

THE PROVISION OF PUBLIC BATHS AND WASH HOUSES IN CARDIFF
AND THEIR EFFECT ON VICTORIAN PUBLIC HEALTH AND HYGIENE

1846-1901.

by

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ABSTRACT.

This study attempts to document the provision of Public Baths and Wash Houses in Cardiff during the period 1846-1901. It also evaluates the effect of their provision on public health and hygiene. Historical research was carried out with data obtained through an archive search of primary sources, which included Council minute books and reports. A study of secondary sources was carried out to obtain background information into the social and cultural environment of the time.

The essential areas investigated included, leisure and class, Victorian Public Health and Hygiene, the urban environment and the provision of facilities. The study concluded that while benefits did occur they were not as substantial or far reaching as they could have been if they had occurred under an effective and efficient local government system.

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Public Baths and Wash Houses fulfilled a number of important social function in the Victorian towns and cities. They provided the opportunity to have a hot wash, a Turkish bath, swim, or wash and iron laundry. These buildings are disappearing at an alarming rate; a survey carried out by Bird (1995) suggests that only thirty per cent of these facilities survive. It is important therefore that as much evidence is documented concerning these buildings and the reason for their provision examined before they disappear altogether. As little specific research has been carried out into the relationship between Victorian public health, hygiene, leisure policy and reform. The theme of the research was to question the effects, social and political, of the provision of Public Baths and Wash Houses on the health, hygiene and leisure opportunities of the working class population of Cardiff during the period 1846-1901.

Though urban development had its foundation in the Industrial Revolution the dates of this study, 1846-1901 were chosen to serve only as a guideline. 1846 was a important reference point, as this was an important year for this study with the passing of the Baths and Wash houses Act. The next few years also saw a number of important developments. The Public Health Act was passed in 1848, and Thomas Rammell conducted his important inquiry into the sanitary state of Cardiff in 1849. This report gave an insight into the urban environment and housing conditions of Cardiff and provided a benchmark against which an assessment of any improvements made in public health and hygiene could have been made during the following fifty-five years. The finishing date was chosen as it marked the end of the Victorian age following the death of Queen Victoria in that year. However it must be remembered that the momentum and

improvements made during this period did not stop with the closing of this era but continued well into the 20th. Century.

To approach this study the following areas needed to be investigated and any connections evaluated. Social class and its effect on leisure provision, public health and hygiene and the effects of disease, the urban environment, and finally the provision of Public Baths and Wash Houses. These areas overlapped each other to a certain extent and were all major forces effecting the development of the Public Baths and Wash Houses during the period of this study. The study relied heavily on the use of archive sources to obtain the raw data to enable an evaluation of the period to be undertaken. The order of chapters was chosen to provide a sequential progression through the factors which effected the provision of Public Baths and Wash Houses.

The chapter that follows deals with the methodological concerns of this study. It explains how the evidence was collected and defines the process of historical research and evaluation, examining the problems associated with it.

In chapter three the concept of class and its influence on leisure is discussed. It was important to evaluate the area of class early in the research to establish and define the population being investigated. As Public Baths and Wash Houses was provided primarily for use by the working classes, it was important to discover what part, if any, these facilities played in working class culture. This chapter therefore, examines the leisure activities of the working classes, and why they were attracted, or directed by the classes above them, to those pursuits.

Victorian public health is examined during chapter four. The consequences of disease is examined and the preventive measures taken explained. It discusses the

importance of public health in the urban environment and traces the evolution of the public health movement. Reference is made to the importance of reformers such as Sir Edwin Chadwick, and the influence of the local authorities on the control of disease is examined. The chapter highlights the contributions made by these elected bodies and the conflict that existed between them and the philanthropic efforts of the sanitary reformers.

The next chapter examines the urban environment of Cardiff at the beginning of the period of this study. It extensively uses the findings of the inquiry made by Thomas Rammell in 1849 to the sanitary conditions of the town's inhabitants. It was important to make a description of the town's physical appearance, together with a detailed examination of the housing and sanitary conditions many of the working classes were forced to live in. The connection between these conditions, overcrowding, and the problems of disease discussed in the previous chapter is made. The efforts made by the Commissioners of Cardiff to address the problems of public health is appraised and their effectiveness assessed.

In the seventh chapter, the Public Baths and Wash House facilities provided by the town of Cardiff are documented. It traces the development of these facilities and the philosophy behind their provision. It examines the political and social reasons for building these facilities, and assesses the usage made of them. To determine the importance of Public Baths and Wash Houses the concluding chapter evaluates the evidence obtained during the study. Were the facilities an important factor in the improvement of public health and hygiene? What benefit did the working classes obtain from them? And moreover, were they considered a purposeful leisure activity?

CHAPTER II
METHODOLOGICAL CONCERNS

This chapter will address data collection, its subsequent analysis and the problems experienced during my research. The research question quoted in the introduction was used as a starting point for my research I felt it was important that flexibility to change the original purpose was available, dependent on what other questions arose from the sources consulted. The period of study dictated that the only evidence available was that of the written documented type, no oral evidence of any note existed. Within this evidence primary and secondary sources were consulted and evaluated. Primary sources included original documents produced during the period such as council and government reports and records, newspaper articles and documented eyewitness accounts. Newspaper articles would provide important primary information, giving an insight into the political and social views of the period as a day-by-day chronicle of events. The primary source material was extensively gathered from the Local Studies section of Cardiff Central Library and the Mid Glamorgan archive service at the Glamorgan Record Office, Cathays Park also in Cardiff. Secondary sources, classed as being any evidence written by predecessors of the event, which included books, journals, and articles, were used to provide a socio-cultural and historical contextualisation of the period being studied. Secondary work in this area of study includes Bird (1995) who has studied the origins of Victorian Public Baths with particular reference to Dulwich Baths. The paper gives an introduction to the importance of Victorian Baths and briefly outlines the origins of Public Baths, siting practical health benefits and moral obligations for their provision. The paper explains how the Public Baths and Wash Houses Act of 1846 allowed for the provision of facilities within the area and details how these facilities were created and organised. The paper also comments on the social problem of sex discrimination, which

occurred at the Baths and how the facility was put to a variety of other uses during national emergencies. Bird (1995) although giving a good account of the history of Dulwich Baths has not gone into any great details concerning social, cultural or political aspects of its provision mentioning only briefly public health and social concerns and the different conditions existing for male and female users and employees. Yet these are the very areas that this study addresses, for it is clear that these were vital in explaining the importance of these facilities within the urban environment.

Terret (1993) has written about Civic Baths and body cleanliness in late Nineteenth Century France. He suggests that France was experiencing similar social problems to Britain, concerning the hygiene and health of its working classes. He also suggests that the French authorities recognised at a far earlier stage the importance swimming could have on the areas of body exercise and body cleanliness. However, Terret (1993) suggests that unlike Britain, France had relied on a private system of provision, which by 1860 it had accepted failed to provide an adequate solution. France then looked to Britain for the answer to its problems.

Many other secondary sources have examined Victorian society and culture and provides valuable information, insight and understanding. Specialist research includes Haley's (1978) book "The Healthy Body and Victorian Culture" which analyses in detail the ideal of the healthy body through concepts ranging from religion and moral philosophy, health, medical theories, educational goals, the "Christian gentleman" and athletic sports. Wohl (1983) has produced detailed research into public health in Victorian Britain in his book "Endangered Lives". He analysis the problems of public health and the measures and reforms taken by central and local government to improve it.

The definitions of historical research utilised during my research is offered by Marwick (1989, p.199) as.

Diligent and systematic investigation in all potentially relevant primary and secondary sources, including research for hitherto unknown primary sources, conducted with the aim not merely of ‘making a book’ but in order to address precise problems and extend human knowledge in a particular area.

Once the information was obtained it was vital that it undertook the process of evaluation or what Cohen and Manion (1994) class as historical criticism before it could be regarded as being historical evidence. Cohen and Manion (1994) describe historical evidence as, ‘that body of validated facts and information, which can be accepted as trustworthy’.

Two stages of historical criticism, external and internal, were used to appraise the authenticity of the information, and evaluate the significance of the data. External criticism looked at the document as a whole and was not concerned with the meaning of the information contained. It attempted to spot forgeries and hoaxes by examining such things as handwriting style, spelling, and contemporary knowledge. The council minutes and reports consulted during the research were as Tosh (1991, p.59) states,

recording humdrum day-to-day transactions, which would scarcely be in anyone’s interest to forge. And in the case of public records under proper archival care the possibility of forgery is pretty remote.

Triangulation was also used to test the authenticity of the primary documents. For the document to provide valid and reliable information it must not have contradicted evidence from any other authenticated primary sources.

Internal criticism caused more of a problem. Assuming the document is authentic, it was important to then establish the meaning, reliability, and credibility of the information. Travers (1969 cited by Cohen and Manion 1994) indicates there are some basic questions that enables this process to be undertaken. Were the observers trained or untrained? Were they under pressure to distort or omit facts? What were their intentions? Where did their sympathies lie? How long after the event was the account written? In addition, are they in agreement with other independent witnesses? It was important to remember that the process of internal criticism can exhibit a weaknesses. What element of bias existed within the documents being consulted. Another danger, which also had to be overcome, was the temptation to selectively and uncritically use the past to support my own beliefs of the present. Cox (1992, p.121) states that.

Some historians have been criticised for relying too heavily on antecedent social science models. They have ignored relevant evidence and selectively used only that which supports pre-conceived notions and hypotheses?

The actual social class under study presented a further problem. The high illiteracy level prevalent in the poor working classes meant that their personal views and experiences were not likely to be prominent in the evidence used. Tosh (1991, p.62) states that;

Historians today are much more sceptical than they used to be about the claims to objectivity of the great Victorian enquirers into the 'social problem': they recognise that the selection of evidence was often distorted to fit middle-class stereotypes about the poor and to promote the implementation of pet remedies.

Work by contemporary reporters such as Henry Mayhew who was employed by the London Morning Chronicle during the 1850's, helped probe deep into the social conditions of the poor and provided firsthand interviews with people whose thoughts and experiences may never had been documented. To help overcome this problem Marwick (1989, p.216) has developed the concept of witting and unwitting testimony. His definition states,

'witting testimony' is the deliberate or intentional message of a document or other source; the 'unwitting testimony' is the unintentional evidence that it also contains.

From the primary sources used, the council records witting testimony provided the raw data to the study, i.e. the policies passed, decisions made, population growth, mortality rates etc. However, the unwitting testimony also provided information to analyse and from which conclusions could be drawn regarding the social conditions of the working class and their relationship with the ruling classes. Unlike other research forms, historical research cannot be measured or directly observed through experiments. To allow for

analysis of contemporary documentation the process of historicism was followed. Tosh (1991, p12-13) has given this definition.

The fundamental premise of historicism was that each age is a unique manifestation of the human spirit, with its own culture and values. For one age to understand another, there must be a recognition that the passage of time has profoundly altered both the conditions of life and the mentality of men and women – even perhaps human nature itself – and that an effort of the imagination must be made to relinquish present-day values and to see an earlier age from the inside.

A broad knowledge of the society and culture of the period under research was therefore required in order to assist with the process of historicism and to avoid the weakness suggested by Park (1983, p.100) who states that.

Since the historian views events after the fact and may possess knowledge which was not accessible to the participants themselves, extreme care must be taken not to assign to actors knowledge and intentions which they could not possibly have possessed.

By following these methods and processes, the data obtained would provide the basis for the historical research. It would allow for the evaluation of the effects of the provision of Public Baths and Wash Houses on the quality of life of the working class population of Cardiff.

CHAPTER III

LEISURE AND CLASS

The following chapter deals with the evolution during the 19th. Century of a clear working class culture, how this group spent the leisure time it had available, and how the

middle and upper classes above tried to control it. At first glance, leisure for the working classes could be seen as falling into the definition of 'Cultural Marxism'. That is the values and beliefs of the middle and upper classes were imposed, through the medium of leisure, onto the lower classes. This chapter will also examine this concept, and apply it the choices of leisure activities made by the working classes during the period of this study.

Though some sort of class system has always existed in British Society. Different social groups would always evolve out of inequalities in areas such as wealth, education, religion, culture, living and working conditions. One of the major results of the Industrial Revolution was to create our present day concept and understanding of the class system. Before the Industrial Revolution a system of landed aristocracy existed. Perkin (1969, p.24) states.

The old society, then was a finely graded hierarchy of great subtlety and discrimination, in which men were aware of their exact relation to those immediately above and below them, but only vaguely conscious except at the very top of their connections with those on their own level.

During the middle part of the 19th. Century life was dominated by work. Early Victorian industrialists believed leisure for their workforce was expensive and not needed.

Holt (1989, p.136) states,

There was little or no idea before the middle years of the nineteenth century of the positive benefits that might

accrue from teaching the poor how to play. The very idea of a 'play discipline' would have seemed absurd. utopian in scope, and excessively intrusive.

The middle of the 19th. century saw the Victorians entering what Bailey (1978) has called a new leisure world. Social reform and legislation such as the Ten Hours Act of 1847 amended in 1850 and 1853 required a ten and a half hour working day, and the granting of the free Saturday afternoon in the 1860s eventually allowed the working class to enjoy non-devotional leisure. Thompson (1988,p.275) suggests that this was where the tradition of the Saturday afternoon being the highlight of the workers week began. It was he states, 'the time for exercise and sport, for spending and bargain-hunting, for drinking, fighting, and loving, for sociability and enjoyment'. This began to give people, for the first time the, increasing opportunity to enjoy and participate in a number of new leisure pursuits. Urbanisation had without doubt brought the country rapid material advances; what it was failing to do was to allow social improvements to keep pace. Bad housing conditions and overcrowding continued throughout the 19th. Century for the majority of the working classes.

During the Victorian age, rapid urban growth was experienced. Figures by C.M. Law (cited Best 1985, p. 24) show that during the period 1841-1881, the total percentage of people living in an urban environment rose by 21.9 per cent to reach 70.2 per cent of the population by 1881. Concern began to spread amongst the controlling classes as workers began to gather in large numbers at events such as wakes, fairs, boxing matches and animal baiting. This industrialization in the manufacturing towns promoted vertical antagonism between various classes. It gave the opportunity for workers to identify and

relate to others in similar circumstances to themselves, firstly locally through the factory and then spreading nationally through socialism and the trade union movement. The social unrest experienced by France and America served only to well to remind the controlling classes of the danger posed by the 'oppressed masses' gathering. Control of leisure activities was therefore sought through legislation, both nationally and locally.

Working class leisure was not a matter of free choice. The Victorian middle classes attempted to directed those below them towards leisure pursuits in response to increasing fears of the political unrest, mentioned above, building. A witness to the commission on the health of towns reminded its members that open spaces and sports were essential for diverting the lower orders from political disaffection (Bailey 1978). The control of leisure by the state is summed up by Henry and Bramham (1993, p.108) when they state that.

The history of the state's role in leisure in 19th. Century Britain is normally characterised as falling into three distinct phases. The first is a period of *suppression of popular recreations*; the second is a period associated with the *promotion of acceptable forms of leisure*, most notably in the form of the national recreation movement. The third phase may be characterised as one in which attempts to foster acceptable leisure were overtaken by the *success of commercial investment* in meeting the demand for recreation.

The first phases mentioned by Henry and Bramham (1993) concerned the suppression of popular activities enjoyed by the working classes. The new urban labour force needed to have installed into them an industrial discipline to serve in the new society, which emerged, from the Industrial Revolution. It was not by accident therefore that the new recreations produced by this society were to have their own rules and controls imposed by those in power.

The major enquiries by social reformers of the day into employment conditions during the 1840s suggests that members of the Victorian working classes had no time for leisure activities due to the long hours worked. Sunday was the only free day and then with the observation of the Sabbath so strong little opportunity was available for recreation. Many simply spent their free day drinking or lying idle, recovering from the physical exertion of the previous week. Great effort was made to direct the labouring classes towards following a respectable leisure activity. However Thompson (1988) suggests that there must have been sufficient free time available for the controlling classes to be concerned, as the working hours were not as long, continuous or regular as the social reformers of the time stated. The figures quoted by them were for peak period workloads and were not the norm. Cardiff during this period was a new rapidly expanding sea port and certainly would have contained a large proportion of casual workers, such as Dockers and unskilled labourers, who were hired by the day or even by the hour. For these men work and wages were unpredictable, their concern was to obtain as much as possible. In reality they were faced with what Thompson (1988, p.273) has called, 'an excess of free time, unsought, undesired, unpaid, and unenjoyed, which they would gladly have seen reduced'.

The leisure of these working classes was identified as being vital to the progress and reform of British society well before the period of this study. During the 1830s and 1840s, the recreations of the working classes were seen by many contemporary social reformers to be of the lowest moral standards. The traditional fairs and wakes, a reminder of the countries agricultural past, attracted thieves, pickpockets and, prostitutes, they were scenes of drunkenness, and breaches of the peace were common. The Society for the Suppression of Vice tried to stop any fairs not associated with the hiring of workers or commerce. It also attempted to prevent non-religious activities from occurring on the Sabbath (Bailey 1978). Henry and Bramham (1993) suggest that the Suppression of Blood Sports Act 1833, was a most blatant use of class control. The Act banned the traditional working class activities of animal baiting, cock and dog fighting, whilst still allowing the middle and upper class activities of shooting and fox hunting to continue.

Though respectable leisure activities were approved of, promoted and legislated against, most of the growth in working class leisure occurred in non-respectable pursuits. Visiting the pub, the dancing saloon, and music hall, or what Tremenheere (cited Bailey 1978) classed as being a “mingled mass of pleasures” were the popular pastimes for the working classes. Some form of escapism was needed from the drudgery of their daily life. Engels stated in 1844 that for the working man. (Cited Walvin 1978, p 2). ‘Liquor is almost their only source of pleasure, and all things conspire to make it accessible to them’. It is worth remembering that in many cases, alternative drinks were dangerous, the water supply especially was unsafe to consume. Drink and the social institution of the pub were therefore very much a part of working class culture. It helped alleviate the

physical toll of the working day, and provided a source of warmth against the cold and damp environment they inhabited. It is estimated that many families actually spent a third and some even a half or more of all their income on drink (Hoppen 1998, p.355). The workers who tried to be temperate would often find themselves victimised and despised because they did not engage in the ritual of drinking with groups of others (Best 1979).

It was exactly this physical and moral degeneracy of the working classes, which heightened the need for leisure provision. The middle classes attempted to reduce the attraction of this type of leisure activity through promotion of other respectable pursuits. Bailey (1978) argues that the use of rational recreation was an attempt to provide leisure activities, which the working classes would want to participate in, rather than being forced to. The importance of the Public Baths and Wash Houses to help such a leisure opportunity to exist was highlighted by Bishop Blomfield (cited Bailey 1978, p. 51) who when speaking to the House of Lords said.

It must be obvious that before the needful recreation of the people can be attained, before museums and public places could be made available, habits and cleanliness must be diffused throughout the whole community.

Conflict however did occur between the classes and indeed the choice of their leisure activities was by no means any different. In the ever-changing urban environment, sports clubs were formed by the workers themselves, they needed to create the sense of identity and comfort brought about by being a member of homogeneous group. By making friends through sport and obtaining the sense of loyalty it brought it

was almost as if the workers were trying to recreate the old social structure many of them had recently left. Holt (1989, p.154) states that.

A sense of meaning was not something that rational recreationalists could create for working class youth, it was something they had to make for themselves.

In the urban environment a man could be anonymous. The social segregation of classes was seen to be a major problem. As the urban area developed, each class would group together in a particular area, consequently exclusively middle class areas and exclusively working class areas evolved. It is probable therefore, that the leisure influence of one class was not brought to bear on another.

For the middle classes quite often it was not the welfare of the working classes, which was at the forefront of their attentions but how their standing against their peers would be increased. Those who aspired to achieve middle class values used Rational Recreation as a method of achieving it. Middle class leisure activities were Thompson (1988, p.254) states, 'designed to be edifying and uplifting, contributors to the improvement of character and expressions of the purity of thought'. Many saw the process of educating the working classes how to use their leisure time to more respectable effect as almost a religious crusade. H.A. Burce an M.P. from 1852 and a later Home Secretary in the Liberal government declared that for him

The simplest, most natural, most efficacious instrument of redemption seems to be, to provide, or assist the working classes to provide, those means of innocent pleasures, of social enjoyment, at which moral and mental improvement

rather insinuate themselves than are enforced. (Cunningham
1980, p. 120)

Thompson (1988) argues that although the accepted view is that the middle classes were seen as being kill-joys towards the activities of the lower classes. Only a small minority of families actually pursued the respectable ideal of a puritan evangelical lifestyle.

Though many of the middle classes preserved their reputation and conformity to an expected code of behaviour in public, it was only the minority who lived their lives in abstinence from any form of enjoyment. In fact by the 1860s and 70s, it was only the lower middle class who used what Thompson (1988, p.266) has called the ‘mantle of moral rectitude, sanctimonious piety, and austere recreations lugubriously endured’. For them it was a way of showing their respectability and superiority over the better paid working classes that they might otherwise have been identified as. Best (1979) suggests that Victorians did not make a distinction between working and middle class activities but identified activities as being either respectable or non-respectable. He states that activities which exhibited.

Rowdyism, beastly drunkenness (I do not say drink and conviviality), dirtiness, cruelty, uninhibited vulgarity – marks equally of those who cared not for ‘respectability’ and those who were too poor to care or even known about it – were shunned by ‘respectable’, ‘decent, working people as well as by all of higher social standing. (Best 1979, p.220-21)

Control of working class leisure would have always been a problem to achieve. Holt (1989, p.363) states that. ‘Social control models assume that popular culture is a

blank book upon which the ruling class can write what they wish'. Quite obviously, this was not the case with the new urban working classes. They had a history, a previous culture and many had only recently moved from the countryside. It was only natural that they brought with them their age-old traditions and customs with them. Holt (1989) also argues that a number of pitfalls existed. Firstly was there actually a movement of social unrest amongst the working classes, which would revolt if it were not incorporated into the culture of the controlling classes. Secondly during this period Britain was being legislated by a small liberal government system, which lacked the power or means to introduce radical legislation prohibiting certain vulgar activities. The problem of reform was also recognised at the time. The Short Time Committee reported in 1844 that.

Schools and libraries are of small use without the time to study Parks are well for those who can have time to perambulate them, and baths are of little use to dirty people as do not leave work until eight o'clock at night.

(source Walvin 1978 p. 3)

The 'Saturday Review' published on the 5th of July 1862 tackled the question of 'how to win our workers'. It identified what in reality were the problems faced by attempts to change their culture. It stated.

As classes rise in social importance (as our working classes undoubtedly do), as they acquire a position and make a law and society for themselves, they almost necessarily become more inaccessible to external influence
(cited Bailey 1978, p.182).

The middle and upper classes had to deal with a culture stretching back many years. As leisure was a new concept to most of the working classes, it is not surprising that many of them simply followed the examples of their peers when actively deciding what leisure activity to pursue. Change did not come quickly Tremenheene (cited Bailey 1978, p. 55) suggests that:

To train a rising society in the right way, is a process of comparatively little difficulty, but to change a great uneducated mass requires the well-directed effort of many years.

This meant that many of the respectable members of the population who fought the ‘good fight’, often gave up. The attraction and pursuit of popular working class leisure activities was just too strong.

CHAPTER IV
VICTORIAN PUBLIC HEALTH AND HYGIENE

The health of the nation became more important as the 19th. Century progressed. If Britain was to benefit from the urban and industrial progress being made, then clearly something had to be done about the health and hygiene of its working class citizens. The problem of the health of the urban poor was highlighted by the fact that forty two per cent of all volunteer recruits from towns were rejected as being physically unfit by the army during the Crimean war (Wohl 1984). Charles Kingsley stated in 1852 that. ‘Unless the physical deterioration of the lower classes is stopped by bold sanitary reform.....we shall soon have rifles but no men to shoulder them (Wohl 1984, p.330).

During the early part of the century diseases such as cholera, typhus, typhoid and influenza were killing large numbers of the population. Edwin Chadwick’s (1842) report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain revealed that in 1839 for each person who died of old age or violence, eight died of one of the specific diseases. Though the problems of public health and hygiene, especially amongst the working classes, were associated with the spread of disease, the exact method of transmission was not medically understood. It was widely believed that disease was generated spontaneously from filth (pythogenesis) and was transmitted by noxious invisible gas or miasma, with overcrowding contributing to the fast spread of diseases such as cholera, typhus, typhoid, and influenza. During 1858 and 1859 the river Thames was so polluted with sewerage that the smell became so unbearable that people would walk miles to avoid crossing one of the city bridges. Parliament could only carry on with its business by hanging disinfectant soaked cloths over the windows (Wohl 1984). The ‘Great Stink’, as it became known, should have disproved the theory of pythogenesis as no outbreak of fever occurred during its presence. This highlights the ignorance present

during this period to the cause of many diseases, and the preventive measures needed. People were willing to try anything in an attempt to avoid contracting a disease. Cholera especially, generated many patent remedies such as Daffey's Elixir, Moxan's Effervescent Magnesium Aperient, and Morrison the Hygienist's Genuine Vegetable Universal Mixture (Wohl 1984). Religion too provided its own cure, many clergymen suggests Wohl (1984, p.122) preached that Cholera was indeed.

God's punishment for moral and spiritual laxity, drunkenness, failure to observe the Sabbath, and other sins, including advocacy of enfranchisement for the Jews and marriage with the deceased wife's sister.

Congregationalists also believed that the cure for Cholera was 'moral preservatives'—temperance, cleanliness, industry, fortitude, and gospel reading. They thought that it was the low moral standards of the working classes which made them particularly vulnerable to disease. Wohl (1984, p.61) states that. 'Well-meaning Victorians might associate cleanliness with godliness, but Church and Chapel were far more accessible than bathing or washing facilities'.

Throughout the century, many efforts were made to discover the exact causes and methods of transmission of the main fatal diseases. The improvement measures eventually taken by local authorities, achieved reductions in the number of cases, without the exact reason why being clearly understood. Cases of diseases spread through micro-organisms in water, milk or food, such as Typhus, Typhoid, and Cholera were reduced through the improvements made in the supply of water, sanitation, and personal hygiene. In a booklet titled 'Some Observations on the Public and Private Sanitation of Cardiff'

published in 1892 under the name of the 'Quite Citizen' (1892, p.7). Sanitation was defined as, 'the science and practice which protects health against the evil effects of foul matter – bad water, impure air, improper clothing, and unwholesome food'. Whol (1984, p.118) states that the major epidemic diseases 'were all influenced by cleanliness, diet, personal hygiene, public sewerage, or domestic living arrangements'. It often took an epidemic to create an environment open to sanitary reform. During Rammell's 1849 enquiry into the state of public health in Cardiff, an outbreak of cholera claimed 383 lives out of a population of 12,000. Whol (1984, p. 173) suggests that in many ways 'cholera has been called the reformers best friend'. It required the local authority to take action.

Edwin Chadwick's 1842 report from the Poor Law Commissioners on an inquiry into the Sanitary Conditions of the Labouring Population of Great Britain is one of the great reports of the era. In it Chadwick (1842, p-369) stated.

That the various forms of epidemic, endemic, and other disease caused, or aggravated, or propagated chiefly amongst the labouring classes by atmospheric impurities produced by decomposing animal and vegetable substances, by damp and filth, and close and overcrowded dwellings prevail amongst the population in every part of the kingdom.

Edwin Chadwick was the main driving force behind many of the Victorian sanitary reforms. His philosophy was that social control led to individual happiness, and in areas such as health, needed action from the whole community rather than from the individual or family. Chadwick was in an ideal position and used a variety of techniques to control

and direct the public health movement. Wohl (1984) suggests that he was able to achieve reform through influencing and manipulating politicians and parliamentary investigations. In addition to directing reform from within government agencies as he was secretary to both the Poor Law Board and the General Board of Health.

It was the work of Chadwick and the sanitary movement, which led to a number of legislative acts being passed. Amongst them was the Public Baths and Wash Houses Act of 1846. In 1848 the Public Health Act formed the general board of health and enabled the local authorities to set up local boards of health if they so wished. The local authorities were also empowered by the Act to levy local rates to help finance the management of sewerage systems, supply water and gas, collect refuse, regulate slaughter houses and offensive trades. It also allowed the removal of any 'nuisances', control houses unfit for habitation and cellar dwellings, and provide burial grounds, recreation areas and parks, and public baths. The fact that the provision of public baths was included in this act shows the importance placed on these facilities by central government in the process of improving public health.

However, during his investigation Chadwick discovered that the majority of local authorities were inefficient and financially incompetent, with unskilled and irresponsible officers when it came to matters of public health. Evidence in the following chapter points to Cardiff falling into this category. Chadwick recognised that the measures he recommended would put extra financial pressure on to the local authorities. He argued however that this additional cost would be recouped through other benefits brought about by such factors as improved health and a reduction in premature deaths.

Through the formation of local boards of health and their responsibility for the inspection of the working classes food, clothing, ventilation, cleanliness and temperance, central government started to associate cleanliness, adequate clothing and good nutrition with increased resistance to disease. The 'Quiet Citizen', summarised the laws of hygiene as being.

1. Cleanliness of person;
2. Suitable clothing;
3. Wholesome food;
4. Water, pure and plentiful;
5. Pure air to breath;
6. A well-arranged and situated, clean,
and ventilated dwelling (1892, p.13).

During the period of this study these laws of hygiene for large numbers of the working classes were quite simply out of their reach due to the urban environment they inhabited. As the local authority dealt with each of these points improvements in public health were gradually made. Table 1 illustrates the decrease in the annual death rates for the years 1850-1885. (source Best 1971, p74). A comparison with the figures shown in the table points to Cardiff having a higher death rate than both Liverpool and London in the 1850's. A death rate which was also well above the average for England and Wales. A level of fifteen deaths per 1,000 persons was thought to be abnormally high. Cardiff experienced a similar problem to Liverpool as it developed into a major seaport. With increasing numbers of ships visiting the town from all over the world a great many contagious diseases were brought to the town by them and their sailors.

Table 1 Annual Death Rates per 1,000 Persons in London and Elsewhere.

	E. & W.	LONDON	LIVERPOOL	BIRMINGHAM	GLASGOW	CARDIFF
1850	20.8	21.0	28.0	24.96#	----	
1855	22.6	24.3	31.0*	----	-----	31.5
1860	21.2	22.4	26.0	24.98#	29.9*	
1865	23.2	24.5	36.5	----	30.6*	25.7
1870	22.9	24.1	31.1	24.94#	30.2*	
1875	22.7	23.6	27.5	25.2*	30.4*	
1880	20.5	21.7	27.2	----	26.6*	
1885	19.2	20.4	25.6	20.7*	----	
1890	----	----	----	----	----	22

* average for preceding five years.

average for preceding ten years.

The extra responsibilities imposed by the formation of local boards of health in addition to any improvements made in public health through municipal initiatives. Such as the provision of improved water supply, sanitation measures, the provision of facilities such as Public Baths, and Wash Houses obviously had a financial affect through a rise in the rates. Many ratepayers, uncertain to the obvious benefits of these expensive reforms, often entered local politics to vote against further expenditure. To be nominated for election onto a local authority the person concerned was required to own real or personal property worth £1,000 or occupy property rated at £30. Even if a working man could achieve these criteria, he would have been unable to attend any of the meetings held

during the working day. Women of course were also excluded, enfranchisement did not come until 1869, the right of married women to sit on local councils not being passed until 1907, and the municipal vote not granted until 1918. Whol (1984, p. 167) suggests that because of these qualifications required to serve on local councils, many places consisted of 'tight little oligarchies', with the welfare of the working classes not high on their agenda of importance.

A survey in 1886 of one-fifth of urban sanitary districts in England and Wales, presented to the Sanitary Institute of Great Britain suggested that six main occupations were represented in 'the classes who administer the Public Health Acts'. These were headed by shopkeepers (30.8 per cent of local sanitary officials), manufactures (17.5 per cent), gentlemen (11.8 per cent), merchants (8.6 per cent), farmers (7.7 per cent), and builders (7.6 per cent) (Whol 1984, p. 167). The large number of shopkeepers' presented a worrying statistic. Their ability to decide on sanitary matters could be called into doubt as they stood to gain the most from having low rates. Many shopkeepers entered public service not out of duty to their fellow citizens but to advance their own business interests and maximise their profits. Even the manufacturing category would have had an interest in keeping sanitary reform to a minimum. Though the group did consist of a number of owners of large industrial concerns, who had an interest in improving conditions for their workers and were less worried about an increase in rates. The majority of others in this group such as chemical manufactures, soap boilers, tanners and glue makers etc. would have been major polluters of the air and water. Again, it was to their own personal and financial interest that they became involved in the local boards of health in an attempt to keep any sanitary reform to a minimum. It is surprising that public health reform

progressed and achieved the results to the level it did when it was controlled by what Wohl (1984,p.169) has called. ‘Men who simply placed a higher value on healthy bank accounts than on healthy citizens’. To the politician public health became just another strain on the public purse. Wohl (1984, p.169) states that.

The corruption lethargy, innate conservatism, and especially parsimony of local government officials became almost a *cliché* of Victorian public health reformers.

These factors combined to put up barriers to the provision of Public Baths and Wash Houses in Cardiff.

Public health reformers argued to these doubters of the financial benefits to be gained from measures taken to improve health that the cost of ill health to the community could be calculated. Wohl (1984, p.147) illustrates this argument through the example given by the medical officer for health for Renfrew who inform his local authority in 1894 that.

The outbreak of Typhoid the previous year had cost the district £21,496 in lost wages, hospital costs, lost production and burial costs – a sum far higher than its prevention would have required.

Many local authority members also resented the interference from central government into their affairs even though the formation of local boards of health was not obligatory under the Public Health Act. Before it could be enforced at least ten per cent of the local ratepayers had to petition for a preliminary enquiry to take place with the

view of adopting the Act. This happened in Cardiff in 1849, when Thomas Rammell, a Superintending Inspector of the General Board of Health, conducted an inquiry. The results of this inquiry are discussed in the following chapter on Cardiff's urban environment. The petition was organised by the Mayor, Richard Lewis Reece, who was able to obtain sufficient support from ratepayers to demand an enquiry into the state of public health in Cardiff. Opposition came from Edward Priest Richards a wealthy businessman and advisor to the Marquess of Bute, who was the major landowner in Cardiff. Richards warned the ratepayers that to meet the requirements of the Act would double the rates. In the 'Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian' he called for the ratepayers not to sign the petition for 'that most dangerous and insidious of centralising schemes, the Public Health Act' (Morgan 1991, p.163-4). Again money was coming before the well being of the towns inhabitants.

Writing in 1842 Chadwick recognised that achieving the habit of cleanliness among the labouring class was difficult due to the defective water supply. He believed.

That these adverse circumstances tend to produce an adult population short-lived, improvident, reckless, and intemperate, and with the habitual avidity for sensual gratification (Chadwick 1842, p.370).

The accessibility of a continuous clean supply of water was a major barrier to the health and hygiene of the working classes. The majority of working class families relied on the local street pump for their supply of water. The everyday chore of having to go and collect water would have deterred most people from using it simply to wash in. If the working classes used little water on themselves to keep themselves clean, little must have

been used to keep their clothing clean. John Liddle the medical officer for health for Whitechapel (cited Whol 1984, p.64) believed one of the worst smells he ever encountered was that of the poor washing their clothing.

They merely pass dirty linen through very dirty water.

The smell of linen itself, when so washed, is very offensive, and must have an injurious affect on the health of the occupants. The filth of their dwellings is excessive, so is their personal filth. When they attend my surgery, I am always obliged to have the door open. When I am coming down stairs from the parlour, I know at a distance of a flight of stairs whether there are any poor patients in the surgery.

During the period of my study, the foundations for modern public health were formulated. Public Health reform was not done through a fixed proactive plan but was very much a reactive measure carried out through conflicts of interest, trial and error, and through the means of piecemeal legislation. Chadwick was recommending as early as 1842 that the most important practical measures an authority could take to improve public health were, drainage, removal of refuse, and improvements in the supply of water.

Without any of these improvements the death rate would almost certainly have risen in the major urban areas, such as Cardiff. Especially with the rapid increase in the size of the population. As the century progressed it was not just public health which put pressure onto the authority's budget. Other costly items such as libraries, art galleries and museums, town halls, schools, Public Baths and Wash Houses were required not only out

of necessity, but also to 'keep up' with other local towns and cities, and to demonstrate their own 'civic pride'.

CHAPTER V
THE URBAN ENVIROMENT

Due to Cardiff's exceptional population rise during the second half of the 19th. Century, its urban problems were a lot more intense. With the building of the docks and other public works, immigration considerably increased the population of the town. The population of Cardiff increased steadily during the middle of the century from 10,079 in 1841, to around 12,000 in 1850. During the next fifty years population growth exploded, from 57,363 in 1862 to 164,333 in 1901.

To establish what Cardiff was like at the beginning of the 1850's, the information contained in the inquiry carried out by Thomas Rammell for the General Board of Health was extensively used. Among other things, it alleged that the town had improper and unsatisfactory drainage. The local Act of Parliament was insufficient 'to remedy the evils complained of', and the powers contained in the Public Health Act, 1848, could be beneficially applied to the town. The inquiry has given me an important insight into the urban environment of Cardiff. At the beginning of the period of this study, it was important to establish what the conditions the working classes inhabited were like. In order to understand the benefits the provision of Public Baths and Wash Houses had on any improvements of these sanitary conditions.

In 1849 the older part of the town was situated in the parish of St. John with the newer part being in St. Mary's parish. Rammell (1850) suggested that the buildings in the older parts of Cardiff were better in both design and layout than the newer areas. This he believed was not in keeping with the improvements and enterprise of the age. The houses around the docks, towards the east and the south of the town were all of particularly inferior design and construction. These areas can clearly be seen on plate 1, a map of Cardiff dated 1852. Apart from the two-parish churches and the Town Hall, there

MAP OF CARDIFF 1852

were few public buildings of any note in the town. With the exception of the principal streets, Rammell (1850) stated that Cardiff was on a par with many other old country towns of a third or fourth class.

Cardiff had obtained a local Act for paving, lighting etc. as early as 1774, with the Act being repealed in 1837. This Act allowed the control of local affairs to be in the hands of a body of Commissioners. They consisted of all the resident justices of the peace, the constable of the castle, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Town Clerk, together with fifty other persons named in the Act. The Commissioners were able to nominate and appoint any other 'fit person' to the body to fill vacancies occurring from death, and refusal or neglect of duty. This self-elected body was therefore in control of any urban improvements made within the town. It only required five members to obtain a quorum for meetings, and these Commissioners were empowered to raise a rate of 3s. in the pound, or with the consent of the ratepayers 4s. in the pound. Even though the people appointed to the Commissioners were said by E. P. Richards, the Town Clerk (Rammell 1850, p.5) to be,

of strict integrity, and also some of the largest rate payers
in the town. They comprehended men of all shades of
opinion, and of all parties; in fact, there was no opposition
offered to the election of any respectable man, whatever his
politics or opinions might be.

He believed that the constitution of the Commissioners was as good as it could be according to the Act in place. Whether the Commissioners had the true interest of all its inhabitants as their primary concern is questionable. Meetings of the Commissioners

were badly attended, not the actions you would expect of dedicated public servants.

Richards (Rammell 1850, p.5) himself admitted that. 'Their meetings were seldom well attended, unless questions, which caused excitement, were to be brought forward'.

These questions undoubtedly concerned the raising of the rates to cover for any extra public expenditure. Any expensive sanitary improvements faced difficulties getting approval from the Commissioners. It would seem that Cardiff's Commissioners were no different from those in any other town or city, entering politics to serve their own interests and protect their own finance through keeping the rates to a minimum.

The urban environment of Cardiff at this time did little to promote health and hygiene amongst its inhabitants. The streets and roads were often rough and uneven. New houses were built on them without any regard to level or uniformity as the Commissioners had no power however to address this problem. The Town surveyor, Mr. G. Clinton, (Rammell 1850,p.18) guaranteed the inquiry that. 'All streets dedicated to the public are regularly watered and scavenged'. However, he added, that there were, 'a great many streets in the town neither pitched nor paved; and these are neither repaired, watered, nor scavenged by the Commissioners'. The local Act allowed for all public drainage to be paid for out of the general rates, however in any new streets constructed pitching and paving had to be done at the expense of the proprietors of the houses. Of ten streets built in 1846, the total expenditure for pitching, paving and draining was 3,244*l.* 2*s.* 3*d.*, the proprietors contributed 2,056*l.* 18*s.* 2*d.* and the town Commissioners 1,187*l.* 4*s.* 1*d.* During the year 1848-9, £546. 7*s.* 1*d.* was spent by the Commissioners on the repair, scraping and watering of the streets. Even so, the scavenging and watering of the streets had been very partial in extent, and generally inefficient. The Commissioners had

done little about paving and drainage in a desire to avoid expense. Also as the Commissioners were charged annually *2l. 19s. 6d.* per lamp by the Gas and Coke company for supplying, lighting, and extinguishing of public lights streets were badly lit, and often remained dark for years. The lighting of the poorer areas of town, to the Commissioners was an unnecessary drain on the public purse.

Cardiff faced a major natural problem concerning its drainage. The highest point of the town at the Town hall was only 10 feet above the ordinary high-water level, with some parts of the town below the level of the spring tides. Rammell (1850,p. 20) stated that.

Cardiff, for all that relates to refuse drainage, has been left completely to its fate, unassisted by the commonest aids of science or prudence. The consequence is what only could be looked for under such circumstances, floods, swamps, filth, miasma, ague, and other disorders, in fearful abundance.

The town surveyor admitted that there was no system of sewerage for the refuse drainage of the town, though there were drains for surface-water and the greater part of house-slops. The two main outfalls of these drains entered the Bristol Channel one on the east side the other on the west side of the Bute Docks. The east drain consisted of an open ditch from the shore to near Newtown, while the west drain was open for about 1500 feet below St. Mary's Church. The drains themselves were constructed with parallel walls, with a flag bottom, inclined from the sides to the centre. Sizes ranged from three feet high by one foot nine inches wide, to two feet high by one foot three inches wide. They

did not however have a sufficient current running through them which resulted in a deposit of about six inches accumulating in the bottom. A series of catch pits, cleaned out every month to six weeks, at every grating prevented the deposits from eventually blocking the drains. Rammell (1850, p.21) stated that,

The existing drains in Cardiff are not drains in the ordinary and practical sense of the word, namely a channel through which drainage is carried off; but a succession of pits connected by a covered way, in which the deposit accumulates until it is removed by means of manual labour.

The town surveyor admitted that the only sewer, which could be considered effective, was the one in Mary Ann Street. It was buried six feet below the surface in contrast to the others, which were situated at a depth of only three to four feet. The base of these drains were often above the level of the cellar floors in the adjoining houses, therefore, no drainage from these cellars could pass into the drains.

Privies were not permitted to be connected to these drains as they were intended to be solely for surface water and house slops. In fact, the town Commissioners did not take kindly to their drains being used for any other purpose which led to conflict. On two occasions, William Stanley the owner of a number of properties in Stanley Street connected his privies to the drain. On both occasions the Commissioners cut off the connections. Stanley claimed that after purchasing and then installing drains into his property, the Commissioners raised the level of the street throwing any water back onto his property as a result. To protect his property he was forced to connect his drain to the

public one. The Commissioners then claimed he should pay towards the cost of the drain. Stanley believed his was not liable for the cost, as the Commissioners had caused the problem. In fact Stanley added that he wanted the Commissioners to pay for the drain he had constructed as they had placed three gratings into it to take off any surface water.

The lower and newer part of the town was the worst area for drainage. The town surveyor admitted he had no plans showing the levels of all the sewers constructed by the commissioners. He stated (Rammell 1850, p.24) that.

I want now to open the main sewer near Newtown, which is nearly filled with deposit, but am ignorant of the direction of the lower part of it. I might hunt after it for two or three days, digging down and not find it.

Improvements to Public Health was not of fundamental importance to the builders constructing the new town, their lack of sanitary knowledge often compounded the problems. During the construction of the docks, main drainage channels were filled in leaving a large evaporating surface area of sewage (Rammell 1850). This presented the area with a great danger to public health. Many examples of the bad drainage present in the town was presented to Rammell during the course of his inquiry. A typical example came from a Mr. William Lewis who lived in Smith Street, which consisted of property owned by the authority and members of the Street Commissioners. Lewis (Rammell 1850, p.26) stated that the houses here,

were inhabited by human beings without proper ventilation, necessaries, or conveniences for their use; scarcely a morning passes by, but we find filth of the worst description

thrown out by those poor wretches, and left to the public gaze for a fortnight or three weeks together. All this abuse has been allowed to exist by our inattentive and inefficient Street Commissioners. I and many others of my neighbours have frequently called their attention to this creeping evil, but to no effect, until the voice of the epidemic that now unfortunately exists among us, and has swept away many of our valuable fellow-townsmen, has roused them from their apathy to the adoption of temporary measures of relief; but alas, too late for many.

A Mr. Morgan Thomas, a druggist, living at the corner of High Street and Duke Street, found that the slops of 16 houses ran along an open gutter to the grating opposite his door. From a Chandler's shop in High street Thomas (Rammell 1850, p.27) states that.

I have seen slops discharged, so foul, that one could scarcely stand over it. At night, I sometimes go to the shop-door with the intention of getting a mouthful of fresh air, but such is frequently the stench from the gratings, that I am compelled to retire for fear of having the cholera, or some other disease.

Under the conditions of the Commissioners' Act bye laws were available to overcome this nuisance and threats to public health. It was an offence to throw household slops and night soil onto the street, with a fine of 5*l.* imposed on anyone caught doing so. As the

practice was common especially in the poorer districts, again it is unlikely that the Commissioners ever bothered to try an impose it.

The threat of the inquiry had forced the town Commissioners to start to consider, although only half heartily, introducing some form of sanitary measures. The Commissioners in an attempt to prevent the petition to the General Board of Health being forwarded from the town proclaimed their intention to commence measures to provide a proper system of drainage for the town. Designs were submitted on the 13th. of February 1849, but due to differences of opinion amongst themselves no decision as to the design to be adopted could be made. The plans were sent to London for an engineer there to decide upon. At the time of the inquiries results being published, over a year latter a decision had still not been obtained. However, Mr. James Lewis, the Medical Officer of the Cardiff Union, did not believe that drainage and ‘miasmatic exhalations’ were as important as overcrowding and bad ventilation. Lewis (Rammell 1850, p.44) stated that.

There are no diseases endemic to this town under favourable circumstances. There is intermittent fever or ague always more or less in this town. Dysentery has much prevailed in the town during the last two years. I do not attribute the presence of the low fever to the stagnant ditches and ponds round Cardiff, but to the destitute condition of the people.

Without good housing, public health within the city would always be a problem. Fever existed in its most virulent form in densely packed houses. The prevalence of one-roomed living, and of the sharing of beds by the healthy, the sick, and the dying increased

the risk of infection in overcrowded quarters. Cardiff had a great deficiency in housing, in proportion to the large and increasing population. Rammell (1850, p.50) stated that.

The rents of the poorer tenements are inordinately high, whilst the accommodation afforded is extremely limited and bad; and a system of overcrowding is carried on (probably unequalled in any other town in the kingdom), with the most fearful results upon the health and morals of the classes referred to.

The town surveyor admitted to Rammell (1850, p.33) that there was a problem of a shortage of houses in the town, stating that he knew of many people living in lodging houses who were desperate to have their own home. Even the houses of the lowest class would be let before the first stone was laid. Buildings in Stanley street which cost no more than 40*l.* to construct could make for their owners 6*l.* 10*s.* a year in rent. The high rent together with the shortage of housing were therefore main causes of the terrible overcrowding experienced in Cardiff. People were so desperate for accommodation that they would sleep in back rooms of houses where the privies were situated. Rooms which were no more than nine feet by six feet, lying within eighteen inches of the drain. The town surveyor (Rammell 1850, p.33) stated that.

In one house of two rooms, where they have since had six cases of cholera, I was told that the hole of the privy was stopped up, and the seat made to serve as a pillow to a bed upon which some persons slept.

Rammell (1850) believed that the vast influx of destitute Irish from Cork and Waterford were also a main cause of Cardiff's excessive overcrowding problem. He stated that,

they too generally consist of the most wretched members of the society from which they have, as it were, been cast forth, generally in a starving condition, often already afflicted with disease, or carrying the seeds of it about them. Of necessity many of these immigrants will die before they have dwelt so long in the new community upon which they have thrown themselves.

The Irish immigrants were willing to work for low wages. They took the most menial jobs, and therefore, could only afford to live in the most appalling conditions in an area of Cardiff soon to be known as 'Little Ireland'. The Irish were attracted to Cardiff by two factors. Firstly, the opportunity to obtain work, and secondly the means of transport offered by ships captains visiting the port. The captains found it easier to load and unload them as a 'living ballast' rather than the usual one of lime or shingle. The people were landed down the coast before the ships arrived in port, and from there made their own way to the town and into the lodging houses, 'bringing pestilence on their backs, and famine in their stomachs'. H. J. Paine (Rammell 1850, p.41), assistant medical officer to the Union, stated that.

Many of them have exhibited symptoms of incipient fever on their arrival, and that it has been from this source that fever has subsequently spread through the town. Frequently the lodging housekeepers become alarmed

when the epidemic shows itself. As soon as an inmate exhibits symptoms of disease, he is thrust into the street, and we are obliged to move him into the workhouse.

Rammell believed that even if immigrants to the town were arriving in a state of starvation and carrying disease the provision of good food and accommodation would help them to recover. Proper sanitary arrangements would prevent the risk of the spread of infection. If this was the case, in Cardiff it was clearly not happening.

Stanley and Mary Ann streets, shown on plate 1, were regarded as being the worst in the town. Stanley Street contained eighteen houses owned by William Stanley and a schoolmaster William Evans. The street though partially pitched never had any refuse collected. Its breadth was fifteen feet and houses consisted of two rooms, one above the other. The houses were said to be occupied by 'the lowest class of Irish, who swarm into the town at all seasons'. Rents for these houses ranged from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 4*s.* a week. To help pay for this, occupiers of these houses would take in an unlimited number of lodgers, and it was common for four or five families to occupy one house. The superintendent of police, J. Box Stockdale was often called to visit Stanley Street because of the problems arising there. His descriptions to Rammell (1850, p.35) on the conditions he discovered when visiting the area show that the majority of the working classes were living in appalling unhygienic conditions. The inhabitants of these areas were in desperate need of facilities to wash and clean themselves. The only opportunity available to these people would be through the provision of Public Baths and Wash Houses. At No. seventeen, a lodging house kept by a Michael Harrington, he found fifty four men, women, and children living, eating and sleeping in one room. It measured, fifteen ft. ten in. long,

seventeen ft. two in. deep, and eight and a half ft. high. Adults were charged 3*d.* a night with children half price. There were no beds in the house, young children sleeping in old orange boxes to prevent them from being crushed by adults rolling over them. Stockdale (Rammell 1850, p35) stated that the ‘smell arising from the overcrowded room was most overpowering’, each person in the house carried with them all their worldly possessions consisting of heaps of rags, bones, salt-fish, and rotten potatoes. The yard was full of stagnant water, and the ‘privy was running over, and was covered with filth of the most disgusting description’. At No. fifteen he found thirty six men, women, and children living in the house. Stockdale (1850, p.36) added. ‘Not the slightest regard is paid to decency, the women being nearly naked in the presence of the men and children’. No furniture of any description was present in the house, except for fifteen bedsteads placed close together. Even the space under the beds was occupied by lodgers, who would leave the house in the morning, and return again in the evening. While the conditions in the newer parts of the town were bad, the older parts also had its abundance of close, ill-ventilated courts. Altogether there were forty five courts, with 327 houses in the older part of the town. The courts were in general not pitched or paved. The houses consisting of two rooms, one up one down measuring eleven feet by fourteen feet, and seven feet six inches high. No drainage or water supply existed and very few of the houses had privies. Public privies were uncovered and in a filthy condition. The houses were again overcrowded with most tenants renting the property on a weekly basis. Rammell (1850) described Landore and Kenton courts as the worst in the town. Five hundred people occupied the twenty seven houses that made up Landore Court. It measured 160 feet by 120 feet and was closely built up on three sides. An additional row of houses ran down

between the two side rows to maximise the space available. The passageway through the court ranged from ten to fifteen feet. At the bottom of the court was an area, open and without any covering, which was used as a public privy, and as a dumping place for rubbish and the contents of cesspools.

The public supply of water was both insufficient and uncertain. It was obtained from the canal, the river Taff or from a few town pumps, some fed from the canal. To obtain water involved great inconvenience and labour for the population. Though some houses had their own private pumps, the water obtained from them was often affected by leakages from neighbouring cesspools so it could not be used for drinking. Mr. G. Clinton (Rammell 1850, p.30) stated that.

I do not think there is a single well of pure water in that part of town. This applies, more or less, to all parts of the town which are thickly populated, and where cesspools are numerous.

Stanley (Rammell 1850, p.30) continued.

The well water stinks; it could not be used for culinary purposes. Mary Ann street and David Street are densely populated; there is only one pump there, belonging to the chapel; the water comes from Lord Bute's feeder. It is used for drinking and other domestic purposes; it is not the best of water, I have seen worms in it; the people clamber over the wall for this water, it is like a struggle for life and death.

The pump at Crockherbtown was considered by most people to give the best water. Consequently, the pump was rarely left idle with up to 300 people a day using it. People living in the better areas of the town would pay for water to be delivered to them from the pump. For between 6d. to 7d. a week two pail full of water would be delivered to their houses, still properly not sufficient water for all household purposes.

The Commissioners' Act contained a clause concerning privy facilities. It stated that the owners or proprietors of any buildings occupied by more than several people were required to provide privies if none already existed. They were also responsible for their maintenance and were required to ensure they had proper doors and coverings as considered appropriate for the tenants by the Commissioners. Failure to comply with the clause could lead to a fine of twenty shillings for each case, with a further sum of up to five shillings for each subsequent week the situation was left neglected. Rammell (1850) believed that if this clause had been followed in the spirit it was written, it would have been of immense value to the town. Rammell (1850) questioned if this discretion and authority had ever been put into operation by the Commissioners. If it had little evidence of it existed. Stanley reinforced this point to Rammell (1850, p.28) when he stated.

In most parts of the town it is not the rule to allow the communication of water closets with sewers. Near my house there are eight or nine houses having no privies, but there are hundreds in the town without any. These people go of a night anywhere they can.

Houses in John and Duke streets had privies built in underground kitchens and cellars which were so bad because of the lack ventilation they could not be used. In Waterloo

buildings, twelve houses were provided with just two privies both in appalling conditions. At Whitmore lane and Stanley street areas high in cases of typhus and cholera, James Lewis, the district medical officer, attributed the unhealthiness of the area to the insufficient privy accommodation and supply of clean water. The privies in Stanley Street were mostly located in small rooms opening out from the living room, they were without any windows, ventilation, doors or coverings. Landore court consisted of twenty one houses occupied by five hundred people, yet only four public privies, open and without covering, were provided. Needless to say, they were all in very bad conditions.

Whenever an outbreak of disease occurred it would always be the streets with the worst housing conditions that suffered. During 1848 in the five areas previously, mention as being particularly unhealthy. Stanley and Mary Ann Streets, Landore and Kenton Courts, and Whitmore Lane. Thirty out of sixty cases of fever, eighteen out of thirty nine cases of dysentery, and eleven out of eighteen cases of small-pox, occurred in that area (Rammell 1850). When Cardiff experienced a severe epidemic of typhus fever between the springs of 1847 and 1848. H. J. Paine (Rammell 1850) identified those cases of typhus could be pin pointed to local or endemic causes. From the table of statistics submitted by Paine shown in table 2, it is again not surprising to see that disease was highest in the streets and courts already described in this chapter as having bad housing. It can be seen that while in 1846-47 only one case of typhus occurred in David Street. In Stanley Street, Love Lane, Whimore Lane, and Little Federick Street, which surrounded David Street, 122 cases of typhus fever occurred. David Street was wider, and did not have the overcrowding, or unsanitary problems experienced by the others. Paine also believed that Cholera acted in the same way, and was affected by the same conditions.

TABLE 2 Localities, and Extent of Epidemic Fevers and Dysentery During the Period
March 25th. 1846 to March 1848.

LOCALITIES.	TYPHUS FEVER		DYSENTERY
	1846-47.	1847-48.	1847-48.
STANLEY STREET.	75	23	13
LANDORE COURT (VACHELL'S YARD).	48	24	8
MARY ANNE STREET.	32	4	2
WHITMORE LANE.	25	5	6
KENTON COURT.	25	5	3
LITTLE FREDERIC STREET.	14	14	5
JOHN STREET.	10	1	2
HILL TERRACE.	9	8	-
LOV E LANE.	8	4	12
MILLICENT STREET.	7	8	7
BRIDGE STREET.	6	1	2
CALLEUGH COURT AND HAYES.	6	3	-
CHINA ROW	4	-	1
RISING SUN COURT.	3	1	1
WHARTON STREET.	3	-	1
CHARLOTTE STREET.	2	1	1
LEWIS STREET.	2	-	2
MILL LANE.	2	6	3
DAVID STREET.	1	3	1
PRITCHARD COURT.	1	-	-
TUNNEL.	-	4	3
RODNEY STREET.	-	5	3
RUPERRA STREET.	-	2	-
UNION BUILDINGS.	-	3	2
WATERLOO BUILDINGS.	-	6	4
CAROLINE STREET.	-	2	2
UNION STREET.	-	2	5
QUEEN STREET.	-	2	3
QUAY STREET.	-	1	-
FIVE BELLS COURT.	-	1	-
TOTAL.	283	139	94

Stanley Street, Love Lane, and Little Fredrick Street had experienced forty three cases of cholera, with twenty nine deaths. Paine had found very few cases in houses, which were not overcrowded. On a visit during the epidemic of 1847, he found forty three people living in a four-room house in Stanley Street, five of them suffering from typhus. This again points to the importance of achieving a good sanitary environment and the role Public Baths and Wash Houses could play in obtaining this goal.

Mortality rates also show that the urban environment was an arduous place for the young to survive in. Table 3 shows that fifty four per cent of all deaths occurred in the age group of less than twenty years, with nearly a quarter of all deaths occurring before the first year of life. Sixteen per cent, or one in every 206 inhabitants died due to epidemic, endemic, and contagious diseases. We have seen that St. Mary's parish, though consisting of the newest buildings in the town were not constructed to a high standard. The table shows that fifty nine per cent of all deaths from contagious diseases occurred in this parish. These new 'inferior' houses present in the parish attracted the largest number of young immigrant families. The figures show that on average sixty per cent of deaths under twenty and births occurred in this parish. Though the number of deaths exceeds the number of births by four per cent, the population continued to rise due to the influx of people looking for work. If this population was to be supported it was vital that the recommendations made in Rammell's (1850) report were followed. He recommended that the health of the inhabitants of Cardiff could be improved by the following measures.

TABLE 3 Births and Deaths in the Cardiff Parishes of St. John and St. Mary for the years 1842-48.

YEARS.	TOTAL BIRTHS.		DEATHS UNDER 12 MONTHS.		ALL DEATHS UNDER 5 YEARS.		ALL DEATHS UNDER 20 YEARS.		TOTAL DEATHS.		DEATHS FROM EPIDEMIC, ENDEMIC, & CONTAGIOUS DISEASES.	
	ST. JOHN.	ST. MARY.	ST. JOHN.	ST. MARY.	ST. JOHN.	ST. MARY.	ST. JOHN.	ST. MARY.	ST. JOHN.	ST. MARY.	ST. JOHN.	ST. MARY.
1842	169	203	42	53	66	86	79	93	152	158	19	23
1843	170	179	28	35	43	66	51	79	113	137	9	9
1844	138	168	29	36	66	77	91	100	182	168	36	48
1845	114	158	23	38	41	76	57	90	130	155	8	22
1846	134	211	30	48	53	76	65	89	125	168	7	13
1847	156	187	44	61	81	107	105	140	249	227	51	63
1848	170	275	44	87	90	182	110	223	213	355	35	73
TOTAL.	1,051	1,381	240	358	440	670	558	814	1,164	1,368	165	251
	2,432		598		1,110		1,372		2,532		406	

- a.* A thorough system of surface and refuse drainage.
- b.* An abundant supply of pure water.
- c.* Increased and improved dwelling accommodation for the poor, and the adoption of regulations for the prevention of overcrowding.
- d.* The improved paving of the streets, as well those now under the control of the street commissioners as others, which they have not yet adopted.
- e.* Increased lighting.
- f.* More efficient scavenging of the streets.
- g.* The discontinuance of interments in the burial grounds within the town. (Rammell 1850, p.50)

In addition, he recommended that the Public Health Act of 1848 be applied to the Borough of Cardiff.

These recommendations would have a major financial implication on the ratepayers of Cardiff. During the next fifty years, little was done to improve the conditions in the poorer areas of the town. Between 1881 and 1902 over 20,000 houses were built in Cardiff (Morgan 1991, p.161). The *Quite Citizen* (1892) claimed that while these newer buildings were given good sanitary arrangements by the authorities. In the older parts of the town, only when faced by an outbreak of disease did the authority take any remedial action. While it is likely that the middle classes could ignore the conditions the working classes lived in. It was difficult for them to ignore the epidemics of disease which when they struck because of the urban conditions spread through the town

regardless of class. The Quiet Citizen (1892) pointed out that there were hundreds of houses still with defective drainage, and in a poor state of repair and cleanliness. They were the,

very breeding dens of pestilence, they reek with foul odours, and are a disgrace to a progressive town. Yet, forsooth, the owners let them at a high rentals to slothful tenants, without even remonstrance from the guardians of the public health.

The Quiet Citizen (1892) urged the population of the town to demand improvements were made. The corporation was still not imposing all the powers it had obtained under the adoption of the Public Health Act. What was still missing was a programme of house-to-house inspections. This combined with the issuing of improvement notices to the owners of unsatisfactory dwellings would have produced great improvements in housing conditions with its associated improvement in public health. Again, it was the financial burden, which would have been forced onto the ratepayers that prevented those measures from being implemented. The local authority still had a false sense of economy when it came to matters of public health. They were still ignorant to the long-term benefits that could be obtained through a relatively small financial outlay. It was into this environment that the Public Baths and Wash Houses were built to try to help elevate some of the health and hygiene problems faced by the inhabitants of the town.

CHAPTER VI

**THE PROVISION OF PUBLIC BATHS AND
WASH HOUSES IN CARDIFF**

The Victorian Public Baths fulfilled a number of important health and social functions within the urban environment. They provided the opportunity for the inhabitants of the towns and cities to participate in healthy rational recreational pursuits through the provision of swimming pools and Turkish baths. Improve personal hygiene through the provision of washing or slipper baths, and made available the facilities for the washing and ironing of laundry. Some of the larger baths were even able, during winter months, to have boards placed over them and then be used as a municipal hall for such activities as concerts and dances. They were in fact the beginning of what we would now class as a leisure or sports centre.

The Public Baths and Wash-Houses Act of 1846 was the beginning of municipal provision. In 1844 the Royal Commission on the Sanitary State of Large Towns found that no public baths cost less than 6d. per visit, and there were no wash houses controlled by a local authority. The Bill itself was introduced to the House of commons by Sir George Grey (cited Bird 1995, p.144-45) who stated that it was. ‘Intimately connected with the comfort, and indeed the health of a large portion of the working population, particularly those residing in large towns. Amendments to the Act in 1847 stated that two baths for the labouring classes had to be built to each bath for the middle classes. A higher rate to be charged for use of the class one baths. Restrictions enforced by the Bill prevented authorities from charging more than 1d. for a cold bath and 2d. for a warm one. First and second class swimming baths were also provided by many of the authorities. The middle classes higher fee to use the larger, superior first class swimming bath helping subsidise the use of the second class bath by the poorer classes.

Much of the social legislation of this period was permissive, the local authority was free to decide how, or even if, it dealt with the problems of public health. The Public Baths and Wash Houses Act enabled local authorities to raise money through rates to build public baths if they wished to do so. Fraser (cited Morris and Rodger 1993) suggests that the process of municipal enterprise, the provision of public transport, supply of gas and water, public health etc., created a debate on the values and dangers of municipal socialism. These services were paid for out of the local rates. Local authorities therefore had to be accountable for their actions, and more importantly, be able to justify their decisions. Supporters of municipal socialism such as Sir Thomas Hughes (cited Morris and Roger 1993) stated that the local authority had the advantage of being able to borrow money at a lower interest rate than private companies. They also had the ability to attract employees who were dedicated to providing a public service rather than work for a private profit seeking company. Hughes (cited Morris and Roger 1993, p. 271) stated.

We rightly think, just as in the case of baths, when you are dealing with what might be called, or what would otherwise become a class dangerous to the public health, it is better even to spread a little through the rates to give an advantage to the other parts of the community in preventing infectious disease and bad results of that sort, which naturally flow from people not being properly housed.

Critics of municipal socialism such as Sydney Morse of the London Chamber of Commerce accepted that in areas such as public health and the supply of water, municipal

ownership was needed. It was important to all inhabitants that a certain level of personal hygiene was obtained. Other critics believed that municipal provision was not just done through social need but through the empire building of its officials, who by creating larger indispensable businesses were able then to command higher salaries. Cardiff, however, seemed to lag behind many other authorities when it came to municipal provision. It was criticised in 'the man about town' column of the South Wales Echo on April the 14th. 1896, when the writer stated.

Socialism is steadily advancing and whether we like it or not, it is becoming one of the dominating principles in Municipal life. Corporations supply water, gas, electricity as a matter of course on the Socialistic plan, and half-a-dozen or more Municipalities own their own tramways. Whilst Cardiff hesitates to purchase the tramways and puts forth timidly as one advantage the issuing of cheap weekly tickets for workmen, Glasgow owns the lines, and with halfpenny fares made a profit of £24,000 in eleven months.

Cleanliness for the masses became an obsession for many local authorities as they competed with each other to provide what Wohl (1983, p.75) has called 'municipal monuments to the sanitary idea'. Many of the buildings were ornate and lavish, constructed out of the finest porcelain, slate, teak and marble. The example mentioned previously from the April 1896 edition of the South Wales Echo suggests that as an authority Cardiff was not innovative and proactive, or even interested in keeping up with other local authorities. The plan for the setting up municipal public baths and wash

houses was first put forward in 1861. It was felt at this time to be a novel idea and was rejected.

It was left to a private company to begin provision in Cardiff. The Cardiff Baths Company Ltd. opened a facility at Guildford Street on the 1st. of May 1862. Designed by T. Waring they contained two large swimming baths, each with a capacity of a million gallons of water supplied by the Bute Docks feeder, hot water baths, and a Turkish bath. The cost of building this facility was £3,700, which was described by the Cardiff Directory of 1863 as being admirably adapted to promote the health and well-being of the town. The baths were open daily and on Sundays from 7a.m. to 9a.m. Wednesdays and Fridays were set apart for ladies

Rates for use of the facilities set by the Cardiff Baths Company are shown in table 4 below.

	PRIVATE HOT WATER BATHS.		TURKISH BATHS	
	S.	D.	S.	D.
FIRST CLASS	1	0	2	0
YOUTHS UNDER 20	0	8		
SECOND CLASS	0	6	1	0
YOUTHS UNDER 20	0	4		

TABLE 4 Admission Charges Set by the Cardiff Baths Company 1892. (Source The Cardiff Directory 1893)

The facility however, struggled to be obtain sufficient attendance levels to provide a sufficient profit. During the years 1863-1868 the baths had to compete with the opening of other facilities in nearby towns, and more importantly the problem of public awareness

of the benefits of the facilities prevented optimum use of the facility. The proprietor of the baths attempted a number of marketing projects to boost attendance's. The charge for a Turkish bath was reduced to one shilling on Saturdays, and free passes were issued to all 'gentlemen of the medical profession' for them to experience first hand the health benefits of the Turkish bath. The depression experienced during the latter parts of the 1860's also had its effect on attendances. Evans (1868, p.8) recognised this factor when writing on the benefits of the Turkish bath and stated that. 'The general depression of trade also has probably operated unfavourably – the requirements of the skin being overpowered by the anxieties of the pocket'. Table 5 shows the admissions and receipts for the years 1863-1868. It is likely that the biggest barrier to most people who may have wished to use such a facility was cost. Baxter's 1867 classification of wage levels (cited Best 1979, p. 117) illustrates the average weekly wage for men over twenty; working a full week. Examples of typical trades, which would have been found in Cardiff during this period, included the following.

Engine Drivers	35s.
Seamen	25s.
Dockyard Workers	25s.
Servants	21s.-23s.
Dock Labourers	15s.-20s.
General Labourers	14s.

Hoppen (1998) suggests that the working classes spent between sixteen and twenty five per cent of their exiguous incomes on housing. While Wohl (1984, p.51) states that, 'in

those families earning between 20s. and 35s. a week every extra penny earned was spent on food rather than on clothing, fuel, or extra accommodation’.

TABLE 5 Public Baths Admissions 1863-1868. (Source Evans 1868)

ADMISSIONS						
YEAR END	MAY 2, 1863	MAY 1, 1864	MAY 1, 1865	MAY 1, 1866	MAY 1, 1867	MAY 1, 1868
TURKISH BATH	2,194	3,518	3,074	2,715	3,267	4,189
HOT WATER BATH	3,533	4,188	4,696	4,765	4,965	4,613
SWIMMING BATH	3,124	4,507	4,978	5,859	3,796	7,896
TEPID PLUNGE	.....	54	37	42	47	33
TOTALS	8,851	12,267	12,785	13,381	12,075	18,600
RECEIPTS						
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
TURKISH BATH	196 2 8	268 12 10	216 17 8	180 11 10	212 15 6	
HOT WATER BATHS	119 5 2	143 1 11	155 14 10	157 14 0	157 15 4	
TEPID PLUNGE	.....	5 7 6	3 10 0	4 1 0	4 3 6	
SWIMMING BATHS	43 10 1	54 5 7	61 2 7	72 1 11	54 6 8	
DITTO, SEASON TICKETS	82 5 0	50 9 0	26 19 0	30 11 0	29 0 0	
TOTAL	441 2 11	521 16 10	464 4 1	444 19 9	458 1 0	492 11 11

The charges for use of these baths would have been therefore well out of the range of many of the labouring classes. Being a private establishment the charges would not have come under the control of the 1846 act which stated that the maximum charge for a hot water bath was to be no more than 2d. It can be seen from table 5 that admissions at the hot water baths averaged 4,600 visits per year. Therefore, it is unlikely that many of the

poorest members of the labouring classes used these baths. This defeated their purpose, as Evans (1868, p.3) stated. 'Public baths and wash-houses are established to bring the means of cleanliness within the reach of all classes at a moderate cost'.

Evans (1868, p.5) regarded the use of a Turkish bath vital to maintain a high degree of health via what he called 'careful attention to the functions of the skin'. He cites scientific experiments, which

prove that when animals are covered over with an impermeable varnish they soon die, as if suffocated, in consequence of the retention of the carbonic acid, &c., in the system.

Though accepting that it was unlikely that anyone would neglect their skin to the same extent. Evans (1868) suggests that only moderate neglect would be sufficient to clog the pores and cause discomfort and disease. He recommended that the most effective method of cleansing the skin was friction combined with the high temperature obtained through shampooing in a Turkish bath.

The success of the Cardiff Bath Company was short lived, table 5 shows that receipts during the period 1863-68 never rose above £521 per year, which would have yielded little, if any, profit for the companies directors. As the baths never did attract sufficient commercial support, they were closed. By 1871 the company had offered the Cardiff Corporation the option to purchase the baths from them. The Corporation came to the decision that the baths were not of a sufficient capacity for their requirements, and also did not have enough space to allow for the provision of a wash house. In 1873

however, the Council minute book shows that the Corporation had reversed this decision and purchased the Cardiff Baths Companies site for £2,000.

The Corporation then began to examine the options available to it, and started the process of reopening the facility. It advertised for a General Manager and wife, to attend to the ladies baths, at a salary of £70 per annum. Accommodation, house coals and gas provided free of charge. In addition, a male attendant for the Turkish bath was required at a salary of £60 per annum. It received seventeen applications for the position and after short listing seven of these selected Peter Marmion to be the General Manager. The Property and Markets Committee, whose responsibility the baths came under, visited the site in April 1873 to inspect its condition and to take an inventory of the furniture and articles present. The Town Surveyor was instructed to obtain estimates for the cleaning and furnishing of the baths. The tender of R.L. Nicholl at £39. 10s. with papering and hanging paper at 9d. per piece was finally accepted. The Council minute book of 1895 stated that the Committee recommended on the 19th. of September that the opening hours and would be as follows.

From April 1st. to October 31st. from six o'clock in the morning until nine at night. On

Sundays from six o'clock to nine o'clock in the morning only

From November 1st. to March 31st. from seven o'clock in the morning until 8 o'clock at

night. On Sundays from seven o'clock to nine o'clock in the morning only.

Charges were set at

	1 ST . CLASS		2 ND . CLASS	
	S.	D.	S.	D.
SWIMMING BATH.	0	4	0	1
WARM OR COLD SLIPPER BATH.	0	8	0	4
SHOWER BATH	0	6	0	3
TURKISH BATH (second class on Wed. and Sat. only after 12p.m.)	2	0	1	0
SHAMPOOING.	0	6	0	6
TEPID PLUNGE BATH.	2	6	0	0

For a shower bath taken in connection with a warm slipper bath, one penny only will be charged.

Each slipper bath is in a separate apartment and on every occasion of use will be filled with fresh water, one towel will be supplied to each bather, except in the 2nd. Class swimming bath.

Season tickets for the Turkish bath will be issued, 12 baths for £1.1.0. The charge for the 1st. class swimming baths was later reduced to 3d.

This reduction suggests that the charges for the use of these facilities were still too expensive for most of the working classes. The proposed scheme for the provision of Public Baths in Cardiff was to provide a central facility with a number of smaller baths, one in each of the outlying districts of the town. The establishment of the central facility was deferred until the difficulties of obtaining a suitable site were overcome. The facility at Guildford Crescent was to be utilised for one of the subsidiary baths. Again Cardiff

was slow in providing new facilities and this situation remained in operation for the next twenty years.

It was not until 1892 that Cardiff produced the first major report on the question of public baths and wash houses. The report was presented to the corporation by the Borough Engineer W. Harpur, on the 19th of October, and was based on statistical information gained from other towns throughout Britain, appendix A depicts the information obtained. Harpur (1892,p.1) identified that not only was the provision of public baths an important matter of public health,

but is also one of considerable difficulty and complexity owing to the varied tastes and habits of the community, and it is a fact that the most praiseworthy efforts to provide baths for the people both on the part of public bodies and private individuals have met with most discouraging results.

Harpur was uncertain as to whether these results were due to the baths themselves being of unsuitable design, or if public habits and prejudices were to blame. He therefore suggested that facilities in other principal towns were visited to prevent any wasteful expenditure of public money. Appendix A shows that all the Towns approached, except Brighton, had Public Swimming Baths and these were all appreciated by their inhabitants. Only Birmingham, Bradford, Manchester, and Newcastle-Upon-Tyne had the additional benefits of Turkish Baths, while Wash Houses existed in Bradford, Hull, Liverpool, and Newcastle-Upon-Tyne only. This suggests that Wash Houses were not popular at this time with the inhabitants of Hull not appreciating them, in fact both Birmingham and

Manchester had discontinued their provision. In all of the towns very few houses had their own baths, only houses of the better classes were supplied with them, so all except Liverpool provided First and Second class slipper baths. All the towns provided the facilities through the principal of municipal socialism and moral duty, as all the returns showed a financial loss.

Harpur (1892, P.2) used three categories to classify baths. Those for cleansing, those used for recreational purposes and finally medicinal baths. The final category of medicinal baths were believed by Harpur to be best left to private provision, the corporation's responsibility extending to the first two categories only. Of these two categories the slipper bath and the swimming bath were the recognised type. Harpur (1892, p.2) suggested that,

however desirable the acquirement of the art of swimming may be and its exercise enjoyable and invigorating, the thorough washing of the person is of the first importance as absolutely necessary for the maintenance of health, and should therefore have the first consideration.

The baths were required mainly as the ability to wash at home was impossible. The majority of houses in Cardiff did not have the facility to allow for 'head-to-foot ablution'. Though young children could be washed in the kitchen as they grew older, this arrangement became impracticable. Many youths getting into the habit of not washing from one year to the next. The provision and running of these buildings would obviously have an effect on the rates. Harpur (1892, p.3) supported this extra expenditure stating, 'I know of no expenditure of the public money that produces more satisfactory results'.

During his report, Harpur (1892) dismissed the provision of a Turkish bath as being too costly compared with the more natural forms of bathing, classifying it to the third category of provision for the invalid. He argued that the Turkish bath was not needed by the labouring classes whose daily physical work resulted in free perspiration. All they required to keep their skins in good working order was a good wash with soap and water. To those people whose work did not involve physical labour, such as clerks and shop assistants, Harpur (1892, p.4) was of the opinion that.

A good walk into the country, a spin on a cycle, or any other outdoor exercise would be far more beneficial than half an hour spent in the hot room of a Turkish bath.

The ordinary slipper bath used extensively up until this point was seen by Harpur (1892) to be unsuitable due to the size, shape and amount of water wasted during its operation. He believed that the ideal bath should be just large enough to sit in and not more than nine or ten inches deep, above the bath would be fitted a hot and cold shower. When issued with a flesh-brush, towel and piece of soap Harpur (1892, p.5) describes how the bather can obtain

a most refreshing and invigorating wash. First let him turn on sufficient hot and cold water to his own liking, to half fill the bath, and then, sitting in the water and not being elbowed in by the sides of the bath as he would be in the ordinary 'slipper', let him proceed to well scrub his whole body, excepting his head and face, using plenty

of soap, then lifting up the waste plug, and standing up, let him turn on the warm shower, and agitating the water in the bath with his feet as it runs away, so as to prevent the lodgement of scum on the sides of the bath, let him wash his head and face with the warm water falling from the shower, and finish up by gradually turning off the warm water and turning on the cold.

This method of washing was estimated to use around 20 gallons and also had the advantage of cleaning the bath ready for the next user. Wohl (1983, p.76) suggests that though little is known about the users of these facilities, very few members of the poorest classes used them through embarrassment. He quotes the Superintendent of the Liverpool Central Baths as saying, 'to many of the uneducated the word 'bath' seems to strike them with terror, and taking a bath is looked upon by them as a punishment'.

Harpur (1892) recognised that for the public baths to be a success admission needed to be cheap, though not at the expense of efficiency or comfort. This he believed would be obtained through the provision of 'soap and spray' baths. The swimming bath would also need to have improved methods of heating the water and increased water quality obtained through artificial circulation and aeration. This would therefore allow a larger number of bathers per expenditure of water. The swimming baths therefore would have to be of large dimensions, between 80 to 100 feet long. It was recognised and supported by the statistics obtained from other towns that the capital and maintenance costs would be too high for many of these facilities to be built and operated in Cardiff. Harpur (1892) believed that a well furnished and managed swimming bath would be a

great attraction to the youth of the town. Therefore, as it would chiefly be used by them, there would be no difficulty in attracting bathers willing to walk long distances to use the facility. However, concerning the use of the washing baths he believed that any worker, after a long, hard day's labour would not travel a long distance in order to obtain a wash. The facilities provided in this situation would therefore have to consist of a number of small establishments in each of the districts close to the centres of population they were intended to serve.

Few accounts exist of a visit to the public baths, which to thousands of people were a weekly event. Dorothy Scannell (cited Wohl 1983, p.76) describes her visit to the local baths.

When we were too old for mother to bathe in the little tin bath, we would join the older ones every Friday and go to the public baths. We would have to go early for a large crowd collected in the waiting-room when the young people came home from work. It was impossible for a girl to pop into the baths before a dance, etc. for sometimes it was necessary to wait over two hour's for one's bath. We always took a book to read and always saw the local brides there the night before their wedding.

The site already in the control of the corporation at Guildford Crescent had already been the subject of two reports outlining proposals for modernisation. Harpur (1892, p. 6) stated that.

The awkward triangular shape of the site and its small area combine to render it impossible to construct on it baths at all proportionate to the size and importance of a town like Cardiff, having a population of nearly 140,000.

Harpur (1892) therefore recommended that a facility needed to be built centrally in which the swimming bath was the chief feature. Together with one subsidiary baths in each two wards of the town, in which the washing baths would be the important feature, a small swimming bath or plunge pool to be sited in the centre of them.

The Council minute book shows the Corporation was granted permission on the 18th. of October 1893 by the Local Government board to borrow £10,000 towards the cost of alterations to the Guildford Crescent baths. The estimate of Messers W. Symonds & co. of £12,359 19s. 3d. was accepted on the 8th. of August 1894 with a further application made to the Local Government Board to borrow an extra £2,500 to meet the shortfall.

Following Harpur's report of 1892 permission was granted to him on the 11th. of December 1893 to consider the building of subsidiary baths and wash-houses in the wards of Splott, Grangetown, Cathays, and Canton. No progress was made on this matter until the question was raised again on the 28th. of January 1895 when a sub committee was appointed to consider the advisability of establishing a system of public baths in various centres of the town. Again it was passed that subsidiary baths were to be built, one in each of the two wards of the town. The Borough Engineer was again instructed to report on suitable sites. On the 3rd. of July 1895 the Engineer submitted plans showing proposed sites, and was instructed to start negotiations for the acquisition of the land

needed, between the river Taff and the Glamorgan Canal (near the Hamadryad Hospital) and at the southern end of Ryder Street.

The existing baths were finally closed on Monday the 20th. of May 1895 for the planned alterations and improvements to be made. Part of the original structure was demolished to allow the new facility to be built. Only the Turkish bath and manager's house remained. The new facility consisted of a men's first and second class swimming baths, ladies swimming bath together with the necessary ancillary facilities of a ticket office, attendants room, towel laundry, and engine and boiler houses. The warm lavatories provided were of a new patented design with them having dual dressing rooms in lieu of the ordinary slipper baths. This feature was unique, no other baths had previously been constructed along these lines. The lavatories were combined with the swimming bath so that the bather, after vacating the washing bath, could still retain the use of their dressing room. This allowed them the option of being able to enjoy a swim if they so wished. The washing baths provided consisted of small enamelled iron baths, four feet long and twelve inches deep, fitted with a hot and cold water supply. Steam coils allowed the bathroom to be maintained at a temperature of 110 degrees. Over the centre of the bath a shower was fitted, the temperature of which could be controlled by the bather. The first class swimming bath though larger than the other planned subsidiary baths, was not of a size sufficient enough to met the requirements of water polo and other aquatic sports. It was however, fitted out with appropriate diving stages and gymnastics equipment. Internal walls of the building were faced throughout by glazed bricks, and the floors paved with marble concrete mosaic, while the introduction of electric light at a cost of £198 10s. was included for the first time. Approval was also obtained during the

closure to improve the Turkish baths to complement the other improvements. Again to finance this, application to borrow £700 was made to the Local Government Board.

For the reopening of the baths, the Borough Engineer in the Council minute book of 1895 made the following recommendations to the Corporation:-

The baths are to open as follows:-

SWIMMING BATHS. – From April 1st. to October 31st. on week days only, from 7a.m. until 8p.m., and from November 1st. to March 31st.on weekdays only, from 8a.m. until 7p.m. On Sundays, from May 1st. until August 31st. from 7 a.m. until 10a.m.

SCALE OF CHARGES. – First class 6d., Second class 3d. Monthly tickets, First class 7s. 6d., Second class 4s. 6d. Annual season tickets from April 1st. to September 30th., 10s. 6d.

Teaching swimming 5s. each person extra.

WARM OR COLD WASHING BATHS. – On week days from 9a.m. until 7.30p.m. On Saturdays from 9a.m. until 8p.m.

SCALE OF CHARGES. – First class 6d., Second class 4d. Washing and swimming baths combined, First Class 1s., Second class 6d.

LADIES BATHS SCALE OF CHARGES. – Swimming baths 4d. Monthly tickets 4s. Season tickets, April 1st. to September 30th., 10s. Hot or cold washing baths 4d. Jewish slipper and tepid plunge baths 1s. 6d. Use of bathing dress, 1d. extra.

Each washing bath is fitted with a hot and cold shower, and is in a separate apartment with duel dressing rooms, and on every occasion of use will be filled with fresh water.

Two towels and drawers will be supplied to each bather in First class baths. One towel only will be supplied to each bather in Second class baths. Any Second class bather requiring extra towels or bathing drawers will be charged 1d. for use of same.

No person will be allowed to remain in the premises for a period of more than one hour each time of bathing.

The baths will be closed each Christmas Day and Good Friday.

The baths were ceremonially reopened on the 30th. of April 1896 by Lady Winsor the Mayoress of the Borough. The final cost was estimated to be nearly £14,000. On the same day, a letter appeared in the South Wales Echo from Geo Pragnell, Honorary Secretary of the Amateur Swimming Association of England. In it, he stated.

From a natatorial point of view the City of Cardiff and the City of London have long been quoted as the most glaring anomalies in the kingdom owing to neither of them boasting a swimming bath.

He continued that he had written to Cardiff first as.

Your City has been the first to remove the stigma, and great possibilities lie in front of your swimming baths if managed on broad and popular lines, and if the sportsmen in Cardiff rise to the occasion which presents itself Cardiff ought to become the life and soul of this movement and every citizen should be shown the healthy and humane side of such a programme.

Pragnell urged that time was now right for a strong amateur swimming club to be formed and appealed to the Corporation to encourage the formation of such a club by issuing tickets to members at a reduced rate and hiring the baths out at a nominal fee for 'occasional entertainments'. In the same edition of the South Wales Echo the 'Man About Town' column stated.

If cleanliness be next to Godliness we shall be more
righteous as a community tomorrow than we are today,
unless indeed the whole of the members of the Corporation
show their approval of the doctrine by plunging in today
immediately after the opening ceremony.

The commentator went on to suggest that not everyone was happy about the size of the baths. In fact many people thought they should have been built larger, they were however given assurances they were built to the best scientific and engineering principals of the day, with the most efficient use made of the awkward restricted site.

Once opened the baths began to present their own operating problems. Notices were posted offering a reward of 20s. to anyone giving information leading to the conviction of persons stealing bathing drawers and towels. The Head Constable was also asked at the end of May 1896 to instruct his officers to assist the manager in preserving order at the baths on Saturday afternoons and Sunday mornings.

Table 6 displays usage figures for the first full year of operation of the baths. During this year, the total income achieved by the baths was £1329 10s. 6d. A number of interesting patterns come to light on examination of these figures. Firstly it can be seen that attendances at the first class baths was very much effected by the seasons. The

highest usage figures occurring during the summer months. The second class baths only recorded figures between April and October, whilst attendances at the gymnasium only occur between the months of November and March. This suggests that the second class baths satisfied a dual purpose. During the summer months it would have been used as a swimming bath and then boarded over during the winter for use as a gymnasium. The washing baths also show seasonal variations, though not to the same extent as the swimming baths. On average twenty-nine people used the washing baths daily during the winter months and forty-nine people during the summer. Not a significant number when you consider the population was 140,000. The other facilities of Turkish and Jewish baths show relatively constant figures, which suggests that these facilities attracted a regular group of users each month.

The last few years of the century saw further delays and problems in finding sites to build the proposed subsidiary baths on. In March 1896, it was reported that subsidiary baths could not be built on the Old Ferry Road site. An offer from a Mr. Corbett of a site on the east side of Hunter Street at 1s. Per square yard was also rejected. In July, the question of baths at Canton was again adjourned. By May 1898 the problem was still being raised, when it was recommended that district baths be established at the Eastern and Western ends of Cardiff. The Eastern baths to be built on a site known as Ellis Gardens and the Western baths to be built on a site on the Canton Market property. The earlier decision to provide subsidiary baths to be built, one in each two wards within the town were then rescinded. No other central or subsidiary baths were ever built by the Corporation. By the end of the Century Cardiff still only had the one set of public baths at Guildford Crescent. Though they were never intended to be. the Central baths for the

TABLE 6 Corporation Baths and Gymnasium – Attendances for the Year 1897.

	JANUARY	FEBRUARY	MARCH	APRIL	MAY	JUNE	JULY	AUGUST	SEPTEMBER	OCTOBER	NOVEMBER	DECEMBER	TOTALS	
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
SWIMMING BATHS														
1 ST . Class	128	284	420	767	1827	3046	3204	2775	932	370	152	207	14112	
2 ND . Class				1134	1897	3054	3867	3520	894	190			14556	
Monthly, 1 ST .					2		3	7					12	
Monthly, 2 ND .								1					1	
Season, 1 ST .				25	9	8				2			44	
Season, 2 ND .				2									2	
Annual				1	2			1	5				9	
Clubs (per Book of 500)				500		1000	1000		500				3000	31736
LADIES BATHS														
Swimming	51	18	45	94	185	196	398	354	134	57			1532	
Monthly	2	2		1	3		5	6					19	
Season				40	14	4							58	
Slipper	27	45	60	66	91	120	141	73	56	48	23	29	779	2388
WARM LAVATORIES														
Slipper, 1 ST .	412	490	555	603	873	835	959	591	565	540	419	482	7324	

TABLE 6 Corporation Baths and Gymnasium – Attendances for the Year 1897.

	JANUARY	FEBRUARY	MARCH	APRIL	MAY	JUNE	JULY	AUGUST	SEPTEMBER	OCTOBER	NOVEMBER	DECEMBER	TOTALS	
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
WARM LAVATORIES cont.														
Slipper, 2 nd .	292	365	365	316	604	580	660	434	376	402	265	255	4914	
Combined, 1 st .	35	54	65	83	125	137	194	108	42	48	27	34	952	
Combined, 2 nd .				23	84	63	97	40	32	11			350	13540
TURKISH BATHS	240	287	306	347	323	334	287	283	324	317	277	308	3633	
Shampooing	72	108	97	98	94	97	80	100	98	94	88	103	1129	4762
JEWISH BATH														
(Tepid Plunge)	34	34	33	36	32	20	29	29	36	26	29	29	367	367
MISC.														
Swimming Fees	4	2	3	15	8	6	13	9	2				62	
Polo Matches														62
GYMNASIUM	14	107	63								154	102	440	440
TOTAL	1311	1796	2012	4151	6173	9500	10937	8331	3996	2105	1434	1549	Total 53,295	

town, they were to meet this purpose for well over fifty years until the opening of the Wales Empire Pool in the 1950's.

CHAPTER VII
CONCLUSIONS

Public Baths and Wash Houses were a physical shrine to Victorian social reform and part of a system of health measures required by every town. All the evidence from each chapter points to the conclusion that the provision of Public Baths and Wash Houses was not achieved because of one single factor but a combination of the interlocking areas discussed in this study. Wohl (1984, p.6) states that,

the most widely held of Victorian social doctrines was
that physical well-being and a pure environment were the
essential foundations for all other areas of social progress.

Therefore, did Public Baths and Wash Houses contribute to the improvements in public health? At the end of the Victorian period things were better concerning public health and considerable improvements had been made. The opportunity for better personal hygiene was within the reach of more members of the working classes. While improvements in health was seen in all age groups except for babies from birth to a year old. Death rates had fallen from 20.5 per 1,000 in 1861 to 16.9 in 1901. Between the decades 1841-50 and 1891-1900 the death rate declined by over twelve per cent in the birth to four year-old groups. By over fifty per cent in the five to twenty four year-old group, by almost thirty eight per cent in the twenty five to thirty four age group, and by almost nineteen per cent in the thirty five to forty four age group. Life expectancy had also increased at birth from 40.2 years in 1841 to 51.5 years in 1911 (Wohl 1984, p.329)

During the study, little evidence was discovered to enable an analysis's of the classes that used the facilities to be made. It was likely that the members of the poorest classes were to embarrassed to use the facilities. While Wohl (1984, p.73) states that critics of the provision of Public Baths argued at the time that.

Wash Houses would remain empty since the poor were too debased to use them – and besides they *liked* dirt; their cloths would wear out if washed; subsidised baths would rob the poor of their ‘independence; public baths were likely to become scenes of debauchery and ‘sinks of corruption’; where virtuous housewives would be forced to mingle with the less virtuous; and, above all, bathing was not essential to good health.

Evidence obtained suggests that the Public Baths were under used. If you consider the slipper baths were on average attracting twenty-nine people a day in winter and forty nine people during the summer of 1897. These figures out of a population of 140,000 do not suggest the facilities were that popular. Poverty was still the major problem of the period. Without the money to visit the Public Baths, many people were forced to remain in the squalid conditions they were accustomed to.

Reformers still could not be complacent at the end of the century. The study has shown that at the end of the 19th. Century many of the working classes had still not fully benefited in the sanitary and public health improvements achieved. They still led an uncertain life in comparison to those in the classes above them. Housing conditions had still not improved for many of the working classes. The Rev. Samuel Barnett said in 1889 that.

What is it to the poor that it has been proved how cleanliness is the secret of health? They cannot have the latest sanitary appliances. They cannot take baths..... or

have constant change of clothing.

The working classes lacked the political power to obtain large-scale reforms that would have been of benefit to them. It has been seen that public health reformers for the working classes were battling against an ineffective political system. Cardiff's Commissioners was comprised mainly of people who had entered politics and served on the Local Board of Health, not out of a sense of duty, but to obtain their own monetary reward. During this period they made every effort to avoid any extra expense in areas such as refuse collection, paving, drainage, street lighting, and the building of Public Baths and Wash Houses.

Throughout the study, constant reference is found to the inefficiency of Cardiff's Commissioners. The town had a major overcrowding problem, yet little was done about it. The Commissioners were inexperienced and ignorant of the benefits to be obtained from sanitary reform. This major factor hindered the provision of Public Baths and Wash Houses rather than some form of conscious political or economic philosophy. For example the original plan put forward in 1861 was regarded as being novel and was subsequently rejected. The plans to provide a Central Baths and other Subsidiary Baths were discussed many times during the 1890's but nothing was ever built. Even the report on Public Baths published in 1892 still had doubts about the possible success of the project. The study shows that though the provision of Public Baths and Wash Houses in Cardiff did bring the required benefits to a section of the working classes. A lot more could have , and should have, been done by the towns Commissioners if only they had respected their moral duty to their fellow citizens. Further facilities, as planned, should

have been built which would have given a larger proportion of the population the opportunity to have easy access to one of the facilities.

The period of this study was an age of unprecedented urban growth. Health reform occurred at different paces throughout the country. As a town, the study has shown that Cardiff progressed at a slow and often erratic pace. This was not only due to the characteristic nature associated with local government, but also due to its belief in retaining local autonomy and low rates. Public Baths and Wash Houses because of their role of providing and encouraging personal hygiene were part of the system of preventive medicine. Hector Gavin (Wohl 1984, p5) predicted in 1847 that the high mortality rates present in the towns were caused by mans action and preventive medicine measures were needed to overcome the causes that were, he stated,

are traceable to the density of population, to the want of ventilation, and consequent impurity of the air; to the defective state of paving, drainage, and sewage; to the filthy state of the dwellings of the poor and of there immediate neighbourhood; to the *concentration* of unhealthy and putrescent emanations from narrow streets, courts and alleys.

In the chapter on Cardiff's urban environment, it can be seen that these conditions were abundant in the town. The town was in needed of a system of Public Baths and Wash Houses long before they were actually provided.

It was the duty of the local authority to enforce the Public Health Act. As well as providing drainage systems, removing any refuse, supplying water, cleanse the streets

and public sewers, approve the sanitary arrangements of new buildings, and any businesses likely to cause a public nuisance. With the exception of the main drains in Temperance Town, and streets off Bute Street which were in need of re-construction, the Quite Citizen (1892, p.7) felt that as an authority by the 1890's Cardiff carried out its duties well. However, the towns Commissioners again showed their indifference to the sanitary conditions of private houses by failing to meet their obligations. Hundreds of properties were said to be in an insanitary condition through imperfect drains and the accumulation of filth and decomposed matter. This therefore cancelled out the benefits obtained through the provision of expensive public health measures paid for out of the rates. What was needed expressed the Quite Citizen (1892, p.15) was more inspections and enforcement of the Authorities' powers to demand repairs alterations and improvements. These improvements would have had to been financed by the owners of the property. The Commissioners were however reluctant to impose any additional financial burden onto the landlords of these properties. Who as well as being the local ratepayers also comprised the electorate. They feared that this extra expense would be remembered at the next local elections and they would be voted out of power.

Though the results of this study show that the benefits obtained from the provision of Public Baths and Wash Houses were not as positive as they should have been. This study has only dealt with the situation arising in Cardiff. Further research is needed to discover if other towns and cities had the same attitude and results as Cardiff. Or alternatively, if a sense of moral duty and civic pride was more important to them.

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APPENDICES

NAME OF BOROUGH.	POPULATION.	RATEABLE VALUE.	HAVE YOU IN YOUR DISTRICT.				COST OF:-		AREA OF SITE, OR SITES, IN SQUIRE YDS.	ANNUAL COST OF MAINTENANCE.	ANNUAL RECEIPTS
			PUBLIC SWIMMING BATHS	TURKISH BATHS.	VAPOUR BATHS OR WARM LAVATORIES	WASH HOUSES	BUILDINGS	SITE, OR SITES.			
BIRMINGHAM	A 478,000	A £2,040,808	YES 5	YES 2	DISC.	DISC.	£69,617	£9,109	12,039	£6,178	£4,945
BRADFORD	217,000	£1,052,468	YES	YES	YES	YES	£11,300 C	£839 C	D 1,014	£2,779 INCLUSIVE OF INTEREST AND SINKING FUND.	£2,400
BRIGHTON	115,402	£700,093	NO	NO	NO	NO	£12,295	.... /	1,572	£1,761	£1,761
DERBY	95,000	£386,000	YES	NO	NO	NO	£9,000 E	....	E 1,100	£730	£450
HULL	204,000	£730,724	YES	....	2	YES	£6,200 F	£1,000 F	....	£1,580	£1,443

APPENDIX A TABULATED STATEMENT OF REPLIES RECEIVED FROM VARIOUS TOWNS *re* PUBLIC BATHS, 1892.

NAME OF BOROUGH.	POPULATION.	RATEABLE VALUE.	HAVE YOU IN YOUR DISTRICT.				COST OF:-		AREA OF SITE, OR SITES, IN SQUIRE YDS.	ANNUAL COST OF MAINTENANCE.	ANNUAL RECEIPTS
			PUBLIC SWIMMING BATHS	TURKISH BATHS.	VAPOUR BATHS OR WARM LAVATORIES	WASH HOUSES	BUILDINGS	SITE, OR SITES.			
LEICESTER	180,000	£549,583	YES	NO	NO	NO	£2,601	....	2,890	G £1,377	G £1,652
LIVERPOOL	517,951	....	7	NO	YES	4	....	....	....	£8,866	£8,579
MANCHESTER	505,343	£2,798,000	7	2	5	DISC.	£21,029 / BUILDINGS & SITE		/ 2,000	/ £1,920	/ £1,449
NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE	192,200	£915,841	5	YES N	....	5	£8,430 O	£1,226 O	1,150	....	TOTAL RECEIPTS 6 PLACES £4,400
NOTTINGHAM	213,000	£739,200	2	NO	NO	NO	£13,984	1 CORP. LAND. 1 LEASE-HOLD	....	....	....

APPENDIX A TABULATED STATEMENT OF REPLIES RECEIVED FROM VARIOUS TOWNS *re* PUBLIC BATHS, 1892.

NAME OF BOROUGH.	POPULATION.	RATEABLE VALUE.	HAVE YOU IN YOUR DISTRICT.				COST OF:-		AREA OF SITE, OR SITES, IN SQUIRE YDS.	ANNUAL COST OF MAINTENANCE.	ANNUAL RECEIPTS
			PUBLIC SWIMMING BATHS	TURKISH BATHS.	VAPOUR BATHS OR WARM LAVATORIES	WASH HOUSES	BUILDINGS	SITE, OR SITES.			
PORTSMOUTH	162,000	£621,000	YES	....	....	....	£4,000	....	2,000	£750	£700
SALFORD	198,136	£798,714	4	NO	6	NO	£5,680 K	£962 K	K 1,330	Q £1,790	Q £1,564
SHEFFIELD	324,243	....	YES	NO	....	NO	£16,000 BUILDINGS & SITE		....	....	....
SUNDERLAND	130,921	£910,805	YES 1	NO	YES 3	YES 3	£17,800	£300 & £27 RENTAL	1,360 975 794	£2,886	£2,183
WOLVERHAMPTON	83,000	£272,000	YES	NO	NO	NO	....	....	3,900	£445	£439

APPENDIX A TABULATED STATEMENT OF REPLIES RECEIVED FROM VARIOUS TOWNS *re* PUBLIC BATHS, 1892

NAME OF BOROUGH.	TOTAL PROFIT OR LOSS ON BATHS GENERALLY	NUMBER OF SWIMMING BATHS	SIZE OF BATHS IN FEET	NO. OF SLIPPER BATHS					NUMBER OF ATTENDANTS AND THEIR SALARIES	HOW OFTEN IS WATER CHANGED
				1 ST . CLASS		2 ND . CLASS		3 RD .		
				MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE			
BIRMINGHAM	LOSS £1,233 EXCLUSIVE OF INTEREST	B 13	1 ST . CLASS, 86 X 38, 38 X 14, 62 X 31, 80 X 33 2 ND . CLASS, 80 X 35, 68 X 32, 68 X 33 PLUNGE (2) 20 X 12, (1) 17 X 12 OPEN AIR, 133 X 72	84	20	79	26	..	PERMANET. 1 GENERAL SUPERINTENDENT. 2 CLERKS. 5 ENGINEERS. 6 STOKERS. 13 MALE ATTENDANTS. 2 FEMALE ATTENDANTS. 1 MONEY TAKER.	TWO OR THREE TIMES A WEEK.
BRADFORD	LOSS £379 EXCLUSIVE OF INTEREST & SINKING FUND	3	54 X 21, 54 X 24, 60 X 30	29		65		..	16 AVERAGE SALARY 23/- PER WEEK	THREE TIMES A WEEK IN SUMMER.
BRIGHTON	£370 EXCLUSIVE OF ANNUAL CHARGES FOR RE-PAYMENT	NONE	....	34		70		..	<p style="text-align: right;">£ S. D.</p> 2 SUPERINTENDENTS 1 10 0 1 ATTENDANT 1 5 0 1 ATTENDANT 1 4 0 1 ATTENDANT 1 1 0 2 ATTENDANTS 0 15 0 2 ATTENDANTS 0 14 0 1 ATTENDANT 0 12 6 1 ATTENDANT 0 10 0 2 MAIDS 0 14 0 1 MAID 0 6 0 FIREMAN 1 7 6 FIREMAN 1 5 0 MONEY TAKER 0 15 0 MONEY TAKER 0 16 0	NONE

APPENDIX A TABULATED STATEMENT OF REPLIES RECEIVED FROM VARIOUS TOWNS *re* PUBLIC BATHS, 1892.

NAME OF BOROUGH.	TOTAL PROFIT OR LOSS ON BATHS GENERALLY	NUMBER OF SWIMMING BATHS	SIZE OF BATHS IN FEET	NO. OF SLIPPER BATHS					NUMBER OF ATTENDANTS AND THEIR SALARIES	HOW OFTEN IS WATER CHANGED
				1 ST . CLASS		2 ND . CLASS		3 RD .		
				MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE			
DERBY	LOSS £430	4	2 PUBLIC 55 X 30 2 FREE 100 X 50	15		25		..	MANAGER AND MATRON £120 4 ATTENDANTS, SUMMER £102 4 ATTENDANTS, WINTER £102 FREE BATHS. 1 ATTENDANT, SUMMER £35	public, twice a week FREE, ONCE A WEEK
HULL	LOSS £137	4	1 ST . CLASS, 75 X 21, 95 X 30. 2 ND . CLASS, 60 X 20. BOYS, 36 X 23.	33	13	25	3	14	MANAGER AND WIFE 45/- OFFICE ATTENDANT 14/- ATTENDANT 25/- FIREMAN 27/- TOWEL-WASHER 3/- PER DAY AS REQUIRED	ONCE A WEEK
LEICESTER	.....	5	1 ST . CLASS, 40 DIA. 90 X 33 2 ND . CLASS, 51 X 26, 135 X 23 LADIES, 27 X 28	28	12	11	8	8	MANAGER AND WIFE. 2 MEN AND 2 WOMEN (TICKETS). -AT EACH OF THE 2 ESTABLISHMENTS. 1 LAUNDRY MAID.	1 ST . CLASS-TWICE A WEEK IN SUMMER. ONCE A WEEK IN WINTER. 2 ND . CLASS-ONCE A WEEK
LIVERPOOL	LOSS £287	17	FROM 84 FT. TO LONG TO 46	...	...	...	...	...	VARY ACCORDING TO REQUIREMENTS.	SOME DAILY SOME EVERY OTHER DAY SOME WEEKLY.

APPENDIX A TABULATED STATEMENT OF REPLIES RECEIVED FROM VARIOUS TOWNS *re* PUBLIC BATHS, 1892.

NAME OF BOROUGH.	TOTAL PROFIT OR LOSS ON BATHS GENERALLY	NUMBER OF SWIMMING BATHS	SIZE OF BATHS IN FEET	NO. OF SLIPPER BATHS					NUMBER OF ATTENDANTS AND THEIR SALARIES	HOW OFTEN IS WATER CHANGED
				1 ST . CLASS		2 ND . CLASS		3 RD .		
				MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE			
MANCHESTER	12	1 1 ST . CLASS, 75 X 25 2 ND . CLASS, 75 X 25	17	4	23	6	27	SUPERINTENDENT £1 18S. 6D. PER WEEK. MATRON 7/9. ENGINEER £1 15S. 9 ASSISTANTS 12/- TO 26/-	TWICE OR THRICE WEEKLY
NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE	8	90 X 45 56 X 26 35 X 17	P.8		P.8			RESIDENT MANAGER, 30/-. FIREMAN, 28/-. CASH GIRL, 15/-. LAUNDRESS, 15/-. MALE ATTENDANT, 15/-.	TWICE A WEEK IN SUMMER.
NOTTINGHAM	5	1 ST . CLASS, 105 X 35. 1 ST . CLASS, 66 X 33. LADIES, 30 X 20. 2 ND . CLASS, 54 X 20. 3 RD . CLASS, 80 X 20.	21		12		13	.....	ONCE A WEEK WITH CONTIOUS FLOW.
PORTSMOUTH	1	81 X 25	7		16			SUPERINTENDENT & WIFE 33/-. PRIVATE BATH ATTENDANT 18/-. SWIMMING BATH ATTENDANT 16/-. STOKER 23/6. MONEY TAKER 21/-	ONCE A WEEK WITH CONTINIOUS FLOW.

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				1 ST . CLASS		2 ND . CLASS		3 RD .		
				MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE			
SALFORD	LOSS ABOUT £500, EXCLUSIVE OF PRINCIPAL & INTEREST	8	LARGEST 75 X 28	27		55			1 GENERAL SUPERINTENDENT £3 PER WEEK AT EACH ESTABLISHMENT. 1 ENGINEER AT 30/- PER WEEK. 3 ATTENDANTS AT 25/- PER WEEK. 2 LAUNDRESSES AT 12/- PER WEEK. 1 LADY IN OFFICE 14 AT 14/- PER WEEK	TWICE A WEEK.
SHEFFIELD	.....	2	70 X 33	13		19		19	SUPERINTENDENT & MATRON £95. MONEY TAKER 15/- PER WEEK, AND ASSISTANTS AS REQUIRED.	USUALLY TWICE A WEEK
SUNDERLAND	£703 INCLUDING INTEREST.	1	94 X 29	28		23			3 SUPERINTENDENTS & WIVES £91, £65, £62. 8S. 3 FIREMEN £70. 4S., £67. 12S., £65	THREE TIMES WEEKLY
WOLVERHAPTON	£6	2	70 X 30, 59 X 25	5		7			MANAGER & WIFE, £100 + HOUSE. ENGINEMAN, 25/-	ONCE OR TWICE A WEEK

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NAME OF BOROUGH.	MODE OF HEATING SWIMMING BATHS	ARE THE WATERWORKS IN THE HANDS OF THE LOCAL AUTHORITIES, AND WHAT CHARGE IS MADE FOR WATER.	ARE THE BATHS GENERALLY APPRECIATED.				ARE THE MAJORITY OF THE HOUSES IN THE DISTRICT SUPPLIED WITH BATHS.	GENERAL REMARKS.
			PUBLIC BATHS.	TURKISH BATHS	VAPOUR BATHS	WASH HOUSES		
BIRMINGHAM	HIGH PRESSURE STEAM, HOT WATER CIRCULATION AND VARIOUS METHODS.	WATER PUMPED AT EACH BATH ESTABLISHMENT.	YES	YES	NO	NO	IN SOME DISTRICTS : NOT AT ALL	A POPULATION AND RATABLE VALUE INCLUDES RECENTLY ANNEXED DISTRICTS TWO ADDITIONAL SETS OF BATHS ARE BEING PREPARED. B INCLUDING TWO OPEN AIR SWIMMING BATHS
BRADFORD	STEAM	YES, CHARGE LUMP SUM OF £300.	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	C COST IS FOR MANCHESTER ROAD BATHS THORNTON ROAD BATHS THEREFORE COST WOULD BE NO GUIDE D MANCHESTER ROAD BATHS ONLY
BRIGHTON	NONE	THE WATERWORKS IS IN THE HANDS OF THE TOWN COUNCIL, AND CHARGE 5D. PER 1000 GALLONS.	PUBLIC SLIPPER BATHS APPEAR TO BE APPRECIATED.				NEARLY ALL THE BETTER CLASS HOUSES HAVE BATH ROOMS.	TWO ORDINARY SLIPPER BATH ESTABLISHMENTS. ONE COTTAGE BATH (SLIPPER)
DERBY	HOT WATER FROM TWO BOILERS. ADMITTED AT THE DEEP END AND OVERFLOWING AT THE OTHER.	YES. 5D. PER 1000 GALLONS FOR THE PUBLIC, AND 2 1/2D. PER 1000 FOR THE FREE	YES					ABOUT £1,000 RECENTLY EXPENDED IN BOILERS AND OTHER WORKS E FOR PUBLIC BATHS ONLY, THE FREE BATHS ARE THE GIFT OF THE LATE M.

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			PUBLIC BATHS.	TURKISH BATHS	VAPOUR BATHS	WASH HOUSES		
HULL	HOT WATER AND STEAM.	YES, £120 PER ANNUM.	YES	...	NO	NO	NO, BUT THEY ARE BECOMING VERY COMMON IN MIDDLE CLASS HOMES	<i>F</i> COST OF ONE ONLY OUT OF TWO ESTABLISHMENTS, THE OTHER FORMED. HAVE ONLY ON ONE OCCASION PAID WORKING EXPENSES. HAD MORE REGARD TO REQUIREMENTS, THEY MIGHT NEARLY ALWAYS DO.
LEICESTER	KEITH'S PATENT BOILERS, METCALF AND DILWORTH'S PATENT BOILER FOR HEATING. ORDINARY CORNISH BOILER FOR LAUNDRY.	YES, AND CHARGE 3D. A 1000 GALLONS.	YES	...	...	...	NO, ABOUT 1 IN 16 HAVE BATHS. <i>H</i>	<i>G</i> THESE AMOUNTS INCLUDE SIX MONTHS RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE ONLY. BATHS RECENTLY OPENED. <i>H</i> THERE IS A VERY LARGE POPULATION OF THE ARTIZAN CLASS.
LIVERPOOL	BY INJECTING STEAM.	YES, NO CHARGE.	<i>A</i>	...	<i>B</i>	YES	YES	<i>A</i> WEATHER RULES NUMBER OF BATHERS. A CHANGE OF 10 DEG. MEANS 2,000 BATHERS PER WEEK. <i>B</i> NOT SO MUCH AS THEY OUGHT TO BE.

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			PUBLIC BATHS.	TURKISH BATHS	VAPOUR BATHS	WASH HOUSES		
MANCHESTER	STEAM INJECTORS.	YES, £100 PER ANNUM EACH BATH	YES	YES	YES	DIS.	NO	<i>I</i> THESE PARTICULARS REFER TO ONE BATH ONLY (LEAF STREET).
NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.	STEAM INJECTED THROUGH PERFORATED PIPE AT DEEP END.	WATER SUPPLIED BY PRIVATE FIRM. 3D. PER 1000 GALLONS FROM LOW SERVICE, AND 5D. FROM HIGH.	YES	YES	...	YES	IN MOST OF THE RECENTLY BUILT HOUSES	<i>N</i> ATTACHED TO LARGE, PLUNGE AND WARM BATHS. <i>O</i> COST OF WESTGATE STREET BATHS AND WASH HOUSES ONLY (1886) <i>P</i> (PROBABLY ONE ESTABLISHMENT ONLY. W.H.)
NOTTINGHAM	TEPID WATER FROM ADJOINING FACTORIES. (CONDENSED STEAM)	YES. 6D. PER 1000 GALLONS.	YES	...	...	...	NO	THERE IS ALSO A FREE SWIMMING ENCLOSURE ON THE RIVER.
PORTSMOUTH	CIRCULATING SYSTEM.	NO, CHARGE 6D. PER 1000 GALLONS.	YES	ABOVE RENT AVERAGE £30.	WE HAVE SEA WATER LAID ON TO THE SWIMMING AND PRIVATE BATHS. THE PRIVATE BATHS ARE SUPPLIED WITH HOT AND COLD SEA WATER AS WITH FRESH.

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			PUBLIC BATHS.	TURKISH BATHS	VAPOUR BATHS	WASH HOUSES		
SALFORD	STEAM INJECTED THROUGH COPPER PIPES.	NO, ABOUT 7D. PER 1000 GALLONS	YES	...	YES	...	ONLY THOSE OF A RENTAL EXCEEDING £18 EXCLUSIVE OF OLD HOUSES.	THERE ARE FOUR ESTABLISHMENTS. ITEMS MARKED THUS (K) REFER TO ONE ONLY (PENDLETON). ITEMS MARKED THUS (Q) REFER TO THE TWO OLDER BATHS (BLACKFRIARS & PENDLETON).
SHEFFIELD.	YES, 7D. PER 1000 GALLONS.	YES	NO, NEW HOUSES IN DECENT NEIGHBOURHOODS HAVE BATHS.	
SUNDERLAND.	INJECTED STEAM	NO, 5D. PER 1000 GALLONS	YES	...	YES	YES	NO COMPARTIVELY FEW HAVE BATHS.	
WOLVERHAMPTON.	LOW PRESSURE CIRCULATION	YES, BUT MOST WATER IS PUMPED FROM OUR OWN WELL	YES	NO.	

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