

Housing the Workers

Early London County Council Housing 1889-1914

**Martin Stilwell
August 2015**

Part 1

Setting the scene. London and it's housing before the LCC

1. Introduction

This paper is a successor to my 2006 dissertation on working class housing in Southwark for my MA in Local History from Kingston University.

Whilst studying for the paper I became aware of the quality of ex-London County Council (LCC) housing, much now owned by the local authority, and still looking a solid as when built. Southwark Council's old housing stock had been well looked after, and investigations into the ex-LCC housing in many other London boroughs showed that much of the old housing survived. Being born in west London in the early 1950s my memories of council housing were limited to three types: old housing estates with smallish but solid looking housing where the window frames always seemed to be painted dark green; popular and temporary prefabs; and modern ugly tower blocks that seemed to be going up everywhere. In the 1960s the term 'council housing' started to become a byword for poor housing, social deprivation and crime.

But if council housing was so poor why were these old large blocks still standing in inner London and with many looking as if the tenants were happy to live there? Investigating the old buildings showed that the design of many of the blocks and houses lent themselves well to refurbishments where individual tenements were combined to create larger modern flats, to use the modern term. Fundamental to the cost-effectiveness of refurbishment is the soundness of the original structure of the majority of the buildings, such as thick walls, quality materials and a basic good design. Most of the buildings that have not survived were either not built to the usual standard of the time and were probably unloved and therefore not so well maintained, or were simply in the way of larger housing developments or street improvements. A surprising number survived the blitz either untouched or with repairable damage.

This paper describes every LCC housing development before World War 1, and each one has an interesting story to tell.

The paper starts off by setting the problem into context. Part 1 describes what was it like to be working class in Victorian London?

Part 2 gives a description of the foundation of the LCC and its role in the various housing Acts of Parliament aimed at improving the lives of the working classes. Most Acts failed to achieve anything near the aims of the sponsor, but the 1890 Housing of the Working Classes Act at last brought order to the chaos. The reader is then lead into the basic designs of the LCC housing and why those designs came about, followed by a section on the unsung heroes of the LCC; the relatively unknown architects who desperately tried to develop quality housing that looked good, despite extremely tight cost constraints. No paper on LCC housing should ignore the financial environment in which the LCC operated. In the case of pre-WW1 housing the architects had to design buildings that were expected to make a profit over 60 or 80 years, with the only income being the rents. Some blocks were built with the knowledge that they would probably not make a profit, yet the Council had to build them because of the legal requirement to replace demolished working-class housing. As some of the clearances were due to public works, such as street improvement schemes, the Council's housing department were forced into constructing housing they would rather have not built. As a result, the Council were not always successful with their designs, and some schemes were financial disasters. The method of calculating the finances are described in layman's terms and this enables the reader to understand the reasons for success and failure in many of the schemes (the official term of the times, now generally replaced by "housing development").

Part 3 covers all the schemes are covered in detail with original photographs from the archives where they exist – and only a few schemes lack original photographs. Where the buildings still

stand attempts have been made to take photographs from the same angle. It is interesting to note that many buildings look just the same as they did 100 years ago, despite one or two refurbishment schemes, and this illustrates the quality and solidity of the buildings as designed.

Part 4, the final part, tries to answer the question of whether the Council's early schemes were a success or failure, with the benefit of hindsight. The analysis includes the legacy of the early schemes and their effect on inter-war social housing.

Did the Council succeed in its aims? Let the reader make their own mind up from the evidence we have.

The paper was made possible because the LCC was a passionate record keeper. Most of the minutes of every meeting have survived, most of the buildings plans survive, hundreds of photographs were taken, and many self-congratulatory papers were produced to show the world how good the Council believed they were; and they really did believe they were good, and with some justification. All surviving maps, plans and papers are available for viewing at London's main historical archive, the London Metropolitan Archives in Finsbury, and what a treasure for the researcher they are. I would also like to thank Richard Brown, ex-Southwark Council archivist, whose knowledge of housing and deep interest in local history was of considerable help to me. His detailed reading of the draft found all those typos and grammar mistakes that an author always seems to miss despite many readings.

A note on terminology: Throughout this publication the terms dwelling, tenement, block and cottage are used.

The term **dwelling** refers to any structure that is to house people. The dwelling can be a single-family structure, such as a cottage, or can but for multiple occupancy, invariably blocks. For the period this publication covers, the term "house" was used to indicate a large property with many rooms, and only applies to lodging houses.

The term **tenement** equates to the more modern term "flat" and is a rentable home for one family that has been specifically designed as such in a block dwelling.

The term **block** was used at the time to describe the multiple tenancy buildings, no more than 5 storeys high, built by developers, philanthropic organisations and local authorities. All of these were named "Buildings", such as in Darcy Buildings near Waterloo. Most of these blocks have since been renamed as "Houses".

The term **cottage** at the time referred to what today we would call a terraced or small semi-detached house. Many that are still standing are called "cottages" today as there is no better modern description.

2. Victorian London before the LCC

2.1. The industries

London in the late Victorian times was a large and vibrant city. It was rich and was (and many say still is) the financial capital of the world. It was also a major centre for manufacturing. Maybe not the ‘dark satanic mills’ of the Midlands and north of England, but with extensive factories. Areas of London also had their specialism. For example, the area south of the Thames from Wandsworth eastwards towards Bermondsey contained many engineering businesses. Southwark and Bermondsey were also home to many famous food companies with the raw materials coming into London via the wharfs along the south bank of the Thames. Further out to the south east of London, Deptford and Greenwich were old communities with well-established ship building concerns and docks, and were home to a number of unhealthy industries such as chemical works and town-gas production on the eastern marshy extremities. Crossing the Thames to the north, the dock trade was huge, but the eastern boundaries also had unhealthy industries such as the Gas Light and Coke Company’s Beckton works. The remains of the abandoned works were used in many films, TV series and videos. Travelling westwards back towards London, the ‘rag trade’ of Bethnal Green and Whitechapel had been established since the 1600s with the Huguenot weavers who came to England to escape persecution in France. This trade was continued and enhanced by Jewish immigrants from east Europe from the late 1800s. Continuing westwards, north of the City of London, Clerkenwell and Holborn contained many small businesses and was a major manufacturing centre. Nearby Hackney and northwards was a centre for furniture manufacture. The West End of London did not have this proliferation of industry but replaced it with white-collar commerce.

2.2. The People

All these commercial concerns needed the working classes to survive and grow. It should be said that without social security, pensions or workers’ rights the workers also needed the employers. The two came together in a big way in the 19th century making London a magnet for the working classes. Despite many warnings as regards the filth, overcrowding and unsympathetic employers and landlords, more and more people migrated to London from the country in search of a better life, or just the chance of a basic living wage.

These Victorian working classes of London often had to struggle just to make ends meet. Employment opportunities were good for those with a recognised trade or skill (these people were generally called artisans), but in this period of employer-power, with no pensions or social security, the need to be in regular employment was paramount.

2.3. The conditions

The transport infrastructure was starting to meet some of their needs with worker’s fares on early trains and trams, but the cost of fares over a six-day week would eat into the meagre earnings. These relatively high fares, and the early (and prompt) clock-on times that many employers demanded of their workers resulted in most workers wanting to live close to their place of employment. In this late Victorian period the major manufacturing centres were also the densest for housing with old, crowded and unhygienic housing stock much of which dated back to the early part of the 19th century. Most of this housing was originally built for single families but was now catering for multiple families, even within one room, without any improvement in sanitation. This all led to the one thing the Victorians all agreed on – chronic overcrowding.

The Victorians had a fixation on providing the working classes with healthy conditions in which to live, but with little means to improve the situation. In the mid-Victorian period the problems of the working classes was believed to be curable with plenty of air and light. If the

working classes could be moved from their crowded slums into airy accommodation which was close to open fields then it was believed the working classes would be fit and healthy (and be able to work harder to swell the coffers of the nation).

As the desired airy and spacious accommodation would inevitably be more expensive to build than crowded slums, only the most dedicated philanthropist was making any real effort to develop this housing. What was needed was legislation to enforce these better standards. The first step was to identify and control overcrowding, and to ensure that the sanitation of the housing was adequate. Sanitation became one of the great loves of the Victorian engineers. This followed the discovery by Dr John Snow of the source of the 1854 cholera outbreak as being the contaminated drinking water in a Soho public water pump, and the 'Great Stink' of 1858 when the smell of the raw sewerage in the Thames made Parliament abandon the House of Commons. To identify and control overcrowding the first step was an unusual one. The Nuisances Removal Act of 1855 identified 'overcrowding' as a nuisance and therefore reportable by the Medical Officers of Health just as they would for faulty sanitation or smoke ingress. This Act and subsequent amendments were the basis of the far-reaching Sanitary Act of 1866. Before that Act came into being an attempt was made to address overcrowding directly by the introduction of a Bill to be called the Crowded Dwellings Prevention Act, 1857. This never became an Act but was incorporated into the Common Lodging-houses Act to become the Amended Act of the same name in 1857. This Act controlled the capacity of Lodging Houses but did not include private housing. As a result, the 1866 Sanitary Act was used as a control and defined the nuisance called 'overcrowding' as "*Any house or part of a house so overcrowded as to be dangerous or prejudicial to the health of the inmates*"¹. Although the wording allowed much scope for interpretation, it was a start. Overcrowding was a constant problem in the cities and was never really eradicated. However, the authorities could impose restrictions on the number of people living in their own housing and the Metropolitan Board of Works (MBW), followed by the LCC, imposed restrictions on new housing built to house the working classes aided by well-meaning Acts to control the standards of the housing. The early Acts, described in Chapter 3, had limited success and the unsatisfactory situation for the working classes remained.

2.4. The improvements

This unsatisfactory situation was given the opportunity to be rectified in London by two events: In 1889 the London County Council was formed, and in 1890 the Housing of the Working Classes Act was passed by Parliament.

In the former, London gained a single authority with the foresight and political will to improve the lives of the Londoners, and in the latter the authorities in England were given the ability to construct houses themselves using low-interest treasury loans. The problem would therefore seem a simple one to solve: borrow at low-interest, build the homes you believe the working classes need, and manage the tenancies well. This simple formula had, of course, many problems and hidden elements, not least of which was the need to recover the cost of the building entirely from rents. As a result, the lowest rents the LCC could risk charging were often still a little above typical rents for the area, albeit for dwellings that were new, more spacious and built to a higher standard than the surrounding accommodation. To achieve even these rents the Council had to sometimes deliberately 'hide' some of the costs of construction and to manipulate the value of the new dwellings to enable them to balance the books. The hidden overheads were charged to the County rates as part of the LCC's Public Health charges. The LCC were not alone in doing this as Liverpool City Council also felt the need to hide their purchase and clearance costs. Prior to World War 1 this method of hiding the overheads was not exactly public knowledge but could be found by anyone examining the publicly-available

accounts. After WW1 this accounting method was more open but no one seemed to raise this as an issue as housing was desperately needed, at whatever cost.

Right up to World War 1 the problem of building affordable housing to the high standards the authorities believed were right, and at a cost that could be managed, was a conundrum that was never fully resolved, and the result was financial problems for the LCC and a gradual reduction in the building volumes. Neither was this dream of high quality housing for all workers in London always in line with the aims of the average unskilled worker. He simply wanted a roof over his head at the lowest possible rent.

Does this mean the LCC succeed in their housing aim? In the short term, the answer has to be a guarded 'no', but the legacy of the early years of the LCC can be seen in many excellent post-WW1 building programmes, particularly the Garden Estates, and there were many successes in building the housing the locals wanted and needed.

Before looking into the designs of the buildings, the various Acts of Parliament need analysing to see to what extent they succeeded, or failed, to help the authorities clear slums and build quality housing.

3. The Victorian and Edwardian Building Acts

The authority, whether the Parish, Vestry, District or Metropolitan Board of Works (MBW), had to follow the strict controls introduced by various housing Acts. The story of the various Acts is one of well-meaning ideals, but poorly defined, and with patchy execution by local authorities. They culminated in the *1890 Housing of the Working Classes Act* which addressed most of the faults in earlier Acts.

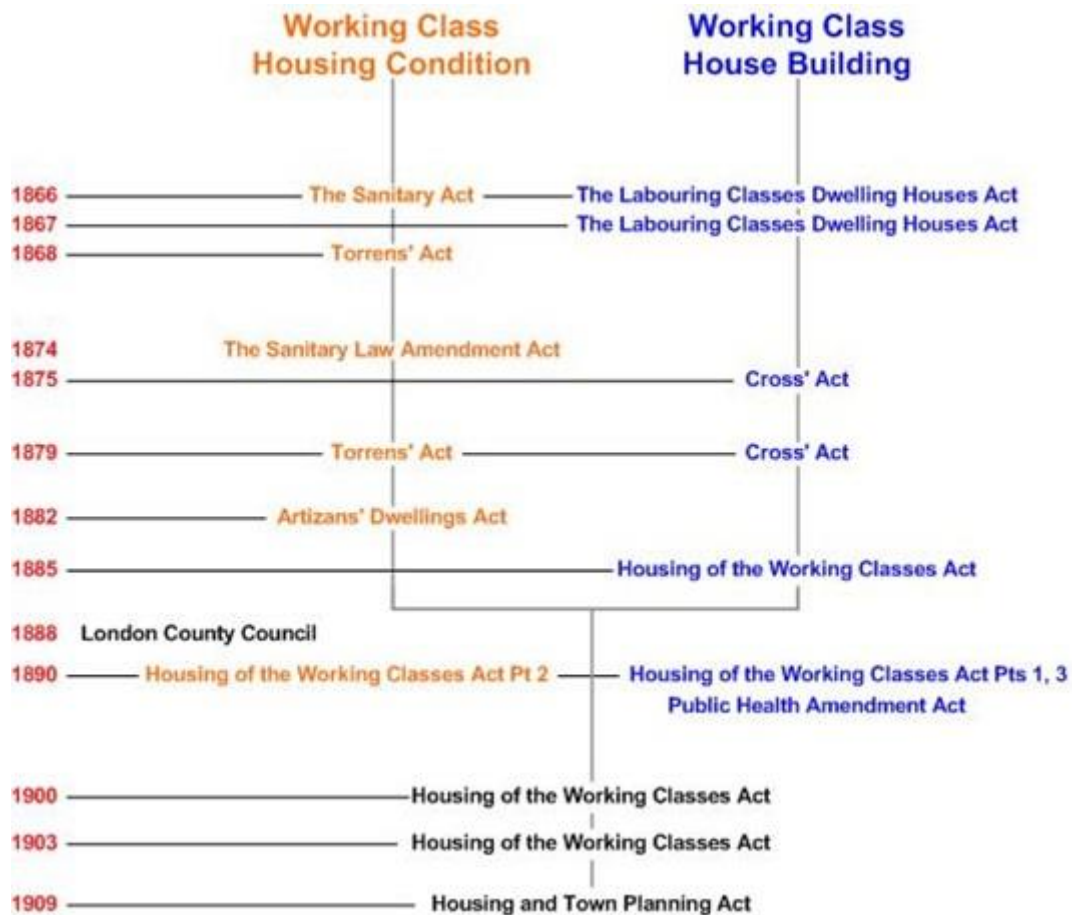


Fig. 1: Timeline of the Housing Acts

Until 1868, the responsibility for the condition of housing was with the vestry or district, which did not have powers to enforce owners to make improvements². As a result, the *Torrens' Act* of 1868 was introduced³. This Act (named after Mr W. M. Torrens, MP for Finsbury) imposed responsibility for all housing upon the owners who were compelled, by the local authority, to demolish or repair insanitary dwellings and to keep their properties in a habitable state. If the owner did not do so within 3 months of the report on the property by the local Medical Officer then the Act required the authority to do so. The Act's weaknesses were fourfold: 1) any cost not recovered from the owner had to be recovered from the local ratepayers; 2) there was no requirement on the authority to use the cleared land; 3) the Medical Officer who inspected property and made recommendations was employed by the controlling vestry or district and; 4) local landowners were often on the board of the vestry or district and were not always keen for their Medical Officer to be vigilant. As a result, many local authorities chose not to implement the Act effectively.

Alongside the Acts to control existing housing, a set of Acts was introduced in the 1860s to control the clearance of slums and to build replacement dwellings for the working-classes. The first attempt was the *Cross' Act* of 1875, named after Sir Richard Assheton Cross (later Viscount Cross). This Act (officially the *Artizans' and Labourers' Dwellings Improvement Act*) tried to address some of the failings of the previous Acts, particularly the *Labouring Classes Dwelling Houses Acts* of 1866 and 1867. Responsibility for carrying out the Act in London was with the Metropolitan Board of Works and the City Commissioners of Sewers. They requested that the local Medical Officer of Health for the vestry or district should prepare a report comparing the mortality rate for the area in question with those for the parish and for London as a whole. Justification for clearance was usually based solely on high mortality rates. If the authority in question deemed that there was a case for demolition they initiated the scheme and funded the compulsory purchase of freeholds. After demolition, the land would be sold to private developers and trusts for them to erect working class housing in the cleared area or the close vicinity for the same number believed to be displaced. The *Cross' Act* proved costly to administer and the compensation procedure was open to abuse by the landowners, so it was hastily amended in 1879 to improve the controls, relax the restriction on where the re-housing should be, and to reduce the opportunity to abuse the system. This brought the *Cross' Act* (for slum areas) in line with the *Torrens' Act* (for slum housing) although the confusion was such that where the volume of housing in question was small, either Act could be invoked.

The result was that, by 1879, there were two main Acts, much amended, that either controlled the quality of specific housing occupied by the working classes (*Torrens*), or larger areas of housing occupied by the same (*Cross*). Neither Act properly addressed the issue of what happens to those displaced by any demolition, although the *Cross' Act* was meant to compel the relevant authority to provide working-class housing for the number displaced. The *Cross' Act* also had a long administrative path to follow between inspection and construction and this inevitably increased costs and reduced the desirability to follow the Act. This long administrative path meant that much of the working-class housing that replaced demolished slums was usually erected some years after the clearance, was too expensive to rent by the poorest of those displaced and had tenancy rules that were often not acceptable to prospective tenants. This was a common occurrence and some major slums were cleared and replaced by high quality working-class or artisan dwellings that had rents and tenancy regulations that the poorest were unable, or unwilling, to accept. The tenants were usually artisans or the more skilled of the labourers, and voluntarily moved into the property from nearby private housing. Most tenants considered this move to be one of 'moving up the housing ladder'.

Following the lack of success of the Acts to improve the housing of the working classes in London, a Select Committee was formed in 1881 to report on the situation. Their recommendations resulted in the 1882 *Artizans' Dwellings Act* which aimed, with mixed success, to improve the procedures for purchase, demolition and re-housing. There was little in the 1882 Act that could be considered an improvement over the earlier Acts other than combining them. There was confusion over the interpretation of the existing Acts and as late as 1884 the various interested parties were debating their contents. These interpretations included a discussion in the House of Commons by a number of experts, including Sir R Assheton Cross and Sir Sydney Waterlow, over whether the previous Acts allowed for re-housing of all displaced or "*not less than one half*". Cross, whose Act was in question, stated he couldn't find anything in his Act about housing "*not less than one half*"⁴. What had happened was that the 1881 Select Committee had confused everyone with a suggestion of relaxing the rules to re-house the same numbers as displaced, but somebody seems to have interpreted this to mean "*not less than one half*". Despite what many eminent historians state, nowhere in any of the Acts is there a statement that instructs authorities that they can house only half those displaced. With eminent figures in Parliament arguing over the interpretation

of the Acts it was no wonder that these Acts were not as successful as planned. However, as Anthony Wohl states, “Given all these difficulties it is highly commendable and quite amazing that the Metropolitan Board of Works accomplished so much.”⁵

These earlier Acts also failed to address the problem of overcrowding. They were aimed at housing condition and not occupation density. To be able to control overcrowding the authorities were obliged to look to the Sanitary Act of 1866 and its various later amendments. This Act was quite detailed in its definition of how Lodging House occupation could be controlled and what constituted ‘overcrowding’ (see section 2.3) but did not specify a simple way to consistently measure overcrowding. The first clue as to a definition came from the Royal Commission of 1884-5 that the district and vestries had been compelled to address overcrowding in tenement houses and suppress the occupation of rooms by more than two adults of different sexes. Here is the first clue as to the source of a universal measure used in London that stated that each room should not be occupied by more than 2 people (although still of different sex at this point)⁶. This simple rule can easily be expanded to state that, say, a 2 roomed tenement or dwelling should not house more than four people. At last the authorities had a way of measuring the requirements of new housing. If a slum was cleared and 500 people had to be re-housed, the replacement housing must consist of dwellings totalling 250 rooms or more. The architects now had one of the key parameters they needed to design the required housing.

Coinciding with the formation of the LCC in 1889 was the replacement of all the earlier Acts by the *1890 Housing of the Working Classes Act*. This addressed many of the failings in the earlier Acts. This new Act was in many parts but the first three parts were significant. Parts I and II replaced the *Cross’* and *Torrens* Acts respectively, and Part III was new and enabled local authorities to build on cleared land; something they had been unable to do until this Act. Even so, the Act did not give authorities carte blanche permission to build what and where they wanted. For example, the Act could not be used to allow authorities to build their own housing on land remaining vacant prior to 1890. It did, however, allow them the swap land so that a cleared site could be sold commercially if there was another site close by that could be used for the housing.

The relevant governing body regulating housing built under the differing parts of the Acts is also important to understand. Housing built under Part I had to be approved by the Secretary of State. Housing built under Part II had to be approved by the Local Government Board. Clearance schemes under these first two parts required a local Act of Parliament to be passed. Housing built under Part III of the Act did not require permission from a higher authority, or a local Act, but the housing was required to meet or exceed the minimum standards for housing at the time.

Two significant extensions to the 1890 Act enhanced the options for the LCC. The first was in 1900 and enabled the LCC to purchase land for housing outside the metropolitan boundaries and this would prove very useful for the planned Garden Estates and much use of this ability was made by the LCC over the next 50 years. The second useful amendment was the *Housing & Town Planning Act* of 1909 which enabled the LCC to compulsory purchase housing it considered necessary for clearance.

Using the 1890 Act the Council strove to improve the lives of the working class Londoners by choosing to build quality housing for the workers. The costs of these building schemes were often high and could not be hidden in the Council’s accounts and so they were obliged to achieve a financial return through rents as the debt could not be placed on the ratepayers. The rents applied were therefore often a little higher than those of housing nearby and most of the

displaced population from the slums were either unable or unwilling to take up new tenancies. These high rents were at direct odds with the stated aim of the Council building programme which was: *“The rents to be charged for the dwellings erected in connection with any specified housing scheme or area shall not exceed those ruling in the neighbourhood, and shall be so fixed that after providing for outgoings, interest, and sinking fund charges there shall be no charge on the county rate in respect of the dwellings on such area or scheme, and all such dwellings shall be so designed that the cost of erection may not exceed a sum which will enable the Council to carry out the foregoing conditions. The interest and sinking fund charges shall be calculated upon the cost of erection, plus the value of the site, subject to the obligation to build dwellings for the working classes upon it.”*⁷.

It should be borne in mind that the majority of low earners rented small and unhealthy tenements, many one-roomed, for as much as 1 shilling a day. Yet a two-roomed sanitary and modern LCC tenement may have cost as little as 5 shillings a week. But the LCC had rules that many potential tenants were unable or unwilling to comply with, the main ones being: regular rent; no sub-letting; and no taking in or hanging out of washing. The restriction of not taking in washing prevented a common source of income for wives, although not all building managers imposed this rule strictly. There are also un-proven articles, particularly in the press, stating that the LCC deliberately blocked applications from some tenants they considered unsuitable. This is nothing new, but goes against the claims of the Council to be building for all working classes. However, it is clear from many minutes and papers that the Council were targeting the decent working man; not the drunk, the disorderly or disreputable, of which there were many in London.

For the impact of these Acts to be assessed, they need to be put in context of the volume of housing required and being built. London was a very large city and the needs of the residents were varied but mainly centred on the need for adequate housing in the right place at the right rent. The next section covers the demographics of London and enables the reader to understand the context into which the house clearance and building took place.

4. The Demographics of London of the period

London in the late 1800's was the largest city in the world but was soon to be overtaken by New York. Most people assume that London was always the biggest and most populous of cities, but as the graphs below show London was not the most populous city in terms of people per square mile.

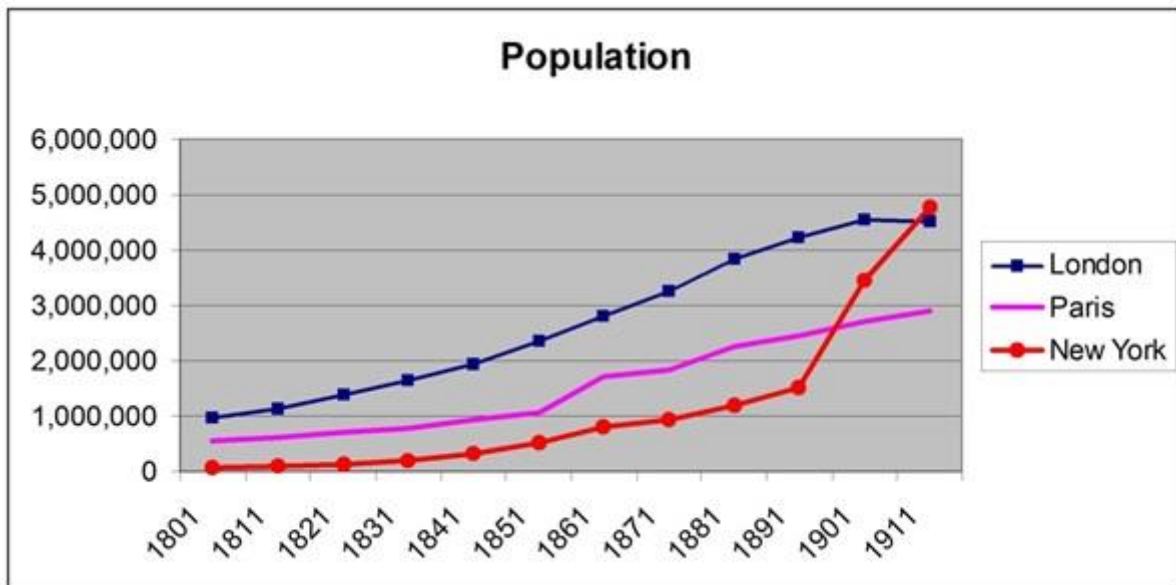


Table 1: Population comparison for London, Paris and New York

The figures for the graph in Table 1 are taken from the census returns of the time and show that London was the largest city, in terms of population, until 1911⁸. The sudden rise in the New York population from 1891 is both a result of massive immigration and an expansion of the city boundaries that included some areas previously outside the city jurisdiction. In area, London was 188 sq. miles, Paris only 40 sq. miles but New York was 304.8 sq. miles.

Many people assume that London had the highest density of population in Europe. The graph in Table 2 below shows that Paris always had a higher density of population than London for the period concerned.

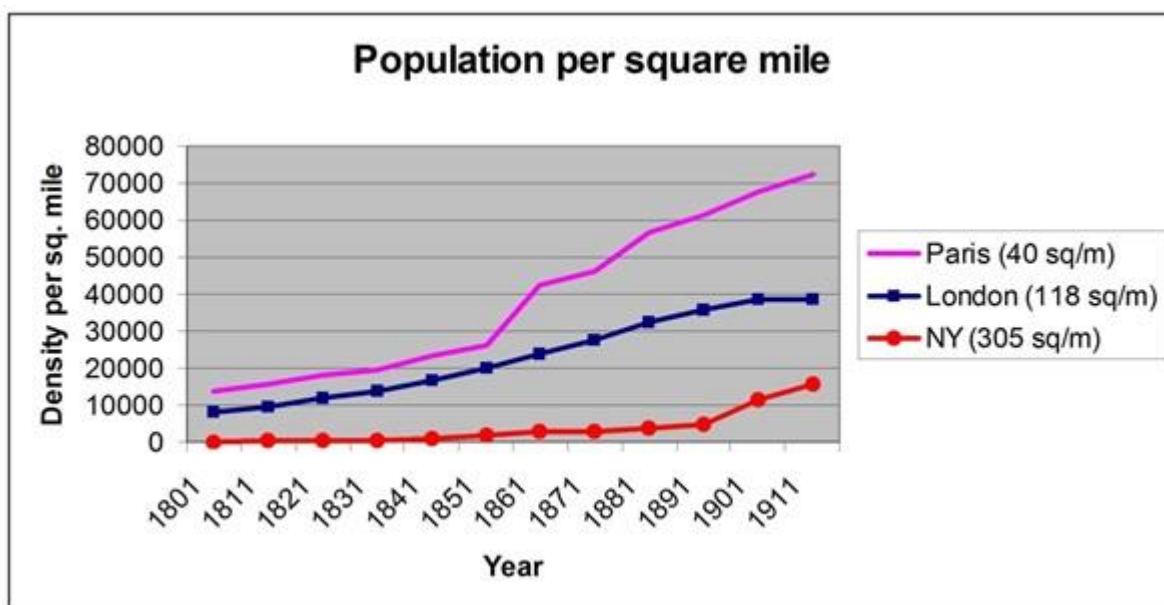


Table 2: Population density comparison for London, Paris and New York

As can be seen from the above tables, making assumptions can be dangerous when the statistics show otherwise. This paper concerns the problems of London and it is for others to analyse the problems of Paris, New York, or any other city.

Most of the working classes were very keen to live near their workplace rather than live in the more open outskirts of the city and travel in. Much of this can be explained by the need to hold on to regular employment, or be first in the queue for casual employment. Even the cost of travelling on cheap trams or workman’s trains could represent a significant proportion of an unskilled workman’s weekly wage. The graph in Fig. 2 gives the population per acre for the London boroughs on their formation in 1899 (as seen in Fig. 3). The figures have been collated from statistics taken in 1899 for the earlier Sanitary Districts. Although not every Sanitary District was entirely absorbed into a single borough, the vast majority were and the graph gives an accurate guide as to the highest densities of population.

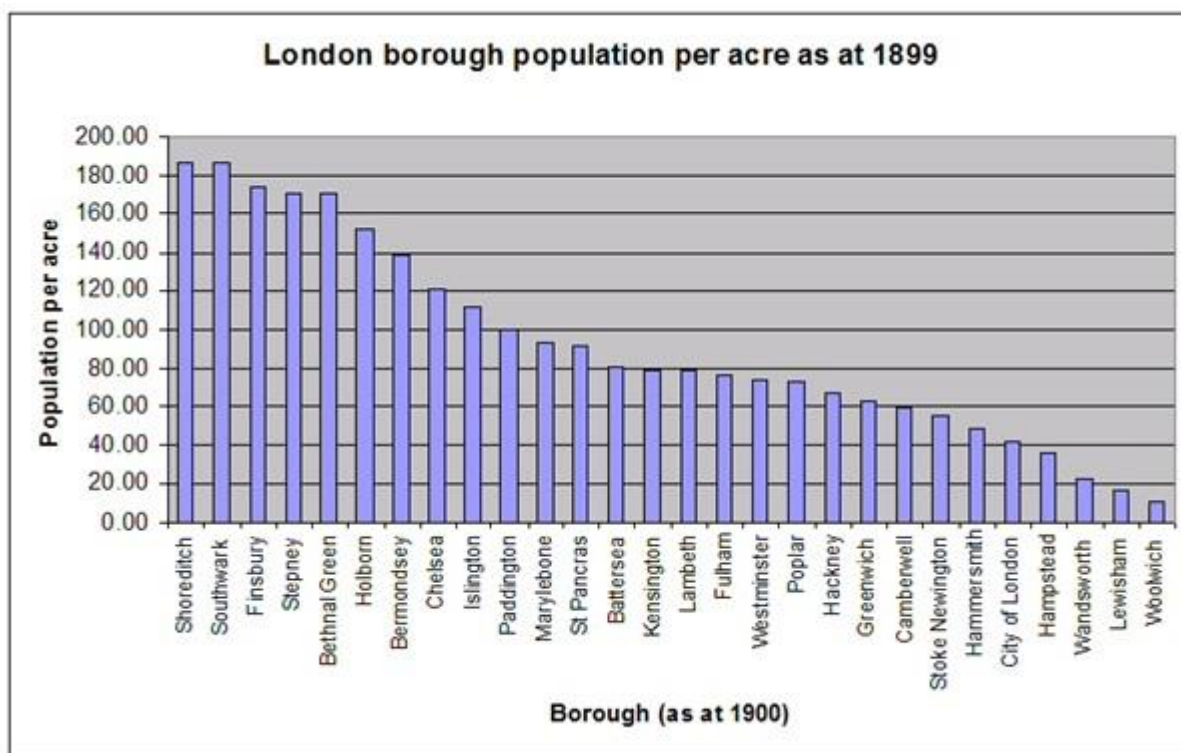


Fig. 2: London borough populations as at 1899 ⁹

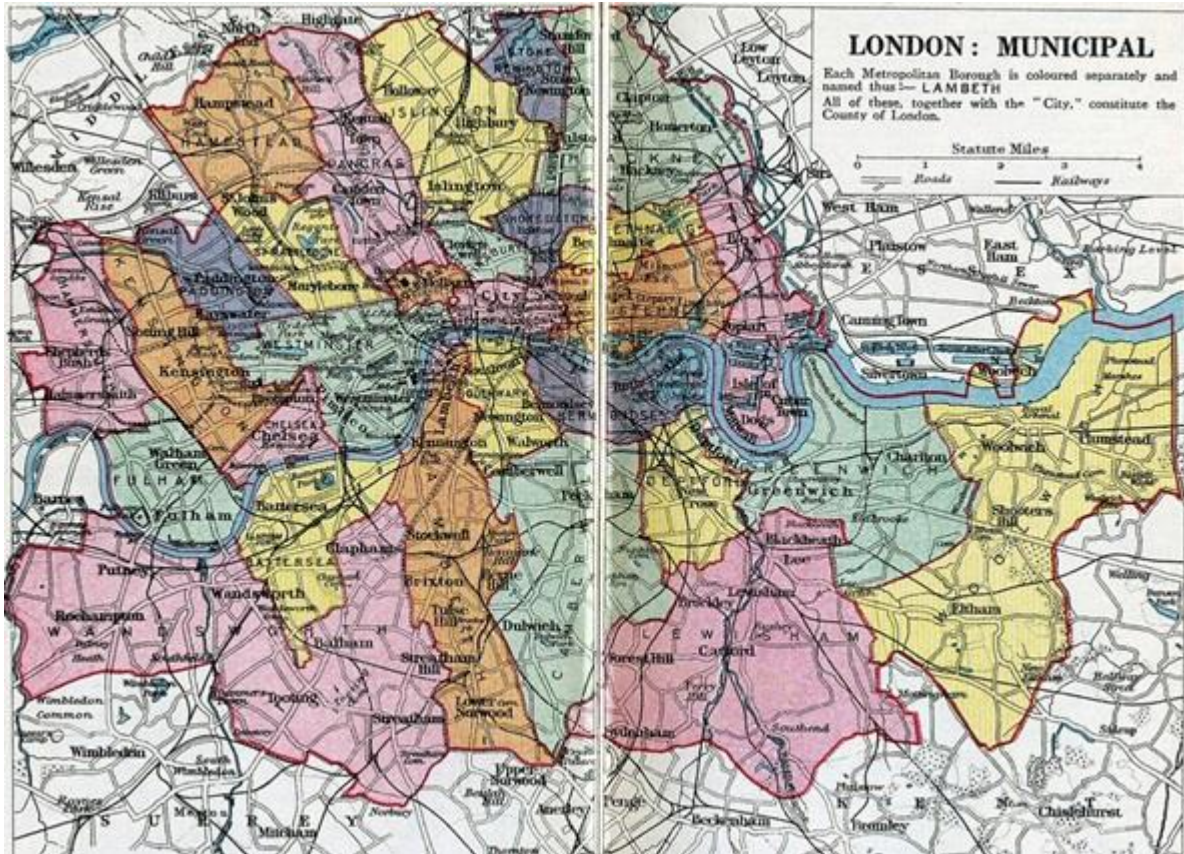


Fig. 3: London Boroughs as created in 1900¹⁰

It comes as no surprise to see that the most densely populated areas of London were in an arc from Southwark and then eastwards, northwards and westwards around and over the City to Holborn. Note that the new borough of Finsbury included some densely populated areas just north of the City. The least populated borough, Woolwich, may come as a surprise as the Woolwich town was a well populated shipbuilding area, but the new borough included the sparsely populated areas of Plumstead and Eltham. Even taking the old Woolwich Sanitary District in isolation the population per acre was only 39.

A study by Charles Booth in 1889 stated that a satisfactory weekly wage for a family man to be able to live above the poverty level was 21s¹¹. The report by the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes, published in 1885, stated that artisans may earn as much as 25s a week, whilst the average working man earned 18-20s a week¹². East End dockers in the casual labour system of the time may have earned as little as 9s a week. The main outlay for a family man was on food which could be as much as 10s for a family man earning 20s a week. The bulk of the remaining wage would need to be spent on rent and 3 rooms for 7s 6d would therefore be the most this family would probably want to pay.

But what sort of housing should be built? Octavia Hill, the highly successful philanthropist and working-class housing manager of the time, advocated 'cottages' with gardens¹³. But Miss Hill did not have to find the money for her schemes as other philanthropists provided her funding. Building cottages meant a low density of tenancy per square foot of ground space. With the need to borrow money and keep the building profitable using only rents for income, cottages were usually not cost-effective for the Council. What were cost-effective were 5 storey blocks containing many tenements of which the majority were 2 and 3 roomed. But who was going to design them and to what standards?

Part 2 covers the architects and the rules and ideals in which they were to carry out the designs of these buildings. This is followed by Part 3 which goes into details of the costs involved and lists all the costs for every building erected before World War 1 in such a way that they can be effectively compared. To be able to judge the success, or otherwise, of the designs a standard measure has to be chosen to compare all the disparate schemes and I have selected the cost per person (based on the maximum theoretical occupancy). This was not how the Council chose to measure the costs but my measure of cost per person is one that can be used right across all schemes and is a fair comparison.

Footnotes

- ¹ The Sanitary Act 1866, 29 & 30 Vict. C.90; 7th Aug 1866; section 19.
- ² A vestry boundary was usually aligned to one parish but a district was larger and often consisted of a number of parishes. All vestries and districts were incorporated in London boroughs in 1900.
- ³ The use of punctuation in the titles of the Acts throughout this paper is as submitted to Parliament
- ⁴ Hansard; 7th March 1884; vol 285; cc827-52
- ⁵ Wohl, Anthony S; *The Eternal Slum*; Edward Arnold; 1977; p133
- ⁶ C. J. Stewart; *The Housing Question in London*; LCC; 1900; p.71
- ⁷ C. J. Stewart; *The Housing Question in London*; LCC; 1900
- ⁸ The first four UK National census returns for 1801, 1811, 1821 and 1831 were destroyed by the Government once the statistics had been compiled and so most people assume that the 1841 census was the first
- ⁹ LCC; *Sanitary District Population Statistics*; LMA ref: LCC/PH/GEN/03/003
- ¹⁰ *Handy-Volume Atlas of the County of London*; Phillips; 1922. Note that some minor re-alignment of boundaries between boroughs had taken place between 1900 and 1922, but the county boundary remained the same. Those boroughs mostly affected by re-alignment were Wandsworth, Battersea, Lambeth and Chelsea.
- ¹¹ "Life and Labour in London"; Charles Booth; 1889; vol 1 page 33, "Poverty"
- ¹² "First Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners for Enquiring into the Housing of the Working Classes"; 1885; pp16-17
- ¹³ The term "cottage" at this time referred to any small dwelling that was 1 or 2 storeyed and often without a garden (although could have a small yard). It was used to differentiate the dwelling from the larger "house" and the definitely grander "villa". Today, the typical inner city "cottage" of the Victorian times would be called a terraced house and would usually have a front door that opened onto a street or court.