

‘The greatest philanthropic tradition on earth? Measuring the extent of voluntary activity in London, 1874-1914’

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Measuring the extent of voluntary activity before the welfare state

Establishing the scale and scope of the voluntary provision of welfare services before the development of the welfare state is a perennial problem for historians. Jordan's attempts to chart the course of English philanthropy in the period from the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries led to a flurry of articles in the *Economic History Review* challenging and counter-challenging his claims.¹ For the nineteenth-century historiographical opinion is divided between a perception that such activity was extraordinarily extensive and a defining characteristic of Victorian Britain and the view that voluntary activity was woefully inadequate for the needs of a rapidly industrialising and urbanising society. Perhaps the best known proponent of the vibrancy of Victorian voluntarism is Prochaska who repeatedly claimed 'No country on earth can lay claim to a greater philanthropic tradition than Britain'.² At the other end of the spectrum, however, Lindert's history of the development of public welfare systems, concluded that private charity in England and Wales, and elsewhere in Europe, was little more than a 'miscellany of pittances'.³ To confuse matters still further, Harris has questioned the evidential bases for any claims about voluntary activity with the assertion 'It is a commonplace that, even though philanthropy played such an important role in Victorian society, we know relatively little about the precise dimensions of charitable activity'.⁴ This paper therefore seeks to shed light upon these apparently mutually contradictory positions and offer some empirical verification of the extent of voluntary activity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. A survey of various historiographical positions will be followed by analysis of the income of London charities from the mid-eighteen seventies until the first world war. These data provide us with our first time series indicating the extent of voluntary activity in this important period in welfare history, enabling us to examine questions regarding the growth of voluntary relative to

national income, the range of activities to which such funds were dedicated, their resultant redistributive effect, and the extent of voluntary as compared with poor law provision.

I

There are three main areas of historiographical contention regarding the voluntary provision of welfare services in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. First, it is argued that voluntary activity was widespread and experienced phenomenal growth. Secondly, that voluntary activity resulted in large-scale redistribution from rich to poor; and finally, that voluntary far outweighed public provision for the poor. Prochaska is probably the strongest advocate of the historical strength and vitality of the voluntary sector. As well as arguing for the international supremacy of the British philanthropic tradition, Prochaska claimed that ‘As befits a nation in which philanthropists are ubiquitous, enormous sums have been contributed, representing a massive redistribution of wealth.’⁵ Elsewhere he argued ‘there was a phenomenal growth of charitable funds ... well into the twentieth century, the amount of money contributed each year to charity constituted a massive redistribution of wealth.’⁶ Prochaska is not alone in expressing optimism about the vibrancy and range of Victorian voluntarism. Thane remarked ‘The scale of private charity expanded remarkably in the mid-nineteenth century. A large sum was distributed from rich to poor annually’.⁷ Lewis stated that ‘voluntary endeavour in nineteenth-century Britain was impressive in terms of both its range and size’.⁸ Whilst Waddington asserted that ‘The amount given to charity in the nineteenth century was breathtaking’.⁹ In one of the main texts on the study of the UK voluntary sector, Davis Smith argued ‘The nineteenth century can be seen as the golden age of the voluntary association’ ... with ‘rapid growth of voluntary agencies’.¹⁰

There are a number of problems, however, with these widespread claims that voluntary activity grew markedly in the Victorian period with great redistributive effect. First,

the case for large-scale voluntary activity appears to be undermined by the position of authors such as Lindert and Humphreys who both argued that charity was inadequate and much less significant than Poor Law relief.¹¹ Secondly, although Prochaska claimed that the British tradition was great in comparison with other nations, there is a lack of internationally comparative work on voluntary activity as the field is dominated by national and local studies. For example, Checkland wrote about philanthropy in Victorian Scotland, Luddy on women and philanthropy in Ireland, whilst Prochaska's own empirical work focused on England.¹² Studies showing regional variation between particular localities within England suggest it may be difficult to make claims about a single national tradition even within one nation. Marland's comparative study of medical provision in two West Yorkshire communities showed that whilst voluntary provision was significantly more important than the poor law in Huddersfield, the reverse was true of Wakefield.¹³ Meanwhile, Adams, one of the few authors to have attempted the internationally comparative study of nineteenth-century voluntary activity, revealed as many similarities between styles of philanthropy in cities in different nations as between cities in the same country.¹⁴ Furthermore reference to the work of Bremner reveals that Americans are equally convinced of the global supremacy of their nation's philanthropic tradition.¹⁵

Finally, as suggested by Harris, there is concern regarding the statistical bases of our knowledge about voluntary activity. Owen, the predecessor of Prochaska as the chief chronicler of English philanthropy, argued that 'To reach a satisfying quantitative measure of philanthropic giving in the Victorian Age is clearly out of the question'.¹⁶ Best's claims about the extent of mid-Victorian philanthropy and its dominance over poor law provision, are quoted rather more frequently than his proviso that 'Just how much charity was annually dispensed – in what proportions ... - and with what social effect, are questions to which only the vaguest answers can be given'.¹⁷ Whilst even Prochaska argued: 'It is impossible to

measure the overall sums contributed to philanthropy in a single year.¹⁸ Not only, therefore are we faced with the problem of reconciling diverse opinions regarding the extent of voluntary activity; we are also presented with an interesting paradox: if measurement is impossible how do we know the extent of voluntary activity was so great?

To resolve this paradox we must start by exploring the evidential bases used in the historiography. Whilst we lack a readily available set of national data about the extent of voluntary activity, various point estimates and contemporary claims, particularly pertaining to the position in London have been cited. One snapshot in particular appears to lend weight to the case for the large scale of Victorian voluntarism. Prochaska repeatedly referred to an article published in *The Times* in 1885, citing its usage by Owen in his earlier *English Philanthropy*.¹⁹ This article suggested that the annual income of London charities was 'greater than that of several independent governments, exceeding the revenues of Sweden, Denmark, and Portugal, and double that of the Swiss Confederation.'²⁰ Questions regarding the actual extent of that income, the source of the data, its reliability and its extent relative to other years have been left both unasked and unanswered.

By presenting data for a few selected years from various charity directories, Owen still offers the most statistically detailed account of the 'range and resources of philanthropy' and it is to his evidential base that Prochaska frequently refers when in search of statistical substantiation.²¹ The two authors, however, differ on their definitions of their subject matter and their conclusions. Prochaska defined 'philanthropy' widely as 'kindness', or 'the love of one's fellow man, an inclination or action which promotes the well being of others' and argued that if you 'Cast widely to include the informal, domestic expression of kindness, the philanthropic net catches virtually everyone at one time or another.'²² By focussing on actors' motives, the definition of philanthropy as kindness encompasses various actions including the voluntary donation of time, labour or money, whether that donation was made within the

context of mutual aid between neighbours and kin or within the formal structure of a voluntary organisation or mutual association. Owen, however, took a narrower approach and used a ‘pecuniary’ test to define his subject stating his study had ‘little to do with good works, personal service, or labors in the public interest, save as these were accompanied by substantial contributions of money from individuals and groups’, thereby excluding donations of time and mutual aid.²³ Whilst Prochaska’s wide definitional net may be useful for the study of voluntary activity as a cultural phenomenon it is less useful for examining the voluntary provision of welfare services and development of the mixed economy of welfare over time; for it is the study of the resources and activities of those organisations forming the voluntary sector within a mixed economy framework which are of most importance here.²⁴ Unlike Prochaska, Owen ultimately concluded that English philanthropy was inadequate when measured against the requirements of industrial-urban society: ‘it became only a matter of time until the State moved cautiously or decisively into areas previously occupied by voluntary agencies.’²⁵ He argued that English philanthropy was; a ‘Pioneering force ... (but) ... ultimately inadequate’, ‘a failure, however magnificent’ and the ‘major social tasks lay beyond the resources of private charity’.²⁶ Owen’s conclusions therefore suggest that the optimists have made rather too much of the extent of voluntary activity in the past, however, we must bear in mind the potential limitations of his work. Although Owen included various statistics about the extent of voluntary activity at particular points in time he did not utilise his sources to provide the data necessary to reach conclusions about growth or redistribution. In addition, Harrison questioned whether Owen had sufficient statistical evidence and argued that Owen had been ‘obliged to make bricks without straw’ ‘as we do not yet possess histories of individual philanthropic organisations sufficiently earthbound to concern themselves with “such grubby aspects as organisation and finance.”’²⁷ Whilst he sympathised with ‘Professor Jordan’s warning ..(that): “The statistical method...has no more than a limited utility to the

historian, since most of the data with which he is necessarily concerned cannot be accurately measured”... Harrison argued that ‘Nevertheless, where figures exist, historians should surely use them.’²⁸

Some local studies have heeded Harrison’s call to delve deeper into the organisation and finance of voluntary activity. In his study of endowed and voluntary charities in Bristol, Gorsky found endowed charities declined as a form of giving during the nineteenth century, whilst voluntary societies increased in number as they pioneered new forms of service provision. However, voluntary societies suffered uncertainty of income and were unsuccessful in terms of sustaining welfare services.²⁹ Although this is a study of only one city, Gorsky argued that as an established major urban centre, Bristol was probably only second to London in the extent of its voluntary activity, and as such was important for the national picture.³⁰ Both Morris and Trainor studied networks of voluntary association in Leeds and the Black Country respectively, however, their interest was in the role of voluntary engagement for the consolidation of the position of local elites and the middle classes, and not in the scale and scope of voluntary welfare provision.³¹ More detailed operational information can be found in the studies of voluntary hospitals by Waddington and Gorsky and Mohan.³² Waddington revealed the degree to which London hospitals depended on income derived from past investments, particularly in property, rather than simply the generosity of Victorian donors, who in the case of St. Bartholomew’s and Guy’s hospitals only accounted for shares of between 0.4 and 3.0 per cent of income during the 1860s and 1870s.³³ For the early twentieth century, however, Gorsky and Mohan argued that voluntary income remained the most significant, albeit proportionately declining, source of London hospitals’ income, suggesting a third came from ‘voluntary gifts’ and a third from ‘legacies’, in marked contrast to provincial hospitals where from the 1920s income from fees and contributory schemes far outstripped voluntary gifts.³⁴ However, they also stated that the sources from which their London data are

derived are not strictly comparable with provincial figures as the income from subscription schemes was included as income from 'voluntary sources' in London.³⁵ These local and service based studies do not, therefore, offer unqualified support for claims regarding great growth in Victorian voluntary giving.

Turning to the field of poor relief, we again find divergent evidence regarding the vibrancy of voluntary activity. Best stated that 'the amount of public money raised ... locally, by the poor rate ... was certainly less than the amount annually subscribed by individuals to charities.'³⁶ However, whilst Best provided data for poor relief expenditure he did not show either poor rate or voluntary income. Despite this, Prochaska cited Best as the source for his assertion that 'the amount of money contributed each year to charity, not including donations at the altar and unremembered alms, far exceeded the gross expenditure on poor relief.'³⁷ This belief in the supremacy of voluntary over public poor relief is widely held although the evidential bases for the proposition are difficult to untangle.

Drawing comparisons with charitable income and poor law expenditure in the capital in the 1850s, Fraser argued that London charities' annual income 'exceeded the amount spent by Poor Law authorities'.³⁸ Harrison, however, makes an even wider claim for the 1860s by stating that London charities were 'raising annually about as much as the total annual expenditure of the poor-law system in the whole of England and Wales'.³⁹ Harrison's data on charities is taken from Lascelles, who in turn derived his figures from Sampson Low's 1860s summary of the London charities.⁴⁰ In discussing Low's data, however, Lascelles compared the income of these London charities with poor rate expenditure in the Metropolis, not England and Wales, whilst he added the proviso that: 'Of course, the expenditure from the poor rates is not strictly comparable with the income of charities, because the charities included missionary and educational organizations which were not the concern of the poor

rates'; although, given individual unrecorded acts of private charity he added 'there can be no doubt that the poor had to rely more on charity than public funds'.⁴¹

Harrison also referred to the work of McCord, who in turn cited Owen, in referring variously to the income, or activity, or expenditure of London charities in the 1860s amounting to between £5.5 to £7 millions annually.⁴² These figures are derived from Hawksley's estimation of the funds 'employed in dealing with the requirements of London poverty and pauperism.'⁴³ Closer examination of this source, however, suggests that subsequent authors have over-estimated voluntary income. The upper sum of seven million pounds actually included £1.68 million of public expenditure, as well as loosely substantiated estimates of one million pounds worth of donations to the clergy, and £0.5 million worth of individual alms giving and gifts in kind. Even Hawksley's estimate of four million pounds annual income of London charities was derived from the actual income figure of £2.61 million given in Fry's directory with the exclusion of the sums going to organisations not operating in London such as overseas missionary societies. Hawksley then inflated Fry's data using the questionable assumption that the 37 per cent of organisations for which Fry did not have income data received it on the same pro rata basis as those for which he did have statistics. Given that Fry based his directory on the 'latest published balance sheets of every society' it is more probable that the unknown income figures were for organisations that did not have readily available annual reports and were probably smaller on average than the organisations for which income was shown.⁴⁴ There are also problems with the evidential bases for claims about the late nineteenth century. Thane cited Owen to claim that the £8 million being transferred annually through a variety of charitable channels in London exceeded total national poor law expenditure.⁴⁵ Owen's data, however, pertained to the income of 'Metropolitan charities' from 1908 to 1911, without comparison with national poor law expenditure.⁴⁶ Harris, however, apparently compared voluntary income and national poor

law expenditure and claimed: 'As late as 1911 the gross annual receipts of registered charities exceeded national public expenditure on the poor law'.⁴⁷ This claim, however, is unverifiable as examination of her cited sources leads to a variety of different estimates by Prest and Adams of both national and metropolitan charitable income, with no indication which figures Harris used, whilst the reference to Mitchell and Dean is to tables for iron and steel exports rather than poor law expenditure.⁴⁸

Lindert and Humphreys have both challenged claims about the vibrancy and extensive nature of voluntary activity in comparison with poor law expenditure.⁴⁹ Humphreys tested the hypothesis that charitable relief of poverty far outweighed that provided by statutory agencies.⁵⁰ Using a number of snapshots as provided by local surveys taken at various points in time between the 1870s and 1900s he found this hypothesis to be false in five urban areas. Humphreys' subsequently compared voluntary and statutory poor relief in terms of the quantity of funds distributed by the London COS, and this again suggested that public outweighed voluntary provision in terms of the amount of money the COS distributed to the poor.⁵¹ We should, however, bear in mind what these figures for voluntary relief exclude. Humphrey's figures for voluntary poor relief were based on the sums distributed via the COS thereby missing the income of those voluntary organisations that continued to act independently. In Bristol, however, Gorsky also estimated that public expenditure on the poor far exceeded that of endowed charities and voluntary societies particularly from the 1820s.⁵² Lindert reached similar conclusions about the relative insignificance of voluntary relief to the poor in England and Wales. His figures suggest that such activity amounted to only 0.4 per cent of national product in the early nineteenth century and 0.24 per cent by 1861-76, or the even smaller figure of 0.1 per cent if the figures only included charitable income aimed 'more or less at the poor'.⁵³ His statistics, however, were derived from the returns of the charity commissioners, which cover endowed charities rather than non-endowed organisations such

as some hospitals or schools or the subscription associations which, it is argued, proliferated as the preferred organisational form of voluntary activity during the nineteenth century.⁵⁴ Whilst no mention was made of this limitation, Lindert did point out that his figures did not capture individual alms giving but he argued ‘the amounts involved in such unrecorded charity seem so low that the unknown total was probably not a great multiple of the aggregate data. And, again, the numbers typically *overstate* charitable giving to the poor by including charities not targeted at the poor.’⁵⁵

There are therefore many grounds for questioning the degree to which voluntary activity in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was actually exceptional in its scale, growth, redistributive effect and supremacy over the poor law. The idea that voluntary activity was an important national characteristic is, however, widespread and not one that can be easily refuted statistically for traditions and cultural characteristics do not lend themselves easily to quantification. Relationships between state, individual and community were important themes for both contemporary debate and the subsequent study of Victorian Britain; establishing the actual and aspirational parameters of voluntary activity was a matter of social and political significance. The estimates made of the extent of such activity, particularly in the Metropolis, and the publication of various annual charity directories were frequently reported on by *The Times*.⁵⁶ According to Prochaska ‘By the end of the nineteenth century, charitable enterprise was not only a sign of respectability and civic virtue but of national standing. Indeed, the Victorians equated their civilization with the high proportion of national activity given over to benevolent causes, just as a later generation would equate it with the welfare state.’⁵⁷ Examination of contemporary evidence concerning the extent of Victorian and Edwardian voluntary activity therefore seems warranted on many fronts.

This historiographical survey suggests that too much has been claimed on the basis of too little evidence about the extent and the growth of voluntary activity. There is no

systematic study of time series data to establish voluntary growth in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, nor any comparison to trends in national income or population growth. All of the above claims have been made on the basis of a series of snapshots of voluntary activity, each with a varying focus. As yet we therefore have an insufficient statistical bases upon which to make conclusions about growth rates or the extent of redistribution. This paper seeks to establish whether claims which are measurable, such as those about the sums contributed and the growth of voluntary activity, are empirically justified.

Although some studies already cast doubt on the optimists view of the national picture, there is one very striking omission from the historiography. Whilst Jordan and Andrew have written about the charities of London from fifteenth to eighteenth centuries, we lack data charting the extent of voluntary activity in London in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁵⁸ In order to piece together a more detailed understanding of the scale of voluntary activity in the nation during this crucial period in welfare history we have to know more about London for several reasons. First, at the turn of the century nearly a fifth of the population of England and Wales were living in what became known as the Greater London area; therefore in terms of both the extent of total welfare needs and the capacity to supply voluntary solutions, London played a major part in the national picture.⁵⁹ Secondly, London was an economic, social and political centre and provided a locale for the nation's elites who also tended to form the great and the good, the donors, directors and trustees of the nation's voluntary organisations. Thirdly, the Victorians and Edwardians themselves were keen to establish the scale and scope of voluntary endeavour in the Metropolis and bequeathed a number of directories about London's voluntary organisations published from the mid-nineteenth, well into the twentieth century. These directories led Owen to conclude that:

More satisfactory than national estimates are figures relating only to the charities of the Metropolis. This is in spite of the fact that such statistics are distorted by contributions

reaching London from all over the Kingdom for the support of good works which belonged to London only administratively. Still, the London figures cover a longer period and include a larger proportion of charitable agencies than do the national estimates.⁶⁰

Whilst Owen did make use of these sources to provide some cross-sectional data regarding voluntary activity in the Metropolis, he did not fully exploit their potential and they have not been used in detail by subsequent studies. This paper will therefore use data derived from one such directory to measure the extent of voluntary activity in London between the 1870s and the first world war to consider questions regarding: the growth of voluntary income; the redistributive nature of voluntary giving; and the relative importance of voluntary and public relief to the poor.

II

Various charity directories provide potential data sources regarding the extent of voluntary activity from the mid-nineteenth into early twentieth century London.⁶¹ These works sought to provide potential donors and those seeking sources of relief for others with guides to the range of voluntary organisations operating in London. They differ in ease of use, periods, and areas of coverage, but in general they used the annual reports of organisations, supplemented by their own investigations, to provide information about the name, address, objects, income and main officials of voluntary organisations.⁶² This paper utilises data derived from W. F. Howe's *Classified Directory to the Metropolitan Charities*, published between 1876-1919, for three reasons: first, it was Owen's belief that 'For the late-century decades the least unsatisfactory London figures are probably those published by William F. Howe in his *Classified Directory*'⁶³; secondly it is the source from which *The Times* drew its figures for its oft-quoted 1885 article; and finally, Howe provides a series of summary statistics for the total

number and income of voluntary organisations in the Metropolis classified by area of activity, thereby offering the bases of a readily available data series on voluntary income for the period from 1876 to the first world war.

In using these statistics as an indication of the extent and growth of voluntary activity in the Metropolis in this period we need to be clear about our terms of reference. ‘Voluntary activity’ is taken to be activity without coercion or compulsion that is deployed through voluntary organisations in the provision of welfare services. Although Gorsky suggested voluntary activity embodies a distinction between ‘philanthropy’ as entailing a hierarchical transfer between haves and have nots, and mutual aid as entailing a horizontal transfer between those with similar income levels, such a distinction is not used here as it presupposes the economic status of the actors involved; an assumption which cannot be supported on the available evidence.⁶⁴ As with Beveridge, voluntary activity is here taken to be a generic term which may encompass mutual aid and what some term philanthropy.⁶⁵ However, as far as one can be aware from the sources used, the empirical evidence pertains to organisations providing welfare services through the donations of some for the provision of services for others, thereby excluding mutual aid which was often omitted from nineteenth century directories of voluntary organisations.⁶⁶ In addition, from an empirical perspective we lack alternative time series data for London mutuals, whilst theoretically mutual associations are considered to be a distinct sub-category in the voluntary or non-profit studies literature. The term voluntary activity is still used in preference to ‘philanthropy’, however, as the latter term is often associated with a presumption about the motivation and class of the actor; which is again a presumption which is not justifiable on the basis of the sources used.

The focus is on voluntary activity deployed through organisations as this is the type of activity which is most accessible in leaving a historical record (indeed such activity had to be embodied in a recognisable organisational form to be included in the charity directories) and

because it is from this type of voluntary activity that welfare services and systems have developed. This focus excludes the voluntary donation of alms to individuals as these left little or no historical record and furthermore transfers between parties known to one another form part of the informal sector within a mixed economy framework. Directories do not provide us with information about gifts in kind or the amount of time which Victorians devoted to voluntary activity either through organisations, the resources of which will be partially captured through the income data, or by individuals which left little or no historical record. Voluntary income could be derived from a variety of sources such as donations, subscriptions, legacies, returns on investment and sales of goods and services, although unfortunately these are not itemised in Howe's directory. Howe's data also excluded the donation of funds to church collections, which themselves may have been donated as income to existing organisations and therefore be a potential source of double-counting. In taking income as an indication of the extent of voluntary activity over time we are presuming that changes in income are associated with changes in expenditure, an assumption which in the long run, at least, should hold true unless organisations experienced financial collapse. It is possible that rises in income could have been appropriated into administrative overheads and remuneration for managers and service providers but we have no reason to believe there was any systematic variation in the share of funds being spent on administration over the period. Having established our terms of reference we will now turn to the data itself.

The most well known statistic to be derived from Howe's directory was that which was referred to by the *Times* in 1885 and cited above. The article added that 'measured by money the London charities are the equals of several independent governments' and London charities 'could defray the public expenditure of Persia and still leave the SHAH with two to three millions in diamonds.'⁶⁷ The income in question was £4,447,436 and whilst the *Times* thought this was a large sum, as the article developed it became clear this was not the

unequivocal good news story that Prochaska's citation of this article suggested.⁶⁸ Commenting on the number of charities listed it stated: 'A total of 1,013 charitable institutions in London bears witness to ... a gross superfluity'; this number thereby indicating, not the health of voluntarism, but its sickness due to the duplication of effort and multiple sets of overheads of so many organisations. The article went on to chastise the donors, by drawing comparisons with those misfortunates who had lost money by investing in American railways due to similar laxity in their scrutiny of the organisations' internal affairs. The purpose of the article seems to be as much to castigate, as to congratulate, the Victorians due to a perceived lack of organisation and professionalism of their charitable endeavours: a criticism akin to those voiced by the COS and somewhat at odds with Prochaska's use of this article as an indication of the health and strength of Victorian voluntarism. The compiler of these data also had reservations about the position of voluntary activity at this time, although for different reasons. Whilst Howe reported that income for 1883/4 showed an increase of £134,161 on the previous year, he argued this was 'not so large as could be desired.'⁶⁹ In the following year's editorial he noted an even smaller annual increase and commented:

This stationary condition is, of course, better than a decrease, and would be satisfactory were it not for the increased and increasing demand by the poor to receive legal or charitable relief in some form or another. It is quite impossible for Charities to meet this demand unless there is a corresponding increase in the donations, subscriptions and legacies of the charitable.⁷⁰

These few years' worth of data, therefore, did not present a picture of phenomenal growth in voluntary activity. We should note, however, that in Howe's words his directory did not include 'institutions that do not make returns', the 'amount distributed in relief by Church and Chapel congregations', 'amounts received by fraudulent charities', or 'receipts of professional begging-letter writers, street mendicants, and others who prey upon the charity of the

public'.⁷¹ Nor did his data include the casual granting of alms to the poor, however, they do include lots of organisations which were not providing services for the poor of London, either because they were for the benefit of all, or even higher classes, or because their intended beneficiaries were not Londoners. Owing to the concentration of wealth and power in the capital a number of organisations had headquarters in London although their income may have been spent elsewhere in the nation or overseas. Howe was also dependent on organisations' statements of their income and there may have been an incentive to underestimate this figure in order to encourage the further donation of funds. These reservations, however, are only problematic for our analysis of the growth in income if we believe these potential sources of error may have varied year by year. We will now therefore consider how typical the mid 1880s were of the late Victorian and Edwardian periods.

Figure 1: Howe's total income of London Charities, 1874-1913

Source: Howe, Classified directory ...for 1876 (-1915).

Figure one shows the total income of London voluntary organisations between 1874 and 1913 and whilst the general trend was of a steady rise in income, various outliers require further investigation.⁷² The 1876 rise predominantly came from the income of charities for 'general relief' and in particular due to a special Mansion House Fund which sent £500,000 for the relief of distress in India.⁷³ In the early 1890s the sudden increases were due to changes in the income of 'home and foreign missions', which varied between around £150,000 and over a million pounds per annum. These wide variations were almost entirely accounted for by changes in the returns for the Salvation Army Funds which varied from no sum returned for 1889/90 to over £800,000 for 1891/2.⁷⁴ Examination of the returns given for the Salvation Army Funds over a number of years in both Howe and Fry's directories suggest these large

variations were due to inconsistencies in the recording of the funds of the London organisation and the total income of all corps worldwide.⁷⁵ The sudden increases in total funds in figure one therefore appear to be either due to large sums going overseas or statistical artefacts resulting from changes in accounting practises. With the exception of these outliers, therefore, we see a picture of steadily rising income throughout the period. But is this trend ‘remarkable’, ‘phenomenal’ or any other of the exuberant phrases we have seen used in the more optimistic sections of the historiography?

To establish how great, or otherwise the growth in voluntary income was it is compared with the rate of growth of national income in table one. We would expect that as national income grew, more funds became potentially available for voluntary organisations either through individuals’ donations of their surplus income or due to better returns on invested funds. Table one therefore shows the annualised percentage growth rates for voluntary and national income for the period from 1875-1913. The income figures used are in actual, not constant prices, as inflation is presumed to have had a similar effect upon the growth of GNP and voluntary income.

Table 1: Growth rates of London voluntary income and national income, 1874-1913

Comparison of the growth rates shows very little difference at all, with an annualised growth rate for national income of 2.0 per cent compared with 2.04 per cent for the total income of London voluntary organisations. Voluntary income, therefore, only grew as fast as one might expect given the trend in national income. Population change during the period, however, may have been an important variable and therefore per capita growth rates have also been calculated. For the nation this has the effect of reducing the annualised growth rate to 1.12 per cent in per capita terms: the effects on London, however, are less easy to interpret

given the high degree of sensitivity to which area is used for London. If the smaller London County Council area is used then the growth rate of voluntary income is above that for the nation, however, if the larger Greater London Council area is used then the figure is less than half that of national income. This is because whilst the population of central London grew more slowly than for the nation as a whole, and was for some years actually falling, the population of the larger urban conurbation grew faster. It is not clear, however, what significance, if any, changes in the London population would have had for the growth of voluntary income. The Royal Commission on the Poor Laws' data show that London organisations received 57 per cent of the gross receipts of voluntary charities in London and the larger towns in England and Wales, suggesting that donors were drawn from across the nation.⁷⁶ In addition, these London based organisations did not restrict the expenditure of their income to the Metropolitan population, as significant sums were sent overseas as will be discussed below. It is therefore unwise to draw any firm conclusions about comparative per capita growth.

This analysis therefore suggests that the growth of voluntary income in London over this period was not remarkable, phenomenal, rapid, or any of the other adjectives which have previously been used to describe voluntary giving. Admittedly these figures are for London rather than the nation as a whole and we may therefore wish to consider whether metropolitan and national voluntary income may have grown at differential rates. On the basis of probate records for the estates of the very wealthy, Rubinstein has argued that London was the centre of wealth-making in nineteenth-century Britain, however, he does not demonstrate any clear trend overtime showing the very wealthy were any more or less more likely to be London based at time of death.⁷⁷ He does, however, argue that a greater proportion of middle-class tax-assessed income was metropolitan based between the 1880s and 1911-12.⁷⁸ It is unclear, however, how important the very wealthy were relative to other potential less-affluent donors,

nor how the residential locality of the potential donor may relate to the geographic distribution of either their lifetime donations or bequests. In addition, Nicholas and others have all challenged Rubinstein's findings for the dominance of metropolitan commercial and financial wealth in the national picture.⁷⁹ There is not therefore any clear evidential basis for concluding that the growth rate of metropolitan and national voluntary income would have differed significantly, particularly given the dominance of London organisations in the national picture.

Another potential limitation is that these figures do not include the informal granting of alms, however, there is little reason to expect this would have grown at a higher rate than the income of voluntary organisations; if anything the growth would have been slower if the COS succeeded in its attempts to organise charitable giving and stamp out what it saw as the indiscriminate granting of alms. In terms of output, it is only if the proportion of voluntary income devoted to administrative overheads systematically declined that we could begin to argue that there may have been a higher growth rate in voluntary service provision, than there was for income.

It is possible, however, that the figures given in Howe's directory do not give us an accurate indication of the growth of income of London's voluntary organisations because they detailed a declining proportion of the actual number and income of voluntary organisations. From 1887 Howe reported the total number of organisations included in each year and the total number for which he had income data. The total number of organisations included in the directory declined from around 1,000 per annum in the 1880s to around 900 each year by the First World War. This decline, however, does not necessarily indicate more omissions; the total number of organisations in London may also have declined if charity organisation was working. The number of organisations for which Howe had income data remained fairly constant at around 730, although these were not necessarily the same organisations every

year, therefore the proportion for which he had income data rose from 71 to 83 per cent of the organisations listed. In order to establish what proportion of the total number of London voluntary organisations Howe's directory included each year we need some sort of verification with another source, however, this is problematic because of differences in both time period and geographical coverage. The 1906 edition of the COS's *Annual Charities Register and Digest (ACRD)* is the first year to include summary data for the Metropolis. This records a total income figure of £8,720,986 in comparison with Howe's figure of £7,533,252 and a total of nearly 2,000 organisations as compared with Howe's 916. Howe's directory therefore includes fewer organisations and comparatively less total income, suggesting the COS directory includes lots of small organisations not in Howe. It is likely, therefore, that any London organisations which may have been omitted from Howe's directory were smaller with less formal reporting mechanisms than the annual reports on which he predominantly relied. Even if this were the case, we do not have reason to believe that the income of these omitted organisations would have grown at a much greater rate than those which were included. In addition, comparison with the *ACRD* cannot be taken to prove that Howe's figures provide an under-representation of voluntary activity in London for we are told by the editor of the COS publication that the digest included many institutions which are 'provincial as to actual domicile' and so 'the following summary cannot be described as representing purely Metropolitan income.'⁸⁰ A further potential limitation is that Howe did not break down his income by source, thereby preventing us establishing whether the growth rates of giving, investment income and sales differed. [REWRITE] However, the COS analysed the summary income of metropolitan charities by source from 1906 and found that charitable contributions decreased from around 39 to 31 per cent of total income between 1906 and 1909, or from 45 to 43 per cent if legacies are added to lifetime giving; the remaining income being made up of 'interest', 'payments', 'industrial receipts' and 'sundries', in declining order of importance.⁸¹

Therefore, whilst we may have some reservations about how much of the total income of all London voluntary organisations are captured here, our finding that growth was not 'phenomenal', but, in line with national income is likely to be more robust.

In addition to arguing for high growth rates, many claims have also been made about the redistributive nature of voluntary giving. To be precise about redistribution would require knowledge about the income of those donating funds to, and receiving services from, voluntary organisations. Although such information is unavailable, we can estimate the extent of voluntary redistribution by examining whether the purposes to which funds were being donated would have benefited the poor and figure two therefore shows the income of London charities by group, or field of activity.

Figure 2: Proportion of total income of London voluntary organisations by group, 1874-1913

Source: Howe, Classified directory ...for 1876 (-1915).

The groupings used in figure two are based on Howe's system of classification of organizations into 33 categories, which he then grouped into 14 classes. We must bear in mind that any such system of classification has to prioritise one purpose over all others which may mean that some organizations which may have operated in mixed fields can only be accounted for in one area. Howe's 14 classes have been further condensed into 10 groups of organisations operating in similar fields principally by combining those organizations Howe collectively classed as 'missionary' (that is 'home missions', 'home and foreign missions' and 'foreign missions') with the classes of 'Bible, Book and tract societies', and 'church and chapel building' to form one group entitled 'religion' as all of these organizations were characterized by their stated pursuit of religious goals.

Religious organisations retained their dominance over total voluntary income throughout the period, receiving between 40-50 per cent of the total income of London voluntary organisations, despite these figures excluding church and chapel collections. Within this grouping it was the missions, particularly the foreign missions, which received the majority of the funds. Taking the data for 1883/4 as an example, 42.57 per cent of total income was going to organizations with religious purposes with 18 per cent of that total income going to 22 foreign missions, which were, by income, by far the single largest of Howe's 33 classified categories of organisation.⁸²

A few examples from the entries and advertisements in the 1885 directory give an indication of the types of work in which these religious organisations were engaged. The 'Religious Tract Society', established in 1799 had an income of £21,057 which it spent on the circulation of 'religious books and treatise throughout the British Dominions and Foreign Countries' including India, China, Japan, and Madagascar.⁸³ The 'British and Foreign Bible Society', established in 1804, had an income of £200,000 and a circulation of over two million copies of the Bible or parts of it, translated into 261 languages or dialects.⁸⁴ Although the majority of income to religious organisations went overseas, over time an increasing proportion went to domestic missions and was therefore spent at least partially on London's poor but largely as a means to induce them to follow the word of God. The 'home and foreign missions' all stressed the spiritual welfare of the poor in their objects, but only a handful added terms such as 'social' or 'temporal' welfare, thereby indicating the dominance of religious objectives, rather than concerns regarding material welfare, in their work.⁸⁵ Some were focussed on particular groups or regions such as 'the Jews' or 'Seamen' or 'South Americans' whilst many belonged to particular religious denominations. In fact it may have been difficult to escape the reach of religiously directed voluntary activity whether you were in hospital in London or at school in Asia or India. For example, the 'Bible Flower Mission',

established in 1875, distributed 'texts of scripture attached to bouquets of flowers to the sick poor in hospitals and infirmaries.'⁸⁶ Even amongst the education charities religion played a part. Established in 1834, the 'Society for Promoting Female Education in the East's stated object was 'to point females, of all ages and classes, in Asia and Africa, to 'the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world'; and to enable each, either in a School or in her own secluded home, to read the Word of God in her vernacular tongue.'⁸⁷

After religion, medical organisations were the next largest group of London voluntary organisations in terms of receipt of between 15-20 per cent of total income. This group encompassed around 90 organisations including hospitals of all descriptions, dispensaries, convalescent and nursing homes, and institutions for vaccination. The dominance of medical purposes over secular voluntary activity accords with Owen's findings for bequests when he argued that it is clear 'that medical agencies were more generously supported by the British public than any other secular charities'.⁸⁸ The hospitals which advertised in the directory had the most detailed prospectuses listing their objects, income, capacity, cases treated and, all importantly, patrons.⁸⁹ Although the sick poor undoubtedly benefited from many of these medical organisations, especially the general hospitals, they were not their only clientele. General hospitals included a number, albeit a small minority, of paying beds whilst some of the specialist hospitals in particular stressed that they took patients from all classes, particularly those for women.⁹⁰ Organisations providing long-term care for those considered 'incurables' were classified under the grouping disability rather than medical, and these included many organisations which specified they were exclusively for the 'better classes' or those with incomes above a certain level.⁹¹

The group of organisations Howe classified as dealing with 'distress', either by providing 'general relief' or 'food and loans', were arguably those most closely targeted on the poor and these received between 5.4 and 16.9 per cent of total income. The volatility of

the share of income going to this group might suggest waves of giving according to the needs of the Metropolitan poor. These peaks in income were usually associated with particular Mansion House Fund appeals; for example, the editorial of the 1883 edition stated ‘The greatest increase is in the section for the relief of distress, owing mainly to the total of the Mansion House Fund, which in 1881-2 was £200,000, as against £62,000 only in 1880-1.’ Although the listing for Mansion House Funds said that ‘Contributions are received by the Lord Mayor from time to time for the relief of special distress’, these appeals did not necessarily redistribute funds to the poor of London.⁹² In 1901/2 the £771,229 raised for general relief was largely due to Mansion House Funds which included: £3,400 for Bishop Creighton’s Memorial; £210,000 for The National Memorial to Queen Victoria; and £115,000 for the Kings Coronation Gift.⁹³ This voluntary transfer of money from the wealthy elite of the City to the even wealthier Crown suggests that in this year at least the Mansion House Funds were more concerned with vertical redistribution upwards, rather than down to the poor.⁹⁴ Even when funds were transferred to the poor, the largest appeals were for overseas beneficiaries. We have already seen that in 1876 the MHF raised £500,000 to send to India, whilst in 1899/1900 the ‘distress’ category actually excluded the sums raised by the funds due to their distorting effect as so much of the money was going overseas with over a million pounds going to the Transvaal War Fund, and £376,000 for the Indian Famine. The category of distress, therefore, included funds going overseas and some beneficiaries who were far from poor.

A further category which could have benefited the London poor was ‘Aged’ which consistently received about 10 per cent of income, although like medical organisations these funds were not exclusively for the benefit of the poor. In addition, although Howe classified ‘home missions’ as belonging to the class ‘missionary’, thereby prioritising their shared religious objectives with their counterparts operating overseas, some of these home missions

would have been providing material benefit to the poor in addition to pursuing their spiritual aims. It is not possible to ascertain how much of the income of home missions was actually dedicated to the direct provision of material welfare services for the poor. However, even if we made the questionable assumption that all of the income of home missions was used for this purpose and then aggregated this income with that of organisations dealing with ‘distress’ and the ‘aged’ we are still unable to demonstrate that the majority of London’s voluntary income was targeted on the poor. Table 2 shows the amounts and proportions of total income going to each of these categories for various sample years.

Table 2: Proportion of total voluntary income going to organisations dealing with distress, the aged and home missions, 1874-1913

Aggregating across the three categories shows the total income of those organisations which were most likely to have been providing direct material assistance to the poor varies between 27 and 35 per cent of the total income of London voluntary organisations over the period. Even by making the most generous assumption that all income going to organisations operating in the categories ‘distress’, ‘aged’ and ‘home missions’ was devoted to the material needs of the London poor we still find that the majority of funds were not devoted to them: rather they may have received a similar proportion of total voluntary income as the 27 to 35 per cent that went to religious organisations, excluding home missions, many of which operated overseas. In addition, we know from the objects of some of the organisations included in table 2 that many of these organisations were devoted to proselytising to, rather than providing for, the material needs of the poor or they did not restrict their activities to the poorest classes. These findings therefore contradict Prochaska’s claim for the ‘massive redistribution of wealth’ and temper Thane’s assertion of the ‘large sum ... distributed from rich to poor annually’.⁹⁵

Analysis of Howe's data for the income of London voluntary organisations for the period between 1874-1913, therefore suggests there was neither a 'phenomenal growth of charitable funds', nor a 'massive redistribution of wealth' from rich to poor.⁹⁶ Whilst there may have been particular fads and fashions in giving for particular years, overall there was a remarkable continuity in the areas of activity to which funds were donated. Purposes relating to the Lord came a clear first followed by concerns regarding bodily health and only then organisations which may have been providing for the more direct material needs of the poor in distress. Religion retained a supreme dominance over funds throughout the period. It is arguable that the most significant redistribution that did occur was probably between comparatively rich British Christians and impoverished non-Christians overseas. These data therefore appear to convincingly refute the optimists case for the growth and re-distributive nature of Victorian voluntary giving. They do not, however, necessarily confirm the pessimists case that voluntary poor relief was insignificant in comparison with provision by the poor law.

III

As we have seen, Lindert and Humphreys argued that voluntary poor relief was small in comparison with poor law expenditure, although both are likely to have under-estimated voluntary income. Conversely, however, more optimistic authors, have argued that voluntary poor relief was greater than statutory. In assessing claims regarding the income of voluntary organisations and poor law expenditure we need to explore the potential terminological tangles they embody. First, voluntary income may include that for many purposes which are not directly related to the poor, or even to purposes within the same national geographical jurisdiction as the Poor Law. Secondly, expenditure on poor relief was not the same thing as

poor law expenditure, and 'relief to the poor and purposes connected therewith' was only one of three categories of poor law expenditure.⁹⁷ Purposes connected with poor relief included both 'in-maintenance' and 'out-relief', 'maintenance of lunatics in asylums or licensed houses', 'workhouse or other loans repaid', 'salaries' and other expenses. We must thus therefore be wary of comparing, for example, poor law expenditure on out-relief, or even poor law expenditure on poor relief in general, with total voluntary income or expenditure, as these examples of poor law expenditure only constituted a proportion of expenditure under the jurisdiction of the poor law, whilst total voluntary income overstates the funds available for relief to the poor. We should also bear in mind that such comparisons do not capture total public expenditure on welfare services. Both central and local government increasingly provided various non-poor-law services such as those relating to public health and education and even income maintenance after the New Liberal reforms of the Edwardian period. Whilst these services and reforms altered the balance of provision and relationship between sectors within the mixed economy of welfare, public expenditure on the new Liberal reforms did not really pick up until the end of our period. The ensuing analysis is thus restricted to testing the principle area of contention in the historiography regarding the comparative positions of voluntary income and poor law expenditure. Any comparison of the total shares of the public and voluntary sectors within the mixed economy of welfare would therefore be based on larger figures for both sectors as total public expenditure on all welfare services would have exceeded the poor law expenditure presented here whilst our voluntary income estimates do not capture services provided by mutual aid organisations. Notwithstanding these reservations, figure three attempts to systematically compare poor relief expenditure and the income of voluntary organisations in both London and England and Wales.

Figure 3: Poor relief expenditure and the income of voluntary organisations in London and England and Wales, 1874-1913.

Source: Howe, Classified directory ... for 1876 (-1915); Local Government Board, Annual Report for 1873-4 (-1912-3).⁹⁸

Taking the position within London first, figure three shows that the total income of London voluntary organisations, as recorded by Howe, was about double the poor law expenditure on 'relief to the poor' in the capital. If, however, we exclude the income of London voluntary organisations which were devoted to religious purposes, many of which were overseas, we see that voluntary income net of religion was only just above public expenditure on poor relief. Although this net figure excludes the 10 to 14 per cent of voluntary income over the period going to home missions, which as been argued were providing some material services for the poor, the net income figure still includes that going to organisations providing for the needs of those who would not fulfil the criteria to become poor law beneficiaries. In addition, the beneficiaries of some London based organisations may have been either overseas or resident elsewhere in the nation for organisations whose income was recorded against their London head quarters. Thus, even with the exclusion of the religious and overseas funds, we may still be over-estimating the income of those voluntary organisations included in Howe's directories which were providing services akin to those provided under the poor law. These data do not therefore sustain the argument that poor law 'relief to the poor' in London was less than the income of voluntary organisations if we only include organisations providing analogous services over a similar geographic area.

Figure 4: Poor law expenditure and income of voluntary organisations in London 1874-1913.

Source: Howe, Classified directory ... for 1876 (-1915); Local Government Board, Annual Report for 1873-4 (-1912-3).

To look at the broader picture of poor law, rather than simply poor relief, expenditure, figure four shows total poor law expenditure in London was greater than voluntary income net religious purposes from approximately 1880 until 1900, whilst from the early 1890s total public poor law expenditure exceeded total voluntary income.⁹⁹ It should, however, be noted that the total poor law expenditure figures for London show a significant rise from 1890, the year of the foundation of the London County Council, as from this date a large sum was levied on the poor rate to fund various items of LCC expenditure. In addition, two lines are shown for total poor law expenditure in London, as from the mid-1880s the annual reports of the Local Government Board distinguished between expenditure net and gross of contributions to the Metropolitan Common Poor Fund (MCPF).

To compare voluntary income and poor law expenditure solely devoted to poor relief nationally we need to return to figure three. Taking first the comparison of 'total income London organisations' and expenditure on 'relief to the poor' in England and Wales it is clear voluntary income in London is just over half of total annual expenditure on relief to the poor in England and Wales. But what about national voluntary income and poor relief expenditure? Such a comparison is problematic as we lack data series for national voluntary income. However an estimation has been attempted by inflating the London figures using the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws' estimation that London received 57 per cent of the gross receipts of voluntary organisations in England and Wales. This method of estimation does not allow for a varying proportion of national income being London based overtime, but such data is not available on a time-series basis. This shows that for most of the period between 1874-1913 the estimated income of voluntary organisations and public expenditure on 'relief

to the poor' in England and Wales were fairly similar. However, this comparison undoubtedly over-states the amount of voluntary income that was devoted to poor relief as it is derived from the gross voluntary income figures for London which include the 40-50 per cent of the income of London organisations which were devoted to religious purposes, a significant proportion of which was going overseas. If the estimates for national voluntary income were adjusted downwards to exclude these religious funds then public poor relief would have exceeded voluntary income. It is likely, however, that less than 40 to 50 per cent of the income of non-Metropolitan voluntary organisations in England and Wales would have been devoted to religious and overseas causes due to the disproportionate number of these sorts of organisations which based their headquarters in the capital.

To summarise these findings, therefore, it appears that on a like-for-like basis the income of voluntary organisations providing relief to the poor did not exceed poor relief expenditure, either in the capital or for the whole of England and Wales. However, the total income of London voluntary organisations, including as it did large sums devoted to religious purposes at home and overseas, did exceed poor law expenditure on relief to the poor in London but not expenditure for the whole of England and Wales. On the bases of these data, the mixed economy of welfare provided for the poor between the 1870s and the first world war appears to have been a rather more balanced mix of public and voluntary aid than either the pessimists or optimists of the existing historiography suggest, although the balance between the public and voluntary sectors as whole within that mix was changing as both local and national government took more direct roles in welfare provision.

IV

Analysis of data pertaining to the income of voluntary organisations in London between 1874-1913 has shown three things: First, the rate of growth was only that which we would have expected given the rise in national income during the period; secondly there is little evidence for an overwhelming voluntary redistribution of funds from rich to poor within the capital; and finally, relief to the poor from voluntary organisations was not of greater significance than that provided under the auspices of the poor law either in London or for the whole of England and Wales. What might these findings suggest for the more general history of welfare provision?

In the twentieth century, one of the characteristics of public welfare expenditure was that in developed nations it consumed an ever larger share of national income indicating a growth rate above that of GNP, suggesting such expenditure was a luxury good, in that as income rose an increased proportion of expenditure was devoted to welfare. Our findings for the growth in the financial resources of the voluntary sector in London suggest that the same cannot be said for voluntary activity during the period from the 1870s to the First World War: a significant chunk in time of the apparently golden age of voluntarism for a geographic area which we believe received a disproportionate share of the voluntary cake. The Victorians did not demonstrate a propensity to give an increased share of their rising national income to metropolitan voluntary organisations. Our data would seem to confirm that the financial capacity of voluntary effort was limited, although in judging the adequacy of voluntary provision, we need to know something about demand as well as supply. Whilst we do not have here any objective measures of the extent of such demand we do know that the Victorians and Edwardians had rising expectations about which welfare needs should and could be met. It is therefore hard to avoid the conclusion that the voluntary provision of welfare was inadequate and that as Owen suggested only the State had the capacity required

to address those unmet needs. Although voluntary activity undoubtedly had an important role to play in the Victorian mixed economy of welfare, for the poor at least, public provision was similarly significant. Even if the more modest view of the British philanthropic tradition advanced here, could be shown to be internationally exceptional, the comparison of voluntary income and poor law expenditure above suggests one might have to add that the tradition of public relief to the poor was an equally impressive national characteristic.

TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 1: Growth rates of London voluntary income and national income, 1874-1913

Area	Annualised Growth rate %
National income	2.00
Income of London voluntary organisations	2.04
Per capita National income	1.12
Per capita voluntary income LCC area	1.34
Per capita voluntary income GLC area	0.55

Source: Howe, Classified directory ...for 1876 (-1915); Feinstein, Statistical Tables, pp.11, 55; Young & Garside, Metropolitan London, p.342

Table 2: Proportion of total voluntary income going to organisations dealing with distress, the aged, and home missions

Year	% Distress (a)	% Aged (b)	% Home missions (c)	% Sum (a+b+c)	£ Total voluntary income
1874	7.02	9.42	10.41	26.86	3975581
1875	7.13	9.73	10.27	27.13	4114849
1876	16.89	8.98	8.85	34.71	4651132
1877	8.52	10.38	10.24	29.13	4262739
1878	8.60	10.28	10.81	29.69	4144367
1879	9.40	10.02	10.71	30.14	4202450
1880	8.43	10.26	11.32	30.01	4121546
1881	11.54	9.70	11.41	32.65	4452902
1882	7.49	10.12	11.11	28.72	4313275
1883	7.26	9.80	11.73	28.79	4447436
1884	7.22	9.97	11.63	28.83	4466556
1885	8.35	9.46	11.96	29.77	4680654
1886	6.98	9.58	12.29	28.85	4579506
1887	7.82	9.97	13.61	31.40	4773304
1888	8.37	9.07	12.19	29.63	5063137
1889	8.94	9.61	13.62	32.17	4918652
1890	8.23	8.32	11.58	28.14	6060763
1891	8.66	8.45	11.95	29.07	6246136
1892	9.05	9.10	14.10	32.24	5549494
1893	7.37	9.28	14.11	30.76	5291692
1894	7.39	9.24	13.13	29.76	5484301
1895	6.81	9.36	12.69	28.86	5659420
1896	7.19	9.43	13.09	29.71	5638270
1897	8.53	9.07	12.05	29.65	6207291
1898	7.52	9.19	12.45	29.15	6213291
1899	8.15	9.46	13.02	30.63	6344445
1900	9.93	9.44	12.76	32.13	6431062
1901	11.47	8.77	12.03	32.27	6867621
1902	6.37	8.70	12.87	27.94	6950135
1903	6.45	8.61	12.52	27.58	7087979
1904	7.67	9.35	12.93	29.94	7051431
1905	7.71	8.90	12.42	29.03	7533252
1906	6.93	8.91	13.07	28.90	7529977
1907	6.58	8.72	13.55	28.85	7742916
1908	6.61	9.00	13.72	29.33	7864381
1909	6.12	8.56	14.59	29.27	7894591
1910	6.14	8.35	13.31	27.80	8060796
1911	6.00	8.59	13.32	27.91	8219011
1912	5.95	8.78	14.13	28.86	8088778
1913	5.43	8.46	12.90	26.79	8705980

Source: Howe, Classified directory ...for 1876 (-1915)

Figure 1: Howe's Total Income of London Charities, 1874-1913

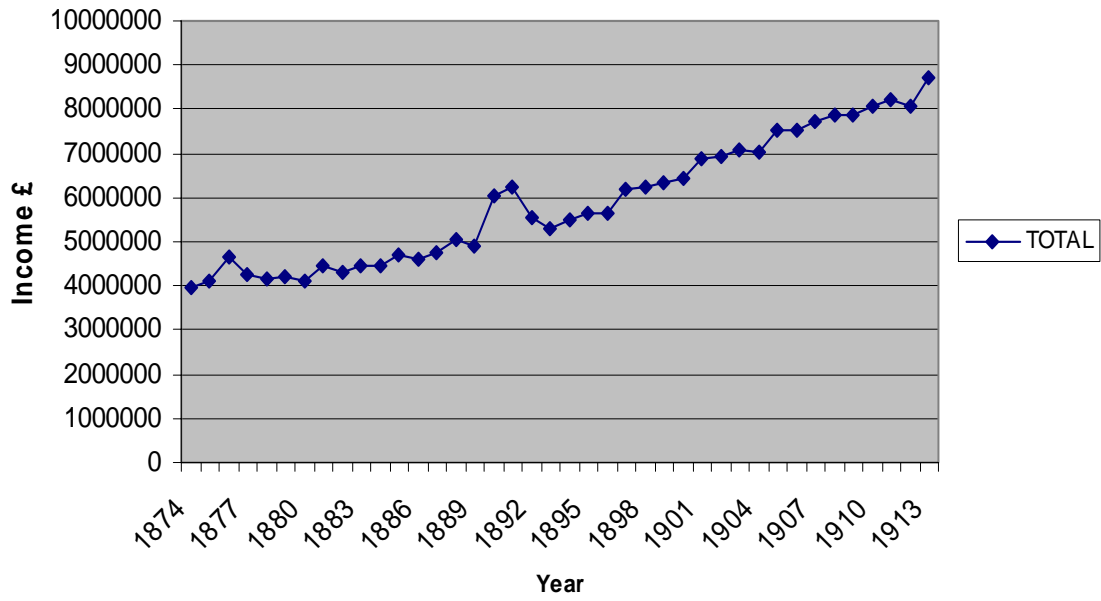


Figure 2: Proportion of Total Income of London Charities by Group, 1874-1913

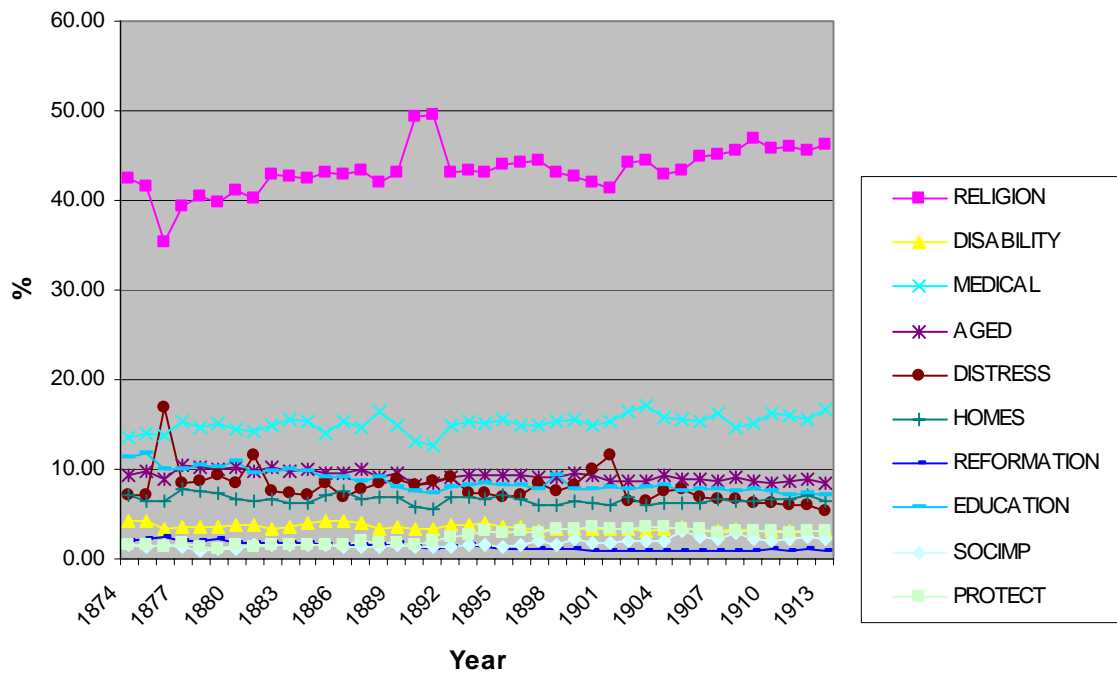
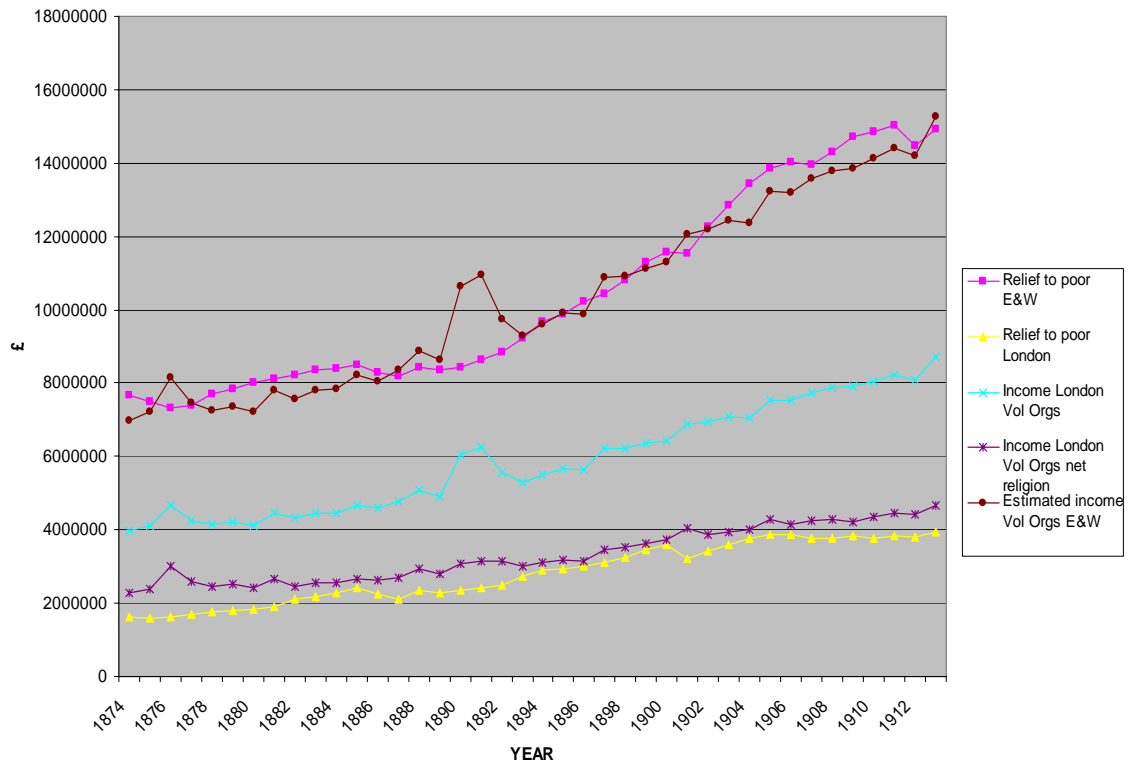
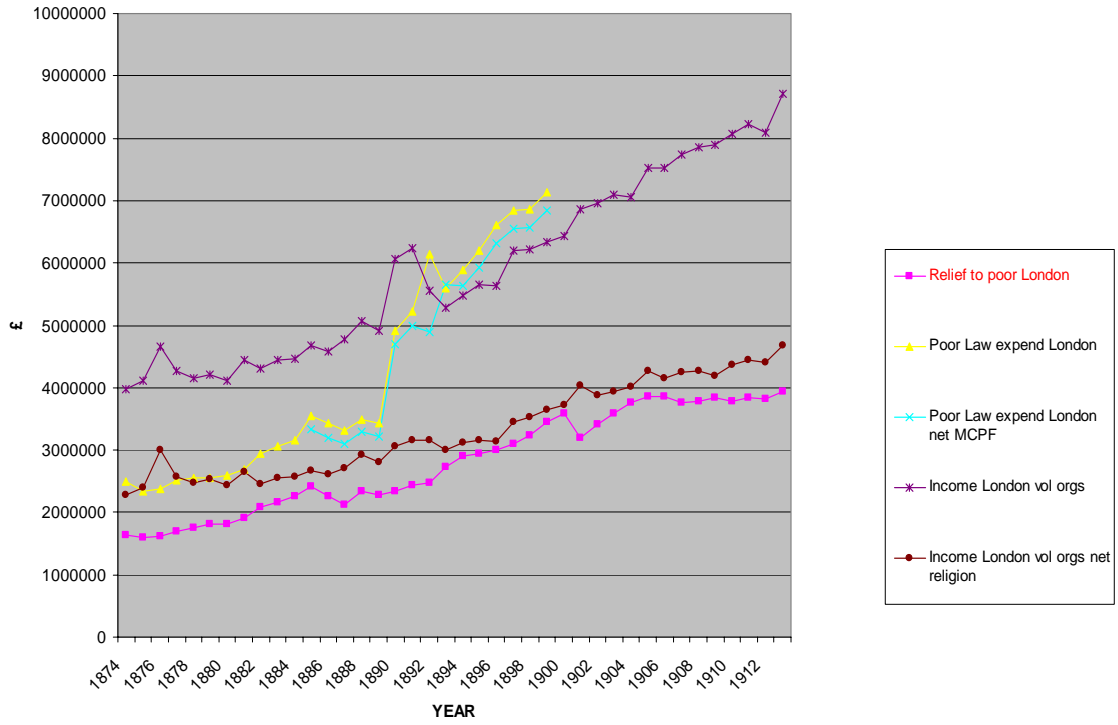


Figure 3: Poor Relief Expenditure and Income of Voluntary Organisations in London, England and Wales, 1874-1913



**Figure 4: Poor Law expenditure and income of voluntary organisations in London
1874-1913**



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- ¹ Jordan, *English Philanthropy*; Bittle & Lane, 'Inflation and philanthropy'; Hadwin, 'Deflating philanthropy'; Coleman, 'Philanthropy deflated'.
- ² Prochaska, 'Philanthropy', p.357; *Royal*, p.1;
- ³ Lindert, *Growing Public*, pp.40-5.
- ⁴ Harris, *Origins*, p.64.
- ⁵ Prochaska, 'Philanthropy', p.357.
- ⁶ Prochaska, *Philanthropy and the hospitals*, p.2.
- ⁷ Thane, *Foundations*, p.20.
- ⁸ Lewis, *Voluntary sector*, p.1.
- ⁹ Waddington, 'Grasping gratitude', p.187.
- ¹⁰ Davis Smith, 'Voluntary tradition', p.15.
- ¹¹ Lindert, *Growing Public*, pp.40-5; Lindert, 'Poor Relief', pp.104-5
- ¹² Checkland, *Philanthropy in Scotland*; Luddy, *Women and philanthropy*; Prochaska, *Women and philanthropy*, *Philanthropy and the hospitals*
- ¹³ Marland, *Medicine and Society*, pp.374-6.
- ¹⁴ Adams, *Philanthropy, patronage*, p.16.
- ¹⁵ Bremner, *American Philanthropy*, p.1.
- ¹⁶ Owen, *English Philanthropy*, p.470.
- ¹⁷ Best, *Mid-Victorian Britain*, p.138
- ¹⁸ Prochaska, 'Philanthropy', p.357.
- ¹⁹ Prochaska, *Women and philanthropy*, p.21; 'Philanthropy', p.358; *Philanthropy and the hospitals*, p.2; *Schools of citizenship*, p.24.
- ²⁰ Owen, *English philanthropy*, p.469.
- ²¹ Owen, *English philanthropy*.

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- ²² Prochaska, 'Philanthropy', p.360.
- ²³ Owen, *English philanthropy*, p.1.
- ²⁴ Prochaska's definition also includes mutual aid which as is discussed on p.?? is largely absent from the empirical sources used here.
- ²⁵ Ibid., p.6.
- ²⁶ Ibid., *English philanthropy*, p.6.
- ²⁷ Harrison, 'Philanthropy', p.375.
- ²⁸ Ibid., p.374.
- ²⁹ Gorsky, *Patterns of philanthropy*, pp.204, 232, 234.
- ³⁰ Ibid., p.21.
- ³¹ Morris, *Class, Sect and Party*; Trainor, *Black Country*.
- ³² Waddington, 'Grasping gratitude', pp.187-192; Gorsky and Mohan, 'London's voluntary hospitals', pp.257-259.
- ³³ Waddington, 'Grasping gratitude', pp.187-192. Guy's share of income from philanthropy rose to 23 per cent in the 1890s whilst St. Bartholomew's remained at 3.2 per cent, although no explanation is given for this difference. Waddington, 'Bastard Benevolence', pp.160-3.
- ³⁴ Gorsky and Mohan, 'London's voluntary hospitals', pp.257-259.
- ³⁵ Gorsky, Mohan & Powell, 'Financial health', p.546.
- ³⁶ Best, *Mid-Victorian Britain*, p.140
- ³⁷ Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy*, p.21.
- ³⁸ Fraser, *Evolution*, p.136.
- ³⁹ Harrison, *Peaceable Kingdom*, p.217.
- ⁴⁰ Lascelles, 'Charity'; Lowe *Charities of London in 1861*.
- ⁴¹ Lascelles, 'Charity', p.322.
- ⁴² Harrison, *Peaceable Kingdom*, p.217; McCord, N. 'The poor law and philanthropy', p.97.

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- ⁴³ Hawksley, *Charities of London*, p.7.
- ⁴⁴ Fry, *Royal Guide ... for 1866-7*, p.vii.
- ⁴⁵ Thane, *Foundations*, p.21; Owen, *English Philanthropy*, p.478.
- ⁴⁶ Owen, *English Philanthropy*, p.478.
- ⁴⁷ Harris, 'Society and State', p.68; this is also cited by Lewis in *Voluntary Sector*, p.1.
- ⁴⁸ A. R. Prest & A. A. Adams, *Consumers expenditure in the United Kingdom 1900-1919* (Cambridge, 1954), p.162; B. R. Mitchell & P. Deane, *Abstract of British Historical Statistics* (Cambridge, 1962), p.148.
- ⁴⁹ Lindert, 'Poor relief', pp.104-5; *Growing Public*, pp.40-45; Humphreys, 'Scientific Charity'; 'Bygone charity'; *Poor relief*.
- ⁵⁰ Humphreys, 'Bygone charity', p.2.
- ⁵¹ Humphreys, *Poor relief*, pp.77.
- ⁵² Gorsky, *Patterns of philanthropy*, p.57.
- ⁵³ Lindert, *Growing public*, p.41-2; 'Poor relief', pp.104-5.
- ⁵⁴ Morris, 'Clubs, societies and associations', pp.411-2; 'Voluntary societies', p.101.
- ⁵⁵ Lindert, *Growing public*, p.43.
- ⁵⁶ For example see *Times*: 2 Sep 1850; 11 Feb. 1869; 15 Feb. 1877; 14 Apr 1884; 27 Dec 1889; 16 Mar 1897; 15 Apr 1897; 31 Jan 1911.
- ⁵⁷ Prochaska, *Schools of citizenship*, p.24.
- ⁵⁸ Jordan, *Charities of London*; Andrew, *Philanthropy and police*.
- ⁵⁹ Hollen Lees, 'Urban networks', p.72.
- ⁶⁰ Owen, *English Philanthropy*, p.476.
- ⁶¹ The main directories and the runs which I have identified are: Sampson Low's *Charities of London* 1850s and probably annual in 60s &70s; Herbert Fry's, *Royal Guide to the London Charities* 1863-probably 1950s; Howe's *Classified Directory to the Metropolitan Charities*

1876-1919; Charles Loch and the COS's *Annual Charity Register and Digest* 4 eds. in the 1880s early 1890s then annual from 1897; Henry Burdett's *Hospital and Charities Yearbook* 1890s onwards.

⁶² Although the works of Burdett and the COS offer us expenditure data and break income into its constituent parts of donations and subscriptions, legacies, investments and sales, this is only from the Edwardian period and these guides also include non-Metropolitan organisations.

⁶³ Owen, *English Philanthropy*, p.477.

⁶⁴ Gorky, *Patterns of Philanthropy*, pp. 15, 18.

⁶⁵ Beveridge, *Voluntary Action*, pp. 8-9.

⁶⁶ Gorsky, *Patterns of philanthropy*, p.136.

⁶⁷ Report in *Times*, 9 Jan. 1885, p.9, col.c.

⁶⁸ Prochaska, *Women and philanthropy*, p.21; 'Philanthropy', p.358; *Philanthropy and the hospitals*, p.2; *Schools of citizenship*, p.24.; Owen more carefully referred to it as a 'half jubilant, half-rueful leading article', *English Philanthropy*, p.469.

⁶⁹ Howe, *Classified Directory ... for 1885*, p.xxi.

⁷⁰ Howe, *Classified Directory ... for 1886*, p.xxi.

⁷¹ Howe, *Classified Directory ... for 1877*, p.xv.

⁷² The 1876 edition gave data for 1874 and so on. Where data were given across years e.g. 1877-8 it is entered by the first year i.e. 1877. Data for the years 1914-1917 have not been used due to the distorting effect of the war.

⁷³ Howe, *Classified Directory ...for 1878*, p.xv.

⁷⁴ Howe, *Classified Directory ...for 1891*, p.14; *Classified Directory ...for 1893*, p.16.

⁷⁵ Howe, *Classified Directory ...for 1885 (-1906)*; Fry, *Royal Guide* (1885-1905).

⁷⁶ RCPL (P.P.1910, LIV) p.76.

⁷⁷ Rubinstein, W. D. 'The Victorian Middle Classes: Wealth, Occupation, and Geography', *Econ. Hist. Review*, 2nd ser., XXX (1977), pp.602-623.

⁷⁸ Rubinstein, W. D. *Elites and the wealthy in Modern British History: Essays in Economic and Social History*, (Brighton, 1987), pp.83-118.

⁷⁹ Nicholas, T. 'Enterprise and management', in Floud, R. & Johnson, P. *Cambridge Economic History of Britain*, vol.3?, pp.247-8.

⁸⁰ COS, *Annual charities register* (1906: ccxc)

⁸¹ COS, *Annual charities register* (1906-1909).

⁸² Howe, *Classified Directory ...for 1885*, p.xxiii.

⁸³ *Ibid.* pp. vii, 3.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p.1.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.4-16.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p.4.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p.202.

⁸⁸ Owen, *English Philanthropy*, p.479.

⁸⁹ Howe, *Classified Directory ...for 1885*, pp.i-xviii, 161-210.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.25-39.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-24.

⁹² Howe, *Classified directory ... for 1903*, p.83.

⁹³ *Ibid.*.

⁹⁴ The poor overseas, however, benefited from £65,000 for the Volcanic eruption in St

Vincent and £6,000 for the Johannesburg Refugees' Fund. *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ Prochaska, 'Philanthropy', p.357; *Philanthropy and hospitals*, p.2; Thane, *Foundations*, p.20.

⁹⁶ Prochaska, *Philanthropy and the Hospitals*, p.2; *Women and Philanthropy*, p.21; 'Philanthropy', p.357.

⁹⁷ LGB, Thirteenth annual report for 1883-4, (P.P. 1884, XXXVII) pp.186-7.

⁹⁸ The annual reports give data for the year ended at lady day. These have therefore been entered by the second of the two calendar years they span.

⁹⁹ The data shown for total metropolitan expenditure end in 1900 when they cease to be provided in the annual reports of the Local Government Board.

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