The Fabian Municipal Program, No. 4.



# Municipal Tramways.

## WHY NOT MUNICIPALISE THE TRAMWAYS?

In London, for instance, the 126 miles of tramways are in the hands of one large and ten smaller companies, whose aggregate capital, swollen, as usual, by legal and Parliamentary expenses, amounts, as stated in the table below, to nearly

THREE AND A HALF MILLIONS STERLING.

Their receipts exceed the working expenses by about £240,000 annually, or nearly 7 per cent. on their nominal capital, which goes to maintain the body of eight or ten thousand share and debenture holders, who are at present permitted to derive a tribute from London's need of locomotive facilities. The shareholders of the largest company, owning one-third of the whole of the lines (North Metropolitan), have for many years received a dividend of between 9 and 10 per cent. per annum on their shares:

Statistics of the Length, Capital Expenditure, Receipts, Expenditure, and Net Profit of the Tramway Companies in London, for the year 1890.

Name of Company.	Length open.		Paid-up Capital,	Total Receipts.	Total Expenses.	Surplus
TO SUNDA TREE SURES	Mls.	Chs.	£	£	£	£
* North Metropolitan (1869)	41	58	1,277,479	405,292	294,432	110,860
London (1869)	21	58	660,000	300,220	223,702	76,518
London Street (1870)	13	40	379,500	126,442	101,081	25,361
South London (1879)	12	72	366,960	74,063	63,647	10,416
West Metropolitan (1873)	8	59	202,500	26,917	21,640	5.277
* North London (1879)	9	73	183,466	17,250	16,609	641
Southwark and Deptford (1879)	4 5	72	162,389	24,474	19.745	4,729
London Southern (1882)	5	60	112,500	14,746	12,617	2,129
Highgate Hill (1882)	_	57		No return	rendered.	
Harrow Road, Paddington (1886)	1	61	75,000	9,526	7,852	1,674
Woolwich and South-East London (1880)	4	77	72,220	14,968	11,920	3,048
	126	47	3,492,014	1,013,898	773,245	240,653

<sup>\*</sup> About to be amalgamated.

How this dividend is obtained is known to all men. The 5,000 tramway drivers, conductors, horsekeepers and labourers working London's 1,022 licensed tramcars (C—6,472), are among the hardest worked, most cruelly treated, and worst paid of London's wage slaves. Sixteen hours' work for 4s. wage is no uncommon day's record; whilst Sundays or other holidays are known to them only as times of extra traffic. Tramway servants in other towns (with the one exception of Huddersfield) are in much the same state. Nor is it possible to remedy this "white slavery" whilst the tramways remain in private hands. Mrs. Reaney and other well known philanthropists have in vain used every mode of appeal to the consciences of the shareholders. The Trade Union

of Tramway Servants, the pulpit and the press equally fail to induce them to forego any material part of their dividend in order to improve the condition of the servants by whose toil they live.

But why should London leave its most important lines of internal communication in private hands, to be used as a source of private tribute, wrung from the oppression of the workers? In 29 provincial municipalities and urban districts of Great Britain the local authority itself owns the local tramways, amounting in the aggregate to 244 miles, or more than a fourth of the whole tramway mileage. Most of these corporations lease out the lines to exploiting companies; but they can put what conditions they please in the leases, and if the tram servants of Liverpool, Glasgow, or Birmingham are oppressed, the remedy is in the hands of the municipal electors. But one corporation, at any rate, does not shrink from the

#### DIRECT ORGANISATION OF LABOUR,

and gives no opportunity to the middleman. The Huddersfield Town Council obtained statutory power in 1882 (45 and 46 Vic., c. 236) to work its own tramways; and has done so with marked success and an annual profit. The Liverpool Corporation demanded similar statutory power in 1889, but has not yet taken over its lines. The Glasgow Corporation has lately resolved to follow the example of Huddersfield. The London County Council already owns and works a free steam-ferry at Woolwich, served by two steamboats lit by electricity.

The public has now an unparalleled opportunity in the matter. The tramway companies only received their concessions on condition that the local authority should have power to take over the whole concern at the expiration of 21 years from the time when the promoters were empowered to construct the line in each case, upon payment only of the actual value of the stock and plant (33 and 34 Vic., cap. 78, sec. 43). The first company completed this period, as regards part of its lines, in 1891; and, after fierce opposition from the reactionary members, the London County Council resolved, in October, 1891, to exercise the rights given to it by Parliament, and to take over the four miles of line which had fallen in, on payment of the actual value of the rails and plant.

In nearly every succeeding year a further portion of London's tramways can become London's property in this way. The same is the case in other towns. But the workers must insist upon the rights of the public being exercised, or the capitalists will once more juggle us out of our inheritance. Insist on the taking over of every piece of tramway as soon as possible. But there are two ways of taking over the tramways. Either the public line may be leased out to capitalists to exploit the tram slaves as before; or the Town or County Council may work the line itself without any contractor. The first is the method of Liverpool; the last is the method of Huddersfield, soon to be copied by Glasgow. Under the one system, the worker may still have to work 16 hours a day; but under the management of the Huddersfield Town Council, the tramway servants work in two shifts eight hours a day each.

In most cases, however, it is merely the lines that are owned by the public authority, not the working plant. A special clause in the Tramways Act of 1870 expressly prohibits, indeed, any public authority from itself working a tramway without the intervention of a contracting middleman. This was, perhaps, the last occasion on which the now universally exploded doctrine of "Administrative Nihilism" was able, unchallenged, to prevail over public industry. It is significant that this deliberate stifling of public enterprise was the work of a President of the Board of Trade (John Bright) who belonged to the old-fashioned Liberalism of the last generation. One of the points to be insisted upon in any grant of further powers to local authorities must be the repeal of this express legal "protection" to the private capitalist of the toll which he levies upon our street communications.

The Huddersfield Town Council, as already mentioned, rebelled against this restriction, and obtained a local Act overruling it. Notwithstanding the Eight Hours Day on their tramways they make a net profit annually, as the following accounts show:—

#### HUDDERSFIELD CORPORATION TRAMWAYS COMMITTEE.

Financial Report for Six Months ended 30th Sept., 1890, and 1889.

During both of these periods the Drivers and Conductors were employed on the Eight Hours system.

Expenditure, Six Months ended Sept. 30th, 1890.	YOUTH AND THE REAL PROPERTY OF THE PARTY OF	Expenditure, Corresponding Period, 1889.
£	branch and a little state and a market to	f
2117	Locomotive Power	2073
639	Traffic	606
977	Maintenance of Ways and Works	690
1325	Repairs to Engines and Cars	1136
261	Management	359
250	Rents, Rates and Taxes	173
217	Miscellaneous	125
001 3130 114		
5786	Total	5162
2750	Gross Profit	2773
8536	Receipts	7935
0000	Receipts	
1778	{ Interest and Sinking Fund, 4½% } on Loans	1559
880	Depreciation, 2% on Capital	753
2658	agua a mar a mar a mar a mar a chairte a chair	2312
2750	Gross Profit	2773
£92	Balance Profit	461

Capital Account, £88,039. Depreciation Account, £3,285. Loan Account, £84,000.

Workers, insist that the Town or County Council shall obtain power to manage as well as to take over the tramways.

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No. 7.—Capital and Land. A similar survey of the distribution of property, with a criticism of the distinction sometimes set up between Land and Capital as instruments of production. 15th thousand. 16 pp., 1d. or 9d. per doz,

No. 8.—Facts for Londoners. 5th thousand, 56 pp., 6d.; or 4/6 doz. No. 9.—An Eight Hours Bill. Full notes explain the Trade Option clause and the precedents on which the Bill is founded. 20th thous. 16 pp., id.; 9d. doz. No. 10.—Figures for Londoners.. 20th thous. 4 pp., 6 for id.; i/- 100.

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No. 16.—A Plea for an Eight Hours Bill. 4 pp., 6 for 1d.; 1/- per 100.

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