

X 5040^c
FABIAN TRACTS, No. 5.

Facts for Socialists

FROM THE POLITICAL ECONOMISTS AND STATISTICIANS.

PUBLISHED BY
THE FABIAN SOCIETY.

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

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

SECOND EDITION.

TENTH THOUSAND.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

To be obtained of the Secretary, 180 Portsdown Road, W.; of the Free-thought Publishing Company, 63 Fleet Street, E.C.; and of W. Reeves, 185 Fleet Street, E.C.



Fabian Society.

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

Executive Committee (1888-9).

ANNIE BESANT, 19 Avenue Road, N.W.
HUBERT BLAND (*Treasurer*), Bowater Crescent, Woolwich.
WILLIAM CLARKE, National Liberal Club, S.W.
SYDNEY OLIVIER (*General Secretary*), 180 Portdown Road, W.
G. BERNARD SHAW, 29 Fitzroy Square, W.C.
GRAHAM WALLAS (*Political Secretary*), 62 Cheyne Walk, Chelsea.
SIDNEY WEBB (*Lecture Secretary*), 27 Keppel Street, W.C.
ALICE M. HOATSON (*Assistant Secretary*), 8 Dorville Road, Lee, S.E.

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

OTHER PUBLICATIONS.—Of the series of "FABIAN TRACTS" the undermentioned are still in print, and may be obtained from the addresses mentioned on the preceding page:—

No. 1. WHY ARE THE MANY POOR?	3d. per dozen.
.. 6. THE TRUE RADICAL PROGRAMME	1d. each; 9d. " "
.. 7. CAPITAL AND LAND	1d. " 9d. " "

The LECTURE LIST, containing the names of thirty-three members of the Society willing to deliver lectures on subjects connected with Socialism, can be obtained free on application to the Lecture Secretary, SIDNEY WEBB, 27 Keppel Street, W.C.

ited Kingdom - Economic conditions.

FACTS FOR SOCIALISTS

FROM THE

POLITICAL ECONOMISTS AND STATISTICIANS.

I.—THE NATION'S INCOME.

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


Sir Louis Mallet, K.C.S.I. (India Office), 1883—4, "National Income and Taxation" (Cobden Club), p. 23	£	
Professor Leone Levi (King's College, London), <i>Times</i> , January 13th, 1885	1,289,000,000	he
Mr. R. Giffen (Board of Trade), "Essays in Finance", vol. ii., pp. 460, 472 (February, 1886)	1,274,000,000	no
Mr. Mulhall, 1883, "Dictionary of Statistics", p. 245	1,270,000,000	ly
Professor A. Marshall (Cambridge University), "Report of Industrial Remuneration Conference", p. 194 (January, 1885), "upwards of"	1,247,000,000	on
	1,125,000,000	s'

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

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

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

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

P.  £1,250,000,000.

II.—WHO PRODUCES IT.

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

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

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

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

III.—WHO THE WORKERS ARE.

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

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Industrial	5,899,720	2,097,809	7,997,529
Agricultural	2,435,569	215,108	2,650,677
Commercial	1,158,155	26,344	1,184,499
Domestic	317,868	2,088,668	2,406,536
Professional	652,943	288,919	941,862
	10,464,255	4,716,848	15,181,103
Unoccupied, under 20 ..	6,101,230	6,611,213	12,712,443
Unoccupied, over 20 ..	407,169	6,584,133 ¹	6,991,302
	16,972,654	17,912,194	34,884,848

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

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

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

It is clear that the labor of the workers is much increased by the presence among them of so large a proportion of persons who take no useful part in the business of life. The possible reduction of the daily hours of work has, however, been much exaggerated. Thus Mr. William Hoyle, writing in 1871, commits himself to the assertion that, "assuming every person did their share, a total of $1\frac{1}{4}$ hours' daily labor would suffice to supply us in abundance with all the comforts of life" ("Our National Resources," p. 56). It appears from the context that his calculation refers to a community composed exclusively of actual workers in the production of material necessities, whereas in ordinary human societies about half the population is under the age of twenty, and more than half the adults are women doing domestic duties. The $1\frac{1}{4}$ hours daily have, therefore, at once to be multiplied fourfold, and account is even then taken only of food, clothing, houses, and furniture. The whole calculation is indeed of little value, and has never been accepted by other authorities.

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

IV.—HOW THE IDLE RICH LIVE.

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

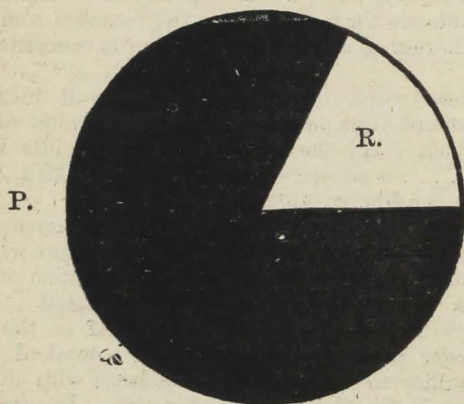
They live, in the main, upon the portions of the national product which are called rent and interest, caused by the legal “guarantee to them of the fruits of the labor and abstinence of others, transmitted to them without any merit or exertion of their own” (J. S. Mill, “Political Economy”, Popular Edition,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

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

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

V.—THE RENT OF LAND.

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



P.—Total produce £1,250,000,000.

R.—Rent £200,000,000.

VI.—THE INTEREST ON CAPITAL.

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

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

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

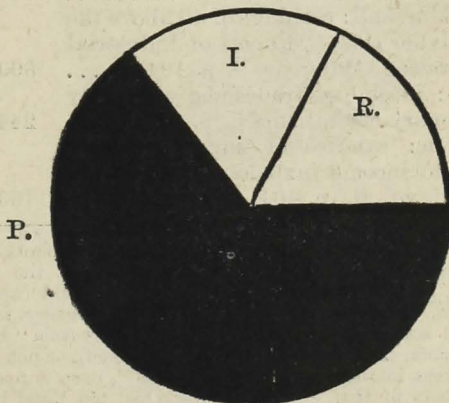
assessed to income tax in the United Kingdom in 1886-7 amounted to £115,779,697. The interest payable from public funds was, in addition, £43,847,528 ("Report of Commissioners of Inland Revenue", 1888, C-5541).

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

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

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

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



P.—Total product £1,250,000,000.

R.—Rent £200,000,000.

I.—Interest £250,000,000.

VII.—PROFITS AND SALARIES.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

VIII.—THE CLASSES AND THE MASSES.

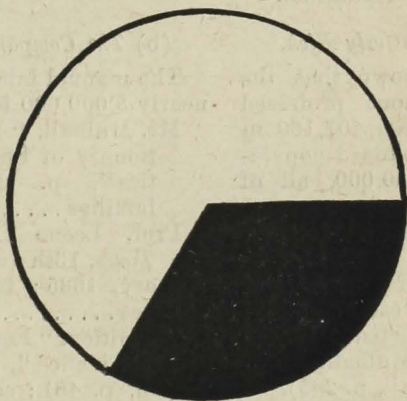
The total drawn by the legal disposers of what are sometimes called the "three rents" (on land, capital, and ability), amounts therefore to about eight hundred million pounds sterling yearly, or nearly two-thirds of the total produce.

	£
Mr. Giffen, "Essays in Finance", vol. ii., p. 467	720,000,000
Mr. Mulhall, "Dictionary of Statistics", p. 246	818,000,000
Professor Leone Levi (King's College, London), <i>Times</i> , 13th January, 1885.....	753,000,000
Professor Alfred Marshall (Cambridge), "Report of Industrial Remuneration Conference, p. 194	675,000,000

The manual labor class receives, on the other hand, for all its millions of workers, only four to five hundred millions sterling.

	£
Mr. Giffen, "Essays in Finance", vol. ii., p. 467	550,000,000
Mr. Mulhall, "Dictionary of Statistics", p. 246	447,000,000
Mr. J. S. Jeans, "Statistical Society's Journal", vol. xlvii., p. 631.....	600,000,000
Prof. Leone Levi (as above)	521,000,000
Prof. A. Marshall (as above).....	500,000,000 ¹

P.



W.

P.—Total produce	£1,250,000,000
W.—Income of manual labor class	450,000,000

Income of the legal proprietors of the three natural monopolies of land, capital, and ability	£800,000,000 ²
---	---------------------------

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

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

IX.—THE TWO NATIONS.

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

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

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

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

(a) *The Comparatively Rich.*

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

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

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

(b) *The Comparatively Poor.*

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

Mr. Mulhall, "Dictionary of Statistics", p. 246; families 4,629,000

Prof. Leone Levi, *Times*, 13th January, 1885; families 5,600,000

Mr. Giffen, "Essays in Finance", vol. ii., p. 461; separate incomes 13,200,000

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

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

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

Facts for Socialists.

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

£320; average annual income of the comparatively rich (including non-workers), per adult male.

£70; average annual income of the poor, per adult male.

£1,665; average annual income, per adult male, of the gentry, about 222,000 families.

X.—THE CLASS WAR.

between the two classes there is perpetual strife. Disguise it as feudal benevolence, or the kindly attempts of philanthropic material interests of the small nation privileged to exact monopolies, and of the great nation, thereby driven to the remnant of the product, are permanently opposed. There is allotted to labor the less there will remain to be paid as rent" (Fawcett, "Manual of Political Economy",

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

The force by which this conflict of interests is maintained, without conscious contrivance of either party, is competition, diverted, like the natural monopolies are able, by means of legally licensed companies, to exact the full amount of their economic rents, and the political

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

Pol
en, a
ists,
ociat
r it e
such
idea
ritan.
Leon
rities
pres
or co
on
a
r
f
))
in I
re
7
iv.
Si.
ake

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

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

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

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

The incomes of £150 per annum and upwards are only 1½ millions in number out of 16½ millions of separate incomes (Giffen, "Essays in Finance", vol. ii., p. 467).

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

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

great towns live in large ment houses¹ (Giffen, "Essays in Finance", vol. ii., p. 348).

Nine hundred and thirty out of every 1,000 persons (half of whom are adults) die out property worth speaking and 961 out of every 1,000 out furniture, investment effects worth £300 (Mulhall, "Dictionary of Statistics"—Probate Duty Returns—p. 246).

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

Mr. J. S. Jeans, *Statistical Society's Journal*, vol. xlvii., p. 631, places the number at about 14,000,000

Mr. Giffen, "Essays in Finance", vol. ii., p. 461 (separate incomes of manual labor class) 13,200,000

Mr. Mulhall, "Dictionary of Statistics", p. 246 (separate families of manual labor class) 4,620,000

Prof. Leone Levi, *Times*, 13th Jan., 1885, number of workers in manual labor class in 1881 12,200,000

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

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

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

t
c
r
(d
es
m
ad
occ
188
tion
wh
der
t
fi
o
of
ti
of
N
by
of
ext
the
per
on l
ca
of
T
not to

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

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

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

XI.—SOME VICTIMS OF THE STRUGGLE.

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

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

The fate of these victims it is not easy to adequately describe. Actual starvation is returned as the cause of death in but a few cases annually, exclusive of infants, of whom about 120 so perish every year; but it is well-known that many thousands of deaths take place from long-continued under-feeding and exposure.

This working nations' and in some luc are toili which, c gance o these tw

It is industry
 "Sin existence there wou who was v could attai the revers to the lat ratio to i (John Stu We ha estimate materials

(a) Th

It has adult occupa 1881. tion of whom derived tion.

The field o only 18 of the tionary

The of the National by only of whom exten

the Uni 1 p. cen upon lib cost o

1 Th not to be

The infantile death-rate at Bethnal Green is twice that of Belgravia. born (151,835) and St. George's, Hanover Square (149,748), have ost equal populations; yet in the former 1,614, in the latter only 7 children under five died in 1884¹ ("Registrar-General's Report," pp. 32, 126, C-4,722).

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

(4,860 persons died by fatal accidents in 1886 ("Registrar- eral's Report", C-5,138, p. 106) 864 losing their lives in mines, on railways, 249 in working machinery, 54 by explosions, 95 by poisoning, and 142 by falls from scaffolding (pp. 180-181). se are the figures for England and Wales alone, and would much increased by including the accidents in Scotland and and.

he Board of Trade Report on "Railway Accidents" for the year 7, C-5,474, shows that 414 railway servants were killed and 1,966 ured by accidents on the lines, being 1 in 821 and 1 in 167 respec- ely, of the persons employed. The number of passengers killed the same period was 25, or 1 in 29,350,000 of travellers; 538, or 1 1,364,000 were injured.

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

ne great cause of the short and miserable lives of the poor is nsanitary condition of the slums in which many of them are elled to dwell. The strongest testimony to the evil effects of surroundings comes from the insurance companies. The in- al friendly societies have in each large town their "proscribed ts". The Liverpool Victoria Legal Friendly Society proscribes Liverpool alone, on account of the unhealthiness of their character, "streets wherein no members of the society may be entered" lar of 13th October, 1886). Yet these unhealthy streets are bad to be the only homes of thousands of the poorer citizens commercial centre.

log our public poor relief with irksome and degrading condi- so that the honest poor often die lingering deaths rather than

figures for a comparison of this kind are given in the Registrar-General's reports subsequent to 1884.

Facts for Socialists.

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

England and Wales, mean number, 1886-7,	796,036	cost £8,296,2
Scotland, 14th May, 1887,.....	92,071	,, 899,1
Ireland, average number, 1887,	124,130	,, 904,
	1,012,237	£10,090

(Report of Local Government Board for England and Wales, p. C-5131; Report of Board for Supervision of Poor, Scotland, p. 1 C-5118; p. 4 and 15 of Report of Local Government Board, Ireland C-5124).

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

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

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

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

