LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL

1889 - 1939

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AND

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HISTORY OF THE LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL

1889 - 1939

DEDICATED TO THE PEOPLE OF LONDON

INTRODUCTION

This book has been written at the instance of the London County Council to commemorate its jubilee, but it is in no sense an official history. The authors alone are responsible for what it contains. In the main it is devoted to the narration of facts, but we have not hesitated to make comments, though naturally with less freedom than if the book had been a wholly private venture. Every great public body, apart from its record of activities, has an indefinable "character", which is felt by the man in the street but often misinterpreted by him. The Council is no exception from this rule and it has been one of our aims to dislodge the mask of inscrutability which still screens from so many a true understanding of the Council and its work. Allowance is seldom made for the real difficulties which beset its path and for the peculiar setting in which its labours are carried on; and the early influences which shaped its career and so long left their impress on some aspects of its public policy are generally forgotten, if they have been at all known. Even to-day the Council is for many rather an aloof body, inducing much less of the feeling of familiar intimacy than is present in most of the large provincial towns, although the impression of aloofness is less widely given now than formerly, owing to the close contact which has developed between the Council and individuals and families, especially through the school and medical services.

We have tried to give a faithful picture of the work of the Council and its development, and of the forces which have determined its course at various periods, and, without hiding faults, to do justice to its great achievements.

The history of the Council has many points of special interest, quite apart from its position as the governing body of the capital city and as one of the most · instructive examples of development in local government during the last half-century. It was the first county council in which business was conducted on party lines. In its early years it was largely ruled by an ardent group of reformers who raised many questions of far-reaching importance. London is in this country the only large city (for it is a city in fact, though a county in form) with two tiers of local authorities, and its history is particularly instructive as an experiment in the government of a huge urban agglomeration. Again, the Council's growth repays study from the point of view of business management alone, for it is one of the largest business concerns in the country, outstanding not only because of the great volume of its work but also because of the many different kinds of services which it performs. these are added the further complication of management by an elected representative body. We have devoted particular attention to matters of this kind.

The general plan of the volume is first, in compliance with a request made to us, to give a sketch of the local government of London in the nineteenth century up to 1889; this is done in the two opening chapters. This sketch is followed by an account of the influences which led to the establishment of county councils, more particularly of that for London. Then we explain how the Council itself works — how its policy is settled with the aid of a party system, and how the Council, its committees and its departments are organised and perform their many duties. In this we have tried to shew how business is actually carried on, which often would not be gathered from the mere form of procedure. To complete the picture, a description is given of what may be called the general or domestic services which apply to the whole of the Council's work — finance, staff and supplies. The part of the book which then follows sets forth a fairly full account of the several executive services — education, public health, housing and many others — and of the regulative services, such as building regulation and town planning. Finally, we try to give a picture of, so to speak, the Council's "foreign policy"—its relations with its neighbours, both inside and outside London, and its dealings with Parliament and the government departments and with the ordinary Londoner. Our concluding chapter is devoted largely to some general problems of local government which emerge from the consideration of the Council's history. In treating of these matters we have done our best to avoid repetition, but some has been inevitable in order to preserve continuity of narrative.

There will be some who are sure to miss from this book the names and work of many men and women, officials as well as members, whose devoted service to the Council has enriched the public life of London and bettered the lot of so many of their fellow-citizens. Reluctantly we have had to forego, owing to the limits of space and time, saying as much about them as the merits of their labours would justify, restricting ourselves to the incidental mention of a few of the many who have notably contributed to the good government of London.

We have had room for only a brief account of the local government of the metropolis up to 1889. It is surprising that, among the many books written on London, there has not been an adequate comprehensive record of its municipal affairs during these years. Much detailed information about the early decades is to be found in the monumental works of Sidney and Beatrice Webb and there is information in fair quantity about individual parishes and some aspects of government, in addition to plenty of miscellaneous material scattered about in many publications. Here is a promising field for anyone seeking a good historical subject of interest, and, one might say, of entertainment.

The time within which this book had to be written was very short, bearing in mind the large number of records to be consulted and other investigations to be made, and to compress fifty years of so full and varied a

¹ Such as *The Sanitary Evolution of London*, 1907, by Henry Jephson, a former member of the Council.

life as that of the Council into the compass of a single volume has proved no easy task. The work has had to be done under great pressure and could not have been finished in the time allotted, but for generous assistance from the staff of the Council, to whom we owe a deep debt of gratitude. From the clerk of the Council and the heads of all departments and their staffs we have had help cordially given under heavy stress of other work. Material for our researches has been abundantly produced, often after special endeavours to present it to us in the most useful form for our purpose. On two members of the clerk of the Council's staff we have had to make exceptional demands — Mr. P. E. Braun, the Council's principal officer in charge of the library and records, and Mr. D. J. Rowley, whose services the Council was good enough to place at our disposal. The assistance that they have given us in their several ways it is quite beyond the capacity of this slender acknowledgement to describe; we can only express to them our warmest thanks for their unfailing help.

Former members and officers of the Council have also given us abundant assistance, particularly Lord Dickinson, who held the office of Deputy-Chairman (and later Chairman) of the Council in some of its earlier years and who placed at our disposal the whole of his records accumulated during his membership; and Mr. John Burns who has also placed his papers at our disposal and fortified our narrative with material from his well-stored memory. Sir William Collins, too ("one of the best of chairmen", as he has been described to us) and Sir George Humphreys, who served the Council as manager of the works department and later as chief engineer, have put us in their debt by supplementing our knowledge of the Council in bygone days. We should like also to mention specially the kindness shewn to us by Mrs. Sidney Webb, who not only allowed us the stimulating privilege of reading in manuscript some chapters of her as yet unpublished biography Our Partnership, but consented to our quoting the two passages from it which enliven our chapter on parties and policies.

There are so many publications bearing on the Council and its work that it is impossible to pay adequate tribute to all who have ploughed the ground before us; but we ought to say how valuable we have found *The London County Council from Within* (published in 1932) by Sir Harry Haward, whose half-century of public service began with the Metropolitan Board of Works in 1882 and included twenty-seven years as comptroller of the Council.

Of the many persons outside the Council from whom we have received information our gratitude is due especially to Mr. Parker Morris, the honorary clerk to the Metropolitan Boroughs' Standing Joint Committee and Mr. R. B. Webb, his chief assistant in the work of that committee; and, for information about the political parties, to Major Brown of the London Municipal Society and Mr. Daines of the London Labour Party headquarters.

Lastly, we desire to thank the proprietors of publications and others who have helped us to trace cartoons relating to the Council and kindly allowed us to reproduce them, and to others who have permitted the reproduction of some of the pictures in this book. In particular we are grateful to the proprietors of *Punch*, from whose pages of contemporary comment we have freely drawn.

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