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LIFE AND LABOUR
OF THE
PEOPLE IN LONDON

LIFE AND LABOUR

OF THE

PEOPLE IN LONDON

BY

CHARLES BOOTH

ASSISTED BY

JESSE ARGYLE, GRAHAM BALFOUR, E. C. (GREY
MARGARET A. TILLARD, R. A. VALPY

First Series: Poverty



EAST, CENTRAL AND SOUTH LONDON

london

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PART I.-EAST LONDON.

EAST LONDON.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

THE inquiry of which I am now able to publish the results, was set on foot in 1886, the subject being the condition and occupations of the inhabitants of London, and my grateful thanks are due to 'feose friends who helped me at the outset in laying down the principles on which the inquiry has been conducted. It was decided to employ a double method, dividing the people by districts and again by trades, so as to show at once the manner of their life and of their work. Most of 1886 was occupied with preliminary work, 1887 sufficed to complete the district inquiry in Bast London, and 1888 was spent on the trades and special subjects.

The special subjects connected with East London have started into great prominence during the time I have been at work. On the question of the "Unemployed" we have seen a house-to-house inquiry instituted by Government, which took as one of its selected districts St. George's-in-the-East. On the influx of poor Jews,

under the name of "Foreign Immigration," we have had a Committee of the House of Commons; and there has been the Committee of the House of Lords on the "Sweating System," which is still prolonging its labours. In addition, the whole question of Poor Relief has been laid open by another Committee of the House of Commons, and we have seen a succession of Mansion House inquiries on the same subject. To meet this evident demand for information I offer the pages which follow. The facts as given have been gathered and stated with no bias nor distorting aim, and with no foregone conclusions.

For the district inquiry, resulting in the division of the people into 8 classes, I have relied upon information obtained from the School Board visitors, of whom there are 66 in the East London district, and my tables are based on three assumptions *p*

(1.) That the numbers of married men with school children in each section by employment imply a similar proportion in the same sections of married men without school children, and of other male adults. For the choice of employment is made before the epoch of school children, and the period of employment continued long after; the fathers of the school children of the day are but a section of ar block which contains, all the while, old men and young, married and single, those with children and those without, in every trade. Hence, having scheduled the heads of families with school children, I feel justified in dividing the other male adults in similar proportions.

(2.) That likewise the number of children of school age in each section implies the existence of brothers and sisters, older and younger, to be found living under the same home conditions. Hence I have added children and young persons of 13—20 to each section in proportion to the numt^r of school children scheduled.

(3L) That the condition as to poverty of those with

children at school in each section will safely represent the condition of the whole sectiozn; the younger men in some employments, and the older men in others, earn less money than those of middle age who are the fathers of the children at school, but both are at less expense. On the whole, therefore, the condition of the bulk will be better than that of the part we are able to test.

I have, however, assumed that as is the condition of the tested part—which amounts to fully one half of the population—so is the condition of the whole population; and I may here say that I have throughout my inquiry leaned to the safe side, preferring to paint things too dark rather than too bright, not because I myself take a gloomy view, but to avoid the chance of understating the evils with which society has to deal.*

The School Board visitors perform amongst them a house-to-house visitation; every house in every street is in their books, and details are given of every family with children of school age. They begin their scheduling two or three years before the children attain school age, and a record remains in their books of children who have left school. The occupation of the head of the family is noted down. Most of the visitors have been working in the same district for several years, and thus have an extensive knowledge of the people. It is their business to re-schedule for the Board once a year, but intermediate revisions are made in addition, and it is their duty to make themselves acquainted, so far as possible, with new comers into their districts. They are in daily contact with the people, and have a very considerable knowledge of the parents of the school children, especially of the poorest amongst them, and of the conditions under which they live. No one can go, as I have

*** I undoubtedly expected that this investigation would expose exaggerations, and it did so; but the actual poverty disclosed was so great, both in mass and in degree, and so absolutely certain, that I have gradually become equally anxious not to overstate.—0. B., 1902.**

done, over the description of the inhabitants of street after street in this huge district (Bast London), taken house by house and family by family—full as it is of picturesque details noted down from the lips of the visitor to whose mind they have been recalled by the open pages of his own schedules—and doubt the genuine character of the information and its truth. Of the wealth of my material I have no doubt. I am indeed embarrassed by its mass, and by my resolution to make use of no fact to which I cannot give a quantitative value. The materials for sensational stories lie plentifully in every book of our notes; but, even if I had the skill to use my material in this way —that gift of the imagination which is called "realistic" —I should not wish to use it here. There is struggling poverty, there is destitution, there is hunger, drunkenness, brutality, and crime; no one doubts that it is so. My object has been to attempt to show the numerical relation which poverty, misery, and depravity bear to regular earnings and comparative comfort, and to describe the general conditions under which each class lives.

For the trade inquiries and special subjects, I have been fortunate in obtaining the aid of others, and their work will speak eloquently for itself.

If the facts thus stated are of use in helping social reformers to find remedies for the evils which exist, or do anything to prevent the adoption of false remedies, my purpose is answered. It was not my intention to bring forward any suggestions of my own, and if I have ventured here and there, and especially in the concluding chapters, to go beyond my programme, it has been with much hesitation.

With regard to the disadvantages under which the poor labour, and the evils of poverty, there is a great sense of helplessness: the wage earners are helpless to regulate their work and cannot obtain a fair equivalent for the labour they are willing to give; the manufacturer or

dealer can only work within the limits of competition; the rich are helpless to relieve want without stimulating its sources. To relieve this helplessness a better stating of the problems involved is the first step. "We are a long way towards understanding anything under our consideration, when we have properly laid it open, even without comment."* In this direction must be sought the utility of my attempt to analyze the population of London.

In order that the true, and not more than the true, significance and value may be given to the facts and figures produced, it may be useful to explain exactly the method that has been adopted in collecting them.

The 46 books of our notes contain no less than 3400 streets or places in East London, and every house and every family with school children is noted, with such information as the visitors could give about them. Here are specimens of each class of street :—

t ST. HUBERT STREET. (Class A—*coloured black on map.)t*

1. CASUAL LABOURER	1 room	2 school children	§ B. 2
	(Now gone hopping.)		
CHARWOMAN	1 room, widow	1 child at school and 1 baby	B. 33
	(The widow's sister also lives with her.)		
	1 room	1 family, no children at school	
2. BOOTMAKER	1 „ wife helps,	2 school children	0. 11
CASUAL LABOURER	1 „	1 child at school and 2 babies ...	A. 1
	(Very low family. Also have one child at Industrial School)		
?	1 room, widow...	1 child at school	B. 35

* " Autobiography of Mark Rutherford."

t The real names of the streets are, for obvious reasons, suppressed.

I NOTE.—The system of colour used on the map to indicate the class of each street is as follows:—*Black*—the lowest grade; *Dark Blue—very* poor; *Light Blue*—ordinary poverty; *Purple*—mixed with poverty; *Pink*—working-digs comfort; Red—well-to-do; and *Yellow*—wealthy.

§ For particulars of classes and sections, *see* pages 37-62.

Class. Sect.

HAWKER.....1room.....8 school children.....
(Queer oharaoter.)
.....1room.....1 family, no children at school
(One room—empty.)
8. HAWKER (female).....1 room.....8 school children..... B. 85
(Husband in prison—mother lives with them—doubtful characters.)
HAWKER.....1room.....1 child at school..... **A.** 22
(Two elder sons loaf about.)
FISH-STALL HAWKER... 1 room, wife helps, 2 school children and 1 baby ... B. 22
.....1 „.....1 family, no children at school
4. CASUAL LABOUBER.....1 „.....wife and children away .....
CASUAL CABMAN.....1 „.....4 school children and 1 baby ... B. **8**
.....1 „.....a female of doubtful character
HAWKER of Flower Stands 1 „—no children at school.....
5. SWEEP.....1 „ wife dead 4 school children..... B. 19
(?).....1 „.....1 child at school..... B. 18
HAWKER (female).....1 „.....1 „ „..... B. 85
6. CASUAL LABOURER.....1 „.....8 school children, 2 babies and 1 girl over age..... B. **2**
(Nos. 4, 5, and 6 are mixed up in some extraordinary fashion. All the inmates have to use one small yard with one water tap and w.c.)
7. CORK-CUTTER.....1room.....8 school children and 1 baby ... **B. 8**
.....1 „.....1 family, no children at school
8 and 9.....Sawmills .....
10 and 11. GENERAL SHOP 2 rooms, widow 1 child at school and 2 help mothe E. 35
(Makes a fair living.)
" A DISUSED SHOP.....1room.....1 family, no children at school
BooTMAKER(journeyman] 1 „ wife chars 8 school children, 1 over age... B. 11
(Dreadfully poor, deaf, decrepit, and rheumatic.)
HAWKER.....1room.....4 school children and 1 baby... B. 22
(Makes and sells flower stands.)
HAWKER.....1room.....1 child at school and 1 baby ... B. 22
CARVER.....1 „.....2 school children and 1 baby... B. 8
(Wretchedly poor.)
12. GREENGROCER'S.....1 „ and shop 2 school children and 1 baby **0.24**
{Wife's mother also lives with them.)
BOOTMAKER.....1room.....3 school children..... B. 11
CASUAL LABOURER.....1 „.....8 „ „ and 1 at work B. **2**
13. OLD WOMAN.....1 „.....1 child at school..... B. 83
(This is a nurse child, and what she receives for it is her only means of living.)
CASUAL LABOURER.....1 room.....1 child at school..... **B. 2**
CASUAL LABOURER.....1 „.....2 school children..... **B. 2**
Tenement'in yard at back of house, occupied by
MATCH BOX MAKER.....2 rooms.....3 school children & 2 help father **B.101**
(All work at this-a wretchedly poor lot.)

Class sect

14. HAWKER.....1 room.....6 school children, 1 baby and lover age..... B. 22
HAWKER.....1 „.....2 school children..... B. 22
CASUAL LABOURER.....1 „.....1 child at school..... B. 2
.....2 rooms.....2 families, no children at school
15. CHAIRMAKER.....2 „.....1 child at school and 2 or 3 overage.....
(Also have a loft, where the wife, the wife's mother (who also lives with them), and the elder children all work together at making fish baskets out of old mat sugar bags. Dirty and low, but not so poor.) D. 8
CASUAL LABOURER.....1 room.....4 school children and 1 baby ..
.....1.....1 family, no children at school B. 2
Tenement in yard at back occupied by
CASUAL DOCK LABOURER 1 room....no children at school.....
(Also makes bird-cages, and has live stock of various kinds in his room.)
.....1 room.....1 family, no ohildren at school
HORSEKEEPER.....1 „.....2 school children..... D. 14
.....1 „.....1 family, no children at school
16. UPHOLSTERER.....1 „.....2 school children, 2 babies..... B. 8
.....2 rooms.....2 families, no children at school
(One room—empty.)
17. DEALER IN OLD IRON... 1room.....1 grandchild at school..... B. 23
COAL PORTER.....1 „.....4 school children and 1 baby ... B. 3
.....2 rooms.....2 families, no children at school
18. 4 HAWKERS.....4 „.....no children at school
(Lower part used for storing old iron.)
19. IRON-HOOP MAKER.....— widow 1 grandchild at school..... P. 36
(Has a yard at side in which work is carried on under her direction by her two sons and another man. Make a fairly good living.)
20. CASUAL LABOURER.....1room.....1 child at school ..... A. 1
(A loafer.)
CASUAL LABOURER.....1 „.....3 school children and 1 baby ... A. 1
.....1 „.....1 family, no children at school
.....1 „.....2 or 3 women of doubtful characti r
21. CASUAL LABOURER.....1 „.....4 school children..... A. 1
CASUAL LABOURER.....1 „.....4 „ and 1 baby... B. 2
(Very poor, ill, and improvident.)
BOOTMAKER.....1 room.....2 school children, and 1 boy helps father ..... B. 11
PENSIONED POLICEMAN 1room.....no children at school.....
22.....4 families, no children at school
23. CASUAL LABOURER.....1 room and shop 2 school children—> C. 8
(Wife keeps a small general shop.)
.....2 rooms.....2 families, no children at school
24. PUBLIC-HOUSE.....—.....no ohildren at school.....

		Class.	Sect.
25.	CASUAL LABOUBER.....1 room.....3 school children..... (Awfully poor—wife is subject to fits.)	B.	2
	BOOTMAKER.....1 room.....2 school children and 1 baby ...	B.	11
	BRICKLAYER (casual)... 1 „.....2 „ „	B.	7
	CASUAL LABOURER ... 1 „.....4 „ „ and 1 just left school..... (An awfully poor, low, and wretched lot—children almost naked-man is also in the Militia.)	A.	1
	SAWYER.....1room.....1 child at school.....	B.	8
	.....4 rooms.....4 families, no children at school (One room—empty.)		
26.	.....—.....3 families, no children at school (One room—empty.)		
27.	BRICXLAYER'S LABOURER —.....no children at school and 1 baby		
	.....—.....3 families, no children at school		
28.	MATCH-BOX MAKER ... 1 room, awidow 4 school children and 2 help mother.....	B.	35
	CASUAL LABOURER.....1 „.....2 school children.....	A.	1
	MATCH-BOX MAKER ... 1 „ deserted female, 4 school children..... (Mother also lives and works with her.)	B.	35
	CASUAL LABOURER.....1 room.....2 school children and 1 baby...	B.	2
	HAWKER.....1 „.....2 „ „ (All cripples—wife's mother, also a cripple, lives here—an awful lot —younger children like withered-up old men.)	A.	1
	.....1 room.....1 family, no children at school		
29.	MAT-BASKET MAKER ... 1 „.....4 school children and 1 boy at Industrial School..... (Idle, careless, and wretchedly poor.)	A.	10e
	HAWKER.....1room.....3 school children and 1 boy gets 4s per week at coal shed.....	A.	22
	.....—.....* 3 families, no children at school		
80.	CASUAL LABOUBER.....1room.....2 school children..... (Wife makes match-boxes.)	B.	2
	FRENCH POLISHER (just out of prison) ... 2 school children.....	A.	8
	LOOKING-GLASS GILDER'S WORKSHOP		
	.....1 room 1 family, no children at school, 1 baby (Two rooms—empty.)		

General Character.—An awful place; the worst street in the district. The inhabitants are mostly of the lowest class, and seem to lack all idea of cleanliness or deoenoy. Few of the families occupy more than one room. The children are rarely brought up to any kind of work, but loaf about, and no doubt form the nucleus for future generations of thieves and other bad characters. The property is all very old, and it has been patched up and altered until it is difficult to distinguish one house from another. Qniall back yards have been utilized for building additional tenements. The property throughout is in a very **bad** condition, unsanitary and overcrowded; and it is

stated (as a suggestive reason why so little has been done in the way of remedy) that until very recently the rent collector of the property was a brother of the Sanitary Inspector ! A number of the rooms are occupied by prostitutes of the most pronounced order.

MARBLE STREET (NORTH). (A *to* B—*black to dark blue)*

2.	BRICKLAYER'S LABOURER ... 8 school children, 1 baby..... (Ill-health and casual work.)	B.
	CARPENTER.....no children at school.....	S
4.	BOOTMAKER.....„ „ 1 boy overage.....	
6.	COOK.....1 child at school and 1 girl over age.....	E. 15
	.....no children at school.....	
8.	LABOURER.....3 children at school..... (Cadging loafer, and lives on wife, who went into workhouse to get rid of him.)	A. 1
	MATCH-BOX MAKER.....4 children at school..... (Husband in gaol undergoing penal servitude.)	B. 35
	LABOURER.....2 children at school, 1 baby..... (Loafer at race-courses and cocoa-nut proprietor—very shifty sort.)	A. 1
10.	BOOTMAKER.....2 children at school, 1 baby	B. 11
	COAL PORTER.....4 „ „ 1 „.....(very dirty)	B. 8
12	LABOURER.....1 child at school.....1 „ 1 boy over age at school ...	B. 2
	LABOURER.....2 children at school 1 „ 1 girl over age (Scarcely a rag to cover themselves with—wife and children utterly neglected—a lazy vagabond.)	A. 1
14.	PLASTERER.....3 children at school..... (Always out of work.)	B. 7
	COSTER.....3 children at school.....	E. 22
14.	DRESSMAKER.....2 school children ..... (Husband has deserted her.)	D. 34
16.	CASUAL LABOURER.....2 school children and 1 baby.....(loafer)	B. 2
	CASUAL LABOURER....3 „ „ 1 boy at Industrial school... (Was in regular work, but lost his situation.)	B. 2
	GENERAL DEALER.....3 school children, 1 baby, 1 girl over age (Wife makes match-boxes. Very poor and dirty.)	B. 23
18.	WEAVER.....1 school child, 1 girl over age..... (Last winter sold coals in street, but now working at trade.)	D. lOd
	HAWKER.....1 school child, 1 baby.....	D. 22
20.	LABOURER (casual).....,r. 5 „ children, 1 baby.....	B. 2
	CLICKER.....8 t„ children.....) (One child is physically and mentally afflicted.)	E. 11
22.	LABOURER.....2 school children and 2 babies..... (Away from home looking for work in the country—wife and family are starving, and live on parish relief.)	B. 2

BOOTMAKER.....1 school child, 1 baby..... D. 11

BOOTMAKER.....No children at school .....

24. SHOPKEEPER. . . . . „ „ .....

26. BOTTLER (casual). . . . . .8 school children, 1 baby..... B. 2
(Wile does washing

LABOURER.....8 „ „ (1 girl sells watercresses) B. 2

WATRRORERSSES (widow).....No children at school.....
(Mother of the Labourer.)

28. LABOURER (casual). . . . . .2 school children, 1 baby..... B. 2

BASS DRESSES.....1 „ child and 1 baby..... B. 10e

80. BRIOKLAYER (wife chars.)... 4 „ children, 1 boy over age ..... B 7
(Used to be in regular work, but some stone-work fell on him, and he has been affected ever since.)

SUPPORTED WIDOW. . . . . .1 school child (very delicate) 2 at Brentwood B. 87

82. PAINTER'S LABOURER.....2 „ children and 1 baby ..... B. 3
(Very casual work—was in stone-yard last winter.)

34. LABOURER and CARETAKER 1 school child..... B. 5

1.....empty.....

3. LABOURER.....1 schl. child, 1 boy and1 girl over age at schl. E. 5

6. BRUSHMAKER.....8 „ children, 1 girl over age ..... D. 10c

CHARWOMAN (widow). . . . . .3 „ „ ..... B. 33

BRIOKLATER.....2 „ „ 1 boy home (lazy)..... C. 7

7. LABOURER.....3 „ „ 1 girl over age ..... B. 2
(Out of work for many months—not bad workman.)

PAINTER (widower). . . . . .1 school child..... E. 7

9. „ (wife goes begging) 8 „ children ..... B. 7
(Never do any work, but live by begging.)

WOODCHOPPER. . . . . .4 school children and 1 baby ..... E. 19
(Has horse and cart.)

11. CARVER.....1 school child..... E. 8

CHARWOMAN (widow). . . . . .8 „ children ..... B. 33

„ „. . . . . .2 „ „..... (par. relief) B. 83

18. LABOURER. . . . . .4 „ „ ..... D. 4

WASHERWOMAN (widow). . . . . .1 „ child..... B. 33

16. COLLAR DRESSER. . . . . .2 „ children and 3 babies..... E. 20
(Employs about 12 girls; he takes the work out and distributes it; does not do the work himself—sweater.)

17. GLASS BEVELLER.....1 school child..... E. 10e

PAINTER.....2 „ children and 1 baby..... C. 7

19. LABOURER. . . . . .2 „ „ 1 „..... B. 2

„. . . . . A . . . . . C . . . . . A. 1

LABOURER.....1 „ child and 1 baby..... B. 2

21. BOOTMAKER. . . . . .1 „ „..... F. 11
((Steady and industrious.)

WATCHMAKER.....2 school children ..... D. 106

CARVER.....4 school children and 2 babies.....B. 8
(An injured leg prevents him working full time.)

28. WORKER at Jam Factory... 2 school children.....D. 12
.....No children at school.....

25. CANE-DEALER (wifechars)... 8 school children, 1 baby.....B. 22
(Man hawks: complains that School Board has ruined his trade by abolishing flogging in the schools.)

25. STOKER.....8 school children.....E. 5
LABOURER.....2 „ „ 1baby.....B. 2
(Have had parish relief.)

27. LABOURER.....8 school children.....E. 5
„.....2 „ „ 1baby.....A. 1
(Lazy, drunken vagabond, and ill-treats his wife, who does washing.)
CARPENTER.....1 school child.....E. 7

General Character.—Majority very poor and rough; some of the loafing semi-criminal class and given to drink; lazy, shiftless people.

MARBLE STREET (SOUTH).

1. LABOURER (wife does match-box making).....(3 school children, 1 baby, 1 boy hawker.....very poor... B. 2
(Casual work, very poor, dirty, untidy lot.)
CARMAN.....3 school children, 1baby..... B. 3
(Wife drinks up all his earnings.)
HAWKER.....No children at school.....

2. LABOURBB.....3 school children, 1 baby..... B. 2
(Would not care for regular work; loafs about and scavenges dust heaps.)
SMITH (widower).....1 school child..... E. 9

3. LABOURER (?).....2 „ children, 2 babies..... A. 33
(Now in gaol for cruelty to wife, who is judicially separated from him, wife has charge of children and gets parish relief.)
MATCH-BOX MAKER (widow) 8 school children..... B. 85

4. LABOURER.....4 „ „ 1baby..... B. 2
(Hop-pickers in season; doesn't try to get work; wouldn't go hopping if the weather wasn't warm.)
TURNER.....8 school children..... B. 8
(Drink.)
LABOURER.....4 school children, 1 baby, and 1 van boy gets 3s 6d week..... A. 1
(Won't work at all; wife supports family and is brutally ill-treated by husband, who is now in gaol for not answering summons and non-payment of fine.)

5. PORTMANTEAU MAKER.....2 school children, 1 boy helps..... E. 10c
PAINTER.....1 „ child and 1 baby.....

6. LABOURS.....1baby..... (Has built himself a greenhouse at back of house, and grow cucumbers and flowers, which pay well.)

1. BOOTMAKER (wife old clo' * , , ,.,, « . , . , . . , •L * 3 sohool children, 1 girl imbecile.....«, E. 11

LABOURER.....1 „ child..... D. 4

8. CHANDLERS' SHOP (widow) 2 „ children..... B. 35

PRINTER.....t „ child..... E. 10a

9.....empty.....

10.....no children at school . .. .

11. SIGNALMAN(wife has mangle) 8 school children and 1 baby..... D. 13

.....no children at school .....

12. LATHER.....4 school children and 1 baby..... B. 7

HAWKER.....8 „ „ ..... B. 22
(Worked in stone-yard last winter—makes little wooden toys-industrious, struggling man, and very steady.)

JEWELLER.....1 school child and 2 babies..... B. 10b
(Out of work.)

18.....no children at school. . . . .,.....

14. ENGINS DRIVER (wife has a) , , , , „, ,., , shop 4 school ohildren and 1 boy over age..... F. 13
(Man has a pension.)

15. BOOTMAKER.....3 school children, 1 boy over age ..... B. 19
(Makes little slippers and sells them on own account.)

16. CASUAL LABOURER.....2 school children, 1 baby..... B. 2

„ BRICKLAYER'S LAB. 3 „ „ ..... B. 3

CARPENTER.....5 „ „ 1 girl away..... B. 7
(Very poor, through drinking wife—dirty and careless—always moving about—casual work.)

17.....no children at school .....

18. SPLINT-CUTTER____3 school children..... B. 7
(Summoned 5 times for neglect in sending children to school.)

LABOURER.....3 school children, 1 baby..... B. 2
(Works in stone yard.)

19. MATCH-BOX MAKER (widow) 1 school child..... B. 35

JOBBER (widower).....4 .„ children, 1 girl over age at home... B. 2
(Was a sailor and did pretty well till wife died.)

20.....empty.....

21. BOOTMAKER.....3 school children, 1 baby, 2 boys over age... B. 11
(Good workman, but lazy and cantankerous.)

22. CHARWOMAN (desertedwoman) 3 school children..... B. 33

BRUSHMAKER.....no children at school ..... D. 4

LAB:UBSB.....1 school child and 1 baby..... D. 4

23. LABOURER (widower).....1 „ „ and 1 boy over age..... D. 4

„ i.....1 », M 1 girl over age..... P. 6

24. AUCTION PORTER.....1 „ „ 1 boy over age.....

If

25. PAINTER'S LABOURER . . . . . 2 school children . . . . . B. 8
(Casual work in stone-yard all last winter.)
LABOURER . . . . . 3 school children and 1 baby . . . . . B. 2
BOOT FINISHER . . . . . 2 . . . . . D. 11
26. BOOTMAKER . . . . . 1 „ child, 1 baby . . . . . £. 11
CALLER UP . . . . . no children at school . . . . .
27. BRASS FINISHER (wife washes) . . . . . 1 school child . . . . . (very delicate) E. 9

General character.—Mostly belong to the casual working class and very poor.

BENDIGO STREET. (Class B—*dark him on* map.)

1. MACHINIST—Umbrella covers (a widow) 3 school children very poor B. 35
2. . . . . no children at school . . . . .
3. GENERAL DEALER . . . . . 1 school child . . . . . E. 23
4. WASHERWOMAN (widow) . . . . . 4 sch. children & 1 baby, v. poor B. 33
6. CABMAN . . . . . 2 school children . . . . . „ B. 3
6. . . . . empty . . . . .
7. CABMAN . . . . . 4 school children . . . . . very poor B. 3
8. PAINTER . . . . . 3 „ „ . . . . . „ B. 7
BOOT MENDER . . . . . 3 „ „ . . . . . „ B. 19
9. IRREGULAR LABOURER . . . . . 3 „ „ . . . . . „ B. 3
10. CARMAN . . . . . 3 „ „ . . . . . p. reg. D. 4
11. HAWKER . . . . . 2 „ „ 1 baby . . . very poor B. 22
CASUAL LABOURER . . . . . 3 „ „ . . . . . „ B. 2
12. WOOD TURNER . . . . . 2 „ „ . . . . . „ B. 8
13. IRREGULAR LABOURER . . . . . 2 „ „ 1 baby . . . „ B. 3
14. CARMAN . . . . . 4 „ „ „ . . . „ B. 4
15. . . . . no children at school . . . . .
16. JOURNEYMAN CONFECTIONER . . . . . 1 school child & 1 baby, very poor B. 12
17. . . . . empty . . . . .
18. IRREGULAR LABOURER . . . . . 3 school children . . . . . very poor B. 3
19. . . . . no children at school . . . . .
20. PAINTER . . . . . 1 school child . . . . . p. ir. C 7
21. MANGLER (widow) . . . . . 2 „ children . . . . . very poor B. 33
22. . . . . no children at school . . . . .
23. CABMAN . . . . . 2 „ ill—insufficient food B. 14
. . . . . no „ at school . . . . .
24. WASHERWOMAN (widow) . . . . . 1 school child . . . . . very poor B. 33
Cook . . . . . 3 „ children . . . . . „ B. 15

IJ

25. COAL PORTER—Wife sells toys in street 8 sch. children &1 baby; very poor B. 2
(Out of work, been on tramp a good deal trying for work—children hawk in the street.)

SMELTER.....3 school children and 1 baby B. 9
(Earns pretty good money, but both drink, and children greatly neglected.)

26. GOAL PORTER.....2 school children...very poor, ir. B. 8
i.....1 „ child.....very poor B. 3
JOURNEYMAN BOOTMAKER.....2 „ children..... B. 11
27. WAITER (discharged soldier).....8 „ „..... B. 15
CABMAN.....3 „ „..... C. 14
28.....no children at school.....
TIMEKEEPER.....4 school children & 1 baby; poor D. 5
29. MASON*.....1 „ child..... E. 7
JOURNEYMAN BUTCHER*.....1 „ „..... E. 15
(*Wives are rackety, drinking women.)
80. PAPERHANGER.....3 school children.....poor 0. 7
.....no school children.....
81. PAINTER.....8 „ „ 1 baby; very poor B. 7
CASUAL LABOURER.....1 „ child..... B. 2
82. CARPENTER.....8 „ children..... E. 7
83. LABOURER (wife has stall at kingsland) 1 soh.oh.,1 older girl helps mother B. 2
(Oat of work, gone on tramp to Manchester to try for work on Ship Cana
.....no school children.....
84. PORTER (regular).....2 school children & 1 baby; poor D. 4
CARMAN.....i „ „ „ „ D. 4
85. PORTER (regular) wife keeps a small shop 2 „ „ „ comf. E. 5
36. (6 or 7 rms.) looks after railway property 3 „ „ E. 6
87. (4 and kitchen) DECORATOR.....2 C 7
2„ i> 2 poor C.22
HAWKER.....1 „ child..... E. 16
88. FRENCH POLISHER.....2 „ children..... B. 31
CARMAN (wife chars).....2 „ „.....
(The man is in hospital—consumptive.)

General character.—Wretchedly poor and improvident—old houses in very dilapidated condition—people work hard when they can get it, but are frequently out of work, and have no idea of thrift.

			6 *
4. GOAL	PORTER	2 school children, 1 baby	E. 5
5.	BOXMAKER	no children at school, 1 boy at work	
6.	OSTLER	„ „ 1 over age	
7. WASHERWOMAN (a widow)		1 school child	D. 33
		no children at school	
8. WASHERWOMAN (a widow)		3 school children, 1 boy at work	B. 33
		(Very poor—receives parish relief.)	
		no school children	
9.	CARPENTER	3 soh. chldrn. 1 baby, 1 boy at work	C. 7
		no children at school	
10.		„ „	
11. LABOURER (wife chars.)		3 school children, 1 baby	B. 2
„		1 sch. child (suffers from ill health)	B. 2
12.		no children at school	
13. PORTER		2 school children	E. 5
		no children at school	
14. SHOEMAKER		2 school children	E. 11.
		no children at school	
15. BOOT FINISHER		1 school child	D. 11
WAITER		3 „ children	D. 15
16. LABOURER		3 „ „ 1 baby	D. 4
			D. 4
17.	COMBMAKER	5 „ „	D. 10c
DOCK LABOURER		2 „ „ 1 girl over age	D. 4
18.	BRICKMAKER	3 „ „ 1 baby	D. 7
f.		no children at school	
19.	BRICKMAKER	2 school children, 1 girl at work	C. 7
BOOTMAKER		3 „ „	D. 11
20. PAINTER (wife chars.)		5 „ „ 1 baby	c 7

General character.—Houses consist of 4 rooms and kitchen and let at 8s per week. Decent poor people, struggling along. A large proportion of children in the latter part.

HEPWORTH STREET. (Classes C and D—*light blue on map.)*

2. BLACKSMITH (wife keeps sweets shop)	„ „ „ „ „ 5 school children, 2 babies	F. 9
4. IRREGULAR LABOURER	1 „ child	C. 3
LABOURER (wife invalid) ... No children at school, father of above labourer		
6. GA8?ITTBB (regular)	2 school children	E. 7
8. REGULAR LABOURER	4 „ M 1 baby, 1 boy at work ...	D 4

5 I

10. CLERK.....2 school children, 1 baby..... E. 28
12. BOOT JOBBING.....1 „ child.....(poor) C. 19
„ „.....3 „ children, 1 baby.....(very poor) C. 19
(Dirty, man has ill health.)
14.....empty.....
16.....No children at school.....
18. NEWS SHOP (widow).....„.....
20. GREENGROCER'S SHOP ..... „ „.....
22. PAINTER.....4 school children, 2 babies.....(poor) D. 7
PAINTER'S FATHER&MOTHER No children at school.....
24.....„ „ .....
26. REGULAR LABOURER (wife)«.,....,
laundry) 2 school children, 1 boy at work... (comf) E. 5
28. REGULAR PORTER (ware-
house) (wife laundry) 3 n n ..... E. 5
28A. BOOTMAKER.....2 „ „ ..... E. 11
CARETAKER OF SCHOOL.....No children at school.....
80 PUBLICAN.....„ „ 1 baby.....
32. REGULAR LABOURER.....1 school child..... D. 4
34.....empty.....
36. REGULAR LABOURER.....1schoolchild..... D. 4
38. FOREMAN BUILDER.....2 „ children ..... F. 7
40. PAINTER (very irreg.) (wife)
laundress employs 2 14 „ „ 1 baby, 1 girl helps mother E. 7
or 3 women).....J
1. REGULAR LABOURER.....1schoolchild..... D. 4
3. HAIRDRESSER'S SHOP.....2 „ children.....(comfortable) E. 24
6. MILK CARRIER.....1 „ child, 1 boy with father..... E. 15
.....No children at school.....
7. IRREGULAR BRICKLAYER .
(wife mangles).....\ *4 school children,1baby*___(Poor) C. 7
.....No children at school.....
9. TRAM DRIVER.....4 school children, 1 baby.....(comfortable) E. 14
COACHMAN, LIVERY STABLES 6 „ „.....(very poor) C. 14
(Only paid by job, irregular.)
11. CHARWOMAN (widow).....3 school children..... D. 33
(Single men lodgers.)
13. GARDENER (regular).....4 school children.....(poor) D. 18
GARDENER „.....1 „ child..... D. 18
15.....No children at school.....
IT.....empty ..i.....
19.....No children at school.....
21. GAIDENER.....1 school child, 1 baby.....(poor) D. 18
.....No children at school.....

i'i

23. ..... No children at school .....
25. ..... empty .....
27. GARDENER ..... 4 school children, 1 baby ..... (poor) D. 18
29. ..... No children at school .....
31. REGULAR CARMAN ..... 3 school children ..... (comfortable) E. 5
..... No children at school
33. BRICKLAYER (regular) ..... (1 school child, 1 boy bricklayer, 1 girl in service E. 7
35. ..... No children at school .....
37. BRICKLAYER ..... „ „ elder sons married...
39. INVALID (wife keeps chandler's shop) ..... 5 school children ..... (poor) D. 31
41. ..... empty .....
43. BRUSH SHOP ..... No children at school .....
45. BUTCHER'S SHOP ..... 4 school children ..... (employs 1 man) F. 25
47. DOCK SERVICE (wife grocer's) [1 „ child... (1 daughter helps mother) E. 5
49. CARPENTER (wife greengrocer's shop ..... 4 " children ••• (2 boys help mother) F. 7
61. PUBLICAN ..... 3 „ „ ..... G. 27
51a. CARMAN (regular) ..... 4 „ 1 baby ..... D. 5

General Character.—Poor working class.

EVERETT STREET. (Mixed Street—*purple on map.)*

{ 2 school children, 1 boy at work earning *is* 1 week ..... (comfortable) E. 6

MANGLER (mother of above) No children at school .....

3. REGULAR DOCK LABOURER) (wife dead). 1 schoolchild, 1 in reformatory ..... D. 4
(Poor in consequence of drink.)

REGULAR ROAD LABOURER) (wife in asylum) ..... 4 school children ..... D. 4
(Poor in consequence of drink.)

LABOURER AT FURNITURE WAREHOUSE ..... 3 school children ..... (very poor) B. 2
WHEELWRIGHT ..... 3 „ „ 2 babies ..... (very poor) B. 8
(Out of work for 2 months.)

5. ..... 2 families with no children at school .....
7. .....
9. JOURNEYMAN BOOTMAKER ... 2 school children, 1 baby ..... C. 11
PRINTER ..... 1 „ child ..... (comfortable) E. 10a
11. BEER HOUSE ..... in course of demolition .....
13. CATSMEAT HAWKER (wife keeps catsmeat shop)] 4 school children .....

15. MANNGLER (widow).....2 children at school..... C. 38
.....no children at school .....
17. CATSMEAT HAWKER (wife)
keeps sweet shop).2 school children..... E. 22
\9. PARENTS of ABOVE.....no children at school .....
21. COAL DEALER.....„ „ .....

23. CHABWOMAN (widow).....3 school children (very poor, consumptive) B. 33
25.....no children at school .....
27. UNDERTAKER.....2 school children (man occasionally employs) E. 19
. „r . ,.. , , , 1 no children at school, 1 boy earning 6s 6d,)
29. WEAVER (wife general shop) 1 girl in shop.....}
31. WEAVER.....2 school children, 1 boy in City, 1 girl helps F. lOd
33. HEMP DRESSER (wife match- 3 „ „ 1 baby, 1 girl fancy boxes, j boxes).....) 1 girl loafs at home.....) D. 10e
(Wife on the drink 2 or 3 days a week).
, ., v)1 school child, 1 boy gun faotory, 1 girl)
CHARWOMAN (WINDOW).....match boxes.....(very poor.) J B. 33
(Does not get much work.)
85. BEER HOUSE.....6 school children, 1 baby..... E. 27
(A rope-ground here—about a dozen men employed. They work by the piece, and have each to find their own boy. Do very well all the summer.)
2. WEAVER (wife helps).....2 school children ..... F. 10d
A „ 4 „ „ 2 babies, 1 boy in City at 1
4• CIGAR MAKER.....) 6, per week.....1 E. 12
14 school children, 1 baby, 1 boy in City at 1
6- WEAVER.....J 5, per week.....I F. 10d
8. JOURNEYMAN BRICKLAYER \
(wife machinist and V3 school children, 1 baby..... F. 7
employs a girl).....J
10. CABINET MAKER (wife bead i * . , , . E. 8
trimming).....5 » * 2 girls at fancy boxes....
12. JOURNEYMAN PRINTER.....1 „ child, 2 babies..... E. 10a
14. TURNER (wife dressmaker) 1 „ „ 2 girls help mother..... F. 8
10. CHARWOMAN (widow).....no children school age, 1 girl delicate.....
18. CABINET MAKER.....1 school child, 1 boy in City at 5* per week E. 8
20. CASUAL LABOURER (wife)
occasionally makes 1 „ „ 2 nurse girls..... C. 3
match boxes).....J
c CASUAL LABOURER.....no children at school, 1 baby.....
22. REGULAR CABMAN.....1 school child, 2 babies..... E. 5
.....no children a school.....

24 .....

26. CASUAL LABOURER.....2 schl. children, 1 baby, 2 girls make matches **C. 2**

28.....empty.....

30. PORTER AT LONDON HOSPITAL 3 school children, 1 baby..... **£. 5**

82. BRICKLAYER'S LABOURER ... 4 „ „ 1 „ 2 boys in City ... **C. 3**
(Should do well, but wife drinks.)

84. CHARWOMAN (widow).....2 school children, 2 girls make fancy boxes **E. 33**

36. BRICKLAYER'S LABOURER ... 1 „ child, 1 baby..... **E. 3**

38. TRIMMING MAKER (slack) ... 5 „ children, 1 baby, 1 boy at 5*..... **B.** 10C

40.....no children at school .....

42,44.....open space .....

46. FOREMAN, DUNG CARTS..... 2 school children, 1 baby..... **E. 5**
(Plead poverty, but should do well.)

48. BRICKLAYER'S LABOURER ... 4 school children, 1 baby..... **C. 3**

LABOURER (wife chars.)..... 2 „ „ ..... **A. 1**
(A loafer, will go off for 4 or 5 weeks together, no one knowing what becomes of him. Will then come back and go into the Union. Does no work and has given his wife no money for years.)

50. HEMP DRESSER.....1 school child, 2 girls help father ..... **E. 10e**
(They work in a small yard at back.)

52. CASUAL DOCK LABOURER 1 school child, 1 boy at stationer's, 1 girl) **C. 2**
(wife trousers work)..... I helps mother.....)
.....no children at school.....

54. BOOT FINISHER (wife been (2 children at school, 2 babies (n regular and) C. 11
ill).....I poor).....J

56. REGULAR CARMAN.....5 school children, 1 baby.....(poor) **D. 5**
.....3 „ „.....(poor) **D. 5**

58. BRICKLAYER'S LABOURER ...)
(irreg.) (wife disabled) .. }[3]..... :<(2 nurse girls) **B. 8**
.....no children at school.....

60. CASUAL DOCK LABOURER
(wife makes match-boxes)}2 school children, 1 baby..... **B. 3**
(1 „ child, 1 girl makes matches, 1 girl)
CHARWOMAN (widow).....[minds home.....J **C. 33**

CASUAL DOCK LABOURER) 4 school children—(helpless and lazy) **B. 2**
(wife left him).....)

62. BOOTLASTER.....2 „ „ (2 sons in City, 5s and 6s) **P. 11**
.....no children at school.....

64. TRIMMING MAKER (slack)... 4 school children, 1 baby..... **B. 10**

CASUAL LABOURER..... 2 „ „ ..... **B. 2**

66. CASUAL DOCK LABOURER) 2
(wife has fits of insanity) I **B. 2**
.....no children at school.....*.....!

68. HAIRDRESSER.....1 school child, 1 baby ..... **E 15**

If

CASUAL LABOURER (wife)
bead-work, and also [1 school child, and 1 boy, City, at 6*..... B. 3
drinks).....'

70. GINGER BEER BOTTLER..... $ „ children, 1 baby..... B. 3
IN LONDONHosprrAL(widow) 1 „ child, and 2 in parish school..... B. 37
72. WASHING, & C. (widow).....1 „ child..... C 33
.....No children at school.....
74.CAsUALDocK LABOURER(wife)3 school children,..... B. 2
of doubtful character)...
COAL LOADER AT STATION ... 3 „ „ 2 babies..... B. 3
(Do very badly in Summer, but belter in Winter.)
76. CASUAL POCK LABOURER ... 2 school children, 1 baby..... B. 2
MACHINIST (deserted female) 3 „ „ 1 baby...(queer character) C 31
REGULAR CARMAN (wife) 1 and 1 girl at home D. 5
drinks).....)
78. PORTER (wife, general shop) 3 „ „ 2 at service..... B. 6
.....no children at school.....

General character.—A mixed street, but the poorer class preponderate. Decent kind of small houses overlooking a disused cemetery.

LANTHORN STREET. (Classes E and P—*coloured pink on map.)*

1. CAB PROPRIETOR (a single \
man)
2. CERTIPICATED MIDWIFE.....no children at school, 1 girl pupil teacher
(Her mother also lives here.)
3. CONFECTIONER (journeyman) 3 school children, 2 babies..... F. 12
4.....No children at school.....
&.....:> »..... .....
6. COAL AGENT.....„ „ 1 boy aged 13.....
7. DRAUGHTSMAN IN A SHIP. j school children..... F. 28
BUILDING YARD.....)
(Has left his wife but makes her an allowance.)
COMPOSITOR.....2 school children, 1 baby..... F. 10a
8. AGENT.....3 „ „ ..... F. 28
9. COMMERCIAL TRAVELLER ... 2 „ „ 1 baby, 1 son on'bus..... G. 28
10.....no children at school.....
11. CARPET PLANNER.....1 child at school, 1 baby..... E. 15
COACH PAINTER.....2 school children ..... F. 7
12.....No children at school .....
13. CELLARMAN (wife, dress). 1 CHID AT SCHOOL.....(1 GIRLHELPS mother) F, 15
maker).....J
H., ...empty.....

5 1

15. CLERK.....3 school children, 1 baby..... F. 28
16. BRICKLAYER (On own acct.) 2 „ „ ..... F. 19
A WIDOW.....No children at school.....(1 boy, aged 13)
17.....empty.....
18. SIGN WRITER.....1 child at school..... F. 19
19. VELLUM BINDER (wife dress) , , , ., ,
maker) 2 school children, 1 girl helps mother..... F. 10a
20. HATTER (wife keeps grocer's)
shop).....J4 » ••.....*.....•..... F. 11
21.....a school.....
22. " SOMETHING IN THE CIVIL) , , , , ,
SERVICE " * 1 child at school (goes to grocer's school)... G. 29
23. CHARWOMAN (widow).....(3 school children and 1 in Merchant seamen's Home D. 33
I Seamen's Home.....)
24.....no children at school.....
25. MACHINE MAKER (journey-)2 school children..... F. 9
man).....)
26.....empty.....
27. PAINTER.....3 school children..... E. 7
SAILOR.....1 child at school, 1 baby..... E. 17
28. RAILWAY OFFICIAL.....2 school children, 1 baby..... E. 13
CHEESEMONGER (Journey- J 1 child at school..... E. 15
man).....)
29.....empty.....
30. BRUSHMAKER.....2 school children..... E. 10c
CARMAN..... 4 „ „ ..... E. 5
31. PACKER.....3 „ „ 1 girl servant..... E. 5
BRUSHDRESSER (widow).....1 child at school..... E. 35
(Just about to be married.)
32. REGULAR LABOURER.....2 school children..... E. 5
.....no children at school.....
33. DYE-MAKER.....2 school children, 1 baby..... E. 10e
.....no children at school.....
34. GROCER'S SHOP.....1 child at school, 1 boy over age helps..... F. 24
35. BAKER'S SHOP (employ an) *1 babyj,* F. 25
assistant).....)
36. OIL SHOP I Manager lives here but has no children at
.....1 school.....
37. DRAPER'S SHOP.....no children at school.....
38.....empty.....
39. CORNCHANDLER.....no children at school, 1 over age .....
40. BEER HOUSE.....
41. FACTORY LABOURER.....3 school children.....j .
.....no children at school.....

42.	RAILWAY TICKET COLLECTOR	3 school children (1 an idiot)		F. 13
43.	CABMAN	2 „	„ 2 babies	E. 5
44.	ENGINEER	2 „	„ 1 baby	E. 9
	CARMAN	1 child at school		E. 5

Qeneral Character.—All the houses consist of 7 rooms and scullery and let at 13s per week. The people are all in good circumstances, and the houses well-built and commodious as a rule, but a few new houses are jerry built.

From notes such as these the information given in our schedules was tabulated, and from them also was coloured the map which now forms a part of that published in connection with these volumes. The people —that is those of them who had school children —were classified by their employment and by their apparent status as to means; the streets were classified according to their inhabitants. Such is the nature of our information, and such the use made of it. It was possible to subject the map to the test of criticism, and it was mainly for this purpose that it was prepared. It was exhibited at Toynbee Hall and Oxford House, and was seen and very carefully studied by many who are intimately acquainted, not with the whole, but each with some part, of the district portrayed. Especially, we obtained most valuable aid in this way from the Believing Officers and from the agents of the Charity Organization Society. The map stood the test very well. There were errors, but on reference they were, in almost every case, found to be due to mistake in the transfer of verbal into graphic description, or consequent on our having made a whole street the unit of colour, whereas different parts of the same street were of very different character. The map was revised, and now equally represents the facts as disclosed by this inquiry, and as agreed to by the best local authorities.

Our books of notes are mines of information. They have

been referred to again and again at each stage of our work. So valuable have they proved in unforeseen ways, that I only regret they were not more slowly and deliberately prepared; more stuffed with facts than even they are. As it was, we continually improved as we went on, and may be said to have learnt our trade by the time the work was done. At first, nothing seemed so essential as speed. The task was so tremendous; the prospect of its completion so remote; and every detail cost time. In the Tower Hamlets division, which was completed first, we gave on the average 19| hours work to each School Board visitor; in the Hackney division this was increased to 23| hours. St. George's-in-the-East when first done in 1886 cost 60 hours' work with the visitors; when revised it occupied 83 hours. At the outset we shut our eyes, fearing lest any prejudice of our own should colour the information we received. It was not till the books were finished that I or my secretaries ourselves visited the streets amongst which we had been living in imagination. But later we gained confidence, and made it a rule to see each street ourselves at the time we received the visitors account of it. With the insides of the houses and their inmates there was no attempt to meddle. To have done so would have been an unwarrantable impertinence; and, besides, a contravention of our understanding with the School Board, who object, very rightly, to any abuse of the delicate machinery with which they work. Nor, for the same reason, did we ask the visitors to obtain information specially for us. We dealt solely with that which comes to them in a natural way in the discharge of their duties.

The amount of information obtained varied with the different visitors; some had not been long at the work, and amongst those who had been, there was much difference in the extent of their knowledge; some might be less trustworthy than others: but taking them as a body I cannot speak too highly of their ability and good sense, I also wish to express my warm thanks for the

ready manner in which all—the Divisional Committees themselves, the District Superintendents, and the Visitors; lent themselves to my purpose. For without this nothing could have been done. The merit of the information so obtained, looked at statistically, lies mainly in the breadth of view obtained. It is in effect the whole population that comes under review. Other agencies usually seek out some particular class or deal with some particular condition of people. The knowledge so obtained may be more exact, but it is circumscribed and very apt to produce a distortion of judgment. For this reason, the information to be had from the School Board visitors, with all its inequalities and imperfections, is excellent as a framework for a picture of the Life and Labour of the People.

The population brought directly under schedule—viz., heads of families and school children coming under the ken of the School Board visitors, with the proportion of wives and of older or younger children all partly or wholly dependent on these heads of families and sharing their life—amounts to from one-half to two-thirds of the whole population. The rest have been scheduled by other meaus or in proportion, according to the three assumptions already noted.

The special difficulty of making an accurate picture of so shifting a scene as the low-class streets in East London present is very evident, and may easily be exaggerated. As in photographing a crowd, the details of the picture change continually, but the general effect is much the same, whatever moment is chosen. I have attempted to produce an instantaneous picture, fixing the facts on my negative as they appear at a given moment, and the imagination of my readers must add the movement, the constant changes, the whirl and turmoil of life. In many districts the people are always on the move; they shift from one part of it to another,like "fish in a river." The School Board visitors follow them as best they may, and the transfers from one

visitor's book to another's are very numerous.* On the whole, however, the people usually do not go far, and often cling from generation to generation to one vicinity, almost as if the set of streets which lie there were an isolated country village.

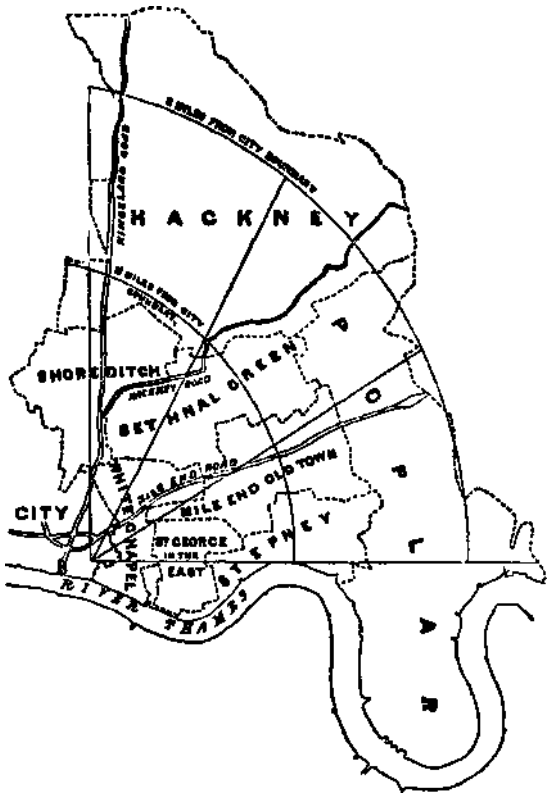
The inquiry as to Central London was undertaken by a committee of six, and that for Battersea by Mr. Graham Balfour; the method adopted in each case being the same as had been employed in East London.

* **A** return prepared by one of the School Board visitors, who has **a fairly** representative district in Bethnal Green, shows that of 1204 families (with 2720 **children) on** his books, 530 **(with 1450 children) removed in a single year.**

CHAPTER II.

CONCERNING THE WHOLE DISTRICT UNDER REVIEW.

IF London north of the Thames is considered as a semicircle of which the City is an enlarged centre, the part with which I am about to deal forms a quadrant, having for its radii Kingsland Road running due north, and the River Thames running due east. Between these lies the Mile End Road (continued as the Bow Road to Bow), while a similar division more to the north may be made in the line of Hackney, dividing the quadrant into three equal segments, but the route to Hackney is deflected by Victoria Park, and no street exactly occupies the line. The district also includes Hoxton and De Beauvoir Town lying to the west of Kingsland Road, but is otherwise co-extensive with this quadrant. The City itself has a radius of nearly a mile, and outside of this London extends to the north and east from 3 to 4 miles. The greatest extension is at Stamford Hill, where the boundary is 4½ miles from Southwark Bridge, and the least at Bow, where it is 3½ miles from the same point. There is, however, less difference than these figures would seem to show in the actual extension of London, for from the City to Bow, the entire space is built over, whereas at Stamford Hill and Clapton there are still some open fields, and further south and east the Metropolitan boundary includes some marshy land, unbuilt on, which skirts the River Lea. A circle drawn 8 miles outside the City boundary practically includes the whole inhabited district; and this may be divided into two parts—an inner ring of 1½ miles ending



at the Regent's Canal, and an outer ring of similar width extending to Stoke Newington, Clapton, Homerton, Hackney, Old Ford, Bow, Bromley, and the East India Docks. The line of the Regent's Canal, which very closely follows the curve of the inner ring, marks a real change in the character of the district. Slight as this obstacle might be supposed to be, it yet seems to have been sufficient to gird in the swelling sides of London, and it is in itself a girdle of poverty, the banks of the canal being, along nearly its whole length, occupied by a very poor population.

The inner ring consists of most of Shoreditch, Bethnal Green (excepting the Victoria Park end), all Whitechapel

and St. George's, Wapping, Shadwell, and Ratcliff, with the inlying portions of Mile End, for the most part tightly packed with buildings, and crowded with inhabitants, except where occupied by business premises. Space and air are everywhere at a premium—the largest scale map shows as open spaces only a few churchyards and old burial grounds. A similar condition of things extends along the river bank, over Limehouse and Poplar proper, which lie within the outer ring, but the rest of this ring, consisting of Bow, Bromley, the outermost parts of Mile End and Bethnal Green, and the whole of Hackney, show a different character. Not only are there some large spaces open to the public—Hackney Downs, London Fields, and Victoria Park—but the map begins everywhere to show more ground than buildings. The streets are wider; the houses have gardens of some sort; and in the houses themselves fewer people are packed. In the inner ring nearly all available space is used for building, and almost every house is filled up with families. It is easy to trace the process. One can see what were the original buildings; in many cases they are still standing, and between them, on the large gardens of a past state of things, has been built the small cottage property of to-day. Houses of three rooms, houses of two rooms, houses of one room—houses set back against a wall or back to back, fronting it may be on to a narrow footway, with posts at each end and a gutter down the middle. Small courts contrived to utilize some space in the rear, and approached by archway under the building which fronts the street. Of such sort are the poorest class of houses. Besides the evidence of configuration, these little places are often called "gardens," telling their story with unintended irony. But in other cases all sentiment is dropped, and another tale about their origin finds expression in the name "So and so'a rents"—not houses, nor dwellings, nor cottages, nor buildingr, nor even a court or a yard, suggesting human needs, but just "rents."

Another sort of filling up which is very common now is the building of workshops. These need no new approach, they go with, and belong to, the houses, and access to them is had through the houses. One I know of is arranged floor by floor, communicating with the respective floors of the house in front by a system of bridges. These workshops may or may not involve more crowding in the sense of more residents to the acre, but they, in any case, occupy the ground, obstruct light, and shut out air. Many are the advantages of sufficient open space behind a house, whether it be called garden or yard, for economy, comfort, and even pleasure. Those who have seen no more, have at least obtained a sort of bird's-eye view of such places from the window of a railway carriage, passing along some viaduct raised above the chimneys of two-storied London. Seen from a distance, the clothes lines are the most visible thing. Those who have not such outside accommodation must dry the clothes in the room in which they eat, and very likely also sleep ; while those, more common, who have a little scrap of yard or stretch ropes across the court in front, still suffer much discomfort from the close proximity to door and window of their own and their neighbours' drying garments. Prom the railway may be seen, also, small rough-roofed erections, interspersed with little glass houses. These represent hobbies, pursuits of leisure hours—plants, flowers, fowls, pigeons, and there is room to sit out, when the weather is fine enough, with friend and pipe. Such pleasures must go when the workshop invades the back yard; and it need hardly be pointed out how essential is sufficient space behind each house for sanitation.

Worse again than the interleaving of small cottage property or the addition of workshops, is the solid backward extension, whether for business premises or as tenements, or as common lodging houses, of the buildings which front the street; and this finally culminates in quarters,where house reaches back to house, and means of communication.

are opened through and through, for the convenience and safeguard of the inhabitants in case of pursuit by the police. The building of large blocks of dwellings, an effort to make crowding harmless, may be a vast improvement, but it only substitutes one sort of crowding for another. Nor have all blocks of dwellings a good character, either from a sanitary or moral point of view: far from it.

All these methods of filling up have been, and some of them still are, at work in the inner ring. This is true throughout, but otherwise each district has its peculiar characteristics.

The area dealt with is composed of the following unions of parishes or registration districts, containing in all about 900,000 inhabitants :—

East London—	
Shoreditch	124,000
Bethnal Green	130,000
Whitechapel	76,000
St. George's-in-the-East	49,000
Stepney ...	68,000
Mile End Old Town...	112,000
Poplar	169,000
Hackney	186,000
Total	909,000*

* The population of Tower Hamlets (and of each registration district therein) for 1887 was estimated by comparing the number of children of school age then scheduled by the School Board authorities with those existing at the date of the census (1881), it being assumed that the population of each parish had increased or decreased in the same ratio as its gohool ohildren. In the Hackney School Board division, however, no such basil was available, and so (acting on a suggestion kindly made by Dr. Longstaff) the following method has been adopted in dealing with the three registration districts of Shoreditch, Bethnal Green, and Hackney:—Comparing 1881 with 1887, the birth-rate for the whole of England and Wales is found to have decreased by 2*7 per 1,000. A similar rate of decrease is assumed to have taken place in the districts named, and the population is arrived at by multiplying the actual number of births in 1887 by this reduced ratio. The results opined correspond closely with the estimates of the medical officers for the respective districts, which are calculated in a different way.

The 8 classes into which I have divided these people are :

A. The lowest class of occasional labourers, loafers, and
B. Casual earnings—" very poor." [semi-criminals.
C. Intermittent earnings together the"poor"
D. Small regular earnings
E. Regular standard earnings—above the line of poverty.
F. Higher class labour.
G. Lower middle class,
H. Upper middle class.

The divisions indicated here by "poor" and "very poor" are necessarily arbitrary. By the word " poor " I mean to describe those who have a sufficiently regular though bare income, such as 18s to 21s per week for a moderate family, and by " very poor" those who from any cause fall much below this standard. The " poor " are those whose means may be sufficient, but are barely sufficient, for decent independent life; the "very poor" those whose means are insufficient for this according to the usual standard of life in this country. My "poor" may be described as living under a struggle to obtain the necessaries of life and make both ends meet; while the "very poor" live in a state of chronic want. It may be their own fault that this is so; that is another question; my first business is simply with the numbers who, from whatever cause, do live under conditions of poverty or destitution.

Table I. on the next page shows the division of the population by classes according to means and position and by sections according to employment. The double division is necessary because no possible classification by employment will serve also to divide the people according to means; and, in effect, it will be found that most sections contribute to more than one class, and each class is made up of many sections. The numbers of each class in each district, and the proportion in which each class stands * - **the** whole population, are shown in Tables I I . and I I I . , which follow.

Class.		Description.	Heads of Families.	More or less Dependent. Wives.	Persons 15—20		Unmarried Males over 20 and Widowers.	Total.	Percentage.
		Divided into Sections according to Character of Employment of Heads of Families.							
Males.									
Labour	1	LoweBt class, loafers, &c ..	2,494	2,480	736	1,424	1,916	9,050	1-02
	2	Casual dav-to-day labour...	8,725	8,665 1	16,516	8,965	4,634	42,505	4-77
	3	Irregular labour	4,358	4,335	8,553	2,075	1,844	21,1C5	2-37
	4		8,412	8,351	15,636	3,730	3,433	39,562	4.44
	5	„ ordinary pay	16,019	15,937	30,949	7,546	6,776	77,227	8-66
	6	Foremen and responsible)	8,555	3,529	7,132	1,692	1,486	17,394	1.95
Artisans	7		10,377	10,324	20,980	5,008	4,226	50,915	5-71
	8	Furniture, woodwork, dc...	13,113	13,069	26,878	6,463	5,197	64,720	7-26
	9		7,314	7,255	14,689	3,481	2,943	35,682	4-00
	10		11,106	11,070	21,797	5,277	4,543	53,793	6-03
	11		11,900	11,904	23,947	6,000	5,251	59,062	6-63
	12		4,403	4,384	8,820	2,224	1,961	21,792	2'44
Locomotion	18		1,972	1,956	4,008	946	801	9,683	1.09
	14		2,001	1,995	4,092	989	838	9,915	1.11
Assistants	15		4,457	4,442	8,683	2,097	1,835	21,514	2-41
	16	Police, soldiers, and sub-	2,618	2,603	5,192	1,256	1,094	12,763	1-43
Other wages	17		2,350	2,324	3,899	914	961	10,448	1 1 7
	18		3,067	3,657	5,480	1,323	1,476	15,603	1'75
	19	Home industries (not em-	3,920	3,911	8,131	1,972	1,606	19,540	2-20
Manufacturers	20		4,464	4,445	10,167	2,526	1,937	23,539	2-6-1
	21		511	510	1,134	279	224	2,658	0-30
Dealers	22	Street sellers, &o	3,004	2,992	6,067	1,500	1,452	15,015	1-68
	23		1,986	1,975	4,042	1,034	903	9,940	1.11
	24	Small shops	5,057	5,030	9,413	2,305	2,155	23,960	2-69
	25	Large shops (employing)	8,078	3,064	6,581	1,609	1,296	15,628	1.75
Refreshment	26	Coffee and boarding houses	60C	599	1,167	285	265	2,922	0-33
	21		1,327	1,321	2,497	614	569	6,328	0-71
Salaried, Ac.	28		7,999	7,967	15,461	3,694	3,347	38,468	4-31
	29	Subordinate professional...	1,860	1,848	3,665	878	770	9,021	1-02
	80		913	909	1,847	441	375	4,485	0-50
No work	31		605	600	1,176	288	261	2,930	0-33
	82		443	441	627	148	182	1,841	0-21
Total		of male heads of families...	(154,674)						
Females	33	Semi-domestic employment	5,328		8,189	1,986		15,503	1.74
	34		2, 524		3,773	923		7,220	0.81
	85		1,889		3,027	741		5,657	0.63
	86	Employing and professional	363		580	139		1,082	0 12
	87		1,072		1,566	384		3,022	0-34
	88		574		774	188		1,536	0-17
Total		of female heads of families	(11,750)						
	89							68,541	7.68
	40	Population of unscheduled}						40,000	4-49
		Inmates of Institutions ...	166,424	153,892	317,871	78,344	66,557	891,539 17,419 908,968	100

Classes, **EAST LONDON AND HACKNEY.**

Divided into Classes according to Means and Position of Heads of Families.

Section.	Very Poor.		Poor.		Comfortable.		Well-to-do.		Total,
	A. Lowest Class.	**B** Casual Earnings.	**a** Irregular Eai nings.	D. Regular Minimum.	E. Ordinary Standard Earnings.	P.	G. Lower Middle.	H. Upper Middle.	
1	9,050								9,050
2	—	41,307	1,198		—	—	—	—	42,505
3	—	4,541	15,275	—	1,349	—	—	—	21,165
4	—	1,199	—	38,236	127	—	—	—	39,562
5	—	297	—	11,171	65,507	252	—	—	77,227
6	—	—	—	9	343	17,012	~	-	17,394
7	132	4,390	6,624	5,979	28,668	5,122	—	—	50,915
8	106	6,446	7,544	10,551	35,774	4,299	—	—	64,720
9	63	1,458	2,172	3,740	23,845	4,404	—	—	35,682
10	100	3,046	4,811	6,477	27,2(58	12,091	—	—	63,793
11	63	6,273	9,359	12,670	27,420	3,277	—	—	59,062
12	35	821	1,300	3,602	15,569	465	—	—	21,792
13	8	138	9	726	5,1G0	3,642	—	—	9,683
14	—	595	801	1,680	6,008	831	—	—	9,915
15	18	899	490	3,121	14,449	2,537	—	—	21,514
16	-	201	50	808	10,827	877	-	-	12,763
17		283	759	435	8,949	22			10,448
18	26	504	775	1,884	1 10,411	2,003	—	—	15,603
19	17	1,837	3,325	1,708	9,243	3,342	68	-	19,510
20		36	27	429	3,224	12,948	6,301	574	23,539
21	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,781	877	2,658
22	802	3,461	4,378	2,266	i 4,290	318	—	—	15,015
23	69	327	1,514	1,251	4,166	2,415	198	—	9,940
24	—	235	266	2,016	12,320	7,567	1,556	—	23,960
25	-	—	—	—	292	4,766	6,032	4,538	15,628
26	—		—	102	80	1,081	1,059		2,922
27	—	9	33	75	419	1,226	3,139	1,427	6,328
28	—	483	721	1,937	11,528	15,432	7,260	1,107	38,468
29	—	137	205	553	2,600	3,436	1,915	175	9,021
80	—	—	—	—	—	362	682	3,441	4,485
81	—	2,044	461	200	172	53	—	—	2,930
82		-	-	-	801	447	518	75	1,841
33	59	6,990	3,410	2,930	2,074	40			15,503
34	I —;	2,058	1,590	2,048	1,485	39	—	—	7,220
85	55	1,842	994	1,315	1,334	107	10	—	5,657
86	_.	—	—	140	355	830	257	—	1,082
87	—	406	178	650	1,713	70	5	—	3,022
88	—	—	-	70	639	230	697	"	1,536
89	876	7,799	5,978	10,108	29,444	10,167	8,014	1,065	68,451
40			~	-	8,500		-	91,500	40,000
Total.....	10,979	**100,0621**	**74,247**	**128,887**	876,953	**121,240**	34,392	44,779	891,639
Percent...	1-23	**11.22**	**8*33**	**14.46**	**42-28**	**13.60**	**8.86**	**6-02**	100.00

II.—*Numerical Table of Classes.*

	A	B	O	D	B	F	G	H	Total.
Shoreditoh	1,160	11,413	12,821	23,265	54,972	13,502	2,526	1,502	121,161
Bethnal Green	1,489	20,405	16,095	18,926	50,892	14,452	3,775	1,607	127,641
Whitechapel	2,439	6,566	7,842	11,980	31,825	8,277	3,255	1,334	73,518
St. George's East	718	7,191	5,946	9,391	18,126	5,009	1,085	112	47,578
	901	9,790	3,789	9,157	25,743	8,546	2,769	1,862	62,063
Mile End ...	867	7,521	6,658	13,854	57,414	16,450	4,914	2,643	110,321
	1,758	21,460	10,355	27,156	75,256	22,292	5,164	2,953	166,393
Total...	9,332	84,352	63,506	113,728	314,228	88,528	23,488	11,513,	708,675
Hackney	1,647	15,710	10,741	15,159	54,225	32,712	10,904	1,766	142,864
									851,539
									40,000
				In Institutions..					17,419
									908,958

III.— *Percentage Table of Classes.*

Classes.	Shore-ditch.	Bethnal Green.	White-chapel.	St. George's.	Step-ney.	Mile End.	Poplar.	Hack-ney.	Whole District
A	10	1-2	3.3	15	1-5	0-8	11	0-9	1.2
B	94	16 0	8-9	15 1	15.8	68	12-9	8-6	11-2
0	106	12-6	10-7	12 6	61	60	62	5.8	8.3
D	192	14-9	16-3	19'7	14-7	12-6	16-3	8-4	14-5
	40-2	44-7	392	48-8	88-1	26-2	86-5	23 7	35-2
E	45.4	39-8	43-3	381	41-5	620	45.2	84.3	42.3
F	111	11-3	11.3	105	13-7	14.9	134	17-8	13-6
G	21	3-0	4-4	2-3	4-5	4-5	31	6-0	3-9
H	1-2	1-2	1.8	03	2-2	2-4	1-8	18-2	5 0
	59-8	55-3	60-8	51-2	61-9	73-8	63-5	76.3	64.8
•	1000	100 0	1000	100.0	100-0	1000	1000	100-0	100-0

. Houses of the annual rental of over £35 are not usually scheduled by the School Board visitors, unless known to contain more than one family, or children of the elementary school class.

On the whole it will be seen that St. George's-in-the-East is the poorest district, though run very hard by Bethnal Green in this unenviable race. Taking the number of "very poor," Bethnal Green heads the list, and Stepney stands higher than St. George's. Mr. Jones, the able relieving officer of Stepney, disputes my conclusions here; and it must be admitted that the very high proportion of Class B in Stepney, compared to the very low proportion for Class C, is remarkable. The fact is that the line between casual and irregular employment at the docks and wharves and on the canal, where the men of Stepney find their living, is most difficult to draw, and it is very possible that some of those described as " very poor" should not have been placed below the line of poverty.

Before proceeding further with comparisons of one district with another, I will describe the classes and their manner of living so far as it is known to me. And here I may say that in addition to the information obtained from the School Board visitors, for the division of the population into the 8 classes, I have been glad, in describing the lives of these people, to use any available information, and have received much valuable assistance from relieving officers, rent collectors, officers of the Charity Organization Society, and others.

A. The lowest class, which consists of some occasional labourers, street-sellers, loafers, criminals and semi-criminals, I put at 11,000, or 1¼% the population, but this is no more than a very rough estimate, as these people are beyond enumeration, and only a small proportion of them are on the School Board visitors' books. If I had been content to build up the total of this class from those of them who are parents of children at school in the same proportions as has been done with the other classes, the number indicated would not have greatly exceeded 3000, but there is little regular family life among them, and the numbers given in my tables are obtained by adding in an

estimated number from the inmates of common lodging houses, and from the lowest class of streets. With these ought to be counted the homeless outcasts who on any given night take shelter where they can, and so may be supposed to be in part outside of any census. Those I have attempted to count consist mostly of casual labourers of low character, and their families, together with those in a similar way of life who pick up a living without labour of any kind. Their life is the life of savages, with vicissitudes of extreme hardship and occasional excess. Their food is of the coarsest description, and their only luxury is drink. It is not easy to say how they live; the living is picked up, and what is got is frequently shared; when they cannot find 3d for their night's lodging, unless favourably known to the deputy, they are turned out at night into the street, to return to the common kitchen in the morning. From these come the battered figures who slouch through the streets, and play the beggar or the bully, or help to foul the record of the unemployed; these are the worst class of corner men who hang round the doors of public-houses, the young men who spring forward on any chance to earn a copper, the ready materials for disorder when occasion serves. They render no useful service, they create no wealth: more often they destroy it. They degrade whatever they touch, and as individuals are perhaps incapable of improvement; they may be to some extent a necessary evil in every large city, but their numbers will be affected by the economical condition of the classes above them, and the discretion of "the charitable world;" their way of life by the pressure of police supervision.

It is much to be desired and to be hoped that this class may become less hereditary in its character. There appears to be no doubt that it is now hereditary to a very considerable extent. The children are the street arabs, and are to be found separated from the parents in pauper or industrial schoofs, and in such homes as Dr. Barnardo's. Some **are**

in the Board schools, and more in ragged schools, and the remainder, who cannot be counted, and may still be numerous, are every year confined within narrowing bounds by the persistent pressure of the School Board and other agencies.

While the number of children left in charge of this class is proportionately small, the number of young persons belonging to it is not so—young men who take naturally to loafing; girls who take almost as naturally to the streets; some drift back from the pauper and industrial schools, and others drift down from the classes of casual and irregular labour. I have attempted to describe the prevailing type amongst these people, but I do not mean to say that there **are** not individuals of every sort to be found in the mass. Those who are able to wash the mud may find some gems in it. There are, at any rate, many very piteous cases. Whatever doubt there may be as to the exact numbers of this class, it is certain that they bear a very small proportion to the rest of the population, or even to class B with which they are mixed up, and from which it is at times difficult to separate them. The hordes of barbarians of whom we have heard, who, issuing from their slums, will one day overwhelm modern civilization, do not exist. There are barbarians, but they are a handful, a small and decreasing percentage : a disgrace but not a danger.

This class is recruited with adult men from all the others. All such recruits have been in some way unfortunate, and most, if not all, have lost their characters. Women, too, drop down, sometimes with the men, more often from the streets. A considerable number of discharged soldiers are to be found in classes A and B.

Class B—Casual earnings—very poor—add up almost exactly to 100,000, or 11¼ per cent, of the whole population.. This **number is made up** of **men, women, and children in about the following proportions:—**

IV.—*Table showing the Formation of Glass B from the various Sections.*

District.	Labour.			Artisans.			Other Wage Earners.	Home Industries	Street Sellers, &c.	Dland no Occupation.	Female Heads of Families, with Young Persons and Children.	TotaL
	Casual.	Irregular.	Regular.	Building and Furniture.	Machinery and Sundry.	Dress and Food						
Sections ..	2.	8.	4 and 5.	7 and 8.	9 and 10	11 and 12	13—18. 28 and 29.	19 and 20.	22—24 and 27.	81.	83—85 and 37.	
Shoreditch.....	3,182	504	70	1,696	778	946	386	258	330	211	2,112	10,473
Bethnal Green ...	5,680	638	231	3,542	1,438	2,190	395	687	1,748	284	2,172	19,005
	2,939	192	90	183	97	1,007	179	53	349	351	575	6,015
	4,226	182	23	132	122	750	120	10	243	71	802	6,681
	6,546	378	213	331	249	181	180	71	155	71	693	9,068
	3,113	575	99	638	254	157	308	117	298	208	1,079	6,846
	12,475	1,130	322	3,827	693	449	632	153	260	520	1,738	20,199
	3,146	942	448	2,487	873	1,414	1,040	524	649	328	2,125	13,976
	41,307	4,541	1,496	10,836	4,504	7,094	3,240	1,873	4,032	2,044	11,296	92,263
											Female adults, not heads of families, variously employed.....	7,799
											Total of Class B (very poor)	100,062

Married men	**17,000**
Their wives...	**17,000**
Unmarried men	**7,000**
Widows	**6,500**
Unmarried women ...	**5,000**
Young persons, 15—20	**9,500**
Children	**38,000**
	100,000

The table on the preceding page shows the numbers contributed by the different sections of employment in each district.

Widows or deserted women and their families bring a large contingent to this class, but its men are mostly to be found in Section 2 of "Labour," In the schedules I have divided "Labour" into 6 sections, corresponding in effect to the first 6 classes—(1) occasional, (2) casual, (3) intermittent, (4) regular low pa), (5) regular standard pay, (6) highly paid. This classification cannot be made exact. These sections not only melt into each other by insensible degrees, but the only divisions which can be made **are** rather divisions of sentiment than of positive fact: the line between Nos. 1 and 2 (loafers and casual labourers) is of this character, difficult to test, and not otherwise to be established; and the boundaries of No. 2 are constantly fluctuating; for the casual labourer, besides being pressed on from below, when times are hard is also flooded from above; every class, even artisans and clerks, furnishing those who, failing to find a living in their own trade, compete at the dock gates for work. And on the other hand those of this class who have a preference, and come first in turn for the work of the casual sort that is to be had at the docks or elsewhere, practically step up into Section *4*, or may do so if they choose, as obtaining regular work at low pay. Similarly, it is most difficult to divide correctly No. 3 from No. 5 (irregular from regular), or No. 5-jfrom No. 4 (ordinary from low wages); **in times of bad trade**

many who would otherwise be counted as regularly employed sink for a time into No. 8, and it is in some cases difficult to learn the actual wages, as well as to decide where to draw the line, between No. 5 and No. 4.

Between No. 5 and No. 6 there is the same difficulty, especially where a higher rate of wages happens to be set off by greater irregularity of employment.

Section No. 2, coinciding, so far as it goes, with class B, is intended to include none but true casual labourers, excluding the men already described under No. 1, who are not properly labourers at all; leaving for No. 3 those irregularly employed, who may be out of work or in work, but whose employment, though mostly paid by the hour, has its tenure rather by the week, or the month, or the season; and for No. 4, those whose pay, however low, comes in with reasonable certainty and regularity from year's end to year's end. In East London the largest field for casual labour is at the Docks; indeed, there is no other important field, for although a large number of men, in the aggregate, look out for work from day to day at the wharves and canals, or seek employment as porters in connection with the markets, there seems to be more regularity about the work, and perhaps less competition, or less chance of competition, between outsiders and those who, being always on the spot, are personally known to the employers and their foremen. Dock Labour is treated in a separate chapter. The number of those who are casually employed at the Docks does not seem large compared to the very great public concern which has been aroused, but as a test of the condition of other classes, the ebb and flow of this little sea is really important; it provides a test of the condition of trade generally, as well as of certain trades in particular—a sort of "distress meter"—and connects itself very naturally with the question of the unemployed.

The labourers of class B do not, on the average, get as much as three days' work a week, but it is doubtful if many

of them could or would work full time for long together if they had the opportunity. From whatever section Class B is drawn, except the sections of poor women, there will be found many of them who from shiftlessness, helplessness, idleness, or drink, are inevitably poor. The ideal of such persons is to work when they like and play when they like; these it is who are rightly called the "leisure class" amongst the poor—leisure bounded very closely by the pressure of want, but habitual to the extent of second nature. They cannot stand the regularity and dulness of civilized existence, and find the excitement they need in the life of the streets, or at home as spectators of or participators in some highly coloured domestic scene. There is drunkenness amongst them, especially amongst the women; but drink is not their special luxury, as with the lowest class, nor is it their passion, as with a portion of those with higher wages and irregular but severe work. The earnings of the men vary with the state of trade, and drop to a few shillings a week or nothing at all in bad times; they are never high, nor does this class make the hauls which come at times in the more hazardous lives of the class below them; when, for instance, a sensational newspaper sells by thousands in the streets for *2d* to *6d* a copy. The wives in this class mostly do some work, and those who are sober, perhaps, work more steadily than the men; but their work is mostly of a rough kind, or is done for others almost as poor as themselves. It is in all cases wretchedly paid, so that if they earn the rent they do very well.

Both boys and girls get employment without much difficulty—the girls earn enough to pay their mothers 4s or 5s a week if they stay at home; and if the boys do not bring in enough, they are likely to be turned adrift, being in that case apt to sink into Class A; on the other hand, the more industrious or capable boys no doubt rise into Classes C, D, or E.

Class B, and especially the "labour" parb of it, ia not one in which men are born and live and die, so much as a deposit of those who from mental, moral, and physical reasons are incapable of better work.

Glass C — Intermittent earnings—numbering nearly 75,000, or about 8 per cent, of the population, are more than any others the victims of competition, and on them falls with particular severity the weight of recurrent depressions of trade. In this class are counted most of the labourers in Section 3, together with a large contingent from the poorer artisans, street sellers, and the smaller shops. Here may perhaps be found the most proper field for systematic charitable assistance; provided always some evidence of thrift is made the pre-condition or consequence of assistance.

Section 3 of Labour, which contributes so largely to Class C, consists of men who usually work by the job, or who are in or out of work according to the season or the nature of their employment.. This irregularity of employment may show itself in the week or in the year: stevedores and waterside porters may secure only one or two days' work in a week, whereas labourers in the building trades may get only eight or nine months in the year. They are, all round, men who, if in regular work, would be counted in Section 5, and it is therefore satisfactory to note that the proportion in irregular work is small. The great body of the labouring class (as distinguished from the skilled workmen) have a regular steady income, such as it is.

Some of the irregularly employed men earn very high wages, fully as high as those of the artisan class. These are men of great physical strength, working on coal or grain, or combining aptitude and practice with strength as in handling timber. It is amongst such men, especially those carrying grain and coal, that the passion for drink is

. **In considering the status as to employment and means, a** whole **year has, so far as** possible, been taken **as** the unit **of time.**

most developed. A man will very quickly earn 15s or 20s, but at the cost of great exhaustion, and many of them eat largely and drink freely till the money is gone, taking very little of it home. Others of this class earn wages approaching to artisan rates when, as in the case of stevedores, their work requires special skill, and is protected by trade organization. If these men are to be counted in Section No. 3, as unfortunately many of them must be at present, it is because their numbers are too great. While trade is dull the absorption of surplus labour by other employment is extremely slow. There are also in this section a large number of wharf and warehouse hands, who depend on the handling of certain crops for the London market. They have full work and good work when the wool or tea sales are on, and at other times may be very slack. These classes of irregular labour depend on the shipping trades, and have been put in Section 3, unless the absence of all signs of poverty entitled them to rank with Section 5.

Besides those whose living depends on the handling of merchandise, there are in this section all the builders' labourers, and some others whose work is regulated by the seasons. With regard to these employments the periods of good and bad work are various, one trade being on while another is off; more goods to be handled, for instance, on the whole, in winter than in summer, against the stoppage of building in cold weather. I do not think, however, that one employment is dovetailed with another to any great extent; it would not be easy to arrange it, and most of the men make no effort of the kind. They take things as they come; work when they can get work in their own line, and otherwise go without, or, if actually hard up, try, almost hopelessly, for casual work. The more enterprising ones who fill up their time in some way which ekes out their bare earnings are the exceptions, and such men would probably pass into Section 5 as having regular standard earnings. On the other hand, many fall out of Section 5

into Section 3 through illness, and it is largely in such cases that extreme poverty is felt. The pressure is also very severe where there are many young children; a man and his wife by themselves can get along, improvident or not, doing on very little when work fails; the children who have left school, if they live at home, readily keep themselves, and sometimes do even more. It is in the years when the elder children have not yet left school, while the younger ones are still a care to the mother at home, that the pressure of family life is most felt.

The men of Section 3 have a very bad character for improvidence, and I fear that the bulk of those whose earnings are irregular are wanting in ordinary prudence. Provident thrift, which lays by for to-morrow, is not a very hardy plant in England, and needs the regular payment of weekly wages to take root freely. It seems strange that a quality so much needed, and so highly rewarded, should not be developed more than seems to be the case. There may, however, be more of such thrift among the irregularly employed than is generally supposed, for it is those who do not have it who come most under observation. I understand that death clubs with a weekly subscription of *id* to *2d* per head are very commonly subscribed to, and there are instances of a system by which tradesmen are paid small sums all through the summer against the winter expenditure at their shop, receiving the money on a deposit card, and acting in fact as a sort of savings bank. But such cases are exceptional; the reverse would be the rule, credit being given in winter against repayment in summer. Most benefit societies, death clubs, goose clubs, &c, are held at public-houses, and the encouragement to thrift is doubtful. The publican is left too much in possession of the field as friend of the working man, and Tiis friendship does not practically pay the latter, who is apt to spend more than he saves.

Thefe will be many of the irregularly employed who

V.—*Table showing the Formation of Glasses G and D from the various Sections.*

District	Labour.			Artisans.			Other Wage Earners.	Home Industries.	Street Sellers, Small Shops, &c.	HI and no Occupation.	Female Heads of Families with Young Persons and Children.	Total.
	Casual.	Irregular.	Regular.	Building and Furniture.	Machinery and Sundry.	Dress and Food.						
Sections ..	2.	8.	4 and 5.	7 and 8	9 and 10.	11 and 12.	13—18. 28 and 29	19 and 20.	22—24. 26 and 27	31.	33—85.87 and 38	
	132	2,061	5,844	8,003	4,679	4,511	3,024	1,128	1,421	71	2,240	33,114
Bethnal Green ...	180	2,050	5,586	7,954	3,466	5,491	1,991	1,317	2,499	43	2,043	32,600
	90	1,184	2,896	865	948	6,652	919	433	2,823	50	1,259	18,119
	69	2,562	3,500	666	751	3,188	1,122	399	838	78	1,069	14,242
Stepney	210	1,436	4,952	1,095	940	465	893	394	574	79	943	11,981
Mile End	100	1,623	5,595	2,320	1,263	2,091	1,823	444	1,330	71	1,993	18,653
Poplar.....	400	2,823	15,741	5,472	3,125	1,620	2,238	480	1,171	183	2,038	35,291
	17	1,536	5,322	4,323	2,028	2,913	2,944	894	1,245	86	1,740	23,048
Total	1.198	15 275	49 416	30.698	17.200	26.931	14.954	5.489	11.901	661	13.325	187,048
												16,086
												203,134

—*F~*

could not keep a permanent job if they had it, and who must break out from time to time; but the worst of these drop into Section 2, and for the most part I take Section 3 to consist of hard-working struggling people, not worse morally than any other class, though shiftless and improvident, but out of whom the most capable are either selected for permanent work, or equally lifted out of the section by obtaining preferential employment in irregular work. They are thus a somewhat helpless class, not belonging usually to any trade society, and for the most part without natural leaders or organization; the stevedores are the only exception I know of, and so far as they are here counted in No. 3, are so under peculiarly adverse circumstances; No. 5 is their proper section.

Labour of No. 3 character is very common in London. There may be more of it proportionately in other districts than in the East End. In this class the women usually work or seek for work when the men have none; they do charing, or washing, or needlework, for very little money; they bring no particular skill or persistent effort to what they do, and the work done is of slight value. Those who work the most regularly and are the best paid are the widows, who are separately counted in Sections 33 to 35.

Class D, Small Regular Earnings, poor, are about 129,000, or nearly 14£ per cent, of the population. It must not be understood that the whole of these have quite regular work; but only that the earnings are constant enough to be treated as a regular income, which is not the case with the earnings of class C. Of D and 0 together we have 203,000, and if this number is equally divided to represent those whose earnings are regular and irregular, which would be to place the standard of regularity a little higher than has been done in this inquiry, the result would be equal numbers of each grade of poverty—100,000 of B or casual, 100,000 of 0 or intermittent, and 100,000 of D or regular

earnings, oat of a total population of 900,000, or one-ninth of each grade.

The class coincides to a very great extent with Section 4 of Labour (or those with regular work at minimum wage), in which section have been included those whose labour may be paid daily and at the casual rates, but whose position is pretty secure, and whose earnings, though varying a little from week to week, or from season to season, are in effect constant.

The men of Section 4 are the better end of the casual dock and water-side labour, those having directly or indirectly a preference for employment. It includes also a number of labourers in the gas works whose employment falls short in summer but never entirely ceases. The rest of this section are the men who are in regular work all the year round at a wage not exceeding 21. a week. These are drawn from various sources, including in their numbers factory, dock, and warehouse labourers, carmen, messengers, porters, &c.; a few of each class. Some of these are recently married men, who will, after a longer period of service, rise into the next class; some are old and superannuated, semi-pensioners; but others are heads of families, and instances are to be met with (particularly among carmen) in which men have remained fifteen or twenty years at a stationary wage of 21s or even less, being in a comparatively comfortable position at the start, but getting poorer and poorer as their family increased, and improving again as their children became able to add their quota to the family income. In such cases the loss of elder children by marriage is sometimes looked upon with jealous disfavour.

Of the whole section none can be said to rise above poverty, unless by the earnings of the children, nor are many to be classed as very poor. What they have comes in regularly, and except in times of sickness in the family, actual want rarely presses, unless the wife drinks. As a general rule these men have a hard straggle to make ends

meet, but they are, as a body, decent steady men, paying their way and bringing up their children respectably. The work they do demands little skill or intelligence.

In the whole class with which this section is identified the women work a good deal to eke out the men's earnings, and the children begin to make more than they cost when free from school : the sons go as van boys, errand boys, &c, and the daughters into daily service, or into factories, or help the mother with whatever she has in hand.

The comfort of their homes depends, even more than in other classes, on a good wife. Thrift of the "make-the-most-of-everything" kind is what is needed, and in very many cases must be present, or it would be impossible to keep up so respectable an appearance as is done on so small an income.

E. Regular Standard Earnings.—These are the bulk of Section 5, together with a large proportion of the artisans and most other regular wage earners. I also include here, as having equal means, the best class of street sellers and general dealers, a large proportion of the small shop-keepers, the best off amongst the home manufacturers, and some of the small employers. This is by far the largest class of the population under review, adding up to 377,000, or over 42 per cent.

Section No. 5 contains all, not artisans or otherwise scheduled, who earn from 22s to 30s per week for regular work. There are some of them who, when wages are near the lower figure, or the families are large, are not lifted above the line of poverty; but few of them are *very poor,* and the bulk of this large section can, and do, lead independent lives, and possess fairly comfortable homes.

As a rule the wives do not work, but the children all do: the boys commonly following the father (as is everywhere the case above the lowest classes), the girls taking to local trades, or going out to service.

The men in this section are connected with almost every

form of industry, and include in particular carmen, porters and messengers, warehousemen, permanent dock labourers, stevedores, and many others. Of these some, such as the market porters and stevedores, do not earn regular wages, but both classes usually make a fair average result for the week's work, and only in exceptional cases have been placed in Section 3.

The whole section is instructive as showing the large proportion of the labour class who are in regular work at standard wages, and doubtless what holds good of the East End will not be less true elsewhere in London.

It may be noted that Classes D and E together form the actual middle class in this district, the numbers above and below them being very fairly balanced.

The wage earners of Class E take readily any gratuities which fall in their way, and all those who constitute it will mutually give or receive friendly help without sense of patronage or degradation; but against anything which could be called charity their pride rises stiffly. This class is the recognized field of all forms of co-operation and combination, and I believe, and am glad to believe, that it holds its future in its own hands. No body of men deserves more consideration; it does not constitute a majority of the population in the East of London, nor, probably, in the whole of London, but it perhaps may do so taking England as a whole. It should be said that only in a very general way of speaking do these people form one class, and beneath this generality lie wide divergences of character, interests, and ways of life. This class owns a good deal of property in the aggregate.

Glass F **consists of higher class labour (Section 6), and the best paid of the artisans, together with others of equal means and position from other sections, and amounts to 121,000, or about 13½ per cent, of the population. The line between Sections 5 and 6 of labour has not been pressed closely, and it is probable that many whose earnings one way or another exceed 30s per week have been allowed to**

VI.—*Table showing the? Formation of Classes E and F from ike various Sections.*

District.	Labour.			Artisans.			Other Wage Earners.	Home Industries.	Street Sellers, Small Shops, and Coffee Houses.	Large Shops and Licensed Houses.	Professional and Independent	111 and no Occupation.	Female Heads of Families, Ac.	Total.
	Irregular.	Regular	Foremen, &c.	Building and Furniture	Machinery and Sundry.	Dress and Food.								
	.'	4 and 5.	6.	7 and 8.	9 and 10.	11&12.	18—18. 28 & 29.	19&20.	22-24. 26.	25 and 27.	30 and 32.	31.	33-38.	
Shoreditch	9	7,033	677	14,662	12,942	6,052	11,541	4,455	3,654	873	133	18	772	
	77	8,307	1,042	12,706	8,841	7,525	9,711	5,769	4,676	1,209	86	34	866	
Whitachapel	86	5,264	611	2,122	2,880	10,581	4,363	3,786	5,630	676	47	41	655	
	57	6,102	1,492	1,748	1,992	2,617	2,863	1,667	2,175	419	31	26	292	
	258	6,927	3,046	4,495	4,672	1,338	6,203	1,364	2,164	503	116	27	628	
Mile End	200	11,144	2,636	8,915	8,304	8,526	15,740	3,717	5,327	1,031	332	18	1,383	
Poplar	585	13,835	6,317	15,174	16,882	4,180	23,873	2,520	4,986	1,007	402	44	2,021	
	77	7,274	1,564	14,041	11,095	5,912	24,418	5,479	4,225	985	463	17	1,799	
Total	1,349	65.886	17.385	73 863	67.ccs	46 731	93 719	98 757	*32* 837	6 703	1 610	995	8,416	450,082
														Female adults 48,111
														Total of E and F..... 498,193

remain in No. 5; those in Section No. 6 earn certainly more than 30s, and up to 45. or 50s. Besides foremen are included City warehousemen of the better class, and first hand lightermen; they are usually paid for responsibility, and are men of very good character and much intelligence.

This (No. 6) is not a large section of the people, but it is a distinct and *very* honourable one. These men are the non-commissioned officers of the industrial army- No doubt there are others as good in the ranks, and vacant places are readily filled with men no less honest and trustworthy; all the men so employed have been selected out of many. The part they play in industry is peculiar. They have nothing to do with the planning or direction (properly so called) of business operations; their work is confined to superintendence. They supply no initiative, and having no responsibility of this kind they do not share in profits; but their services are very valuable, and their pay enables them to live reasonably comfortable lives, and provide adequately for old age. No large business could be conducted without such men as its pillars of support, and their loyalty and devotion to those whom they serve is very noteworthy. Most employers would admit this as to their own foremen, but the relation is so peculiar and personal in its character that most employers also believe no other foremen to be equal to their own.

Their sons take places as clerks, and their daughters get employment in first-class shops or places of business; if the wives work at all, they either keep a shop, or employ girls at laundry work or at dressmaking.

There is a great difference between these men and the artisans who are counted with them as part of Class F: the foreman of ordinary labour generally sees things from the employer's point of view, while the skilled artisan sees them from the point of view of the employed. Connected with this fact it is to be observed that the foremen are a more contented set of men than the most prosperous artisans.

The artisans, who are shown under three headings in the

preceding table, are divided in the schedules for the Tower Hamlets into six groups, and these are further sub-divided for Shoreditch, Bethnal Green, and Hackney. Skilled workmen are found in every class from A to F, as the following table will show (the numbers given include wives and children):—

	A	B	0	D	B	F	Total.
	132	4,390	6,624	5,979	28,668	5,122	60,915
Furniture, woodwork, &c.	106	6,446	7,644	10,551	85,774	4,299	64,720
Machinery and Metals...	63	1,458	2,172	3,740	23,845	4,404	85,682
Sundry artisans.....	100	3,046	4,811	6,477	27,268	12,091	63,793
	63	6,273	9,359	12,670	27.420	3,277	69,062
	35	821	1,300	3,602	15,569	465	21,792
	499	22,434	31,810	43,019	158,544	29,658	285,964
		22,933		74,829		188,202	
		6,336		22,029		30,697	
Other artisans ..		16,597		62,800		157,505	

From this table it will be seen that, taken altogether, for every 100 artisans on the line of poverty (Classes 0 and D) or below it (Classes A and B) there are 200 who are above it (E and F), and if those engaged in the manufacture of dress (tailors and bootmakers), with whom the proportion on or below the line of poverty is much greater, are excluded, for every 100 on or below the line there would be 230 above it; while if furniture and woodwork (the other great sweated industry) were also deducted, the proportion of the well-to-do would be again increased.

Later on separate accounts are given of Cabinet-making, Bootmaking, Tailoring, Cigar-making and Silk-weaving. The rest of the artisan trades have no features peculiar to the East End, and would be better considered for the whole of London, but the following remarks may be made:

Building trades.—These show the signs of the depression of trade. The poor and very poor between them are 33.6 per cent, of their numbers. The unskilled labourers employed in building operations are of course not counted amongst the artisans.

Together with furniture, &c, are grouped the shipwrights and coopers. The shipwrights have little work—a large portion of the trade is dead, and the coopers also complain. It is stated at the docks that there is less work for the coopers because sugar and coffee are now imported in bags instead of hogsheads. On the whole, however, the coopers seem better off than most others, and are a large body of men; they are of two sorts, the wet coopers, who are highly skilled, and make good wages, and the dry coopers, some of whom are hardly coopers at all, mending barrels and boxes in a rough-and-ready fashion, and earning but little. The percentage of "poor" is 28 per cent, and of very poor 10 per cent, in this section.

Food production, including slaughtermen, journeyman bakers, brewers' servants, sugar refiners, fish curers, and cigar makers.—Of these the best paid are the slaughtermen and brewers. servants ; it has, however, been difficult to distinguish between the brewers and the brewers' labourers. The distinction is not very material, as the other employments in this section are on the whole poorly paid, and rank in that respect little, if at all, above the standard of labour No. 5, in which section brewers' labourers ought to be. Bakers, sugar-refiners, fish-curers, and cigar-makers, all suffer more or less from cheap immigrant labour. The sugar business has been extremely slack, and fish-curing, though prosperous, is an industry of the poor. The percentage of poor in this section is 22½ per cent., and of very poor 4 per cent.

Following the six sections of artisans in my schedules come other wage earners, such as railway servants, policemen, and seamen, and the classification by industry then passes from wage earners—who, to give value to their work, have to please the wage payers—to profit earners, who, in order to be paid, have to please the public—a marked difference. The commonest labourer and the most skilful highly paid mechanic are alike in that whatever they do their labour will be wasted if misapplied, and that as to its

application they have no responsibility: they are paid their wages equally whether they have or have not produced the value in consumption that is to be hoped for out of their work; but the master manufacturer, like the poor flower girl, or the common street acrobat, must please his public to earn anything. The distinction is no question of wealth j with the artisans, as with ordinary labour, we have seen under one denomination very varied conditions of life; and among the profit earners also we shall again find all classes.

First come those who make their profit out of MANUFACTURE, **and form the link between the wage-earners and the dealers, insomuch as, while the dealers supply, and must please the public, the makers work to satisfy the dealers. Lowest in the scale are—**

Home industries and small manufacturers who do not employ.—These work at home, buying the materials and selling the product. Home industries, where the whole family work together, are such as slipper making, toy making, firewood cutting, &c. Those who work by themselves, but also on their own materials, are small bootmakers and tailors (making and mending), watch and clock makers (entirely repairing), locksmiths, picture frame makers, and many more. With them are here included sweeps and printers, who employ no one, but do not themselves work for wages. Altogether this is a considerable and rather interesting class, the last relic ot an older industrial system.

For poverty and manner of life all these are little removed from Sections 2 and 3, or from the poorest artisans, and they often work for an employer when unable to get work on their own account. The poor here are 26 per cent., and the very poor 94 per cent.

Small employers, employing from one to ten workpeople or servants.—This class is for the most part energetic and well to do, but includes the much vilified " sweaters," many of whom are only a shade better off than those whose labour they control.

The number of large employers (Section 21) is not very considerable. Then follow those who deal direct with the public, beginning at the lowest point of class with—

The street trades, which consist of three main divisions: street performers, street sellers, and general dealers. They include organ grinders and acrobats, professional beggars, those who sell penny notions from a tray in the City streets, and newspaper hawkers, with the poorest of the costermongers; and (amongst the general dealers) the buyers in a small way of old boots for "translating," old clothes for renovation, collectors of old iron, &c., whose whole business, whether in buying or selling, is conducted amongst the very poor. Many of these belong to the lowest class, and hardly a full proportion of them come naturally into the schedules.

Further contingents from the street trades pass into Classes B and C, in company with casual and irregular labour; these are musicians in poor or irregular employ, costermongers without capital, chair caners, street glaziers, and struggling dealers.

The life of these people is much like that of the casual labourer, with some of the vicissitudes of Section 1 of labour. They live from hand to mouth, and go for change of air to Margate sands, or "hopping," in the season.

The remainder of the street sellers and general dealers are pretty well to do, certainly above the line of poverty, and are included in Class B. They include ordinary public musicians with regular work, billiard markers, scene painters, and travelling photographers; costermongers with capital in stock and barrow, and perhaps a donkey; coffee stall keepers, cats'-meat men, and successful general dealers. The section, taken altogether, is a large one in the East End of London. Certain parts of Whitechapel, including the neighbourhood of Petticoat Lane (now called Middlesex Street), serve as a market for outlying districts. To deal "in the Lane" is a sufficient description of many we have met with.

"Dealing" and "street selling" **are distinct** occupations,

except at quite the bottom level. The dealer is a small itinerant merchant; the street seller is a sort of shopkeeper, whose stock is contained in a stall, a barrow, or a basket. The general dealers are nearly all Jews, and some of them buy and sell in a large way, and handle large sums of money, though their ways of life are hardly removed from those of the quite poor of their nationality. The business of a general dealer is never visible on the surface, and with some it is a mystery, to which, perhaps, the police only could furnish a key; while the street sellers, as a rule, whether in a large or small way, are most open and palpable servants of the public. Costermongers of the upper grade are a very well-to-do set; they have a valuable property in their stock, &c.; they sometimes have both stall and barrow, working as a family; and some step up into the shopkeeping class by establishing the wife in a small shop, while the man still goes round with the barrow. The street trades seem prosperous, and those who drive these trades are better off to-day than many skilled workmen, though of much lower social grade, and in fact a rough lot. In this employment the possession of capital is a very great power. The man who has wit to get together a little money, and resolution enough to keep his capital sacred, spending only his profits, and saving out of them against the loss of a donkey, or the need of a new barrow, will surely prosper. Those who have to borrow pay dear for the accommodation, and besides are probably the men whose character or whose necessities make saving impossible to them. There are men in the East End who make a large income by letting out barrows to this class.

Among the lower grade of costermongers are to be found labourers who take to street selling as an alternative when work is slack, but it is probably difficult to make duch a combination successful. The poor among the street sellers are 44¼ per cent., the very poor 25 per cent.

Next in order in the industrial classification are—

Small shops, or shops where no assistants are employed,

a very wide class, including people in the greatest poverty attempting to pay rent and obtain a living out of the sale of things of hardly any value to customers with hardly any money, and every grade upwards to the well-to-do tradesman with a prosperous business closely looked after by wife and junior members of the family, who being sufficient in themselves need employ no one.

I have been able roughly to apportion this section to the different classes, but it is often impossible to say whether a shop is making money or not. It perhaps loses, and is closed, and at once another takes its place. It may reasonably be assumed that if they do not drop out of existence as shops, profit is on the whole to be found in the business. This, however, gives an inadequate picture of a class on whom, whether in decrease of sales or increase of bad debts, must fall much of the weight of a depressed condition of trade. It may be that the cheapened cost of what they have to sell, and the full prices, which the credit they give and the hand-to-mouth habits of their customers, enable them to charge, leave a good margin: and so far they have not been seriously attacked by the co-operative system, which may some day step in between them and their profits.

It is to be noted that most of the quite small shops in the district are not included at all in this section, being kept by the wives of men otherwise employed, whose families are here scheduled according to the man's trade. These small shops play only a subsidiary part in the family economy, and it is not to be wondered at if those who try to make an entire living out of a business so handicapped, find it very difficult.

It may be interesting to see, as has been done in the case of the artisans, in what proportion Manufacture and Dealing contribute to the various classes, and the following table will show this.

It will be seen that of those who, not employing, work on their own account, the numbers on or below the 3ne of poverty are (as with the artisans) about half of those

above the line; and the same rule applies to the general dealers; but with the street sellers the proportion is reversed, there being more than twice as many below as there are above the line.

	A	B	0	D	E	F	G	H	Total.
Manufacture.									
Home Industries (not employing)	17	1,837	3,325	1,708	9,243	3,342	68		19,540
Employers (large and		86	27	429	3,224	12,948	8,082	1,451	26,197
Total ...	17	1,873	3,352	2,137	12,467	16,290	8,150	1,451	45,737
Dealing.									
Street Sellers, &c.	302	3,461	4,378	2,266	4,290	818			15,015
General Dealers	69	327	1,514	1,251	4,166	2,415	198		9,940
Shops (large and small)		235	266	2,016	12,612	12,833	7,588	4,538	39,588
Total...	371	4,023	6,158	5,533	21,068	15,066	7,786	4,538	64,543

Note.—I must again warn my readers that the numbers given for Glass A have no secure basis, but are (in spite of their apparent nicety of exaotness) a very rough approximation to the truth.

O. Lower Middle Olass.—Shopkeepers and small employers, clerks, &c, and subordinate professional men. A hard-working, sober, energetic class, which I will not more fully describe here, as they no doubt will be comparatively more numerous in other districts of London. Here they number 34,000, or nearly 4 per cent. It is to be noted that Class G, which in the whole district compares with the class above it as 34 to 45, for East London proper compares as 32 to 12. The exaggera ion of Class H, as compared to Class G, is entirely due to Hackney.

H. Upper Middle Class.—All above G are here lumped together, and may be shortly defined as the servant-keeping class. They count up to about 45,000, or 5 per

cent, of the population. Of these more than two-thirds are to be found in Hackney, where one-fifth of the population live in houses which, owing to their high rental, are not scheduled by the School Board visitors. In the other districts scattered houses are to be found above the value at which the School Board usually draws the line; but the visitors generally know something of the inmates. In Hackney, however, there are many streets as to which the visitors have not even the names in their books. The estimated number of residents in these unscheduled houses I have placed in Class H, to which they undoubtedly belong, excepting that the servants (also an estimated number) appear under Class E, from which they are mostly drawn.

It is to be remembered that the dividing lines between all these classes are indistinct; each has, so to speak, a fringe of those who might be placed with the next division above or below; nor are the classes, as given, homogeneous by any means. Room may be found in each for many grades of social rank.

Female heads of families are separately scheduled, and divided into six sections. These are widows or deserted women with their children, and I will restate from the schedules the proportion of them belonging to each class :

Female heads of families.	A	B	0	D	E	F	G	H	Total
	59	6,990	3,410	2,930	2,074	40			15,503
Dress		2,058	1,590	2,048	1,485	39		—	7,220
	55	1,842	994	1,315	1,334	107	10		5,657
Employing and professional				140	855	330	257		1,082
Supported		406	178	650	1,713	70			3,022
				70	639	230	5		1,536
Total	114	11,296	6,172	7,153	7,600	816	869	J	34,020

Two things are here very noticeable—the one that fully half the women who have to support themselves seek a livelihood in semi-domestic employments, such as washing and charing; and the other, that it is amongst such occupations, as will be seen by the large numbers in Classes A to D, and not amongst the trades, that tho greatest apparent poverty exists,

.To complete the population it has been necessary to add 68,451 adult women, and I have distributed them amongst the classes in the proportions shown for the rest of the population to which they stand in the relation of sisters or daughters.

Grouping the classes together, A, B, C, and D are the classes in poverty, or even in want, and add up to 314,000, or 35 per cent, of the population; while E, F, G, and H are the classes in comfort, or even in affluence, and add up to 577,000, or 65 per cent, of the population.

Separating East London from Hackney, the same system of grouping gives us for East London 270,000, or 38 per cent, in poverty, against 440,000 or 62 per cent., in comfort; and for Hackney by itself 43,000, or 24 per cent., in poverty, against 140,000, or 76 per cent., in comfort.

The most poverty-stricken district (St. George's) has 23,000, or 49 per cent., in poverty, against 24,000, or 51 per cent., in comfort. It will be noted that this is also the smallest district, and it is possible that an equally large area not less poor might be found by dividing one of the larger districts.

In a separate chapter I develop these figures further and attempt to deal with the question or problem of poverty.

***[The points upon which my views have been modified in the course of the inquiry from* 1889 *to* 1902 *will be noted in the concluding volume {or "Final Review"*).—C. B., 1902.]

CHAPTER III.

CONCERNING THE SEPARATE DISTRICTS.

FOR those who find an interest in such methods, I give on the next page a table showing for each district the percentage which each kind of occupation bears to the whole population. I can hardly hope to make the rows of figures in this table as luminous and picturesque to any other eye as they are to mine, and yet I am constrained to try to do so. I will take Whitechapel as a centre, and trace the figures east and west.

Of the population of Whitechapel 18¼ per cent, appear as employed in making clothes, 6½ per cent, in cigar making and food preparation, 8 per cent, are street sellers and general dealers, and 5¼ per cent, are small employers, mostly of the poor " sweater " type. All these are employments of the Jews.

Stepney, on the other hand, has few, if any, of these—only 7¼ per cent, all told against 38 per cent, in Whitechapel. Stepney is essentially the abode of labour: here the casual labourers reach their maximum of nearly II per cent, of the population, and have their homes in a mass of grimy streets and courts; and here are to be found also the largest proportion of regularly paid labour, viz., 24 per cent, of the population. In all, nearly 89 per cent, of the population of Stepney are counted in the five sections of labour against only about 18 per cent, so counted in Whitechapel.

Midway between Whitechapel and Stepney, in character as well as geographically, comes St. GeorgeVin-the-East. Doubtless a line might be drawn which Would fairly divide the population of St. George's into two portions, the one

VII.—*Percentage Table of Sections.*

		Shoreditch.	Bethnal Green.	Whitechapel.	St. George's.	Stepney.	Mile End.	Poplar	Hackney.	Whole Dist.
1. Lowest class		0·7	0·9	2·9	1·3	1·2	0·7	0·9	0·7	1·0
2. Casual labour		2·7	4·6	4·1	3·0	10·9	2·9	7·7	1·7	4·8
3. Irregular labour		2·1	2·2	2·0	5·2	3·3	2·2	2·7	1·4	2·4
4. Regular work, low pay	Labour.	16·1 4·1	18·7 3·9	18·1 2·6	38·2 6·8	36·6 4·7	22·7 2·8	32·1 8·0	11·2 2·8	22·3 4·4
5. " " ordinary pay		6·6	7·2	8·6	13·4	14·8	12·4	9·9	4·4	8·7
6. Foremen, etc.		0·6	0·8	0·8	3·1	4·9	2·4	3·8	0·9	2·0
7. Building trades		8·9	4·4	1·8	2·4	4·2	5·6	7·5	7·2	5·7
8. Furniture, wood work, &c.		35·4 13·2	29·8 14·6	9·7 2·5	11·8 2·9	19·0 5·4	19·7 5·2	26·1 6·1	19·1 4·2	23·0 7·3
9. Machinery and metals	Artisans.	4·3	2·9	1·2	1·9	5·9	3·6	8·5	1·8	4·0
10. Sundry		11·0	7·9	4·2	4·1	3·5	5·3	4·0	5·9	6·0
11. Dress		9·5 7·9	11·9 9·9	24·8 18·2	18·8 9·4	8·2 1·3	9·7 5·8	8·8 2·3	5·6 4·6	9·0 6·6
12. Food preparation		1·6	2·0	6·6	4·4	1·9	4·4	1·5	1·0	2·4
13. Railway		0·6	1·0	0·7	0·7	0·5	0·8	2·3	1·0	1·1
14. Roads		1·2	0·7	0·9	0·5	0·6	1·7	0·8	1·7	1·1
15. Shop assistants	Sundry wage earners.	9·7 2·8	7·3 2·5	5·5 1·5	5·9 1·7	7·8 1·5	10·8 3·6	11·3 1·8	8·7 2·8	9·0 2·4
16. Sub-officials		1·2	1·1	1·5	0·7	1·7	1·9	1·8	1·2	1·4
17. Seamen		0·1	0·1	0·2	2·0	2·8	1·3	3·4	0·1	1·2
18. Other wage earners		3·8	1·9	0·5	1·3	0·7	1·5	1·2	1·9	1·8
19. Home industries		2·9	3·9	1·7	1·9	1·6	1·8	1·0	2·3	2·2
20. Small employers		2·6	3·1	5·3	2·8	2·0	3·1	1·3	2·4	2·7
22. Street sellers	Small profit earners.	10·1 1·5	14·2 3·2	19·9 5·9	11·6 2·0	9·2 1·5	11·5 1·2	6·7 0·8	8·2 1·0	10·7 1·7
23. General dealers		0·7	0·9	4·1	0·8	0·6	2·3	0·5	0·5	1·1
24. Small shops		2·1	2·8	4·2	3·8	2·8	2·9	2·8	1·6	2·7
26. Coffee houses		0·3	0·3	0·7	0·3	0·7	0·2	0·3	0·2	0·3
21. Large employers	Large profit earners.	0·1	0·3	0·6	0·2	0·4	0·5	0·2	0·2	0·3
25. Large shops		2·4 1·8	2·2 2·1	4·0 2·4	2·4 0·9	3·8 2·2	3·7 2·3	2·8 1·4	1·7 1·3	2·8 1·8
27. Licensed Houses		0·5	0·7	1·0	1·3	1·2	0·9	0·7	0·2	0·7
28. Clerks, &c.		3·1 2·7	2·2 1·8	2·4 1·8	2·1 1·6	4·7 3·4	5·7 5·3	5·8 4·1	9·2 8·7	5·8 4·8
29. Sub-professional		0·4	0·4	0·6	0·5	1·3	1·4	1·7	1·2	1·0
30. Professional		0·3	0·4	0·8	0·1	0·7	0·6	0·7	0·7	0·5
31. Ill or no occupation		0·2	0·8	0·6	0·4	0·8	0·8	0·4	0·3	0·3
32. Independent		0·1	0·1	0·1	0·1	0·2	0·4	0·3	0·3	0·2
33. Semi-domestic		1·8	1·8	1·5	2·2	1·5	1·7	1·8	1·6	1·7
34. Dress		1·0	0·8	0·6	1·2	0·9	1·2	0·6	0·6	0·8
35. Trades	Female heads of families.	4·3 1·0	4·1 1·0	3·4 0·7	4·6 0·8	3·8 0·6	4·2 0·4	3·7 0·6	3·2 0·3	3·7 0·6
36. Employing and professional		0·1	0·1	0·1	0·1	0·1	0·2	0·1	0·1	0·1
37. Supported		0·3	0·3	0·4	0·3	0·5	0·4	0·4	0·3	0·3
38. Independent		0·1	0·1	0·1	—	0·2	0·3	0·2	0·3	0·2
39. Other adult women		8·2	7·0	8·5	7·2	7·5	9·0	5·9	8·6	7·7
40. Unscheduled houses		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	21·2	4·5
		100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0

as to be thoroughfares no longer, and lined with a double or treble row of hand-barrows, set fast with empty cases, so as to assume the guise of market stalls. Here and there a cart may have been drawn in, but the horse has gone and the tilt is used as a rostrum whence the salemen with stentorian voices cry their wares, vying with each other in introducing to the surrounding crowd their cheap garments, smart braces, sham jewellery, or patent medicines. Those who have something showy, noisily push their trade, while the modest merit of the utterly cheap makes its silent appeal from the lower stalls, on which are to be found a heterogeneous collection of such things as cotton sheeting, American cloth for furniture covers, old clothes, worn-out boots, damaged lamps, chipped china shepherdesses, rusty locks, and rubbish indescribable. Many, perhaps most, things of the "silent cheap" sort are bought in the way of business; old clothes to renovate, old boots to translate, hinges and door-handles to be furbished up again. Such things cannot *look* too bad, for the buyer may then persuade himself that he has a bargain unsuspected by the seller. Other stalls supply daily wants—fish is sold in large quantities—vegetables and fruit—queer cakes and outlandish bread. Except as regards these daily wants, the Jew is the seller, and the Gentile the buyer; Petticoat Lane is the exchange of the Jew, but the lounge of the Christian.

Nor is this great market the only scene of the sort in the neighbourhood on Sunday morning. Where Sclater Street crosses Brick Lane, near the Great Eastern Station, is the market of the "fancy." Here the streets are blocked with those coming to buy, or sell, pigeons, canaries, rabbits, fowls, parrots, or guinea pigs, and with them or separately all the appurtenances of bird or pet keeping. Through this crowd the seller of shell-fish pushes his barrow; on the outskirts of it are moveable shooting galleries, and patent Aunt Sallies, while some man standing up in a dog-cart will dispose of racing tips in sealed envelope^ to the East End sportsman.

Brick Lane should rightly be seen on Saturday night, though it is in almost all its length a gay and crowded scene every evening of the week, unless persistent rain drives both buyers and sellers to seek shelter. But this sight—the "market street"—is not confined to Brick Lane, nor peculiar to Whitechapel, nor even to the East End. In every poor quarter of London it is to be met with—the flaring lights, the piles of cheap comestibles, and the urgent cries of the sellers. Everywhere, too, there is the same absolute indifference on the part of the buyer to those cries. They seem to be accepted on. both sides as necessary, though entirely useless. Not infrequently the goods are sold by a sort of Dutch auction—then the prices named are usually double what the seller, and every bystander, knows to be the market price of the street and day, "Eigbtpence ?" "Sevenpence ?" "Sixpence ? "Fivepence ?"——— Say "Fourpence ?"—well, then, "Threepence halfpenny ?" A bystander, probably a woman, nods imperceptibly; the fish or whatever it is passes from the right hand of the seller on which it has been raised to view, on to the square of newspaper, resting on his left hand, is bundled up and quick as thought takes its place in the buyer's basket in exchange for the 3¼d, which finds its place in the seller's apron or on the board beside the fish—and then begins again the same routine, "Eightpence ?" "Sevenpence? ."Sixpence?" Ac.

Lying between Middlesex Street and Brick Lane are to be found most of the common lodging houses, and in the immediate neighbourhood, lower still in reputation, there are streets of "furnished" houses, and houses where stairways and corners are occupied nightly by those without any other shelter. So lurid and intense is the light which murderous outrage has lately thrown on these quarters, that the grey tones of the ordinary picture become invisible.

As to the registered Lodging Houses, it must be said and remembered that they did, and do, mark a great improvement However'bad their inmates may be, these houses undoubtedly represent the principles of order, cleanliness,

and decency. It is useless to demand impossibilities from them. Those who frequent them come under some sort of regulation, and are under the eye of the deputy, who in his turn is under the eye of the police. Even in the worst of these houses there is a great mixture—strange bedfellows whom misfortune has brought together—and amongst the houses there are many grades. The worst are horrible dens, but the horror lies really in their inmates, who are incapable of any better way of living.

The plan of all alike is to have a common kitchen, with large hospitable firo, and dormitories above. The quarters for single men consist of large rooms packed close with dark-brown truckle beds—room to move between bed and bed, and that is all—the women's rooms are, I believe, the same, while the quarters for the "married" are boxed off by partitions. There are some who are really married, many whose relations though illegal are of long standing, and others again who use the accommodation as a convenience in their way of life.

The registered Lodging Houses are, as I have said, better than the unregistered "furnished apartments," and so long as the low class exists at all, it must evidently lodge somewhere. This class tends (very naturally) to herd together; it is this tendency which must be combated, for by herding together, they—both the quarters they occupy, and their denizens—tend to get worse. When this comes about destruction is the only cure, and in this neighbourhood there has been of late years a great change brought about by the demolition of bad property. If much remains to do, still much has been done in the clearing away of vile spots, which contained dwellings unfit for human use, and matched only by the people who inhabited them. The railways have cleared some parts, the Board of Works other parts. The transformation goes slowly on, business premises or great blocks of model dwellings covering the old sites. Meanwhile the inhabitants of the slums have been scattered, and though

they must carry contamination with them wherever they go, it seems certain that such hotbeds of vice, misery, and disease as those from which they have been ousted are not again created. Many people must have altogether left the district, as the population showed a decrease of 5000 between 1871 and 1881; but with the completion of the new buildings the numbers have again reached the level of 1871. Probably few of those who leave return; but it may be doubted whether those whose houses are pulled down are the ones to leave the neighbourhood. It is not easy to say exactly how an ebb and flow of population works. It may be the expression in large of much individual hardship : but I am more inclined to suppose that pulling down Smith's house drives him into Brown's quarters, and that Brown goes elsewhere, to his great benefit; when the new buildings are ready they do not attract Brown back again, but draw their occupants from the surrounding streets—men of the stamp of Smith or Brown, according to the accommodation they offer; the vacant places are then taken by quite new-comers (in Whitechapel mostly poor foreigners) or by the natural increase in the population. The clearances have been principally confined to Whitechapel and St. George's, the rebuilding almost entirely to Whitechapel.

Stepney is rendered interesting by its long length of river frontage (about 2 miles, including all Wapping), and it is besides intersected by the Begent's Canal. It, like Whitechapel, has its foreign element, its haunts of crime, and strange picturesqueness. It, too, has been greatly changed in recent years. Ratcliff Highway hardly knows itself as St. George's Street; the policeman and the School Board visitor have "put a light in the darkness," and have begun to "make straight the way" here, as well as elsewhere in East London.

Mile End Old Town—commonly denoted by the seeming strange letters M. E. O. T.—lies between the inner and outer ring, and looks very clean and new in spite of its

name. Its streets, even the narrowest, look comparatively wide; the air is fresh and the squares and other small open spaces are frequent..

Poplar, a huge district, consists of the subdivisions of Bow and Bromley as well as Poplar proper. Bow includes Old Ford, and Poplar itself includes the Isle of Dogs—transformed now into an Isle of Docks. In all it is a vast township, built, much of it, on low marshy land, bounded on the east by the river Lea, and on the south by a great bend in the Thames. In North Bow and other outlying parts there is a great deal of jerry building: desolate looking streets spring into existence, and fall into decay with startling rapidity, and are only made habitable by successive waves of occupation; anything will do so that the house be run up; any tenant will do, who will give the house a start by burning a little coal in it; the first tenants come and go, till one by one the houses find permanent occupants, the streets settle down to respectability and rents rise: or a street may go wrong and get into such a position that no course short of entire destruction seems possible. Among the early troubles of these streets are fevers, resulting it is said from the foul rubbish with which the hollow land has become levelled. This district has had many such troubles, and is steadily living them down.

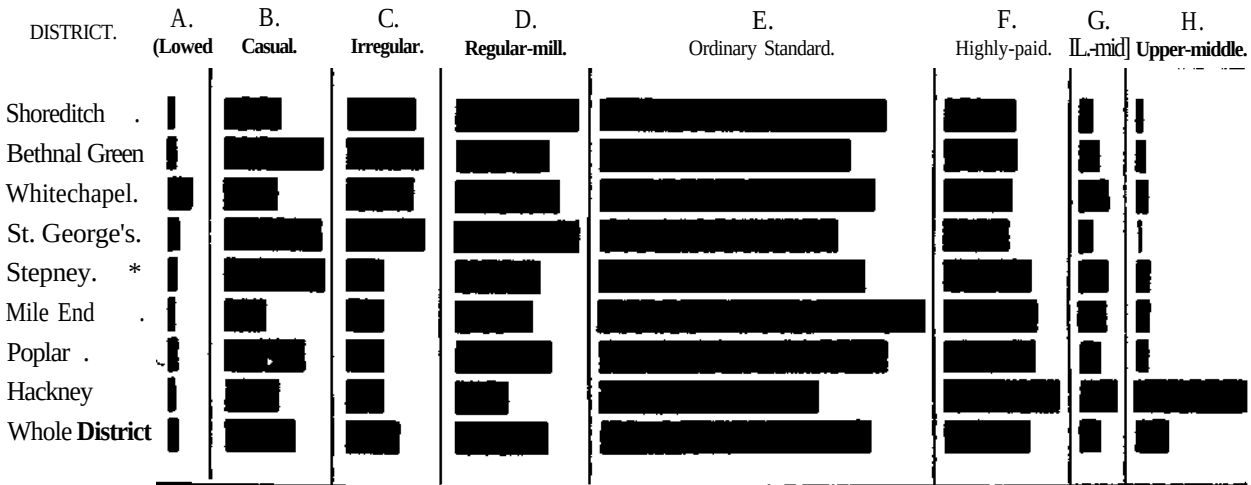
In Bethnal Green are found the old weavers' houses, with large upper room, now usually partitioned off to make two or three rooms or accommodate two families. In some cases the houses had originally only one room on each floor; and each floor, partitioned, now accommodates its family. In several cases a family (not weavers) have taken such a room, and while living in it themselves, let a weaver stand his loom or looms in it, getting rent for eacn loom. Weaving still lingers, but other trades have for the most part taken its place.

. Mile End is, however, remarkable for the **number of brothels to be found** amongst its otherwise respectable streets.

Of Shoreditch, or rather Hoxton, which is the most characteristic part of Shoreditch, I am tempted to recall a description by Mr. Besant, which will be remembered by all who have read "The Children of Gibeon." There is, he says, nothing beautiful, or picturesque, or romantic in the place, there is only the romance of life in it, sixty thousand lives in Hoxton, everyone with its own story to tell. Its people quiet and industrious, folk who ask for nothing but steady work and fair wages. Everybody quite poor; yet, he says, and says truly, the place has a cheerful look. There may be misery, but it is not apparent; the people in the streets seem well fed, and are as rosy as London smoke and fog will allow.

On the other hand the northern and western part of Hackney, divided from Hoxton only by the canal, is almost entirely a middle class district. The old streets of De Beauvoir Town, or the new ones of Dalston and Upper Clapton, are alike of this kind, and in the old roads running through the new districts large and small houses are pulled down, and those of medium size erected.

PROPORTION OF CLASSES. GRAPHIC REPRESENTATION.



• The proportion of Glass B as compared to Glass C in Stepney is perhaps exaggerated *(see* page 37).

VIII.—*Table of Sections and Classes.* SHOREDITCH.

NOTE.—The figures in these tables must only be taken as approximately correct.

Divided into Sections according to Character of Employment of Heads of Families.

Class.		Description.	Heads of Families.	More or less Dependent. Wives.	Children —15.	Young Persons 15—20	Unmarried Males over 20 and Widowers.	Total.	Percentage.
Males.									
Labour	1	Lowest class, loafers, &c.	800	800	41	148	118	907	0·75
	2	Casual day-to-day labour	681	681	1,347	338	267	3,314	2·73
	3	Irregular labour	538	538	1,029	258	211	2,574	2·15
	4	Regular work, low pay	1,093	1,093	1,895	475	430	4,986	4·10
	5	,, ordinary pay	1,709	1,709	3,088	774	672	7,952	6·55
	6	Foremen and responsible work	145	145	271	68	57	686	0·57
Artisans	7	Building trades	1,788	1,788	3,268	822	703	8,369	6·90
	8	Furniture, woodwork, &c.	3,365	3,365	6,892	1,604	1,320	16,046	13·25
	9	Machinery and metals	1,095	1,095	2,033	507	431	5,161	4·25
	10 A.	Printing	977	977	1,845	462	385	4,646	3·86
	10 B.	Watches, Instruments, &c.	323	323	600	150	127	1,523	1·26
	10 C.	Furs and leather	497	497	920	230	195	2,339	1·92
	10 D.	Silk weaving	34	34	72	18	13	171	0·14
	10 E.	Sundry artisans	962	962	1,819	457	377	4,577	3·77
	11	Dress	2,012	2,012	3,815	956	789	9,584	7·91
	12	Food preparation	414	414	748	187	162	1,925	1·56
Locomotion	13	Railway servants	147	147	274	68	58	694	0·57
	14	Road service	289	289	586	146	114	1,424	1·17
Assistants	15	Shops and Refreshment Houses	731	731	1,801	327	287	3,377	2·78
Other Wages	16	Police, soldiers, and sub-officials	304	304	584	146	119	1,457	1·20
	17	Seamen	17	17	26	6	7	73	0·06
	18	Other wage earners	1,159	1,159	1,482	371	454	4,625	3·85
Manufacturers, &c.	19	Home industries (not employing)	722	722	1,388	348	283	3,463	2·86
	20	Small employers	634	634	1,308	329	249	3,154	2·60
	21	Large ,,	34	34	65	16	13	162	0·13
Dealers	22	Street sellers, &c.	376	376	685	171	147	1,755	1·46
	23	General dealers	178	178	304	76	70	806	0·66
	24	Small shops	550	550	966	242	215	2,523	2·07
	25	Large ,, (with assistants)	434	434	857	214	170	2,109	1·74
Refreshments	26	Coffee and boarding houses	82	82	156	39	32	391	0·32
	27	Licensed houses	140	140	244	61	55	640	0·53
Salaried, &c.	28	Clerks and agents	719	719	1,239	311	282	3,270	2·70
	29	Subordinate professional	111	111	161	41	43	467	0·39
	30	Professional	85	85	140	35	32	377	0·32
No work	31	Ill and no occupation	65	65	115	29	26	300	0·25
	32	Independent	36	36	56	14	14	156	0·13
Total		of male heads of families	22,746						
Females.	33	Semi-domestic employment	741	—	1,180	296	—	2,217	1·84
	34	Dress	410	—	601	150	—	1,161	0·96
	35	Small trades	414	—	640	160	—	1,214	1·02
	36	Employing and professional	52	—	72	18	—	142	0·12
	37	Supported	141	—	199	49	—	388	0·32
	38	Independent	22	—	31	8	—	61	0·05
Total		of female heads of families	(1,780)						
	39	Other adult women	—	—	—	—	—	9,995	8·25
		Total	24,526	22,746	48,842	11,125	8,927	121161	100·00
		Inmates of Institutions	—	—	—	—	—	2,839	—
		Total population	—	—	—	—	—	124000	

10 A–E: 10·95

Divided into Classes according to Means and Position of Heads of Families.

Section.	Very Poor. A. Lowest Class.	Very Poor. B. Casual Earnings.	Poor. C. Irregular Earnings.	Poor. D. Regular Minimum.	Comfortable. E. Ordinary Standard Earnings.	Comfortable. F. Highly Paid Work.	Well-to-do. G. Lower Middle.	Well-to-do. H. Upper Middle.	Total.
1	907	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	907
2	—	3,182	132	—	—	—	—	—	3,314
3	—	504	2,061	—	9	—	—	—	2,574
4	—	70	—	4,881	35	—	—	—	4,986
5	—	—	—	954	6,936	62	—	—	7,952
6	—	—	—	9	9	668	—	—	686
7	27	528	1,350	1,350	4,320	794	—	—	8,369
8	27	1,168	2,040	3,263	8,495	1,053	—	—	16,046
9	9	188	387	798	3,125	654	—	—	5,161
10 A.	—	127	218	566	3,001	734	—	—	4,646
10 B.	—	55	126	198	813	331	—	—	1,523
10 C.	—	135	233	476	1,386	109	—	—	2,339
10 D.	—	19	29	10	103	10	—	—	171
10 E.	9	254	536	1,102	2,438	238	—	—	4,577
11	—	872	1,586	2,282	4,496	348	—	—	9,584
12	—	74	160	483	1,134	74	—	—	1,925
13	—	9	—	99	468	118	—	—	694
14	—	38	103	272	973	38	—	—	1,424
15	18	160	169	815	2,002	213	—	—	3,377
16	—	—	—	111	1,126	220	—	—	1,457
17	—	—	6	33	32	—	—	—	73
18	—	145	237	842	3,119	282	—	—	4,625
19	—	258	430	660	1,381	734	—	—	3,463
20	—	—	9	29	343	1,907	767	9	3,154
21	—	—	—	—	—	—	135	27	162
22	36	286	573	840	493	27	—	—	1,755
23	26	35	95	95	346	209	—	—	806
24	—	—	35	238	1,242	932	26	—	2,523
25	—	—	—	—	47	650	595	817	2,109
26	—	—	—	18	210	145	18	—	391
27	—	9	—	27	27	149	253	175	640
28	—	26	87	208	1,357	1,247	336	9	3,270
29	—	8	8	32	162	184	65	8	467
30	—	—	—	—	—	26	26	325	377
31	—	211	62	9	9	9	—	—	300
32	—	—	—	—	74	33	41	8	156
33	—	1,301	500	267	149	—	—	—	2,217
34	—	864	270	344	178	5	—	—	1,161
35	5	398	274	369	158	5	5	—	1,214
36	—	—	—	24	54	30	34	—	142
37	—	49	49	138	152	—	—	—	388
38	—	—	—	5	26	15	15	—	61
39	96	940	1,054	1,918	4,544	1,109	210	124	9,995
Total	1,160	11,413	12,921	23,265	54,972	13,502	2,526	1,502	121,161
Per cent.	0·96	9·42	10·55	19·21	45·39	11·14	2·09	1·24	100·00

Divided into Sections according to Character of Employment of Heads of Families.

Class.		Description.	Heads of Families.	More or less Dependent. Wives.	Children —15.	Young Persons 15—20.	Unmarried Males over 20 and Widowers.	Total.	Percentage.
Males.									
Labour...	1	Lowest class, loafers, &c. ...	390	390	69	200	186	1,185	0·93
	2	Casual day-to-day labour ...	1,191	1,191	2,476	580	422	5,860	4·59
	3	Irregular labour	562	562	1,171	274	196	2,765	2·17
	4	Regular work, low pay	1,048	1,048	2,011	470	365	4,942	3·87
	5	" ordinary pay	1,928	1,928	3,757	878	671	9,162	7·18
	6	Foremen and responsible work	207	207	451	105	72	1,042	0·82
Artisans	7	Building trades	1,148	1,148	2,376	557	400	5,629	4·41
	8	Furniture, woodwork, &c. ...	3,696	3,696	8,025	1,879	1,302	18,598	14·57
	9	Machinery and metals	738	738	1,575	370	257	3,678	2·88
	10	A. Printing	592	592	1,214	285	207	2,890	2·26
		B. Watches and instruments	134	134	284	66	47	665	0·52
		C. Furs and leather.....	301	301	610	142	105	1,459	1·14
		D. Silk weaving	284	284	515	120	99	1,302	1·02
		E. Sundry artisans	776	776	1,585	370	271	3,778	2·96
									7·90
	11	Dress.....	2,551	2,551	5,374	1,258	887	12,621	9·89
	12	Food preparation	523	523	1,104	259	184	2,603	2·04
Locomotion	13	Railway servants.....	254	254	550	128	89	1,275	1·00
	14	Road service.....	197	197	379	89	69	931	0·73
Assistants	15	Shops and refreshment houses	663	663	1,856	317	231	3,230	2·53
Other wages	16	Police, soldiers, and sub-officials	301	301	601	140	105	1,448	1·13
	17	Seamen.....	35	35	59	14	12	155	0·12
	18	Other wage earners.....	568	568	902	210	198	2,446	1·92
Manufacturers, &c.	19	Home industries (not employing)	981	981	2,172	507	341	4,982	3·90
	20	Small employers	759	759	1,786	418	266	3,988	3·12
	21	Large "	75	75	215	50	26	441	0·35
Dealers	22	Street sellers, &c.	831	831	1,749	408	290	4,109	3·22
	23	General dealers	226	226	459	107	79	1,097	0·86
	24	Small shops	737	737	1,488	348	257	3,567	2·80
	25	Large " (employing assistants)	512	512	1,158	270	176	2,628	2·06
Refreshments	26	Coffee and boarding houses	77	77	154	35	27	370	0·29
	27	Licensed houses	187	187	391	91	65	921	0·72
Salaried &c.	28	Clerks and agents	489	489	953	224	170	2,325	1·82
	29	Subordinate professional ...	112	112	225	52	39	540	0·42
	30	Professional.....	117	117	229	53	41	557	0·44
No work	31	Ill and no occupation.....	74	74	153	35	25	361	0·28
	32	Independent.....	21	21	24	6	7	79	0·06
Total of		male heads of families	23,290						
Females.	33	Semi-domestic employment	797	—	1,226	288	—	2,311	1·81
	34	Dress.....	359	—	558	131	—	1,048	0·82
	35	Small trades.....	408	—	662	156	—	1,226	0·96
	36	Employing & professional...	57	—	89	20	—	166	0·13
	37	Supported.....	133	—	188	44	—	365	0·29
	38	Independent.....	43	—	51	12	—	106	0·08
Total of		female heads of families ...	1,797						
	39	Other adult women.....	—	—	—	—	—	8,790	6·89
		Total	25,087	23,290	50,874	11,966	8,184	127641	100·00
		Inmates of Institutions	—	—	—	—	—	2,359	—
		Total population	—	—	—	—	—	130000	—

Divided into Classes according to Means and Position of Heads of Families.

Section.	Very Poor. A. Lowest Class.	Very Poor. B. Casual Earnings.	Poor. C. Irregular earnings.	Poor. D. Regular Minimum.	Comfortable. E. Ordinary Standard Earnings.	Comfortable. F. Highly Paid Work.	Well-to-do. G. Lower Middle.	Well-to-do. H. Upper Middle.	Total.
1	1,185	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,185
2	—	5,680	180	—	—	—	—	—	5,860
3	—	633	2,050	—	77	—	—	—	2,765
4	—	223	—	4,686	33	—	—	—	4,942
5	—	8	—	880	5,199	75	—	—	9,162
6	—	—	—	—	44	998	—	—	1,042
7	8	592	1,204	480	2,878	472	—	—	5,629
	17	2,950	3,100	3,170	8,600	761	—	—	18,598
9	9	253	570	280	1,974	592	—	—	3,678
10 A.	—	86	240	146	1,878	540	—	—	2,890
10 B.	—	61	95	43	310	156	—	—	665
10 C.	—	136	263	170	771	119	—	—	1,459
10 D.	—	160	379	112	523	128	—	—	1,302
10 E.	18	742	460	708	1,714	136	—	—	3,778
11	9	2,010	2,340	2,360	5,494	408	—	—	12,621
12	9	180	283	508	1,519	104	—	—	2,603
13	—	26	9	176	854	230	—	—	1,275
14	—	74	82	141	568	66	—	—	931
15	—	195	94	718	1,897	325	—	—	3,230
16	—	—	—	51	1,160	237	—	—	1,448
17	—	8	16	54	77	—	—	—	155
18	—	91	196	295	1,451	413	—	—	2,446
19	9	660	851	393	2,000	1,060	9	—	4,982
20	—	27	9	64	366	2,343	1,170	9	3,988
21	—	—	—	—	—	—	308	133	441
22	69	1,638	1,175	501	683	43	—	—	4,109
23	8	59	162	162	467	222	17	—	1,097
24	—	51	93	322	1,825	1,183	93	—	3,567
25	—	—	—	—	36	755	1,067	770	2,628
26	—	—	—	33	84	169	84	—	370
27	—	—	17	34	188	230	341	111	921
28	—	—	17	117	830	1,270	91	—	2,325
29	—	—	8	17	79	274	162	—	540
30	—	—	—	—	—	33	50	474	557
31	—	284	26	17	26	8	—	—	361
32	—	—	—	—	46	7	26	—	79
33	19	1,232	590	305	160	5	—	—	2,311
34	—	340	268	277	163	—	—	—	1,048
35	25	555	186	268	172	25	—	—	1,226
36	—	—	—	24	33	61	48	—	166
37	—	45	22	104	189	5	—	—	365
38	—	—	—	4	49	4	49	—	106
39	104	1,400	1,110	1,311	3,500	995	260	110	8,790
Total.....	1,489	20,405	16,095	18,926	50,892	14,452	3,775	1,607	127,641
Per cent.	1·17	15·99	12·57	14·87	39·86	11·32	2·96	1·26	100·00

X.—*Table of Sections and Classes.* WHITECHAPEL.

Divided into Sections according to Character of Employment of Heads of Families.

Section.		Description.	Heads of Families.	More or less Dependent. Wives.	Children —15.	Young Persons 15—20.	Unmarried Men over 20 and Widowers.	Total.	Per-centage.
Married Men.									
Labour...	1	Lowest class, loafers, &c....	409	403	139	352	795	2,098	2·85
	2	Casual day-to-day labour...	500	493	825	238	793	3,029	4·12
	3	Irregular labour	295	291	544	158	174	1,462	1·99
	4	Regular work, low pay.....	401	395	678	197	286	1,907	2·59
	5	„ ordinary pay	1,272	1,256	2,377	689	749	6,343	8·63
	6	Foremen and responsible work	115	114	244	70	68	611	0·83
Artisans...	7	Building trades	258	255	511	149	153	1,326	1·80
	8	Furniture, woodwork, &c.	364	359	708	206	216	1,853	2·53
	9	Machinery and metals	185	183	327	95	109	899	1·23
	10	Sundry artisans.....	618	608	1,120	327	362	3,035	4·15
	11	Dress	2,597	2,556	5,221	1,507	1,525	13,406	18·23
	12	Food preparation	913	904	1,940	564	540	4,861	6·61
Locomo-tion	13	Railway service	107	106	173	49	63	498	0·68
	14	Road service	127	126	253	73	75	654	1·90
Assistants	15	Shops and refreshment houses.....	226	223	427	124	132	1,132	1·54
Other Wages	16	Police, soldiers, and sub-officials	215	212	429	124	126	1,106	1·51
	17	Seamen	27	26	48	14	15	130	0·18
	18	Other wage earners	76	75	145	42	44	382	0·52
Manufac-ture, &c.	19	Home industries (not employing)	238	236	474	139	140	1,227	1·66
	20	Small employers	673	662	1,689	488	406	3,918	5·31
	21	Large „	100	100	148	43	58	449	0·61
Dealers	22	Street sellers, &c.	523	516	1,048	301	468	2,856	3·87
	23	General dealers	577	569	1,163	338	337	2,984	4·05
	24	Small shops	637	630	1,157	336	372	3,132	4·23
	25	Large shops, employing assistants	350	345	690	200	206	1,791	2·45
Refresh-ments	26	Coffee and boarding houses	96	94	189	54	57	493	0·67
	27	Licensed houses	156	154	265	76	91	742	1·02
Salaried, &c.	28	Clerks and agents	266	262	514	149	155	1,346	1·84
	29	Subordinate professional...	82	81	173	53	48	437	0·59
	30	Professional	37	37	67	20	21	182	0·25
No work	31	Ill and no occupation	93	91	158	46	54	442	0·60
	32	Independent	14	14	9	2	8	47	0·06
Total of		male heads of families.....	(12,550)						
Females.									
	33	Semi-domestic employment	361	—	578	169	—	1,108	1·50
	34	Dress	151	—	250	73	—	474	0·64
	35	Small trades	141	—	266	77	—	484	0·66
	36	Employing and professional	30	—	39	11	—	80	0·11
	37	Supported	111	—	166	49	—	326	0·44
	38	Independent	25	—	34	10	—	69	0·09
Total of		female heads of families ...	(819)						
	39	Other adult women	—	—	—	—	—	6,199	8·46
		Total	13,369	12,976	25,186	7,612	8,776	73,518	100·00
		Inmates of Institutions ...	—	—	—	—	—	2,474	—
		Total population.....	—	—	—	—	—	75,992	

Divided into Classes according to Means and Position of Heads of Families.

Section.	Very Poor. A. Lowest Class.	Very Poor. B. Casual Earnings.	Poor. C. Irregular Earnings.	Poor. D. Regular Minimum.	Comfortable. E. Ordinary Standard Earnings.	Comfortable. F. Highly Paid Work.	Well-to-do. G. Lower Middle.	Well-to-do. H. Upper Middle.	Total.
1	2,098	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,098
2	—	2,939	90	—	—	—	—	—	3,029
3	—	192	1,184	—	86	—	—	—	1,462
4	—	90	—	1,817	—	—	—	—	1,907
5	—	—	—	1,079	5,264	—	—	—	6,343
6	—	—	—	—	32	579	—	—	611
7	—	53	146	265	809	53	—	—	1,326
8	9	130	139	315	1,195	65	—	—	1,853
9	—	—	63	108	638	90	—	—	899
10	9	97	389	388	1,438	714	—	—	3,035
11	18	924	2,430	3,206	6,348	480	—	—	13,406
12	9	83	—	1,016	3,753	—	—	—	4,861
13	—	17	—	67	364	50	—	—	498
14	—	21	83	147	359	42	—	—	654
15	—	44	18	150	785	135	—	—	1,132
16	—	43	—	164	899	—	—	—	1,106
17	—	5	19	—	106	—	—	—	130
18	—	14	27	27	251	63	—	—	382
19	—	53	366	—	808	—	—	—	1,227
20	—	—	—	67	744	2,234	744	129	3,918
21	—	—	—	—	—	—	300	149	449
22	72	276	936	544	974	52	—	—	2,856
23	18	57	552	450	1,250	607	50	—	2,984
24	—	16	24	305	1,564	922	301	—	3,132
25	—	—	—	—	24	520	720	527	1,791
26	—	—	—	5	79	182	227	—	493
27	—	—	—	5	13	119	386	219	742
28	—	27	54	121	540	444	120	40	1,346
29	—	8	8	32	162	163	56	8	437
30	—	—	—	—	—	16	16	150	182
31	—	351	32	18	32	9	—	—	442
32	—	—	—	—	23	8	16	—	47
33	5	334	329	216	224	—	—	—	1,108
34	—	102	140	167	65	—	—	—	474
35	5	91	123	124	136	5	—	—	484
36	—	—	—	10	40	15	15	—	80
37	—	48	30	120	128	—	—	—	326
38	—	—	—	—	27	5	27	—	69
39	196	551	656	1,047	2,665	695	277	112	6,199
Total	2,439	6,566	7,842	11,980	31,825	8,277	3,255	1,834	73,518
Per cent....	3·32	8·92	10·67	16·33	43·29	11·27	4·39	1·81	100·00

Divided into Sections according to Character of Employment of Heads of Families.

Class.		Description.	Heads of Families.	More or less Dependent. Wives.	Children —15	Young Persons 15—20	Unmarried Males over 20 and Widowers.	Total.	Percentage.
Males.									
Labour...	1	Lowest class, loafers, &c....	181	181	64	87	86	599	1·26
	2	Casual day-to-day labour ...	921	921	1,447	355	651	4,295	9·03
	3	Irregular labour	591	591	1,071	266	282	2,801	5·89
	4	Regular work, low pay	711	711	1,191	296	320	3,229	6·78
	5	„ ordinary pay	1,328	1,328	2,485	613	642	6,396	13·44
	6	Foremen and responsible work	302	302	597	147	144	1,492	3·14
Artisans	7	Building trades	244	244	445	111	117	1,161	2·44
	8	Furniture, woodwork, &c....	300	300	524	129	142	1,395	2·94
	9	Machinery and metals	198	198	348	84	94	922	1·94
	10	Sundry artisans	421	421	739	182	200	1,963	4·12
	11	Dress	928	928	1,751	434	441	4,482	9·43
	12	Food preparation	421	421	840	209	200	2,091	4·39
Locomotion	13	Railway servants	64	64	129	33	30	320	0·67
	14	Road service	48	48	88	21	23	228	0·48
Assistants	15	Shops and refreshment houses	169	169	300	74	80	792	1·66
Other wages	16	Police, soldiers, and sub-officials	70	70	125	31	33	329	0·69
	17	Seamen	226	226	325	79	108	964	2·02
	18	Other wage earners	139	139	215	54	67	614	1·28
Manufacturers, &c.	19	Home industries (not employing)	183	183	358	88	87	899	1·90
	20	Small employers	258	258	570	140	124	1,350	2·83
	21	Large „	19	19	45	11	10	104	0·22
Dealers	22	Street sellers, &c.	199	199	350	86	95	929	1·95
	23	General dealers	78	78	156	39	37	388	0·82
	24	Small shops	366	366	740	182	175	1,829	3·84
	25	Large shops (employing assistants).....	85	85	165	40	40	415	0·87
Refreshments	26	Coffee and boarding houses	88	88	54	13	18	161	0·34
	27	Licensed houses.....	132	132	223	56	63	606	1·27
Salaried, &c.	28	Clerks and agents	163	163	296	72	78	772	1·62
	29	Subordinate professional ...	44	44	103	25	21	237	0·50
	30	Professional	7	7	11	2	4	31	0·06
No work	31	Ill and no occupation	40	40	61	15	19	175	0·37
	32	Independent	10	10	11	2	5	38	0·08
Total of		male heads of families	(8,884)						
Females.									
	33	Semi-domestic employment	388	—	547	135	—	1,070	2·23
	34	Dress	204	—	281	68	—	553	1.17
	35	Small trades	128	—	193	48	—	369	0·78
	36	Employing and professional	15	—	17	4	—	36	0·08
	37	Supported	55	—	71	18	—	144	0·30
	38	Independent	2	—	5	2	—	9	0·02
Total of		female heads of families ...	(792)	—	—	—	—	—	—
	39	Other adult women	—	—	—	—	—	8,390	7·15
		Total.....	9,676	8,884	16,941	4,251	4,436	47,578	100·00
		Inmates of Institutions ...	—	—	—	—	—	1,108	
		Total population.....	—	—	—	—	—	48,686	

Divided into Classes according to Means and Position of Heads of Families.

Section	Very Poor. A. Lowest Class.	Very Poor. B. Casual Earnings.	Poor. C. Irregular Earnings.	Poor. D. Regular Minimum.	Comfortable. E. Ordinary Standard Earnings.	Comfortable. F. Highly Paid Work.	Well-to-do. G. Lower Middle.	Well-to-do. H. Upper Middle.	Total.
1	599	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	599
2	—	4,226	69	—	—	—	—	—	4,295
3	—	182	2,562	—	57	—	—	—	2,801
4	—	10	—	3,219	—	—	—	—	3,229
5	—	18	—	261	6,102	—	—	—	6,396
6	—	—	—	—	70	1,422	—	—	1,492
7	—	57	172	132	686	114	—	—	1,161
8	10	76	141	221	863	85	—	—	1,395
9	—	88	47	182	508	197	—	—	922
10	20	84	130	442	1,147	140	—	—	1,963
11	18	660	849	1,621	1,204	130	—	—	4,482
12	—	90	209	509	1,163	120	—	—	2,091
13	—	—	—	50	260	30	—	—	320
14	—	—	19	19	142	48	—	—	228
15	—	48	19	160	495	70	—	—	792
16	—	—	—	—	329	—	—	—	329
17	—	26	112	334	492	—	—	—	964
18	18	36	44	214	258	44	—	—	614
19	—	10	169	208	324	188	—	—	899
20	—	—	—	22	324	831	173	—	1,350
21	—	—	—	—	—	—	73	31	104
22	—	223	380	121	196	9	—	—	929
23	—	11	60	39	229	49	—	—	388
24	—	9	—	220	1,089	460	51	—	1,829
25	—	—	—	—	50	158	207	—	415
26	—	—	—	9	126	17	9	—	161
27	—	—	—	9	55	156	350	36	606
28	—	10	29	77	286	313	57	—	772
29	—	—	43	22	53	43	54	22	237
30	—	—	—	—	—	8	8	15	31
31	—	71	26	52	26	—	—	—	175
32	—	—	—	—	15	8	15	—	38
33	—	511	219	253	87	—	—	—	1,070
34	—	131	146	175	101	—	—	—	553
35	5	150	64	113	32	5	—	—	369
36	—	—	—	4	23	5	4	—	36
37	—	10	14	81	39	—	—	—	144
38	—	—	—	—	—	—	9	—	9
39	46	510	423	672	1,295	359	75	8	8,390
Total.....	718	7,191	5,946	9,391	18,126	5,009	1,085	112	47,578
Per cent....	1·51	15·12	12·49	19·74	38·09	10·53	2·28	0·24	100·00

Divided into Sections according to Character of Employment of Heads of Families.

Section.		Description.	Heads of Families.	More or less Dependent. Wives.	Children —15.	Young Persons 15—20.	Unmarried Men over 20 and Widowers.	Total.	Per-centage.
Married Men.									
Labour	1	Lowest class, loafers, &c.	183	183	103	87	196	752	1·21
	2	Casual day-to-day labour	1,430	1,430	2,559	656	681	6,756	10·90
	3	Irregular labour	430	430	801	206	205	2,072	3·34
	4	Regular work, low pay	622	622	1,105	283	296	2,928	4·71
	5	,, ordinary pay	1,846	1,846	3,655	940	877	9,164	14·76
	6	Foremen and responsible work	620	620	1,202	309	295	3,046	4·91
Artisans	7	Building trades	519	519	1,048	267	250	2,598	4·18
	8	Furniture, wood work, &c.	681	681	1,318	338	323	3,341	5·39
	9	Machinery and metals	751	751	1,440	369	357	3,668	5·90
	10	Sundry artisans	456	456	854	219	217	2,202	3·54
	11	Dress	170	170	300	77	81	798	1·29
	12	Food preparation	244	244	479	121	116	1,204	1·94
Locomotion	13	Railway servants	67	67	125	32	32	323	0·52
	14	Road service	81	81	167	43	39	411	0·66
Assistants	15	Shops and refreshment houses	197	197	354	90	94	932	1·50
Other wages	16	Police, soldiers, and sub-officials	224	224	422	108	106	1,084	1·74
	17	Seamen	375	375	628	161	178	1,717	2·77
	18	Other wage earners	97	97	163	42	46	445	0·72
Manufacture, &c.	19	Home industries (not employing)	196	196	404	104	94	994	1·60
	20	Small employers	237	237	510	131	112	1,227	1·98
	21	Large ,,	49	49	95	24	23	240	0·39
Dealers	22	Street sellers, &c.	182	182	343	88	86	881	1·42
	23	General dealers	74	74	137	35	35	355	0·57
	24	Small shops	352	352	694	177	167	1,742	2·80
	25	Large shops (employing assistants)	262	262	553	141	124	1,342	2·17
Refreshments	26	Coffee and boarding houses	90	90	158	40	43	421	0·68
	27	Licensed houses	174	174	283	73	82	786	1·26
Salaried, &c.	28	Clerks and agents	450	450	803	206	213	2,122	3·42
	29	Subordinate professional	174	174	322	83	82	835	1·34
	30	Professional	82	82	163	42	39	408	0·66
No work	31	Ill and no occupation	37	37	68	17	18	177	0·28
	32	Independent	32	32	40	10	15	129	0·21
Total of		male heads of families	11,384						
Females.									
	33	Semi-domestic employment	350	—	491	126	—	967	1·56
	34	Dress	198	—	284	73	—	555	0·90
	35	Small trades	125	—	190	49	—	364	0·59
	36	Employing and professional	18	—	19	5	—	37	0·06
	37	Supported	101	—	146	37	—	284	0·46
	38	Independent	85	—	74	19	—	128	0·21
Total of		female heads of families	822						
	39	Other adult women	—	—	—	—	—	4,628	7·46
		Total	12,206	11,884	22,495	5,828	5,522	62,063	100·00
		Inmates of Institutions	—	—	—	—	—	657	
		Total population	—	—	—	—	—	62,720	

Divided into Classes according to Means and Position of Heads of Families.

Section.	Very Poor. A. Lowest Class.	Very Poor. B. Casual Earnings.	Poor. C. Irregular Earnings.	Poor. D. Regular Minimum.	Comfortable. E. Ordinary Standard Earnings.	Comfortable. F. Highly Paid Work.	Well-to-do. G. Lower Middle.	Well-to-do. H. Upper Middle.	Total.
1	752	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	752
2	—	6,546	210	—	—	—	—	—	6,756
3	—	378	1,436	—	258	—	—	—	2,072
4	—	130	—	2,798	—	—	—	—	2,928
5	—	83	—	2,154	6,927	—	—	—	9,164
6	—	—	—	—	46	3,000	—	—	3,046
7	9	173	129	364	1,611	312	—	—	2,598
8	9	158	134	468	2,272	300	—	—	3,341
9	9	174	73	477	2,642	293	—	—	3,668
10	—	75	195	195	1,021	716	—	—	2,202
11	9	127	15	160	367	120	—	—	798
12	9	54	—	290	851	—	—	—	1,204
13	—	4	—	17	125	177	—	—	323
14	—	35	42	74	238	27	—	—	411
15	—	23	10	99	680	120	—	—	932
16	—	27	—	127	930	—	—	—	1,084
17	—	43	200	—	1,474	—	—	—	1,717
18	—	11	26	26	306	76	—	—	445
19	—	71	222	—	701	—	—	—	994
20	—	—	—	172	123	540	294	98	1,227
21	—	—	—	—	—	—	160	80	240
22	27	131	215	121	368	19	—	—	881
23	—	24	89	48	128	66	—	—	355
24	—	—	14	87	788	627	226	—	1,742
25	—	—	—	—	18	384	544	396	1,342
26	—	—	—	—	42	126	253	—	421
27	—	—	—	—	15	86	481	204	786
28	—	21	—	191	891	554	338	127	2,122
29	—	16	17	64	312	298	112	16	835
30	—	—	—	—	—	32	40	336	408
31	—	71	27	52	27	—	—	—	177
32	—	—	—	—	69	15	45	—	129
33	5	391	242	230	99	—	—	—	967
34	—	158	132	154	116	—	—	—	555
35	5	92	67	88	127	5	—	—	364
36	—	—	—	4	28	5	5	—	37
37	—	57	10	26	191	—	—	—	284
38	—	—	—	10	52	10	56	—	128
39	67	728	284	681	1,910	638	215	105	4,628
Total	901	9,796	3,789	9,157	25,743	8,546	2,769	1,962	62,063
Per cent.	1·45	15·78	6·10	14·74	41·48	13·76	4·48	3·19	100·00

XIII.—*Table of Sections and Classes.* Mile End Old Town.

Divided into Sections according to Character of Employment of Heads of Families.

Section.		Description.	Heads of Families.	More or less dependent. Wives.	Children, —15.	Young Persons 15—20.	Unmarried Men over 20 and Widowers.	Total.	Per-centage.
Married Men									
Labour...	1	Lowest class, loafers, &c....	224	224	73	104	91	716	0·65
	2	Casual day-to-day labour...	673	673	1,215	302	350	3,213	2·91
	3	Irregular labour	492	492	974	240	200	2,398	2·18
	4	Regular work, low pay.....	688	688	1,183	294	279	3,132	2·84
	5	„ ordinary pay	2,886	2,886	5,418	1,345	1,171	13,706	12·43
	6	Foremen and responsible work	558	558	1,037	256	227	2,636	2·39
Artisans...	7	Building trades	1,290	1,290	2,445	604	523	6,152	5·57
	8	Furniture, wood-work, &c.	1,166	1,166	2,351	582	474	5,739	5·20
	9	Machinery and metals	819	819	1,585	394	332	3,949	3·58
	10	Sundry artisans.....	1,243	1,243	2,326	574	504	5,890	5·33
	11	Dress	1,227	1,227	2,362	582	498	5,896	5·34
	12	Food preparation	1,020	1,020	1,943	482	413	4,878	4·42
Locomo-tion	13	Railway service	188	188	370	94	76	916	0·83
Assistants	14	Road service	378	378	759	186	153	1,854	1·68
	15	Shops and refreshment houses	831	831	1,565	386	336	3,949	3·53
Other wages	16	Police, soldiers, and sub-officials	441	441	806	200	180	2,068	1·87
	17	Seamen	327	327	542	134	133	1,463	1·32
	18	Other wage earners	375	375	584	146	152	1,632	1·49
Manufac-ture, &c.	19	Home industries, not employing	396	396	812	202	160	1,966	1·78
	20	Small employers	648	648	1,471	366	262	3,395	3·08
	21	Large „	89	89	240	60	36	514	0·47
Dealers	22	Street sellers, &c.	277	277	544	136	113	1,347	1·22
	23	General dealers	498	498	1,095	272	201	2,564	2·32
	24	Small shops	663	663	1,283	318	270	3,197	2·89
	25	Large shops employing assistants	511	511	1,046	260	207	2,535	2 29
Refresh-ments	26	Coffee and boarding houses	46	46	109	26	19	246	0·22
	27	Licensed houses	223	223	384	96	90	1,016	0·93
Salaried, &c.	28	Clerks and agents	1,232	1,232	2,334	580	500	5,878	5·33
	29	Subordinate professional ...	334	334	636	158	135	1,597	1·45
	30	Professional	121	121	256	64	49	611	0·56
No work	31	Ill and no occupation	59	59	123	32	24	297	0·27
	32	Independent	101	101	186	84	41	413	0·37
Total of		male heads of families.....	(20,024)						
Females.									
	33	Semi-domestic employment	651	—	986	244	—	1,881	1·71
	34	Dress	484	—	705	178	—	1,367	1·24
	35	Small trades	184	—	268	66	—	518	0·46
	36	Employing and professional	56	—	112	28	—	196	0·18
	37	Supported	146	—	216	54	—	416	0·38
	38	Independent	105	—	150	38	—	293	0·27
Total of		female heads of families ...	(1,626)						
	39	Other adult women	—	—	—	—	—	9,692	8·97
		Total.....	21,650	20,024	40,439	10,117	8,199	110321	100·00
		Inmates of Institutions ...	—	—	—	—	—	2,008	—
		Total population.....	—	—	—	—	—	112329	

Divided into Classes according to Means and Position of Heads of Families.

Section.	Very Poor. A. Lowest Class.	Very Poor. B. Casual Earnings.	Poor. C. Irregular Earnings.	Poor. D. Regular Minimum.	Comfortable. E. Ordinary Standard Earnings.	Comfortable. F. Highly Paid Work.	Well-to-do. G. Lower Middle.	Well-to-do. H. Upper Middle.	Total.
1	716	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	716
2	—	3,113	100	—	—	—	—	—	3,213
3	—	575	1,623	—	200	—	—	—	2,398
4	—	45	—	3,087	—	—	—	—	3,132
5	—	54	—	2,508	11,144	—	—	—	13,706
6	—	—	—	—	36	2,600	—	—	2,636
7	9	360	492	738	4,245	308	—	—	6,152
8	9	278	344	746	3,960	402	—	—	5,739
9	9	109	142	288	2,848	553	—	—	3,949
10	9	145	416	417	2,600	2,303	—	—	5,890
11	—	59	58	1,297	3,834	648	—	—	5,896
12	—	98	368	368	4,044	—	—	—	4,878
13	—	11	—	49	514	342	—	—	916
14	—	62	105	275	1,262	150	—	—	1,854
15	—	76	36	295	3,022	520	—	—	3,949
16	—	39	—	174	1,855	—	—	—	2,068
17	—	28	124	—	1,311	—	—	—	1,463
18	—	31	69	69	1,171	292	—	—	1,632
19	—	117	378	—	1,471	—	—	—	1,966
20	—	—	—	66	694	1,552	951	132	3,395
21	—	—	—	—	—	—	350	164	514
22	27	220	310	272	491	27	—	—	1,347
23	—	46	312	310	1,150	700	46	—	2,564
24	—	32	—	126	2,390	480	169	—	3,197
25	—	—	—	—	56	782	714	983	2,535
26	—	—	—	—	15	74	157	—	246
27	—	—	—	—	20	173	539	284	1,016
28	—	29	175	292	1,880	2,272	940	290	5,878
29	—	32	32	128	600	549	224	32	1,597
30	—	—	—	—	—	50	60	501	611
31	—	208	62	9	9	9	—	—	297
32	—	—	—	—	192	90	110	21	413
33	5	567	514	510	285	—	—	—	1,881
34	—	371	306	387	303	—	—	—	1,367
35	5	99	76	77	246	10	—	—	513
36	—	—	—	80	40	68	68	—	196
37	—	42	15	68	291	—	—	—	416
38	—	—	—	10	110	85	188	—	293
39	78	675	601	1,258	5,125	1,466	453	236	9,692
Total	867	7,521	6,658	13,854	57,414	16,450	4,914	2,643	110,321
Per cent....	0·79	6·82	6·03	12·55	52·04	14·91	4·46	2·40	100·00

XIV.—*Table of Sections and Classes.* POPLAR.

Divided into Sections according to Character of Employment of Heads of Families.

Section.	Description.	Heads of Families.	More or less dependent. Wives.	Children —15.	Young Persons 15—20.	Unmarried Men over 20, and Widowers.	Total	Percentage.
Married Men.								
Labour	1 Lowest class, loafers, &c.	433	425	89	254	392	1,593	0·92
	2 Casual day-to-day labour	2,705	2,652	5,315	1,184	1,019	12,875	7·74
	3 Irregular labour	952	933	1,876	418	359	4,538	2·73
	4 Regular work, low pay	2,647	2,792	5,445	1,214	1,072	13,370	8·03
	5 „ ordinary pay	3,421	3,355	6,921	1,543	1,288	16,528	9·92
	6 Foremen and responsible work	1,297	1,272	2,676	584	488	6,317	3·80
Artisans	7 Building trades	2,537	2,487	5,294	1,180	956	12,454	7·48
	8 Furniture, wood-work, &c.	2,024	1,985	4,336	966	762	10,072	6·06
	9 Machinery and metals	2,906	2,851	5,933	1,322	1,095	14,109	8·48
	10 Sundry artisans	1,349	1,323	2,804	625	508	6,609	3·97
	11 Dress	779	764	1,617	360	294	3,814	2·29
	12 Food preparation	505	495	1,025	229	190	2,444	1·47
Locomotion	13 Railway service	763	748	1,600	357	288	3,756	2·26
	14 Road service	289	284	556	125	108	1,362	0·82
Assistants	15 Shops and refreshment houses	625	613	1,267	283	235	3,023	1·82
Other wages	16 Police, soldiers, and sub-officials	611	599	1,284	286	229	3,009	1·81
	17 Seamen	1,291	1,266	2,193	488	486	5,724	3·44
	18 Other wage earners	479	470	678	152	180	1,959	1·18
Manufacture, &c.	19 Home industries (not employing)	354	347	727	163	133	1,724	1·03
	20 Small employers	427	419	945	211	160	2,162	1·30
	21 Large „	83	82	172	39	31	407	0·25
Dealers	22 Street sellers, &c.	259	254	542	121	98	1,274	0·77
	23 General dealers	183	180	349	78	69	859	0·52
	24 Small shops	1,059	1,039	1,721	383	399	4,601	2·76
	25 Large shops employing assistants	469	460	1,042	233	176	2,380	1·43
Refreshments	26 Coffee and boarding houses	121	119	234	52	46	572	0·34
	27 Licensed houses	219	215	522	117	82	1,155	0·69
Salaried, &c.	28 Clerks and agents	1,411	1,383	2,830	631	531	6,786	4·08
	29 Subordinate professional	583	572	1,176	262	220	2,813	1·69
	30 Professional	230	226	486	109	87	1,138	0·68
No work	31 Ill and no occupation	154	151	313	70	59	747	0.45
	32 Independent	107	105	172	38	40	462	0·28
Total of	male heads of families	(31474)						
Females.								
	33 Semi-domestic employment	1,030	—	1,552	346	—	2,928	1·76
	34 Dress	350	—	522	117	—	989	0·59
	35 Small trades	314	—	505	113	—	932	0·56
	36 Employing and professional	55	—	94	21	—	170	0·10
	37 Supported	213	—	329	74	—	616	0·37
	38 Independent	164	—	191	43	—	398	0·24
Total of	female heads of families	(2,126)						
	39 Other adult women	—	—	—	—	—	9,784	5·88
	Total	33,600	30,866	65,832	14,791	12,020	166,398	100·00
	Inmates of Institutions	—	—	—	—	—	2,838	
	Total population	—	—	—	—	—	169,231	

Divided into Classes according to Means and Position of Heads of Families.

Section.	Very Poor. A. Lowest Class.	Very Poor. B. Casual Earnings.	Poor. C. Irregular Earnings.	Poor. D. Regular Minimum.	Comfortable. E. Ordinary Standard Earnings.	Comfortable. F. Highly Paid Work.	Well-to-do. G. Lower Middle.	Well-to-do. H. Upper Middle.	Total.
1	1,593	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,593
2	—	12,475	400	—	—	—	—	—	12,875
3	—	1,130	2,823	—	585	—	—	—	4,538
4	—	191	—	13,179	—	—	—	—	13,370
5	—	131	—	2,562	13,835	—	—	—	16,528
6	—	—	—	—	88	6,229	—	—	6,317
7	36	1,014	1,066	1,950	7,554	834	—	—	12,454
8	17	813	756	1,700	6,111	675	—	—	10,072
9	9	456	788	1,452	10,284	1,125	—	—	14,109
10	9	237	445	445	3,284	2,189	—	—	6,609
11	9	341	624	624	1,773	443	—	—	3,814
12	—	108	186	186	1,964	—	—	—	2,444
13	—	46	—	80	1,517	2,113	—	—	3,756
14	—	73	115	295	789	90	—	—	1,362
15	—	84	18	128	2,393	400	—	—	3,023
16	—	84	—	147	2,778	—	—	—	3,009
17	—	159	280	—	5,285	—	—	—	5,724
18	—	55	47	48	1,809	—	—	—	1,959
19	—	153	480	—	1,091	—	—	—	1,724
20	—	—	—	—	454	975	597	136	2,162
21	—	—	—	—	—	—	270	137	407
22	27	180	243	210	578	36	—	—	1,274
23	—	26	175	95	346	209	8	—	859
24	—	54	27	409	2,145	1,398	568	—	4,601
25	—	—	—	—	52	720	670	938	2,380
26	—	—	—	12	40	234	286	—	572
27	—	—	—	—	44	191	595	325	1,155
28	—	75	163	611	2,864	1,832	1,018	223	6,786
29	—	56	56	250	1,048	955	392	56	2,813
30	—	—	—	—	—	88	110	940	1,138
31	—	520	157	26	26	18	—	—	747
32	—	—	—	—	212	102	124	24	462
33	10	1,074	522	655	667	—	—	—	2,928
34	—	306	197	242	244	—	—	—	989
35	5	283	167	168	294	15	—	—	932
36	—	—	—	24	87	61	48	—	170
37	—	75	10	88	493	—	—	—	616
38	—	—	—	15	160	50	173	—	398
39	103	1,261	615	1,604	4,412	1,310	805	174	9,784
Total	1,753	21,460	10,355	27,155	75,256	22,292	5,164	2,953	166,398
Per cent.	1·06	12·90	6·22	16·31	45·23	13·40	3·11	1·77	100·00

Divided into Sections according to Character of Employment of Heads of Families.

Class.		Description.	Heads of Families.	More or less Dependent. Wives.	Children —15	Young Persons 15—20	Unmarried Males over 20 and Widowers.	Total.	Percentage.
Males.									
Labour	1	Lowest class, loafers, &c.	374	374	158	192	162	1,260	0·69
	2	Casual day-to-day labour	624	624	1,332	312	271	3,163	1·73
	3	Irregular labour	498	498	1,087	255	217	2,555	1·40
	4	Regular work, low pay	1,002	1,002	2,128	501	435	5,068	2·77
	5	„ ordinary pay	1,629	1,629	3,248	764	706	7,976	4·36
	6	Foremen and responsible work	311	311	654	153	135	1,564	0·85
Artisans	7	Building trades	2,593	2,593	5,593	1,318	1,124	13,226	7·23
	8	Furniture, woodwork, &c.	1,517	1,517	3,225	759	658	7,676	4·20
	9	Machinery and metals	620	620	1,448	340	268	3,296	1·80
	10	A. Printing	773	773	1,598	374	335	3,853	2·11
		B. Watches, instruments, &c.	431	431	922	215	186	2,185	1·19
		C. Furs and leather	296	296	662	155	128	1,537	0·84
		D. Silk weaving	7	7	15	4	3	36	0·02
		E. Sundry artisans	632	632	1,293	302	274	3,133	1·71
									5·87
	11	Dress	1,696	1,696	3,507	826	736	8,461	4·63
	12	Food preparation	358	358	741	173	156	1,786	0·98
Locomotion	13	Railway servants	382	382	787	185	165	1,901	1·04
	14	Road service	592	592	1,304	306	257	3,051	1·67
Assistants	15	Shops and refreshment houses	1,015	1,015	2,113	496	440	5,079	2·78
Other wages	16	Police, soldiers, and sub-officials	452	452	941	221	196	2,262	1·24
	17	Seamen	52	52	78	18	22	222	0·12
	18	Other wage earners	774	774	1,311	306	335	3,500	1·91
Manufacturers, &c.	19	Home industries (not employing)	850	850	1,796	421	368	4,285	2·34
	20	Small employers	828	828	1,868	443	358	4,345	2·38
	21	Large „	62	62	154	36	27	341	0·19
Dealers	22	Street sellers, &c.	357	357	806	189	155	1,864	1·02
	23	General dealers	172	172	379	89	75	887	0·49
	24	Small shops	693	693	1,564	319	300	3,369	1·84
	25	Large „ (with assistants)	455	455	1,070	251	197	2,428	1·33
Refreshments	26	Coffee and boarding houses	53	53	113	26	23	268	0·15
	27	Licensed houses	96	96	185	44	41	462	0·25
Salaried, &c.	28	Clerks and agents	3,269	3,269	6,492	1,521	1,418	15,969	8·73
	29	Subordinate professional	420	420	869	204	182	2,095	1·15
	30	Professional	234	234	495	116	102	1,181	0·65
No work	31	Ill and no occupation	83	83	185	44	36	431	0·23
	32	Independent	122	122	179	42	52	517	0·28
Total of		male heads of families	24,322						
Females.	33	Semi-domestic employment	1,010	—	1,629	382	—	3,021	1·65
	34	Dress	368	—	572	133	—	1,073	0·59
	35	Small trades	175	—	308	72	—	555	0·30
	36	Employing and professional	85	—	138	32	—	255	0·14
	37	Supported	172	—	252	59	—	483	0·26
	38	Independent	178	—	238	56	—	472	0.26
Total of		female heads of families	1,989						
	39	Other adult women	—	—	—	—	—	15,773	8·68
	40	Population of unscheduled houses	—	—	—	—	—	40,000	21·87
		Total	26,310	24,322	53,262	12,654	10,543	182864	100·00
		Inmates of Institutions	—	—	—	—	—	3,136	—
		Total population	—	—	—	—	—	186000	

Divided into Classes according to Means and Position of Heads of Families.

Section.		Very Poor. A. Lowest Class.	Very Poor. B. Casual Earnings.	Poor. C. Irregular Earnings.	Poor. D. Regular Minimum.	Comfortable. E. Ordinary Standard Earnings.	Comfortable. F. Highly Paid Work.	Well-to-do. G. Lower Middle.	Well-to-do. H. Upper Middle.	Total.
1		1,260	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,260
2		—	3,146	17	—	—	—	—	—	3,163
3		—	942	1,586	—	77	—	—	—	2,555
4		—	440	—	4,569	59	—	—	—	5,068
5		—	8	—	753	7,100	115	—	—	7,976
6		—	—	—	—	18	1,546	—	—	1,564
7		43	1,618	2,065	700	6,570	2,235	—	—	13,226
8		8	374	890	668	4,278	958	—	—	7,676
9		18	240	107	205	1,926	900	—	—	3,296
10	A.	—	50	209	84	1,596	1,914	—	—	3,853
	B.	9	136	48	154	802	1,041	—	—	2,185
	C.	—	182	148	182	825	200	—	—	1,537
	D.	—	—	—	18	18	—	—	—	36
	E.	17	265	257	621	1,600	373	—	—	3,133
11		—	1,280	1,457	1,120	3,904	700	—	—	8,461
12		8	134	94	242	1,141	167	—	—	1,786
13		8	25	—	208	1,078	582	—	—	1,901
14		—	292	250	457	1,682	370	—	—	3,051
15		—	268	126	756	3,175	754	—	—	5,079
16		—	8	50	84	1,750	420	—	—	2,262
17		—	14	—	14	172	22	—	—	222
18		8	121	129	363	2,046	833	—	—	3,500
19		8	515	480	396	1,467	1,360	59	—	4,285
20		—	9	9	9	176	2,476	1,605	61	4,345
21		—	—	—	—	—	—	185	156	341
22		44	507	544	157	507	105	—	—	1,864
23		17	69	69	52	250	353	77	—	887
24		—	73	73	309	1,277	1,515	122	—	3,369
25		—	—	—	—	9	797	1,515	107	2,428
26		—	—	—	25	84	134	25	—	268
27		—	—	16	—	57	122	194	73	462
28		—	295	196	320	2,880	7,500	4,360	418	15,969
29		—	17	38	8	184	970	850	33	2,095
30		—	—	—	—	—	109	372	700	1,181
31		—	329	69	17	17	—	—	—	431
32		—	—	—	—	170	184	141	22	517
33		15	1,580	494	494	408	35	—	—	3,021
34		—	291	131	302	315	34	—	—	1,073
35		—	174	87	133	169	87	5	—	555
36		—	—	—	20	105	90	40	—	255
37		—	80	28	75	230	65	5	—	483
38		—	—	—	26	215	101	130	—	472
39		184	1,734	1,184	1,668	5,998	3,595	1,219	196	15,773
40		—	—	—	—	8,500	—	—	31,500	40,000
Total		1,647	15,710	10,741	15,159	62,725	32,712	10,904	33,266	182,864
Per cent.		0·91	8·59	5·85	8·35	34·29	17·85	5·98	18·19	100·00

XVI.—*Table of Sections nd Classes.* East London.

Divided into Sections according to Character of Employment of Heads of Families.

Class.		Description.	Heads of Families.	More or less Dependent. Wives.	Children —15.	Young Persons 15—20.	Unmarried Males over 20 and Widowers.	Total.	Per-centage.
Males.									
Labour...	1	Lowest class, loafers, &c. ...	2,120	2,106	578	1,282	1,754	7,790	1·10
	2	Casual day-to-day labour ...	8,101	8,041	15,184	3,653	4,363	39,342	5·53
	3	Irregular labour	3,861	3,837	7,466	1,820	1,627	18,610	2·61
	4	Regular work, low pay	7,410	7,349	13,508	3,229	2,998	34,494	4·87
	5	,, ordinary pay	14,690	14,308	27,701	6,782	6,070	69,251	6·78
	6	Foremen and responsible work	3,244	3,218	6,478	1,539	1,351	15,830	2·23
Artisans	7	Building trades	7,784	7,731	15,382	3,690	3,102	37,689	5·33
	8	Furniture, woodwork, &c. ...	11,596	11,552	28,658	5,704	4,539	57,044	8·04
	9	Machinery and metals	6,694	6,635	13,241	3,141	2,675	32,386	4·57
	10	Sundry artisans	8,967	8,931	17,807	4,227	3,617	43,049	6·05
	11	Dress.....	10,264	10,206	20,440	5,174	4,515	50,601	7·16
	12	Food preparation	4,045	4,026	8,079	2,051	1,805	20,006	2·82
Locomo-tion	13	Railway servants.....	1,590	1,574	3,221	761	636	7,782	1·09
	14	Road service	1,409	1,403	2,788	683	581	6,864	0·97
Assist-ants	15	Shops and refreshment houses	3,442	3,427	6,570	1,601	1,395	16,435	2·32
Other wages	16	Police, soldiers, and sub-officials	2,166	2,151	4,251	1,035	898	10,501	1·48
	17	Seamen	2,296	2,272	3,921	896	939	10,226	1·44
	18	Other wage earners	2,893	2,883	4,169	1,017	141	12,103	1·71
Manu-facturers,&c.	19	Home industries (not employing)	3,070	3,061	6,335	1,551	1,238	15,255	2·16
	20	Small employers	3,636	3,617	8,279	2,083	1,579	19,194	2·71
	21	Large ,, ...	449	448	980	248	197	2,317	0·32
Dealers	22	Street sellers, &c.....	2,647	2,635	5,261	1,311	1,297	13,151	1·86
	23	General dealers	1,814	1,803	3,663	945	828	9,053	1·28
	24	Small shops	4,364	4,337	8,049	1,986	1,855	20,591	2·91
	25	Large shops (employing assistants)	2,623	2,609	5,511	1,358	1,099	13,200	1·87
Refresh-ments	26	Coffee and boarding houses	553	546	1,054	259	242	2,654	0·37
	27	Licensed houses	1,231	1,225	2,312	570	528	5,866	0·82
Salaried, &c.	28	Clerks and agents	4,730	4,698	8,969	2,173	1,929	22,499	3·18
	29	Subordinate professional ...	1,440	1,428	2,796	674	588	6,926	0·98
	30	Professional	679	675	1,852	325	273	3,304	0·47
No work	31	Ill and no occupation	522	517	991	244	225	2,499	0·35
	32	Independent	321	319	448	106	130	1,324	0·18
Total of		male heads of families	130,352						
Females.									
	33	Semi-domestic employment	4,318	—	6,560	1,604	—	12,482	1·77
	34	Dress	2,156	—	3,201	790	—	6,147	0·87
	35	Small trades	1,714	—	2,719	669	—	5,102	0·72
	36	Employing and professional	278	—	442	107	—	827	0·11
	37	Supported.....	900	—	1,314	325	—	2,539	0·36
	38	Independent	896	—	586	132	—	1,064	0·15
Total of		female heads of families.....	9,762						
	39	Other adult women	—	—	—	—	—	52,679	7·46
		Total.....	140,114	129,570	264,609	65,690	56,014	708,675	100
		Inmates of Institutions	—	—	—	—	—	14,283	
		Total population	—	—	—	—	—	722,958	—

Divided into Classes according to Means and Position of Heads of Families.

Section.	Very Poor. A. Lowest Class.	Very Poor. B. Casual Earnings.	Poor. C. Irregular Earnings.	Poor. D. Regular Minimum.	Comfortable. E. Ordinary Standard Earnings.	Comfortable. F. Highly Paid Work.	Well-to-do. G. Lower Middle.	Well-to-do. H. Upper Middle.	Total
1	7,790	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7,790
2	—	38,161	1,181	—	—	—	—	—	39,342
3	—	3,599	13,739	—	1,272	—	—	—	18,610
4	—	759	—	33,667	68	—	—	—	34,494
5	—	289	—	10,418	58,407	137	—	—	69,251
6	—	—	—	9	325	15,496	—	—	15,830
7	89	2,777	4,559	5,279	22,098	2,887	—	—	37,689
8	98	5,572	6,654	9,883	31,496	3,341	—	—	57,044
9	45	1,218	2,065	3,535	22,019	3,504	—	—	32,386
10	74	2,413	4,154	5,418	22,427	8,563	—	—	43,049
11	63	4,993	7,902	11,550	23,516	2,577	—	—	50,601
12	27	687	1,206	3,360	14,428	298	—	—	20,006
13	—	113	9	518	4,082	3,060	—	—	7,782
14	—	303	551	1,223	4,326	461	—	—	6,864
15	18	631	364	2,365	11,274	1,783	—	—	16,435
16	—	193	—	774	9,077	457	—	—	10,501
17	—	269	759	421	8,777	—	—	—	10,226
18	18	383	646	1,521	8,365	1,170	—	—	12,103
19	9	1,822	2,845	1,812	7,776	1,982	9	—	15,255
20	—	27	18	420	3,048	10,472	4,696	513	19,194
21	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,596	721	2,317
22	258	2,954	3,834	2,109	3,783	213	—	—	13,151
23	52	258	1,445	1,199	3,916	2,062	121	—	9,053
24	—	162	193	1,707	11,043	6,052	1,434	—	20,591
25	—	—	—	—	283	3,969	4,517	4,431	13,200
26	—	—	—	77	596	947	1,034	—	2,654
27	—	9	17	75	862	1,104	2,945	1,354	5,866
28	—	188	525	1,617	8,648	7,932	2,900	689	22,499
29	—	120	172	545	2,416	2,466	1,065	142	6,926
30	—	—	—	—	—	253	310	2,741	3,304
31	—	1,716	392	183	155	53	—	—	2,499
32	—	—	—	—	681	263	377	53	1,324
33	44	5,410	2,916	2,436	1,671	5	—	—	12,482
34	—	1,767	1,459	1,746	1,170	5	—	—	6,147
35	55	1,668	957	1,182	1,165	70	5	—	5,102
36	—	—	—	120	250	240	217	—	827
37	—	320	150	575	1,488	5	—	—	2,539
38	—	—	—	44	424	129	467	—	1,064
39	692	6,065	4,794	8,440	23,451	6,572	1,795	869	52,678
Total ...	9,332	84,352	53,506	113 722	214.228	88,528	23,488	11,513	706.675
Per cent.	1·32	11·91	8·96	16·05	44·34	12·50	3·32	1·60	100·00

Class.		Description.	Heads of Families.	More or less Dependent. Wives.	Children —15.	Young Persons 15—20.	Unmarried males over 20 and Widowers.	Total.	Percentage.
		Divided into Sections according to Character of Employment of Heads of Families.							
Males.									
Labour	1	Lowest class, loafers, &c.	2,494	2,480	736	1,424	1,916	9,050	1·0
	2	Casual day-to-day labour	8,725	8,665	16,516	3,965	4,634	42,505	4·7
	3	Irregular labour	4,358	4,335	8,553	2,075	1,844	21,165	2·3
	4	Regular work, low pay	8,412	8,351	15,636	3,730	3,433	39,562	4·4
	5	„ ordinary pay	16,019	15,937	30,949	7,546	6,776	77,227	8·6
	6	Foremen and responsible work	8,555	3,529	7,132	1,692	1,486	17,394	1·9
Artisans	7	Building trades	10,377	10,324	20,980	5,008	4,226	50,915	5·7
	8	Furniture, woodwork, &c.	13,113	13,069	26,878	6,463	5,197	64,720	7·2
	9	Machinery and metals	7,314	7,255	14,689	3,481	2,943	35,682	4·0
	10	Sundry Artisans	11,106	11,070	21,797	5,277	4,543	53,793	6·0
	11	Dress	11,960	11,904	23,947	6,000	5,251	59,062	6·6
	12	Food preparation	4,403	4,384	8,820	2,224	1,961	21,792	2·4
Locomotion	13	Railway servants	1,972	1,956	4,008	946	801	9,683	1·0
	14	Road service	2,001	1,995	4,092	989	838	9,915	1·1
Assistants	15	Shops and refreshment houses	4,457	4,442	8,683	2,097	1,835	21,514	2·4
Other wages	16	Police, soldiers, and sub-officials	2,618	2,603	5,192	1,256	1,094	12,763	1·4
	17	Seamen	2,350	2,324	3,899	914	961	10,448	1·1
	18	Other wage earners	3,667	3,657	5,480	1,323	1,476	15,603	1·7
Manufacturers	19	Home industries (not employing)	3,920	3,911	8,131	1,972	1,606	19,540	2·2
	20	Small employers	4,464	4,445	10,167	2,526	1,937	23,539	2·6
	21	Large „	511	510	1,134	279	224	2,658	0·3
Dealers	22	Street sellers, &c.	3,004	2,992	6,067	1,500	1,452	15,015	1·6
	23	General dealers	1,980	1,975	4,042	1,034	903	9,940	1·1
	24	Small shops	5,057	5,030	9,413	2,305	2,155	23,960	2·6
	25	Large shops (employing assistants)	3,078	3,064	6,581	1,609	1,296	15,628	1·7
Refreshments	26	Coffee and boarding houses	606	599	1,167	285	265	2,922	0·3
	27	Licensed houses	1,327	1,321	2,497	614	569	6,328	0·7
Salaried, &c.	28	Clerks and agents	7,999	7,967	15,461	3,694	3,347	38,468	4·3
	29	Subordinate professional	1,860	1,848	3,665	878	770	9,021	1·0
	30	Professional	913	909	1,847	441	375	4,485	0·5
No work	31	Ill and no occupation	605	600	1,176	288	261	2,930	0·3
	32	Independent	445	441	627	148	182	1,841	0·2
Total of		male heads of families	(154,674)						
Females.	33	Semi-domestic employment	5,828	—	8,189	1,986	—	15,503	1·7
	34	Dress	2,524	—	3,773	923	—	7,220	0·8
	35	Small trades	1,889	—	3,027	741	—	5,657	0·6
	36	Employing & professional	363	—	580	139	—	1,082	0·1
	37	Supported	1,072	—	1,566	384	—	3,022	0·3
	38	Independent	574	—	774	188	—	1,536	0·1
Total of		female heads of families	(11,750)						
	39	Other adult women	—	—	—	—	—	68,451	7·6
	40	Population of unscheduled houses	—	—	—	—	—	40,000	4·4
		Total	166,424	153,892	317,871	78,544	66,557	891,539	100
		Inmates of Institutions	—	—	—	—	—	17,419	—
		Total population	—	—	—	—	—	908,958	

Class.		Description.	Very Poor. A. Lowest Class.	Very Poor. B. Casual Earnings.	Poor. C. Irregular Earnings.	Poor. D. Regular Minimum.	Comfortable. E. Ordinary Standard Earnings.	Comfortable. F. Highly Paid Work.	Well-to-do. G Lower Middle.	Well-to-do. H. Upper Middle.	Total.
		Divided into Classes according to Means and Position of Heads of Families.									
Males.											
Labour	1	Lowest class, loafers, &c.	9,050	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9,050
	2	Casual day-to-day labour	—	41,307	1,198	—	—	—	—	—	42,505
	3	Irregular labour	—	4,541	15,275	—	1,349	—	—	—	21,165
	4	Regular work, low pay	—	1,199	—	38,236	127	—	—	—	39,562
	5	„ ordinary pay	—	297	—	11,171	65,507	252	—	—	77,227
	6	Foremen and responsible work	—	—	—	9	843	17,042	—	—	17,394
Artisans	7	Building trades	132	4,390	6,624	5,979	28,668	5,122	—	—	50,915
	8	Furniture, woodwork, &c.	106	6,446	7,544	10,551	35,774	4,299	—	—	64,720
	9	Machinery and metals	63	1,458	2,172	3,740	23,845	4,404	—	—	35,682
	10	Sundry Artisans	100	3,046	4,811	6,477	27,268	12,091	—	—	53,793
	11	Dress	63	6,278	9,359	12,670	27,420	3,277	—	—	59,062
	12	Food preparation	85	821	1,800	8,602	15,569	465	—	—	21,792
Locomotion	13	Railway servants	8	138	9	726	5,160	8,642	—	—	9,683
	14	Road service	—	595	801	1,680	6,008	831	—	—	9,915
Assistants	15	Shops and refreshment houses	18	899	490	3,121	14,449	2,587	—	—	21,514
Other wages	16	Police, soldiers, and sub-officials	—	201	50	808	10,827	877	—	—	12,763
	17	Seamen	—	283	759	435	8,949	22	—	—	10,448
	18	Other wage earners	26	504	775	1,884	10,411	2,003	—	—	15,603
Manufacturers	19	Home industries (not employing)	17	1,837	3,325	1,708	9,243	3,342	68	—	19,540
	20	Small employers	—	36	27	429	3,224	12,948	6,301	574	23,539
	21	Large „	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,781	877	2,658
Dealers	22	Street sellers, &c.	802	3,461	4,878	2,266	4,290	318	—	—	15,015
	23	General dealers	69	327	1,514	1,251	4,166	2,415	198	—	9,940
	24	Small shops	—	235	266	2,016	12,320	7,567	1,556	—	23,960
	25	Large shops (employing assistants)	—	—	—	—	292	4,766	6,032	4,538	15,628
Refreshments	26	Coffee and boarding houses	—	—	—	102	680	1,081	1,059	—	2,922
	27	Licensed houses	—	9	83	75	419	1,226	3,139	1,427	6,328
Salaried, &c.	28	Clerks and agents	—	483	721	1,937	11,528	15,432	7,260	1,107	38,468
	29	Subordinate professional	—	137	205	553	2,600	3,436	1,915	175	9,021
	30	Professional	—	—	—	—	—	862	682	3,441	4,485
No work	31	Ill and no occupation	—	2,044	461	200	172	53	—	—	2,930
	32	Independent	—	—	—	—	801	447	518	75	1,841
Females.	33	Semi-domestic employment	59	6,990	3,410	2,980	2,074	40	—	—	15,503
	34	Dress	—	2,058	1,590	2,048	1,485	39	—	—	7,220
	35	Small trades	55	1,842	994	1,315	1,334	107	10	—	5,657
	36	Employing & professional	—	—	—	140	355	330	257	—	1,082
	37	Supported	—	406	178	650	1,713	70	5	—	3,022
	38	Independent	—	—	—	70	639	250	597	—	1,536
	39	Other adult women	876	7,799	5,978	10,108	29,444	10,167	3,014	1,065	68,451
	40	Population of unscheduled houses	—	—	—	—	8,500	—	—	31,500	40,000
		Total	10,979	100,062	74,247	126,887	376,953	121,240	34,392	44,779	891,539
		Inmates of Institutions	1·23	11·22	8·33	14·46	42·28	13·60	3·86	5·02	100·00
		Total population									

CHAPTER IV.

INSTITUTIONS, ETC.

Working Men's Clubs.. —The 115 Clubs in East London and Hackney may be primarily divided into those which can be entered by a stranger and those which cannot. Those which open their doors at all. do so very readily and very completely. They have not only nothing to hide, but are very generally proud of their position. They are moreover not infrequently linked by affiliation to the "Working Men's Club and Institute Union," or the "Federation of Working Men's Social Clubs," on terms which provide for the welcome of the members of any one club by any other club in the same association. Thus a very wide natural publicity is given to all their proceedings, and it is not difficult for the social inquirer to obtain trustworthy information about them and even himself to experience their hospitalities.

As to those which decline to open their doors to strangers, I can give no information except as to the reputation they enjoy, which, it must be said, is very bad. They are usually called "Proprietary" clubs, and there can be no doubt that betting and various forms of gambling, but chiefly betting, are their main objects. On my list are 32 such clubs within the limits of the district. Some are dramatic and others make dancing a principal attraction, but in all cases their foundation and *raison d'etre* is gambling in one form or other. Some of them are respectable, frequented by bookmakers of good repute. Others are very disreputable indeed, being, it is said, a combination of gambling hell with the lowest type of

. For most of my information on this subject, I have to thank Mr. Norman Grosvenor, who with one of my Secretaries, Mr. Hardy, personally visited every club on my behalf.

dancing saloon. All alike maintain a jealous privacy. An outer door labelled "members only," an inner door of baize; a window with a sliding shutter, through which, as the visitor enters, appears promptly the face of the door-keeper; an entire refusal to give any information or admit any strangers; such are their suggestive characteristics. Grave responsibility evidently attaches to their management, and police raids from time to time justify the precautions taken. These clubs seem to be short-lived, but die in one street only to spring up in the next. Shoreditch is the quarter in which most are found. Those in Whitechapel, of the same sort, but belonging to Jews and foreigners, are more permanent and probably more truly social in character. These clubs are of various grades and cater for every class from A to H; but not one of them can be properly called a working men's club. The total number of members will not be very large.

The clubs which live in the light of day may be conveniently considered in three divisions: (a) Philanthropic clubs in connection with churches or missions, started, supported, and managed by outside influence; of these there are 33; (6) Social, numbering 18; and (c) Political, of which there are 32.

The division between the philanthropic and the true Working Men's Club is not very clearly defined, for while many philanthropic clubs are merely adjuncts to missions . others, such as the "University Club" in Victoria Park Square, and the "United Brothers" in Commercial Street, are practically self-supporting and to a great extent self-managed. All, however, are *superintended,* and so are not as interesting a study as the spontaneous self-managed clubs. A practical distinction between the philanthropic and the self-supporting club is to be found in the question of drink. All the philanthropic clubs but one are teetotal; while, with the sole exception of the Jewish Club in Great Alie Street, all the social and political

clubs are not. To make a club self-supporting without the sale of beer is very difficult. The bar is the centre and support of a working man's club—the pole of the tent. The structure must be upheld in some way, and failing the profits from liquor sold, support must be found in subscriptions from outside; for in no other way but the paying for drinks will any of these clubs make sufficient effort to support itself—a rather striking proof of the preference for indirect taxation. Moreover, the clubs are not only run on the profits of the beer sold, but the prospects of these profits in very many cases raise the funds needed to make a start. Brewers find it to their interest to follow up their customers in this way, and lend money towards the fittings of the club. Repayment is not pressed, nor is the security scrutinized; for the lender is repaid by profit on the beer supplied.

The difference between the Social and Political clubs is slight, lying mainly in the mode in which they are started. Social clubs in East London may or may not acquire a political tinge, but those intended to be political cannot stand unless social, and the social side tends to become more important than the political. For both, the friendly mug of beer—primordial cell of British social life—supplies the social bond, as well as the financial basis. There must be beer, but there is a good deal else. Almost every club has entertainments on Saturday and Monday, and a concert or discussion, lecture, or some other attraction, once or in some cases twice in the day, on Sunday; and billiards, bagatelle, and whist are greatly played. Whether from the publican or from the club, these are the things demanded by the people—beer, music, games, and discussion.

It is said by those hostile to clubs that they are mere drinking dens, sought because they remain open when the public-house is shut. Or they are objected to in a general way as antagonistic to family life.

As to the first? charge made, it has, with regard to the

great majority of members, no foundation. As to the second, it is not so much the clubs which draw men, as their own restless spirits which drive them from home. In any case they would go out, and better as I think if they go to the club than elsewhere. Some competition is not amiss : the homes might easily be made more attractive than they are.

In considering these objections and the whole question whether clubs are on the whole an element of good, it would be unfair to take too high a standard. The leaders may consciously realize the higher ideas of the movement, but the rank and file are not above the average of their class, and usually join clubs with no higher motives than those which influence the ordinary club-goer of any class, or would otherwise take them to the public-house. Looked at in this rather low way,,clubs seem to me better than the licensed public-houses they tend to replace. Nor do I see that they compare unfavourably, all things considered, with the majority of clubs in other places. The language one hears in them is the language of the streets; stuffed with oaths, used as mere adjectives; but in every class, oaths of one sort or other are pretty frequent on the tongues of men, and especially young men, who are numerous in every club. The fashion of the oath is not of much importance, whether beginning with a B or with a D.

Evidence of the spirit of self-sacrifice is not wanting. In many cases the members do all the repairs and alterations of the club after their own day's labour is done. In a new club in Bethnal Green the chairs and tables have been made, walls papered, and bars fitted up, stage erected, and scenes painted in this way. Many, too, are ardent politicians, and begrudge neither time nor money in advancing their political views.

And something more may be said. Coarse though the fabric be, it is shot through with golden threads of enthusiasm. Like Co-operation and like Socialism, though in a less pronounced way, the movement is a propaganda

with its faith and hopes, its literature and its leaders. This, it is true, applies to a few individuals only, but to many more club-life is an education. If the leaders are few, those who belong or have belonged to the Committees of Management are numerous. It may perhaps be thought that enthusiasm might find some better aim, and citizenship some other field, than the management of bar-parlour and "free-and-easy;" but taking things as they are, the working man's club is not a bad institution, and it is one with very strong roots.

To come to some sort of analysis of the clubs. There are among the Religious and Philanthropic 16, with about 2600 members, named after the churches or missions with which they are connected. Most of these are intended for artisans and labourers. There are 3 belonging to the Y.M.C.A., mostly for clerks, &c, and some 7 others, among which are the "University Club" and the "United Brothers," already mentioned as ranking more properly with the self-managed and self-supporting clubs. In addition to these, are 6 Boys' clubs, of which the Lads[1] Institute, in Whitechapel Road, and the Whittington Club are the most important, having between them about five hundred members.

The Social clubs are, as a class, much older than the political clubs: one half of them date their foundation as far back as 1880, and two of them previous to 1870; and their growth has been steady, in marked contrast to the uneven rapidity with which the political clubs have sprung into existence during the last few years. There are in all 18 social clubs, with about 5580 members. Of these, 4 are Jewish, while in 6 the majority of members are foreigners; 8 belong to the middle classes, arid though the remainder may be, and are, called working men's clubs, they contain among their members a large sprinkling of the middle class. The subscription and entrance fee vary with the class of the club, but in most cases are higher

than those of the political working man's club, and the financial position on the whole is stronger.

Of Political, or more strictly Politico-social clubs, there are 82, of which 22 are Liberal and Radical, 6 Conservative, 3 Socialistic, and 1 Irish Home Rule. The Conservative clubs, with about 1800 members, belong mainly to the upper or lower middle class; only one of them, with 200 members, is *called* a working man's club. Of the Liberal and Radical clubs, 7 (with over 2000 members) belong to the upper or lower middle class, 6 (with less than 1000 members) to the working classes, while 9 (with nearly 6000 members) are mixed. The three Socialist clubs count only 200 members amongst them, and the Home Rule club has over 100.

Judging by the clubs there would seem to be no doubt of the political complexion of East London; and the weekly papers mostly taken—*Reynolds's* and the *Dispatch*—tell the same story. But the tone is not so much Liberal or even Radical, as Republican, outside of the lines, authorized or unauthorized, of English party politics, and thus very uncertain at the ballot box. There is also a good deal of vague unorganized Socialism.

It will be seen how large a part the lower middle class plays in East London club life, but it is not easy to draw the line between this class and so-called working men. "What is a working man?" is a question to which no very clear answer can be given. In theory, dealers and small master men would be excluded, but in practice my classes E, F, and G, the centra] mass of the English people, consort together in a free and friendly way. Some of the clubs draw also from classes C and D. Class H has its own clubs apart, class B has only those provided for it philanthropically.

There are four clubs which from their size deserve special mention:—The United Radical with 2000 members; the Boro. of Hackney with 1800; the Jews'club and institute in Great Alie Street with 1400 members; and the Uni-

versity club with 700 members, besides about 400 belonging to the women's and children's sections. Any of these large clubs almost every evening is full of life, rising on occasion to the climax of a crush. All show what can be done with numbers, and point to the conclusion that in the enlargement of clubs rather than in their multiplication lies the road towards perfection. The possibilities in this direction amongst a dense population are almost unbounded; and it is found that men will come long distances to obtain the advantages which clubs on a large scale can offer.

The Jews' Club, though now ranking as a social club, was practically established on a philanthropic basis, its large and substantial premises having been built at the expense of Mr. S. Montagu, M.P., and others. As a social club it is remarkable in three ways: (1) it is teetotal; (2) it admits both sexes to membership; (3) it prohibits card playing.

No club in East London is more ambitious than the University Club; nor any more strict in confining its membership to the working class. Helped at the start, it now pays its way, and this without the sale of beer. It owes its success to the direction of its President, Mr. Buchanan, who hopes to show "that a people's palace can be built out of the people's pence,"

The subscription to an ordinary working men's political club is *6d* per month with 6d entrance fee. The club opens at 6.30 P.M. and closes at 12 or 12.30; on Sundays, 11 A.M. to 1 P.M. and 6.30 P.M. to 11.30 P.M. If the club remains open longer the bar is closed.. Great care is taken not to serve beer to anyone not a member or entitled by affiliation to members' privileges. The ordinary number of members is from 300 to 400. The management is by committee, consisting of president, vice-president, treasurer, secretary, trustees, and a varying number of ordinary members. The duties of door-keeper and bar-tender are in some cases

• Disorderly conduct may occur, but it is rare.

taken by members of the committee in turn. The clubs pay their way, but usually owe more than their assets, if sold up, would discharge. A monthly or weekly statement of accounts is usually posted in the doorway with other notices. Beer, spirits, tobacco, and teetotal drinks are supplied at the bar at a profit of 30 to 50 per cent. The games played are billiards, bagatelle, and cards (chiefly whist and cribbage), draughts, and dominoes. The rule against gambling is strict and is not infringed to any noticeable extent. Billiards are the principal attraction, and the standing of a club may be gauged by the number of its tables. There is usually a small library kept in a room used for committee meetings. Some evening papers are taken, perhaps two *Stars* and an *Evening Standard; Beynolds's* paper, the *Weekly Dispatch,* and some illustrated or comic papers, with a local print, complete the list. The club premises consist of a large room with billiard and bagatelle tables, a hall with small stage, bar room and committee room, library or reading room. The club has a political council whose lead the members usually follow. Entertainments, lectures, and discussions for Saturday, Sunday, and Monday are arranged by the committee. To the entertainments ladies may be brought and do come in considerable numbers, and there will be dancing on special occasions. The entertainments are sometimes dramatic but more generally consist of a succession of songs, comic or sentimental, the comic songs being often sung in character with change of dress. A music hall entertainment is the ideal aimed at. A chairman presides and keeps order, as at the free-and-easy or benefit performances held at public-houses, and as till recently was invariably the practice at the public music halls. The chairman sits at a table with his back to the stage, flanked by his intimates, and sundry jugs or pots of ale which are passed from hand to hand, H*e* alone of all the audience is uncovered and he is faultlessly dressed. At his

right hand lies his hammer of authority, and sometimes a sort of wooden platter to receive the sharp blows with which he calls for silence or emphasizes the chorus. He does not spare this exercise of his authority, and gives out, before each song, the name of the singer, in the ordinary public-house concert room style; the formula being "our friend so and so will now oblige." The singers are sometimes professional, but more commonly semi-professional; those who do a good deal in this way and no doubt make money by it, but have other occupations. Others are purely amateur, members, or friends of members, who really perform to "oblige" their brother members. Two or three songs may be expected from each singer. The more purely amateur, the more purely sentimental the song as a general rule. The performance, though poor enough, serves to amuse the audience, but except on great occasions does not empty the billiard room. The entertainments are at times connected with some charitable object; a member has perhaps had an accident or suffered from illness, and a concert is got up and tickets sold for his benefit. A pleasing feature connected with the entertainments given is a practice recently adopted of having a children's Christmas party. It is now very general, the expense being mainly defrayed by voluntary subscriptions of members. The United Radical Club alone entertained 4,000 children this year.

On the whole these clubs are a bright and lively scene, and very attractive as compared to the ordinary homes of the classes from which the members are drawn.

[What is written on this subject in the final volume modifies some of the opinions expressed above.—0. B., 1902.]

Classification of Clubs.

District	Political.	Social.	Philanthropic and Religious.	Proprietary.	Total.
Whitechapel. .	1	3	6	13	23
St. George's . .	3	8	2	1	9
Stepney . . .	2	—	6	—	7
Mile End 0. T. .	5	3	3	1	12
Poplar	4	5	4	1	14
Bethnal Green .	5	1	6	4	16
Shoreditch . .	3	2	1	10	16
Hackney . . .	9	1	6	2	18
Total	32	18	33	32	115

List of Clubs.

District.	Name of Club.	Address.	
White- 1 chapel	E. London Hibernian ...		Political.
	Jews' Club & Institute...	Great Alie Street.....	
	Netherlands Choral.....	Vine Court.....	Social.
	Netherlands Dramatic...		
		Commercial Street (orig. 10, George Yard).....	
		Hanbury Street.....	phil-
	All Saints'Club.....	1A, North Place.....	an thro-
	Whittington Club		Pic-
	United German.....		
	Somerset Club.....		
	Clarendon Social.....		
	Jewish Entertainment...		
	Imperial.....		(Propri
			[etary.
	Social Cigarette Makers'		
	Champion Club.....		
	Spital Sq. Club.....		
	Cannon Club.....		

List of Clubs—continued.

District.	Name of Club.	Address.	
St. George's	International W. M. 0.	Bemer Street	1 Politi. Coal.
	German Bakers'		Social.
	German Club		
	St. John's W. M. 0, ...	Sanders Street	} Philan,
	Working Men's Club ...		
	Warsaw Club	Joseph Street	Prop.
Stepney	Tower Ham. Bad. Assoc.		
	Social Dem. Federation	Burdett Boad	[Politi-
	Brasenose Club	Limehouse	jcal.
	Phoenix Club & Institute	Butcher Bow	
	; Ratcliffe Club	Narrow Street	i. Social.
	! Old Church Club	Bromley Street	f
	Working Lad's Institute	Rhodeswell Road	Philan.
Mile End OldTown	Mile End W. M. C.		
	Tower Ham. Bad. Club	Bedman's Road	
	Lib. Club...	Mile End Road	1 Politi-
	Mile End Conserv. Club	Burdett Road	(cal
	Conservative Club		
		Jamaica Street	
		Commercial Road	V Social.
		Philpot Street	)
	Tower Ham. Y. M. C. A.	Mile End Road	philan.
	St. Augustine's Club ...	Settles Street	J
		Stepney Green	Prop.
Poplar	Bow Liberal Club	Ford Street	
	Liberal Kef orm Club ...	East India Dock Road	(Politi.
	Conserv. Constit. Club...	Newby Place	| cal
	Bow & Bromley Reform	St. Leonard's Street	
	Robson Club		1
		Libra Road	
	Millwall Dock Club	West Ferry Road	Social.
	Bow & Bromley Instit.		
		Woollett Street	
	Thames Iron Works	Orchard Yard, Blackwall...	Philan
	Messrs. Braby & Co.'A ...	Ida Wharf	1
	St. Saviour's Club	i Northumberland Street ...	Prop.

List of Olubs—continued.

District.	Name of Club.	Address.	
Bethnal Green	**Bethnal Green W. M. 0.**	Green Street.....	1
	Boro' of Bethnal Green	Abbey Street.....	1 Politi-
			cal.
	Conserv. W. M. 0.....		J
	New Labour Club.....		Social.
	University Club.....		
	St. Andrew's Club.....		
	„ Institute ...		
	St. Peter's Club.....	**St. Peter's Street.....**	[Philan
	St. Bartholomew's Club	**Church Street .....**	
			J
		Bethnal Green Road.....	
			L
			VProp.
Shore-		**New North Road.....**	x
ditch		**Hoxton Square.....1**	IPoliti-
		City Road.....	cal.
		Scrutton Street.....	[-Social.
	Cosmopolitan Club , „		
	ShoreditchY.M.C.A....		Philan.
	Queen's Club.....		
	Britannic Club.....	**Hoxton Street .....**	
	Myrtle Club		
	Nelson Club.....	**Old Street.....**	
	Thalia Club	**Curtain Road.....**	
		Kingsland Road ,.....	Prop.
		City Road.....	
	German Social.....	**Hoxton Street .....**	
Hackney			
	London Fields Radical...	**TwemlowTer.,LondonFields**	1
	Hackney Radical.....	**The Grove.....**	
			Polit.
	Hackney Wick Radical		[cal.
	Reform Club.....	**Well Street .....**	
	Conservative Club.....	**Mare Street . >.....i.....**	
	•t M		¡

List of Clubs—continued.

District	Name of Club.	Address.	
Hackney	Hackney Wick W. M. C.		Social.
	Hackney Y. M. C. A. ...		
	All Souls' Club	Overberry Street 1	IPhilan.
	Working Men's Club ...		
	Dalston Club		jProp.

Friendly Societies,—East London has shared in the development of prudential thrift shown by the growth in recent years of the great Friendly Societies. One with another they have 50,000 members in the district, of whom 17,000 belong to the Ancient Order of Foresters, about the same number to the Loyal United Friends, 7000 to the Hearts of Oak, 5000 to the two orders of the Phoenix (Temperance), 3000 to the Odd Fellows, and a few to the Eechabites and Sons of Temperance.

Of the 700,000 members belonging to the Foresters it is noticeable that 17,000, with 114 Courts, are in the district, while the Odd Fellows, an equally strong society, being located chiefly in the north of England, has here only 3000 members and 18 lodges. These are the premier societies. Similar in the principles on which they are conducted, with well managed sick and death benefits, they are too widely known to need special description.

Of quite another kind is the Order of Loyal United Friends, which is so largely represented in East London. An unregistered society, its system of working is somewhat peculiar. Its lodges are amalgamated into districts, and have no separate purse, but each *district* manages its own

affairs. There is no central fund, nor is any distinction made, as is insisted on with registered societies, between sick fund, burial fund, and management. Candidates for admission are not required to be medically examined, if under 40 years of age, and the society has no doctors. In case of sickness two members are sent to report, followed up, if need be, by the secretary himself, who finally may call in a doctor at the expense of the society. On the other hand, this society is especially careful about occupations, a large number being interdicted. The society numbers, in all, some 50,000 members, and, so far as this country is concerned, is peculiarly a London society, its furthest lodge being at Gravesend. It has, however, a branch in New Zealand. The subscription is from 3s *6d* to 4s *6d* per quarter; the benefits are £10 at death, or £5 at death of wife, and in sickness 10s a week for 12 weeks, and then *6a* for 12 more weeks.

The Hearts of Oak, a large society having in all 115,000 members, dates from 1842, and is registered. Its social level is somewhat above that of the other societies, and its entire management different. A centralized society, with neither lodges nor districts, it employs no collectors, all contributions being paid in, and claims met, at the office of the society. Consequently, it can boast of exceptionally small management expenses; but it is evident that part of the expense saved to the society is thrown on to the individual members. It has no doctors of its own, but has an arrangement with certain "medical agencies" in London and the Provinces, at which members, for a small subscription, can be attended. In East London there are no less than 23 of these agencies.

The contribution to the Hearts of Oak is 10s per quarter, and the benefits are £20 and £10 severally for death of member or wife, and an allowance in sickness beginning at 18s a week. In addition, to attract young married men, it gives 30. for **the** lying-in of a member's wife, and to gratify

the old, 4. per week superannuation allowance. It also pays £15 in case of loss by fire, £5, if needed, to provido a substitute for the militia, and as a relic of a former state of things, 5s a week in case of imprisonment for debt. The 7000 East End members of the society are, no doubt, all fairly well-to-do.

There are five total abstinence benefit societies at work in East London, but the principal three are off-shoots of one stem, "The Phoenix." The bone of contention amongst them has been the question of consolidation, the wealthier branches not unnaturally objecting to pool their funds with the poorer ones. So far back as 1862 the present "United Order of Total Abstinent Sons of the Phoenix" seceded from the "Original Grand Order" of the same. The latter was opposed to consolidation, and until December, 1887, employed instead a system of levies in favour of any lodge unable to meet its death payments. It has, however, now adopted consolidation at the cost of a further secession, which has founded a third order called "The Amalgamated Independent Sons of the Phoenix." The estimated deficiency by valuation of these orders is considerable, but their position is always better than would seem, as the failure to maintain the temperance pledge increases the ordinary proportion of lapsed membership. The figures so far bear this out as to make it appear that the societies live by their lapses, being able to trust with scientific certainty to a proportion of their members breaking the pledge.

The Original or "Red" order, as it is called from the colour of its insignia, confines its benefits to the case of death, but the United or "Blue" Order has introduced a separate sick contribution and benefit, which some of the lodges have taken up. The contributions vary with the different lodges, but are about *2s 2d* per quarter; this provides £14 at death of member, and £7 at death of member's wife.

The Rechabites, an old-established Temperance Society

(dating from 1835) with 75,000 members, has too few members in Bast London to be particularly noticed here. Its peculiarity is that sick as well as death funds are centralized. The Sons of Temperance are also very slightly represented in our district.

On the whole there is evidence of an effort towards *prudent* thrift, falling far short, no doubt, of what it might be, and not equal to what is being done by similar means elsewhere in England, but;, in itself, very considerable, and from its growth, very hopeful. Nor does the work of these societies represent the full extent of the spread of this virtue, for the "Prudential" and other companies do a very large business even amongst the quite poor. The system of agents and collectors employed by these companies is no doubt expensive, but pleads that justification which success rarely fails to command. The terms offered by Government are more liberal, but the methods employed do not suit the poor so well.

Besides the agencies already noticed, there are in East London a number of "dividing societies," which, although they appear to partake of the advantages of benefit societies, cannot be included in the agencies which a sagaciously thrifty person would use. To these organizations young men will subscribe 6d per week for benefits which, considering their age, might be provided at 3d. At the end of the year, the accumulated funds are divided amongst the members, all liabilities having been previously met. Of the 26s paid into a new club, each member will often get 20s back. This goes on, year after year, but as the members grow older the claims get larger, and the amount to be shared proportionately smaller. Efforts are made to introduce new blood, but the younger men refuse to bear the burdens of the older ones, and the society falls to pieces just at the time when its assistance is most needed.

Then the old members complain that the benefits of

XVIII.—*Table showing the number of Members of Friendly Societies, with the population in each district.*

Per cent. of Poor.	District.	Ancient Order of Rechabites	Sons of Temperance.	O. G. O. of Sons of Phœnix.	U. O. of Sons of Phœnix	Hearts of Oak.	M. U. of Odd Fellows.	Ancient Order of Foresters.	Loyal United Friends.	Total	Population.
43	Whitechapel	—	—	168	469	243	—	1,716	4,750	7,346	73,518
	St. George's	4	—	68	70	328	—	171	—	641	47,578
30	Stepney	—	48	267	235	305	211	2,865	—	3,931	62,063
	Mile End O. T.	65	—	305	375	690	378	2,115	—	3,928	110,321
36	Poplar	30	35	252	519	1,814	886	2,962	2,000	8,498	166,393
45	Bethnal Green	—	27	53	375	802	67	841	3,280	5,445	127,641
40	Shoreditch	85	—	660	644	907	1,234	3,579	4,220	11,329	121,161
23	Hackney	12	45	168	410	1,668	294	2,790	700	6,087	162,864
	Total	196	155	1,941	3,097	6,757	3,070	17,039	14,950	47,225	891,539

friendly societies are mythical, and so strong is this feeling in some quarters, that these " dividing societies " are said to have done more harm to the Friendly Societies' movement than all other adverse influences put together.

Another form of thrift (of a sort), is to be found in what are called " loan and investment societies." These provide the commonest form of what may be called "publican's thrift." A number of men meeting weekly at some public-house form a society with treasurer (usually the publican), trustee, check steward, and secretary; *3d* entrance fee is paid, and *3d* more for the book of rules, including a card on which loans and repayments are noted. Each share taken up involves a weekly subscription of *6d*; the number of shares that may be taken by one member is generally limited. There is also a small quarterly subscription for working expenses. The funds so subscribed, week by week, are available for loans to the members, who stand security for each other. The interest on the loan (5 per cent.) is deducted when the amount is borrowed, and *Is* in the £1 is payable every week. The loan is thus repaid in 20 weeks, and a good interest is made by the common purse. Fines are levied if repayments and subscriptions are not punctually met week by week, and great care is exercised not to lend more than is safely secured. The result at the end of the year is a profit of *3a* or 4s per share, and if not in debt to the society at the time, each member receives also the £1. *6s* accumulated *(6d* per week). The money is divided at Christmas, and comes in handy at that time for expenditure, which is doubtless greatly to the benefit of the house in which the society is held. Every member is expected to borrow to some extent, and may perhaps be obliged to do so or pay the interest, otherwise he would obtain what would be thought an unfair advantage in the division of profit. There is a jovial spirit about this sort of thrift, but it may be doubted whether a man's family will gain anything by it»

A still simpler plan, common among factory girls, is for a number to club together weekly 6i or 1s each, the whole sum being taken by one of the members in rotation by lot. The object is to get a large enough sum at once to make spending profitable: to buy a hat, or boots, or have a fling of some sort. It is perhaps hardly to be called thrift, and yet it comes very near it. I must confess to feeling great sympathy with this plan.

Co-operative Stores.—In the East End is situated the London head-quarters of the Co-operative Wholesale Society, whose very handsome new building in Hooper Square, Whitechapel, bears testimony to the progress of the movement and is a centre of propaganda. London generally is still behind some other parts of the country as to co-operation, but has made a considerable advance in the last few years, and in our district there are some half-dozen distributive societies. Of these by far the most important is called the Tower Hamlets Co-operative Society, situated in Mile End, with branches at Poplar and Bow. It numbers 1560 members, and has £5000 capital; its sales for 1887 reached £24,000 and uet profits were £1400.

The next largest is the Borough of Hackney Co-operative Society, started in 1886 with 87 members, and having in September, 1888, about 400 members and a business of £5000 in sales, with a profit of £250. It has just absorbed the South Hackney Society, an older but less successful concern. Two of the clubs have started co-operative societies—the United Radical about a year ago, and the University Club still more recently. This is a noteworthy extension of club possibilities.

Productive societies have been from time to time started in East London, but their career has been neither long nor brilliant. They have often had a semi-philanthropic basis, and have been well-meant but hopeless efforts to supersede "sweating" by co-operation. None now working are of

sufficient importance to be mentioned. The following are the particulars of the distributive societies.

	Year of establishment.	No. of members.	Liabilities *A*	Assets. £	Received for goods sold in 1887.	Net profit made. *A*
Borough of Hackney ...	1886	896	687	722	4,890	250
SouthHackney (J of a year)	1885	60	122	95	720	—
East London .	—	169	800	840	3,200	120
TowerHamlets	1882	1,560	5,000	5,000	24,000	1,400
United Radioal (½ a year) ...	1888	816	150	150	1,170	—
University (½of a year)...	1888	150	—	—	£250 a week	—
Rook (started Nov. 29th)...	1888	220	250	250	—	—
Total.....		2871				

Public-houses play a larger part in the lives of the people than clubs or friendly societies, churches or missions, or perhaps than all put together, and bad it would be if their action and influence were altogether evil. This is not so, though the bad side is very palpable and continually enforced upon our minds.

A most horrible and true picture may be drawn of the trade in drink, of the wickedness and misery that goes with it. So horrible that one cannot wonder that some eyes are blinded to all else, and there is a cry of away with this accursed abomination. There is, however, much more to be said. Anyone who frequents public-houses knows that actual drunkenness is very much the exception. At the worst houses in the worst neighbourhoods many, or perhaps most, of those who stand at the bars, whether men or women, are stamped with the effects of drink, and, if orderly at the moment, are perhaps at other times mad or incapable under its influence; but at the hundreds of respectable public-houses, scattered plentifully all through the

district, this is not the case. It could not be. They live by supplying the wants of the bulk of the people, and it is not possible that they should be much worse than the people they serve. Go into any of these houses—the ordinary public-house at the corner of any ordinary East End street—there, standing at the counter, or seated on the benches against wall or partition, will be perhaps half-a-dozen people, men and women, chatting together over their beer —more often beer than spirits—or you may see a few men. come in with no time to lose, briskly drink their glass and go. Behind the bar will be a decent middle-aged woman, something above her customers in class, very neatly dressed, respecting herself and respected by them. The whole scene comfortable, quiet, and orderly. To these houses those who live near send their children with a jug as readily as they would send them to any other shop.

I do not want to press this more cheerful point of view further than is necessary to relieve the darker shades of the picture. I would rather admit the evils and try to show how they may be lessened and what the tendencies are that make for improvement.

It is evident that publicans, like all the rest of us, are feeling the stress of competition. Walk through the streets and everywhere it may be seen that the public-houses are put to it to please their customers. Placards announcing change of management frequently meet the eye, while almost every house vigorously announces its reduced prices. "So much the worse" some will say. But no! It is a good thing that they should be considering how to make themselves more attractive. Undermined by the increasing temperance of the people, and subject to direct attack from the cocoa rooms on the one side and the clubs on the other, the licensed victuallers begin to see that they cannot live by drink alone. Look more closely at the signs in their windows. There is hardly a window that does not show the necessity felt to cater for other wants besides drink. All sell tobacco, not

a few sell tea, "Bovril" (a well advertised novelty) is to be had everywhere. Hot luncheons are offered, or a mid-day joint; or "sausages and mashed" are suggested to the hungry passer-by; at all events there will be sandwiches, biscuits, and bread and cheese. Early coffee is frequently provided, and temperance drinks too have now a recognized place. Ginger beer is sold everywhere, and not infrequently kept on draught.. These things are new, and though trifles in themselves, they serve as straws to show the way of the wind. The public-houses also connect themselves with benefit clubs, charitable concerts, and "friendly draws." No doubt in all these things there is an eye to the ultimate sale of drink, but every accessory attraction or departure from the simple glare of the gin palace is an improvement. In order to succeed, each public-house now finds itself impelled to become more of a music hall, more of a restaurant, or more of a club, or it must ally itself with thrift. The publican must consider other desires besides that for strong drink. Those that do not, will be beaten in the race.

In all these efforts there is bad as well as good, and a monstrous ingenuity may be exerted in tempting men to drink—gambling and other vices being used to draw people together and open their purses. As public servants, the licensed victuallers are on their trial. The field is still in their possession, but let them be warned; for if they would keep their place they must adapt themselves to the requirements of the times. If they should neglect the larger wants of the great mass of the people, content to find their principal customers amongst the depraved, they would deserve the ruin that would inevitably fall on them.

In such a situation it would be a fatal mistake to decrease the number of the houses in the cause of temperance. To encourage the decent and respectable publican by making

. It is th.u called "Brewed Ginger Beer,"—a sort of sheep in wolf's clothing.

existence difficult to the disreputable is the better policy, but let us on no account interfere with a natural development, which, if I am right, is making it every day more difficult to make a livelihood by the simple sale of drink.

Cocoa Rooms, and especially Lockhart's cocoa rooms, have become an important factor in the life of the people. At first cocoa rooms, or "coffee palaces" as they were then called, were the result of philanthropic or religious effort. They were to pay their way; but they did not do it. They were to provide good refreshments; but tea, coffee, cocoa and cakes were alike bad. It was not till the work was taken up as a business that any good was done with it. Now it strides forward, and though Lockhart's are the best and the most numerous, others are following and are bound to come up to, or excel, the standard so established. Very soon we shall have no length of principal street without such a place, and we shall wonder how we ever got on without them. In their rules they are wisely liberal: those who drink the cocoa may sit at the tables to eat the dinner or breakfast they have brought from home, or bringing the bread and butter from home they can add the sausage or whatever completes the meal.

Amusements.—There are three theatres in the Bast End: the Standard in Norton Folgate, the Pavilion in the Mile End Road, and the Britannia in Hoxton; all homes of legitimate drama. Everywhere in England theatre-goers are a special class. Those who care, go often; the rest seldom or not at all. The regular East End theatre-goer even finds his way westwards, and in the sixpenny seats of the little house in Pitfield Street I have heard a discussion on Irving's representation of *Faust* at the Lyceum. The passion for the stage crops up also in the dramatic clubs, of which there are several. But by the mass of the people the music hall entertainment is preferred to the drama. There are fully half-a-dozen music halls, great and small, in the

district, and of alt of them it must be said that the performances are unobjectionable—the keynote is a coarse, rough fun, and nothing is so much applauded as good step dancing. Of questionable innuendo there is little, far less than at West End music halls, and less, I noticed, than at the small benefit concerts held at public-houses. At one of these public-houses a more than *risque* song was received with loud laughter by the men and with sniggering by the married women, but by the girls present with a stony impenetrableness of demeanour, which I take to be the natural armour of the East End young women. The performances, whether at the music halls, or at the clubs, or at benefit concerts, all aim at the same kind of thing, and may be taken as supplying what the people demand in the way of amusement.

Music, moreover, of whatever sort, never comes amiss, and is a pleasure common to every class, for there seem to be as many in whom this faculty is highly developed in one class as another. Of dancing, too, all classes are very fond, but it seems not easy to arrange so as to avoid the scandal which surrounds all dancing saloons, and below class G there is not very much of it. The shilling balls of this class are eminently respectable and decorous so far as I have seen. In the streets the love of dancing bursts out whenever it has a chance; let a barrel organ strike up a valse at any corner and at once the girls who may be walking past, and the children out of the gutter, begin to foot it merrily. Men join in sometimes, two young men together as likely as not, and passers-by stand to enjoy the sight. A couple of ragged, perhaps even bare-footed children, dancing conscientiously the step of the latest *trois-temps*, are a pleasant sight to see.

But the exercise in which the people most delight is discussion. The clubs provide for this on Sundays, but the custom flourishes yet more freely in the open air. Mile End Waste on Saturday night, Victoria Park on Sunday,

are where the meetings are mostly gathered. It may be that those who make up the crowds who surround the speakers and who join in the wordy warfare, or split into groups of eager talkers, are the same individuals over and over again. But I do not think so. I believe keen dialectic to be the especial passion of the population at large. It is the fence, the cut and thrust, or skilful parry, that interests rather than the merits of the subject, and it is religious discussion which interests the people most.

The People's Palace, the idea of Mr. Besant and the work of Sir Edmund Currie, aided by the liberality of the Company of Drapers, stands out conspicuously in East London, as an attempt to improve and brighten the lives of the people. The Queen's Hall and the Library are fine buildings, the technical schools have suitable quarters, and there is a large swimming bath. The rest at present consists of "Exhibition buildings" used (very successfully) for gymnasium purposes. The whole appearance is unfinished. On every feature is stamped "we need more money." The number of members is now. 1800 (two-thirds male, one-third female). There are also 2250 students in the technical classes, 400 boys in the day-school, and 400 more in the junior section for gymnastic training, &c. So that in all about 5000 young persons are connected with the Palace. The subscriptions run from Is to 10. a quarter, but all the money obtained from subscriptions goes but a little way towards the expenses. Of endowment there is about £5000—(half from the Charity Commissioners and half from the Drapers' Company)—and beyond this the public must every year be appealed to for large sums to keep the palace in full swing. The exhibitions and entertainments provided for the outside public at a small entrance charge have been without end, very interesting and extremely well attended. The following societies and clubs are held in

. There is a great redaction from 1888, due perhaps to the pasting of the novelty which attracted numbers at first.

connection with this institution:—Choral, boxing, dramatic, literary, cycling, cricket, football, harriers, chess and draughts, orchestral, Parliament, ramblers, sick, photographic, sketching, ladies[1] social, shorthand, and military band, with others in course of formation. Each society is composed of members of the institute and managed by its own members.

Here then is a huge growth in the short time since the institute was opened. It must be said that there is about both method employed and results obtained a sort of inflation, unsound and dangerous. Hitherto success has justified the measures taken, but nevertheless a slower growth for such an institution is much to be preferred, and it has even yet to be proved whether the People's Palace is to be regarded as an example or as a warning.

Religion.—It is difficult to say what part religion takes in the lives of the mass of the people; it is not easy to define religion for this purpose. Comparatively few go to church, but they strike me as very earnest-minded, and not without a religious feeling even when they say, as I have heard a man say (thinking of the evils which surrounded him), " I f there is a God, he must be a bad one."

A census of the attendance at church and chapel all over London was taken on October 24th, 1886, and the results were published in the *British Weekly.* The attendance at mission halls was similarly taken on November 27th, 1887, and the figures for our district are appended. The synagogues, of which there are several, were not returned.

Missions, &c.—There are at least a hundred agencies of a more or less religious and philanthropic character at work in our district. Most of these are on a small scale, and are local in character, connected with the principal denominations of the parish in which they are carried on. There are, however, a few larger ones,«uch as the Great

XIX.—East London and Hackney.—*Attendances at Churches and Chapels on Sunday, October 24th, 1886.*

DISTRICT.	Estimated Population, 1887.	Church of England		Congregational.		Baptist		Wesleyan.		Other Methodists.		Presbyterian.		Other Denominations.		Roman Catholic		Hospitals, Workhouses, &c.		Total.	
		Morn.	Even.	Morn.	Even.	Morn.	Even.	Morn.	Even.	Morn.	Even.	Morn.	Even.	Morn.	Even.	Morn.	Even.	Morn.	Even.	Morn.	Even.
Shoreditch	124,000	4,167	5,495	526	886	127	142	346	425	221	330	—	—	201	177	132	194	160	120	5,880	7,769
Bethnal Green	130,000	3,025	4,814	1,641	2,277	1,823	2,334	711	915	85	99	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7,285	9,939
Whitechapel	76,000	1,921	2,127	257	288	488	462	86	109	28	49	—	—	169	159	1,139	880	146	129	4,134	4,203
St. George's-in-the-East	49,000	1,029	1,816	137	175	320	376	425	463	173	190	—	—	61	—	825	475	—	—	2,470	2,995
Stepney	63,000	2,804	3,075	172	344	—	—	239	335	208	137	—	—	54	133	424	15	—	—	3,401	4,039
Mile End Old Town	112,000	2,529	2,762	1,917	2,678	1,813	1,965	458	509	245	257	141	157	132	175	541	606	—	—	7,776	9,309
Poplar	169,000	5,091	6,399	1,641	2,045	1,474	2,557	1,708	2,214	1,368	1,598	276	268	109	168	588	984	587	275	12,842	16,508
Hackney (exclusing Stoke Newington)	186,000	13,300	11,922	6,254	5,751	3,607	3,953	2,415	2,599	740	799	364	235	832	860	958	843	142	124	28,612	26,886
Total	909,000	33,266	37,410	12,545	14,644	9,652	11,789	6,388	7,369	3,068	3,459	781	660	1,558	1,672	4,107	3,997	1,035	648	72,400	81,648
Approximate amount of accommodation provided in the district		95,750		20,600		26,000		19,100		11,400		4,000		7,500		7,600					

Attendances at Mission Halls on Sunday, November 27th, 1887.

DISTRICT.	Church of England.			Congregational.			Baptist.			Wesleyan.			London City Mission.			Salvation Army.			Undenominational.			Other Missions.			Total.		
	Morn.	After.	Even.	Morn	After	Even.	Morn	After	Even.	Morn	After	Even.	Morn	After	Even.	Morn	After.	Even.	Morn.	After.	Even.	Morn	After	Even.	Morn.	After.	Even.
Shoreditch	—	54	75	—	—	209	395	261	897	—	—	62	—	—	96	50	100	190	42	950	263	341	641	565	828	2,006	2,357
Bethnal Green	—	—	60	30	—	91	—	247	404	41	100	521	—	—	162	42	98	205	62	25	770	56	—	737	231	470	2,950
Whitechapel	—	—	100	40	—	397	—	—	—	152	—	173	—	330	—	71	220	400	210	200	3,880	265	30	297	738	780	5,247
St. George's-in-the-East	110	—	203	—	—	324	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	88	—	—	—	148	—	307	—	10	—	258	10	872
Stepney	—	—	267	—	—	—	—	—	104	—	—	—	—	—	881	105	180	300	1,839	875	2,157	—	—	—	1,944	1,055	3,209
Mile End Old Town	—	9	253	—	—	48	—	—	—	160	—	486	—	—	—	57	65	110	1,325	140	4,314	100	—	180	1,642	214	5,391
Poplar	345	559	823	—	—	936	60	—	390	20	—	52	75	118	737	549	1,007	1,580	96	224	776	178	65	504	1,323	1,973	5,298
Hackney	496	382	1,906	153	45	1,818	243	40	896	403	12	759	—	—	—	113	166	338	80	80	1,448	51	96	864	1,489	771	7,529
Total	951	1,004	3,187	223	45	3,823	698	548	2,691	776	112	2,053	75	448	1,414	987	1,836	3,123	3,752	2,444	13,915	991	842	2,647	8,458	7,279	32,853

Note.—The generally accepted estimate of Sir Horace Mann is that 58 per cent. of the total population the 50,000 Jews, this would give for our district 498,220 as the possible total of (and assuming that those who attend more than once in the day are balanced by some whose the same method to the whole of London, the actual number of attenders was 1,171,412, or population could, if they chose, attend a place of worship once on Sunday. Deducting from the attenders, whereas the actual number, taking together all the services given in the above tables only attendance is at an early morning or extra service) was 202,600, or 28·6 per cent. Applying about 29 per cent. [*The correctness of these returns has been questioned and is doubtful.*]

Assembly Hall Mission, Mile End Road, which, under the superintendence of Mr. F. N. Charrington, is carrying on an extensive work, and draws several thousands of people to its religious services. Harley House, Bow, is the centre of an important evangelical enterprise directed by Mr. and Mrs. Guinness; and some of the music halls and theatres, as also the Bow and Bromley Institute, are utilized on Sundays for the carrying on of religious work on a large scale. An extensive work is also being carried on in the homes and missions organized by Dr. Stephenson at Bonner Road and elsewhere.

Toynbee Hall **and** ***Oxford House*** **are both efforts by means of residential settlement to bring University culture into direct contact with the poorest of the people. Each connects its action with that of the parish in which it is situated, and each is the centre of a great amount of work of social organization. The amount of life which is thus set and kept in motion may be gathered from the actual bill of fare at Toynbee Hall for a single week, taken haphazard:—**

SUNDAY.....7.30 P.M.... Ethical Lecture—" Socrates."
„.....9.0 P.M. ... Popular Lecture, with magic-lantern—
• . Normandy.'.
MONDAY.....8.0P.M. ... Univer. Exten. Lecture — "Chemistry of Arts and Manufactures."
„.....Beading party—"Spinoza."
„.....*Classes*—Elementary Shorthand.
Carpentry.
Beginners in Latin.
„ ... 7.80 to 9.45 P.M.... Three successive Singing Classes in connection with Popular Musical Union.
TUESDAY.....4.30 P.M.... Beading Party—" English Literature."
„.....8.0 P.M. ... Univer. Exten. Leoture—" Age of Pope."
„.....„ Recreative School party (of those who attend East End Recreative Evening Classes).
„.....7.0 P.M.... *Classes*—Intermediate Shorthand.
„ Greek.
8.0 P.M. ... Advanced Shorthand.

TUESDAY.....8.0 P.M. ... *Classes*—Elementary Greek,
Carpentry.
Embriology (Advanced).
Botany.
Elementary French.
Physical Geography.

1. ... 7.30 to 9.45 P.M.... Three successive Violin Classes (Pop. Mus. Union).

WEDNESDAY Beading Party—English Literature.

.....6.0 P.M.....

Univer. Ezten. Lecture — English and European History (Stuart Period).

„.....8.0 P.M..... Beading Party—English Literature.

Elizabethan Society Meeting (monthly, to read paper).

Classes—Intermediate French for women.

.....8.0 P.M..... Elementary French „
Decoration.
Elementary Chemical Analysis

»» .....8.30 P.M..... Beading Party—Plato.

THURSDAY .....8.0 P.M..... Popular Concert.

Boy Foresters' Party.

.....8.0 P.M..... Toynbee Shakespeare Club.

Lecture—Political Economy and Trades Unionism.

Lecture—" Starfish," Ac.

Classes—Venetian Art.
Decoration (Boys).

.....8.0 PM..... Wood Carving and Clay Modelling (Boys).
Advanced French.

.....8.80 PM..... Italian.

.7.0 to 9.0 P.M..... Elementary Chemistry.

Univer. Ezten. Lecture—" Physiology of the Senses."

„.....7.0 P.M..... Two reading parties in connection with above lecture.

.....8.0 P.M..... Beading Party—" Bacon."

Classes—Intermediate Latin.
Elementary German.
Maszini.
Intermediate French.
Advanced French.
Advanced Latin.
Advanced German.

SATURDAY.....8.0 P.M.....Lecture—.[1] The Saxon Chronicle.[H]
. . . . . ,,. . . . . "Engraving."
,,. . . . . ,,. . . . .Annual Meeting Pupil Teachers' Assoc.
" Black and White " Exhibition open Saturday and Sunday of this week.
The Library is open all day on Sunday; 1.80 to 10.80 P.M. on Saturday; and 4.80 to 10.80 P.M. on other days.

Something of this kind goes on every week. There are over 600 members on the register of the classes, and 600 tickets were sold for the last course of University Extension lectures. In all about 1000 people come weekly to Toynbee Hall for concerts, lectures, classes, &c. Outside of all this, the residents—20 members of the Universities living in Toynbee Hall—do what is recognized as their chief work in forming friendships with the people, and coming into touch with their needs in connection with school management, co-operation, local government, charity organization, and children's country holidays. An excursion was arranged for a large party (many being school teachers) to Florence last Easter, and one to Venice is proposed for this year. The Lolesworth Club—a social, self-governing and self-supporting club on teetotal principles, whose members are a happy family drawn from the tenants of Lolesworth and other neighbouring blocks of buildings—provides an opening for, and is provided with, continual lectures and entertainments; and the United Brothers, another club, has been fostered, and the Whittington Club for boys very much helped from this centre.

The value direct and indirect of such work is very great—great to those for whose benefit it is done, and not less so in the education of the educators.

Oxford House is the centre of much social and religious effort, as well as of a ring of clubs, of which the University Club already described is the most important.

***The Salvation Army*, originated in the East of London in 1865, claims (Christmas 1888) to have 7107 officers, 2587 corps, and 653. outposts, established in 33 countries or colonies; and so rapid is its growth, that 1423 officers**

and 825 corps have been added in the past 12 months. Of this grand total a full proportion are situated in our district, where they have services and marches every week. In their slum work and in the provision of " food and shelter for the homeless and starving poor" the needs of East London are specially considered, and in East London is to be found one of the homes established by the Army in connection with their rescue work. Of the slum officers it is said that "they live amongst the people in the darkest and most wretched courts and alleys. They nurse the sick, care for the dying, visit the lodging-houses, hold meetings continually, and by their self-sacrificing lives win hundreds of poor outcasts for Christ."

No one who has attended the services, studied the faces, and listened to the spoken words, can doubt the earnest and genuine character of the enthusiasm which finds in them its expression. The Army claims to be, and is, " a force of converted men and women, who intend to make all men yield or at least listen to the claims of God to their love and service." Its members hold in single faith, and with a very passionate conviction, what are known as the truths of Christianity, and desire that all men should be forced to hear of Salvation. They carry on their flag the motto " Blood and Fire," which is explained to mean "the precious Blood of Christ's atonement by which only we are saved, and the Holy Spirit who sanctifies, energises and comforts the true soldiers of God." It is pointed out that the doctrines they preach are "just those which are deemed essential by all orthodox people of God. Utter ruin through the fall; Salvation *alone* from first to last, through the atonement of Christ by the Holy Spirit; the Great Day of Judgment, with its reward of Heaven for ever for the righteous, and Hell for ever for the wicked." And they add to this a belief that "it is possible for God to create in man a clean heart," granting him thus a sort of present and earthly Salvation. To these doctrines and principles the orthodox can have no objection. Those who give an objective value

at all to the "truths of Christianity" can hardly find fault with the very vivid language which is only a consequence of very vivid belief. Nor will those who seek mental peace in every shade of subjective value which can be attached to the same ideas, recognize anything unfavourable to the Salvation Army in the simplicity with which the orthodox doctrines are expressed. So far the Army occupies a very strong position. Justified as to its faith, is it also justified by its work f

If the student of these matters turns his eyes from those conducting the service to those for whom it is conducted, he sees for the most part blank indifference. Some may "come to scoff and stay to pray," but scoffers are in truth more hopeful than those—and they are the great bulk of every audience of which I have ever made one—who look in to see what is going on; enjoying the hymns perhaps, but taking the whole service as a diversion. I have said that I do not think the people of East London irreligious in spirit, and also that doctrinal discussion is almost a passion with them; but I do not think the Salvation Army supplies what they want in either one direction or the other. The design of the Army to "make all men yield, or at least listen," will be disappointed in East London. On the other hand, they will find recruits there, as everywhere else in England, to swell the comparatively small band of men and women who form the actual Army of General Booth, and who may find their own salvation while seeking vainly to bring salvation to others. Not by this road (if I am right) will religion be brought to the mass of the English people.

In rescue work I should suppose that the methods pursued would touch many, but I should need better evidence than any I have seen to convince me that of those touched many would be permanently affected by the heightened eirotions and excitement which are so unsparingly used. On the other hand, something more than their own salvation must result from lives of devotion such as are in truth led by these modern soldiers of the cross.

The ultimate results of providing food and shelter at uncommercial prices can hardly be other than evil, but even this is mitigated by the evident honesty of the effort and the *naive* desire shown to make it as little demoralizing as possible. Much of the same sort of thing is being done broadcast amongst the poor of the East End by many agencies; and the more of it, the more solid and sodden will the poverty become with which we have to deal.

***Dr. Bamardo's Homes.*—The work of Dr. Barnardo is most remarkable. There is, I believe, nothing in the world like it. I need not describe either his methods or their results. They are well known. With its motto, *ie* Save the Boy," a large and symmetrical structure has been built up, stone by stone, each stone an individual case of child-destitution. The only remark I would offer is that, with such dimensions as Dr. Barnardo's work has assumed, special dangers show themselves. His intervention may begin to be counted upon, and if so, it may tend to increase the troubles it sets out to cure..**

***Hospitals.*—East London is rich in Hospitals of all sorts. The following are within its confines :—The London Hospital, in Whitechapel Road, which claims to be the largest building of its kind in England, with medical college and training home for nurses. The Metropolitan Hospital, lately established in new buildings in the Kingsland Road. The Homerton Fever and Small Pox Hospitals, supported by the rates. The Poplar Hospital, in East India Dock Road, chiefly devoted to accidents. The City of London Hospital, in Victoria Park, dealing especially with diseases of the chest. The East London Hospital for Children, situated in Shadwell. The North-Eastern Hospital for Children, in Hackney Road, and a small hospital for. incurable children,**

. Subsequent inquiry has satisfied me that these dangers have been foreseen and guarded against.— C. B., 1902.

managed by the Vicar of St. Michael's, Shoreditch. The Mildmay Mission Hospital, in Bethnal Green; and St. John's Hospital, connected with the community of Nursing Sisters of St. John, situated in Poplar. The German Hospital, Dispensary, and Convalescent Home at Dalston. In addition to all these, there are the Spanish and Portuguese Jews' Hospital in Mile End Road; and the French Protestant Hospital to the north of Victoria Park, which are rather asylums for the aged than hospitals in the ordinary sense of the word. Some particulars of the principal of these institutions are appended, and an account of the French Protestant Hospital will be found in the chapter on Silk Weaving, in Vol. IV.

The London Hospital dates from 1740, or from 1759 in its present site, and has steadily increased till it has now 800 beds. It treated, in-doors and out, 100,000 cases in 1887; the ordinary expenditure is £50,000 per annum, of which only £16,500 is from assured sources. The medical college is the oldest in London, started in 1785, and added to and improved at various times. A useful adjunct of the hospital is the Samaritan Society, employed mainly in the assistance of needy convalescent patients, or in helping the families in cases of distress. During 1887 this society sent more than 700 patients to convalescent homes at the sea-side or elsewhere.

The Metropolitan Hospital (Kingsland Road) is remarkable for being worked on provident principles. Cases of urgency or accident are freely admitted, but the main object of the hospital is to enable those living in the neighbourhood, who by their position in life are eligible, to obtain the benefits of the hospital for themselves and their families, as in-door or out-door patients, by a small fixed monthly payment. The doctors attend at the hospital in the evenings, sO that a man may call after his day's work is done. The books already include 4000 members, representing 8000 individuals, all these haying been enrolled in one year.

The East London Hospital for Children, Shadwell, has 102 cots, and connected with it is a dispensary for women. The total number of patients who received treatment during the last financial year was 19,268, of whom 3748 were women and 15,484 children.

The German Hospital contains 125 beds, which are nearly always occupied. At the hospital dispensary last year 18,528 persons were treated as out-patients.

Poor Relief.—The East End is remarkable for successful efforts to put an end to out-door relief. Stepney and Whitechapel have shown what can be done in this way, and have set an example which might with advantage be followed elsewhere. It is not necessary to re-state here the figures which have been published by Mr, Vallance, the Secretary of the Whitechapel Board of Guardians, and by Mr. John Jones, the Relieving Officer of the Stepney Union, which I think prove conclusively that in London out-door relief can be safely dispensed with; the result being that other agencies step in to do the work and therein find a legitimate field of operation, while the Guardians cease to do work which should not rightly be theirs. Side by side with the hardening of the principles of poor relief, has gone the improvement of the treatment of the sick in the infirmaries. On the question of the relations which are in fact to be found existing between poverty and pauperism I hope to say something at a future time.

Board Schools.—Nowhere more than in the East of London does the work done by the " extravagance " of the School Board stand justified. It was necessary to strike the eye and hold the imagination, it was worth much to carry high the flag of education, and this is what has been done. Each school stands up from its playground like a church in God's acre ringing its bell. It may be that another policy should now be followed, that the turn of economy has

come; but I am glad that no niggard spirit interfered at the outset. We have full value for all that has been spent. The effect of the tall school buildings with their characteristic architecture is heightened by the low-browed houses amongst which they are reared. Such situations have been deliberately chosen, and the clearance for the school-house has been made very often in the midst of the worst class of property.

CHAPTER V.

POVERTY.

The Standard of Life.—Omitting Class A, which rather involves the question of disorder, we have in Classes B, C, and D the problem of poverty. In the population under review the 100,000 of "very poor" (Class B) are at all times more or less "in want." They are ill-nourished and poorly clad. But of them only a percentage—and not, I think, a large percentage—would be said by themselves, or by anyone else, to be "in distress," From day to day and from hand to mouth they get along; sometimes suffering, sometimes helped, but not always unfortunate, and very ready to enjoy any good luck that may come in their way. They are, very likely, improvident, spending what they make as they make it; but the "improvidence of the poor has its bright side. Life would indeed be intolerable were they always contemplating the gulf of destitution on whose brink they hang.". Some may be semi-paupers, going into the "house" at cortain seasons, and some few receive out-door relief, but on the whole they manage to avoid the workhouse. On the other hand, the 200,000 of "poor" (Classes C and D), though they would be much the better for more of everything, are not "in want." They are neither ill-nourished nor ill-clad, according to any standard that can reasonably be used. Their lives are an unending struggle, and lack comfort, but I do not know that they lack happiness.f

. "A Village Tragedy," by Mrs. Woods.

f An analysis of the elements of happiness would hardly be in place here, bat it may be remarked that neither poverty nor wealth have much part in it. The main conditions of human hapmtoess I believe to be work and affection, and **he who works for those he loves** fulfils these conditions more', easily.

By "want" is here meant an aggravated form of poverty, and by "distress" an aggravated form of "want." There is to my mind a degree of poverty that does not amount to want and a degree of want that does not amount to distress.

The table which follows divides classes B, 0, and D approximately, according to age, sex, &c.:—

	Very Poor.	Poor.		TOTAL.
	B.	O.	D.	
Married men	16,705	12,822	23,110	62,637
Their wives	16,682	12,760	22,990	52,432
Unmarried men	7,195	5,505	9,955	22,655
Widows	6,495	4,119	5,776	16,390
Unmarried women	5,191	3,986	6,749	15,926
Young persons, male	4,812	3,565	6,164	14,541
,, female	46,23	3,363	5,833	13,819
Children	29,000	20,880	36,032	85,912
Infants	9,359	7,247	12,278	28,884
	100,062	74,247	128,887	303,196

In order to show exactly what I mean by poverty, want, and distress, and thus attach some positive value to the definition of "poor" and "very poor," I have attempted to investigate and analyze the expenditure usually current in Classes B, C, D, and E, and have included a few examples from F. The figures are from genuine and, I believe, trustworthy accounts, and relate to 30 families, of whom 6 are "very poor," 10 are "poor," and 14 are above the line of poverty. This method cannot, however, be employed to reach the lowest level, and the imagination must be drawn upon to complete the picture of Class B.

To facilitate comparison, every family has been reduced to an equivalent in "male adults"—allowing three-fourths for a woman and in proportion for children, and the whole 30 have been arranged in order according to their standard of life. **On food, No. 1** spent 2s **4½d per male adult per** week; No. 30 spent **10s. 1½d. On** rent, fire, light and insurance,

No. 1 spent 2s 2d; No. 30 spent 4s 7½*d.* On medicine and clothes (very uncertain items),No. 1 spent nothing; No. 30 spent 2s *8d.* Between these extremes lies my scale. The averages for each class are :—

	B.	0. &D.	E.	F.	
	s. d.	*s. d.*	*s. d.*	*s. d.*	per **male adult per week.**
„ Bent, &c	3 6½ 2 3½ 1	4 1½ 2 10½ 4	5 4½ 3 8½ 1 1	**8 8** **5 7** **2 2**	
	5 11	7 4	10 2	**16** 5	

The true average of B will be somewhat lower than this, and if we put it at 5s we get roughly 5s, 7s *6d,* and 10s for the average weekly expenditure per "male adult" below, on, and just above the line of poverty. Translated into families of father, mother, and 3 children of, say, 11, 8, and 6, we get as the average expenditure for such a family in each class 15s, 22s 6d, and 30s per week; and this, or something very like this, is the truth.

It is to be remembered that the whole income of Class B is absorbed by necessary expenditure. If exceptional hauls are made, they are matched by times of scarcity, when work fails. It is only by evading the payment of rent, or going short of food, that clothes or household things can be bought; and the same is very nearly true with Class D. How else can any unusual call be met, or any indulgence which costs money? The poor are very generous, but out of what fund, except the exchequer of the belly, is generosity to be indulged?

The tables which I append give particulars of each of these 30 families and their expenditure, and also the average for each class in similar detail. The number of cases is too small to provide a perfectly safe basis, and the inferences which can be drawn from tbem should not be strained too far. My object is attained if by these tables I show exactly what I mean by the line of poverty with

regard to which, as being below it, on it, or above it, I have attempted to classify the people.

ANALYSIS OP TABLES OP HOUSEHOLD EXPENDITURE.

(See pages 136-7.)

Income.—It will be noted that in almost all the poorer cases the admitted expenditure exceeds the supposed income. The same peculiarity attaches to other investigations of the expenditure of the poor I have met with. The explanation may be (1) the understating of the regular earnings or (2) the use of credit, met either by final evasion of indebtedness or by some windfall outside of the regular earnings.

Expenditure.—Food.—The amount spent by Class B on meat (omitting No. 1, where charity ekes out the supply), varies from 3s to 5*s* per male adult for 5 weeks; the amount spent in Class D varies from 3s to *8s,* and in Class E from 3s 6d to 10s. The minimum amount in each class is about the same, being Id per day for each male adult, or 1d for men, ¾d for women, and from ¼*d* to ¾d for children. The maximum in these classes may be called 1., Is 6d, and 2s per male adult per week, and the average 9d, Is Id, *and* Is 7d. The amount spent in potatoes varies considerably family by family, but the average for each class is not very different. The same may be said of butter. Fish, the food of those who cannot afford meat, stands higher with Classes B and D than with E. Of bread, Class D eat the most. The greater proportion of children in the examples of Class B may account for a greater amount of milk and sugar consumed by this class. Tea varies as little as anything. On the whole the evident fact is that the three classes live much in the same way, only with increasing liberality, especially as to meat, green vegetables, and cheese. The figures are affected by the "meals out," which play a much larger part in the economy of Class B than D or E..

. *Meala out.*—This item consists **of** *2d* **or** 3d a day taken by daughter, **son, or** husband, and spent. Bread, or bread and butter, are usually taken **from** home, and the money goes to provide a cup of cocoa and a " relish."

With Class F, so far as four examples can show it, a marked change occurs. Fish comes in, not as a substitute, but in addition to meat, and eggs are a considerable item; while the amount for fruit, jam, and such things as rice is 5 times that for Class D, and 10 times that for Class B. The housekeeping is altogether different in character.

As to the expenditure on beer, Ac, it is perhaps remarkable that so much should have been admitted. It may be taken as showing that a good deal of beer is taken in a moderate sober way, for only such would be voluntarily mentioned.

Fire and Light,—D are more economical than B on the average, but in each class there is a great range of expen. diture under this head. Some, but not much, difference may come from the weather, as the 5 weeks, in some of the accounts, extended into April.

Rent varies very closely with the total average expenditure, being a little more than one-fifth in every class. Looked at in this way it falls rather the most heavily on Class D. It is when considered as a first charge on an insufficient income that rent affects the imagination as a grievance of the poor, or too often when compared with the accommodation provided.

Washing and Gleaning.—When the amount is heavy it means that the washing is put oat; this may be the case with quite poor people if the wife is engaged in industry.

Clothes.—It would need a full year to show the expenditure, family by family. According to figures given, Class D spends 3 times as much as B, and Class E 3 times as much as D. That for Class E comes to £2 per ann. for an adult man, *80s* for a woman, and from 5s to 30s for children. It is improbable that this is all that is spent by Class E and even more so that Class D should clothe themselves on one-third, or Class B on one-ninth of this

	Casual worker, wife, and three children (18, 3, 6).	Pensioner, wife, and four daughters (18, 16, 14, 10).	Pensioner, wife, and one son and daughter (22, 16).	Bricklayer, wife and six children (13, 11, 9, 3, 2, 1).	Mother, son (21), and daughter (23).	Wharf labourer, wife and five children (10, 9, 5, 3, 1).	Man, wife, and five children (10, 9, 6, 4, 1).	Railway labourer, wife, and three children (11, 9, 5).	Sweep, wife, and five children (10, 8, 6, 4, 2).	Porter, wife, and two sons (17, 8).	Man, wife, boy, and girl (12, 9).	Carman, wife, and three sons (17, 15, 13).	Man, wife, and two sons (17, 13).	Mother and three children (15, 13, 7).	Man and four children (17, 15, 10, 8).	Tin and wire worker, wife, and three children (9, 7, 2).	Man, wife, and four children (10, 7, 3, 1).	Casual worker, wife, and wife's mother.	Man, wife, and girl (3).	Labourer, wife, and five children (6, 6, 4, 2, 1).	Engineer, wife, and four children (12, 9, 6, 3).	City sewers labourer, wife, & two children (5, 3).	Man, wife, and three children (10, 5, 1).	Man, wife, and two sons (13, 9).	Carriage liner, wife, and two sons (13, 9).	Policeman and wife.	Cabman, wife, and three children (6, 4, 1).	Mother and son (18).	Messenger, wife, and child (1).	Carpenter, wife, and three children (6, 3, 1).
Number of full adults ..	3·35	4·45	3·5	3.7	2·5	3·15	3·25	3·0	3·25	3·0	2·8	4·0	3·25	2·3	3·5	2·65	2·75	2·5	1·9	2·8	3·25	2·15	2·55	2·45	2·85	1·75	2·35	1·65	1·8	2·25
Supposed income 4 weeks	51 5	26 0	105 0	94 6	110 0	105 0	112 6	103 0	125 0	135 0	105 0	123 0	130 0	107 6	135 0	98 6	125 0	130 0	115 0	125 0	135 0	130 0	125 0	137 6	135 0	100 0	164 6	128 0	100 0	167 10½
Per week per adult	3 1	4 4	3 6½	5 1	8 10	6 8	7 2	7 0	7 8	9 0	7 6	6 2	8 0	8 7	7 8½	7 5	9 1	10 5	12 0	8 11	8 4	12 1	9 10	11 3	9 6	11 5	14 7	15 2	17 9	15 0
Expended in 5 weeks:—																														
Meals out.....	12 6	8 6½	15 0	—	8 9	—	—	7 10	—	5 0	—	23 0	10 0	—	—	12 6	—	—	—	—	10 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	15 4	17 8½
Meat	1 5½	13 7½	14 1	13 9	11 7	16 5	11 8½	10 4	8 0½	18 1	21 8	23 0	22 5½	18 7	20 0	9 7½	11 11	24 10	8 2½	28 9½	19 7½	14 1	23 9½	19 1	27 9	16 1	21 9½	36 7	8 10	20 2½
Liver, &c.	2½	—	2 2½	2	—	3½	1½	4	8	10	1	7½	—	1 6	3	4½	1 4½	6½	2½	—	1 5	—	—	—	—	—	1 1	—	5	—
Potatoes	3½	4 8½	2 6	3 2½	2 0	6 2½	2 8½	2 4	2 16	1 11	1 11½	4 0	4 0	4 3	6 5	1 2	3 3	3 6½	6 3	3 9	4 6	1 8	1 5	2 4	3 2½	1 7½	2 9	2 8½	1 8	2 9
Vegetables	—	1 4½	1 11½	10	—	1 10½	1 1	1 7	4 10½	2½	3 6	—	9	1 5	1 5	1 2	1 9	3 0	1 9½	1 11	4	1 11½	2 5	1 1	1 6½	3 5½	3 7½	2 6½	1 4	1 10
Fish	2 2½	2 6	—	3 6½	3 6	6 1½	3 4	2½	3 8	2 6	5 9½	4 0	3 10½	1 9	1 8	2 8½	1 1½	2 0	1 0	10	2 6	6	5 7½	2 8	1 6½	2 2½	2 10	5 2	—	3	3 6
Bacon, &c.	5½	—	6 6	—	8½	8	1 7	10	5 2½	1 9	3 6½	2 11½	7	1 4	4½	6	2 4	—	1 3	3	3 2½	2 0½	2 3	1 2	1 9½	1 3¼	1 2	1 5	1 1½	3 6½
Eggs	4	—	2 1½	—	7½	2½	1 4½	2½	1 3	3 3	1 1	—	—	1 6	3 7½	1 6	1 4	1 10	1 5½	—	2 3	9	1 4½	1 4	1 11½	2 6	—	—	1 1	4 6½
Cheese	—	—	—	2½	2	—	—	2½	1 0	—	1 5½	1 6½	1 1	4 6	8 1	6 1	2 5	6 5½	10	—	4 8	2	4	4 10½	1 11½	2 6	—	—	1 1	2 5
Suet	—	5	—	2½	—	—	2	1	—	1	6	7	—	7 6	9 1	7 4	2 9	6 5	2 9	5 2	1 5	4	5 10	3	3 7½	3 4	8 0	3 0	7 5	5 5
Butter and Dripping	3 11	10 1½	3 9	5 8½	3 11½	6 9½	6 0	3 1	7 7½	7 6	3 0½	8 4½	12 10	4 6	8 1	6 1	2 5	6 5½	2 9	5 2	4 8	2 8½	4 8	5 10	3 7½	3 4	8 0	3 0	7 5	5 5
Bread	10 0½	15 10½	5 13	15 11½	9 5½	20 0½	15 10	11 3	14 3	10 8½	11 11	22 11½	12 9½	7 6	14 3	14 10½	3 7	7 5	8 0½	18 4	11 0	12 2½	10 0	7 3½	8 2½	5 0	11 1	6 11	10 3	15 17½
Flour	3	—	2 1	1 3½	8½	1 6½	7½	7½	1 8½	1 5	1 0½	1 3	4½	1 5½	5	1 10	3 2	3 1½	4 1½	1 8	2 1	1 3	1 5½	1 11½	3 7½	1 6½	1 5½	3 7½	1 10½
Rice, Oatmeal, &c...	—	—	1½	8	—	2	4	1	1	5	6	—	9	—	—	—	1 1	5	1	—	1	1	1	1	8½	—	1	2 6	3	9
Fruit, Jam, &c.	—	—	1½	—	2	7½	4	1½	6½	10½	5	1 0½	4½	9	6	4	3	8	6	10	8	3	1	7½	6	2 11	1	0½	2	6
Sugar	3 0½	8 8	1 12	2 6	1 6	2 11½	3 0	2 10	3 2	2 3	1 3	2 11	4 11½	2 4	3 2	2 3	1 1	1 8½	4 9½	6	5 6	2 0	1 7½	6	4 4	3 7	7 0	6 8	2 9	2 6
Milk	1 3½	3 4	3 2½	7 7½	3 4	4 6½	2 11	1 4	4 3	2 11	2 4½	2 6	3 3½	1 1	5 1½	2 9	3 10½	10 10½	3 2	2 11	4 7	2 3½	1 6½	5 0	4 4	3 7	7 0	8 5½	3 4½	7 11½
Tea	3 0½	5 2½	4 4½	5 0	2 6	3 0	3 5	4 1	4 8	2 6	2 7½	7 0	1 11	2 8	5 9	6 10	2 9	5 0	2 3	2 6	3 9	3	3	5 3	5 0	2 6	6 0	2 1½	2 11	3 9
Coffee, Cocoa, &c...	1½	5	1 0	—	1 5½	—	—	—	—	3	6	7	4 2	—	4 9	—	2 1	1 5	1 3	—	3	—	3	2 11	8	2	2½	—	1 4	1 7	3
Pepper, Salt, &c. ..	2	—	5	2½	4½	1½	1½	1	4	2½	6	3	6½	5	—	—	6½	10½	2½	5	8½	0½	5	5½	5	4	2½	1 0½	2	9
Total of Food ..	40 0	74 4	68 7	61 6½	47 8½	72 7	54 1½	53 4½	65 3	61 11½	61 9	84 5½	84 0	50 0½	80 1	55 4½	68 7	77 10	47 4½	49 11½	62 5½	55 2½	60 1½	66 9	77 1½	50 8	72 11	82 5½	76 11	114 0½
Beer and Tobacco.	—	—	4 10½	2 6	1 0	3 5½	—	0½	3 2	4 3½	—	5 6	—	4 2	—	6 2½	1 2½	3 6	4 3½	6 6	1 4	—	4 8½	4 10	9 7	3	4 7	—	3 0	6 8½
Fire and Light	10 3½	14 8	11 5½	10 9	7 8	5 5½	6 4½	9 0½	6 8	9 6½	8 3	14 7½	7 9	7 5	9 3½	9 4½	10 4	15 5½	11 4½	11 4	10 4	11 2	7 10½	9 0	6 8½	6 4½	11 11½	8 11	12 7½	9 9
Rent	21 6½	21 3	20 0	26 3	20 0	20 0	30 0	25 0	27 6	27 6	25 0	25 0	22 6	27 6	32 6	18 9	25 0	20 0	20 5	25 0	30 0	17 6	20 0	22 6	31 3	31 3	32 6	25 0	25 0	30 0
Washing & Cleaning	1 3	1 1	2 1	1 1	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 6½	1 6½	5 1	1 11	8 4½	1 11½	3 7½	2 2	5 8½	1 9½	2 6½	4 0	5 4	2 7	2 7	4 1½	3 4	2 5½	1 0	3 4½	1 2	7 2½	7 0½
Clothes, &c.....	3½	—	—	5 2	2 3	7 2	10 3	7½	1 5½	—	4 6	2 1½	7 11½	3 5	9 8	—	2 4½	6 9	3½	11½	2 11	4 1	2	7	4	2 24	3 2	4 26	7	9 1
Education, Medicine, &c.	—	—	—	1 10	—	1 0½	6	7½	1 4	5	1 4½	3 1½	2 1	1 5	2 8	—	2 4½	6 9	2 1	2 11	4 1	2	2 8	1 0	4 10	—	2 2	5	1 9	1 8
Insurance, &c.	2 6	4 2	—	8 0	1 5½	1 5½	2 1	11 6	—	5 0	1 8	2 4	1 10½	5 0	3 10	3 4	2 3½	—	5 9½	3 4	5 0	2 11½	3 4	2 11	3 10	—	14 7	—	6 0	7 9
Total expended	75 11½	115 6	107 0½	122 4½	82 1	107 5½	102 0½	100 1	110 2½	104 9½	104 5½	145 6½	127 1½	102 5	140 7½	98 6½	125 11½	128 1	112 5	123 10½	145 9½	129 2½	123 8½	133 1	142 3½	92 6½	166 4½	118 3½	129 1	205 9½
Or per week ..	15 2½	23 1½	21 4½	24 5½	16 5	21 6	20 5	20 0½	22 0½	20 11½	20 10½	29 1½	25 5	20 5½	28 1½	19 8½	25 2½	25 7½	22 5½	24 9½	29 2	25 10	24 9	26 7½	28 5½	18 6	33 3½	23 8	31 10	41 1½
Food per adult per week	2 4½	3 4	3 11	3 4	3 10	4 9	3 4	3 2½	4 0	4 1½	4 5	4 2½	5 2	4 0	4 7	4 2½	5 0	6 3	5 0	5 0	5 8½	5 1½	5 2½	5 3	5 5	5 9½	6 5½	5 3	8 6½	10 1½
Rent ,, ,,	1 3½	1 11½	1 1	1 1½	1 5	1 7	1 10	1 8	1 8	1 10	1 0½	1 3	1 8½	2 2½	1 10½	1 5	1 10	1 7	2 2	1 9½	1 10	1 7½	2 0	1 10	2 2½	3 7	2 11	3 0	2 9½	2 8
Other expenditure (except Clothes and Medicine)	10½	10½	1 1	1 10½	1 2	8	8	1 8½	10½	1 0½	11½	1 8½	9½	8½	1 0½	1 9½	1 9½	1 8½	2 9	2 0½	2 2½	2 2½	1 4½	1 9	1 11	10½	3 2½	1 3½	3 4½	2 11½
Addition	4 0½	5 2½	6 1½	6 7½	6 7	6 8	5 10	6 7½	6 6½	6 11½	7 1½	7 2	7 4	7 11½	7 5½	7 5	8 7½	9 6½	9 11	8 10	8 11½	8 11½	8 6½	9 0½	9 6½	10 2½	12 7½	14 3½	14 6½	15 9
Price of Bread (per qtn.)	5½	4½	5½	4	5	4½	5	4½	4½	4½	4½	4½	5½	5	5	4½	5	5½	5	5	4	4½	4½	4½	5	5	5	5½	5½	5
,, Butter (per lb.)	6	1 0	1 4	1 0	1 4	1 0	9½	8	1 0	1 0	10	1 2	1 4	1 0	1 3	1 0	1 0	1 3	1 0	1 0	1 3	1 0	1 0	1 2	1 2	1 4	1 4	1 4	1 1	1 3
,, Tea.... ,,	1 4	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	1 8	2 0	2 8	2 0	2 0	2 0	1 8	2 0	2 3	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 10	1 8	2 0
,, Sugar.. ,,	1	1½	2½	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2½	2½	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2½	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
No. of Purchases of Tea	30	77	10	5	5	16	7	5	15	5	5	14	6	6	6	29	7	5	4	5	5	5	6	6	6	5	6	3	3	6
,, Articles of Food	18	10	29	19	20	20	21	21	29	23	28	21	23	26	26	18	35	31	33	14	24	29	31	21	23	25	22	26	27	35
,, Other Items	13	8	9	17	13	26	16	12	12	13	22	24	17	28	33	17	25	21	33	19	13	28	26	21	21	16	23	8	24	30
	No. 1.	No. 2.	No. 3.	No. 4.	No. 5.	No. 6.	No. 7.	No. 8.	No. 9.	No. 10.	No. 11.	No. 12.	No. 13.	No. 14.	No. 15.	No. 16.	No. 17.	No. 18.	No. 19.	No. 20.	No. 21.	No. 22.	No. 23.	No. 24.	No. 25.	No. 26.	No. 27.	No. 28.	No. 29.	No. 30.
	Class B.						Class C, and D.										Class E.										Class F.			

Note.—I have not restricted myself to East End families, though many or most are so.

XXI.—*Expenditure of an average family in each class.*

	B.		C. & D.		E.		F.	
Number of full adults	3·44		3·12		2·5		2·0	
	s.	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*
Supposed Income, 5 weeks	27	0	117	6	125	9	154	4
Per week per adult	5	1	7	6½	10	0¾	15	5½
Expended in 5 weeks:—								
Meals out	7	5½	2	3½	2	3	3	2½
Meat	11	10	16	4	19	3¾	24	1½
Liver, &c.	0	5¾	0	5½	0	4¼	0	4½
Potatoes	3	2	2	11¾	2	7	2	5¾
Vegetables	1	0	1	7½	2	0	2	4
Fish	2	10¾	2	10½	1	11¾	4	5½
Bacon, &c.	1	7	2	3½	1	6¾	1	6¾
Eggs	0	8	0	9	1	7½	2	0¾
Cheese	0	1½	1	0½	1	10	1	1½
Suet	0	1¼	0	2½	0	4¾	0	5¾
Butter and Dripping	5	8	6	8	6	6	5	11½
Bread	12	6	13	7½	9	8½	11	0½
Flour	1	0	0	11½	2	4¾	1	8½
Rice, Oatmeal, &c.	0	1¾	0	5¼	0	3½	1	10
Fruit, Jam, &c.	0	3½	0	6¼	1	8½	2	6½
Sugar	3	5	3	1½	3	4	3	1
Milk	3	10¾	2	10½	4	2½	7	11½
Tea	3	10½	4	1¾	3	9½	3	8½
Coffee, Cocoa, &c.	0	6	1	1½	0	11½	0	10¾
Pepper, Salt, &c.	0	2½	0	3½	0	5½	0	8¾
Total of Food	60	9½	64	6	67	2½	86	7
Beer and Tobacco	1	11¾	2	4¾	3	6¾	3	7
Fire and Light	10	0½	8	10	10	0	10	10
Rent	21	6	26	1½	23	7½	28	1½
Washing and Cleaning	3	3¾	2	9	2	11	4	8¼
Clothes, &c.	0	11	3	0½	10	5¾	17	8½
Education, Medicine, &c.	0	5¾	2	2¾	2	10½	3	9½
Insurance, &c.	2	8¼	3	7½	4	4¼	7	1
Total expended	101	8½	113	6	125	0	162	4¾
or per week	20	4	22	8½	25	0	32	5¾
Food per Adult per week	3	6½	4	1½	5	4½	8	8
Rent ,, ,,	1	8	1	8	1	10½	2	9¾
Other Expenditure per week (Except Clothes and Medicine)	1	0¾	1	2½	1	10	2	9½
Addition	5	10¼	7	0	9	1	14	3
Price of Bread (per qtn.)	0	4½	0	4¾	0	5	0	5
,, Butter (per lb.)	1	0	1	0	1	1¼	1	3
,, Tea ,,	1	11	2	0½	1	11½	2	1½
,, Sugar ,,	0	1¾	0	2¼	0	2¼	0	2¼
No. of Purchases of Tea	23		10		6		6	
,, Articles of Food bought	19		23		27		28	
,, Other Items bought	14		19		22		22	

NOTE.—For the purposes of comparison, each family is reduced to an equivalent in male adults. Thus, a male aged 16 or upwards counts as 1 male adult; a female aged 16 or upwards as ⅘: and children in proportion, according to their age. For example, Case 1 in previous table consists of husband, wife, and 3 children, as follows:—

Husband	= 20
Wife	= 15
Son aged 18	= 18
Daughter aged 8	= 9
,, ,, 6	= 6
	67÷20 = 3·35 male adults

amount. The explanation is partly that clothes (like beer) may be bought with money intercepted before it reaches home; partly that small windfalls go in this way—both of which assume a rather larger income than is put down; but on the other hand the need to pay for clothes may also mean a desperate pinch on other things for the time. To Class B fall many gifts of cast-off clothing. Finally, no doubt, a great deal is done with very little money in this direction.

Insurance and Club Money.—Out of the 30 families only 5 spent nothing, and these exceptions to the general rule are found in all classes. The amounts paid in B, D, and E, vary from 3½d to 2s 3d per week, or from 1½ per cent, to 11½ per cent, of the whole expenditure.

Prices.—Those given are such as might be expected to vary class with class. In a note (.) I give others by which the quantities of the article consumed can be calculated if desired.

Number of purchases of tea made in 5 weeks varies in all from 72 at most to 3 at least. On the average, there were in the 5 weeks 23 journeys to the shop in Class B, 10 in D, and 6 in E.

. *Prices of Articles.*

	B.	C.&D.		P.
Meat—highest ...,	*8d* per lb.	8d per lb.	*9d* per lb.	9d per lb.
„ lowest.....	4*d*	6d „	5½d „	6d „
„ average ...	6*id*	7¼d „	7*d* „	8d „
Potatoes—average	½*d*	½*d* „	½*d* „	¾*d* „
Bacon—highest...	8*d*	10*d* „	9*d* „	1s „
„ lowest.....	6*d*	5*d* „	5d „	5½*d* „
„ average ...	7½*d*	7¼*d* „	7¼*d* „	8d „
Eggs—average ...	1*d* each	¾ *d* each	1*d* each	1*d* each
Cheese—highest		10*d* per lb,	9d per lb.	
„ lowest.....		5*d* „	6d „	
„ average ...	7*d* per lb.	1*sd* „	8d „	8*d* per lb.
Milk—average ...	4*d* quart	4*d* "part	4*d* quart	4*d* quart
Coffee—average...	1s 2*d* per lb.	1. 2*d* po lb.	1s per lb.	1s 4d per lb

Number of articles of food noted in the account books varies on the whole from 10 to 35; by classes it rises from 19 in B to 27 in E.

Number of other items of expense vary from 8 to 36, and rise according to class from 14 to 22.

DESCRIPTION OF FAMILIES.

It remains to describe the lives of some of these families as told by the details of the accounts :

No. 1.—This is the poorest case on my list, but is typical of a great many others. The man, Michael H——, is a casual dock-labourer aged 38, in poor health, fresh from the infirmary. His wife of 43 is consumptive. A son of 18, who earns *8s* regular wages as carman's boy, and two girls of 8 and 6, complete the family. Their house has four rooms but they let two. Father and son dine from home; the son takes *2d* a day for this. The neighbouring clergy send soup 2 or 3 times a week, and practically no meat is bought. It figures the first Sunday only : "3 lbs. of meat at 4d." Beyond the dinners out, and the soup at home, the food consists principally of bread, margarine, tea and sugar. Of these the quantities are pretty large. No rice is used nor any oatmeal; there is no sign of any but the most primitive cookery, but there is every sign of unshrinking economy; there are no superfluities, and the prices are the lowest possible—3¼d per quartern for bread, *6d* per lb. for so-called butter, 1s *4d* for tea, and Id for sugar. I suppose the two rooms in which the family live will be those on the ground floor—bedroom (used sometimes as parlour) to the front, kitchen, where they eat and sit, to the back. In the kitchen the son will sleep, his parents and sisters occupying the front room. Neither of these rooms will exceed 10 ft.square; both, I am told (for I have not seen them), are patterns of tidiness

find cleanness, which with Class B is not very common. This accommodation costs about 17s a month. On firing, &c, the H——s spent *10s Ad* in the 5 weeks—as much as, and more than, many with double the means; but warmth may make up for lack of food, and invalids depend on it for their lives. Allowing as well as I can for the meals out, and the charitable soup, I make the meals provided by Mrs. H——for her family to cost *Id* per meal per person (counting the two little girls as one person). A penny a meal is very little, but expended chiefly in cheap bread, cheap butter, cheap tea, and cheap sugar, it is perhaps as much as would be taken, providing rather more than £ lb. of bread, and ½ oz. of butter, besides tea, milk, and sugar. This diet (which, if strictly adhered to, would be unendurable) is somewhat varied, so as to bring in some fish, a little bacon, and a few eggs, besides the charitable soup.

These people are, undoubtedly, "very poor," an example of great poverty as it appears when accompanied by respectability and sobriety, and protected from distress by charitable assistance. Imagine the man a drunkard, or the woman a slattern, or take away the boy who earns half the income and put in his place a child of 10 or 12, who earns nothing and must be fed, and it is easy to realize that extremer form of want when distress is felt, or complete pauperism supervenes. From the poor living of the family there is no room to subtract anything; but Class B, none the less, contains numbers who. are worse off than this family.

No. 2 furnishes another example of what I mean by "very poor." Mr. E——, the father, is old and blind, and has a weekly pension of 5. *6d*; his wife only earns money at "hopping" or "fruiting." She keeps the house clean, and both she and he~ husband are reputed to be quite sober. There are 5 daughters, but one is married and gone away. The eldest at home, a rough girl,

who ruined her health at the lead works, does sack-making or bottle washing, but (in March) had only earned 2. since Christmas. The second girl works in **a** seed factory and gives her mother *6s* a week. The third, similarly employed, gives from *5s* to *6s 6d,* making the family house-money about *178 6d* a week. The fourth girl is **a** child at school.

This family live, to the greatest possible extent, from hand to mouth. Not only do they buy almost everything on credit from one shop, but if the weeks tested are a fair sample of the year, they every week put in and take out of pawn the *same set of garments,* on which the broker every time advances 16s, charging the, no doubt, reasonable sum of *4d* for the accommodation. Fourpence a week, or *17s 4d* a year, for the comfort of having a week's income in advance ! On the other hand, even on credit they buy nothing till actually needed. They go to their shop as an ordinary housewife to her canisters: twice a day they buy tea, or three times if they make it so often; in 35 days they made 72 purchases of tea, amounting in all to *5s* 2¾d, and all most carefully noted down. The "pinch of tea" costs ¾ *d* (no doubt this is ½ oz. at *2s* per lb.). Of sugar there are 77 purchases in the same time.

The R——s are a large family, the seven members counting as 4'5 male adults. Their expenditure comes to 5s *2½d* per "male adult" per week. They pay about the same rent, and no doubt get much the same for it as the H——s. On firing and light they spend *lis 8d;* this large amount may be explained by the age and infirmity of the man, but I am rather disposed to think that bad management has most to do with the excess shown in these items, as compared to other accounts. On washing materials they spend about the same as the H——s, but their insurance payments amount to 10*d* a we..[1]., every member of the family being in **a** burial club. The girls who work at the seed factory dine away, taking 2d **a** day each in money, **and**

most likely a provision of broad and butter. Counting the family as equal to 5 adults to feed—that is counting the three younger girls as equal to 2 adults—the meals in the house seem to cost about 3d a head for Sunday dinner, 2d a head for dinner on other days, and l i d a head for the other meals.

No. 4. This family run largely on credit, and are evidently used to better things. They pay a large amount of club money, and the baby's milk and biscuits cost a good deal. The expenditure is considerably more than the acknowledged income, and poverty must be very much felt by them. The man (a bricklayer) gets something as caretaker, very little by his trade. The wife works as dressmaker, and has to put out the washing. There are 6 children (aged 13, 11, 9½, 3½, 2, and 4 months).

No. 5 is the case of a widow, herself earning 7s a week, with two grown up children : a daughter of 23, an envelope folder, making from 9s to 15s a week, and a son of 21 "out of work," earning casually 2s 6d to 5s. Altogether they do pretty well, the joint income reaching about 20s a week, but they would certainly be classed in B in my tables. Their meals cost, on the average, 1¾d a head. The living is very bare, the only luxury (?) an occasional bottle of ginger beer.

[Another widow on my notes, who, however, does not appear in the tables, earns 10*s 6d* a week bottle washing. She has 8 children, of whom the eldest, a boy, earns *8s* a week, of which he keeps Is as pocket money, leaving the household money at 17s 6d a week. The youngest, a child of 3, is boarded out at 2s 6d a week to relieve the mother for her work, and so finally there is 15s a week for the mother and two boys to live on. Counting the three as equal to two male adults, the meals served cost about 2d each on the average.]

In No. 6 we have a case fairly representing the line between 3 and C or D. Thomas B——is a wharf labourer

with irregular work, earning 20s to 21s per week. He has five children under 10 years of age at home, and a girl at seryice who still receives both money and clothes from home. His wife, besides looking after all these children, occasionally earns money by needlework, and 3s *6d* appears to have been received from this source one week. Irregular earnings such as these would, on a *prima facie* view of the case, place this family in Class B, though by steadiness on the man's part, and good management on the part of the wife, they live as well as many families in Class D. Comparing the B——s with the H——s (No. 1), we notice that although Mrs. B——does much more cooking, she spends only half as much for fire and light (both books are dated March); on rent and cleaning they spend the same. Putting the items together, the H——s spend fully as much as the B——s on everything, except meat and drink ; but on these the difference is great—76s as compared to 40s—and for a smaller family counted in adults. Mr. B——has all his meals at home; he may probably take something to eat with him to the wharf, and perhaps buys beer to drink with it; but the work is usually over early, and he will take his chief meal when he gets home. In the 5 weeks he and his wife and their young children used 40 lbs. of meat at 5d, 25 lbs. of fish at 3d, 150 lbs. of potatoes, 172 lbs. of bread, 15 lbs. of flour, 6 or 7 lbs. of buttQr, and 36 lbs. of sugar, besides minor matters. This may not be choice fare, but there is something like plenty about it. The cost per meal, counting the family of husband, wife, and five small children as 4 persons, is *2d*, or just double that of the H——s' meals.

No. 7 are just a shade better off than No. 6, and probably spend rather more than is put down, especially on food. The remarkable feature is the rent at 6s a week. The husband pays for ins own clothes, giving his wife 20s out of 22s *6d.*

No. 8. The husband takes 4d a day for his dinner.. Wife and children do not eat much.

Nos. 9 and 10. Income acknowledged is greater than expenditure; the money, I suppose, does not come home.

No. 11. Husband keeps back 4$ a week, but pays for boys' boots and such things.

No. 12. Man, wife, and 3 sons; eldest son out of work. Are spending more than is coming in. Are not used to poverty—pay for cat's-meat and put out washing. "Terribly behindhand."

No. 13. "Father out of work, but as we had a trifle saved up before, it helps us to live for a little while, until he gets something to do."

No. 14. Widow and three children, practically supported by daughter of 17, who earns 17s *6d,* keeping *6d* pocket-money. The boy of 13 earns *4s* 6d, and keeps *3d* pocket-money.

No. 17. Much more variety in diet and better housekeeping.

No. 18. Man, wife, and wife's mother—caretakers, earning a little by odd jobs. Spend largely for medicine and medical comforts for the mother, an invalid.

No. 19. Regular wages *21s* per week. Man, wife, and one young child. A very conscientiously kept book. "The club money is paid once a quarter, so we put it away every week." Expenses on one Sunday were : "Newspaper, Id. Give my two cousins *2d.* Winkles, *2d.* Milk, *Id.* Sweets, ½d." Another day we find: "2¾d spent on something and not put down." Husband dines at home, but only 8s is spent on meat in 5 weeks.

No. 20. Large expenditure on meat for man and wife and five children under 8; 9 lbs. a week at about 8*d* a lb. Total number of articles of food drops to 14. Very primitive housekeeping. Education' deficient; spelling remarkable : "insharin 8d," "arstone 10," "meet 2s."

No. 22. Husband earns 24s and gives his wife 21s. She

earns 4s *6d* to 5.. Housekeeping money 25s *6d* a week; actual earnings 28s 6d. The heavy amount for clothes, &c. (S2s *8d)* includes 65 *6d* for furniture and *8s 5d* repayment of debt for funeral expenses.

No. 25. "Man, carriage liner, has worked since childhood for same firm, wages 30$, gives wife 27s, and keeps 3s; has meals at home at irregular hours. Extras done in evening provide "Hearts of Oak" Club money. Wife gets charge of a house in autumn, and a very few chance days. work from a friend. What she earns provides clothes and pays *20s* for children's country visit in August—2 weeks, 5s e&ch child. Boys save prize money and choir money for clothes. Parents have no savings."

This is the wife's own account of their position.

No. 26. Young couple—policeman and his wife. Wife gets *20s}* and the husband keeps the rest of his wages, which goes to pay for the furniture on the hire system.

No. 28. Mother and son. Income under 30s a week. Eat good meat and plenty of it, spending Is a day on meat.

No. 30. Husband a carpenter, makes in five weeks 237 hours at *8½d}* longest hours 56, shortest 36, in a week; average, 47½, or 33s 8d a week.

THE CAUSES OF POVERTY.

Questions of employment—Lack of work. or low pay—Questions of habit, idleness, drunkenness or thriftlessness —Questions of circumstance, sickness, or large families. Under these heads fall all the causes of poverty.

To throw some light on the proportion which these troubles bear to each other, and so on to the ultimate question of what cure can be found, I have attempted to analyze 4,000 cases of the poor and very poor known to selected School Board visitors in each district, and give the full results in a ta.ble which follows. As with the tables

. This cause includes incapacity.

of expenditure, it would not be safe to generalize very confidently from an analysis of this sort unless it can be supported by other evidence. The figures have, however, statistically one great element of value. They are representative of *all* the poor in the districts from which they are drawn, and not only of those who apply for relief.

Analysis of Causes of " Great Poverty " (Classes A and B).

		Per Cent.		Per Cent.
2. Casual work	097	1}	60	4
3. Irregular work, low pay ...	141		878	55 / Questions of employment
4. Small profits	40			
6. Drink (husband, or both)	152	:>	231	*14(* Questions of 14 habit
6. Drunken or thriftless wife	79			
	170			
9. Illness or large family, combined with irregu-	124	-1	441	27_ (Questions of 27 circumstance
	147			
	—	—	1,610	100

Analysis of Causes of " Poverty " (Classes C and D).

		Per Cent.		Per Cent.
1. Loafers				
2. Low pay (regular earnings)	503	20",	1,668	68 **Questions of 68** employment
3. Irregular earnings	1,052			
4. Small profits	113			
5. Drink (husband, or both \	167	7	322	13 Questions of 13 { habit
G. Drunken or thriftless wife	165	6		
7. Illness or infirmity	123			
	223	9	476	, 19| **Questions of 19\ circumstanc«**
9. Illness or large family,) combined with irregu- >	130	5		
	—	—	2,466	100

Of the 4000 cases, 1600 heads of families belonged to Classes A and B (the "very poor"), and of them 60 are

admitted loafers—those who will not work. After these come 878 whose poverty is due to the casual or irregular character of their employment, combined more or less with low pay; then 231 whose poverty is the result of drink or obvious want of thrift, and finally 441 more, who have been impoverished by illness, or the large number of those who have to be supported out of the earnings.

Of the remaining 2400 cases from Classes 0 and D, there are 1600 who are poor because of irregular earnings or low pay, 300 whose poverty can be *directly* traced to drink or thriftless habits, and 500 with whom the number of their children or the badness of their health is the cause. No loafers are counted here. The amount of loafing that brings a man's family down part way to destitution is not very noticeable, or may perhaps pass as irregular employment. Such men live on their wives.

It may be observed that the proportion of Classes C and D who owe their poverty to questions of employment is greater, while that of those owing it to questions of circumstance is less, than with the very poor, while drink accounts for about the same proportion in both tables. In the case of very poor, low pay and casual or irregular work are combined, and account for 55 per cent. With the "poor" these causes can be separated, and we have 43 per cent, whose poverty is traced to the irregularity of their work, and 25 per cent, whose poverty is traced to their low pay.

Drink figures as the cause of poverty to a much greater extent everywhere else than in Whitechapel, where it only accounts for 4 per cent, of the very poor, and 1 per cent, of the poor. This is no doubt to be explained by the Jewish population, who, whatever their faults may be, are very sober. To those who look upon drink as the source of all evil, the position it here holds as accounting for only 14 per cent, of th.; poverty in the East End may seem altogether insufficient; but I may remind them that it is only as principal cause that it is here considered; as con-

tributory cause it would no doubt be connected with a much larger proportion.

THE UNEMPLOYED.

It will be seen that this analysis takes no account of incapacity for work except so far as consequent on illness. But incapacity of two kinds is no doubt common : that which leads especially to low pay and that which leads especially to irregularity of employment. There are those who never learn to do anything well on the one hand, and those who cannot get up in the morning on the other; those who are slow, taking two or three hours to do what another man will do in one; and those who are too restless to keep any employment long; those who are adapted only for some employment for which there is a fitful demand, or no demand at all; those who, without being counted as ill, or infirm, or disabled, are yet incapacitated for profitable work by bad sight, or failing nerves, or deficient strength; and lastly there is every degree of weakness of intellect.

I wish it were possible for me to break up the mass of those who owe their poverty to questions of employment, and to show what is their economic value compared to that of the better paid and regularly employed working people of Class E, for it is essential to have such evidence before any hopeful attempt to deal with the question of the unemployed can be made; not that I desire to make too much of such inferiority of skill or character as may sometimes have cost them their place or lost them a chance, when places and chances are not plentiful. I do not doubt that many good enough men are now walking about idle; but it must be said that those of their number who drop low enough to ask charitable aid rarely stand the test of work. Such usually cannot keep work whenr»tfyey get it; lack of work is not really the disease with them, and the mere provision of it is therefore useless as a cure. The un-

employed are, as a class, a selection of the unfit, and, on the whole, those most in want are the most unfit. This is the crux of the position. As to their numbers, it must be remembered that it is the men who figure in my tables as *irregularly* employed, who also may be, and are, counted as the "unemployed.". This it is which makes these numbers so elastic. In this sense the whole of Sections 2 and 3 of labour, as well as Section 1, might be counted, besides all the artisans to be found in Classes B and C. Here are the plentiful materials from which a Sunday mass meeting of the unemployed may be drawn.

As to the 4400 adult men of Section 1 (being the adult males out of 9050 estimated population) or whatever their numbers in the district may be (see table xvii., page 93), it is not only quite-certain that they do not really want work, but also that there is very little useful work for which they are fitted. Whatever the duty of society may be towards these men, the offer of work has been shown over and over again not to fulfil it; the work is either refused or soon dropped, and the men return to more congenial pursuits. Work may be of use as a test, but that is all; and the problem of the " unemployed" only touches those of them who, by standing the test, prove themselves to belong to Section 2.

As to Section 2, with its 13,000 adults, there are weeks when most of them are or might be at work, and other weeks when but few of them do a stroke; such is their life. Their position can only be altered for the better by a greater

. At the time when the Government house-to-house inquiry was made into the numbers of those out of work in St. George's-in-the-East, I was at work upon the same district, and made special inquiries from the School Board visitors, who had themselves only just completed their schedules for the year, but was surprised at the very small number of heads of families returned by them as out of work. It may be that men with school children are in more settled employment than those without, but after making every allowance, it seems clear that, with regard to that inquiry, to be out of work must be taken as meaning to be irregularly or casually employed.

regularity of work, or by a higher scale of pay; they are not unemployed, they are badly employed.

It is much the same with most of Section 3; a man who gets good work through the summer, and is somewhat short of work in winter, is not even to be called badly employed, unless he does so badly in summer as not to be able to face the winter slackness.

It would be pedantic to stretch this argument very far; the insufficiently employed, those who might very well accomplish in the due seasons of their employment more work than is offered them, are truly unemployed to that extent. They are, however, very difficult to count, because for many of them an entire year is the shortest unit of time that will serve to test the shortness of work; and because, finally, we have to deal not with individuals out of work, but with a body of men, of whom some are superfluous, though each individual may be doing a share of the work. The proportionate number of the superfluous measures the extent of unemployment.

Hence I conceive that to inquire into the condition of the people by groups of trades is the only plan that will cover the ground completely, or show the facts at all as reerards the *definitely* unemployed, viz., those whose trade should be, and has been regular, who in a time of depression of trade look for work and find none.. These men make no outward sign of distress, but their numbers are said to be large all over London, as well as at the East End. I do not for a moment suppose the number of these to be large compared to the number regularly employed in the same trades, but I can well believe that as a percentage it is considerable, and as a total the figure may be greater than can be faced with complacency, or than the organization of industry ought to require.

Connected with this—with the ebb of this or that industry, or all the industries together for a time—is the

. My attempt to do this failed.—0. B., 1902.

saddest form of poverty, the gradual impoverishment of respectability, silently sinking into want.

The very large proportion of both poor and very poor who are continually short of work suggests various considerations. When they do not work, what do they do? What use do they make of their unoccupied time? Organization of work needs to be supplemented by organization of leisure. In this direction the interests of employers are not opposed to those of labour; but the movement must come from the men themselves, and here we meet the usual difficulty. The present system suits the character of the men. They suit it and it suits them, and it is impossible to say where this vicious circle begins. It has been suggested. that adult educational classes might be used in this direction—used, that is, in connection with some systematic treatment of want of work. As it now is, the men claim that their time is occupied, or at least made otherwise useless, by the search after work; that they need to be always on hand or they may miss some chance. This state of things is evidently fraught with evil, and seems a needless aggravation of competition. The trades unions, clubs, or co-operative societies might, one should think, provide a system which would make good use of days that would otherwise be wasted. It is sad if no useful results for themselves or for each other can be obtained from the combined efforts of the partially employed in their leisure hours.

The modern system of industry will not work without some unemployed margin—some reserve of labour—but the margin in London to-day seems to be exaggerated in every department, and enormously so in the lowest class of labour. Some employers seem to think that this state of things is in their interest—the argument has been used by dock officials—but thisview appears shortsighted, for labour deteriorates under *as*sual employment more than its price

. By Mr. Auberon Herbert.

falls. I believe it to be to the interest of every employer to have as many regularly employed servants as possible, but it is still more to the interest of the community, and most of all to that of the employed. To divide a little work amongst a number of men—giving all a share—may seem kind and even just, and I have known such a course to be taken with this idea. It is only justifiable as a temporary expedient, serving otherwise but to prolong a bad state of things.

If leisure were organized, we should at least know the extent of the want of employment, and we might also learn something definite about the effect of seasons of work : learn to what extent the dovetailing of employments is practicable or is at present effected, or to what extent work for the slack season may be arranged in the trade itself, and now is arranged, by those employers who think it well to keep their workpeople together.

Further, there is, with regard to female industries, the question of work which never pretends to be other than the employment of leisure time. If the higher organization of industry brought it about that a value not to be found in desultory work were found in the entire service and undivided energies of the worker, a division would follow, as to women's work, between those who earn their living and those who only help to do so, or work for pocket-money. Such special value ought to exist. In connection with great skill, I believe it does exist to a very marked extent. The same rule applies more or less to all industry. Some suppose that the introduction of machinery tends to make all men equal before the machine, but this is a mistake. Machinery may tend to accentuate the difference between skilled and unskilled labour, but the machine hand is always a skilled worker, not lightly to be discharged, and the regularity of his employment caries with it that of the unskilled hands. The value of the machine itself tends in the same direction. It is where machinery is most used

that employment is most constant, and where it is least used that it is most precarious. The higher organization of industry tends against every cause of irregularity of employment.

However it is to be explained, the fact remains that neither Class B nor Class C work much more than half their time, and that there is no month in the year, taking the people together, when this is not so. It is also a fact that most of the work done by Class B is inefficiently done, both badly and slowly. It may not be too much to say that if the whole of Class B were swept out of existence, all the work they do could be done, together with their own work, by the men, women, and children of Classes C and D: that all they earn and all they spend might be earned, and could very easily be spent, by the classes above them; that these classes, and especially Class C, would be immensely better off, while no class, nor any industry, would suffer in the least. This view of the subject serves to show who it is that really bear the burden. To the rich the very poor are a sentimental interest: to the poor they are a crushing load. The poverty of the poor is mainly the result of the competition of the very poor. The entire removal of this very poor class out of the daily struggle for existence I believe to be the only solution of the problem. Is this solution beyond our reach?

If it is true, as we are taught and as I believe, that the standard of life is rising, and that the proportion of the population in very poor circumstances never has been less, and is steadily decreasing, it follows, as I think, that some day the individualist community, on which we build our faith, will find itself obliged for its own sake to take charge of the lives of those who, from whatever cause, are incapable of independent existence up to the required standard, and will be fully able to do so. Has this time come yet? In spite of the poor way in which all, and the miserable way in which many, of these people live, they do not keep

themselves; and in spite of the little pay they get I believe no work is so dear as that which they do. Indeed it must be so, or else they would have more work given them. Those who obtain better wages and more regular employment receive only in proportion to what they give, and are more profitable servants.

Beyond the malefic influence which the imperative needs and ill-regulated lives of the class we are considering exercise over the fortunes of those who might otherwise do well enough, and beyond the fact that they do not support themselves, but absorb the charities of both rich and poor, they are also a constant burthen to the State. What they contribute, whether in taxes or rates, is little compared to the expense they cause. Their presence in our cities creates a costly and often unavailing struggle to raise the standard of life and health.

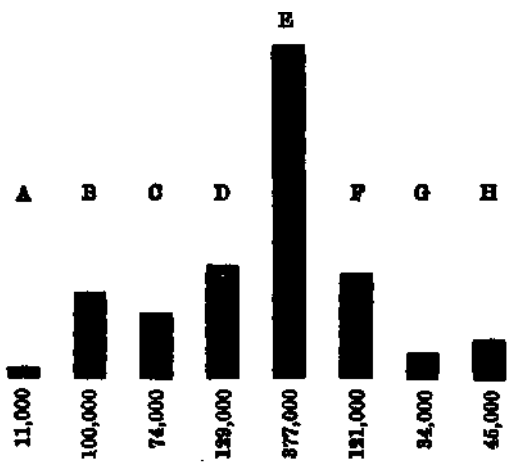
The question of those who actually suffer from poverty should be considered separately from that of the true working classes, whose desire for a larger share of wealth is of a different character. It is the plan of agitators and the way of sensational writers to confound the two in one, to talk of "starving millions," and to tack on the thousands of the working classes to the tens or hundreds of distress. Against this method I protest. To confound these essentially distinct problems is to make the solution of both impossible; it is not by welding distress and aspirations that any good can be done.

CHAPTER VI.

CLASS RELATIONS.

IN my second chapter I have attempted to provide **an** analysis of the condition of nearly one-fourth of the inhabitants of London. The rest of the volume seeks to add life and warmth to the columns of figures which, taken by themselves, are somewhat colourless and cold. In order further to consider the relations in which the various classes stand to each other, I will once more marshal the 900,000 figures and pass them in review class by class in companies, repeating for this purpose the graphic representation already used.

Graphic Representation of the Classes {East London ami Hackney).



It will be seen that, in this population, classes D **and E**, containing together half **a** million people, occupy the centre,

and that their lot must be accepted as **the** common lot of humanity in East London. The degree of poverty of one population as compared to another, of that with which we are dealing compared to that of London as a whole or to the population of England at large, would be expressed, if all were treated in the same graphic way, by a shifting of the central body from E towards F or towards D as the case might be. It may be that for the whole of London the centre of gravity would move towards F, and the same is almost certainly no less true for all England. I therefore propose to accept the classes E and F together as truly representing the standard of life in England, from which that of the classes above or below diverges by some happy or unhappy accident, or owing to some cause which calls for explanation and justification. My first object, then, is to show who and what are this large body of men whose lot may be counted as the lot of humanity in this country, and what are the conditions under which they live.

It is not easy for any outsider to gain a sufficient insight into the lives of these people. The descriptions of them in the books we read are for the most part as unlike the truth as are descriptions of aristocratic life in the books they read. Those who know, think it a matter without interest, so that again and again in my inquiries, when some touch of colour has been given illuminating the ways of life among the people who are above the need for help, it has been cut short by a semi-apology: "But that is not what you want to know about." Something may be gleaned from a few books, such for instance as "Demos;" something perhaps may be learnt from the accounts of household expenditure in the preceding chapter. Of personal knowledge I have not much. I have no doubt that many other men possess twenty or a hundred times as much experience of East End people and their lives. Yet sucr as it is, what I have witnessed has been enough to throw \ strong light on the materials I have used, and, for me, has made the dry bones

live. For three separate periods I have taken up quarters, each time for several weeks, where I was not known, and as a lodger have shared the lives of people who would figure in my schedules as belonging to classes C, D and E. Being more or less boarded, as well as lodged, I became intimately acquainted with some of those I met, and the lives and habits of many others came naturally under observation. My object, which I trust was a fair one, was never suspected, my position never questioned. The people with whom I lived became, and are still, my friends. I may have been exceptionally fortunate, and three families are not many, but I can only speak as I have found: wholesome, pleasant family life, very simple food, very regular habits, healthy bodies and healthy minds; aflfectionate relations of husbands and wives, mothers and sons, of elders with children, of friend with friend—all these things I found, and amongst those with whom I lodged I saw little to mar a very agreeable picture, fairly representative of class E, and applicable to some at least of classes C and D. Of others, belonging to the lower of these classes, who came under my observation, I cannot give so good an account. In *the* room above mine at one of the houses, a room about nine feet square, lived a carman and his wife and their two children, girls of 7 and 13. The man, though a heavy drinker, was not a bad fellow, and steady enough over his work. It was the wife who was bad. She also drank, and as to work, "never did a thing." Late to bed and late to rise was her rule. The father went out early and returned to breakfast, which was prepared for him by the child of 13, who made the tea and toast and cooked the herring at a fire in the washhouse, which, the weather being warm, served for the cookery of the entire household. She also made ready her own and her sister's breakfast, left the tea for her mother (who was too lazy to make it even for herself), and then proceeded with her sister to school. The little sister was the pretty one and the pet of her parents; the elder one was the drudge, and twice this

child had run away and stayed out all night before or after a beating. What chance of respectable life had she? This is an example of class D, with bad wife and bad mother. No less disreputable was a woman of the same class or lower, who with her daughter lived in another room of the same house. She had a small allowance from her husband, which went mainly in drink. He lived elsewhere. The daughter earned a trifle and tried vainly to keep her mother sober.

I do not mean to suggest that such specimens predominate in class D, or that they are never to be found in E or F, with which we are more particularly dealing. There is no gulf set between adjoining classes; E passes imperceptibly into either the irregular position of 0 or the bare remuneration of D, but from each of these there is another step as wide to reach the wretched casual character of class B. I watched with much interest the relations existing between classes E and D in the persons of my landlady and her other tenants. *Mutatis mutandis,* they were not very different from those which exist in the country between hall and village. There was the present of a dress altered to suit the hard-worked, ill-dressed child (it was forthwith pawned, the poor girl never wore it); the rebuke, dignified, well-timed, and, as it appeared, efficacious, of the father's drunken ways; amounting in the end to "amend your ways or go;" and the word in season to the little girl whose "tongue was too long and must have a bit cut off" (she having told some tale about her sister); the women met over their washing in the yard, and the children were allowed to play together—play at house, or plant a garden with cut flowers stuck in the earth, or swing, or dress their dolls, but if there were sweets to be eaten it was my landlady's little girl who paid for them. In short, there was evinced a keen sense of social responsibility, not unaccompanied by a sense of social supwriority.

The children in class E, and still more in class D, have

when young less chance of surviving than those of the rich, but I certainly think their lives are happier, free from the paraphernalia of servants, nurses and governesses, always provided they have decent parents. They are more likely to suffer from spoiling than from harshness, for they are made much of, being commonly the pride of their mother, who will sacrifice much to see them prettily dressed, and the delight of their father's heart. This makes the home, and the happiness of the parents; but it is not this, it is the constant occupation, which makes the children's lives so happy. They have their regular school hours, and when at home, as soon as they are old enough, there is " mother" to help, and they have numbers of little friends. In class E they have for playground the back yard, in class D the even greater delights of the street. With really bad parents the story would be different, but men and women may be very bad, and yet love their children and make them happy. In the summer holidays, when my carman had a load to carry for some building in the country, he would take two of the children with him. Supplied with bread and butter and 2d to buy fruit, they would start off early and come home in the evening happy, tired, and dirty, to tell of all the sights they had seen.

I perhaps build too much on my slight experience, but I see nothing improbable in the general view that the simple natural lives of working-class people tend to their own and their children's happiness more than the artificial complicated existence of the rich. Let it not be supposed, however, that on this I propose to base any argument against the desire of this class to better its position. Very far from it. Their class ambition as well as their efforts to raise themselves as individuals deserve the greatest sympathy. They might possess and spend a good deal more than they now do without seriously endangering the simplicity of ther lives or their cnances of happiness, and it would be well if their lot included the expenditure of a larger

proportion of our surplus wealth than is now the case. Moreover, the uncertainty of their lot, whether or not felt as an anxiety, is ever present as a danger. The position of the class may be secure—some set of men and their families must hold it—but that of the individual is precarious. For the wife and family it will depend on the health, or habits, or character of the man. He drinks or he falls ill; he loses his job; some other man takes his place. His employment becomes irregular and he and they fall into class C, happy if they stop there and do not drop as low as B. Or it may be the woman who drags her family down. Marriage is a lottery, and child-bearing often leads to drink. What chance for a man to maintain respectability and hold up his head among his neighbours if he has a drunken wife at home, who sells the furniture and pawns his clothes? What possibility of being beforehand and prepared to meet the waves of fortune? Or it may be that trade shrinks, so that for a while one man in ten or perhaps one in seven is not wanted. Some must be thrown out of work. The lot falls partly according to merit and partly according to chance, but whatever the merit or the lack of it, the same number will be thrown out of work. Thus we see that the "common lot of humanity," even though not much amiss in itself, is cursed by insecurity against which it is not easy for any prudence to guard.

It must be said that in respect of security of position the men who belong to class F are much better off than those of E. They live better, but beyond this they save more. The risk of loss of work through bad trade does not usually affect them, and drink is less prevalent, and except in extreme cases less ruinous.

Such, taking B and F together, is the standard of life on which we hope to improve, and fram which, upwards or downwards, we may measure the degrees of poverty or wealth of the rest of the community. This standard,

provided there be no social cataclysm or revolution, is fairly secure. The fear that any reduction in the cost of living will be followed by an equal reduction in the remuneration or regularity of their labour, still a danger with the classes below, is no longer a danger for them. The foundations are laid. Add but a very little to the favourable chances, take away but a little from the forces adverse to their prosperity, and we, or succeeding generations, should see a glorious structure arise, to be the stronghold of human progress. It is to improvement in the condition of the classes beneath them that they must look. The low-paid work of class D, and the irregular employ ment of class C, and the fact that these classes are too poor or too irregularly employed to co-operate or combine, causes them to hang as a heavy weight on class E. They in their turn suffer even more from the wretched lives of class B. The disease from which society suffers is the unrestricted competition in industry of the needy and the helpless.

Enough has been said in other chapters about the condition of class D. Though not as a rule unwholesome or unhappy, it is certainly very meagre. Nor does his low estate provide any security for the individual against changes for the worse. Below D we have B, and below B we have the workhouse. If hand or foot slip, down they must go. "Easy the descent, but to step back is difficult."

Class C, too, has been sufficiently described. With the poverty due to irregular employment, it lies alongside of rather than below the regular but low-paid labour of class D. Of the part which class C plays in industry much is said in reviewing East End trades, Volume IV. Both 0 and D for their own sakes badly need the lift which I maintain is also needed for the progress of E and for the advancement of the standard of life.

It is class B that *u du trop.* The competition of B drags down 0 and D, and that of C and D hangs heavily upon E.

I have already said, and I repeat, that industrially we gain nothing from B. All that B does could be done by C and *D* in their now idle hours. Nor is this so impracticable as it might at first seem. At least, we might move in that direction. What I above all desire is to arouse the interest and ingenuity of the classes who are themselves so vitally concerned in this matter, as not till then shall we approach with any chance of success the solution of the problem of poverty as it is presented in England to-day.

In the meantime we are face to face with the immediate difficulty of the relief of indigence, and with the fact that mere giving as a remedy for poverty no longer holds the field. That the rich of their abundance should humbly, and in the name of God, give to the poor, help the unfortunate, and succour the distressed, was the solution of religion, but in these latter days the efficacy and even the virtue of mere giving has been denied, and, on the other hand, our faith in the new doctrine, lacking somewhat on the positive side, is not very firmly established. Of the change of feeling, however, there is no question. Although a certain stimulus has been given in late years to mendicity by sentimental appeals and such efforts as the Mansion House Relief Fund, no student of the history of England can fail to see that begging, though it still exists among us, is falling into discredit; that as a profession its palmy days are over, its great prizes things of the past. It is driven to assume new shapes to lull suspicion. Even in the tales of Miss Edgeworth, who in her time occupied the van of enlightenment, we find the good ladies recommending their children to give their pennies to the hungry with an indiscriminateness to which even the most unenlightened mother of our own days would impose some limits; whilst among the number of those who have thought seriously about the matter at all—and the number who think seriously about it is a constantly increasing figure—it has become a sort of commonplace to

hold that almsgiving without inquiry, method, or personal labour serves only to intensify and perpetuate the evil it desires to relieve. In this respect, and in the growing intelligence and care with which the Poor Law is administered, we tend towards firmness, even hardness, of treatment of each individual case, and yet I can assert without fear of contradiction that towards ephemeral or even deserved suffering greater general tenderness is felt than ever, so that to support us in our principles, and confirm us in our resolution to abstain from the enticements of personal almsgiving, we need to be assured that in some way suffering is really relieved. If we lay aside personal giving, we are constrained to employ professional almoners; we no sooner limit the action of the Poor Law in one direction than we begin to consider its extension in another. It is this condition of the public mind which might I think be taken advantage of to get rid of class B, or at least to mitigate the harm which their unregulated existence does to others as well as to themselves.

Already several ingenious and thoughtful schemes for dealing with the unemployed are before us. The leading idea is to provide the labourer with land on which to work and so find his own living. Unoccupied or ill occupied land in England, says one; unoccupied land in our colonies, says another; a temporary occupation in England to lead to a permanent occupation in the colonies, says a third, seeking in this way to obviate the rather evident difficulties in the way of the first two. The ingenuity of this last scheme, which combines training with relief, must be admitted; yet it no less than its cruder companions fails to satisfy the broader conditions of the problem of poverty. All these schemes profess to deal with the unemployed —an imaginary army of men; they would really deal with a very limited number of picked out-of-work cases. Such may doubtless be found, and when found deserve the utmost consideration, but they do-not really

touch the problem of poverty which is wrapped up in the whole of class B, employed, partially employed, or unemployed, as the case may be, but rarely to be described correctly as "**out** of work."

My own ideas on this subject have taken shape gradually in the course of my work. In beginning my inquiry I had no preconceived ideas, no theory to work up to, no pet scheme into agreement with which the facts collected were to be twisted or to which they would have to be squared. At the same time the consideration and the hope of remedies have never been out of my mind. In laying my ideas before ray readers, I trust that if they are considered futile and visionary, the facts I have brought to light may not be discredited by being brought into company with theories from which I can honestly say they have taken no colour, but that out of the same material some other hand may be able to build a more stable structure.

The state of things which I describe in these pages, though not so appalling as sensational writers would have us believe, is still bad enough to make us feel that we ought not to tolerate it in our midst if we can think of any feasible remedy. To effectually deal with the whole of class B—for the State to nurse the helpless and incompetent as we in our own families nurse the old, the young, and the sick, and provide for those who are not competent to provide for themselves—may seem an impossible undertaking, but nothing less than this will enable self-respecting labour to obtain its full remuneration and the nation its raised standard of life. The difficulties, which are certainly great, do not lie in the cost. As it is, these unfortunate people cost the community one way or another considerably more than they contribute. I do not refer solely to the fact that they cost the State more than they pay directly or indirectly in taxes. I mean that altogether, ill-paid and half-starved as they are, they Consume or waste or have expended on them more wealth than they create.

If they were ruled out we should be much better off than we now are; and if this class were under State tutelage—say at once under State slavery—the balance-sheet would be more favourable to the community. They would consume more, but the amount they produced would be increased in greater proportion by State organization of their labour and their lives. It is not in the cost that the difficulty lies, but in the question of individual liberty, for it is as freemen, and not as slaves, that we must deal with them. The only form compulsion could assume would be that of making life otherwise impossible; an enforcement of the standard of life which would oblige everyone of us to accept the relief of the State in the manner prescribed by the State, unless we were able and willing to conform to this standard. The life offered would not be attractive. Some might be glad to exchange their half-fed and half-idle and wholly unregulated life for a disciplined existence, with regular meals and fixed hours of work (which would not be short); many, even, might be willing to try it; but there would be few who would not tire of it and long for the old life of hardship and vicissitude, saying

" Give me again my hollow tree,
A crust of bread and liberty.'.

If we could adopt this plan, there is no cause for fearing that it would encourage idleness or weaken the springs of energy. No ! the difficulty lies solely in inducing or driving these people to accept a regulated life.

To bring class B under State regulation would be to control the springs of pauperism; hence what I have to propose may be considered as an extension of the Poor Law. What is the Poor Law system? It is a limited form of Socialism—a Socialistic community (aided from outside) living in the midst of an Individualist nation. Socialistic also to a great extent are our Board schools, hospitals, and charitable institutions, where the conditions of relief are not the services which the applicant can render in return,

but the services of which he stands in need. My idea is to make the dual system, Socialism in the arms of Individualism, under which we already live, more efficient by extending somewhat the sphere of the former and making the division of function more distinct. Our Individualism fails because our Socialism is incomplete. In taking charge of the lives of the incapable, State Socialism finds its proper work, and by doing it completely, would relieve us of a serious danger. The Individualist system breaks down as things are, and is invaded on every side by Socialistic innovations, but its hardy doctrines would have a far better chance in a society purged of those who cannot stand alone. Thorough interference on the part of the State with the lives of a small fraction of the population would tend to make it possible, ultimately, to dispense with any Socialistic interference in the lives of all the rest.

This, in rough outline and divested of all detail, is my theory. It is rather with a view to discussion that I put it forward; and save in a very guarded and tentative way I shall not venture to base upon it any suggestions for immediate action.

Put practically, but shortly, my suggestion is that these people should be given an opportunity to live as families in industrial groups, planted wherever land and building materials were cheap; being well housed, well fed, and well warmed; and taught, trained, and employed from morning to night on work, indoors or out, for themselves or on Government account; in the building of their own dwellings, in the cultivation of the land, in the making of clothes, or in the making of furniture. That in exchange for the work done the Government should supply materials and whatever else was needed. On this footing it is probable that the State would find the work done very dear, and by so much would lose. How much the loss would. be could only be told by trying the system experimentally.. There would be no competition with the outside world. It would be merely

that the State, having these people on its hands, obtained whatever value it could out of their work. They would become servants of the State. Accounts would have to be kept, however, and for this purpose the work done would have to be priced at the market rate. It would even be well that wages should be charged and credited each person at the fair proportionate rate, so that the working of one community could be compared with another, and the earnings of one man or one family with others in the same community. The deficiency could then be allotted in the accounts proportionately to each, or if the State made no claim for interest or management, there might be a surplus to allot, opening out a road back to the outride world. It would, moreover, be necessary to set a limit to the current deficiency submitted to by the State, and when the account of any family reached this point to move them on to the poor-house, where they would live as a family no longer. The Socialistic side of life as it is includes the poor-house and the prison, and the whole system, as I conceive it might be made, would provide within itself motives in favour of prudence, and a sufficient pressure to stimulate industry. Nor would hope be wanting to those who were ambitious to face the world again.

As I reject any form of compulsion, save the gradual pressure of a rising standard of life, so, too, I suggest no form of restraint beyond the natural difficulty of finding a fresh opening in an ever hardening world. The only desirable return to the individualist life (except in the case of children) would be withfunds in hand earned by hard work and good conduct, saved within the cost the State was prepared to bear. For the future of the children careful provision would be made. Incompetence need not be hereditary; it should, on the contrary, become less so than is now the case.

It is not possible that action of this kind could be rapid. To open a little the portals of the Poor Law or its adminis-

tration, making within its courts a working guild under suitable discipline; to check charitable gifts, except to those who from age or infirmity are unfit for any work; to insist upon sanitation and to suppress overcrowding; to await and watch the results, ready to push forward as occasion served —this is all that could be done. Much would be learnt from an experiment. It might be tried in some selected district—for instance, in part of Stepney, where official relief already works hand in hand with organized charity. The law as it stands would, I believe, admit of this; the cost, if shared between private and public sources, need not deter. Such an experiment is what I venture to suggest.

The good results to be hoped for from such an extension of "limited Socialism" as I have suggested would be manifold. Class A, no longer confounded with "the unemployed," could be gradually harried out of existence. The present class B would bo cared for, and its children given fair chances. The change could only come m a very gradual way; a part, sharing the improved chances of classes C and D, would be pushed upward into self-supporting habits, and another part, failing to keep itself even when helped by the State, would pass into the ranks of paupers, so that the total numbers to whom the proposed State organization would ultimately apply would be very much less than the present numbers of class B. Class C would then have more work, class D more pay, and both be able to join hands with the social policy of classes E and F. Trades unions and co-operative societies would be able to build from the bottom, instead of floating, as now, on the top of their world. Great friendly societies might hope to include the mass of the population in their beneficent net. Improved *morale* of labour would go hand in hand with better organization of industry. The whole standard of life would rise, and wish its rise the population difficulties, whether of internal increase or of immigration, would become more manageable.

What should we lose by such a change? We are always losing something of the poetry and picturesqueness of the past. The rags of the beggar, his rare orgies, his snatches of song and merriment, his moments of despair, his devil-may-care indifference to the decencies of civilized life—all these touch the imagination and lend themselves to art; they are excellent theatrical properties, less imposing but not less attractive than the personal state and impulsive changes of feeling of the absolute monarch, or the loyal devotion of the feudal dependant, and a hundred characteristics of a fallen society—gone, never to return. Yet audacity, daring, generosity, devotion, impulsive affection, still exist and flourish among us; the setting alone is changed. In the same way, there would be no less room than now or than always for charity, whether the stately generosity of endowment or self-sacrificing service of man, or pity which seeks its exercise in the relief of suffering; all these would find their place in softening the inevitably hard action of the State, but would be required to fall into line with it.

And what of the position of the rich? It is difficult to say whether, at the end of all—when poverty no longer drags down industry, and industry itself controls the profits of production and distribution—whether even then there will be in England less wealth accumulated in individual hands or handed down by inheritance than is now the case. Whether or no matters very little, and any change would come slowly. It is, however, by no means true that "by no conceivable plan can the poor become less poor unless the rich become less rich." It may be expected that the rate of interest (as distinguished from profit) would continue to fall. It has fallen in no long period from 5 per cent, to 3 per cent., and might well reach the true "simplicity" of 1 per cent. But the less the capital of the rich is needed at home, being driven out by the savings of the mass of the people, the more it would seek investment abroad in the service of less advanced communities, and its profits would return, through the

channels provided by the rich, to the continual benefit of home industry. Similarly as to profits: extraordinary achievements in industrial management might meet, as now, with extraordinary and sometimes enormous rewards, but the field at home for such efforts would become more and more restricted, and the ordinary level of profit would be very low. Those bent on winning wealth would increasingly seek their fortunes abroad, and it would be through their hands that the surplus wealth of the rich would seek new fields of operation. Rich people would doubtless continue to be; they would only be less rich by contrast with the common lot of humanity. Their social functions would remain what they are now, and they would fill their place more usefully and profitably, and above all more happily, under a state of things which would secure the final divorce of poverty from labour.

[The ideas conveyed in this chapter will be more fully considered in the " Final Review."—C. B., 1902.]

CHAPTER VII.

POINT OF VIEW.

EAST LONDON lay hidden from view behind a curtain on which were painted terrible pictures :—Starving children, suffering women, overworked men] horrors of drunkenness and vice; monsters and demons of inhumanity ; giants of disease and despair. Did these pictures truly represent what lay behind, or did they bear to the facts a relation similar to that which the pictures outside a booth at some country fair bear to the performance or show within ? This curtain we have tried to lift.

It will be observed that the attempt has in the main been confined to showing how things are. Little is said as to how they come to be as they are, or whither they are tending. The line of inquiry which we have neglected is perhaps more interesting than that which we have taken up, and is certainly more commonly adopted. An inquiry as to tendency appeals controversially, and therefore attractively, to two opposite schools of thought. One of these holds that the condition of the people is becoming year by year more deplorable and its problems more pressing, and casts a backward glance upon some Golden Age of the past; while the other finds on all sides proof of marked improvement, preaches patience as to the evils which still remain, and will say, when pushed, that " i f Golden Age there be, it is to-day."

It is manifest that thir alternative has an important bearing whether considered simply as a difference of opinion, and so concerning only the on-looker, or positively as a difference of fact. Seen from without, the same habits of life, amount of income, method of expenditure, difficulties, occupations, amusements, will strike the mind of the on-looker with an entirely different meaning according as they are viewed as part of a progress, towards a

better and higher life, or of a descent towards a more miserable and debased existence. Felt from within, a position will be acceptable and even happy on the upward road, which on the downward path may be hardly endurable. The contrast with that to which men have been accustomed is doubtless the principal factor in sensations of well or ill being, content or discontent; but we have also to take account of the relation of the present life, whatever it may be, to the ideal or expectation. It may happen that on the upward path, where, on our hypothesis, contentment ought to reign, the ideal so far outstrips the advance as to produce discontent and even discomfort. Or the opposite may happen, and a slipping downwards be accompanied by a feeling of greater ease, a sense of relief. In all this what is true of the individual is no less true of the class. To interpret aright the life of either we need to lay open its memories and understand its hopes.

Nor have we yet exhausted the complicated relativities which are crowded into the phrase "point of view"; for we have to take into account the condition of the on-looker's mind and of public sentiment generally, and the changes of feeling that occur, in this or that direction, by which it becomrs more sensitive or more callous. Oh these three points—(1) the relation to past experience; (2) the relation to expectation; (3) the degree of sensitiveness of the public mind—we have room for great gulfs of difference in considering the same facts.

These pointsapply with varyingforce to the condition of each class or industry, and to the terras of each problem involved. In a general way, I find that with few exceptions, those who have had a lengthened experience of East London, agree that its state was much worse when they first knew the district than it is now. Beyond this, such glimpses as we can obtain of a remoter past seem to tell a similar story of improvement, and however we test the question the same answer is given ; so that I am inclined to think that if an

inquiry, such as the present, had been made at any previous time in the history of London, it would have shown a greater proportion of depravity and misery than now exists, and a lower general standard of life. But let us take the subject piecemeal.

Whatever the miseries of Class A, they are not the result of a too exalted ideal, nor due to any consciousness of degradation. This savage semi-criminal class of people had its golden age in the days when whole districts of London were in their undisputed possession. They mainly desire to be let alone, to be allowed to make an Alsatia of their own. Improvement in our eyes is destruction in theirs. Their discontent is the measure of our success. On the other hand, the impression of horror that the condition of this class makes upon the public mind to-day is out of all proportion to that made when its actual condition was far worse, and consequently the need to deal with the evils involved becomes more pressing. This, moreover, is no mere question of sentiment, but (if we admit a general all-round improvement) an imperative need of the rising standard of life. What might be an admissible state of things in days past is admissible no longer. It drags us back, and how to put an end to it has become a question of the first importance. The outcasts themselves are sufficiently conscious of this, and opposing, dumbly, the efforts of philanthropy or order, their instinct of self-preservation seeks some undisturbed sanctuary where they can still herd together, and, secured by the mutual protection of each other's character for evil, keep respectability at bay. This it is that must be prevented. No sooner do they make a street their own than it is ripe for destruction and should be destroyed. Destruction of such property involves no general loss. The houses in which they live have, in truth, a negative value, and merely to destroy them is an improvement. The owners may perhaps lose, but there can be no reasonable vested interest in a public nuisance, and the penalty

of destruction paid once, might have a widespread effect in a clearer recognition of the responsibilities of ownership. A glance at the map will show the extent of the "black" streets. It does not follow that all of these need to be destroyed, but even if they were, the total destruction would not be a very serious matter. The numbers of this class are not large. I think the 11,000 (or 1¼- per cent.) given in my schedules an ample estimate. To add more to it would be to take away the lowest section from Class B. Persistent dispersion is the policy to be pursued by the State in its contest with them, for to scatter them is necessarily to place them under better influences. The chances for their children, especially, would be better; the hereditary taint less inevitable.

Class A must not be confounded with the criminal classes. Every social grade has its criminals, if not by conviction, at least by character. Of these the lowest grade mix freely with Class A, and are not to be distinguished from it. But there are many of Class A who are not criminals, as well as plenty of criminals who have nothing to do with Class A.

Class B is more than any other affected by the relation of present to past experience. It is not, as I have before pointed out, a class in which people are born to live and die, so much as the drift from other classes. It follows that what they feel is the contrast between their lives and those of others. If the condition of other classes improves, the contrast is intensified, and with it the misery, except in those cases where a higher standard of life is felt burthensome, and to "wallow in the mire" more comfortable. Such cases are not uncommon, but on the whole I regard the individuals of Class B as suffering severely from loss of position and of the comforts to which they have been accustomed, although as a class it is possible that they are better off than ever before.

To the sufferings of these unfortunate casually employed people increasing attention is paid. The discredit into

which the system of charitable doles has fallen deprives the public conscience of its customary anesthetic and leaves it to bear its full burthen of sympathetic sensitiveness as best it may, since no satisfactory alternative has been found. The result is that in proportion as our feelings lack the relief of action they become more impulsive and variable, by turns hyper-sensitive and callous. Out of this gusty atmosphere the problem of how to mend the lives of these poor people needs to be lifted, and to this end a mere statement of proportionate numbers and the condition of their lives has its value apart from any estimate of suffering, which, as I have tried to show, is complicated beyond the possibility of analysis.

Here, in Class B, we have the crux of the social problem. Every other class can take care of itself, or could do so, if Class B were out of the way. These unfortunate people form a sort of quagmire underlying the social structure, and to dry up this quagmire must be our principal aim. Such suggestions as I have to make on this have been already touched upon.

If Class A are not to be confounded with criminals, so Class B must not be confounded with paupers. They are rather the material from which paupers are made. Other classes contribute to pauperism, but those who drop down from the classes above may be supposed to pause for a time in Class B before they finally succumb. A study of the sources of pauperism, by means of an analysis of paupers, would be interesting, and might lead to valuable and suggestive results.

Class C, with its irregular employment and improvident habits, is that which is most hardly judged, and perhaps, also, most hardly used. "If we got our deserts, which of us would 'scape whipping?" and perhaps in nine cases out of ten these unfortunate people get no more than they deserve. Towards their misfortunes modern sentiment turns its hard side of moral condemnation. The more it knows of them the

harder becomes the line drawn between " deserving " and "undeserving," and the fewer they be who rank with the deserving. Those who are industrious and thrifty usually need no help. It is for the most part with those who fall below the ideal standard of energy, prudence, or sobriety that we are attempting to deal. To select the few picked cases or even that larger number who are comparatively deserving, and simply to admonish the rest, is not enough. To raise this class we need some larger plan.

Class D does not deserve the less consideration because it is troubled neither by its own past experience of better things, nor by what is expected of it, nor by an unattainable ideal. But it even more than Class C can only be helped by a movement which shall succeed in raising the whole standard of life. It is chiefly for the sake of these two classes that my proposals for dealing with Class B are made. They are my clients, and to their service especially I dedicate my work.

Class E contains those whose lot to-day is most aggravated by a raised ideal. It is in some ways a hopeful sign, but it is also a danger. Here, rather than in the ruffianism of Class A, or the starvation of Class B, or the wasted energy of Class C, or the bitter anxieties of Class D, do we find the springs of Socialism and Revolution. The stream that flows from these springs must not be dammed up, and therefore it is to this class and its leaders in Class F that I particularly appeal in favour of what I have called "limited Socialism"—a socialism which shall leave untouched the forces of individualism and the sources of wealth.

Finally there are two ways of looking even at mere figures, by which very different impressions may be produced by the same facts. It may with some show of reason be regarded as not so very bad that a tenth of the population should be reckoned as very poor, in a district so confessedly poverty-stricken as Bast London; but when we count up the 100,000 individuals, the 20,000 families, who lead so

pinched a life among the population described, and remember that there are in addition double that number who, if not actually pressed by want, yet have nothing to spare, we shrink aghast from the picture. The divergence between these two points of view, between relative and absolute, is in itself enough to cause the whole difference between pessimism and optimism. To judge rightly we need to bear both in mind, never to forget the numbers when thinking of the percentages, nor the percentages when thinking of the numbers. This last is difficult to those whose daily experience or whose imagination brings vividly before them the trials and sorrows of individual lives. They refuse to set off and balance the happy hours of the same class, or even of the same people, against these miseries; much less can they consent to bring the lot of other classes into the account, add up the opposing figures, and contentedly carry forward a credit balance. In the arithmetic of woe they can only add or multiply, they cannot subtract or divide. In intensity of feeling such as this, and not in statistics, lies the power to move the world. But by statistics must this power be guided if it would move the world aright.

PART II.-CENTRAL LONDON.

CENTRAL LONDON,

CHAPTER I.

DESCRIPTIVE.

OF Central London, that is of Soho, St. James's, the Strand, St. Giles's, and St. George's Bloomsbury, with a population of about 113,000, full particulars of occupation as well as class were obtained on the same plan as for East London and Hackney, and a comparison between the Eastern and Central districts, based on these particulars, is given further on (Chap. V.). This is a very remarkable district, lying, if we omit St. James's and that part of Bloomsbury which is north of Oxford Street, within pretty clearly defined boundaries. On the south, the Strand; on the west, Regent Street; on the north, Oxford Street and Holborn; on the east, Lincoln's Inn Fields, New Inn and the Law Courts. Through the streets that form three of its sides the life of all London rushes, on the fourth side there is no life, but a subdued stillness as one approaches the stronghold and domain of the law.

Till recently this district was cleft by very few thoroughfares, and cabs, seeking to cross it crept through narrow streets with many turnings. Long Acre started well, but led at last only to the turnstiles of Lincoln's Inn Fields.

The making of Wellington Street and widening of Bow Street opened a route from Waterloo Bridge to Oxford Street, but it was left to very recent times to make the cleavage effective, to let in the outer world, and to depose Seven Dials as a centre in favour of Cambridge Circus, the point at which Shaftesbury Avenue and Charing Cross Road intersect. So new is this that it is hardly done. Who among my readers has heard of Cambridge Circus? Who has not heard of Seven Dials? Seven Dials may be deposed, but Cambridge Circus has not yet taken its place. Nor in truth can it ever take the place from which Seven Dials has been ousted, for that is a place which shall be known no more.

Neither Shaftesbury Avenue, nor Charing Cross Road, nor Cambridge Circus belong in sentiment to the locality, any more than Regent Street, Oxford Street, or the Strand; along them all flows a larger but an alien life to that which found its centre in Seven Dials. In spite of the great gashes so near its heart, the separate life of the district still survives. Leave any of the great streets I have mentioned, step but fifteen paces, and you find yourself in another world, with another people—other habits, other thoughts, and other manners seem to prevail. First comes darkness and a sense of stillness and peace after the rattle and blaze of the great streets, and then suddenly at the turn of another corner you are at once plunged into the life and spirit of the district itself. You have perhaps reached Walker's Court and Berwick Street, the brightest spot surely in all London on a Saturday night, or you are in Little Earl Street, one of the spokes of the Seven Dials wheel, or it may be that you have tumbled on the remains of old Clare Market. The people crowd the streets, along which no vehicle dreams of passing, chatting with each other, chaffering with the sellers, buying what they want or looking on while others buy. The air is bright with flaring lights and resonant with voices. The street is

occupied by a double line of " costers'" barrows and three slowly flowing streams of passers-by, one on each side-walk, in the narrow space left between the wares pushed forward by the shops and those displayed on the barrows; a space so restricted and so fully occupied by sellers and buyers that no one else (unless indeed he be a student of such doings) will attempt the passage; while in the wider space between barrow and barrow in the centre of the street those stroll along who are not immediately concerned in the traffic.

The noisiest sellers are those who sell meat. They shout to the general "buy, buy, *buy,* BUY, BUY," repeated rapidly with a sharpening of the sound on each repetition of the word till the last rings like blow of hammer upon steel. But to the particular they address soft words—"Now, my dear, what can I do for you?"—or confidential recommendation of some particular bit of meat. Where there is one butcher's shop another is always close by, and betweenwhiles the men will shout loud chaff to their rival over the way, with seemingly an inexhaustible supply of scathing joke arid repartee, taken and given with perfect geniality in the very best cockney spirit, suggesting somewhat the old days of "Chepe" with frolicsome apprentices crying "what d'ye lack?"

Among the crowds about Walker's Court and Berwick Street there are few signs of great poverty, none of abject want. The people are mixed in class, but those who are evidently comfortably off preponderate. The stalls for supplying necessaries, or e very-day luxuries, are interspersed with those where nick-nacks are sold, household ornaments, cheap jewellery, children's toys. The children often come a-marketing with their mothers, and one sees them returning laden with their share of the spoils, embracing a doll or some child's treasure in their arms or lightening the contents of a screw of sweetmeats. As you go city-ward there is more poverty; more at Seven Dials than to the

west of Shaftesbury Avenue, and more again at Clare Market. But nowhere in Central London can such sights be seen as are too common in South as well as in East London; such evident utter poverty amongst those who seek to lay out their money to best advantage in the streets. In Central London, as elsewhere, the poorest are the last to make their purchases. They are latest on Saturday night, and those who do not buy till Sunday morning seem poorer still. Prices are lower; the best of everything has been sold to those who have more money, and it is the surplus that is taken by the very poor. It is a dismal sight, this final choice of the unfortunate; yet even amongst them on Sunday morning I have seen a ragged child holding on with one hand to its mother's shabby skirt while with the other it grasped a penny toy.

The dark side of the district lies about Drury Lane. From Seven Dials going east the tone gets lower and lower till we reach that black patch consisting of Macklin Street, Shelton Street, Parker Street, described fully in Vol. II. Shelton Street has now been demolished, and parts of the other two are destroyed or scheduled for destruction. The change proceeds so fast that what was already is not, and much of what still is, will perhaps no longer be before these lines are in print. From this spot, through Great Wild Street and Vere Street, past old Clare Market to the Law Courts, we have at any rate nothing worse to encounter, but it is to be feared that the clearances made and making are being, and will be, paid for by the further degradation of the district towards the Strand, and that the patches of dark-blue which may there be seen on the map will tend to become black. They must then in their turn be scheduled and pulled down.

Eastward of Seven Dials lie many groups of common lodging-houses. These are similar to those of East London, and more will be said about them in another chapter. I» some live sandwich-men, loafers, and the most casual of

casual labourers; other houses are the resort of ticket-of • leave men, and those who have been, or sooner or later will become, acquainted with prison life. Others accommodate the lowest of women, and some again provide double accommodation.

Westward of Shaftesbury Avenue and Charing Cross Road there is a network of streets mostly "mixed with poverty," but rarely consistently poor, or very poor. The poor are dispersed amongst those who are better off. There are a few small streets and courts where everyone is poor—some dark-blue and some light-blue spots upon the map — but the neutral tint prevails. Poverty in these streets usually goes by floors; the poorest people, often extremely poor, are to be found at the top of the houses, and as you descend floor by floor the position mends.

Rents are everywhere very high; ground-rents are enormous, and as leases fall in many-storeyed dwellings rise into the sky. Business purposes continually claim further accommodation, and it is not easy to see how rents can fall. The most that can be hoped is that rather better accommodation for the same rent should be provided in the new blocks than was found in the old-fashioned houses. But those whose wages are docked by the payment of 6s a week for a single room look with not unnatural jealousy upon the space occupied by breweries or factories, which they think might be better located elsewhere, leaving more room for the accommodation of those whose work cannot be moved, and who cannot move far from their work. In addition, there is a growing demand in some trades hitherto carried on in the homes for the provision of workshops by the employer, so as to free the home from the contamination of the work.

Near Regent Street, and to some extent near Oxford Street, one becomes conscious of the inward pressure of the

great shops; some seeking to compensate for insufficient frontage by extensions to the rear, and others establishing workshops within easy reach; while here and there are found enterprising firms in the small streets close to Regent Street, who abandon altogether appeals to the eye through the shop-front of a leading thoroughfare, trusting to their high reputation to bring customers to their doors and lure them within. These encroachments do but affect the very outside of the district. The main influence of the great shops on it comes from their workpeople, who represent a hundred trades, but amongst whom tailors and boot-makers are the most numerous. Of these something is said in the next chapter. Similarly the Hotels and Clubs, which mostly lie outside our boundaries, affect the district through the lives of those who serve therein. Waiters, most of them foreigners, are a very large, and on the whole well-to-do class, saving their money with an eye to returning to their French or German homes. So, too, the theatres on the side of the Strand are centres of employment for a great variety of people. Artists and artisans, costumiers and wig-makers, ballet-girls, chorus-singers, and other supers, and before and after Christmas many children find profitable employment in the pantomimes. There are, too, the deplorable "sandwich-men," and lower still the cab-touts. Covent Garden, elsewhere described, is the great fount of low-class labour, not only as regards the market porters, but as the centre from which hundreds of costermongers and street sellers work their trade. At the junction of Regent Street' and Coventry Street, by Piccadilly Circus, prostitution has its principal market, holding high-change at the hour when the theatres close; but except for the foreign women, many of whom live in the Soho neighbourhood, this disgraceful traffic is not particularly connected with the inhabitants of Central London.

The bright and busy life for which the Hotels and Theatres exist, which supports the fashionable shops, and which fills the roadways with an endless stream of carriages and cabs and the footwalks at all times of the day and far into the night with a well-dressed crowd, is altogether outside of the Central London we have been attempting to describe. Those who enjoy this life come on pleasure bent, with money in their pockets, from all parts of London, from all parts of England, and from all parts of the world. They come and they go; and are divorced from the sense of responsibility which arises naturally from living in the reflected light of our past actions and pursued by their consequences. Extravagance, which is the exception in the life of each individual, becomes the rule in a state of things which is the sum of these exceptions. The result is a strange world; at best, not altogether wholesome; at worst, inexpressibly vicious. Domestic virtues have no very definite place in it, and moral laws are too often disregarded. There results, to some extent, a malign influence upon those who live to supply the many needs of these gay wayfarers. Imposition of all kinds is passed over with a shrug for the sake of present ease. Money will be given to the dishonest beggar or bullying tout whose face the giver will never see again. Partly perhaps as a result of this influence, the population of the district differs much in character from that of East or South London, or probably that of any other part. So say those of the clergy who have experience which enables them to make the comparison. Its people are, it is said, more conscious. If they are bad, they know it; if they are poor, they feel it more., They are clever, ingenious talkers, and if they beg are astute beggars. They are interesting enough, but from the point of view of the Church, very difficult "to get hold of." Perhaps they may at times have the best of an argument relied on to convince them of their errors.

Nor is the struggle of different sects over these poor souls conducive to anything but evil.. Those who are hunted up in their homes on a Sunday morning by the emissaries of five or six religious bodies are not likely to be spiritually impressed by any. Religious services cannot be expected to do much good to those who attend them only to qualify for charitable assistance, or even, though this is less objectionable, if their simple motive is to enjoy the meal of tea and buns which often follows. The competition of organized societies is further aggravated in evil effect by the efforts of many West End philanthropists who choose St. Giles's as a field of independent charitable work.

Such is the heart and core of Central, or rather of West Central, London. Add to it the outlying parts north of Oxford Street and to the south-west of Regent Street (as is done in the tables of our statistics), and we include every grade in English Society living in every class of city dwelling from Buckingham Palace to Kennedy Court; every kind of Club from Brook's to the commonest " doss" house; every description of establishment for public entertainment from the Cafe Royal to the humblest eel-pie shop; and strike in fact all the familiar contrasts embodied in the words " St. Giles's and St. James's."

The East Central district is the City itself, of which any special description is beyond my purpose. It is, however, included in the larger area which may truly be called "Central" London to-day. For the limits of this area we may take on the south, the Thames from Westminster Bridge to the Tower; and on the north, a semicircle following the line ^f Regent Street, Euston,

. A clergyman who took a mission chapel in this district some years ago was astonished to find no fewer than thirty regular communicants, but it turned out that these people had received most of the alms the mission distributed. He changed the system, and the number attending dropped to two; the others " could get more elsewhere."

Pentonville, and City Roads, Great Eastern Street and Commercial Street. Reaching London from north, and west and east, the railways for the most part touch, but do not cross, this semicircle; and the southern lines, with one exception, are content if they can deliver their passengers on the northern bank of the river. The one exception, which passes its trains under the very shadow of St. Paul's and discharges its passengers at Holborn, in the actual centre of the map, was most dearly paid for. Even tramcars infringe but little on this charmed circle; within it plies the omnibus, but it is still more essentially the sphere of the hansom cab.

A hundred and fifty years ago the limits of this district on the north were far in the fields. Through fields the roads ran from St. Mary-le-bone through Tottenham Court to Battle Bridge, where is now King's Cross, and thence to where the "Angel" still guards the northern gates, and on again through the fields of Finsbury to join the New North Road, which bounded Hoxton on the west, and so southward, skirting Moorfields, to London Wall at Moorgate. Where Great Eastern Street has in recent years been cut through densely packed houses, was then open fields, but Petticoat Lane, alongside of which runs Commercial Street, was doubtless then as now the market for East London, and the home of the Israelite. It was not until the end of last century that Lamb's Conduit and White Conduit Fields, extending from Marylebone to Sadler's Wells, were built upon, and the northern limits of London extended as far as those of its central pait to-day. At that time the inner ring was less clearly defined than now; for Regent Street did not exist to mark its western boundary, and the line of Oxford Street and Holborn was broken near St. Giles's, where New Oxford Street has since been cut through a mass of small streets. *But* there was no need to consider the question of inner and outer rings when a

measured mile from the river bank covered almost the whole of London.

This area was formerly set about with great religious houses. The buildings are for the most part gone, though we may still worship in the Temple Church, or meditate in the chapel and cloisters of Charterhouse; and in Clerkenwell, St. John's Gate, the actual gate of the once world-famous hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, still stands and links the armed priests of old with the ambulance classes of to-day;. but over the whole district the names of streets and alleys, parishes and churches, carry us back to the days before the change of faith.

One wonders how much the people who hurry along our crowded streets know of the history attaching to the names so often on their lips—some perhaps a good deal, most of them probably something, and at least it is good that the names should be preserved, in accordance with that wise conservatism which does not desire to expunge or to forget, and that large and generous spirit which, while hallowing the place where the noble victims of the Bloody Queen laid down their lives, reverences no less the old abode of those steadfast Carthusians who endured the worst her father could inflict, sooner than be unfaithful to their duty. The good fathers and the earnest reformers scarcely appreciated each other, but to both alike we make the reparation of a monument so long as we continue to name Smithfield and the Charterhouse.

Here, where memories lie thickest, our life presses most. He who dreams among these old names, awakes to find himself in the busy market of Whitecross Street, or lost in the dreadful labyrinth of courts between Goswell Road and Old Street. Or he may come to himself in the colony of

. By a happy inspiration, the rooms in the gateway have been selected (or the headquarter! of the St. John's Ambulance Association.

Italian organ-grinders on Saffron Hill, or surrounded by the tall walls of some great group of modern dwellings seven storeys high. Change marches fast over this neighbourhood; a fresh survey was needed for our map in 1889, and now two years later it is already somewhat out of date.

The population of Clerkenwell has altered much in character of late years. Half a century or so ago, the staple industries of the parish—watch and clock-making, gold-beating,, diamond-cutting, and the manufacture of jewellery—were in a flourishing condition, and throughout this district masters and journeymen worked and lived in prosperity. The trade was almost entirely carried on in private houses—such as the fine old houses in Red Lion Street—the manufacturers living on their premises, and using the lower part for trade purposes, or having occasionally a workshop in the rear. Now this is much changed. Under the stress of cheap foreign production the Clerkenwell trade has steadily declined. Many of the houses are now used for other purposes, while in the case of those still devoted to the old crafts the master-men no longer, as a rule, live over their shops, and the artisans find their homes elsewhere. Their place has been taken by a lower class; policemen, postmen and warehousemen at the top, casual labourers at the bottom. It may be said that those who work in Clerkenwell do not sleep there, and those who sleep do not work there. The district is no less respectable, but is certainly poorer.

Westward of Clerkenwell, beyond Lord Bacon's stately garden at Gray's Inn, lie the spacious squares and commodious streets of Bloomsbury, a district whence fashion has fled; but so convenient a neighbourhood is it, and so worthily planned, that it is not easy to see why South Kensington should be preferred. Perhaps some day the world will smile again on Russell Square and take its pleasure in the galleries of the British Museum.

CHAPTER II.

COVENT GARDEN MARKET.

COVENT GARDEN and its surroundings are replete with associations of historical interest, and a whole volume might well be written thereon. Here Inigo Jones "built the first Piazza known in England; here the poet Dryden, on account of some verses in his poem of the "Hind and Panther," was assaulted by the Mohawks. In Covent Garden lived Lady Mary Wortley Montague, and gathered round her the assembly of wits that have handed her name down to posterity. The coffee-houses round teem with recollections of Johnson, Garrick, Goldsmith, Reynolds, Foote, Sheridan, Theodore Hook, and many other notabilities. Hard by, in Bow Street, Fielding administered justice, while under the Piazza, Lely, Kneller, Thomhill and Hogarth painted or exhibited their pictures. Here, too, in front of St. Paul's Church, were erected the hustings for the Westminster Election, the scene of many a hard-fought political battle. From these topics, however, we must turn to consider the market itself.

Covent Garden, which is of course a corruption of Convent Garden, was originally an enclosure used by the Abbots of Westminster as a burial place for their Convent. When the dissolution of tjie monasteries took place, the property came into the possession of the Duke of Somerset, on whose attainder in 1552 it reverted to the Crown. It was then granted to John Russell, Earl of Bedford, under the description of "Covent Garden, lying in the parish of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, next Charing Cross, with seven acres called Long Acre, of the yearly value of six pounds six shillings and eightpence." At first an open space with

green fields, it perhaps afforded pasturage for a few cattle; it was, at any rate, the favourite resort of the young men of London and Westminster, for purposes of recreation, for even as late as the time of Gay, we have a graphic account, from the pen of that poet, of a game of football played there.

No precise date can be fixed for the establishment of the market. It is probable that as the City of London began to spread westward of Temple Bar, the green fields behind Bedford House, which then stood facing the Strand, were occupied by itinerant vendors of fruit and vegetables, who found it a convenient spot for the sale of their wares, owing to its close proximity to the two cities. Taking advantage of the idea, the then Earl of Bedford, as owner of the property, in the year 1632 commenced to set up market buildings, though these at first seem to have been little more than wooden sheds. In 1638 Inigo Jones built the church of St. Paul, "the handsomest barn in England." It is narrated (in Watford's "Old and New London") that when the Earl sent for Inigo he told him that he wanted a chapel for the parishioners of Co vent Garden, but added that he would not go to any considerable expense. "In short," said he, "I would have it not much better than a barn." "Well, then," replied Jones, "you shall have the handsomest barn in England.". The Piazza was also erected about this time. Thornton, in his "Survey of London and Westminster," published in 1786, says of the Piazza, that if it had been carried round the square, according to the original plan of Inigo Jones, it would have rendered Covent Garden one of the finest squares in Europe. In the early days of the Georges, the Piazza became a fashionable lounge, and so popular was it that we are told that for a century after its erection many of the female children baptized in the parish were christened Piazza.

. This church was entirely destroyed by fire in 1795, and another has been built on its site.

In 1671, the Earl of Bedford obtained a patent for the market, which, growing rapidly in importance, soon became a very flourishing concern. Strype, writing in 1698, describes it as held for fruits, herbs, and flowers beneath a small grove of trees. The present market, which occupies all the centre of the square, was built in 1830 by the sixth Duke of Bedford, the architect being Mr. William Fowler. It covers a space of about five acres, which includes three acres of the chartered market, the rest having been added subsequently. In addition to this, a building, known as the New Flower Market, and containing an area of about thirty thousand feet, has been erected by the late Duke at the south-east corner of the quadrangle. The Floral Hall, which stands in the north-east corner immediately adjoining the opera-house, was erected by Mr. Gye (when Covent Garden Theatre was rebuilt after its destruction in 1856), with the view of establishing a vast central flower market for the Metropolis. The building, however, was never used for the purposes for which it was intended, as opening in March, 1860, with a volunteer ball, it was for many years afterwards employed principally for concerts. The lease was purchased a few years back by the Duke of Bedford, and the place is now used for the sale by auction of foreign fruit or flowers.

The chartered market is regulated by statute,. and the rest of the market is controlled by the Duke of Bedford's rules, which conform to the statutory regulations. The owner is responsible for the cleaning of the market, and the refuse is regularly removed, but apparently the market is never really washed down, and very offensive smells, especially in summer time, frequently arise on account of the trodden-down mass of decayed vegetable matter. The streets adjoining are cleansed by the local authorities, and this system of dual control may possibly account for the nuisance. The Dukp. through his agents, arranges the use to which the shops in the market may be put; in the centre row, for instance,

. 9 George IV., cap. 113.

for the sake of keeping up a smart appearance, the fruit and flower shops are as far as possible placed alternately. All the shops are held on weekly tenancies, an arrangement which, at first sight, seems astonishing, but which has been established in order to avoid the formation of any monopoly or rings by a combination of the tenants.

When a shop becomes empty it is usual to put it up to tender, but when a tenant dies preference is usually given in the retaking to the family, provided, of course, there is anyone capable of carrying on the business. The rents, which are rarely raised, mostly range from 85s to £5 per week; though the highest, including offices and cellarage, reaches £8. 8s, and the lowest is only 12.9 weekly. The occupier pays nothing for water, taxes, repairs or general gas.

The stands in the Flower Market are rented at from £7 to £10 a year, but this does not include the collectors' charges. A pitching stand is one on which goods are pitched for sale; these may be either held yearly or casually. The growers and yearly tenants usually employ their own men to unload the carts, but for the casual stands the unloading is done by the regular market porters, under the direction of a head porter. The highest rent for a grower's pitching stand is 1. per square foot uncovered, and Is *3d* covered. The rents vary, therefore, according to the area, from £15 to £22 per annum. Tolls are paid on casual waggons and on all produce brought into the markets, other than "that by the growers having yearly stands. The tolls are practically unchanged since the year 1661, the standard fae being a halfpenny a bushel. The highest toll is 2s per waggon, and 2s per cart laden with evergreens; and the lowest under the Act for a cart-standing is *4d*, or for the same by custom *6d.*

From the above facts it will be gathered that the income pf the market is derived principally from two sources—from stallage and from tolls. The average receipts amount to about £25,000 a year, which, deducting £10,000

a year **for** expenses, leaves a net income of £15,000 a year —but against this more than £150,000 has been spent in buildings alone, since 1828; and much has been done towards widening the streets in the neighbourhood and in pulling down houses to enlarge the area around the market. The crush and block in the market itself and the adjoining streets, which was formerly a scandal and a nuisance, has been considerably abated, and as opportunity offers for further clearances, will, it is to be hoped, disappear almost entirely. Some years back the Duke, being of opinion that the market would be better managed by the municipal authorities, made an offer to the Metropolitan Board of Works to transfer the market to them, but the negotiation was never carried through. A similar offer has now been made to the London County Council, but no definite arrangement has as yet been arrived at.

The business of the market has been greatly augmented within the last few years by the increase of foreign produce and by the development of trade. While, however, the wholesale business has increased, the retail trade has rapidly declined and now scarcely exists at all. At one time it was no uncommon thing to see drawn up in the market a line of carriages from the West End, the occupants having come to buy fruit and flowers; but now a carriage is comparatively rarely seen there. The Civil Service Stores and the excellent fruit and flower shops which have recently sprung up in the West End, have practically extinguished this branch of what was once a flourishing retail trade.

The fruit for the market comes in heavy consignments from the Channel Islands, all parts of France, Spain, and Portugal, the Holy Land, the West Indies, and America, including California, which, during the "off" season in France, fills the ga"o with its pears. Many other countries send their productions, and in fact the whole world contributes to the supply of Covent Garden. The flowers also

are sent from a great variety of places, both at home and abroad.

The English goods come from within a radius of 9 to 20 miles of London, and are brought to the market in vans. The carmen of these vans, leaving their different nurseries about 5 or 6 o'clock in the evening, arrive about 8 P.M. (though some come a good deal later, arriving early in the morning) so as to have their goods ready for the 5 o'clock market, and usually sleep on the boards of their stands—an uncomfortable arrangement and against regulations, but apparently the best they can do in the circumstances. Guernsey and Jersey send a large quantity of chrysanthemums and arum lilies which arrive at about 5.30 A.M., by the South and Great Western Railway vans, and Paris and Nice furnish heavy consignments of Neapolitan violets and white lilac, which come in three or four times a week by the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway. A wonderful trade in narcissi, camellias, daffodils, &c, is done with the Scilly Islands.

The Flower Market is open from 5 A.M. to 9 A.M. on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, between the months of September and April, for the sale of plants and cut-flowers; on Monday, "Wednesday, and Friday during the same months it is open from 7 A.M. to 9 A.M. for the sale of cut-flowers only; during the rest of the year it is open daily from 4 A.M. to 9 A.M. for the sale both of plants and cut-flowers.

The scene in this market in the early morning is a remarkable one, full of activity and bustle. It is worth a visit even in the winter months, and especially on Christmas Eve, but it is in summer, during the height of the fruit and flower season, that it is seen at its best.

As we approach the market in the early dawn of a Bummer's morning we find most of.the adjoining streets filled with carts. Formerly the streets were well nigh impassable even for foot-passengers, but owing to the

clearances lately made, both on the side of Bow Street and of Henrietta Street, there is now good standing ground for the larger part of the carts in the market itself. Still, even now we sometimes have to creep under a cart to make our way across the street, and vehicular traffic is of course an impossibility. Under the porch of St. Paul's Church an old man is selling a curious but much patronized concoction of eels in water. This mixture does not look inviting, so we politely decline his invitation to refresh ourselves, and pass on. At Lockhart's Coffee Tavern, under the Piazza, where a roaring trade is proceeding, we regale ourselves with a good cup of coffee and a roll. The shops in the Central Avenue are not yet open, and the auctions in the Floral Hall do not begin till much later, but the side avenues are filled with fruit and vegetable sellers, and the Flower Market is in all its glory. Few sights can be prettier than the one it presents when it first opens in the morning in summer. Brilliant flowers of all hues and kinds are ranged upon the stands, while the rising sun lights up the whole scene. The agents and foremen of the different shops in the market are hurrying from stand to stand, buying the flowers that they think will sell. They enter their purchases, prices, &c, in small note-books which are provided on the spot by hawkers of such wares. There is an old man in the market who goes about with a heap of note-books and pencils for sale, and it is marvellous how he manages to carry so many. We heard him offer six note-books for sale for 3d. He has done this business in the market for twenty rears, and makes, we should say, judging from the amount of his custom, a good thing out of it. We wend our way along with some difficulty, having to keep our wits about us to avoid the porteresses carrying their big baskets of flowers, and the porters with baskets heaped up one above the other on their heads. Sometimes a collision or a stumble causes these baskets to fall, and as they are laden they not unfrequently give severe bruises

to the unwary passer-by. Here and there we come upon a collector gathering the tolls, or a sub-collector or inspector remonstrating with someone who is infringing the rules of the market. Busy as the scene is, we are struck by the good temper and good humour apparent on all sides. At about 8 o'clock the shops on the centre avenue are beginning to take down their shutters. By this time the stands in the Flower Market are nearly denuded of flowers, most of which have been already bought. At 8.30 a warning bell is rung, for at 9 A.M. the buyers must leave the Flower Market. If anyone attempts to linger after that hour, he is hustled out by the police. Towards closing time we have been perpetually asked by the stand-keepers if we will not buy this or that flower, and we have always returned from our matutinal visits to the market, with one, two, or three pots presented to us by our friends from the stock they have been unable to sell.

The work of the people in the market is hard enough, as may be gathered from the account of a day given by a shop foreman. In winter he gets to work at 5 A.M., and in summer at 3.30 A.M.; he buys and sells in the Flower Market till 9 A.M., when he goes to his shop in the centre avenue; he works there till 8 in the evening, unless, indeed, he has to do the decorations for a ball or some other festivity. When royalty goes to the theatres in the neighbourhood he has to take flowers there for them, such flowers being paid for by the theatre people. [Of course it is needless to say that he does not work at high pressure the whole of this time, for he has plenty of leisure for meals during the slack hours; he is, however, practically on duty the whole •time.]

Staff.—The managing staff of the market consists of a superintendent. collectors, sub - collectors, office clerks, attendants, and constables, who are paid by the Duke. The collectors look after the rents and tolls, while the sub-collectors are mainly responsible for the general

order of the market and for seeing that the laws and bye-laws are carried out.

Shopkeepers.—The tenants of the shops may be taken next, and of these it may suffice to say that they are as a rule a well-to-do class, whose tenancies often extend over a long period of years, and not unfrequently descend from father to son. Some of them have made considerable fortunes. One instance there is of an old gentleman who had amassed £20,000. The wages of the shop *employees* vary from one to two guineas a week.

Growers.—At the time of this inquiry forty-five cart or waggon stands in the market were set apart for growers, and of these thirty-two were regularly occupied. The remaining stands are usually taken by casual growers, who generally come from within a radius of nine miles of London. The casual carts and waggons are very much the more numerous. Many, if not most, of these men are members of the Market Gardeners, Nurserymen and Farmers' Association, the objects of which appear to be the protection and promotion of the common interests of the classes embraced, and their relief in distress.

Commission Salesmen and Higglers,—The former act for the grower for the time being, but are not themselves producers. The higglers, or middlemen, are on the alert as early as 4 A.M., taking note of how the things are being sold from the vans, and purchasing lots accordingly.

Porters.—There are between 700 and 800 licensed porters regularly employed in the market, and all of these are supposed to wear a badge,, which any man recommended as sober and honest may obtain at the Bedford Estate Office by payment of 1s 6d. This sum will be refunded to him when he gives up his badge, provided the latter is not injured. These badges should, according to the regulations, *be* worn on the arms, bat during our early visits to the markets we observed that this rule was not strictly carried out, as many of the porters seem either ashamed or

unwilling to wear them openly, but keep them in their pockets, ready to be produced if necessary. As these badges are issued to protect the public from fraud, it is a pity, both in the interests of the men and of those who employ them, that they are not more generally referred to, for there are numerous loafers and cadgers who hang about the market on the chance of a job, ready to steal whenever occasion serves, and under the system as at present carried out it is very difficult, if not impossible, to detect them. The licensed porters, too, sometimes unwisely play into the hands of the unlicensed hangers-on by refusiug to carry wet loads, thus compelling the sellers to send for an outside man to do the work.

Of the licensed porters, some are constantly employed in the shops, and so practically receive regular wages, but with most the earnings are very irregular. In the summer a casual porter may occasionally take as much as £2 or £3 a week about the market, while in the winter he drops to *Is* or even nothing. He may, indeed, endeavour to increase his earnings by working as an assistant (scene-shifter, &c), at the adjoining theatres at night, but often he degenerates into the mere loafer after his morning's work, and not unfrequently spends the remainder of the day in the public-house.

The porters are hard-worked during the market hours. Their usual charge is *2d* a turn, though this depends somewhat on the size of the load. Some years since the porters started a benefit club, which flourished for awhile, but subsequently failed in consequence of mismanagement. They have now formed a union, and apparently desired that none but men willing to join the union should have tickets issued to them. This condition was refused by the Duke, who, while not objecting to the men belonging to the union, would not allow it to be made a qualification for obtaining a badge. This society, but recently formed, is at present only strong enough to partly prevent the unlicensed

porter working in the market, as formerly. The object of the union is to obtain a monopoly, and to secure a higher rate of pay for carrying. Women are not admitted to membership.

Of the casual porters it is impossible to estimate the number, as there are no lists by which to identify them, and the nature of their work is variable, while their attendance is often irregular.

Among these people there are some distressing cases. We came across one man who, for some months at least in the year, was in regular receipt of 35s a week in the market, but never brought home a penny to his wife, spending the whole of it on his own pleasures. He rarely visited his home, and only when he wanted something. His wife in the meantime supported herself and family by selling flowers in the street. In contrast to this sad story, we have another of a porter in the market who, by his industry and providence, supports an invalid wife. When his morning's work is over he returns home to his wife, who is almost completely paralyzed, and spends the rest of his day in household work. Wo can testify to his efficiency in this last-mentioned work; the room is scrupulously clean in every respect, and is indeed a model of what a poor man's home may be.

In the Flower Market women porters are employed. They also are licensed, and have a badge intended to be worn suspended from the waist, outside the apron, on the left-hand side. The women charge 1½d or 2d a tarn for the plants, which they carry on their heads in baskets to the vans outside. These baskets hold about twelve plants each. The earnings of the porteresses are usually from 6s to 12s a week..

Many women are employed in the market during the fruit season as pea pickers, asparagus tiers, walnut shellers.

. A very complete list is kept at the market office, containing the names and addresses of the licensed porters and porteresses

&c, but these people during the rest of the year have to get on as best they can. They are paid by the piece, viz. so much on each pint shelled or each bundle tied.

Costers and Flower Girh.—These hardly come within the definition of people employed in the market, but a word or two may be said regarding them. The costers arrive in the market between 6 and 7 A.M., paying *Is* to enter. If they stand and sell in the market they have to pay another *Is*, but usually they load up their barrows and start off to hawk in the streets. We are informed that they are never interfered with when moving, nor yet while standing still if they are really serving a customer. The flower girls come into the market about 8 o'clock, and buy up the flowers remaining unsold. These, of course, they are able to get cheaply, the grower being anxious to dispose of them.

The people employed in the market are of several nationalities, and include not a few Jews. They are, as a rule, a hard-working lot, but lead a very hand-to-mouth life. The nature of their business, in addition to the causes common to all classes alike, may make it difficult for them to be provident, but it must be regretted that there is so little thrift among them; as regards sobriety, it is asserted that the porters and others employed in the market are not less sober than the rest of their class. The work is often very heavy and the hours early, which probably conduces to the considerable amount of nipping which goes on. We have visited the market at all hours of the early morning, and though we cannot bear witness to any case of drunkenness, nearly every one we spoke to smelt of something stronger than tea or coffee, and many were stupid and thick of speech.

The shutting up by the Duke of the public-houses in the immediate neighbourhood of the market has been productive of much good. Formerly,, when there were many public-houses close to the market, the porters could run in and out of them almost at will, but now they Lave to think

twice, because they may very likely lose a job by leaving their work to go the necessary distance.

Although a large number of the workers in Covent Garden, by the nature of their work, are compelled to reside in its immediate neighbourhood, many others live far from it, and an inquiry into the circumstances of all those connected with the market would extend over the greater part of the metropolitan area. School boys of Battersea, exhausted by early morning work at the market, fail in their tasks; whilst inmates of common lodging-houses at Notting Hill have a weary tramp to bring their stock of flowers in pots from the market. In the course of our inquiries we went to visit a friend, who for some years had a living in the neighbourhood, but who has since removed to a district some considerable distance away. In asking for information about the porters, &c, of the market, we remarked that we hoped he would not mind our visit, as now he had done with the market. "Done with the market!" he exclaimed, "Why, my good fellow, I have the market people all round me here, and shall have them wherever I go in London or its suburbs. I shall never have done with Covent Garden Market."

In concluding this article on the work and associations of Covent Garden, we must acknowledge the material assistance afforded by Dr. Walford's "Old and New London/[1] Mr. Timbs's "Curiosities of London/[1] the First Eeport of the Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls, and other works, while our best thanks are due to all with whom we have come in contact during our inquiries. It has at times been a matter of difficulty to elucidate truth from a mass of conflicting reports, but from all we have met.with unvarying kindness and readiness to answer questions to the best of their knowledge.

CHAPTER I I I

COMMON LODGING-HOUSES.

IN studying the picture of London poverty set forth in varied colours on the map, the eye readily notices those black spots which betoken a miserable combination of poverty, vice and crime. If a more minute acquaintance is made with these dark places it will be found that in not a few of them, houses exist for accommodating the poorer classes of Her Majesty's subjects, and known as "Registered Common Lodging-houses.". These houses are under the control of the local authority, which in the Metropolis is the Commissioner of Police, and are subject to periodical inspection by officers appointed for the purpose. They *may* be visited by these officers at any hour of the day or night, and they exist under strict conditions as to tho number of lodgers that may be received, as to propriety regarding the separation of the sexes; as to the proper furnishing of the rooms; as to cleanliness, ventilation and other sanitary arrangements. Would that these regulations were always rigidly enforced! Sick persons can, at the option of the "deputy" in charge, be removed to the hospital or infirmary, and it is comparatively rare that anyone dies in a common lodging-house. The keepers also may be required to report regarding beggars and vagrants, but this provision is of little avail, if indeed it is *ever* made use of; they are also forbidden, under severe penalties, not always very effectual, to harbour thieves and such bad characters.

. There is no legal definition of a common lodging-house, either in Acts of Parliament or judicial decisions, but it, may be roughly defined to be a house in which beds are let out by the night 8r by the week, in rooms where three or more persons not belonging to the same family may sleep at the same time.

The provision to be found in the Metropolis for those who are "homeless"—or perhaps it would be more accurate to say, those who enjoy no family life—has a wide range. From the luxury of the West End residential club to the " fourpenny doss " of Bangor Street or Short's Gardens is but a matter of degree. The club loafer of Piccadilly or Hyde Park Corner, and the unkempt and ill-clad vagabond sleeping away the summer day on the grass of St. James's Park, are often influenced by much the same desire—to attain the advantages of the associated life without the cares of housekeeping—and the election which the one has to undergo to pass as a " clubable " man finds its counterpart in the unwritten law which makes certain common lodging-houses accessible only to the " game .uns."

A proportion of those who make their homo in the common lodging-houses do so of necessity, driven thereto by poverty, the victims of misfortune, or of irregularity or slackness of work. But many others voluntarily adopt this method of life; amongst them are men earning good wages —artisans, for instance, from the Midlands or the North— who seek a temporary abode while fulfilling engagements to work for short periods at a distance from their family or friends. Some inhabit these houses partly of necessity and partly of choice; and there are some again who have a particular motive of their own which differs altogether from the pressure of poverty, those who find it convenient to be able to shift their quarters at short notice and to preserve a stricter *incognito* than would be compatible with ordinary family life—individuals, who, abandoning patronymic and Christian name, adopt a varying *soubriquet* suited to, or known by, the company they frequent—passing perhaps as " the Slasher " in St. Giles's while recognized only as " Sir Garnett" in the lodging-houses of Westminster.

According to the report of the Chief Commissioner of Police issued in 1889, there were 995 common lodging-houses registered in the Metropolis, or, if we include the 5

houses which are under separate jurisdiction in the City, there were in the whole of London exactly 1000 houses, with accommodation in all for 31,651 persons.

It must not be supposed that all these houses, though under the same law, are of the same type or character. Some houses, though registered, are not labelled as " lodging-houses," but go by the more euphonious name of " chambers; " and in those of a better class, are to be found many young clerks and shop assistants who wish to husband their resources (instead of a wife), and so be able, as it is said, " to cut a dash " in some other direction.

Some of the houses even aspire to the appellation of " hotel," and only differ from an ordinary hotel in the fact that several young men will occupy the same bedroom. In such chambers and "hotels" the sitting-rooms and smoking-rooms are often fairly good and the furniture comfortable, while meals of a superior quality are provided for the "young gentlemen" at prices varying from 4d to 1s, or even more. Accommodation of this kind is to be found in the neighbourhood of the large railway stations about the Euston Road, and near some of the suburban junctions used by travellers wishing to live cheaply while spending a few days in town. Many coffee-houses too, are registered, and let a few beds in connection with their other trade, reputably or otherwise—too often otherwise.

There are also philanthropic institutions, such as servants' homes—shelters where some payment is required—which are registered in order to comply with the law,. and others which, by providing supper, bed and breakfast at a nominal charge, seek to draw together and bring under religious influence those who seem to need ministration of all kinds, and who may be expected to listen more readily when warmed and fed. It is, however} not with any of these

. Since the decision of the Court of Queen's Bench in the case of the Salvation Army shelter, this would seem to be no longer necessary.

that we are here concerned. They have made use of the law, but it is not for their sake that the law exists.

Still, however, there is, among legitimate specimens, a considerable variety, the difference showing itself in the character of the occupants and being connected in a general way with the neighbourhood in which the houses are situated.

In parts of South London, for instance, many respectable single men who are employed in the large engineering works or elsewhere live permanently in this way. If they cannot live mote cheaply, they have at any rate more independence and less responsibility than in ordinary lodgings. In East London, too, there are houses similarly occupied by dock labourers and warehouse porters in fairly regular employment. The difference in the character of these houses and their occupants in different localities is shown by the extent of their interconnection with pauperism, for while in certain unions the workhouse population is recruited largely from their inmates, in other districts, where also common lodging-houses are found, little or no such connection is to be traced. But the variation is still more marked if the houses are considered individually, and the more scattered they lie the more the individuality asserts itself, so that in a general way it may be said that where they are found in groups they mostly display those characteristics which we now propose to describe.

Our study of the facts applies mainly to the following groups of common lodging-houses :—

Central London, about	**80**	**Houses**	**in**	**St. Giles's and the Strand.**
East „	„	**150**	„	**Whitechapel.**
South „	„	*M*	„	**Southwark.**
West .		**25**	„	**'Westminster.**
West M	"l	**55**	„	**Hotting Hill**

f75

. The part of London popularly known as Westminster, lying to the south and west of the Abbey.

and applies in greatest detail to the Central London section, as will be seen further on.

In houses, such as we are concerned with, the kitchen is the common living room and provides the attraction of free social intercourse. A bright coke fire is kept burning day and night for cooking and general use. The furniture of this room, strong and of the roughest description, consists of a long table occupying the centre of the room, with wooden benches on either side, and perhaps a few common chairs in addition. The cooking apparatus provided is of the simplest kind. A few frying-pans or gridirons serve in turn to prepare for table, herring, saveloy, rashers, steak, or other form of food belonging to a succession of guests. The quality or quantity of such food betokens as often reckless extravagance as extreme poverty, while the limited number of cooking utensils is often a source of discord. Of crockery there is next to none; a few old jam pots will often be the only provision for tea or coffee. Tin teapots are usually provided, but smaller articles, such as cutlery, are too portable to be used in common, and clasp knives will be produced from the pocket; spoons are not always thought of, and we have ample illustration of the fact that fingers were made before forks, whilst an old newspaper will often supply the want of a plate. Seated on and around the tables are to be seen groups of men engaged in games of chance or skill with dice or cards of an ancient appearance, or in recounting anecdotes and experiences too often ill-fitted for polite ears, varied with song, dance, and discussion—political or theological—while beer, gin, and tobacco abound. As the evening wears on, or morning approaches, the occupants drop off one by one to the sleeping rooms. These are usually, though not always, well-ventilated and contain rows of small iron bedsteads, arranged as in hospital wards, only closer together, the number in each room being carefully adapted to the cubic space required by law. The bedsteads are provided with mattress, rug or blanket, and

sometimes also with sheets, which are changed once a week. Somewhere about the premises, oftenest in an outside shed, there is a supply of water, washing tubs, and towels for general use, and other conveniences are generally adequate. For the class of houses we are describing, the prices vary from 3d to *6d* a night, the most usual charge being 4d. To each applicant for a night's lodging are given two numbers, one the number of his bed and the other of the room. Payment is required in advance, but some credit will be given to well-known customers who can be trusted to pay as circumstances permit. Weekly payment secures a reduction, equal usually to one night or "Sunday free." Any person able to pay can obtain a night's lodging, no question is asked, and names are not taken. A man may lodge for years in a house and only be known to the landlord or his "deputy" by the number of the bed he occupies or a nickname given by the other lodgers. The landlord undertakes no responsibility for the safety of a lodger's clothing or other property, unless specially deposited with him, and anything brought to the house is at the owner's risk. A man must be very sharp to remain long in such places without being the victim of some petty theft, and it sometimes happens that people are robbed of all their clothing while asleep in bed.

All classes of the poor, from A through B and 0 to D and E, that is, from the disorderly non-industrial classes upwards through the casually and irregularly employed to those in receipt of constant pay, are to be found in these houses; but there can be no doubt that class A, the non-industrial and disorderly, predominates, and that classes B, 0, D, and B, will each in turn account for a decreasing proportion.

In the large group of common lodging-houses which we find in St. Clement's, Hotting Hill, a considerable number of the inmates belong to classes B and 0, and appear to earn a precarioua living by hawking flowers, both cut and in pots,

in the wealthy district of South Kensington, and by hay-making, fruit and hop-picking, while a still larger number, undoubtedly of class A, gain a livelihood by begging or levying blackmail as best they can in such localities as Queen's Gate, Gloucester Road, and Cromwell Road. They prowl about the richer squares or terraces, and round the stationsof the District Railway Company, and too easilyimpose on the soft-hearted by glib tales of woe. In this group, and still more in that belonging to Westminster, are to be found discharged soldiers, as to whom more will be said in the next chapter. It would seem that they are mostly to be found in those houses which have for keeper or deputy a man who has also been in the service. Taking the group of houses which exist in St. Giles's and round Covent Garden Market, we find that many of those who inhabit them are casual porters or labourers about the market, or small hawkers of fruit and flowers, while proximity to the theatres and advertising establishments makes these houses a convenient home for " Sandwich men " earning *Is* or *Is 2d* a day, or for those finding employment as theatrical " supers" at *Is 6d* a night. There are also many chances of picking up sixpence or a shilling by finding carriages or calling cabs, which tend to make the neighbourhood of the Strand attractive to the denizens of the common lodging-house. In the Whitechapel district many porters and dock labourers would seem to reside permanently in these houses, which, there as elsewhere, are the resort of the most brutal of their class. The houses in Southwark do not seem to show any peculiar features; their character is certainly no better.

While there are among the inhabitants of these houses many who never do an honest day's work of any kind, but live by gambling, thieving, or fraud, spending their lives alternately in the common lodging-ncuse and the gaol, there are also a considerable number who excite our utmost pity i—poor " derelicts of humanity " who, from sheer inability,

whether mental or bodily, cannot work, or if they attempt to work are worse than useless. These would seem to spend their lives interchangeably between the common lodging-house, the night shelter, the casual ward, and the workhouse.

Herein we find the connection between the inmates of common lodging-houses and the pauper class, a connection not to be wondered at. But the extent of this connection is remarkable. The books of the relieving officer in a Central London Union show that out of 1518 persons admitted to the workhouse during the first nine months of 1889, no less than 746 came direct from common lodging-houses, only 16 came from houses where lodgers are taken in but which are not registered, 296 from casual wards as homeless persons, and only 460 from private houses. A similar examination of the books of an East End Union during four months ending February 18th, 1890, shows that out of 2654 persons, 1073 were from common lodging-houses; and in a West End Union, out of 1065 admitted, 616 came directly from these houses.

The common lodging-houses for females only would appear to be almost entirely occupied by women of the lowest class—thieves, prostitutes, and beggars, with a very small proportion of casual earners such as crossing-sweepers, basket-hawkers, charwomen, and, in the Notting Hill district, washerwomen. With regard to the houses for "married couples" the less said the better—there may be exceptions, but for the most part they are simply houses of accommodation, and a souroe of contamination and degradation to the districts in which they are to be found; only to be tolerated in so far as, or so long as, their suppression might encourage still worse developments and exhibitions of vice. In considering the worst of the common lodging-houses, it must not be forgotten that the streets of "furnished apartments" provide a still lower depth, **and** that any shelter vice may seek is better than that open

depravity of the streets, of which we frequently have such fearful revelations.

In common lodging-houses social distinctions are recognized and even rigidly adhered to. The class divisions in this lowest society follow much the same lines as are to be found in the world outside. Though bearing all alike the stamp of poverty and suffering, the one as often as the other under the misfortune of detected crime, a man of education or literary attainments will hold himself far above the casual labourer or handicraftsman, and a broken-down clerk or shop-assistant would hesitate to frequent the company of common beggars.

Among the better educated section of the class, the employment of addressing envelopes and circulars affords a means of living. This is the only form of employment carried on in the common lodging-houses (unless indeed the lucrative occupation of begging-letter writing, of which there is no end, be dignified with the name of employment), and a large number of men, amounting to some hundreds, are to be found in some of the better houses in St. Giles's and Whitechapel, thus engaged. By applying to one of the several large firms of envelope addressers, any man of sufficient education who presents a fairly respectable appearance can, as occasion serves, obtain his share of the work. A list of addresses is handed to him with a corresponding number of envelopes or wrappers. These are taken to the writing room provided at some of the better-class houses and there addressed. The pay is usually *3s* per 1000; but under a process of competition, following the accustomed methods of "sweating," this rate may, when work is slack, be reduced to 2. 6d or even 2.. This employment, as may be supposed, is irregular and precarious, being most active at election times. When pressure occurs the work may continue all night.

The keepers of the low-class common lodging-houses can only be said to match the occupants. They, or rather their deputies, are too often men and women of the lowest grade whose ideas of morality and conduct are exceedingly elastic—nor is this to be wondered at, for any householder can register his house as a common lodging-house provided he complies with the statutory regulations. The certificate of character which may be demanded, signed by three inhabitant householders of the parish, is not difficult to obtain and is obviously of little value. Moreover it does not touch, except indirectly, upon the character of the deputy, the man with whom in most cases the actual management rests..

Reform in respect of the conditions under which these houses are registered is much needed, and it is to be desired that the provisions of the Statutes with regard to harbouring thieves or reputed thieves, and the exercise of surveillance over known tramps and vagrants, could be more uniformly and firmly enforced, as also the regulations against overcrowding.f Such reform should be in the direction of a more efficient and careful selection of those who are registered as keepers, and should be extended to their deputies. Provision, too, should be made on the plan adopted in Glasgow, and in some model common lodging-houses in London, for the presence of "warders," or responsible persons to maintain order and decency at night, or when the houses are crowded. Especial regard also should be had to construction and means of exit. Many of these houses are existing side by side with one another or in close contiguity; and ample facilities exist

. An instance has recently occurred of a respectable man giving up a well-paid situation as keeper of a model lodging-house, owing to the disgusting habits of some of the inmates.

f Spare bedding is too often available for a "shake down" on the floor after the inspector's rounds.

for communication between them at the backs, or in some instances, certainly not long since, even if they no longer exist, by underground passages. If any individual is "wanted" by the police, word is rapidly passed from house to house, and it is a simple matter to elude pursuit. A rabbit tracked through the intricate windings of his "bury" has less chance of escape from a ferret, than a criminal from the hands of an officer of justice, when once he has found refuge in certain streets where these houses lie thick.

It will have been seen that the St. Giles's district of Central London is one of the principal centres of common lodging-house life, and during the last four years the St. Giles's Charity Organization Committee have had under consideration no less than 255 cases of people frequenting them; 157 of the number were actually living in these houses at the time, and either applied for assistance on their own initiative or were sent by charitable people and invited to tell their story. The remaining 98, who nearly all admitted that they had habitually lived in common lodging-houses, were selected from St. Giles's casual ward as, *prima facie,* capable of being assisted. This took place immediately after the Trafalgar Square excitement (of which the story is told in the next chapter), when the current chances of charitable relief seem to have attracted into the casual wards many of the class usually inhabiting common lodging-houses. Though facts regarding people of this description are exceedingly hard to ascertain with any degree of accuracy, the notes of cases recorded in the office of the committee make it possible to give some particulars of them, and they present a sad picture of misery and hopelessness, of vice and inability. Much trouble and pains were expended in trying to obtain the fullest information, as well as endeavouring to raise those who appeared capable of being helped to a condition of indepen-

dence. Some refused to give information of any sort, others gave an inaccurate or false account of themselves, but some freely disclosed the true story of their lives. They were all asked to give names and addresses of references—former employers, friends, relatives, or anyone who might be able to give aid or information as to the past. Here, again, some refused or gave false references, whilst others genuinely complied. An analysis of the results will throw some light on the condition of the class generally :

Of the whole number (255) 41 refused to give any account of themselves or did not accept the invitation to come to the office; 34, after giving a certain amount of information, disappeared; 11 gave false references; 76 could give no reference, or such as they gave proved worthless; and only in 93 cases was any information at all valuable or trustworthy to be obtained. Of these 93, so far as information by reference went, 58 had previously borne a good character, while that of the remainder was doubtful or bad. Of those who had borne a good character, 28 owed their miserable position entirely to bodily infirmity; 14 had sunk into it for no apparent reason—they were simply "rolling stones"; while with regard to the rest want of energy and faults of temper accounted for the position of some, leaving only a very small minority of cases where slackness of work in the particular trade followed could be justly reckoned as the cause. Indeed, very few even alleged slackness or want of work as a cause of their distress until this became the question of the day in connection with the Trafalgar Square disturbance. Of 35 bad or doubtful characters as to whom information was obtained, 9 were drunkards, 2 were thieves, and 1 woman was notoriously vicious. The 128 who refused inquiry, disappeared, or gave false references, must, we fear, most of them be added to the total of those whose antecedents **would not bear** investigation, making **197** out of **255.**

Of those who gave false references or refused to give any, the information obtained was derived from their own statements, some of which were no doubt worthy of credit, while others contained no more truth than it suited the narrator to furnish, but whatever reliance is to be placed on the statements made, they may be summarized for what they are worth, and may be of some value so far as they relate to matters as to which there could be little object in deceit :

In 235 cases the people stated that they were—

MALES.-[	*c* Married men.	.28	
	. Single men.	.148	206
	l Widowers.	3o	
FEMALES	Married women ... •••	7	
	Single women.	.8	29
	Widows.	.14	

It will be seen that here is no family life.

Out of 228 cases, in which the ages varied from 14 to 66, there were—

Under 25.	.41
Between 25 and 40.	.104
40 and 60.	.74
Over 60.	.9
	228

These figures, too, tell their story. Old people seldom remain to live this life. Before old age is reached the workhouse or infirmary draws a veil over the closing scene, for these unhappy victims of crime, vice, infirmity or misfortune.

Including some of those whose failure in life was not attributable to bad character, there were in all 204 persons,

. " Single " meaning in the majority of instances that they are, **at least for** the **present** unencumbered.

whose condition might perhaps be accounted for, as follows:—

Confirmed loafing habits by preference ...	85
Failure in trade—irregularity of employment	50
Extravagance or improvidence of those who had been originally quite well off ...	9
Drink.	40
Physical infirmity.	89
Mental incapacity, inability to learn ...	6
Uncontrollable temper.	2
Thieves and confirmed beggars.	19
Young people deserted by their relations ...	8
Lunatic	1
	204

A prevailing characteristic of most was the love of **drink,** but this was, with but little doubt, engendered as often as not by the unhappy circumstances of their surroundings, and it would hardly be fair to state it as a primary cause of failure, except in the 40 cases where it was distinctly ascertained. In only 40 cases was it considered expedient to offer assistance, and it is doubtful if one-third of these have received any permanent benefit..

If such as these are not chosen from the best of those who inhabit common lodging-houses, neither do they fully represent the worst or most hopeless cases, for

. It may be interesting to note that during four years from 1886 to 1889, the Whitechapel Committee of the O.O.S. dealt with just 200 applicants from common lodging-houses, with the following results:—

Referred to the Poor Law, ineligible or undeserving	124
Withdrawn.	85
Reported upon only.	4
Referred to other agencies.	6
Assisted in various ways	81
	"200

During a similar period the St. George's, Hanover Square, Committee dealt with 162 applicants of a similar kind, of which there were—

Assisted.	24
Hot assisted.	138

Of these 26 were old soldiers, and 107 were confirmed beggars

criminals seek aid by more direct means, and those whose cases will not bear investigation soon learn the uselessness of any application, and pass the word to their friends that " it's no use telling lies to the like of them, they're sure to find you out."

On the whole, it must be said that the typical inhabitants of an ordinary common lodging-house belong to the lowest scale of humanity. Happily their numbers are small compared to the whole population, but that they have recently increased seems undeniable, and a fact which raises serious questions. The increase was very marked in 1888-9, and the police returns lately issued show a still further increase.

It is noteworthy that the multiplication of this unsatisfactory class in London has been accompanied by an increase in that form of charity which supplies free food and shelter without discrimination. To say that this class is brought into existence by unwise or ill-regulated charity would be too much. The roots undoubtedly lie deeper, and more complicated causes are involved. But that such charity concentrates and aggravates the evil who can doubt ?

CHAPTER IV.
HOMELESS MEN..

THE homeless class, whether casual workers or vagrants, seem to have been the source of as much anxiety to our forefathers as to ourselves. There are in every generation those who, without any other special defect of character, have a roving disposition and a general distaste for a quiet regular life or regular employment, be it brain work or manual labour. Though, at the outset, not necessarily either lazy or at all worthless, such men are apt to drift into idle ways. The good intentions which may cause them to work, even vehemently, for a time, will not suffice to maintain that life of steady, unbroken, laborious routine which is demanded of those who would succeed. Failure is dubbed bad luck, habits of idleness follow in natural course, and at last these men become industrially, if not morally, worthless. In every generation, too, we find the race of "sturdy vagabonds and valiant beggars" ready to beg, borrow, and perhaps steal, rather than to work for their livelihood. These two classes, with the addition of those who from illness, infirmity, age, incompetence or misfortune, are thrown out of employment, are the sources whence homeless men are drawn.

These men, of whom there are always a large number in London, with some women and a few children, are closely associated with the dwellers in common lodging-houses and occasionally sojourn there, or elsewhere in the poorest quarters of the Metropolis, when their funds permit this escape from the cold comfort of the embankment or the

. This paper refers to me- only. The number of homeless women apai. from those who come under the operation of Rescue Societies is comparatively small.

parks, the shelter of an archway, or hospitality of some open staircase, or from the regulations of night refuge and casual ward. They are not hopeful subjects; not easy to raise out of this existence when they have once settled down to it.

Our ancestors took a severe view of vagrants of this description, and their presence doubtless at times threatened to become a serious social danger. In the reigns of the Tudors the desire to put an end to the vagrant difficulty is attested by the passing of Act after Act; the Tudor efforts culminating in the famous 43rd Elizabeth, reported to owe the outlines of its plan to the genius of Lord Bacon. But even his interference can hardly be said to have done much, and succeeding generations continued to legislate; planning, hoping and failing with depressing regularity. It is noteworthy how each in turn imagined that the fresh laws enacted would entirely suppress the evils at which they were aimed. Nevertheless, the evils still remain. By the formation of casual wards in 1864-5 it was no doubt hoped that the dream of the Poor Law Commissioners of 1834 would be at last fulfilled and that " the assurance that no one need perish from want would repress the vagrant and mendicant by disarming them of their weapon—the plea of impending starvation." How remote is the realization of this dream needs no telling.

The numbers of those resorting to casual wards apparently varies in different districts according to the terms of relief;—the period of enforced detention, the task of work, or the convenience or inconvenience of the hours of discharge;—all of which depend to some extent upon the decision of the local officials.

The dread of the unknown made the bath formerly a terror to the sturdiest vagabond; now familiarity has produced liking rather than contempt!. In winter, the bath, which is heated to the taste of the bather, is appreciated for its warmth, in summer for its cleansing properties. Skilly,

too, is an attraction in the cold weather. Skilly for breakfast and supper, and the bath on admission, are now universal in the casual wards of London; though there are many other points in which the regulations vary. Oakum picking is usually preferred by the casual to stone breaking, the associated wards to the cellular system, and the experienced vagrant will wend his way to the places where he expects pea soup for dinner rather than to those wards in which bread and cheese constitute the bill of fare. Beggars will ever be choosers if they can. If in any district the casual ward regulations are exceptionally strict, they are thought to bear hardly upon the unfortunate and deserving, and a demand arises for a kinder *regime* such as philanthropic refuges and night shelters usually provide. With free lodgings and, perhaps, a good hunch of bread, to which in some cases may be added whatever else by way of food the man can bring in, with few questions asked, and with the hope of further charitable assistance, it is not surprising that some of the refuges should present no statistics beyond the report "we are always full." "What, do work for my breakfast! No, thank you! I can get it without that," exclaimed a sturdy vagabond who applied for money to get a night's lodging, and to whom the casual ward had been suggested. He had professed to have come up from the country to London to look for work. It can scarcely be denied that considerable inducement is offered to a very worthless class to come where so much provision is made for them, while even those disposed to work are tempted to return regularly to London as to a parent's roof after any temporary job elsewhere. For instance, there was the case of a man who had been in a refuge in London, and from there had obtained work in Wales. This job finished, instead of seeking fresh work in the country, or finding none to his hand, he came straight back to London, spending on his fare a large part of his earnings, **and** applied for re-admission at the refuge ; while another,

an emigrant to Australia, falling out of work there, contrived to return, and straightway repaired to the refuge which had sent him out.

What manner of men are they to whom the night refuge, or casual ward, opens its doors? Let us test them by sample. From September, 1888, to September, 1889, 286 homeless men came before the St. James's Committee of the Charity Organization Society, sent chiefly from the Ham Yard Hospice—a refuge under careful management, where the rule is adopted of insisting upon investigation in every case. It is not an " average sample drawn from the bulk," but itself a selection of the better material to be found amongst this class. The regulations of any refuge become known; those who shrink from investigation, or who simply do not care to waste their time by going where nothing is to be got, keep away. Amongst those who do come, some refuse from the first to give any information, and so drop out of the list, while others decline to submit to the preliminary conditions. Nor is the information obtained about these naturally selected cases, either complete or altogether trustworthy. It must be taken for whatever its value may be. Willingness to submit to investigation is not always the *prima facie* evidence in a man's favour which it is often imagined to be, as men will often give references well knowing them to be false or unsatisfactory; they take their chance. Nor is refusal to answer questions in every instance as adverse a sign as might appear—a fact which only adds to the confusion. Another difficulty is looseness about names, not necessarily with intent to mislead, but obviously very misleading.

Such as it is, here is the information in regard to these **286 men:—**

(1.) As to Character.

Good character	**60**	
Indifferent or fair	**146**	**286**
None, doubtful or bad	**80**	

Among those accounted bad, drink or gambling will be in

most. cases the *causa malorum.* On the whole, considering **how** hard it is for "an empty sack to stand upright," **and** how apt character is to wither under investigation, these figures seem rather favourable and so far as they go indicate that these unfortunate men may possibly have been, at the outset, no worse morally than those who succeed.

(2.) As to Employment.

Claiming some profession or trade	50\	
Skilled labourers or artisans	95	
Unskilled labourers	130	286
No particulars (except that of these, three were just out of prison.) . . . . . J	11	

It is not easy to draw any very definite conclusions from such data, but the large proportion claiming a profession or trade (by trade is here meant buying and selling) is remarkable, and may perhaps be taken to support the view that want of mental capacity or of steadiness of character are the ruling causes of misfortune, for where most of anything is demanded there will the lack of it be most seriously felt,

(3) As to Age.

From 20 to 25 years.	.65\	
„ 25 „ 40 „	.138	
„ 40 „ 60 „	.741	286
Over 60.	.5	
No age given.	.14;	

The limit of age at the Hospice was sixty, which accounts for the small number over this age. Little reliance can usually be placed on statements of age, but, beyond the desire of a man who was otherwise ineligible to pass himself as below sixty, there seems no reason for falsification, and the large proportion of these men in the vigorous years of life is notable. The explanation probably lies in the extent to which this class, as it ages, settles down to workhouse life..

. If the proportion of ages had been as in the population generally **they would have** stood as follows:—

20 to 25.	.56]
25 „ 40.	.116 [267
40 „ 60.	.95'

(4.) As to Marriage.

Single	191	286
Married) Widowers;	60	
No particulars	35	

Though marriage is undoubtedly to some extent connected with success, it is too much to suppose that these figures are correct. The proportion of those who are not and never have been married is unreasonable. It seems that married men in trouble will very often deny wife and chiidren for the time.

(6.) As to Birthplace.

Londoners	62	286
Other parts of England	184	
Scotch	17	
Irish	18	
Continental foreigners	15	
Americans	6	
Indian or West Indian	7	
No particulars	28	

Homeless men are naturally wanderers. The proportion of Londoners shown here is possibly above what might ordinarily be expected in night refuges; many being at the time attracted from the regular population of the common lodging-houses into night shelters or the casual wards by exceptional chances of becoming in this way eligible for other forms of charitable relief..

Figures such as these are not enough in themselves to take us very far, but to anyone who has tried to help men of this class to find work and so retrieve their position, they suggest a good deal, and some general conclusions may be reached.

There are doubtless some good working men found on tramp who only need the opportunity of work to do well,

. There seems to be a consensus of opinion among those who have to do with homeless people that the countrymen are, more readily employed in London for unskilled labour than the Londorers; and that thus the immigration of the countryman often makes the Londoner homeless by superseding him.

but such individuals usually can and do "put themselves to labour" and trouble no one. Of those who fail to do this there are some—there may perhaps be many—who are respectable and willing to work, but lacking energy and "backbone," can neither "go" nor "stay," neither get work nor keep it; and on such the habit of a vagrant life grows. These can be helped by the strong hand of true friendship, but not I believe in any other way. Here is an instance:—A man out of the St. Giles's casual ward was assisted to obtain work at a carriage builder's. For eighteen months it was never known when he took his wages on Saturday, whether he would come to work again on the Monday, and it was only by the unwearied efforts of a fellow-workman, through whose aid the work had been found, that he was induced to stick to his place. The man has literally been "dragged up" into regular work. "When he did not appear, his friend would go to fetch him, and only after two years of this moral suasion, can it be reported that the man "is getting sensible"; he has taken a room of his own and is trying to be "a bit respectable." Of such efforts we have rarely any record; such help from the strong to the weak may be often given, but its action will generally lie outside of any society for the relief of distress. It will be given to those who receive it by their intimates, those of their own class, their working fellows.

Somewhat lower in the scale, morally, are those who, easy going and indolent, manage in some way to evade the pressure that drives others to labour. They may be capable enough. Their ideal is "to have a good master" in whose pleasant service "they would eat and drink of the best and no work would they do."

Then there are those who are "willing to do anything" and can do nothing; and saddest of all the men who can do just one thing and that a thing no longer wanteu. For example, there was a man, with a wife and family, who had regular employment at one factory for twelve years in

folding paper for packets of black lead. Machinery for this purpose was invented to which a boy could attend. The man was thrown out of his employment, and though still only twenty-eight could not adapt himself to other work. He has fallen into the ranks of the casual painters and has never had regular work since. In busy times he helps to lay on paint which he does not know how to mix, and in slack times does nothing.

For such as these there is the casual labour market with its painful friction—a market of which the convenience to the hirer depends on the extent of its unemployed margin; on the readiness, that is, with which "a man" can be produced at a moment's notice to perform some chance service for sixpence or a shilling; or to take a day's work, or a week's work, or work for the season, as the case may be; and, service rendered, pass quietly out of sight..

Casual labour plays no small part in the life of a great city. We have seen it at the docks and at the market, and besides this the amount required at the West End during the London season is very great indeed. It is not only at the large firms, shops, hotels, clubs and theatres that extra hands are employed, but the impetus in every trade during the season carries the work downward, so to speak, in every branch, and in May and June many men with little skill and with short and indifferent characters, or with none at all, find it easy in London to obtain employment in various ways. The exhibitions, of which every year lately

. If work of this sort be " found " for anyone, care must be taken not to displace some other and perhaps worthier man. There was a case in which an applicant for assistance was thrown out of employment with a firm for whom he had worked for five or six years, to make room for a man specially recommended by an important client. Moreover, " finding work " for anyone is apt to De a sisyphean task. When the job is finished, back comes the mair'expecting more from the same source. The lesson of self-reliance is never learnt, the " rolling stone[M] only rolls the more for your interference.

has had at least one, have been a fruitful source of chance work. Besides the numbers of attendants, porters, waiters, &c, the Roman Coliseum at the Italian Exhibition and the battle-scenes of the Irish have alone employed some hundreds of men while the representations lasted. The Gladiator of ancient Rome, could he have seen the travesty of his dying agonies, would probably fail to sympathize with the sufferings of his poor imitator, who when the weather was wet must lie prostrate on the damp ground till the time arrived for carrying from the arena the dead body of the man he was trying to represent.

Whether the casual labour of the West End which hangs upon the skirts of wealth and ministers to luxury is an increasing element in London life, and whether the supply of such labour causes the demand for it or the demand the supply, may be hard to say. Increasing or not, and whatever its genesis, the thing is unwholesome and there is sadly too much of it.

Among the saddest cases of those who look to casual labour are discharged soldiers, army reserve men; and their number seems to be steadily on the increase. In a report drawn up in 1887 it is stated that, out of 293 homeless men who came before the St. James's Committee in twelve months, 25 had been soldiers. In 1889 the returns show 77 out of 286, and of these 77 twenty stated that they had had no work since they left the army. At the refuges army pensioners are most frequently found towards the end of the quarter; on receipt of their pension money they leave. After this is expended they may manage to exist on casual labour till towards the end of the next quarter, when they may again not know where to lay their heads. Of these 77 soldiers, thirty-six had left the army with distinctly good characters. There are few things more dispiriting than to Watch the deterioration which befalls many of these soldiers, some of them quite young men still, often under thirty, with good conduct badges and good

discharges, who, from having no settled employment, and missing the accustomed control, gradually become more and more demoralized by the irregular life they lead. The deferred pay of £15 to £35 they seem to think will last for ever, and until it is gone, often make no effort at all for the future. Realizing at last the hard facts of life for such as they, many of them feel bitter regret at having left the army and would fain re-enlist if they could.

The cases we have described have been hitherto such as are more or less able and willing to work, but among the homeless there are still more difficult subjects. There are those who are disabled or incapacitated for labour by age or bodily or mental infirmity; for whom, if relatives or friends do not intervene, there is ultimately no resource but the workhouse. Finally there are the "sturdy vagabonds" who, with the aid of irregular chance jobs, lean permanently on charitable assistance, the "valiant beggars" who subsist for the most part on the alms they collect from the charity of the public.

Here as with the casual workers we encounter a law of supply and demand, and again we do not know which evokes the other, the beggars or the charity; and again we can safely say that the relation, whatever its origin, is very unwholesome, and that there is far too much of it.

It is, however, an easy matter to lay down principles and make classifications. The difficulty as usual lies in applying them. Who are the incapable? who the worthless? How can you safeguard charity from fraud and yet leave it one spark of generosity? How work on the "general lines of well-considered principle" and not destroy spontaneity? The quality of charity, like mercy, "is not strained." One thing, however, we may say. There should be no careless giving Let those who give awake to the responsibilities involved, and if they decline to accept the somewhat hard lines of thought-out principle, let them honestly seek their own experience. When they

give, let them give sufficiently, and watch the consequences of every gift.

The question who are the homeless and what can be done for them, has been pressed upon our consideration by a recent rapid increase in their numbers. The subjoined table gives the numbers admitted to the casual wards in London year by year, since 1882.

	Total admissions.	Average no. of admissions per night.	Average no. of inmates per night
1882	294,960	808.	814
1883	125,906	345	482
1884	116,132	319	510
1885	109,943	301	580
1886	108,293	297	578
1887	141,733	388f	738
1888	241,958	663f	1136
1889	182,299	500	960
1890	154,507		

There is now accommodation in the casual wards for about 1800 (1200 men and 600 women and children). On March 4th, 1888, the highest point was touched, when 1883 vagrants were received. In the refuges there is accommodation for about 1250 persons. None of the refuges are often full; the largest has not been full for many years.

It will be remembered that the year 1886 was one of great trade depression, and that its winter was marked by serious distress among the poor of London. The Lord Mayor called for aid, and £80,000 was subscribed and distributed with most demoralizing effect. The fund served but to attract the worthless and unnerve the struggling poor, while it mocked both by its insufficiency.

. This was the year in which the Act providing for stricter Mention was passed; but practical'y it did not come into operation until the following year.

f The autumn of 1887, and winter of 1887.8, was the Trafalgar Square period.

In 1887 trade did not improve, but as the year wore on, less food and money were given. It was the year of the Queen's Jubilee, remarkable for its long spell of splendid summer weather. The "unemployed" were very numerous, and more than ever habituated to idleness. The fine weather made camping-out pleasant rather than otherwise, and Trafalgar Square and St. James's Park were occupied nightly; the police stepped among the sleeping groups; nothing was thought of it. The cost of the "doss" was saved, while a little money went a long way, for food was at its cheapest.

When October came, the weather changed suddenly, and the nights were frosty. But already camping-out had grown into a habit, and the expense of the night's lodging had been dropped out of the budget. The poor folk still slept out, and were content to lie with only a newspaper between them and the cold stones. This state of things attracted attention. The newspapers published accounts of it, and the public imagination was aroused. Here at any rate was genuine distress. Some charitable agencies distributed tickets for food or lodging, others the food itself, taking cart-loads of bread into the Square. An American is reported to have scrambled loose silver amongst the crowd.

Under such stimulus the trouble grew worse, and again, as was the case with the Mansion House Fund, the organized societies for the relief of the poor had to push to the front and seek to deal with the distress and prevent the disorder which threatened as the result of its unregulated relief. Under their influence the mistake of 1886 was not repeated, but at the same time more rather than less was given, and we see in the swollen numbers of those who were admitted to the casual wards evidence, according to the point of view taker,- either of the sad need of such provision or of its baneful influence.

It is much to be feared that the more provision is made for the relief of this class, unless it be done with judg-

inent, the greater will their numbers be. For whilst a man of simple vagabond habits is enabled to pass on from casual ward to refuge, and from one refuge to another during the winter, and to lire by a few chance jobs of work in the summer, he will make no effort to improve; he is content with his position in life.

To deal with this difficulty it would seem to be essential that there should be co-operation and communication between refuge and refuge, and between them and the workhouses and casual wards, and if possible a common basis of action. To differentiate the treatment of those who apply for aid, according to their character and the circumstances of their case, is the object to be aimed at. The State can treat the sick differently from the rest, and make distinctions according to age; it might perhaps go further in suiting the relief to the case relieved; but its rules must be in effect deterrent and its action can do but little in so lifting up the fallen that they may be able to walk once more amongst independent men; nor can its machinery be well adapted for giving temporary relief in such a way as to prevent a fall or tide over a time of difficulty. Such action lies in the field of private charity, and of this field refuges and night shelters are the last hedge. These refuges have a special work to do. To fill them night after night with those for whom nothing can be done beyond what the State is bound to do, is to mis-apply valuable resources most wastefully.

It would not be desirable to assign any precise limits to the action of such institutidns or to stereotype the methods pursued; but the means in each case should be strictly adapted to the ends. If it be temporary help that is aimed at, chronic cases should not share it; and still more should it be seen that the help given does not tend to make a chronic out of a temporary case. If the object be to give another chance under better auspices to those who have failed, but are honestly anxious to try again, a careful

selection is imperatively necessary. A refuge having this aim cannot open its doors very widely.

The basis of combined action must bo a sifting and classification of all applicants, so that they may be dealt with in the manner most suited to their peculiarities. The lowest strata, cases apparently hopeless, can only be left to the casual wards, and to the casual wards all refuges should relegate any cases which seem *prima facie* unfit for their own action. Refuges would under these circumstances rightly be made superior in comfort to the casual wards, the occupants be allowed to remain in them for a longer time and given greater facilities of ingress and egress; and every care taken to avoid as much as possible anything tending to lower or degrade. Sedulously to protect those whom you seek to raise from the companionship of worthless characters is of the utmost importance. To attain this it would be necessary that every applicant should pass muster as *prima facie* suitable before admission, and until *the prima facie* case has been confirmed by inquiry, should be kept apart in some way. It might possibly be arranged that the reception of the doubtful but not hopeless cases should be the special duty of some refuges. They would provide as it were an ante-chamber to the house of help. It may be that the relieving officers might draw distinctions, and in place of the casual ward offer temporary accommodation in the workhouse to those who promised to be suitable cases for the helping hand of a refuge.

It would be best that the organization for each union should centre in the Parish off ces; that the refuges should be represented, and that everyone for whom anything better could be done should be accommodated otherwise than in the casual wards, in private refuges, or in the house, as the case say be. The accommodation in the house, and in any refuges which undertook temporary cases pending inquiry, would be available for a few days only; inquiry made, each case would be relegated to some other agency—or branch

of the same agency it might be—or discharged, and if so discharged would become a casual-ward case. Some such system is needed. It is pleaded that it is derogatory and a contamination for unfortunate but respectable men to pass the workhouse doors at all; and that they will rather starve than submit to such a condition. But it is a lesser evil that they, and all who are proper objects for private aid, should for once come in contact with their worthless companions in distress than that, as is now the case, they should never be separated from them; for at present there is little to choose between the company at any refuge and that of the casual wards; the same inmates are well-known at each. Nor would the pride of any refuse to take the course suggested if it were the regular method, and if it were well-known that every workhouse was the starting-point of private charity.

To the action of such charity we assign no limits. It is not refuges alone that should associate themselves with the administration of the poor law. It is only in very various ways that the manifold troubles of poverty can be met. We do not wish to assert that any case is absolutely hopeless; we only ask that the means should be adapted to the end, and that each charitable society should deal only with such cases as come within its proper scope; that each individual attempt should consciously range itself in line with other forms of public or private action, and so take its place in the general effort to deal with destitution.

Since the foregoing was written an attempt has been made to place the various refuges in communication with each other, and a committee on which most of these institutions are represented was formed to discuss the possible lines of united action. As a first step in this direction a census was taken on the night of Friday, January 16th, 1891, of all who were sleeping in these places, the results of which are given below. There are nine

refuges or shelters affording amongst them accommodation for 818 men and 318 women, with further accommodation for 120 persons available for either sex according to the need. Thus there is room for 1251 persons in all. Excepting the men's side of the Newport Market refuge, none of these places were quite full; some of them were less than half full. The rules of admission vary, but in every case some discretion is left with the acting superintendent, and I believe few, if any, were turned away on the night in question. On the whole the total numbers accommodated were 712 men, 103 women, and 33 children, or 938 persons in all. In the casual wards on the same night there were 688 men, 117 women, and four children, or 809 in all, the total accommodation being for 1800. As to the Salvation Array shelters no exact particulars were obtained. There are five of these shelters, one being in connection with a workshop, but as admission is rarely given except on payment in money or its equivalent in work at the workshop, they stand on different ground from the refuges we are dealing with. I am informed, however, that they were by no means full at the time.

It may be interesting to recall the night of Jauuary 16th. It was very cold. After an almost continuous frost of seven or eight weeks there had been a slight thaw, but the frost had set in again and hardened the surface of the still solid ice. Part of the Serpentine was illuminated for skating. It was not a night when anyone would wilfully walk the streets. Either on this night or the night before it was that the watchers of the Salvation Army reported 164 homeless men lingering in need of shelter on or near Blackfriars Bridge; about these men it was afterwards explained that they were drawn thither by the hope of .receiving tickets for coffee and shelter distributed at that place by a missionary. Of these tickets 100 to 200 were given away on certain nights in each week during the winter. This may not be the only enterprise of

the sort, and outside of all organized provision of shelter for the homeless in the London streets it is likely that in bitter frost and fog very many of those who have *4d* to spare and happen to be out late themselves will give it, at whatever sacrifice of principle, to provide a bed for a shivering wayfarer. The chance of some such stroke of luck, once or perhaps twice repeated, which would send them money in hand to the warm kitchen of some common lodging-house, may be enough to keep men in the streets at any rate till midnight. In such weather half-starved, ill-clad men could hardly pass the whole night without food and shelter and survive, and we are assured by the police that throughout the long frost there have been no cases of death from exposure. It is probable that frost and snow bring as many advantages as disadvantages to the very casual or homeless class. The sweeping of snow for the vestries or in front of private houses or on the ice, the putting on and lending of skates, provides profitable employment, and may enable many to go to common lodging-houses who would otherwise have been found in the casual wards or refuges. It is also possible that the severe frost has this year prevented many from coming up to London to share in the Christmas festivities provided by the benevolent. At any rate it is undoubtedly a fact that the casual wards and refuges have been less full this winter than they have usually been at the same season in other years. For instance, as against 809 persons in the casual wards on Friday, January 16th, 1891, the number on the corresponding Friday of 1890 was 853. At the same time it may be stated that even when the strain is greatest tlie supply of free shelter at the refuges and casual wards invariably exceeds the demand. It may be mentioned that most of the refuges, especially the larger ones, are open only during the winter months.

In addition to the refuges included in the census, there are some others which give shelter to special classes of

persons, such for instance as the night reception houses in connection with some of the Rescue Homes.

The census returns as regards 880 out of the 938 persons found in these refuges on January 16th show the date of admission, and yield the following analysis :—

	Men.	Women and Children.	Total per day.
Admitted on January 16th..	77	42	119
15th..	42	9	51
14th.,	54	10	64
13th.....	62	14	76
12th.....	37	9	46
11th.....	23	8	31
10th.....	47	11	58
9th.....	25	13	38
8th.....	19	4	23
between Jan. 1st and 7th	110	47	22
„ Dec. 25th „ 31st	24	7	5
„ 18th „ 24th	36	9	7
„ „ 1st „ 17th	87	7	7
previously to Dec. 1st ...	30	17	
Totals..	673	207	

We wish it were possible to show what became of these people—how long each of them remained in refuge, and what happened next, and next, in their lives, but it is very difficult to obtain information on such points.

Table showing results of Census taken on the Night of January 16th, 1891, of the Inmates of Charitable Refuges in London.

I. MEN (16 YEARS OF AGE AND UPWARDS).

—	Accommodation for men.	Accommodation suitable for either men or women.	Numbers Jan. 16th, 1891.	Married, Single, or Widowers.			Ages.							Whether Able-bodied.	
				M.	S.	W.	16–20	20–30	30–40	40–50	50–60	60–70	Over 70	Yes.	No, or doubtful.
Houseless Poor Asylum, Banner Street..	376	—	298	10	284	4	8	51	107	74	45	13	—	298	—
Providence Row Night Refuge	140	60	144	13	123	8	2	31	42	48	12	9	—	144	—
Church Extension Association: Tenter Street Refuge	100	—	119	3	108	8	7	28	42	31	8	3	—	112	7
House of Shelter	—	60	38	1	34	3	1	13	14	9	1	—	—	31	7
Field Lane Refuge	40	—	38	No return			—	9	14	11	3	1	—	—	—
Newport Market Refuge	30	—	30	2	22	6	1	7	14	4	2	2	—	23	7
Church Army Central Labour Home ...	30	—	22	6	11	5	—	13	4	5	—	—	—	22	- -
Ham Yard Hospice	20	—	18	—	16	2	—	4	7	3	4	—	—	14	4
House of Charity	20	—	5	1	4	—	—	2	3	—	—	—	—	5	—
Totals	818	120	712	36	602	36	19	158	247	185	75	28	—	649	35

II. WOMEN (16 Years of Age and Upwards).

—	Accommodation for women.	Accommodation suitable for either men or women.	Numbers, Jan. 16th, 1891.	Married, Single, or Widows.			Ages.							Whether Able-bodied.	
				M.	S.	W.	16—20	20—30	30—40	40—50	50—60	60—70	Over 70	Yes.	No, or doubtful.
Houseless Poor Asylum, Banner Street..	144	—	40	7	16	17	—	1	6	6	14	12	1	38	2
Providence Row Night Refuge	102	60	99	12	28	59	—	7	18	24	26	22	2	99	—
Tenter Street Refuge	None	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
House of Shelter	—	60	1	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Field Lane Refuge	20	—	17	No return			—	5	6	2	3	1	—	No	return
Newport Market Refuge	25	—	22	3	16	3	1	14	2	2	3	—	—	16	6
Church Army Central Labour Home ...	None	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ham Yard Hospice	None	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
House of Charity	22	—	14	4	9	1	1	4	6	2	1	—	—	—	—
Totals.....	313	120	193	27	69	80	2	32	38	36	47	35	3	154	6

III. CHILDREN (Under 16 Years of Age).

—	Numbers, January 16th, 1891.	Ages.															
		Under 12 months.	1 year old.	2 years old.	3 years old.	4 years old.	5 years old.	6 years old.	7 years old.	8 years old.	9 years old.	10 years old.	11 years old.	12 years old.	13 years old.	14 years old.	15 years old.
Houseless Poor Asylum	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Providence Row	22	1	2	1	3	—	3	1	3	1	4	1	—	1	1	—	—
House of Shelter	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	Age not stated.			—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Newport Market Refuge	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
House of Charity	7	—	2	—	—	—	2	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1
Totals.....	33	2	5	1	3	—	5	2	3	1	5	1	1	1	1	—	1

Total Men, Women, and Children, 933.

PART III.

OUTLYING LONDON-NORTH OF THE THAMES.

CHAPTER I

SPECIAL DISTRICTS—WEST AND NORTH.

THE wealth of West London places it on the whole somewhat outside of the practical scope of this book, but there are to be found in it six specially poor districts which are again referred to in Volume I I . , as to which some particulars now follow.

District.	A.	B.	C & D.	E & F.	G & H.	i Total.	Percentage in poverty.]
Westminster	730	4,051	4,651	8,155	360	17,857	
	4'i	227	25.5	457	2 0	IOOO	52.3
Lisson Grove	942	6,905	15,697	20,884	3,168	47,596	
	2'0	14.5	330	43 8	6-7	1000	49 5
The "Lock Bridge,"	150	556	9,160	5,636	250	15,752	
Per Gent	o.9	3.5	58-2	35'8	I6	IOOO	62.6
Kensal New Town	73	1,305	5,252	5,234	42	11,906	
Per cent	o-6	11-0	44-1	44-0	03	100 .0	55.7
St. Clement's Road	1,616	2,496	8,201	4,919	214	17,346	
Per cent	87	i4'4	47.3	28-4	1-2	100 0	70-4
Wandsworth Bridge Road	478	2,169	2,595	2,445	81	7,768	
	62	27-9	33'4	31.5	1-o	100.0	67-5

Westminster.—The poverty of Westminster has peculiarities connected with a situation in too close proximity to great wealth. Except where there has been recent demolition of old property, leaving an open space very soon to be re-occupied, the ground is packed with houses, the spaces between the streets being filled with little courts and Mincl alleys. The people look poor and vicious, and comparing this district with others, it is the vicious look which strikes the eye. Nor does more intimate knowledge

materially alter this general impression. Details obtained for half a dozen streets disclose a deplorable lack of any employments which can be dignified by the name "industry," except indeed charing, of which there is a great deal in connection with the public offices. We hear of a street knife-grinder whose wife sells flowers: a one-legged man with a piano-organ. A drunken law writer, whose wife, too, is a flower seller. A hawker of pocket knives about offices. A seller of oranges by the fountain near the Abbey. A blind man who makes nets and sells them by St. Martin's Church. A buyer of bottles and fat down area steps. A man who, calling himself a labourer, in truth lives on the earnings of a prostitute. Of one court now nearly all pulled down we read, " Every house inhabited by prostitutes of the most degraded type except one family, who get their living by making paper flowers." We are told of one part of this district that "the lowest class of the people will not keep to regular labour even if it is found for them. They begin life as match sellers, &c, or go round with professional beggars, and they work harder as children than they do in the later years of their lives." And again that they "do not suffer very much from actual want, being so conveniently placed in the neighbourhood of the large squares, &c, where food can generally be obtained for the asking. The Charity Organization Society is bitterly hated here. Drink is the great destroyer. Many of the people, more especially the fallen women, almost live on it."

Of another district we are told that it is falling rapidly in character owing to an influx due to demolitions in the adjoining parish. The colours of the streets on our map were declared too favourable, and the details given us seem to bear out the contention.

It must not be supposed, however, that amongst the 18,000 people living within our prescribed boundaries there is nothing else. The Peabody trustees have a large block of decently occupied dwellings and have undertaken the

management of another block which in their hands has greatly improved in character. There are also parts of the district which contain a very respectable class of artisans and clerks, together with a sprinkling of professional men..

Lisson Grove. That there should be 50,000 people, half of whom are poor, living together in the midst of wealthy "West London, is remarkable, and I know of no sufficient explanation Of this population, the poor half are said to be friendly but very ignorant. Savage rather than bad. The men mostly casual labourers and hawkers, while the women do washing and charing. Below these there is a substratum of thieves, cadgers, common prostitutes, and other loose and loafing men and women. Throughout, drink is very prevalent. The people and the place have a character of their own ; different from East London, very different from Central London; rather more like some parts south of the Thames; but with a difference due probably to the peculiarity of the West End situation, surrounded by the houses of the rich.

" *The Lock Bridge"* The group of streets included in this district, lying in the hollow of a bend in the canal, shade off from purple to dark blue, the greatest poverty being, as usual, next the canal. It will be seen from the figures that this district is not at all bad, nor is there much destitution; but of poverty in a more moderate form there is an enormous proportion, no less than 58 per cent, falling under C and D. The peculiarity of the district lies in the evident " unexpectedness .′ of its poverty. There was no

. The boundaries adopted for Westmjnster are—on the east the Thames, on the north the Abbey and Victoria Street, on the west and south, Strutton Ground and Horseferry Boad

f It is said that when New Oxford Street was out through the wretched district north of St. Giles, a number of those who were disturbed came to the neighborhood of Lisson Grove

{. The boundaries taken are—on the east Seymour Place, Lisson Grove, and. Grove Road ; on the north St. John's Wood Road; on the west Edgware Road ; and on the south Upper George Street.

thought of it when the houses were built, and we see poverty in all the discomfort of "the cast-off clothes of the rich." The whole district, as seen on Saturday afternoon, swarms with children..

Kensal New Town lies in another bend of the canal, wedged in between railway and canal. It, however, is older than either, and retains yet something of the appearance of a village, trampled under foot by the advance of London, but still able to show cottages and gardens; and gateways between houses in its streets leading back to open spaces, suggestive of the paddock and pony of days gone by. The figures for this district, as for its neighbour by the Lock Bridge, but most notably for this district, show an absence of the top and bottom classes. Classes G- and H count here for little more than i per cent., and A barely exceeds ½ per cent. The numbers of "very poor" are not great, and the bulk of the population are equally divided between the two standard grades of working class life; a not unhealthy state of things. This district is beyond the limits of our map.

St. Clement's Road. Here we find poverty of as deep and dark a type as anywhere in London; nearly 9 per cent, of A, over 14 per cent, of B, and 47 per cent, of 0 and D, form a record hardly to be exceeded anywhere. It is said that in old times the gipsies entering London from the west camped here, and have left their traces on the character and even the faces of the people. It is certain that now tramps arriving make this a halting place. The streets round about the large Board school show solid poverty, and two of them—Bangor Street and St. Katherine's Road—have a bad character. The general poverty of the district may be gauged by the returns of the school. The fee is only Id, and half the fees are remitted, and five hundred children receive free meals.

. The boundaries taken art—on the east Ranelagh Road; on the north Clarendon Street to Brindley Street; on the west from canal to the railway; and on the south Marlborough Street and Westboume Terrace North.

The houses are mostly of six rooms, let to three or more families. The residue consists mainly of old cottage property, some very dirty and dilapidated. The population, besides hawkers, tinkers, grinders, and other desultory professions, consists mostly of the struggling labouring class, mixed with a few little shopkeepers. This district like Kensal New Town, is beyond the limits of the map..

Wandsworth Bridge Road. Poverty and gasworks lie cheek by jowl in all parts of London. The fumes are disagreeable, and the neighbourhood, falling in character, becomes naturally the home, amongst others, of the more irregularly employed of gas company's servants. This is the case in the group of streets lying between King's Road and the Imperial gasworks, the remaining inhabitants being mechanics and labourers of a mixed class, whose wives do laundry work, &c. Imperial Square, the only pink street here, is owned by the gas company, and occupied by their regularly employed hands. Among the streets surrounding Langford Road Board schools are Bullow and Victoria Roads, which bear a very bad reputation, the houses, though modern, being in a most dirty and unsanitary condition, having nearly all the windows broken, and being crowded with a rough and shifty set of people, including some doubtful characters. Sandiland and Langford Roads are a little tidier, but the people are miserably poor, and the same may be said of Breer, Dymock, and other streets, which lie nearer the river. In Marine Field Road, and in the district at the back of Wandsworth Bridge Road, a lot of very nice six-roomed houses are being erected, with accommodation for two families in each. There is a separate entrance to each floor, and the rents are 6s and

. The boundaries of this district are—on the east Clarendon Road and Walmer Road; on the north the Metropolitron Railway; on the west the West London Railway; **and** on the south Clifton Street, St. Katherine's Road, and Clarendon Place,

6. *6d* per half-house. These houses are occupied as ready by a fairly comfortable class of people..

Of other parts of outer London north of the Thames, Hackney has been considered already. To the west of Hackney and northward of the City and Pentonville Roads, which have been elsewhere alluded to as forming the boundary of Greater Central London, lies the huge parish of Islington, which extends to the base of Highgate Hill, and contains perhaps the largest population of any parish in the kingdom. A glance at our poverty map shows the general prevalence here of fairly comfortable circumstances, rising occasionally to affluence, but there are nevertheless several dark patches. One of the most noticeable of these is that lying to the south-east of Essex Road, between Packington Street and Rotherfield Street, which is remarkable as consisting largely of blocks of dwellings. These buildings, which are not by any means of a bad type, were erected on the site of a former rookery known as Angler's Gardens, and it would seem as though the original inhabitants had, contrary to usual practice, returned to make their abode in the new dwellings, or else had been succeeded by their nearest of kin. Higher up, on the same side of the road, we have a small piece of blue, covering what was formerly glebe land, adjoining an ancient turnpike gate. A much larger block is that which surrounds the lower part of the Caledonian Road, dipping into Holborn parish as far as Pentonville Road, extending to Copenhagen Street northwards, touching more lightly the Liverpool Road border, and just insinuating itself to the confines of York Road, but pressed back by warehouses and canal, and further up by a compact group of streets of just a little better class. The great network of railways radiating from King's Cross, going northwards to the Cattle Market, and covering, with adjoin-

. The boundaries of this district are—on the east the West London Ra.I-way; on the north King's Road; on the west Fulham fields; and on the south the river.

ing gasworks, wharves and works, more than 200 acres of ground, and making Somers Town almost a thing of the past, naturally suggest where the inhabitants of this pari find their means of livelihood, whilst Chapel Street forms a typical poor man's market, and is on any week-day as busy and lively a spot as any that can be found in London. High Street, continued as Upper Street, which near this point leads off from that important centre of traffic, the "Angel," is a continuous scene of bustle, excitement, and gay life, reminding one, with its large shops, theatre, music hall, Agricultural Hall, &c, of a leading West End thoroughfare. Following up the line of railway, and keeping an eye towards Caledonian Road, we come upon another poor group, to which the suggestively dark-shaded Bemerton Street forms the key, We are now in the once highly odorous locality of Belle Isle, altered vastly by railway encroachments and the erection of big blocks of dwellings (by the Corporation of London), where humble shanties or lowly cottages once stood, but still betraying the signs of a lingering and unsavoury celebrity, where the open gateway of a yard or warehouse reveals heaps of offal within. The streets here, it will be noticed, are almost uniformly light blue, a colour which doubtless fairly represents the social status of the inhabitants, but which hardly pourtrays their moral character. There is a darker strain not usual in our typical light-blue street, not to be confounded with black, nor yet expressible by colour, but which nevertheless is evident to a passer-by. A group of rough hobbledehoys are at horse-play in one street, varying this amusement by making uncomplimentary remarks regarding any decently dressed pedestrian, while women with unkempt heads and generally a dirty-faced baby in arms peer out from windows or look on from open doorways. The corner houses are do*ing* a thriving business, and outside one a couple of besotted individuals are indulging in a " friendly spar," giving and receiving mock blows with half-imbecile good humour. In another street a group

of young men have a cage of rats, and are letting them out one at a time for the sport of themselves and a couple of terriers, who make short work of the rodents. It is altogether a low-class scene, and is characteristic also of another poverty block further on, which surrounds the St. James's and Wellington Roads, and is the abode of a rough set, including many whose occupation is in some way connected with the great Cattle Market near by. Opposite, on the east side of Holloway Road, and beyond the limits of our map, a confined poor area clusters round Queensland Road, and affords plenty of scope for the active agencies of St. Barnabas' Church, whilst yet higher up a group of streets to the south-west of Holloway Road show both poverty and vice, as evidenced by the condition of the children at Yerbury Road Board School.

Side by side with Islington, but not quite so large either in area or population, lies St. Pancras, which includes Camden and Kentish Towns and that portion of Highgate which comes within the metropolitan area. If anything, its colouring, so far as the map shows it, seems a trifle lower than that of its neighbour, but the figures prove its proportion of poverty to be much about the same. In the southern corner, between Gray's Inn Road and Woburn Place, poverty lies in close juxtaposition to the wealth of "the squares,' and judging from the liberal admixture of black, would seem to be anything but improved thereby. As on the east side, so on the west, the big railway clearance is fringed by a poor and, in some cases, vicious population, shown in the group of streets between it and Seymour Street, purple being the predominating hue. Leaving here by way of Drummond Street, and crossing Hampstead Road to Stanhope Street, we go through another poor and rather bad neighbourhood, but relieved by cross streets of betwr tyne. Camden Town, through which we pass on our way northwards, is a fairly comfortable and thriving neighbourhood,

and is not without local life and character of its own. The neighbourhood has probably changed somewhat from the time when it was considered as eminently an abode of gentility, and its streets are now largely occupied by respectable lodging letters.

The High Street is a very busy place, particularly on Saturday nights when the roadways are lined with stalls of every description, and on Sundays when the young men and maidens of "Twopenny Town" enjoy their promenade. Kentish Town (which divides with its twin sister, Camden, the distinction of being the especial homo of the pianoforte trade) is decidedly poorer than its relative, including a considerable coster element. Prince of Wales Road, Maiden and Weedington Roads, are the chief thoroughfares through a neighbourhood in which purple, pink, and blue are almost equally intermingled, and which extends a little outside the map. Queen's Crescent is the principal market place of this locality, its flaring naphtha lights being so numerous on busy nights as to quite illuminate the sky and mark out its whereabouts very distinctly to the stroller on the heights of Hampstead or Highgate.

Marylebone is more of a western than northern parish, and its one important poor neighbourhood, Lisson Grove, has been already dealt with. Beyond it, and in the same School Board division, lies Hampstead—a district which has had an eventful history, and teems with interesting tradition. Originally, it is said, "a place inhabited principally by washerwomen," it became for a time, in the period of tbe Georges, the resort of gay fashion, attracted by the supposed wonderful virtues of its chalybeate springs, or by the dancing saloons and other amusements which were set up. Subsequently, with the permanent dedication to the public of. its expansive and beautiful heath, has come a raplu development, and the old town has been almost "improved" off its hill. Hampstead is at present one of

the largest and most prosperous of the well-to-do residential suburbs of London, being inhabited principally by City men, and sharing with St. John's Wood an influential colony of workers in art, science, and literature. The heath has recently been greatly enlarged by the addition of more than 250 acres of land, including the famous Parliament or Traitor's Hill, and as a genuinely popular holiday resort has but few equals.

Passing beyond the metropolitan boundary, to the west of Hampstead lies Willesden, with a population of clerks, professional and other villa residents which has increased enormously within the last decade; and more to the north is Hendon, a long straggling parish which includes quaint villages and quite old-world spots, but is yet growing considerably. Finchley and Friern Barnet adjoin, partaking of much the same character and marked by the same steady increase. Wood Green has undergone rapid change, first in the introduction of detached or semi-detached houses, and later in the erection of a large number of working class dwellings, principally by the Artisans', Labourers', and General Dwellings Company, who have all their machinery here and employ a large number of hands. Green spots are quickly falling into the builders' hands, some old mansions have already disappeared and others are for sale, new streets of shops cater for a new class, and there are all the signs which pourtray the modern transformation of outlying London. Hornsey is in much the same condition, but in Tottenham the process has been going on for some years, and now approaches completion, with the result that within twenty years its population has increased four-fold, and probably now numbers over 80,000 persons, mainly of the working or lower middle class. Edmonton has likewise grown largely, but retains more of its original character, and has yet great room Tor extension. An inquiry into the

circumstances of the people in these districts would doubtless show that as a rule they are a fairly comfortable class, but with some poor spots, and differing not materially from their neighbours in Hackney.

CHAPTER II,

WALTHAMSTOW.

EASTWARD of London proper lies the huge working class district of West Ham, comprising some 300,000 inhabitants, which, although outside the metropolitan boundary, is in other respects an integral portion of the great city. Walthamstow has here been chosen for some detailed description as representative of this district, as well as being sufficiently typical of popular residential suburban life generally.

Separated from the metropolis by the River Lea and the adjoining marshy lands, and lying some distance from the main roads, Walthamstow was until recent years little more than a large country village, as genuinely rural in its character and surroundings as if situated a hundred miles away. Twenty years ago there was no railway station within two miles, and trains or public vehicles were very few and far between; the old, steady-going inhabitants went on their way untroubled by visions of the invading army of East-enders which was shortly to effect such changes in their midst, for the now crowded district of St. James. Street was then open land, and save for a few old cottages or mansions, the ground right away from the waterworks to Hoe Street Was practically unoccupied. Beyond Hoe Street, however, as also further north at Higham Hill, houses of a good class were even then springing up, many city men, attracted by the comparative cheapness of the land, having chosen it as a place of residence. Still, however, the district, with old-fashioned Wood Street as its local centre, retained its quiet and eminently respectable character.

But the pressing necessities of East London soon changed

all this, and with the opening of the railway in 1872 the flow of Londoners may be fairly said to have set in. The rapidity of the influx may be judged from the fact the population in 1871 was only 11,000; in 1881, it was nearly 22,000, and in 1890 is estimated at 50,000. The older residents looked askance upon this invasion, destroying as it did the rural quiet and selectness of the locality, and many of the wealthier families gave up their houses and retreated farther afield; but it must not be supposed that this by any means necessarily involved pecuniary sacrifice on their part, for many of them, observing the shadows of coming events, had made due preparation. Some time before this companies had been formed, and land purchased in different parts and held ready to be parcelled out into "eligible building sites" as soon as required, whilst building societies were ready *(not* to build, for that seems to be quite outside the province of an ordinary *building* society), but to advance good money—of course at good interest and on good security—to anyone who liked to take the risk of house-building. And so the way of the impecunious and speculative builder was made plain. Raising a few pounds, sufficient to buy or pay a deposit on a plot or two of land, and getting credit from the timber merchant, brickmaker, &c, he rapidly ran up the structure, and obtained, as soon as the roof was on, an advance from the building society with which he paid or partly paid his creditors, and so went on again. But the path of Jerry, though so smooth at first, often proves a very difficult one in the end, and so it turned out with many of the builders of Walthamstow. Speculating rashly, building ahead of the immediate demand, or through some other form of erroneous calculation, mismanagement, or misfortune, payments became due before he was in a position to meet them, and at length the mortgagee stepped in and appropriated the property.

By selling their land or disposing of their leases in this way, several of the older inhabitants have managed to turn

to profitable account the influx which it has been rather fashionable to lament. It would not, however, be right to say that the locality has been entirely developed by this means, even in the St. James. Street district. At least one large landowner—and there may be others—has had parts of his estate laid out under his own superintendence, and has spent a very large sum of money in having excellent roads made, and substantial and attractive-looking small houses built, with good drainage and water supply, in the hope of obtaining a better class of tenants than the generality of the new-comers. The experiment, however, has scarcely proved a success. The bulk of those who find their way to Walthamstow are of the medium or poor working class, attracted by the cheapness of rents. The reputation of the place becomes fixed upon this state of things, and the more "uppish" class will not come to the same locality. Consequently it has been necessary to let the houses as best they could be, and two or even three families now occupy dwellings which were intended for one.

For the rest, the houses (I am speaking now of the St. James' Street district) are well accorded to the circumstances of the people. They are nearly all two-storeyed, some with four rooms for one family, and others with six or seven rooms, built to accommodate two families. In the construction of the latter much ingenuity has been exercised; in some cases the upper rooms are approached by an outside ladder, and in others there are two doors, one leading to the upper and the other to the ground-floor apartments. The tenancies are entirely weekly, rents ranging from- 6s to 8s for the smaller houses, and 8. to 10s or l is for the rest.

The boundaries of Walthamstow are :—On the east Woodford, on the north Chingford and the River Lea, which also flows along the entire western border, and on the south Leyton. It covers an area measuring four miles from east to west, and over two miles in the other direction.

For local purposes the parish is divided into four wards;

St. James. Street, with about 20,000 people and 3400 houses, and Hoe Street, with nearly 15,000 people and 2600 houses, being the modern and populous parts, whilst Wood Street, with some 8000 inhabitants, is the old part, and the Higham Hill district, comprising much more than half of the total area of the parish, remains but very little developed, and has only about 4800 residents.

Though a few have found their way as far as Wood Street, the great bulk of East Londoners who have come this way have settled in the neighbourhood of St. James. Street, and have here reproduced the characteristics of East End life, insomuch that the locality is sometimes known as "Little Bethnal Green." Not but what they are on the whole probably improved by the change—the houses are as yet better, the streets more breezy and open, and the hours kept are earlier, the public-houses closing at 11 o'clock, after which little is done, even on busy nights—but there are the familiar evidences of poverty, on a smaller scale—of vice, improvidence, or misfortune—broken windows patched with paper or rags, dirty, poorly-clad, but sharp-looking children, thriving public-houses, a busy Saturday night market, when the principal streets are full of stalls and redolent of naphtha lights, fried fish and vegetable refuse, and the penny show and "all the fun of the fair" are in evidence; there is also the same constant shifting, and not infrequently "moonlight flitting" from the district. To many the place is still but a summer resort, and in the "sweet spring-time" it is no unusual thing to see a small procession of weak-kneed broken-winded hacks or jaded-looking donkeys dragging their weary length along the Lea Bridge Road, drawing carts laden with household goods of a rickety and heterogeneous order; or returning by the same way "when the leaves begin to turn." There is, however, not quite so much of this as there was, the tendency on the whole, though very gradual, being for the population to become more stationary. Some of

those who come here are young, newly-married people, and probably are the most hopeful class amongst the new arrivals. Young couples of a thrifty turn look out for a place where rents are cheap and which is not too remote from their old surroundings, and obtain what they need in the small houses of Walthamstow. On the other hand, men who have children growing up do not find the place so convenient, and it is said that several steady and respectable men of the better artisan class have gone back after a residence of some years, finding that the railway fares and other expenses of Tom, Harry, or Lizzie, who are learning a trade in London and not earning much money, make it cheaper and more convenient to live in town.

Walthamstow is almost purely a residential district. With one or two minor exceptions, it has no local industry whatever, and consequently is dependent for its existence on its means of communication with the centres of work. Each week-morning there is a general exodus of the male population, and save for the milkman, coal vendor, or other tradesman, not a man or youth is to be seen. Between 5 and 6 A.M., half a dozen crowded workmen's trains leave for Liverpool Street, and two for Gospel Oak, the fare for the return journey being *2d* for the former and *3d* for the latter, and the number of passengers carried about 2700. Following this come five half-fare trains, the last of which leaves Hoe Street at 7.36 A.M.; nearly 2500 tickets (at 4½d each) are daily issued for these. The crush to catch the trains (and especially the later ones of each kind) at one time became so great as to cause public indignation, but this has now been to some extent remedied by the opening of an additional entrance and ticket box at St. James. Street station, and by the issue of tickets overnight. Holders of workmen's tickets may return by any train afer 12 noon on Saturdays, and after 4 P.M. on other days; half-price tickets are available for return by any train. Considering the distance from Hoe Street, 6¼ miles, these fares cannot

be considered unreasonable. In addition to the above, there are something like 700 or 800 season-ticket holders, and adding to this those who travel at ordinary rates, it is probable that from 6000 to 7000 people leave Walthamstow each week-morning to follow their employment or on some business errand in town. The growth of this traffic maybe judged from the fact that in the early days of the line two workmen's trains were found amply sufficient for the requirements, and that it was not till 1885 that the half-fare tickets were commenced, when three trains ran. The traffic by road does not count for much, the tram-cars which pass through Lea Bridge Road being too far away, and their destination too remote from the centre of industrial life, to be of avail for business purposes. In the fine weather, however, particularly on Sundays and public holidays, they do a great trade in carrying crowds of gaily dressed North and East-enders to and from the sylvan glades of Epping Forest..

Of the general status of the inhabitants of the St. James. Street district something further may be gathered from the details of a few typical streets given at the end of this chapter. As a rule their condition assimilates to, but on the whole is better than, that of their kindred in Bethnal Green or Shoreditch, whilst the leaven of those from other parts, more particularly of country people who have obtained work in London and settled

. The need for more railway accommodation is apparently much felt, and a bill has lately received Parliamentary sanction authorizing the construction of a new line. This will begin at the So -th Tottenham station of the Mid-land Railway, and will run through Walthamstow, where it will have two stations (one at Blackhorae Lane; the other on a site not yet definitely fixed), and thence traverse Leytonstone to Forest Gate, where it joins the London, Tilbury and Pouthend Bailway, The construction of the new railway, which has been promoted by local landowners principally and will be under the joint management of the two companies named, is expected to commence at once (January, 1891), and to be completed in from eighteen months to two

here, tends rather to raise the tone. As might be expected, the wood and furniture trades are largely represented, and there are many of the better-paid section of riverside workers—warehousemen, &c.; the building trades account for a good number, and beyond this the occupations are, of course, of all kinds.

Before proceeding to speak of those general features of the district—parochial, educational, charitable, &c.—which are common to all parts alike, a few words may be said, in addition to what has been already intimated, in regard to the other divisions of the parish.

Hoe Street might be called the "West End" of Walthamstow, did it not as a matter-of-fact lie to the east. It is mainly a better-class district, consisting largely of detached villas inhabited by well-to-do City men, retired tradesmen, &c, and smaller houses in which live clerks, and others of the subordinate professional grade. In Orford Road are the Town Hall and the parochial offices, and in such places as "The Drive" the local magnates reside. There are some fine shops in Hoe Street, but trade is said not to be very good, owing to the nearness of town and stores.

Wood Street. Partaking more of the character of an old country village, this district has for the most part a fixed working class population—natives of rural Essex. A small number of Londoners—migrating perhaps originally to St. James' Street—seeking better quarters, have found their way here and are forming a little colony of their own. Some building has taken place latterly, and small old cottages are mixed with others of a modern type. There are also a few houses containing two or three families. Rents are rather lower than in St. James. Street.

Higham Hill is an open, healthy country district, as yet too remote from the railway to have been mch troubled by new-comers of the poorer sort. Many of the resiuents have bought their own plots of land, and had their own houses built, through building societies or otherwise. Four

or five years ago, it was thought that a new railway was going to be cut through the district, and a number of houses were built in anticipation; but the project was at that time abandoned, and consequently several of the houses remain untenanted and have fallen out of repair. The new line will come much nearer than the old one does, and is expected to have considerable effect in opening up the district.

Local Government and Education.—The local affairs of the parish are almost entirely in the hands of the older residents, the new working classes not having as yet taken any lively interest in parochial matters. Nor is this to he wondered at—in many cases their sojourn is but transient, whilst most, leaving early and returning late, have no time or energy left for anything beyond their own personal affairs, or, if they have, spend it in seeking amusement or in visiting their friends. The parish is attached to the Union of West Ham, and the maintenance of the roads, lighting, drainage, &c, are under the charge of a Local Board, who must have some difficulty in keeping pace with the rapid development of the district, and appear to carry out their work quite as well as such bodies usually do. There is also a Burial Board (which has the care of a pretty cemetery recently opened), and a School Board. In the latter a spasmodic interest was aroused in the James Street district at the last election, resulting in a contest and the return of three "progressive" candidates. The Board has under its control six permanent schools and two small temporary ones. Another school is being built in Markhouse Road to accommodate 1100 children, and a site for a further one has been secured. There are also two voluntary schools. The number of children on the registers of the Board Schools is about 8600, with an average attendance Of under 7000, and the fees range from *6d* to 1d, but the great bulk of the children pay 2 J, the amount being fixed according to the rent paid

by the parents. A large number of the children have their fees remitted. During the last school year over 1500 applications for remission of fees were allowed—mostly for periods of two months or thereabouts—and assuming the number of school children affected to be two-and-a-half per family, as it is in East London, these applications would include about 3700 children.

Allotments.—Amongst the advantages of rural or semi-rural life, is the opportunity afforded for the pursuit of gardening. To dig and delve in one's own plot of ground, to constantly watch and tend with pride the growth of what one has so carefully sown, to ultimately reap the fruits of one's own industry in leisure hours, going on Saturday afternoon to one's own garden to dig the vegetables for the Sunday dinner, with mayhap a bunch of flowers to adorn the table or set off the parlour window—these are to many a thrifty workman a source of pleasure as genuine as it is wholesome and delightful to witness. As might be expected, the builders of modern Walthamstow, making haste to be rich, have paid little heed to their clients' taste in this respect, and the back gardens or yards are usually as small and pokey as those of a London street. The public spirit of a few residents, aided largely by charitable bequests, has, however, to a great extent supplied this want, and the parish is favourably situated in the matter of allotments. These are of two kinds—public and charitable. The public allotments are under the control of a Board consisting of nine persons, who are elected annually and are called allotment wardens. They have under their management 26 acres of land, apportioned into 202 plots, and tilled by 217 allottees. The ground is situated at Markhouse Common, Higham Hill, and Clay Street. The land at the two former places was granted about forty years ago, in lieu of certain common rights, which were taken away; that at Clay Street, taken in consequence of the large number applying for allotments, is hired on lease by the wardens. At

Markhouse Common and Higham Hill the ground is let in quarters of an acre at 4s 10*d* and 5s a year—or practically £1 an acre; at Clay Street the price is 12s *6d* and 13s a year for 20 rods, or about £5 an acre. An interesting show of vegetables grown by the tenants is held each year. In granting allotments, length of residence and the necessities of the case are considered, and as all the ground is occupied and several applicants are on the books, it seems probable that new-comers whose claims are not urgent, if not the rest, will have to wait a long while. For the plots change hands but slowly, and the principle "once an allotment holder always an allotment holder" would seem to apply. It is said that so long as a man cultivates his ground, does not sublet, and pays his rent, he cannot be ejected, and the allottees are of too thrifty a class to forfeit by non-fulfilment of these conditions. In a few cases this has led to persons retaining allotments long after their necessities required it, but as a rule the allottees fairly represent the industrious and saving poor.

The charity allotments are under the control of the Charity Governors, who are elected every three years. They comprise 25 acres of land at Hale End, Hale Brinks, Bull's Farm, and Higham Hill, which is let in plots of 20 rods, at a rental of 10s per annum, or £4 an acre. There are 200 of these allotments, and about the same number of allottees. The land, not being left primarily for allotments, but for general charitable purposes, has to be let at a rental equal to what it might be expected to realize if used for farming.

There are also two fields let by private owners for allotments, so that the total number of holders is probably nearly 500.

Charuves.—Walthamstow, like most old parishes, has many endowed charities, some of them of very ancient date. Some particulars of these may be of interest. Of the almshouses, the largest section is that attached to the Monoux

trusty and comprises thirteen houses, which are occupied by aged persons of both sexes. These tenements are now situated in the parish churchyard (St. Mary's), which was not the case when, in 1527, Sir George Monoux founded them, but is the result of extensions of the graveyard. The original endowment was very small, but other benefactions were afterwards left to it or added by arrangement. The inmates get 10s a week each. Collard's almshouses have residences for ten men, who must be members of the Church of England, and who get 4s a week each. By a curious provision in the trust, men who have been in private service are not eligible—probably the shrewd lady founder had heard or experienced something of trustees providing for their old servants out of property of this kind left in their charge. Squire's almshouses are for six widows of tradesmen, who receive about £13 per annum each.

The Monoux Grammar School was founded in 1527, and in it twenty children were taught by the alms-priest who had also charge of the almshouses. After a fluctuating career this endowment has become the nucleus of a large and successful school, where 200 boys receive an education, for which they pay from £4 to £6 per annum, according to age, in addition to twenty-five free scholars who represent the alms-priest's little flock.

Besides the school, upon the endowment of which several old benefactions as well as much modern effort have been concentrated, the "Charity Governors" have control ot several small charities realizing about £300 a year, which, after payment of expenses, is distributed to the almsfolk and in New Year's gifts to poor persons.

The Churchwardens and Overseers have charge of benefactions amounting to about £750 a year, which .3 allotted with some care, so much to the almsfolk, so much to poor widows, &c. Probably the endowed charities, taken altogether, do not realize less than £1200 a year.

There are also voluntary charities, including a benevolent fund from which temporary help was last year afforded to 1400 families in the shape of provisions, fuel or boots, at a cost of over £150.

Finally, the Guardians of the Poor are said to dispense outdoor relief on a liberal scale.

Altogether a good deal is given away, and there is a want of co-operation amongst the givers which leads to imposition and has been the means of attracting some of the cadging class to the neighbourhood.

Thrift.—The great friendly societies are fairly represented in Walthamstow, the Ancient Order of Foresters taking the lead. Their largest Court, "Pride of Walthamstow," has nearly 700 financial members, and 70 honorary ones. It has an invested capital of about £2500, and its benefits include payments to members in sickness on the following scale:—*lbs* per week for 26 weeks; *7 s 6d* for a further 26 weeks; and after that 5. a week so long as the illness lasts. The Court, which has been established forty years, has a juvenile branch, with 200 members and a fund of £150. Another Court, receutly founded, has about fifty members. There are two lodges of the Improved Independent Order of Oddfellows, London Unity, with about 150 members and £500 capital, and the Kingston Unity and North Middlesex Unity of the Order have each a lodge, with something over 100 members between them. There are also branches of the Ancient Order of Britons and tho Loyal United Friends, each with some seventy members.

A Co-operative Society has been in existence about two years, and has now 120 members. It has recently opened a shop in Markhouse Road and seems to be making fair progress.

Amusements.—Walthamstow has neither theatre nor miusic-hall, and is very like a Country place, in that it depends for its amusement mainly on voluntary local effort, aided now and then by a peripatetic company which takes

up its quarters for a night or two at the Town or Victoria Hall. The different places of worship have their occasional concerts or readings, but seemingly the clubs are the most consistent and successful caterers in this respect. Of these there are no less than ten, including a Conservative Club, a Unionist Club, and a Church Youths' Institute, whilst the other seven are more strictly of the working-class order, and are affiliated to the Working Men's Club and Institute Union. Of the seven, four profess Liberal and Radical principles, and the remaining three are purely social, one being teetotal. The combined membership of these working-class clubs is probably from 1200 to 1500, and as the members consist largely of married men, whose wives and families are admitted to the weekly entertainments, &c, they undoubtedly exercise a considerable influence upon the locality. The facilities for outdoor sports and exercises are ample, the river and the forest being both within easy reach, whilst the fields near Blackhorse Lane, as also the recreation ground at Hoe Street and other open spaces, give plenty of room for cricket, tennis, football, &c. The scene on the river and adjoining meadows, on a fine holiday afternoon in summer, is a very animated one.

Of religious bodies, there are quite the average number in Walthamstow, most of the principal sects and creeds having their devotees, but it seems doubtful whether amongst them all they have got hold of the bulk of the people. With philanthropic, charitable, and religious agencies alike, there seems to be, with few exceptions, a want of organization and method—a sense almost of helplessness—in dealing with the mass of the new-comers, and an absence of that intimate knowledge of the daily lives and circumstances of the poor which may be found amongst the clergy and others in the heart of London. Doubtless this is because everything is so comparatively new—not only are a large proportion of the people as yet but "pilgrims and strangers" in the

locality, but the workers amongst them are frequently new-comers also. Consequently it has not been easy to get positive information regarding the circumstances of the people, but all authorities agree in saying that there is a good deal of poverty, amounting in many instances to actual distress, in the district, with not a little improvidence and looseness of life, and equal is the concensus of opinion that this unsatisfactory state of things is rather on the increase. And one may well believe that this is so—that like begets like—and that, once given its particular character, a place so handy as "Walthamstow should attract some of the more restless (who are usually amongst the poorest) section of the population, and so result in deterioration which, from a local point of view, is to be regretted. Still, there is another and better side to the picture. The change to more healthy and wholesome surroundings cannot be altogether without its effect upon those who come, and with the encouraging sign of a slightly more stationary population, it is not too much to hope that, when the schoolmaster, the missionary, and the philanthropist have more effectually grappled with their heavy task, there may be a gradual, even if slow, improvement in the standard of life.

I cannot conclude without expressing my thanks to Mr. W. Whittingham, treasurer of the Charity Governors; Mr. J. J. McSheedy, chairman of the Allotment Wardens; the Rev. Herbert Maitland, Mr. Ebenezer Clarke; Messrs. French and Wigg (of the School Board), and others who have kindly furnished me with information, and also to those to whom I am indebted for the subjoined interesting particulars of some parts of the St. James's Street district:—

DESCRIPTION A,

I am told that the street here described has been built from time to time and irregularly on what was a common. It turns off a road which still has

ploughed fields on the opposite side. A butcher's shop in the front road unfortunately entails a hideous pen in the back street, where bullocks and sheep are kept ready for slaughter and slaughtered. Three days a week are they driven in, to the intense excitement and terror of the children around. The next shop is a greengrocer's in the specially dead line of the trade, potatoes and onions, *&c.* The man mostly makes his living by using his carts for carting goods. The inmates of the next house are an elderly man and his wife with their fast-growing-up children, but the poor man has had to be in Brentwood Asylum for more than one period. Then come young married people of the better class, who are Salvationists ; and next a little general shop, the man earning his living by other employment, the shop being managed by the woman. Next a little cottage of two rooms stands by itself. It is inhabited by an old man, who lives quite alone—a tidy, independent old fellow, who has never been " on the rates " in his life, having paid into the Foresters' the 5s per week on which he now lives. Next come two little cottages together. In one lives a crippled widow, who takes two lodgers; in the other an old couple have lived for more than forty years. A small terrace stands next, but in and out of these houses the people are constantly shifting and changing, and they are for the most part a bad lot. Two tall houses follow—one a social club, and one inhabited by a respectable man and his wife, who are very poor. The club is not in any way badly conducted. A second little lerrace has been almost entirely pulled down and rebuilt, and is becoming inhabited by a better class of people. A large, but in other respects ordinary, nursery garden finishes the street. It is kept by a tidy old man and his wife, who can be got to talk on no subject but their work.

The other side of the street begins with a broken-down terrace, the houses mostly empty when not inhabited by policemen's wives as caretakers. Six or eight tidy, respectable families come next, in houses of different sizes and shapes. The children go to school, and if they do not the officers do not fail to look them up. Why do they not turn their gaze on the next four houses in quest of children also ? One is sorry to think of the degradation of drink, impurity of language and fighting that form the weekly scene from money-taking on Saturday till no more drink can be had. The women are even worse than the men; the lying and deceit are simply fearful. I should consider this the-blackest part. The next two houses are empty. Then come a few tidy working people, though poor. After them two or three houses with a shifting population ; then a respectable old man and his wife in a little house of their own. Next a well-conducted beershop, and beyond a fried-fish-shop kept by rough but honest, hard-working people.

DESCRIPTION B.

In the area described below are more than one thousand families, many of whom are the poorest in Walthamstow, and the winter wa

are now passing through has been a severe trial to many, and if not for help afforded must have proved disastrous to a large number whose incomes in fine weather are not sufficient to allow them the opportunity of making provision for hard times. The largest proportion of the breadwinners herein belong to the building trade, such as bricklayers, masons, carpenters, painters, navvies, with labourers in skilled and unskilled labour. Many of these men reckon on doing very little work during the winter months, except that done in the Union Stone Yard, which is one of the last efforts put forth in keeping life in existence. In this part of Walthamstow our population are migratory, they come from various parts of London for cheap rent and after a few months find it net quite as expected, and often on coming move into houses in the day-time but are compelled through force of circumstances to move out by night, to evade the broker and his men. Others save a little money and think a little business in the country such a nice investment. Such persons, through not taking the precaution of making proper inquiries, soon find themselves in difficulties:—

Thurley Cottages and Rose's Fields.—The houses herein are built of wood and plaster, the relics of old Walthamstow. The people are very poor, although in many cases they have as much money to spend, if only spent rightly, as their more prosperous neighbours residing near at hand. There are about twenty-four houses, but several of them are now empty, owing to the property changing owners. The rent is 3s 6*d* a week. Eighteen months ago a worse lot could not be found in any part of this place than those who resided herein. Present occupants:—

No. 1. A widow and two children, keeps a mangle, and assisted by the benevolent.

No. 2. Man and wife ; man at work all the week in a city house ; stands with a boot-black box on Sundays.

No. 3. Man and wife, with daughter who is blind; both parents are aged ; man works on the roads.

No. 4. Man and wife ; man a carpenter ; home in a wretched state.

No. 5. Shoemaker and wife; man a Socialist.

Club Road contains thirty-nine private houses, nineteen shops, two beer-houses, and has about 130 families. During the past two years this street or the people residing here have improved. Most of the houses are let out by half-houses. Usually there are two families, but sometimes more. The people belong to the labouring class and are moderately poor. Specimen subjoined :—

No. 54. Downstairs there is a plasterer, upstairs a bricklayer's labourer. Both have wives and families.

No. 56. Downstairs, a shoemaker; in the upper part, a mill sawyer. Both have families and take in a lodger.

. No. 58. Upstairs lives a painter, wife, and four children, and also the father of the wife. Downstairs, a navvy and woman, with lodgers in the front room.

Cinder Road has eighteen private houses and two families in most, but in some three. The people are very poor and the difficulty of paying the rent, though small, is the cause of constant change of tenants. They include gardeners, bricklayers, labourers, shoemakers, and dock labourers.

Ford Road,—Herein are two shops and thirty-nine dwellings occupied by two and three families. Include the very poorest and the moderately poor; about ninety families. Navvies, harness makers, shoemakers, brass finishers, carpenters, bricklayers, and labourers. The average rent is 3. 6d per half house.

Fisher't Road.—Herein are twenty-five houses and about forty families some of whom are very poor and others moderately poor. They are all working men, such as coal porters, draymen, carmen, &c.

Wenham Road has ninety-eight houses and 200 families, one beershop and three general shops. Herein we have the three classes—the very poorest, moderately poor, and the fairly comfortable. Most all belong to the wage earning class, and a few of the occupants own their living house and other houses in this and neighbouring streets.

North Grove.—Herein are ninety-three houses, seven shops, and two beerhouses. About 220 families. Some houses at the top end are old, semi-detached, roomy, and well built; but the rest are new, cheap, and unsubstantial, and are let out to two and three families, most of whom are moderately poor and of the class already mentioned, in occupation, trades, &o.

DESCRIPTION C.

Alpha Road.—Small houses at about 7s per week. All working class.

1. Man earning about 30. per week in London; four children; off to town by 6 o'clock train.

2. Foreman in neighbouring nursery; good wages; wife keeps small grocer's shop ; one child ; very comfortably off.

3. Man earns about 25s. per week ; goes round with coal waggon.

Beta Road.—Two-storeyed houses, let out at about 4. 6d a floor.

1. Upstairs, man dying with consumption; wife earns living by mangling; four children; great distress. Downstairs, seamstress; pretty comfortable.

2. Upstairs, widow, one sister; odd dressmaking, charing, &c.; quite poor. Downstairs, man; irregular work in London; three or four children. Very poor.

3. Downstairs, a man; several children; earns precarious living by insurance, travelling on commission.

Cornwall Road.—Partly small tenements, 7s. a week, and partly houses let out in floors, 4. 64 a week.

1. Young man, wife, two children; carver; money varies from 25. to 30..

2. Young man, wife, no child; dyer; wages 25..

3. Music tuner; good money; lives with mother.

Devon Road.—Houses, £24 to £30 a year.

1. Man earns about £2. 10. a week in large tailoring establishment in London, one son about 30. a week; wife and two daughters work at home, making trimmings for boys' sailor suits.

2. Tailor's cutter, £3 a week, also takes business at home; wife, no family.

3. Man in one firm thirty years; got out two years ago, and has had no regular work since. Sells a little on commission. Bent, £20 a year.

4. Man; packer; wholesale grocery warehouse. Drysalter's department, £2 a week; wife, one son.

DESCRIPTION D#

Bright Street—To describe the inhabitants of a street chiefly of the better class of working-people is not so easy as of the poorer. It is more difficult for a district visitor to get to know them. I fear that generally speaking the poorer class admit such hoping for temporal tangible gifts, *&c.* The others often are shy, fearing " remarks being passed," crediting them with like motives. It is a pleasant street, and in summer time fresh green trees and tidy little gardens, not to mention window gardens, line each side; our parish flower shows with useful inexpensive prizes are a great incentive to the latter. The trees make one think of our beautiful forest where their ancestors flourish so undisturbed. Several married policemen live here, and it is seldom you come across a house inhabited by more than one family. There are also many postmen—family men—who carry on little trades in their spare hours when "off duty," chiefly "boot-repairing," alias "cobbling." Those whom their wives call " city clerks " live here too, with real drawing-rooms in front,—bay windows filled with flowers and lace curtains, anti-macassars tied on every chair with coloured ribbon, and a centre-table with the children's prize school books ranged cross-ways all round. Three or four little " general" shops intersect the houses, and at the further end a few larger shops, greengrocers, pork and sausage, and a second-hand clothes establishment. A quietly conducted public-house is at the corner end. One house has been turned into a dispensary, presided over by a 6*d* Doctor, with a very long name and numbers of letters following it. Bright red blinds printed in white inform the residents of the hours of consultation and draw attention to the moderate charges, via. " A Bottle of Medicine AND Advice for 6d."

The names used in the foregoing descriptions are fictitious.

PART IV-SOUTH LONDON.

SOUTH LONDON.

CHAPTER I.

THE DISTRICT GENERALLY.

SOUTH of the Thames lies a huge Metropolitan suburb of which I have found it difficult to form any but a most vague conception, so immense is it in size, so invertebrate in character. Although more detached from the common centre than the Eastern or Northern districts with which it may in some ways be compared, the Southern section appears to lack independent life. The broad stream of the river forms a physical, but not a moral separation, leaving the district not exactly London, but still only to be described in terms of London. To be thought of as the approach to London, or, from another point of view, as the escape from London—a district whose peculiarities it would puzzle the observer to explain, but for the key provided by the great bridges. Connected with these bridges is a network of handsome streets, which strikes the observer with equal force whether he traverses the district itself, or studies its features, as I now invite the reader to do, by the aid of a map. On my map the main roads, coloured bright red, to indicate their well-to-do middle-class inhabitants, stand out very prominently, and suggest to the imagination something of the power and energy of life which fill the side-walks with passengers, and the roadways with omnibuses and tramway cars, coming from, or going to the outermost bounds of London. This network of roads forms several

natural centres, but the centre of centres is at the Elephant and Castle, where a singularly unpretentious public-house has come to be the " hub " of South London. Here we find a real stir of local life, as well as of distant traffic. Here stands one of the few groups of large shops in South London, the only one of any importance that does not lie on or beyond the confines of my map. To this point from considerable distances come those whose ideas in respect of house furnishing or underclothing, dresses or mantles, bonnets or boots, are not realized in the stocks of their local tradesmen. Some similar points of attraction are to be found in the southern outskirts—on the east at Deptford Broadway, on the south at Peckham Rye and Clapham Pavement and Brixton, and on the west near Clapham Junction—but taken all together they would make little more than one street of shops such as may be freely found in the outlying districts of London north of the Thames. To look into shop-windows is no small pleasure, especially to women, and it costs nothing. The comparative absence of such attractions makes South London dull.

Again, a large part of this great district is short of industries. I have the information at present only in a very general way, but it seems clear that on the whole South London cannot, in respect of industries, compare to East or Central London, or to Finsbury. The industries which exist cling for the most part to the river. Some works or factories are to be found on the borders of the Grand Surrey Canal, but otherwise there is little employment to be had inland. The bulk of the workers travel at any rate to, and often across the[1] river to their daily task.. It is so with casual no less than with regular work, but with one distinction. The casual worker who looks to London proper for employment, or seeks it at the riverside, cannot

. Morning and evening see 'he bridges crowded with those who pass their working day in London, so much so that it is difficult to cross at all against the stream which sets northwards in the morning and southwards at night.

well live beyond a walking distance from the wharf or factory he frequents, or from the bridge he will have to cross. It is only the man whose position is assured who can treat railway or tram fare as a regular item of his daily budget, to be saved out of rent, or set against the advantages of happier surroundings for children, fresher air and better health.

The result is obvious, and may readily be traced on our map. With some exceptions, which bear explanation, South London poverty everywhere lightens as we recede from the river. There is a deplorably low level in all parts which lie near the sources of work ; and this low level tends to perpetuate itself, for no sooner does anyone rise and " get a bit decent," than he may be expected to move out to Clapham or elsewhere. Everyone I have consulted has mentioned this centrifugal tendency of the better off, and almost all have complained that, in consequence of it, their district is going down. There is, besides, another drift, which sets more slowly but in the same direction, of poor, improvident, helpless people, to quarters where they may for a while obtain fresh credit. Those who have supplied food or found house-room have no more patience, and charitable agencies refuse to continue to assist; so, like locusts, they pass on to new pastures. This hopeless stream is swollen by demolitions. The families whose wretched homes are destroyed are rarely those which fill the new and better buildings that take the place of the old courts; and once uprooted, it is said that these poor folk never cease to wander. Here, in South London, there is said to be a love of home not often found; an almost romantic attachment of the respectable poor to their little courts, not easily to be reproduced. The old evils they were accustomed to, the old ties of habit were strong, but they find nothing to bind them to the new quarters, where their earnings are perhaps even less regular and less secure than they may have been before. The new-corners into poor districts may have come from

across the Thames. Clearances in Chelsea have caused a stream to flow into Battersea, and we have found in Penge a group of families who had come all the way from Moorgate Street. These, however, had made one flight of it, and coming in company, bringing their household gods with them, bade fair to make of the street they had selected, a den as foully comfortable to them as were the old courts from which they had been driven in the city. From one cause or other the movement never ceases, and it greatly adds to the difficulties in the way of improvement. The best men leave and the worst do not stay long enough in one place to give local influence the chance to reach or raise them.

The daily wants of the district are to a great extent supplied by an army of costermongers, who perambulate the streets or take their stands in the market streets or at favourite corners. These men, with their irregular earnings and heavy drinking, are a class not easy to place. They are poor, many of them frequently in the last stage of poverty, but even the poorest at times make money freely. What they make is as freely spent. Some streets and courts are almost exclusively occupied by these men, and on days or at hours when there is little doing, the empty barrows line and almost block the narrow roadways. Here the curious may see the method the men adopt to brighten up the remains of yesterday's stock before starting out on a new round; a sight to be borne with perfect equanimity only by one whose wants are supplied through some other channel of trade. Where, as is most commonly the case, the costermongers live side by side with casual labourers, we find the poorest and lowest streets. The "easy come, easy go" standard of expenditure adopted by the street vendor, mainly, of course, in drink, has a demoralizing effect on his neighbours as well as himself.

All the points mentioned in the general view of the district which has now been given will be confirmed as we take each part of it individually.

It will be found when the different parts of South London are compared with each other and with other districts in ILondon in respect of poverty, that St. Saviour's, Southwark, is the poorest of all. (See Volume I I.) A circle with a radius of half a mile from St. George's Church includes the whole of this district—historic, poverty-stricken Southwark. I will not trouble the reader with the exact boundaries, which are rather complicated as shown by dotted lines on the map. For my purpose Blackfriars Bridge on the west; Star Corner (at end of Long Lane) on the east, and the New Kent Road on the south, will serve well enough. But the old parish boundaries must not be altogether ignored, as they have had an evident influence. A glance at the map will show how often it is on their line that streets are cut short, so as not to "go through"; and where this is the case there is a tendency to bad conditions of life, moral as well as physical. The wretched strip to the north and east of Tabard Street is a flagrant example of this tendency. This is an evil, which, dating from very old times, is unfortunately reproduced to-day in connection with the impassable boundaries of railway lines, as will be plainly seen on the south-west map by tracing the course of the railway from Nine Elms to Clapham Junction.

Immediately round about St. George's Church and on all sides of it lie nests of courts and alleys, yielding in places to improvements, as where the Marshalsea Road has been cut through the ancient district of the "Mint," but still harbouring an appalling amount of destitution not unmixed with crime, and in this respect maintaining only too well the historic character of the Borough. These places are indicated very imperfectly on the map, as their narrowness and intricacy defies reproduction on any but the largest scale. Among these courts, close behind the church, was the Marshalsea prison, of which some part remains standing. To westwards as far as Blackfriars Road there lives a popula-

tion which is the despair of those who work amongst it. Not as being bad, but very low and difficult to raise. Part at least of this district is cursed by ancient benefactions; money left to provide food for the hungry, and tending with fatal certainty to perpetuate the misery it relieves. To the east of the church we find a district no less evidently poor. This is that already referred to which lies between Great Dover Street and Long Lane, having for its main street the part of the Old Kent Road which masquerades to-day as Tabard Street. Missions abound here. The most notable of them has in Tabard Street an underground church, original and marvellous in construction, burrowed out of the cellars of two adjacent houses. Near it is a labyrinth of streets and courts, more wholesome than many such, the inhabitants of which seem not so very poor nor at all bad, struggling happy-go-lucky people, whose standard is neither too high nor too low to admit of their being fairly comfortable in their surroundings; habit and environment having reached a kind of stable equilibrium which, however unsatisfactory in the oyes of the world, it is not easy to upset. These streets are typical of much in South London. Here live a number of costermongers, some of whom are of the highest respectability in their way. One family in particular, connected together in cousinship and by marriage, can trace back several generations all of which have lived.in this neighbourhood. Further east again, beyond St. Stephen's Square as far as Bermondsey New Road and the courts which lie round about the site of the old Abbey, almost every street is quite poor, and many are wretchedly so. The Board School in Westcott Street contains some of the poorest children in London, and the market in Bermondsey New Road is of all the street markets in London that which to the onlooker strikes most deeply the note of poverty.

This district, somewhat curtailed to the south, where

were still St. George's fields, was practically the whole of South London 150 years ago, and thus it is to this district that the older historic reminiscences belong. Blackfriars Bridge was building. Blackfriars Bridge Road was barely laid out. The true western boundary in those days was Broadwall, leading to Old Barge-house stairs, which were conveniently situated opposite the Temple. Broadwall led to the fields and under the name of Melancholy Walk was continued along their verge, where is to bo seen on our map the dark blue patch of Surrey Row, just beyond Nelson Square. Melancholy Walk, still skirting the fields, which I take it were very damp and marshy, led on to Dirty Lane, and Dirty Lane to Blackman Street (now the Borough High Street) somewhat to the south of St, George's Church, opposite to whore is now the end of Trinity Street.

From the church, along Kent Street, lay the high road to Canterbury, skirted still by woods, where, however, the broom makers who lived in Kent Street were no longer allowed to cut brushwood. Long Lane led to Bermondsey, with the remains of its Abbey. Then, as now, the whole district was spoken of as full of people, no less crowded, the records say, than any equal area to the north of the Thames, no less poor and more rough, for it was a constant subject of complaint that bad characters escaping across the river found refuge here.

The records are not all squalid. Traditions of past splendour lie thick over Bermondsey. One old writer. tells of the glories of the Abbey, dilates upon its architecture, its extent and the stories of distressed queens and nobles who found shelter within its walls; and even while abusing its despoiler, Sir Thomas Pope, celebrates the magnificence of the house by which he replaced the older buildings. This house, completed by the Ratcliffes (Earls

. • Buckler's MS. " History of Bermondsey."

of Sussex), was the princely dwelling of their family; each Earl in succession striving to outdo his predecessor in the embellishment and improvement of the mansion and grounds.

In Southwark old-time memories abound. The stately charities of Thomas Guy still flourish. Winchester House is gone; its records perhaps belong rather to the larger currents of our history than especially to Southwark; but the great debtors. prisons, the pillories, the ducking stool for scolds, annals of bull fights and bear fights, even combats of lions, and other subjects full of interest to the curious, are treated of at large in local chronicles and later pamphlets.

For our purpose it may perhaps be deemed irrelevant to touch even for a moment on matters so far removed from "the sphere of our sorrows." Yet a glance backwards is not altogether without a bearing even on the objects of our present work. It is inspiriting to remember that though a colossal work of improvement still lies before us, our ancestors have cleared the ground. Thanks to the exertions of the wise and good among the dead, we no longer have debtors' prisons farmed out to grasping speculators intent upon squeezing the largest possible subsidies from their charges; levying their extortions, backed by the ganotion of torture and ill-usage, their rapacity supported by the knowledge that no coroner's inquest would be called to make inconvenient inquiries into the effects of the deadly disorder significantly termed "the sickness of the place."

Some disciplinarians may regret the ducking stool, but we may all be thankful that we no longer cross bridges garnished with the heads and limbs of human beings, and no longer, as in the days of good Queen Bess, see advertisements of entertainments giving out that so many bulls or bears are to be baited—one to be baited to death as is promised by way of extra attraction; no longer, as in the time of the merry monarch, assist at fencing matches in

which one combatant gives the other " a stroke which took off a slice of his head and almost all his ear, and in turn receiving a stroke upon his already wounded wrist, which divided the sinews, he remained vanquished and the conqueror received the applause of the spectators.".

The High Street was filled with inns. Here travellers arriving from the south alighted, and found their quarters where the coaches stopped, just as they do now in the hotels that cluster round the railway terminus at Charing Cross. The names of seventeen of these inns are given in an account of the district in 1542.t Of many of these some traces remain. The White Hart, with galleried courtyard, which Dickens made the scene of Mr. Pickwick's first meeting with Sam Weller, has lately been swept away, but others of the same type are still standing. It is said that stage-plays were often performed at these hotels to divert the guests, and that the courtyard and galleries served as an excellent theatre. Of all these hotels the most famous was the Tabard, whence started the pilgrimages to Canterbury.

Among the old records to which I have had access % is one in which a forerunner in the work has stated, street by street, the condition of things as they were in his day. This record, to be found in Strype's first edition of Stow, published towards the end of the seventeenth century, enables me to make the following comparison.

Red Cross Street was "an handsome, clean, and open street, pretty well built and inhabited." To-day on the

. Account written by Thomas Iorevin, a foreigner and eye-witness, in 1672.

" In 1619 the inhabitants declared that Southwark consists chiefly of inns, and petitioned against new ones, two being then proposed on Bankside. In 1631 again the question of too many alehouses came up; 228 were counted in the district, and of these 43 were suppressed—21 in Kent Street, partly because of the plague, and partly from their excessive number and evil repute."— *Old Southwark and its People:* Rendle.

X **Through the kindness of the Rev. J. G. Curry.**

one side are tall warehouses, while on the other stand a few poor shops and a large block of dwellings (managed by Miss Octavia Hill), coloured light blue upon our map.

Maypole Alley (out of Borough High Street) "hath a narrow passage, but within, a pretty, clean, open court, indifferently built." It still "hath the narrow passage," but neither to the court nor to the casual labourers, dust-yard workers or fur pullers who inhabit it could the term clean apply. "Indifferently" built it is, but the word has changed its meaning for the worse in these latter days.

Clink Street was a straggling place. Here was "the prison so called, belonging to the liberty of the Bishop of Winchester, called the Clink liberty, where he had his house to reside in when he came to London, but at present disused and very ruinous." Now Clink Street is a narrow lane with lofty warehouses on both sides, connected by numerous covered bridges, which make the street dark even on the brightest day. Only one family finds a home amidst the storehouses.

In *Montague Close* (by London Bridge) the houses were ancient, but "indifferpnt good" and well inhabited. Now wharves and huge warehouses have superseded the houses, and rats are the only inhabitants.

Mint Street. "The chief street of the Mint" is described as "long and narrow;" now it has been widened and changed its name, and as "Marshalsea Road" is regaining a better reputation than that which became associated with the old title.

Blackman Street " is broad, and the buildings and inhabitants not much to be boasted of; the end next Newington hath the west side open to St. George's fields, being rather a road than a street." This now ranks as part of the High Street.

Kent Street "Very long, but ill built; chiefly inhabited by broom men and 'mumpers.'" Now known as Tabard Street. The broom men still carry on their business here,

but mostly live elsewhere. The "mumpers" (*i.e.* loafers) are still to be found on the spot.

South of the district I have described, as far as East Street, which is the boundary of the Registration district, we still find much poverty. The end of East Street, next the Walworth Road, is an active market, especially on Sunday morning. A large proportion of the movable stalls are devoted to the sale of toys and household or personal ornaments—here one finds a great choice of pretty brooches at one penny. The people who come to buy or linger about look poor, but not so extremely poor as those to be met with in Bermondsey New Road. In East Street side by side lie the Pembroke and Wellington Missions, each in their own way seeking to establish wholesome relations with the somewhat Godless people among whom they are established, while the rest of the ground is occupied by the organization of St. Mark's Church. This is not exceptional, for almost everywhere in South London the Church is active, and mission-rooms, of all denominations, abound. The work is rather disheartening. The people, where the standard of life is. low, seem to be quite happy in poverty, hunger, and dirt, enlivened with drink, and not to be roused to better things, or else the right way to rouse them has not yet been found. In the central parts a hand-to-mouth existence is the rule even among those who might be well off if they chose.

Walworth is full of cab-yards, of which many are found scattered all through South London, though of cabs, except at the railway stations, there are few. It is north of the Thames that they seek and find employment.

From and through the Walworth district population steadily moves outwards towards Peckham, and beyond. The whole. district bounded by the Peckham and Walworth Roads on south and west, and by the Old Kent Road to the north-east, bearing on the map a ridiculous likeness to the .shape of a stockinged foot (of which East Street spans

the ankle), is full of a new population. There is no doubt some jerry building, and there are dismal spots where poverty gathers head; but, looked at generally, the houses appear to be the quiet and decent dwellings of quiet and decent people. Such of the clergy as I have seen here take a much brighter view of the results of their work than do any of those who work within the inner ring, and so confirm my impression. Similar conditions seem to prevail to the south as to the north of the Peckham Road as far as and beyond the limits of my map, the proportions of the poor decreasing as we pass southward.

Returning to Star Corner and passing along Abbey Street, we have between Long Lane and the railway the home of the leather trade, tan yards set about with queer old courts crowded with a poor population, who either work at this trade or at the wharves, which, with a fringe of poor streets, fill in the space betwixt rail and river—wharves and warehouses whose storeyed floors are stacked and heaped with sea-borne merchandise. Further on, along the river bank as we approach Rotherhithe there is, between Jamaica Road and the river, a district of great poverty. The inhabitants are mostly water-side labourers, many of them Irish and very ignorant. It is said that north of Jamaica Road they are not " reading men; " that in the public-houses a paper is rarely seen, whereas to the south side it is quite otherwise. Rotherhithe itself is filled with those who work at the Surrey Commercial Docks, and when in work make large wages, which are very freely spent as earned, so that poverty is ever able to tighten its grip when work falls slack again.

From Rotherhithe the Lower Road leads to Deptford, and Deptford joining hands with New Cross makes an important centre of life, accompanied, unfortunately, by a group of streets standing low in the scale both for poverty and character.

Back towards London from Deptford lies a large tract,

still open, seamed with railway lines, and occnpied as market gardens. Upon this space new communities are springing up, remote and difficult of access, embarrassed by the presence of railway lines planned only to serve a larger world.

From Blackfriars Road through New Cut and Lower Marsh we reach Lambeth, whose palace was built on solid ground when all around was marsh intersected by dykes. Where New Cut crosses Waterloo Bridge Road in the middle of these old marshes, stands the "Vic," a music-hall which is gradually assuming the *role* of a polytechnic. This point is the centre of greatest life in this neighbourhood, and one of the busiest spots in all London. Beyond the palace are the famous potteries where genius has made from drain pipes a ware of wonderful beauty, and found employment for a large number of people.

To the westward of the line of Blackfriars Road, continued past the Elephant and Castle along the Walworth Road to Camberwell Green, lies an inhabited district nearly as large as that to the east of this line, but except at Lambeth there is no trace of antiquity about it. In good or evil it is what modern conditions of life have brought about. It has its dark blue and blue-black places, accursed patches of poverty and vice. The poor condition of Bast Lambeth repeats itself to some extent at the western extremity near Clapham Junction, just as the poverty of Southwark repeats itself to some extent at Deptford. Of the bad patches the most hopeless is the block consisting of Hollingtor, Street, Sultan Street, and a few more, lying to the west of Camberwell Road. It stands alone in an otherwise well-to-do district, acting as a moral cesspool towards which poverty and vice flow in the persons of those who can do no better, mixed with those who find such surroundings convenient or congenial. It is the despair of the clergy, who find it impossible to put any

permanent social order into a body of people continually shifting and as continually recruited by the incoming of fresh elements of evil or distress. The efforts of those who seek to raise the conditions of life in this and other similar spots in different parts of London may perhaps dc more than is recognized for the remnant who stay as well as for the larger number who by-and-by move on elsewhere and I am told that bad as they seem to us to-day these streets were very much worse in every way a generation back. How it began I do not know, and it does not very much matter. Bad building, bad owning, mismanagement on the part of the vestry, and apathy on the part of the Church, have each had their share in bringing about the condition of things which now demands and tasks the best united efforts of all to put right. This block, as is so often the case when bad conditions triumph, is without thoroughfare, cut off by the railway line from the main road, and it would seem that no radical change can be made in its fortunes except by altering this.

Battersea is treated separately in a special chapter. It is in some ways a special district, combining industries of its own, "down by the river-side," with the most perfect specimen of a working-class residential district in the "Shaftesbury Estate," where we seem to see realized the ideal of South London. This paradise of the artisan could with ease be turned into a citadel. It can be entered only at each corner of the plot of ground on which it stands. Within there is,no public-house, nor indeed is there a church. Prominent in the centre, surrounded by a large playground, stands the school, perhaps the handsomest in London, and round about are the houses of the people. Each dwelling has an air of independence and easy comfort. The houses are most of them built on a uniform pattern, but relieved from monotony by a touch of architectural beauty in the half porches and pointed window-tops aided by the minute gardens in front of each house,

which show sedulous and successful care, and are supported by a further array of plants and flowers in many of the well-kept parlour windows. On this estate nearly every house is occupied.

Such, then, as has been described, is South London. In almost every part of this vast district the Church seems to be active. Missions and places of worship of other religious bodies abound, Mr. Spurgeon's great tabernacle and the remarkable organization connected with it being the most notable example. Newly-built baths and libraries bear witness to the energy of local government, and South London seems ready to take full advantage of the proportional endowment offered by the Charity Commissioners for Polytechnic purposes. Finally, nowhere in London has there been more wholesale displacement of old insanitary property by improved dwellings. Yet there is something wanting. There seems to be a lack of spontaneous social life among the people, perhaps due to the Want of local industries. There is altogether less going on. In other parts of London, east or north, clubs, good, bad, and indifferent, but very spontaneous in, character, abound. In South London there are but few, and these comparatively sluggish. The very public-houses do not seem to exhale so genial a spirit as elsewhere. There are fewer signs in their windows of Harmonic meetings and Friendly leads, of Goose clubs or even of sick and burial societies. Their doors do not so frequently emit that cheerful buzz of talk within, which surely is, of all sounds known to man, the most attractive. At every turn there is a lack of life. This at least is the impression given.. I can speak only as an onlooker, having never taken up my abode in this district, to which therefore I may perhaps do imperfect

In opposition to this I am told that nowhere else in London are there so many respectable dancing saloons as in Southwark and Bermondsey, and that balls and concerts are got up spontaneously by the working classes in these districts.

justice. Its vast extent not only makes the study very difficult, but in eluding mental grasp has perhaps itself a depressing influence. This huge population, in no part wealthy, and rarely rising above the standard of working-class comfort, is found to be poorer ring by ring as the centre is approached, and in each ring poverty is said to be increasing in extent if not in degree. While at its very heart all round about the bridges and extending in a woeful fringe along the river-bank, whence its life-blood is largely drawn, there exists a very impenetrable mass of poverty.

Beyond the limits of South London from Richmond on the west to chislehurst on the east, up the valley of the Thames and back to the Surrey hills, we have an extra Metropolitan district, in which there is little or no poverty. It contains no communities. answering to Willesden and Edmonton, Walthamstow or Stratford. Following the course of the Wandle to Merton and Mitcham, there are some factories and with them some signs of an industrial population, but elsewhere the district is mostly devoted to the dwellings of the well-to-do and rich; particularly of those who seek to combine in one house the advantages of town and country, living all the year round within reach of London, instead of finding relaxation from the pressure of London life by a prolonged absence at a second home or a vacation spent somewhere far away from its streets, as is the fashion with rich folk north of the Thames. At Mortlake and East Sheen these conditions of life cross the Metropolitan boundary, and they extend still further inwards at Clapham, where a group of old houses with their stately gardens still hold out against the speculative builder. When we learn that within recent years the branches of great trees met across the roadway where now the tramcars jingle along Lavender Hill, is it unreasonable to suggest that there is a net loss to the community when the pursuit of private profit leads to much destruction ?

. **Except, perhaps, Croydon.**

CHAPTER II.

BATTERSEA.

THE district of Battorsea contains 2343 acres and extends from Vauxhall on the east to Wandsworth on the west. The Thames bounds it on the north, but its southern boundary is very arbitrary, and a long projecting spit runs down almost to Tooting. That part, however, south of the railway, where the land is more elevated, seems rather by nature to belong to Clapham, and sharing in the advantages of Clapham and Wandsworth Commons is inhabited chiefly by business men and clerks considerably above the position of artisans. Although the attractions of Battersea Park, the chief open space, have to some extent overcome the objections to its low level, and houses of a somewhat superior class have sprung up in its neighbourhood, yet on the whole, socially, the most characteristic part of Battersea is that lying between the railway and the river. Its general aspect is not unfamiliar to most travellers, for it is the view seen on the north from Clapham Junction—a wilderness of houses chiefly of two storeys, with church spires, a fringe of factory chimneys, and the conspicuous masses of the Board Schools rising high above the dead level of the roofs.

The London and South-Western Railway traverses the whole length of the district, and is crossed at right angles near Nine Elms goods station by the London, Chatham, and Dover, and other lines running into Victoria. The river-side, except in the park, is lined with factories and works of various kinds, and the two railway companies above named have their workshops beside their lines.

But these are almost the only places of employment in the district, and the inhabitants nearly all go out of it to earn their living. Some walk to their work, some go by train, and others by the South London tramways which run down Battersea Park Road and also just outside Battersea down Wandsworth Road. But the routes and distances are so varied that it is impossible to secure any adequate statistics.

The fact that Battersea is so largely a residential suburb explains the most remarkable feature in its history—its sudden and enormous growth. From 6617 in 1841 the population rose to 19,582 in 1861, in 1871 to 54,016, and in 1881 to 107,262, while the present estimate would add nearly half as much again to the last total. These figures are indeed most startling, even when we reflect that the movement of population was unconnected with any movement of industry..

The occupations of the inhabitants are of almost every kind. Besides the railway servants and companies' mechanics working in the district, there are many railway servants who travel up and down by the lines to which they belong. The large amount of building which has been required to house the increasing population, has brought a considerable number of men in the building trades, whose work, however, is now gradually passing further away. The chief local industries are Price's Candle works, the Starch and the Sugar works, the Plumbago Crucible, the Projectile and the various Gas and Water works, and in all of these there is regular employment for good hands. It may also be mentioned that the largest of the S. T. cab-yards is in

. This vast increase, so far as connected with immigration, is considered elsewhere. I may here mention that the Gharity Organization Society, which deals with a considerable number of families in Battersea, finds that a good many of their applicants have come from the West country, especially Devonshire, by the South-Western Railway, and that many have come from Chelsea owing to their former houses having been pulled down. But this refers naturally only to one section of the people—the unsuccessful.

Battersea. It may be questioned whether in any other suburb there is more washing done either by private hands or in large establishments, such as that in which all the linen of Messrs. Spiers and Pond is washed. In connection with this last class of work there is a mystery which I have been unable to solve. In summer, when the husbands are in full work, many wives do nothing; in the winter months the men's work ceases, and although the supply of washing to be done is certainly not greater than in the summer, the wives are not only very glad to apply for this work, but are able to get it. Of course, the same amount might be distributed among a greater number of women, but this is not a sufficient explanation, since the really good hands always have as much as they can do. Where does this providential increase come from ?* .

Certain occupations have of course died out. The district is no longer agricultural, one or two fields are all that is left of the once large market gardens, and the progress of sanitation is marked in the reports of the health officers by the gradual extinction of pigstyes. Ten or a dozen years ago, a caravan on some vacant land by the roadside was no uncommon sight. But though there is no waste ground now, the gipsies have not wholly forsaken Battersea, and spend the winter in certain yards where their caravans are drawn up in rows. They live orderly lives, and the children go to Board Schools, but when spring comes, the horses are harnessed, and the caravans disperse once more throughout the country.

Except a few chance waiters and German bakery foreigners are almost unknown in Battersea, but nevertheless, between the locality and its inhabitants, there is as a rule no association nor necessary connection. Most of them live in it only because it is" within reach of their work, and

. It is suggested that the wives of gas-works winter hands take washing only in the summer, which may partly meet the difficulty.

have come there rather than anywhere else only because some friend or fellow-workman speaks well of the place.

As of work, so of play; there are few local places of entertainment. The failure of the Albert Palace has passed into history, and in the district there is only one music-hall. There are a certain number of clubs, chiefly political, and a certain amount of entertainments organized more or less definitely with certain objects, and in Battersea Park, which seems to be much valued and much used, cricket and football are played. The Public Libraries Act has been adopted, and there are now three of these institutions open: the public baths are successful, and a "polytechnic" is to be opened near the Albert Palace. But these are the exceptions, and for other than family pleasures the inhabitants of Battersea must resort to London.

Perhaps the most interesting section of Battersea is that known as the Shaftesbury Estate, between the railway and the high ground to the south, and chiefly inhabited by superior artisans. It was purchased by a company some twenty years ago, and is managed on purely business lines, paying a rather high dividend. The regulations in force are somewhat strict; for example, by the original rules lodgers and businesses were not allowed. The lowest rent for single houses (four-roomed) is seven shillings and sixpence a week, and the rents range to twelve shillings. Purchase is simplified, and many men own the houses in which they five. There is a club, but the original clubhouse is now converted into model dwellings. Besides "the Estate" itself, which keeps up its position if only from the fact that those unable to pay their rents have to find quarters elsewhere, there is a good deal of house property in its immediate neighbourhood of very much the same character. Here it is that the intelligent portion of the Socialism of the district is chiefly to be found, and the colony represents perhaps the high-water mark of the life of the intelligent London artisan.

Of the other extreme, the worse elements have for the most part taken refuge in blocks of houses isolated by blank walls or railway embankments, or untraversed by any thoroughfare. Some of the courts have long been notorious in the neighbourhood—one, for instance, is popularly known as "Little Hell"—and these have certainly improved with the advent of Board Schools and increased police. In the infernal court in question, a School Board visitor tells me, in 1871, when the Education Act first came into force, there were 108 children, only seven of whom were attending school, and of these seven, four were the children of the only teetotaller in the place. The isolated block at Nine Elms, which is the worst spot in the district, suffered a good deal when the Gas Company moved their chief station to Beckton, and with the work went the best workmen. But when the site of the Southwark and Vauxhall Waterworks is built over, one of the walls which shut the inhabitants off from civilization will be abolished.

Occasionally, however, a row of houses falls into bad repute, due merely to a few undesirable tenants who, if they are not ejected, render the neighbourhood too hot for any one with a taste for decency. In one such street, built only three or four years ago on the grounds of a house which long held out against all offers, the landlord has had to board up several houses in self-defence.

But though there are a few antiquated cottages remaining, it cannot be said that the very poor are badly housed in Battersea. In the most conspicuous cases, indeed, it is the tenants who have made the worst of their dwellings by removing every scrap of wood or iron that could be torn away, and it is the more respectable houses which probably leave most to be desired. Where a hundred thousand people have had to be lodged within twenty years, jerry-building has not been unknown, and the foundations of some houses are said not to have been of the sweetest or most solid.

There is one large set of model dwellings by the Albert Palace which preserves its prosperity by the same methods as the Shaftesbury Estate, but does not seem to be very popular. Common lodging-houses are not a feature of Battersea, indeed there are only some half-dozen in all, but on the other hand the number of tenants who sub-let is very great.

If " three removes " are still " as bad as a fire," then a fire can have but small terrors for many of these people. For there are two classes of them who are always changing their abodes. The superior of these is respectable but restless, and its members delight to go into the newest houses for a year or two, until they have worn off some of the first splendours, and then away they go to pastures newer still. The other's love of change is a mark of the worst streets, and is closely connected with arrears of rent. " Four houses in four months," " Five houses in eighteen months," so run my notes. But these moves are seldom further than three streets away, and a year or two will very probably witness the return of the exiles to within a few doors of one of their many forsaken homes.

It is hard to fix a standard, but rents, though not so high as in London, still bear a very large proportion to the earnings of the tenants, and there is no doubt but that dire poverty drives families at first decent into the very worst streets for the sake of the rent, which is lowered by the character of the other tenants, who in turn live there for the sake of the privilege of behaving as they please.

There is certainly a good deal of true poverty in certain parts of Battersea, but whether this could be really cured is another question. Very much of it is accompanied by drink, which may have been either the cause of misfortune or the effect of despair. The irregular employment which is the lot of the building trades, among other.., requires strict thrift in summer to avoid distress in winter, and the uncertainty of the weather on which so much depends does not favour methodical economy.

But apart from these, the chief evident causes of distress are those improvident marriages which have left a large number of very poor widows to whom the solace of out-relief is somewhat freely afforded, and the weakliness and sudden failure of health of husbands which result in a sort of premature widowhood for their wives.

The state of things represented by the accompanying figures belongs to June, 1889. I have followed as closely as possible the frame-work used in Mr. Booth's volume on East London, with the sole exception that as there was not a score of sailors in Battersea, I have included these in class 18, and devoted class 17 to private servants living with their families. There is this further difference which will, I believe, apply to all similar neighbourhoods, that whereas in the East Class H is distinguished as the only servant-keeping class, in the west at least half of G, although perhaps no wealthier, yet employs a girl. The standards of ease and display, if not of thrift, are higher.

I have taken down the whole of the information myself from the various sources accessible, and alone am to be held responsible for errors. I had no close knowledge of the district, and have simply tried to record and compare the opinions of those who knew it best.

This inquiry was undertaken before Mr. Booth had decided immediately to extend his investigations beyond East London, and I may say that the result of this independent trial of his method has convinced me of the great value of its general results. But in cases where the numbers are too small to furnish a good average they must in my columns be regarded as possibly accidental, and I would for instance place but small reliance on the distribution by class of sections 7 to 12. It is seldom easy to secure can extreme verdict on individual cases, and the average of a street may be correctly given as B while at least half of its inhabitants would individually be allowed to pass into E. So that it is sometimes necessary to infer from the general to the particular.

Table of Sections and Classes. BATTERSEA.

Section.		Description.	Very Poor. A. Lowest Class.	Very Poor. B. Casual Earnings.	Poor. C. Irregular Earnings.	Poor. D. Regular Minimum.	Comfortable. E. Ordinary Standard Earnings.	Comfortable. F. Highly Paid Work.	Well-to-do. G. Lower Middle.	Well-to-do. H. Upper Middle.	Total.	Percentage.
Labour	1	Lowest class, loafers, &c.	507	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	507	0·3
,,	2	Casual day-to-day labour	—	2,128	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,128	1·4
,,	3	Irregular labour	—	—	0,415	—	—	—	—	—	10,415	6·8
,,	4	Regular work, low pay	—	—	—	10,891	—	—	—	—	10,891	7·1
,,	5	,, ,, ordinary pay	—	—	—	—	6,473	—	—	—	6,473	4·2
,,	6	Foremen and responsible work	—	—	—	—	—	2,125	—	—	2,125	1.4
Artisans	7	Building trades	9	404	4,453	395	11,629	2,907	35	—	19,832	13·0
,,	8	Furniture, woodwork, &c.	9	44	483	210	3,039	1,308	—	—	5,093	3·3
,,	9	Machinery and metals	26	123	369	193	3,882	2,503	55	—	7,131	4·7
,,	10	Sundry artisans	—	35	237	360	3,390	2,143	70	—	6,235	4·1
,,	11	Dress	—	26	114	79	1,028	527	61	—	1,835	1·2
,,	12	Food preparation	9	44	176	334	1,440	335	9	—	2,347	1·5
Locomotion	13	Railway servants	—	—	26	1,194	4,672	2,029	61	—	7,982	5·2
,,	14	Road service	—	114	305	483	1,028	141	—	—	2,161	1·4
Assistants	15	Shops and refreshment houses	—	17	246	580	2,776	799	26	—	4,444	2·9
Other wages	16	Police, soldiers, and sub-officials	—	—	—	527	975	335	88	—	1,925	1·3
,,	17	Private servants	—	—	17	202	1,107	658	35	—	2,019	1·3
,,	18	Other wage earners	—	17	211	352	1,458	615	52	—	2,705	1·8
Manufacturers, &c.	19	Home industries (not employing)	17	185	545	167	1,098	123	9	—	2,144	1·4
,,	20	Small employers	—	—	—	9	219	975	475	9	1,687	1·1
,,	21	Large employers	—	—	—	—	—	9	211	123	343	0·2
Dealers	22	Street sellers, &c.	9	149	509	141	378	70	—	—	1,256	0·8
,,	23	General dealers	—	53	308	35	202	35	—	—	633	0·4
,,	24	Small shops	—	17	246	246	1,686	676	9	—	2,880	1·9
,,	25	Large shops (with assistants)	—	—	—	—	123	1,835	1,432	44	3,434	2·3
,,	26	Coffee and boarding houses	—	—	17	17	123	61	—	—	218	0·1
,,	27	Licensed houses	—	9	17	26	141	255	176	—	624	0·4
,,	28	Clerks and agents	9	26	184	299	2,899	4,295	3,373	334	11,419	7·5
,,	29	Subordinate professional	—	9	9	—	184	615	1,097	79	1,933	1·3
,,	30	Professional	—	—	—	—	—	—	44	378	422	0·3
No work	31	Ill and no occupation	—	106	141	96	123	26	—	—	492	0·3
,,	32	Independent	—	—	—	79	264	211	106	61	721	0·5
Females	33	Semi-domestic employment	44	3,188	1,318	439	158	26	—	—	5,173	3·4
,,	34	Dress	—	176	237	132	96	—	—	—	641	0·4
,,	35	Small trades	26	123	70	44	9	—	—	—	272	0·2
,,	36	Employing and professional	—	—	—	158	263	26	17	—	464	0·3
,,	37	Supported	17	44	35	246	238	9	26	—	605	0·4
,,	38	Independent	—	—	—	53	184	167	70	—	474	0·3
,,	39	Other adult women	32	700	2,078	1,796	5,121	2,581	745	103	13,156	8·6
Unscheduled	40	Population of unscheduled houses	—	—	—	—	2,322	—	3,391	1,933	7,646	5·0
			714	7,737	22,856	19,783	58,718	28,420	11,593	3,064	152,885	100·0
		Per cent	0·5	5·1	14·9	12·9	38·5	18·6	7·5	2·0	—	—
		Inmates of institutions	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,710	—

TOTAL POPULATION..... 154,595

CONCLUSION.

CENTRAL LONDON, EAST LONDON, AND BATTERSEA COMPARED.

THE complete statistics from the Central London inquiry . are given in the tables which follow. They concern the three Registration districts of the Strand, St. Giles's, and Westminster, t

A comparison between these different parts of Central London may be made in the form used previously with regard to the different portions of East London.

The comparisons are made by percentages, but the total numbers are given to which these percentages apply.

These figures show the industrial peculiarities, and, to some extent, the social condition of each district. The most notable point is, as might be supposed, the extraordinary proportion of those employed on dress in St. Anne's, Soho, &c.—24 per cent, as compared to 2½ per cent, elsewhere in Central London. These are the tailors and bootmakers. The same district has also its full

. This inquiry was conducted by a committee consisting of Mr. E. C. Grey, Mr. B. A. Valpy, Mr. H. G. Wilink, Mr. W. C. Lefroy, Miss M. A. Tilard, and Mr. Charles Booth, and an abstract of the results was published by Mr. Valpy in 1889.

t It must be borne in mind that the district of Westminster is not, as might be supposed, that surrounding the Abbey and the Houses of Parliament, but consists of the parishes of St. Anne's, Soho, &c., to the east of Regent Street.

Table of Sections and Classes. STRAND.

Section.		Description.	Very Poor. A. Lowest Class.	Very Poor. B. Casual Earnings.	Poor. C. Irregular Earnings.	Poor. D. Regular Minimum.	Comfortable. E. Ordinary Standard Earnings.	Comfortable. F. Highly Paid Work.	Well-to-do. G. Lower Middle.	Well-to-do. H. Upper Middle.	Total.	Percentage.
Labour	1	Lowest class, loafers, &c.	256	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	256	0·9
,,	2	Casual day-to-day labour	—	1,920	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,920	6·7
,,	3	Irregular labour	—	41	451	—	—	—	—	—	492	1·7
,,	4	Regular work—low pay	—	41	7	340	8	—	—	—	396	1·4
,,	5	,, ordinary pay	—	8	7	63	1,439	25	—	—	1,542	5·4
,,	6	Foremen and responsible work	—	—	—	—	—	327	—	—	327	1·1
Artisans	7	Building trades	—	74	126	24	283	184	—	—	691	2·4
,,	8	Furniture, woodwork, &c.	—	41	49	24	105	42	—	—	261	0·9
,,	9	Machinery and metals	—	58	7	32	251	193	—	—	541	1·9
,,	10	Sundry artisans	—	63	118	55	340	218	—	—	814	2·8
,,	11	Dress	—	63	203	82	275	117	—	—	710	2·5
,,	12	Food preparation	—	25	—	—	24	92	—	—	141	0·5
Locomotion	13	Railway servants	—	—	—	—	8	—	—	—	8	—
,,	14	Road service	—	16	7	8	64	126	—	—	221	0·8
Assistants	15	Shops and refreshment houses	—	41	21	71	275	193	9	—	610	2·1
Other wages	16	Police, soldiers and sub-officials	—	—	7	—	235	193	—	—	435	1·5
,,	17	Seamen	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
,,	18	Other wage earners	—	25	35	—	227	100	—	—	387	1·3
Manufacturers, &c.	19	Home industries (not employing)	—	—	7	—	72	142	—	—	221	0·8
,,	20	Small employers	—	—	—	—	32	193	51	—	276	1·0
,,	21	Large ,,	—	—	—	—	—	8	26	—	34	0·1
Dealers	22	Street sellers, &c.	9	198	91	16	16	—	—	—	330	1·1
,,	23	General dealers	—	8	7	—	40	33	—	—	88	0·3
,,	24	Small shops	9	—	—	8	202	302	43	—	564	2·0
,,	25	Large ,, (employing assistants)	—	—	—	—	8	218	180	—	406	1·4
Refreshments	26	Coffee and boarding houses	—	—	—	—	—	109	85	—	194	0·7
,,	27	Licensed Houses	—	—	—	—	8	8	103	—	119	0·4
Salaried, &c.	28	Clerks and agents	—	8	28	8	88	418	137	—	687	2·4
,,	29	Subordinate professional	—	—	—	—	8	59	60	—	127	0·4
,,	30	Professional	—	—	—	—	8	50	50	9	117	0·4
No work	31	Ill and no occupation	—	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	—
,,	32	Independent	—	—	—	—	8	8	—	—	16	0·1
Females	33	Semi-domestic employment	—	514	35	62	121	—	—	—	732	2·6
,,	34	Dress	—	16	—	8	40	—	—	—	64	0·2
,,	35	Small trades	—	58	28	—	16	—	—	—	102	0·4
,,	36	Employing and professional	—	—	—	—	8	42	9	—	59	0·2
,,	37	Supported	—	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	—
,,	38	Independent	—	—	—	—	48	—	—	—	48	0·2
,,	39	Other adult women	18	215	80	49	634	223	381	165	1,765	6·2
Unscheduled	40	Population of unscheduled houses	—	—	—	—	5,371	—	5,065	2,535	12,971	45·2
			292	3,489	1,314	800	10,262	3,623	6,199	2,709	28,688	100·0
		Per cent.	1·0	12·2	4·6	2·8	35·8	12·6	21·6	9·4	—	100·0
		Inmates of institutions	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,312	—

TOTAL POPULATION..... 30,000

Section.		Description.	Very Poor. A. Lowest Class.	Very Poor. B. Casual Earnings.	Poor. C. Irregular Earnings	Poor. D. Regular Minimum.	Comfortable. E. Ordinary Standard Earnings.	Comfortable. F. Highly Paid Work.	Well-to-do. G. Lower Middle.	Well-to-do. H. Upper Middle.	Total.	Percentage.
Labour	1	Lowest class, loafers, &c.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
,,	2	Casual day-to-day labour	—	1,362	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,362	3·4
,,	3	Irregular labour	—	81	167	—	—	—	—	—	248	0·6
,,	4	Regular work, low pay	—	123	19	460	—	—	—	—	605	1·5
,,	5	,, ,, ordinary pay	—	—	10	105	1,212	—	—	—	1,327	3·3
,,	6	Foremen and responsible work	—	—	—	—	10	272	—	—	282	0·7
Artisans	7	Building trades	—	243	235	77	590	178	10	—	1,333	3·3
,,	8	Furniture, woodwork, &c.	—	117	88	19	464	115	—	—	803	2·0
,,	9	Machinery and metals	—	90	78	10	276	126	—	—	580	1·4
,,	10	Sundry artisans	—	117	68	29	790	345	31	—	1,380	3·4
,,	11	Dress	9	882	2,392	706	5,104	366	—	—	9,459	23·7
,,	12	Food preparation	—	—	29	—	118	10	—	—	157	0·4
Locomotion	13	Railway servants	—	—	—	10	20	10	—	—	40	0·1
,,	14	Road service	—	36	49	29	99	178	—	—	391	1·0
Assistants	15	Shops and refreshment houses	—	63	137	77	737	167	—	—	1,181	3·0
Other wages	16	Police, soldiers, and sub-officials	—	—	10	10	865	548	10	—	1,443	3·6
,,	17	Seamen	—	—	—	—	—	10	—	—	10	—
,,	18	Other wage earners	—	103	215	—	1,182	188	—	—	1,693	4·2
Manufacturers, &c.	19	Home industries (not employing)	—	144	98	38	148	230	10	—	668	1·7
,,	20	Small employers	—	9	—	—	10	429	63	—	511	1·3
,,	21	Large employers	—	—	—	—	—	—	21	—	21	0·1
Dealers	22	Street sellers, &c.	—	108	29	10	40	10	—	—	197	0·5
,,	23	General dealers	—	9	10	—	49	10	10	—	88	0·2
,,	24	Small shops	—	18	39	96	266	505	21	—	945	2·4
,,	25	Large shops (employing assistants)	—	—	—	—	30	272	138	—	440	1·1
Refreshments	26	Coffee and boarding houses	—	—	—	—	49	136	21	—	206	0·5
,,	27	Licensed houses	—	—	—	—	—	42	198	—	240	0·6
Salaried, &c.	28	Clerks and agents	—	—	20	29	109	439	42	—	639	1·6
,,	29	Subordinate professional	—	9	20	—	20	126	84	—	259	0·6
,,	30	Professional	—	—	—	—	10	10	10	—	30	0·1
No work	31	Ill and no occupation	—	9	—	—	—	—	10	—	19	0·1
,,	32	Independent	—	—	—	—	10	—	10	—	20	0·1
Females	33	Semi-domestic employment	—	891	29	96	118	10	—	—	1,144	2·9
,,	34	Dress	9	477	88	86	39	10	—	—	709	1·8
,,	35	Small trades	—	144	20	19	30	21	—	—	234	0·6
,,	36	Employing and professional	—	9	10	29	39	52	—	—	139	0·3
,,	37	Supported	—	9	—	19	20	—	—	—	48	0·1
,,	38	Independent	—	—	—	10	30	10	—	—	50	0·1
,,	39	Other adult women	2	622	474	241	1,979	592	419	45	4,374	10·9
Unscheduled	40	Population of unscheduled houses	—	—	—	—	3,685	—	2,728	362	6,725	16·8
			20	5,683	4,334	2,205	18,028	5,417	3,836	407	40,000	100·0
		Per cent.	—	14·2	10·8	5·5	45·3	13·6	9·6	1·0	—	100·0
		Inmates of institutions	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,000	
											TOTAL POPULATION	42,000

Table of Sections and Classes. St. Giles's.

Section.		Description.	Very Poor. A. Lowest Class.	Very Poor. B. Casual Earnings.	Poor. C. Irregular Earnings.	Poor. D. Regular Minimum.	Comfortable. E. Ordinary Standard Earnings.	Comfortable. F. Highly Paid Work.	Well-to-do. G. Lower Middle.	Well-to-do. H. Upper Middle.	Total.	Percentage
Labour	1	Lowest class, loafers, &c.	1,172	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,172	3·0
,,	2	Casual day-to-day labour	—	2,000	—	17	9	—	—	—	2,026	5·2
,,	3	Irregular labour	—	23	641	—	—	—	—	—	664	1·7
,,	4	Regular work, low pay	—	147	—	1,190	—	—	—	—	1,337	3·4
,,	5	,, ordinary pay	—	—	—	210	4,240	—	—	—	4,450	11·3
,,	6	Foremen and responsible work	—	—	—	—	9	1,142	—	—	1,151	2·9
Artisans	7	Building trades	8	124	81	50	550	460	—	—	1,273	3·2
,,	8	Furniture, woodwork, &c.	—	54	41	50	445	177	—	—	737	2·0
,,	9	Machinery and metals	—	54	41	50	385	310	—	—	840	2·1
,,	10	Sundry artisans	16	163	119	25	565	585	—	—	1,473	3·8
,,	11	Dress	—	78	81	42	450	283	—	—	934	2·4
,,	12	Food preparation	—	—	—	17	111	62	—	—	190	0·5
Locomotion	13	Railway servants	—	—	—	—	9	—	—	—	9	—
,,	14	Road service	—	15	20	34	187	979	—	—	1,235	3·2
Assistants	15	Shops and refreshment houses	—	62	13	59	480	195	—	—	809	2·1
Other wages	16	Police, soldiers, and sub-officials	—	—	—	50	530	230	—	—	810	2·1
,,	17	Seamen	—	—	—	—	9	—	—	—	9	—
,,	18	Other wage earners	—	8	13	25	240	230	—	—	516	1·3
Manufacturers, &c.	19	Home industries (not employing)	—	54	47	17	69	407	9	—	603	1·5
,,	20	Small employers	—	—	—	8	9	572	105	—	694	1·8
,,	21	Large ,,	—	—	—	—	—	—	35	—	35	0·1
Dealers	22	Street sellers, &c.	8	147	54	67	230	62	—	—	568	1·4
,,	23	General dealers	8	—	8	17	26	106	9	—	174	0·4
,,	24	Small shops	—	—	33	42	189	383	17	—	664	1·7
,,	25	Large ,, (employing assistants)	—	—	—	—	9	301	182	—	492	1·3
Refreshments	26	Coffee and boarding houses	—	—	8	—	9	230	—	—	247	0·6
,,	27	Licensed houses	—	—	—	—	—	35	156	12	203	0·5
Salaried, &c.	28	Clerks and agents	—	8	33	—	120	664	70	—	895	2·3
,,	29	Subordinate professional	—	—	—	—	9	35	61	—	105	0·3
,,	30	Professional	—	—	—	—	—	9	17	13	39	0·1
No work	31	Ill and no occupation	—	31	—	—	—	—	—	—	31	0·1
,,	32	Independent	—	—	—	—	—	27	17	6	50	0·1
Females	33	Semi-domestic employment	—	1,102	33	125	130	27	9	—	1,426	3·6
,,	34	Dress	16	147	20	50	51	9	—	—	293	0·7
,,	35	Small trade	8	279	26	84	103	27	—	—	527	1·3
,,	36	Employing and professional	—	8	8	—	17	53	—	—	86	0·2
,,	37	Supported	16	62	—	34	42	—	—	—	154	0·4
,,	38	Independent	—	—	—	17	42	9	—	—	68	0·2
,,	39	Other adult women	101	369	106	183	950	611	413	182	2,915	7·5
Unscheduled	40	Population of unscheduled houses	—	—	—	—	2,593	—	4,463	2,240	9,296	23·7
			1,353	4,935	1,426	2,463	12,817	8,220	5,563	2,453	39,230	100·0
		Per cent.	3·4	12·6	3·7	6·3	32·7	20·9	14·2	6·2	—	100·0
		Inmates of institutions	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,770	—
											Total Population	41,000

Table of Sections and Classes. CENTRAL LONDON.

Section.		Description.	Very Poor. A. Lowest Class.	Very Poor. B. Casual Earnings.	Poor. C. Irregular Earnings.	Poor. D. Regular Minimum.	Comfortable. E. Ordinary Standard Earnings.	Comfortable. F. Highly Paid Work.	Well-to-do. G. Lower Middle.	Well-to-do. H. Upper Middle	Total.	Percentage.
Labour	1	Lowest class, loafers, &c.	1,428	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,428	1·3
,,	2	Casual day-to-day labour	—	5,282	—	17	9	—	—	—	5,308	4·9
,,	3	Irregular labour	—	145	1,259	—	—	—	—	—	1,404	1·3
,,	4	Regular work—low pay	—	314	26	1,990	8	—	—	—	2,338	2·2
,,	5	,, ordinary pay	—	8	17	378	6,891	25	—	—	7,319	6·8
,,	6	Foremen and responsible work	—	—	—	—	19	1,741	—	—	1,760	1·6
Artisans	7	Building trades	8	441	442	151	1,423	822	10	—	3,297	3·1
,,	8	Furniture, woodwork, &c.	—	212	178	93	1,014	334	—	—	1,831	1·7
,,	9	Machinery and metals	—	202	126	92	912	629	—	—	1,961	1·8
,,	10	Sundry artisans	16	363	305	109	1,695	1,148	31	—	3,667	3·4
,,	11	Dress	9	1,043	2,676	780	5,829	766	—	—	11,103	10·3
,,	12	Food preparation	—	25	29	17	253	164	—	—	488	0·4
Locomotion	13	Railway servants	—	—	—	10	37	10	—	—	57	0·1
,,	14	Road service	—	67	76	71	350	1,283	—	—	1,847	1·7
Assistants	15	Shops and refreshment houses	—	166	171	207	1,492	555	9	—	2,600	2·4
Other wages	16	Police, soldiers, and sub-officials	—	—	17	60	1,630	971	10	—	2,688	2·5
,,	17	Seamen	—	—	—	—	9	10	—	—	19	—
,,	18	Other wage earners	—	141	263	25	1,649	518	—	—	2,596	2·4
Manufacturers, &c.	19	Home industries (not employing)	—	198	152	55	289	779	19	—	1,492	1·4
,,	20	Small employers	—	9	—	8	51	1,194	219	—	1,481	1·4
,,	21	Large ,,	—	—	—	—	—	8	82	—	90	0·1
Dealers	22	Street sellers, &c.	17	453	174	93	286	72	—	—	1,095	1·0
,,	23	General dealers	8	17	25	17	115	149	19	—	350	0·3
,,	24	Small shops	9	18	72	146	657	1,190	81	—	2,173	2·0
,,	25	Large ,, (employing assistants)	—	—	—	—	47	791	500	—	1,338	1·2
Refreshments	26	Coffee and boarding houses	—	—	8	—	58	475	106	—	647	0·6
,,	27	Licensed houses	—	—	—	—	8	85	457	12	562	0·5
Salaried, &c.	28	Clerks and agents	—	16	81	37	317	1,521	249	—	2,221	2·0
,,	29	Subordinate professional	—	9	20	—	37	220	205	—	491	0·4
,,	30	Professional	—	—	—	—	18	69	77	22	186	0·2
No work	31	Ill or no occupation	—	48	—	—	—	—	10	—	58	0·1
,,	32	Independent	—	—	—	—	18	35	27	6	86	0·1
Females	33	Semi-domestic employment	—	2,507	97	283	369	37	9	—	3,302	3·1
,,	34	Dress	25	640	108	144	130	19	—	—	1,066	1·0
,,	35	Small trades	8	481	74	103	149	48	—	—	863	0·8
,,	36	Employing and professional	—	17	18	29	64	147	9	—	284	0·3
,,	37	Supported	16	79	—	53	62	—	—	—	210	0·2
,,	38	Independent	—	—	—	27	120	19	—	—	166	0·1
,,	39	Other adult women	121	1,206	660	473	3,563	1,426	1,213	392	9,054	8·4
Unscheduled	40	Population of unscheduled houses	—	—	—	—	11,599	—	12,256	5,137	28,992	26·9
			1,665	14,107	7,074	5,468	41,177	17,260	15,598	5,569	107,918	100·0
		Per cent.	1·5	13·1	6·5	5·2	38·1	16·0	14·4	5·2	—	
		Inmates of institutions	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5,082	100·0
											TOTAL POPULATION	113,000

proportion of other artisans (10 per cent.), and more than its proportion of shop assistants and other wage earners and an average number of small shopkeepers and those on a similar footing, and of clerks and large employers. The other side of the account lies altogether in the labour section, which here accounts for less than 10 per cent, in place of 16 per cent, and 25 per cent, in the Strand and St. Giles's. Speaking generally, it may be said that the tailors and bootmakers of Soho are in St. Giles's replaced by labourers of various grades, and that what deficiency there is in shop assistants and other wage-earners, not labourers, is made up by the lowest class, the occupants chiefly of common lodging-houses, which in St. Giles's accounts for 3 per cent, of the population. The district of the Strand leads the way in casual (market) labour, but is otherwise at every point below the level of the rest, except as to coffee-house keepers, of whom it has a slight excess. All deficiencies are made up by the great proportion of the inhabitants living in houses above the limit scheduled by the School Board, and occupied by upper-class people and their servants. These houses include the great hotels and clubs. These deductions perhaps contain nothing new, but the figures on the opposite page show the facts very clearly.

We may in the same way compare the whole or any portion of Central London with the whole or any portion of East London, and to these comparisons may be added that with Battersea, for which district also we have full particulars given in the cable at the end of Chapter II in Part I I I from the information collected by Mr. Balfour.

It will be seen from the table on p. 313 that "Labour" reaches its maximum proportion in Poplar, where it accounts for no less than 32 per cent., while the Whitechapel district follows closely after with 30 per cent., and Hackney stands lowert with only 11 per cent. On the other hand, for artisans Shoreditch is *facile princeps*

I.—Central London. *Table of Sections by percentages.*

		Strand.	St. Anne's, Soho, &c.	St. Giles.	Total, Central London.
1. Lowest class		0·9	—	3·0	1·3
2. Casual labour	Labour.	6·7	3·4	5·2	4·9
3. Irregular labour		1·7	0·6	1·7	1·3
4. Regular work, low pay		1·4	1·5	3·4	2·2
5. " " ordinary pay		5·4	3·3	11·3	6·8
6. Foremen, &c.		1·1	0·7	2·9	1·6
7. Building trades	Artisans.	2·4	3·3	3·2	3·1
8. Furniture, woodwork, &c.		0·9	2·0	2·0	1·7
9. Machinery and metals		1·9	1·4	2·1	1·8
10. Sundry		2·8	3·4	3·8	3·4
11. Dress		2·5	23·7	2·4	10·3
12. Food preparation		0·5	0·4	0·5	0·4
13. Railway	Sundry wage earners.	—	0·1	—	0·1
14. Roads		0·8	1·0	3·2	1·7
15. Shop assistants		2·1	—	2·1	2·4
16. Sub-officials		1·5	3·0	2·1	2·5
17. Seamen		—	3·6	—	—
18. Other wage earners		1·3	4·2	1·3	2·4
19. Home industries	Small profit earners.	0·8	1·7	1·5	1·4
20. Small employers		1·0	1·3	1·8	1·4
22. Street sellers		1·1	0·5	1·4	1·0
23. General dealers		0·3	0·2	0·4	0·3
24. Small shops		2·0	2·4	1·7	2·0
26. Coffee houses		0·7	0·5	0·6	0·6
21. Large employers	Large profit earners.	0·1	0·1	0·1	0·1
25. Large shops		1·4	1·1	1·8	1·2
27. Licensed houses		0·4	0·6	0·5	0·5
28. Clerks, &c.		2·4	1·6	2·3	2·0
29. Sub-professional		0·4	0·6	0·3	0·4
30. Professional		0·4	0·1	0·1	0·2
31. Ill or no occupation		—	0·1	0·1	0·1
32. Independent		0·1	0·1	0·1	0·1
33. Semi-domestic	Female heads of families.	2·6	2·9	3·6	3·1
34. Dress		0·2	1·8	0·7	1·0
35. Trades		0·4	0·6	1·3	0·8
36. Employing and professional		0·2	0·3	0·2	0·3
37. Supported		—	0·1	0·4	0·2
38. Independent		0·2	0·1	0·2	0·1
39. Other adult women		6·2	10·9	7·5	8·4
40. Unscheduled houses		45·2	16·8	23·7	26·9
Total population		28,688=100·0	40,000=100·0	39,230=100·0	107,918=100·0

with no less than 35 per cent., not counting dress and food preparation, in which Whitechapel stands first. Bethnal Green follows Shoreditch with 30 per cent, of regular artisans, and Poplar stands third with 26 per cent. Taking dress and food preparation together with the other forms of skilled work, Shoreditch still leads, having 45 per cent, of her population dependent on this work, as against 42 per cent, for Bethnal Green, and 30 per cent, for Poplar. The truly industrial character of East London cannot be better shown than by these figures. Of small profit earners, that is, small employers, small shopkeepers, street sellers, and general dealers, and also of large employers, dealers, and retailers, Bethnal Green and Whitechapel have most. Of unscheduled houses we count none in the districts described, except in Central Loudon and Hackney, saving that Battersea has a small proportion. Battersea is chiefly remarkable for combining a full proportion of artisans with an equally full proportion of ordinary labour, and the largest percentage of "sundry" wage-earners. Of clerks, also, Battersea shows more than any district except Hackney.

In the employments of women, so far as they can be tested by particulars which relate only to heads of families, it will be noticed that Central London and Battersea have far the most of the semi-domestic. These are principally washerwomen. Central London washes its dirty linen at home. Battersea undertakes this duty for a large part of the West End.

The tables which follow illustrate the building up of the poorer classes from the various employments, and are of considerable interest, although not so complete or detailed as I could wish.

II.—Comparison of east London with Central London and Battersea. *Table of Sections by percentages.*

		Central London.	Shoreditch.	Bethnal Green.	Whitechapel, St. George's E., Stepney.	Mile End.	Poplar.	Hackney.	Battersea.
1. Lowest class		1·3	0·7	0·9	1·9	0·6	0·9	0·7	0·1
2. Casual labour		4·9	2·7	4·3	7·7	2·9	7·7	1·7	1·4
3. Irregular labour		1·3	2·1	2·2	3 5	2·2	2·7	1·4	6·8
4. Regular work, low pay	Labour.	16 8 2·2	16 0 4·1	18 7 3·9	30 4 4 4	22·7 2·8	32 1 8·0	11·2 2·8	20·9 7·1
5. " " ordinary pay		6·8	6·5	7·2	12·0	12·4	9·9	4·4	4·2
6. Foremen, &c.		1 6	0·6	0·6	2·8	2·4	3·8	0·9	1.4
7. Building trades		3·1	6·9	4·4	2 8	5·6	7·5	7·2	13·0
8. Furniture, woodwork, &c.		1·7	13·2	14·6	8·6	5·2	6·1	4·2	3·3
9. Machinery and metals	Artisans.	10·0 1·8	35·4 4·5	20·8 2·9	18·3 3·0	19·7 3·6	20·1 8·5	19·1 1·8	25·1 4·7
10. Sundry		3·4	11 0	7·9	3·9	5 8	4·0	5·9	4·1
11. Dress		10 7 10·3	9·5 7·9	11·0 #·9	14 7 10·2	9·7 5·3	8 8 2·3	5·6 4·6	2·7 1·2
12. Food preparation		0·4	1·6	2 0	4·5	4·4	1·5	1·0	1·5
13. Railway		0·1	0·6	1·0	0·6	0·8	2·3	1·0	5·2
14. Roads		1·7	1·2	0·7	0·7	1·7	0 8	1·7	1·4
15. Shop assistants	Sundry wage earners.	2·4	2·8	2·5	1·6	3·6	1·8	2·8	2 9
16. Sub-officials	2·1	2·5	9 7 1·2	7·3 1 1	6·6 1·4	10 8 1·9	11·3 1·8	8·7 1·2	13·9 1·3
17. Seamen		—	0·1	0·1	1·5	1·3	3·4	0·1	—
18. Other wage earners		2·4	3·8	1·9	0·8	1·5	1·2	1·9	3·1
19. Home industries		1·4	2·9	3·9	1·7	1·8	1·0	2·3	1·4
20. Small employers		1·4	2·6	3·1	3·5	3·1	1·3	2·4	1·1
22. Street sellers	Small profit earners.	1·0	1·5	3·2	2·5	1·2	0·8	1·0	0·8
23. General dealers	6·7	0·5	10·1 0·7	14·2 0·9	14·0 2·0	11·5 2·3	6·7 0·5	8·2 0·5	5·7 0·4
24. Small shops		2·0	2 1	2·8	3·7	2·9	2·8	1·8	1·9
26. Coffee houses		0 6	0 8	0·3	0·6	0·2	0·3	0·2	0·1
21. Large employers	Large profit earners.	0·1	0·1	0·3	0·4	0·5	0·2	0·2	0·2
25. Large shops	1·8	1·2	2·4 1·8	3·1 2·1	3 5 1·9	3·8 2·3	2·3 1·4	1·8 1·3	2·9 2·8
27. Licensed houses		0·5	0·5	0·7	1·2	1·0	0·7	0·3	0·4
28. Clerks, &c.		2 0	2·7	1·8	2·3	5·3	4·1	8·7	7·5
29. Sub-professional	2·4	0 4	8·1 0·4	2 2 0 4	8·1 0·8	6·7 1·4	5·8 1·7	9·8 1·1	8·8 1·3
30. Professional		0·2	0·3	0·4	0·3	0 5	0·7	0·7	0·3
31. Ill and no occupation		0·1	0·2	0·3	0·4	0·3	0·4	0·2	0·3
32. Independent		0·1	0·1	0·1	0·1	0·4	0·8	0·3	0·5
33. Semi-domestic		3·1	1·8	1·8	1·7	1·7	1·8	1·6	3·4
34. Dress		1·0	1·0	0·8	0·9	1·2	0·6	0·6	0·4
35. Trades	Female heads of families.	0·8	1·0	1·0	0·7	0·5	0·6	0·3	0·2
36. Employing and professional	5·5	0·3	4·3 0·1	4·1 0·1	3·9 0·1	4·3 0·2	3·7 0·1	3·2 0·1	5·0 0·3
37. Supported		0·2	0·3	0·3	0·4	0·4	0·4	0·3	0·4
38. Independent		0·1	0·1	0·1	0·1	0·3	0·2	0·3	0·3
39. Other adult women		8·4	8·2	7 0	7·8	0·0	5·9	8·6	8·6
40 Unscheduled houses		26·9	—	—	—	—	—	21·9	5·2
100·0			100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0

Note.—Battersea section 17 has been put with section 18.

Formation of Class B Compared.

		Cent. London.		Shoreditch.		Bethnal Green.		Whitechapel, St. George's E., Stepney.		Mile End.		Poplar.		Hackney.		Battersea.	
		Nos.	per cent.	Nos.	per cent.	Nos.	per cent.	Nos.	per cent.	Nos.	per cent.	Nos.	per cent.	Nos.	per cent.	Nos.	per cent.
Labour.	Casual, 2	5282	37·5	3182	27·9	5680	27·9	13,711	58·2	3113	41·4	12,475	58·1	3146	20·0	2128	27·5
	Irregular, 3	145	1·0	504	4·4	638	3·1	752	3·2	575	7·6	1130	5·3	942	6·0	—	—
	Regular, 4 and 5	322	2·3	70	0·6	231	1·1	326	1·4	99	1·3	322	1·5	448	2·9	—	—
Artisans.	Building, &c., 7 and 8	653	4·6	1696	14·9	3542	17·3	646	2·7	638	8·5	1827	8·5	2487	15·9	448	5·8
	Machinery, &c., 9 and 10	565	4·0	778	6·8	1438	7·0	468	2·0	254	3·4	693	3·2	873	5·5	158	2·0
	Dress and food, 11 and 12	1068	7·6	946	8·3	2190	10·7	1938	8·2	157	2·1	449	2·1	1414	9·0	70	0·9
Other wage earners. 13-18, 28 and 29		399	2·8	386	3·4	395	1·9	479	2·0	308	4·1	632	3·0	1040	6·6	183	2·4
Home Industries, 19-20		207	1·5	258	2·3	687	3·4	134	0·6	117	1·6	153	0·7	524	3·3	185	2·4
Street sellers, &c., 22-24 and 27		488	3·5	330	2·9	1748	8·6	747	3·2	298	3·9	260	1·2	649	4·2	228	3·0
Ill and no occupation, 31		48	0·3	211	1·8	284	1·4	493	2·1	208	2·8	520	2·4	328	2·1	106	1·4
Widows and their families, 33-8		3724	26·4	2112	18·5	2172	10·7	2070	8·8	1079	14·3	1738	8·1	2125	13·5	3531	45·6
Unmarried women, 39		1206	8·5	940	8·2	1400	6·9	1789	7·6	675	9·0	1261	5·9	1734	11·0	700	9·0
		14,107	100·0	11,413	100·0	20,405	100·0	23,553	100·0	7521	100·0	21,460	100·0	15,710	100·0	7787	100·0

Formation of Classes C and D Compared.

		Cent. London.		Shoreditch.		Bethnal Green.		Whitechapel, St. George's E., Stepney.		Mile End.		Poplar.		Hackney.		Battersea.	
		Nos.	per cent.	Nos.	per cent.	Nos.	per cent.	Nos.	per cent.	Nos.	per cent.	Nos.	per cent.	Nos.	per cent.	Nos.	per cent.
Labour.	Casual, 2	17	0·1	182	0·4	180	0·5	369	0·8	100	0·5	400	1·1	17	0·1	—	—
	Irregular, 3	1259	10·0	2061	5·7	2050	5·9	5182	10·8	1623	7·9	2823	7·5	1536	5·9	10,415	24·4
	Regular, 4 and 5	2411	19·2	5844	16·2	5566	15·9	11,348	23·6	5595	27·3	15,741	42·0	5322	20·6	10,891	25·6
Artisans.	Building and furniture, 7 and 8	864	6·9	8003	22·2	7954	22·7	2626	5·4	2320	11·3	5472	14·6	4323	16·7	5541	13·0
	Machinery, Printing and Sundry, 9 and 10	632	5·0	4679	12·9	3466	9·9	2689	5·5	1263	6·2	3125	8·4	2028	7·8	1159	2·7
	Dress and food, 11 and 12	3502	27·9	4511	12·5	5491	15·7	10,305	21·4	2091	10·2	1620	4·3	2919	11·2	703	1·6
Other wage earners, 13-18, 28 and 29		1038	8·3	3024	8·4	1991	5·7	2934	6·1	1823	8·8	2238	5·9	2944	11·4	4725	11·1
Home Industries, 19-20		215	1·7	1128	3·1	1317	3·7	1226	2·5	444	2·2	480	1·3	894	3·5	721	1·7
Street sellers, &c., 22-4, 26 and 27		535	4·3	1421	3·9	2499	7·2	4235	8·8	1330	6·5	1171	3·1	1245	4·8	1562	3·7
Ill and no occupation, 31		—	—	71	0·2	43	0·1	207	0·4	71	0·3	183	0·5	86	0·3	316	0·7
Widows and their families, 33-38		936	7·5	2240	6·2	2043	5·8	3271	6·8	1993	9·7	2038	5·4	1740	6·7	2752	6·4
Unmarried women, 39		1133	9·1	2972	8·3	2421	6·9	3763	7·9	1859	9·1	2219	5·9	2852	11·0	3874	9·1
		12,542	100·0	36,086	100·0	35,021	100·0	48,105	100·0	20,512	100·0	37,510	100·0	25,900	100·0	42,639	100·0

NOTE.—Section 31 (Ill and no occupation) in *Battersea*, includes 79 people of section 32 (Independent), who are given in class D in Mr. Balfour's return.

With regard to the formation of Class B, it is of interest to see upon what trades chiefly the very poor depend in the various districts.

In Battersea widows and their families account for no less than 45 per cent, of the whole of the class. Their employments are nearly all semi-domestic—washing, charing, or needle-work. In Central London they account for 26 per cent., and tailoring must be added to the list of employments. In Shoreditch 18 per cent, of the very poor are connected with female heads of families, but elsewhere the proportion is much smaller. With male heads of families, casual labour naturally accounts for the largest proportion, and here our information fails to tell us in what manner the labour is employed. Wo may partly guess by the locality: in Whitechapel, St. George's, and Stepney, casual labour accounts for 58 per cent, of the very poor. This is principally dock and waterside labour. For Poplar the same figure holds good, and the same source of employment. Among the very poor of Mile End there are 41 per cent, of casual labourers—again waterside people chiefly—but also connected with gasworks to some extent. Central London follows with 37 per cent, of casuals amongst its poor, many of them working at the market. The building and allied trades (including furniture and woodwork) stand for 15 per cent, in Shoreditch, 17 per cent, in Bethnal Green, and 16 per cent, in Hackney, being much more than elsewhere. Dress and food preparation stands at 10 or 11 per cent, in Bethnal Green, and street-sellers to 8 or 9 per cent, in the same quarter, balancing thus the large proportion connected with casal labour elsewhere.

As to the formation of classes C and D, our poor who are not very poor, we see from the second table that in Poplar regular but poorly paid labour amounts to 42 per cent., in Mile End to 27 percent., and in Battersea to nearly 26 per cent. Labour irregularly **employed stands here for**

24 per cent., making 50 per cent, in all, a proportion just equal to that for Poplar taking regular and irregular labour together. In Shoreditch and Bethnal Green the poorer people are largely employed in furniture and other artisan work; while in Central London, and again in the Whitechapel district, dress and food preparation take the lead among the employments of the poor. Those who can assimilate such indigestible morsels will find the characteristics of each district very well pourtrayed in these and the preceding tables.

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