A View of the Past and Present State of Agriculture in Northumberland', Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society Vol 2. (1841).
- J. Grey, 'On the Building of Cottages for Farm Labourers', Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society Vol. 6 (1845).
- O. Hill, 'Cottage Property in London', Fortnightly Review Vol. 6 (1866).

Primary Source Material : Journal Articles

- G. Hunt, 'On Concrete as a Building Material for Farm Buildings and Cottages', Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society Vol. X (1874).
- H.M. Jenkins, 'Farm Reports, Aylesbury, Riby, and Rothwell Farms, near Grimsby, Lincolnshire, in the occupation of Mr William Torr', Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society Vol. V (1869).
- H.J. Little, 'The Agricultural Labourer', Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society, Vol. XIV (1878).
- W.C. Little, 'Report on the Farm Prize Competition in Northumberland and Durham in 1887', Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society Vol. XXIII (1887).
- A. Marshall, 'The Housing of the London Poor : Where to House Them', Contemporary Review Vol. XLV (1884).
- H. McLean-Wilson, 'Cottage Sanitation', Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society Vol. XXVIII (1892).
- M.M. Milburn, 'On the Farming of the North Riding of Yorks.', Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society Vol. 9 (1848).
- M.G. Mulhall, 'The Housing of the London Poor : Ways and Means', Contemporary Review Vol. XLV (1884).
- G. Murray, 'On the Farming of Huntingdon', Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society Vol. IV (1868).
- R.H.I. Palgrave, 'On the House Accommodation of England and Wales, With Reference to the Census of 1871', Journal of the Statistical Society of London Vol. 32 (1869).
- F. Peek and E.T. Hall, 'The Unhealthiness of Cities', Contemporary Review Vol. LXI (Feb. 1892).
-
- 'Bricks and Brickmaking', The Penny Magazine of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge Vol. 12 (1843).

Primary Source Material : Journal Articles

-
.....
'Cottage — Thatching', The Penny Magazine of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge Vol. 9 (1840).
-
.....
'On the Choice of a Labouring Man's Dwelling', The Penny Magazine of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge Vol. 1 (1832).
- C.S. Read, 'Recent Improvements in Norfolk Farming', Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society Vol. 19 (1858).
- C.S. Read, 'Report on the Farming of Bucks.', Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society Vol. 17 (1856).
- C.S. Read, 'The Disposal of Sewage by Small Towns and Villages', Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society Vol. XXVI (1890).
- L.H. Ruegg, 'On the Farming of Dorsetshire', Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society Vol. 16 (1855).
- E.P. Squarey, 'Farm Capital', Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society Vol. XIV (1878).
- H. Tanner, 'The Agriculture of Shropshire', Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society Vol. 19 (1858).
- H. Tanner, 'The Farming of Devonshire', Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society Vol. 9 (1848).
- T.A. Welton, 'On the Distribution of the Population in England and its Progress in the Period of Ninety Years from 1801-1901', Journal of the Royal Statistical Society Vol. LXIII (1900).
- J. Wilkinson, 'The Farming of Hampshire', Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society Vol. 22 (1861).
- C. Winkworth Allen, 'The Housing of the Agricultural Labourer', Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society Vol. L (1914).

Primary Source Material : Miscellaneous

Advertisement for Auction of Collieries near Blyth and Wallsend all with cottages attached. Sale Catalogue, Auction 20 July 1858, Essex R.O. D/DU 56/4.

J. Bird, 'Notes from Walthamstow Vestry Minutes and Other Papers' (c. 1905), Essex R.O. T/P 75.

Collection of Sale Particulars : Essex R.O. D/DU 56/4.

C. Gatliff, Text with map (of London showing) The Locality of the Several Blocks of Improved Dwellings Belonging to ... Different Agencies etc. (1875), B.M. Maps 30.a.29.

S. Hall, A Guide Through London and the Surrounding Villages (1821), B.M. Maps 15 and 17.

Ordnance Survey, Map of London and its Environs (Southampton, 1896-7), Scale 1:2,500, Sheet LIX.

Primary Source Material : Non-Government

Printed Material

Bermondsey Vestry Reports.

The Builder.

The Building News.

Clerkenwell Weekly News and Chronicle.

The Daily News.

Household Words.

Illustrated London News.

Reports of Bethnal Green Vestry.

Reports of Hammersmith Vestry.

Reports of Poplar Board of Works.

Reports of St Giles Board of Works.

Primary Source Material : Non-Government

Unprinted Sources

Anon., Life Story of Sir Edward Banks 1770-1835, Contractor. Typescript.
(Purley Reference Library, undated.)

Cover and Lawrence Inventory of Stock-in-Trade, Book Debts, etc., taken 14 May 1823. Guildhall Manuscript, 7,379.

Davis Papers, No. 561 Part 2 Kent A.O.

Journals of Messrs White and Sons, Auctioneers and Estate Agents. Surrey R.O.

Metropolitan Police Records P.R.O. Mepol 2/203.

Minute Book of the Wimbledon Cottage Improvement Society Ltd. Surrey R.O. Acc. 528.

Surbiton Improvement Commissioners' Minute Book. Surrey R.O. SB/1.

Primary Source Material : Printed Books

(published before 1920)

- H. Aronson, Our Village Homes (1913).
- J. Begg, Happy Homes for Working Men (1866).
- J. Bennett, The Artificers Complete Lexicon for Terms and Prices (1833).
- C. Booth, Life and Labour in London (1902).
- A.L. Bowley and A.R.B. Burnett-Hurst, Livelihood and Poverty (1915).
- E. Bowmaker, The Housing of the Working Classes (1895).
- H. Cubitt, Building in London (1911).
- G.A. Dean, Essays on the Construction of Farm Buildings and Labourers' Cottages (1849).
- W. Eassie, Healthy Houses, Handbook to the Historical Objects and Remedies of Drainage, Ventilation, Warming and Kindred Subjects (1872).
- J. Gandy, Designs for Cottages, Cottage Farms and Other Rural Buildings (1805).
- G. Haw, No Room to Live (1899).
- G. Haw, Britain's Homes (1902).
- A. Hayden, Chats on Cottage and Farmhouse Furniture (1912).
- F.G. Heath, British Rural Life and Labour (1911).
- M. Higgs and E. Hayward, Where Shall She Live? (1910).
- F.W. Hirst ed., Porter's The Progress of the Nation (1912).
- E. Howard, Garden Cities of Tomorrow (1902).
- London County Council, The Housing Question in London (c. 1900).
- T.R. Marr, Housing Conditions in Manchester and Salford (1904).

Primary Source Material : Printed Books

(published before 1920)

- A. Morrison, A Child of the Jago (1896).
- J.S. Nettlefold, Practical Housing (Letchworth, 1908).
- P. Nicholson, New Practical Builder (1823).
- R.F.D. Palgrave, A Handbook to Reigate and the Adjoining
Parishes of Galton, Merstham, Chipstead,
Betchworth and Leigh (1860).
- T. Pridgin-Teale, Dangers to Health, A Pictorial Guide to
Sanitary Defects (2nd ed. 1879).
- G.R. Porter, The Progress of the Nation (2nd ed.
1851).
- B.W. Rowntree and
M. Kendall, How The Labourer Lives (undated, c.
1913).
- B.S. Rowntree, Poverty, a Study of Town Life (1901).
- W.G. Savage, Rural Housing (1915).
- R.A. Slaney, A Plea to Power and Parliament for the
Working Classes (1847).
- W. Thompson, Housing of the Working Classes (undated,
c. 1900).
- R. Usher, Essays on the Dwellings of the Poor and
Other Subjects (1877).
- Victoria County History of Lancaster Vol. II (1908).

Secondary Source Material : Articles and Pamphlets
of Recent Publication

- R.L. Basman, 'The Role of the Historian in Predictive Testing of Proffered "Economic Laws"', Explorations in Entrepreneurial History 2nd Ser. Vol. 2 No. 3 (1965).
- M.J. Beckman, 'On the Distribution of Urban Rent and Residential Density', Journal of Economic Theory Vol. 1 (1969).
- J.L. Berbiers, 'The Victorian Working-Class Homes of Halifax', Municipal Review Vol. 39 (Jan. 1968).
- M. Bowley, 'The Housing Statistics of Great Britain', Journal of the Royal Statistical Society Vol. 113, Ser. A (1950).
- G.P. Braae, 'Investment in Housing in the United Kingdom 1924-38', Manchester School of Economic and Social Studies Vol. XXXII (1964).
- Central Office of Information, Economic Progress Report (27 May 1972).
- E.W. Cooney, 'The Origins of the Master Builder', Economic History Review 2nd Ser. Vol. 8 (1955-6).
- H.J. Dyos, 'Railways and Housing in Victorian London', Journal of Transport History Vol. II (1955).
- H.J. Dyos, 'Slums of Victorian London', Victorian Studies Vol. XI (1967).
- H.J. Dyos, 'Some Social Costs of Railway Building in London', Journal of Transport History Vol. II (1954).
- R.H. Ellis, 'Modelling of Household Location : A Statistical Approach', Highway Research Record (1967), No. 207.
- B.A. Holderness, '"Open" and "Closed" Parishes in England, in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', Agricultural History Review Vol. 20 (1972).
- E.L. Jones, 'The Agricultural Labour Market in England 1793-1872', Economic History Review 2nd Ser. Vol. 17 (1964-5).

Secondary Source Material : Articles and Pamphlets
of Recent Publication

- B. Keith-Lucas, 'Some Influences Affecting the Development of Sanitary Legislation in England', Economic History Review Vol. VI No. 3 (1935-6).
- R. Lawton, 'Population Changes in England and Wales in the Later 19th Century : An Analysis of Trends by Registration Districts', Transactions of Institute of British Geographers No. 44 (1968).
- D.K. Maiwald, 'An Index of Building Costs in the U.K., 1845-1938', Economic History Review 2nd Ser. Vol. 7 (1954-5).
- A. Montesano, 'A Re-Statement of Beckmann's Model on the Distribution of Rent and Residential Density', Journal of Economic Theory Vol. 4 (1972).
- W.G. Rimmer, 'Working Men's Cottages in Leeds 1770-1840', Thoresby Society Publications Vol. XLVI, Pt 2; No. 108.
- R. Rodale, 'Goodbye to the Flush Toilet', Compost Science : Journal of Waste Recycling Vol. 12 No. 6 (Nov.-Dec. 1971).
- S.B. Saul, 'Housebuilding in England 1890-1914' Economic History Review 2nd Ser. Vol. 15 (1962).
- H.A. Shannon, 'Migration and the Growth of London 1841-91. A Statistical Note', Economic History Review Vol. V (1934-5).
- R. Shannon, 'Bricks, a Trade Index 1785-1849', Economica Vol. 1 New Ser. (1934).
- J.A. Shepherd, 'East Yorkshire Agricultural Labour Force', Agricultural History Review Vol. IX (1961).
- H.W. Singer, 'An Index of Urban Land Rents and House Rents in England and Wales 1845-1913', Econometrica Vol. IX (1941).
- M.A. Stegman, 'Accessibility Models and Residential Location', Journal of American Institute of Planners Vol. 35 (1969).

Secondary Source Material : Articles and Pamphlets
of Recent Publication

- J.N. Tarn, 'The Housing Problem a Century Ago',
Urban Studies Vol. 5 No. 3 (Nov. 1968).
- M.E. Weaver, 'Industrial Housing in West Cornwall',
Industrial Archaeology Vol. 3 No. 1
(1966).
- B. Weber, 'A New Index of Residential Construc-
tion 1838-1950', Scottish Journal of
Political Economy Vol. 2 (1955).

Secondary Source Material : Government,

Non-Parliamentary, Printed Papers

Ministry of Health, Private Enterprise Housing (1947),

Ministry of Health, Report of Sub-Committee of the Central Housing Advisory Committee (1944).

Ministry of Housing & Local Government, Homes for Today and Tomorrow (1961).

Ministry of Housing & Local Government, Report of the Inquiry into the Collapse of Flats at Ronan Point, Canning Town (1968).

Ministry of Town Planning, Outline Plan for Merseyside 1944 (1945).

Ministry of Works, The Welsh Slate Industry (1947).

Secondary Source Material : Printed Books

(published since 1920)

- M. Anderson, Family Structure in Nineteenth-Century Lancashire (1971).
- W. Ashworth, The Genesis of Modern British Town Planning (1954).
- T.C. Barker and M. Robbins, A History of London Transport Vol. 1 (1963).
- T.C. Barker, Pilkington Brothers and the Glass Industry (1960).
- H. Barnes, Housing (1923).
- Sir H. Bellman, Bricks and Mortals (1949).
- A. Block, Estimating Housing Needs (1946).
- A. Bowley and R.G.D. Allen, Family Expenditure (1935).
- M. Bowley, The British Building Industry (1966).
- M. Bowley, Housing and the State (1945).
- M. Bowley, Innovations in Building Materials (1960).
- J. Burnett, Plenty and Want (1968).
- A.K. Cairncross, Home and Foreign Investment 1870-1913 (Cambridge, 1953).
- W.H. Chaloner, The Social and Economic Development of Crewe 1780-1923 (Manchester, 1950).
- S.D. Chapman, The Early Factory Masters (Newton Abbot, 1967).
- S.D. Chapman, ed. The History of Working Class Housing (Newton Abbot, 1971).
- J.S. Childers, Robert McAlpine (Oxford, Private Circulation, 1925).
- J.H. Clapham, An Economic History of Modern Britain Vol. 1 The Early Railway Age (1964).
- N. Davey, A History of Building Materials (1961).
- H.J. Dyos, Victorian Suburb : A Study of the Growth of Camberwell (Leicester, 1961).

Secondary Source Material : Printed Books

(published since 1920)

- S.E. Finer, The Life and Times of Edward Chadwick (1952).
- M.W. Flinn, ed. Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain, 1842 (Edinburgh, 1956).
- C. Freeman, The Economics of Industrial Innovation (1974).
- G.E. Fussell, The English Rural Labourer - His Home, Furniture, Clothing, and Food. Tudor to Victorian Times (1949).
- L.P. Gartner, The Jewish Immigrant in England 1870-1914 (1960).
- E. Gauldie, Cruel Habitations (1974).
- C. Gill, History of Birmingham Vol. 1 Manor and Borough to 1865 (1952).
- J.F.C. Harrison, The Early Victorians 1832-1851 (1971).
- F.A. Hayek, ed. Capitalism and the Historians (1954).
- R.F. Henderson,
A. Harcourt and
R.J.A. Harper, People in Poverty : A Melbourne Survey (Melbourne, 1970).
- G. Higgin and
N. Jessop, Communications in the Building Industry (1965).
- O.R. Hobson, A Hundred Years of the Halifax (1953).
- _____ The Index to Local and Personal Acts 1801-1947 (1947).
- A.A. Jackson, Semi-Detached London (1973).
- G.T. Jones, Increasing Return (1933).
- J.R. Kellett, The Impact of Railways Upon Victorian Cities (1969).
- R. Lambert, Sir John Simon 1816-1904, and English Social Administration (1963).
- A. Marshall, Principles of Economics 8th ed. (1920).
- R.C.O. Matthews, The Trade Cycle (Cambridge, 1959).
- R.K. Middlemass, The Master Builders (1963).
- B.R. Mitchell and
P. Deane, Abstract of British Historical Statistics (1962).
- L. Needleman, The Economics of Housing (1965).

Secondary Source Material : Printed Books

(published since 1920)

- | | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| A.A. Nevitt, ed. | <u>The Economic Problems of Housing</u> (1967). |
| J.D. Owen, | <u>The Price of Leisure</u> (Rotterdam, 1969). |
| J. Parry Lewis, | <u>Building Cycles and Britain's Growth</u>
(1965). |
| S. Pollard, | <u>History of Labour in Sheffield</u> (1959). |
| S.J. Price, | <u>Building Societies, Their Origin and</u>
<u>History</u> (1958). |
| A. Redford, | <u>Labour Migration in England 1800-1850</u>
2nd ed. edited and revised by W.H.
Chaloner, (1964). |
| D. Reeves, | <u>Furniture, An Explanatory History</u> , 2nd
ed. (1959). |
| M.G. Reid, | <u>Housing and Income</u> (1962). |
| H.W. Richardson, | <u>Urban Economics</u> (1971). |
| R. Roberts, | <u>The Classic Slum</u> (Manchester, 1971). |
| W.W. Rostow, | <u>British Economy of the 19th Century</u> ,
(1948). |
| J. Saville, | <u>Rural Depopulation in England and Wales</u>
<u>1851-1951</u> (1957). |
| L. Schnore, | <u>The Urban Scene</u> (1965). |
| B.C.G. Shore, | <u>Stones of Britain</u> (1957). |
| W.F. Smith, | <u>Housing</u> (1970). |
| R.W. Steel and
R. Lawton, eds. | <u>Liverpool Essays in Geography</u> (1967). |
| A. Sutcliffe, ed. | <u>Multi-Storey Living</u> (1974). |
| R.W. Symonds and
B.B. Whineray, | <u>Victorian Furniture</u> (1962). |
| J.N. Tarn, | <u>Working Class Housing in Nineteenth Cen-</u>
<u>tury Britain</u> Architectural Association
Paper Number 7 (1971). |
| Brinley Thomas, | <u>Migration and Urban Development</u> (1972). |
| J.A. Williams, | <u>Building and Builders</u> (1968). |

Secondary Source Material : Theses

- G.P. Braae, Fluctuations in Investment in Housing in Britain and America (Between the Wars) 1919-39 (Oxford University, D. Phil. thesis, 1960).
- M. Daunton, Aspects of the Social and Economic Structure of Cardiff 1870-1914 (University of Kent at Canterbury Ph.D. thesis, 1974).
- H.J. Dyos, The Suburban Development of Greater London South of the Thames 1836-1914 (London University Ph.D. thesis, 1952).
- D.A. Reeder, Capital Investment in the Western Suburbs of Victorian London (University of Leicester Ph.D. thesis, 1965).
- W. Vere-Hole, The Housing of the Working-Classes in Britain 1850-1914 (University of London Ph.D. thesis, 1965).
- V. Zoond, Housing Legislation in England 1851-67 with Special Reference to London (University of London M.A. thesis, 1931-2).

