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*The INHABITANTS of TOWER HAMLETS (SCHOOL BOARD DIVISION),  
their CONDITION and OCCUPATIONS. By CHARLES BOOTH, Esq.*

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*I.—Object and Method of the Inquiry.*

I HAVE the honour of laying before the Royal Statistical Society the first results of a proposed inquiry into the condition and occupations of the people of London. The facts and figures which follow apply to the district included in the Tower Hamlets School Board Division, and have been mostly obtained from the thirty-four visitors employed by the School Board; to whom, and to the Superintendent, I wish to express my sincere thanks for the courtesy they have shown me, and the unwearying pains with which they have lent themselves to my purpose. I have also to thank the Board itself for the kind permission to make this use of the information in the hands of their visitors.

The general plan of the inquiry, as applying to the whole of London, is to divide the entire population by districts and by groups of trades, each answering to a similar division in the census; and then to deal with each district by a local inquiry, and with each group of trades by a trade inquiry. The principal object of the district inquiry would be to show the conditions under which the people live, but it would also give their employments; the principal object of the trade inquiry would be to show the conditions under which the people work, but it would indirectly deal with their manner of life. The double method would provide a check upon the results of each, and much light be thrown upon the one inquiry by the other.

This very large scheme is more than any man could hope to accomplish by himself; but this is not called for, as much of it is

already being done piecemeal, and only needs putting together; and I shall hope to show that very valuable results are within our reach.

The results which might be obtained for the whole of London will be considered more fully at the end of this paper; the present inquiry has been undertaken in order to give a specimen (though, I know, a very imperfect specimen) of a single local inquiry.

In obtaining my information I have preferred to avoid personal investigation, and have rather made it my object to put together that which could be had from those whose life is spent amongst the people they describe. Whilst I have endeavoured to draw information from as many sources as possible, and in this way may hope to have avoided any bias or error of a persistent type, in point of completeness I have fallen far short of what I had hoped for. I feel sure that the required information exists in undeniable shape and has only to be brought together; and I trust that this fuller information may be called out by the publication of the present imperfect paper.

I have had no foregone conclusions, and it is rather to the method here employed, than to the results yet shown, that I pin my faith.

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 also 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. Most of the visitors have been working in the same district for several years, and thus have 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 appears to be their duty to make themselves acquainted with new comers into their districts. Thus their work keeps them in continual and natural relations with all classes of the people. 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 I have taken the information to be had from the School Board visitors as the framework of the picture I wish to give of the life and labour of the people.

As to the details of my sketch, beyond such as may be generally visible, or gradually become known to the visitors in the course of their work, it has been their duty to make special and careful inquiries into all cases in which there is any question of the remission of school fees—a duty which enables them to

obtain exceptionally good information on questions of employment and earnings, especially as regards the poorer classes.

The population brought directly under schedule, viz., heads of families, and the school children coming under the ken of the School Board visitors, with the proportion of wives and other children, all partly or wholly dependent on these heads of families, and sharing their life, consists of from half to two-thirds of the whole population. The rest have been scheduled by other means, or in proportion, as will be shown later on.

## II.—*Table of Sections and Classes.*

In the table that immediately follows, the whole population of Tower Hamlets, over 450,000 people, is divided into about forty sections, according to the character of the employment of the heads of families; a re-division is then made by apportioning the people in each section among eight classes, according to means and position.

This double method has been forced upon me by the fact that 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.

It will be seen that the two classifications converge on the six divisions of ordinary labour, these divisions having been made to match the first six classes.

The grouping of the sections into classes was facilitated by noting the proportion of *poor* and *very poor* in each section.

By the word "poor" I mean to describe those who have a fairly regular though bare income, such as 18s. to 21s. per week for a moderate family, and by "very poor" those who fall below this standard, whether from chronic irregularity of work, sickness, or a large number of young children. I do not here introduce any moral question: whatever the cause, those whose means prove to be barely sufficient, or quite insufficient, for decent independent life, are counted as "poor" or "very poor" respectively; and as it is not always possible to ascertain the exact income, the classification is also based on the general appearance of the home. Cases of large earnings spent in drink are intended to be excluded, as not properly belonging to the poor, but the results of ordinary habits of extravagance in drink in inducing poverty are not considered any more than those of other forms of want of thrift.

These definitions connect themselves closely with the sections of labour: Nos. 1 and 2 being all considered "very poor;" No. 4 representing exactly the definition of "poor;" while No. 3 (irregular labour) contains both poor and very poor; and No. 5 is almost

entirely above the line of poverty. This will be seen more clearly when I describe the sections.

### III.—*Description of the Eight Classes.*

A. *The Lowest Class*—Consists of some (so-called) labourers, loafers, semi-criminals, a proportion of the street sellers, street performers, and others. To these ought to be added the homeless outcasts of the streets, and also those among the population who conceal criminal pursuits under a nominal trade. It is, of course, impossible to enumerate the latter, and the former may be supposed to slip, to some extent, through the most careful census; they are those who take shelter where they can, and my figures, which work up to the census total, may not fully provide for them. It is also difficult to draw the line between Sections No. 1 and No. 2, and although the figures given are based, in addition to the information obtained from the School Board visitors, on a careful analysis of the inmates of lodging houses and of the occupants of the lowest kinds of streets, it is very possible that either section contain some who more properly belong to the other.

The indoor paupers, and other inmates of institutions, are not included in my schedules. The semi-pauper class, who are in and out of the house, are to be found in Class B. The total counted in Class A are 6,882 or  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the population.

B. *Casual Earnings*—Is based upon Section 2, but draws also from many other sections in which the very poor are found.

These people, *as a class*, are shiftless, hand-to-mouth, pleasure loving, and always poor; to work when they like and play when they like is their ideal. Many circumstances constrain men to this life, or prevent them from leaving it when once adopted; but the life has its attractions in spite of its hardships.

While there is also much enforced idleness amongst artisans, and amongst the irregularly employed labourers of Section No. 3, it is these men of strictly casual earnings who are essentially the "leisure class" amongst the poor—leisure bounded very closely by the pressure of want. They cannot stand the regularity and dulness of civilised 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, more among the women than the men, I am told; 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. Class B counts, according to my schedules, to the very large total of 51,860, or over 11 per cent. of the whole people of the district.

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

Section.	Description.	Heads of Families.	More or less Dependent			Un- married Men over 20.	Total.	Per- centage
			Wives.	Children —15.	Young Persons, 15—20.			
<i>Married Men.</i>								
Labour .... 1	Lowest class, loafers, &c. ....	1,470	1,455	497	893	1,517	5,832	1'28
2	Casual day-to-day labour....	6,190	6,124	11,400	2,746	3,652	30,112	6'59
3	Irregular labour .....	2,729	2,706	5,183	1,264	1,205	13,087	2'86
4	Regular work, low pay.....	4,961	4,900	9,144	2,169	2,075	23,249	5'09
5	"    ordinary pay .....	10,612	10,523	20,512	5,043	4,639	51,329	11'24
6	Foremen and responsible work .....	2,889	2,864	5,705	1,354	1,220	14,032	3'07
Artisans 7	Building trades.....	4,871	4,818	9,775	2,319	2,008	23,791	5'21
8	Furniture, wood work, &c. ....	4,501	4,456	9,193	2,211	1,901	22,262	4'87
9	Machinery and metals ....	4,855	4,796	9,634	2,266	1,984	23,535	5'15
10	Sundry artisans .....	4,028	3,990	7,757	1,905	1,761	19,441	4'26
11	Dress .....	5,753	5,687	11,265	2,962	2,860	28,527	6'24
12	Food preparation .....	3,123	3,103	6,190	1,593	1,467	15,476	3'39
Locomo- 13	Railway service.....	1,176	1,159	2,360	555	483	5,733	1'26
tion 14	Road service .....	957	951	1,885	464	414	4,671	1'02
Assistants 15	Shops and refreshment houses .....	2,017	2,000	3,861	944	862	9,684	2'12
Other 16	Police, soldiers, and sub-officials .....	1,519	1,504	2,992	730	654	7,399	1'62
wages 17	Seamen .....	2,288	2,261	3,901	917	938	10,305	2'25
18	Other wage earners .....	1,111	1,100	1,720	419	461	4,811	1'05
Manufac- 19	Home industries, not employing .....	1,290	1,280	2,611	656	577	6,414	1'41
ture, &c. 20	Small employers .....	2,147	2,128	4,849	1,254	1,017	11,395	2'49
21	Large " .....	353	351	698	176	163	1,741	0'38
Dealers... 22	Street sellers, &c. ....	1,354	1,339	2,695	700	817	6,905	1'51
23	General dealers.....	1,452	1,442	2,946	773	700	7,313	1'60
24	Small shops .....	3,164	3,133	5,677	1,415	1,421	14,810	3'24
25	Large shops, employing } assistants .....	1,772	1,758	3,575	894	798	8,797	1'93
Refresh- 26	Coffee and boarding houses .....	437	429	809	201	203	2,079	0'46
ment 27	Licensed houses .....	902	895	1,618	403	412	4,230	0'93
Salaried, 28	Clerks and agents .....	3,519	3,485	6,773	1,639	1,474	16,890	3'70
&c. 29	Subordinate professional ...	1,213	1,200	2,386	575	503	5,877	1'29
30	Professional .....	491	487	1,001	242	206	2,427	0'53
No work 31	Ill and no occupation .....	373	368	714	178	169	1,802	0'39
32	Independent .....	278	276	388	92	115	1,149	0'25
Total of	male heads of families .....	(83,795)						
<i>Females.</i>								
33	Semi-domestic employment .....	2,733	—	4,308	1,058	—	8,099	1'77
34	Dress .....	1,364	—	2,147	536	—	4,047	0'88
35	Small trades .....	875	—	1,461	363	—	2,699	0'59
36	Employing and professional .....	178	—	301	74	—	553	0'12
37	Supported .....	607	—	914	228	—	1,749	0'38
38	Independent .....	337	—	460	114	—	911	0'20
Total of	female heads of families ....	(6,094)						
39	Other adult women .....	—	—	—	—	—	33,714	7'38
	Total population .....	89,889	82,968	169,305	42,325	38,676	456,877	— 100'00

*Note.*—The figures in this, and in all other tables in this paper,

*and Classes.*

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

Section.	A. Lowest Class.	B. Casual and Very Poor.	C. Irregular Poor.	D. Regular Minimum.	E. Regular Ordinary.	F. Highly Paid Labour.	G. Lower Middle.	H. Upper Middle.	Total.
1	5,832	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5,832
2	—	30,112	—	—	—	—	—	—	30,112
3	—	2,686	9,030	—	1,371	—	—	—	13,087
4	—	—	—	23,249	—	—	—	—	23,249
5	—	296	—	9,432	41,601	—	—	—	51,329
6	—	—	—	—	—	14,032	—	—	14,032
7	—	1,730	1,921	3,506	15,014	1,620	—	—	23,791
8	—	1,486	1,423	3,404	14,419	1,530	—	—	22,262
9	—	811	1,088	2,425	17,077	2,134	—	—	23,535
10	—	644	1,636	1,635	9,095	6,431	—	—	19,441
11	—	1,856	3,911	6,394	14,490	1,876	—	—	28,527
12	—	401	554	2,296	12,225	—	—	—	15,476
13	—	84	—	238	2,674	2,737	—	—	5,733
14	—	25	—	1,261	3,195	—	—	—	4,671
15	—	249	—	840	8,595	—	—	—	9,684
16	—	197	—	630	6,572	—	—	—	7,399
17	—	277	791	—	9,237	—	—	—	10,305
18	—	124	195	197	3,799	496	—	—	4,811
19	—	424	1,578	—	4,412	—	—	—	6,414
20	—	—	—	317	2,121	5,704	2,724	529	11,395
21	—	—	—	—	—	—	871	870	1,741
22	522	524	2,356	741	2,762	—	—	—	6,905
23	—	186	1,238	—	4,980	—	909	—	7,313
24	—	112	76	1,098	7,850	4,068	1,606	—	14,810
25	—	—	—	—	—	895	4,398	3,504	8,797
26	—	—	—	17	221	699	1,142	—	2,079
27	—	—	—	5	103	643	2,298	1,181	4,230
28	—	162	407	1,283	6,478	5,320	2,522	718	16,890
29	—	—	—	—	—	—	5,877	—	5,877
30	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,427	2,427
31	—	716	931	155	—	—	—	—	1,802
32	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,149	—	1,149
33	—	2,825	3,814	—	1,460	—	—	—	8,099
34	—	1,095	—	2,109	843	—	—	—	4,047
35	—	680	523	526	970	—	—	—	2,699
36	—	—	—	—	—	—	553	—	553
37	—	240	—	346	1,163	—	—	—	1,749
38	—	—	—	—	—	—	911	—	911
39	528	3,728	2,464	5,116	15,298	3,831	2,005	744	33,714
Total	6,882	51,860	33,936	67,220	208,025	52,016	26,965	9,973	456,877
Per cent.	1·51	11·35	7·43	14·71	45·53	11·39	5·90	2·18	100·00

are only to be taken as approximately correct. [See Appendix.]

C. *Intermittent Earnings*.—This is a pitiable class, consisting largely of struggling, suffering, helpless people. They 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; but it is very necessary to insist (as the Charity Organisation Society untiringly does) on some evidence of thrift as a precondition or consequence of assistance, otherwise what is given will assuredly increase the evil it attempts to relieve. Class C counts up to 33,936 or  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the population.

D. *Small Regular Earnings*.—Together with the whole of Section 4 are here counted the “poor” out of Section 5, most of the home industries, and a contingent from the poorer artisans, small shops, &c. No class deserves greater sympathy than this one; its members live hard lives very patiently, and are schooled by their lot in the virtues on which their existence depends. The hope of improved condition for each individual of this class lies only in their children, who, as they grow up and begin to earn money, make life easier for the parents. For the class as a whole the probability of improvement is very remote, consisting chiefly in statistical assurances, which are probably true, that poverty stricken as their life still is, its conditions have greatly altered for the better within the memory of man, and are still improving. If Class C is the proper field for systematic charity, so Class D would seem to be that for friendly help of a private kind, at those times of pressure which must occur in every poor man’s life. State aided technical education would be of very great value for the children of this class. Class D numbers 67,220, or nearly 15 per cent. of the population.

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 shopkeepers, 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, consisting of 208,025, or  $45\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. The proportion which this class bears to the whole population remains nearly constant in the five sub-districts; the poverty of a district shows itself in the proportion below it as compared to the proportion above. It may be noted that Classes D and E together form in Tower Hamlets the actual middle class, 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 the whole class 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 recognised 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 class 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 does this body of men 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.

F. *Higher Class Labour*.—Foremen and responsible men from Section 6 of labour, a well-to-do and contented body of men, with whom are here counted the highest class of artisans in regular work, as being similarly situated socially and financially. There is, however, a great difference between the two: 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.

G. *Lower Middle Class*.—Shopkeepers and small employers, clerks, &c., and the lower professional class. A hard working, sober, energetic class, which I need not fully describe here. They no doubt will be comparatively more numerous in other districts of London.

H. *The Upper Middle Class*.—All above the lower middle class are here lumped together, and may be shortly defined as the "servant keeping" class. There are not many of these in the east of London; elsewhere they would need some sub-division to show gradations of wealth or differences of status.

It is to be remembered that the dividing lines between all these classes are indistinct; each class 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. I am ready to suppose, and even inclined to believe, that in each there may be as many grades of social rank as I know exist in Class H.

#### IV.—*Description of the Population by Sections.*

LABOUR.—The principal difficulty in the classification by character of employment lies in the first six sections, or divisions, of labour, which correspond with the first six classes just described.



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 from 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. 3, 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.

The general features of the first six sections have been already given in describing the corresponding classes.

*Section No. 1*—the lowest, corresponding with Class A. These are hardly to be called wage earners. They consist of casual labourers of low character, together with those who pick up a living without labour, and include the criminal or semi-criminal classes. Comparatively few of these are scheduled at all for the School Board, there being little regular family life among them, and the numbers given in my table are obtained by adding in an estimated number from the inmates of common lodging houses, and from the lowest class of streets.

The life of these people, and this applies to the whole counted under Class A, is really a savage life, 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 3*d.* 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. These are 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 and create no wealth: they oftener destroy it. They degrade whatever they touch, and as individuals are almost 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 hereditary to a very considerable extent. The children of this class are the street arabs, and are principally to be found separated from the parents in pauper or industrial schools, 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.

No. 1 section is recruited with adult men from every other section; all of these have been in some way "unfortunate," and most, if not all, have lost their characters. Women too drop down, with the men sometimes, more often from the streets. A considerable number of discharged soldiers are, I regret to say, to be found in Sections 1 and 2.

It is said that Section No. 1 are more possible as emigrants than Section No. 2, being more able to "help themselves"—our colonies may perhaps think this a doubtful recommendation. I believe, however, that some success has been made with the emigration of young men as well as with that of children from this section.

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.

*Section No. 2* 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 the Tower Hamlets the casual labourer finds his work usually at the docks, the London and St. Katherine's, the East and West India, the Millwall, and to some extent at the Victoria and Tilbury Docks, as will be seen when I describe the dock system; nor is there any other important field, for although a large number of men, in the aggregate, look for work from day to day at the wharves and canals and along the river side generally, 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.

At any rate, I find no important field for what is here meant by casual labour except the docks.

The total number of those scheduled in this section is 9,842 adult men for the whole of Tower Hamlets, or 7·7 per cent. of the whole number of adult men. How these numbers compare with the amount of employment to be had at the docks, I have discussed further on. The numbers are not very large, considering the very great public concern which has been aroused on this subject; 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 casuals here counted do not get so much as three days' work a week on the average; but how many could, or would, work *more* than half time if they could get it, is an open question as to which I have heard different opinions.

The better women of this class, those who do not drink, mostly do some work, and perhaps work more steadily than the men; but their work is of the lowest kind, such as sack making, and work done for others almost as poor as themselves, wretchedly paid; if they can earn the rent they do very well.

The boys as soon as they leave school pick up something, working for the city sewers, selling newspapers, and doing odd jobs. If they do not bring in enough they are likely to be turned adrift to fend for themselves, and are apt then to sink into Section No. 1. On the other hand, the more industrious no doubt rise into Sections 3, 4, or 5. Section No. 2 is not one in which men are born

and live and die, so much as a deposit of those who, from mental, moral, or physical reasons, are incapable of better 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. a copy.

*Section No. 3.*—Irregular employment. A little higher in the social scale than No. 2, this section consists of men who are usually on by the job, and who are in or out of work according to the season or the nature of their employment. Some will vary from one or two days to a full week (as stevedores and many sorts of porters), whilst others (as labourers in the building trades) may get eight or nine months' work in the year, but none of them get regular work all the year. They are, all round, men who if in regular work would be counted in Section 5, and it is therefore of particular interest to compare their numbers with those of the latter class, and to note that the proportion of those 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 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 organisation. 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 trades 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. It is, I fear, possible that this rule may pass over much silent want, or even distress.

Besides those whose living depends on the handling of merchandise, we have 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 are more likely to fit in some small trade: selling roast potatoes perhaps in winter if their work is in summer, or the wife will keep a small shop to the business of which a man can turn his attention when his own trade is slack. These are the exceptions, and such men would probably pass into Section 5.

These 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  $\frac{1}{2}d.$  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 his friendship does not practically pay, for more is spent than is saved.

There will be many of the irregularly employed who 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 organisation; 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 Tower Hamlets, where I make the numbers 3,934 adult men, or a total, including dependents or semi-dependents, of 13,087 or nearly 3 per cent. of the population.

In this class the women usually work or seek for work when the men have none; they do charring, 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, though belonging socially to this class, are separately counted here in Sections 33 to 35.

Many fall out of Section 5 into Section 3 through ill health, and it is chiefly in such cases, and where there are many young children, that extreme poverty is felt; a man and his wife can get along, improvident or not, doing on very little when work fails; and the children as soon as they leave school, if they live at home, readily keep themselves, and sometimes do even more; the pressure and the imprudence of family life is felt in the years when the elder children are still at school, and the younger ones are still a care to the mother at home.

As to poverty, we find both poor and very poor in this section, as well as some above the line of poverty; but on the average they must be counted as "poor," under our definition of those whose means are barely sufficient for decent independent life.

*Section No. 4.*—Regular work at minimum wage. In this 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 in this section 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

21s. 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 class 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 struggle 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.

The comfort of their homes depends, even more than in other classes, on a good wife. Thrift of the "make-the-most-of-every-thing" 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.

In this class 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 boys go as van boys, errand boys, &c., and the girls into daily service, or into factories, or help the mother with whatever she has in hand.

The total numbers scheduled are 7,036 adult males, or a total of 23,249 people, or 5 per cent. of the population.

*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 class can, and do, lead independent manly 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 Tower Hamlets will not be less true elsewhere in London.

As here counted there are 15,251 adult men of this class, or a total of 51,329 including wives, children, and young people, or over 11 per cent. of the population.

*Section No. 6.*—The line between 5 and 6 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 remain in No. 5; those in section No. 6 earn certainly more than 30s., and up to 45s. 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 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.



ARTISANS.—I have divided the skilled workmen into six groups; their earnings and manner of life would be better considered for the whole of London, and I do not deal with this subject at length now.

*Section 7*—Building trades.—These show the signs of the depression of trade. The poor and very poor between them are 28·5 per cent. of their numbers. The unskilled labourers employed in building operations are of course not counted amongst the artisans.

*Section 8*—Furniture and woodwork.—This is a mixed section, containing highly skilled and highly paid men, as well as those employed on very common ill paid work. It is said that bad times or modern ideas tell against the high class work, that men accustomed to it are not capable of the speed at which the common work has to be done; and that the pay for the inferior work is cut down by the competition of foreign immigrants or by cheap importations.

Together with furniture, &c., are here 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 23 per cent., and of very poor 7 per cent. in this section.

*Sections 9 and 10* call for no particular remark in connection with the Tower Hamlets district.

*Section 11*—Dress.—This section consists mainly of tailors and shoemakers, or those connected with these trades. These industries deserve a very full description, and in some aspects are closely connected with the district I am reviewing, but I have not sufficient information at present; as with the furniture trade, we find in this section all varieties of work and remuneration, and in this trade more than any other, the competition of indigent foreigners working very long hours is felt. In this section the percentage of poor is 39 per cent., and of very poor 6½ per cent.

*Section 12*—Food production.—Slaughtermen, journeymen 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, who rightly belong to Section 5 of labour. 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. Cigar making is passing to women, the sugar business has been extremely slack, and fish curing, though prosperous, is an industry of the poor. These employments nearly all suffer more or less from cheap immigrant labour. The percentage of poor is 18 per cent., and of very poor  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

*Sections 13 and 14* (Railway and road service) and *Section 15* (assistants in refreshment houses and shops) need no remark.

*Section 16*, subordinate officials, includes police, firemen, custom house officers, and soldiers.

*Section 17*—Seamen.—The numbers here given include absent married men who have homes here.

*Section 18*—Other wage earners.—These are farriers, drovers, gardeners, gas and water works service, &c.

At this point we pass 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, and the difference is a marked one. 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, as much as the poorest flower girl, or the commonest street acrobat must please his public to earn anything. The distinction is no question of wealth; with the artisans, as with ordinary labour, we have seen under one denomination very varied conditions of life; and in considering the profit earners also, we shall again begin with those who are very poor.

First come those whose profit is made from MANUFACTURE, who form the link between the operatives and the dealers, insomuch as, while the dealers supply, and must please the public, the makers work to satisfy the dealers.

*Section 19*—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 of 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 25 per cent., and the very poor  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

*Section 20*—Small employers, employing from 1 to 10 work-people 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. I shall describe the sweating system later.

*Section 21* are the large employers.

DEALERS.—Passing now to those who deal direct with the public, we begin at the lowest point with:—

*Sections 22 and 23*—the street trades—consist of three main divisions: street performers, street sellers, and general dealers, and each of these contribute to the lowest class.

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 our lowest class, and hardly a full proportion of them come naturally into the schedules. I have therefore added to their number a proportion from the common lodging houses.

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. They live from hand to mouth, and go “hopping,” or to Margate sands, as the case may be, for change of air.

The remainder of Sections 22 and 23 are pretty well to do, certainly above the line of poverty, and are included in Class E. They are, 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, and deserves a more complete description than can be given here; certain parts of Whitechapel, including the neighbourhood of Petticoat Lane (now called Middlesex Street), serve as a market for outlying districts even beyond the area of the Tower Hamlets. 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 shop keeper, whose stock is contained in a stall, or 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.

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 such a combination successful. The poor in Section 22 are 44 per cent., the very poor  $15\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.; for Section 23 they are 17 and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. respectively.

*Section 24.*—Small shops, or those where no assistants are employed, are 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.

As the result of a careful examination of the streets, 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. We may reasonably assume 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.

*Sections 25, 26, and 27*—Large shops, refreshment houses and public houses—require no special comment here.

We have now completed those who live by dealing.

*Sections 28 to 30*—the salaried and professional classes—call for no particular remark. The clerks contribute to every class, from B to H, and have been apportioned as the result of a special analysis. Casual dock clerks get no better pay than casual labour, 5*d.* per hour when at work, and can be had in numbers at that price for either short or long hours.

*Section 31* embraces chronic cases of illness and those who claim no occupation, and yet are not of independent means; the latter are not out of work cases, as to which the present tables provide no direct information. All in this section are supported in some other way than by their own work, mostly by the work of wives or children. Those with independent means appear under *Section 32*.

*Sections 33 to 38* contain the female heads of families, being

self-supporting women with families. The proportion of poor and very poor is extremely large here.

*Section 39* contains all other adult women, and these are here divided into classes in proportion to the rest of the population. I write more fully of these women later on.

The numbers of the inmates of institutions, hospitals, work-houses, &c., are needed to complete the population by census, as is shown in the appendix.

The total population is adduced from the 1881 census, by comparing the school children counted at that time with those found now, the change in the numbers of the whole population being supposed to be in proportion to that of these children.

*Table of Sections and*

NOTE.—The figures in these tables must

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

Section.	Description.	Heads of Families.	More or less Dependent.			Un- married Men over 20.	Total.	Per- centage.
			Wives.	Children —15.	Young Persons, 15—20.			
<i>Married Men.</i>								
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	973	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	236	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, wood work, &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- 13	Railway service .....	107	106	173	49	63	498	0'68
tion 14	Road service .....	127	126	253	73	75	654	0'90
Assistants 15	Shops and refreshment houses	226	223	427	124	132	1,132	1'54
Other 16	Police, soldiers, and sub-officials	215	212	429	124	126	1,106	1'51
wages 17	Seamen .....	27	26	48	14	15	130	0'18
18	Other wage earners .....	76	75	145	42	44	382	0'52
Manufac- 19	Home industries, not employing	238	236	474	139	140	1,227	1'66
ture, &c. 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- 26	Coffee and boarding houses	99	94	189	54	57	493	0'67
ment 27	Licensed houses .....	156	154	265	76	91	742	1'02
Salaried, 28	Clerks and agents.....	266	262	514	149	155	1,346	1'84
&c. 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)						
<i>Females.</i>								
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 population .....	13,369	12,376	25,186	7,612	8,776	73,518	100'00

*Classes.* WHITECHAPEL.

only be taken as approximately correct.

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

Section.	A. Lowest Class.	B. Casual and Very Poor.	C. Irregular Poor.	D. Regular Minimum.	E. Regular Ordinary.	F. Highly Paid Labour.	G. Lower Middle.	H. Upper Middle.	Total.
1	2,098	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,098
2	—	3,029	—	—	—	—	—	—	3,029
3	—	192	1,184	—	86	—	—	—	1,462
4	—	—	—	1,907	—	—	—	—	1,907
5	—	—	—	1,079	5,264	—	—	—	6,343
6	—	—	—	—	—	611	—	—	611
7	—	53	146	265	809	53	—	—	1,326
8	—	139	139	315	1,195	65	—	—	1,853
9	—	—	63	108	638	90	—	—	899
10	—	106	389	388	1,438	714	—	—	3,035
11	—	942	2,430	3,206	6,348	480	—	—	13,406
12	—	92	—	1,016	3,753	—	—	—	4,861
13	—	17	—	67	364	50	—	—	498
14	—	21	—	232	401	—	—	—	654
15	—	44	—	168	920	—	—	—	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	—	—	—	—	—	—	224	225	449
22	174	174	741	741	1,026	—	—	—	2,856
23	—	75	552	—	2,121	—	236	—	2,984
24	—	16	24	305	1,564	922	301	—	3,132
25	—	—	—	—	—	895	896	—	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	—	—	—	—	—	—	437	—	437
30	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	182	182
31	—	132	155	155	—	—	—	—	442
32	—	—	—	—	—	—	47	—	47
33	—	339	545	—	224	—	—	—	1,108
34	—	102	—	307	65	—	—	—	474
35	—	96	123	124	141	—	—	—	484
36	—	—	—	—	—	—	80	—	80
37	—	48	—	150	128	—	—	—	326
38	—	—	—	—	—	—	69	—	69
39	215	574	568	1,235	2,576	638	320	73	6,199
Total	2,487	6,333	7,525	12,157	32,501	7,560	4,087	868	73,518
Per cent.	3·38	8·62	10·20	16·57	44·21	10·35	5·49	1·18	100·00



*Table of Sections and Classes.*

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

Section.	Description.	Heads of Families.	More or less Dependent.			Un- married Men over 20.	Total.	Per- centage.
			Wives.	Children —15.	Young Persons, 15—20.			
<i>Married Men.</i>								
Labour .... 1	Lowest class, loafers, &c.....	221	220	93	96	103	733	1'64
2	Casual day-to-day labour....	882	876	1,486	366	629	4,239	9'50
3	Irregular labour .....	560	560	988	242	267	2,617	5'88
4	Regular work, low pay.....	403	403	733	181	192	1,912	4'30
5	"    ordinary pay .....	1,187	1,180	2,141	526	554	5,588	12'54
6	Foremen and responsible work .....	299	300	546	135	142	1,422	3'19
Artisans 7	Building trades .....	267	267	482	119	126	1,261	2'83
8	Furniture, wood work, &c. ....	266	265	481	119	126	1,257	2'82
9	Machinery and metals .....	192	192	349	86	91	910	2'04
10	Sundry artisans .....	362	360	653	160	170	1,705	3'83
11	Dress .....	980	970	1,765	436	462	4,613	10'34
12	Food preparation .....	441	440	803	197	208	2,039	4'68
Locomo- 13	Railway service.....	51	50	92	23	24	240	0'54
tion 14	Road service .....	82	82	150	37	39	390	0'88
Assistants 15	Shops and refreshment houses .....	138	136	248	61	65	648	1'45
Other 16	Police, soldiers, and sub-officials .....	28	28	51	12	13	132	0'30
wages 17	Seamen .....	268	267	490	120	126	1,271	2'86
18	Other wage earners .....	84	83	150	37	39	393	0'88
Manufac- 19	Home industries, not employing .....	106	105	194	48	50	503	1'13
ture, &c. 20	Small employers .....	162	162	234	58	77	693	1'55
21	Large " .....	32	31	43	10	15	131	0'30
Dealers... 22	Street sellers, &c. ....	113	110	218	54	52	547	1'23
23	General dealers.....	120	121	202	50	58	551	1'20
24	Small shops .....	453	449	822	201	213	2,138	4'80
25	Large shops, employing } assistants .....	180	180	244	60	85	749	1'68
Refresh- 26	Coffee and boarding houses .....	81	80	119	29	38	347	0'78
ment 27	Licensed houses .....	130	129	164	41	67	531	1'18
Salaried, 28	Clerks and agents.....	160	158	292	73	75	758	1'71
&c. 29	Subordinate professional....	40	39	79	19	18	195	0'44
30	Professional .....	21	21	29	7	10	88	0'20
No work 31	Ill and no occupation .....	30	30	52	13	14	139	0'31
32	Independent .....	24	24	31	8	11	98	0'22
Total of	male heads of families.....	(8,363)						
<i>Females.</i>								
33	Semi-domestic employment .....	341	—	701	173	—	1,215	2'72
34	Dress .....	181	—	386	95	—	662	1'49
35	Small trades .....	111	—	237	58	—	406	0'91
36	Employing and professional .....	24	—	37	9	—	70	0'16
37	Supported .....	36	—	57	14	—	107	0'24
38	Independent .....	8	—	11	4	—	23	0'05
Total of	female heads of families ....	(701)						
39	Other adult women .....	—	—	—	—	—	3,211	7'20
Total population .....		9,064	8,318	15,853	3,977	4,159	44,582	100'00

## ST. GEORGE'S-IN-THE-EAST.

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

Section.	A. Lowest Class.	B. Casual and Very Poor.	C. Irregular Poor.	D. Regular Minimum.	E. Regular Ordinary.	F. Highly Paid Labour.	G. Lower Middle.	H. Upper Middle.	Total.
1	733	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	733
2	—	4,239	—	—	—	—	—	—	4,239
3	—	411	1,964	—	242	—	—	—	2,617
4	—	—	—	1,912	—	—	—	—	1,912
5	—	28	—	1,129	4,431	—	—	—	5,588
6	—	—	—	—	—	1,422	—	—	1,422
7	—	76	88	189	795	113	—	—	1,261
8	—	63	50	175	881	88	—	—	1,257
9	—	45	27	100	665	73	—	—	910
10	—	63	191	190	752	509	—	—	1,705
11	—	369	784	1,107	2,168	185	—	—	4,613
12	—	40	—	436	1,613	—	—	—	2,089
13	—	6	—	25	154	55	—	—	240
14	—	24	—	123	243	—	—	—	390
15	—	22	—	86	540	—	—	—	648
16	—	4	—	18	110	—	—	—	132
17	—	42	168	—	1,061	—	—	—	1,271
18	—	13	26	27	262	65	—	—	393
19	—	30	132	—	341	—	—	—	503
20	—	—	—	12	106	403	138	34	693
21	—	—	—	—	—	—	66	65	131
22	43	43	244	—	217	—	—	—	547
23	—	15	110	—	384	—	42	—	551
24	—	10	11	171	963	641	342	—	2,138
25	—	—	—	—	—	—	374	375	749
26	—	—	—	—	45	83	219	—	347
27	—	—	—	—	11	74	297	149	531
28	—	10	15	68	303	218	106	38	758
29	—	—	—	—	—	—	195	—	195
30	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	88	88
31	—	62	77	—	—	—	—	—	139
32	—	—	—	—	—	—	98	—	98
33	—	434	596	—	185	—	—	—	1,215
34	—	163	—	384	115	—	—	—	662
35	—	95	90	89	132	—	—	—	406
36	—	—	—	—	—	—	70	—	70
37	—	18	—	29	60	—	—	—	107
38	—	—	—	—	—	—	23	—	23
39	60	491	355	486	1,303	305	153	58	3,211
Total ....	836	6,816	4,928	6,756	18,082	4,234	2,123	807	44,582
Per cent.	1·88	15·29	11·05	15·15	40·56	9·50	4·76	1·81	100·00

*Table of Sections and*

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

Section.	Description.	Heads of Families.	More or less Dependent.			Un- married Men over 20.	Total.	Per- centage.
			Wives.	Children —15.	Young Persons, 15—20.			
<i>Married Men.</i>								
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	1,043	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
Locomo- 13	Railway service.....	67	67	125	32	32	323	0'52
tion 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 16	Police, soldiers, and sub-officials	224	224	422	108	106	1,084	1'74
wages 17	Seamen .....	375	375	628	161	178	1,717	2'77
18	Other wage earners .....	97	97	163	42	46	445	0'72
Manufac- 19	Home industries, not employing	196	196	404	104	94	994	1'60
ture, &c. 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
Refresh- 26	Coffee and boarding houses	90	90	158	40	43	421	0'68
ment 27	Licensed houses .....	174	174	283	73	82	786	1'26
Salaried, 28	Clerks and agents .....	450	450	803	206	213	2,122	3'42
&c. 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						
<i>Females.</i>								
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	13	—	19	5	—	37	0'06
37	Supported .....	101	—	146	37	—	284	0'46
38	Independent .....	35	—	74	19	—	128	0'21
Total of	female heads of families ....	822						
39	Other adult women .....	—	—	—	—	—	4,628	7'46
Total population .....		12,206	11,384	22,495	5,828	5,522	62,063	100'00

*Classes. STEPNEY.*

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

Section.	A. Lowest Class.	B. Casual and Very Poor.	C. Irregular Poor.	D. Regular Minimum.	E. Regular Ordinary.	F. Highly Paid Labour.	G. Lower Middle.	H. Upper Middle.	Total.
1	752	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	752
2	—	6,756	—	—	—	—	—	—	6,756
3	—	378	1,436	—	258	—	—	—	2,072
4	—	—	—	2,928	—	—	—	—	2,928
5	—	83	—	2,154	6,927	—	—	—	9,164
6	—	—	—	—	—	3,046	—	—	3,046
7	—	182	129	364	1,611	312	—	—	2,598
8	—	167	134	468	2,272	300	—	—	3,341
9	—	183	73	477	2,642	293	—	—	3,668
10	—	75	195	195	1,021	716	—	—	2,202
11	—	136	15	160	367	120	—	—	798
12	—	63	—	290	851	—	—	—	1,204
13	—	4	—	17	125	177	—	—	323
14	—	35	—	116	260	—	—	—	411
15	—	23	—	109	800	—	—	—	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	—	—	—	—	—	—	120	120	240
22	79	79	336	—	387	—	—	—	881
23	—	24	89	—	193	—	49	—	355
24	—	—	14	87	788	627	226	—	1,742
25	—	—	—	—	—	—	671	671	1,342
26	—	—	—	—	42	126	253	—	421
27	—	—	—	—	15	86	481	204	786
28	—	21	—	191	891	554	338	127	2,122
29	—	—	—	—	—	—	835	—	835
30	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	408	408
31	—	78	99	—	—	—	—	—	177
32	—	—	—	—	—	—	129	—	129
33	—	396	472	—	99	—	—	—	967
34	—	153	—	286	116	—	—	—	555
35	—	97	67	68	132	—	—	—	364
36	—	—	—	—	—	—	37	—	37
37	—	57	—	36	191	—	—	—	284
38	—	—	—	—	—	—	128	—	128
39	67	737	274	675	1,895	562	287	131	4,628
Total ....	898	9,879	3,781	8,946	25,417	7,535	3,848	1,759	62,063
Per cent.	1'45	15'92	5'94	14'57	40'95	12'14	6'20	2'83	100'00

*Table of Sections and Classes.*

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

Section.	Description.	Heads of Families.	More or less Dependent.			Un- married Men over 20.	Total.	Per- centage.
			Wives.	Children —15.	Young Persons, 15—20.			
<i>Married Men.</i>								
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- 13	Railway service .....	188	188	370	94	76	916	0·83
tion 14	Road service .....	378	378	759	186	153	1,854	1·68
Assistants 15	Shops and refreshment houses .....	831	831	1,565	386	336	3,949	3·58
Other 16	Police, soldiers, and sub-officials .....	441	441	806	200	180	2,068	1·87
wages 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- 19	Home industries, not employing .....	396	396	812	202	160	1,966	1·78
ture, &c. 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- 26	Coffee and boarding houses .....	46	46	109	26	19	246	0·22
ment 27	Licensed houses .....	223	223	384	96	90	1,016	0·93
Salaried, 28	Clerks and agents.....	1,232	1,232	2,334	580	500	5,878	5·33
&c. 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	136	34	41	413	0·37
Total of	male heads of families ....	(20,024)						
<i>Females.</i>								
33	Semi-domestic employment .....	651	—	986	244	—	1,881	1·71
34	Dress .....	484	—	705	178	—	1,367	1·24
35	Small trades .....	184	—	263	66	—	513	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 .....	—	—	—	—	—	9,892	8·97
Total population .....		21,650	20,024	40,439	10,117	8,199	110,321	100·00

## MILE END OLD TOWN.

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

Section.	A. Lowest Class.	B. Casual and Very Poor.	C. Irregular Poor.	D. Regular Minimum.	E. Regular Ordinary.	F. Highly Paid Labour.	G. Lower Middle.	H. Upper Middle.	Total.
1	716	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	716
2	—	3,213	—	—	—	—	—	—	3,213
3	—	575	1,623	—	200	—	—	—	2,398
4	—	—	—	3,132	—	—	—	—	3,132
5	—	54	—	2,508	11,144	—	—	—	13,706
6	—	—	—	—	—	2,636	—	—	2,636
7	—	369	492	738	4,245	308	—	—	6,152
8	—	287	344	746	3,960	402	—	—	5,739
9	—	118	142	288	2,848	553	—	—	3,949
10	—	154	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	—	380	1,412	—	—	—	1,854
15	—	76	—	331	3,542	—	—	—	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	—	—	—	—	—	—	257	257	514
22	123	124	582	—	518	—	—	—	1,347
23	—	46	312	—	1,755	—	451	—	2,564
24	—	32	—	126	2,390	480	169	—	3,197
25	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,267	1,268	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	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,597	—	1,597
30	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	611	611
31	—	171	126	—	—	—	—	—	297
32	—	—	—	—	—	—	413	—	413
33	—	572	1,024	—	285	—	—	—	1,881
34	—	371	—	693	303	—	—	—	1,367
35	—	104	76	77	256	—	—	—	513
36	—	—	—	—	—	—	196	—	196
37	—	42	—	83	291	—	—	—	416
38	—	—	5	—	—	—	293	—	293
39	83	666	637	1,170	5,160	1,181	715	280	9,892
Total ....	922	7,448	6,946	13,004	57,718	13,216	7,945	3,122	110,321
Per cent.	0.83	6.75	6.30	11.79	52.32	11.98	7.20	2.83	100.00

*Table of Sections and*

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

Section.	Description.	Heads of Families.	More or less Dependent.			Un- married Men over 20.	Total.	Per- centage.
			Wives.	Children —15.	Young Persons, 15—20.			
<i>Married Men.</i>								
Labour....	1 Lowest class, loafers, &c.....	433	425	89	254	332	1,533	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.....	2,847	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	9'93
	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	4,335	966	762	10,072	6'06
	9 Machinery and metals .....	2,908	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
Locomo- tion	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	16 Police, soldiers, and sub-officials .....	611	599	1,284	286	229	3,009	1'81
wages	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
Manufac- ture, &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
Refresh- ment	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 .....	(31,474)						
<i>Females.</i>								
	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	65,332	14,791	12,020	166,393	100'00

*Classes. POPLAR.*

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

Section.	A. Lowest Class.	B. Casual and Very Poor.	C. Irregular Poor.	D. Regular Minimum.	E. Regular Ordinary.	F. Highly Paid Labour.	G. Lower Middle.	H. Upper Middle.	Total.
1	1,533	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,533
2	—	12,875	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,875
3	—	1,130	2,823	—	585	—	—	—	4,538
4	—	—	—	13,370	—	—	—	—	13,370
5	—	131	—	2,562	13,835	—	—	—	16,528
6	—	—	—	—	—	6,817	—	—	6,317
7	—	1,050	1,066	1,950	7,554	834	—	—	12,454
8	—	830	756	1,700	6,111	675	—	—	10,072
9	—	465	783	1,452	10,284	1,125	—	—	14,109
10	—	246	445	445	3,284	2,189	—	—	6,609
11	—	350	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	—	410	879	—	—	—	1,362
15	—	84	—	146	2,793	—	—	—	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	—	—	—	—	—	—	204	203	407
22	103	104	453	—	614	—	—	—	1,274
23	—	26	175	—	527	—	131	—	859
24	—	54	27	409	2,145	1,398	568	—	4,601
25	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,190	1,190	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	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,813	—	2,813
30	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,138	1,138
31	—	273	474	—	—	—	—	—	747
32	—	—	—	—	—	—	462	—	462
33	—	1,084	1,177	—	667	—	—	—	2,928
34	—	306	—	439	244	—	—	—	989
35	—	288	167	168	309	—	—	—	932
36	—	—	—	—	—	—	170	—	170
37	—	75	—	48	493	—	—	—	616
38	—	—	—	—	—	—	398	—	398
39	103	1,260	630	1,550	4,364	1,145	530	202	9,784
Total....	1,739	21,384	10,756	26,357	74,307	19,471	8,962	3,417	166,393
Per cent.	1'03	12'84	6'45	15'81	44'69	11'76	5'38	2'04	100'00



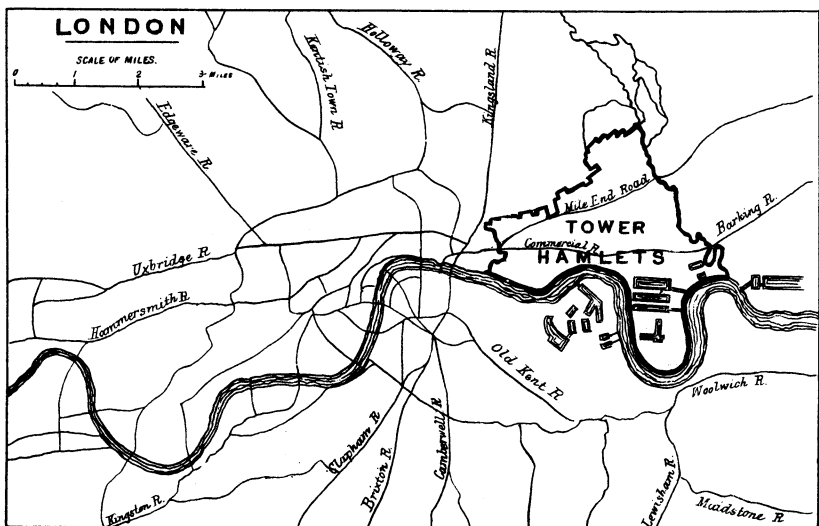
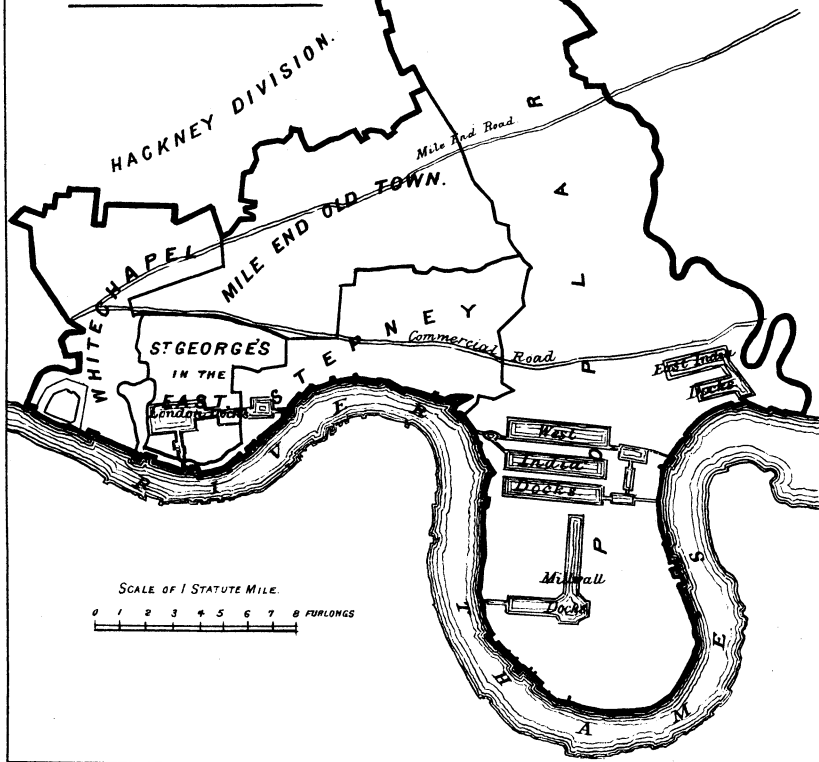
V.—*Description by Districts.*

The Tower Hamlets School Board Division comprises five registration districts or unions, viz., Whitechapel, St. George's-in-the-East, Stepney, Mile End Old Town, and Poplar.

*Whitechapel Union* lies along the city boundary from the Tower to Norton Folgate, and includes the sub-districts of Spitalfields, Mile End New Town, Whitechapel, Goodman's Fields, and Aldgate. It has a population estimated to amount at the present time to 76,000, of whom nearly two-fifths appear to be Jews. There are no factories of any importance in the district. The manufacturing industries, including a remnant of the old Spitalfields silk weaving, are carried on in the homes or in the "home workshops," which I describe later on. There has been of recent years a great change in this district by the demolition of bad property. There are still vile spots containing dwellings absolutely unfit for human use, but quite enough has been written by others on this subject. A sure and steady improvement in this respect is taking place. Much has been done; the railways have cleared some parts, the Board of Works other parts. The transformation goes slowly on, handsome new blocks of buildings occupying the sites of former slums; the old residents are scattered, and, though they carry contamination with them wherever they may go, they never again create (so testimony has it) such hotbeds of vice, misery, and disease as those from which they have been ousted. Many people must have altogether left the district, as the population showed a decrease of 5,000 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 possible 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 A's house drives him into B's quarters, and that B goes elsewhere to his great benefit; when the new buildings are ready they do not attract B back again, but draw their tenants from the surrounding streets, getting tenants of the stamp of A or B, according to the accommodation they offer; the vacant places are then taken by quite new comers (mostly poor foreigners in Whitechapel), 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.

*St. George's-in-the-East*, consisting of the sub-districts of St. Mary, St. Paul, and St. John, includes the London Docks,

# TOWER HAMLETS.



but is hemmed in on the river side, and cut off from the Katherine Docks by Wapping, which is counted as part of Stepney Union. Its population was 48,052 in 1871, and fell (owing to demolition) to 47,157 in 1881. The demolitions have continued, some very bad quarters having been cleared; but little rebuilding has been done, and I estimate the present numbers at 45,500.

*Stepney*, consisting of the sub-districts of Limehouse, Ratcliff, and Shadwell (including Wapping), has nearly two miles of river frontage, and is intersected by the Regent's canal. Its population was 57,690 in 1871, 58,543 in 1881, and if it has increased since 1881 in the same proportion as the school children, must now be 62,000.<sup>1</sup>

*Mile End Old Town* is divided into Eastern and Western sub-districts. Its population was 93,152 in 1871, 105,613 in 1881, and may now be estimated at 112,000. The Western district includes a long tongue running in between Whitechapel and St. George's-in-the-East, to the north of the Commercial Road, and containing a semi-Jewish population similar to that of Whitechapel. Even here the old part ends with the New Road, and all the rest of Mile End Old Town has few, if any, traces of antiquity left except its name. Its streets, even the narrowest, look comparatively wide to anyone who has been exploring Whitechapel; the air is fresh, and the squares and other open spaces are frequent.

*Poplar* consists of the subdivisions of Bow, Bromley, and Poplar. Bow includes Old Ford, and Poplar itself includes Blackwall and the Isle of Dogs. 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 of the Thames. The melancholy Isle of Dogs has been transformed into an isle of docks. In the north-west corner a large space, extending into the Hackney division, has been turned to good account in forming Victoria Park. 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, and the street settles 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

<sup>1</sup> This seems an improbable increase, and needs confirmation. It would imply greater crowding, as there has been little new building.

been levelled. The district has had many troubles to live down, and is living them down with much steady courage.

*Comparison of the different Districts included in the Tower Hamlets Division of London.*

Table of Percentages.

Sections.	Whitechapel.	St. George's-in-the-East.	Stepney.	Mile End Old Town.	Poplar.	Tower Hamlets.
1 Lowest class ....	2'85	1'64	1'21	0'65	0'92	1'28
2 Casual ....	4'12	9'50	10'90	2'91	7'74	6'59
3 Irregular	1'99	5'88	3'34	2'18	2'73	2'86
4 Regular, low pay } 5 Regular ordinary }	2'59	4'30	4'71	2'84	8'03	5'09
6 Foremen	8'63	12'54	14'76	12'43	9'93	11'24
7 Building....	0'83	3'19	4'91	2'39	3'80	3'07
8 Woodwork	1'80	2'83	4'18	5'57	7'48	5'21
9 Ironwork	2'53	2'82	5'39	5'20	6'06	4'87
10 Sundry ....	1'23	2'04	5'90	3'58	8'48	5'15
11 Dress .....	4'15	3'83	3'54	5'33	3'97	4'26
12 Food, &c. ....	18'23	10'34	1'29	5'34	2'29	6'24
13 Railway .....	6'61	4'68	1'94	4'42	1'47	3'39
14 Roads.....	0'68	0'54	0'52	0'83	2'26	1'26
15 Shop assistants	0'90	0'88	0'66	1'68	0'82	1'02
16 Sub-officials ....	1'54	1'45	1'50	3'58	1'82	2'12
17 Seamen .....	1'51	0'30	1'74	1'87	1'81	1'62
18 Other wage ....	0'18	2'86	2'77	1'32	3'44	0'25
19 Home industry	0'52	0'88	0'72	1'49	1'18	1'05
20 Small employers	1'66	1'13	1'60	1'78	1'03	1'41
21 Large „	5'31	1'55	1'98	3'08	1'30	2'49
22 Street sellers ....	0'61	0'30	0'39	0'47	0'25	0'38
23 General dealers	3'87	1'23	1'42	1'22	0'77	1'51
24 Small shops ....	4'05	1'20	0'57	2'32	0'52	1'60
25 Large „	4'23	4'80	2'80	2'89	2'76	3'24
26 Coffee houses....	2'45	1'68	2'17	2'29	1'43	1'93
27 Licensed „	0'67	0'78	0'68	0'22	0'34	0'46
28 Clerks, &c.....	1'02	1'18	1'26	0'93	0'69	0'93
29 Sub-professional	1'84	1'71	3'42	5'33	4'08	3'70
30 Professional ....	0'59	0'44	1'34	1'45	1'69	1'29
31 Ill, &c. ....	0'25	0'20	0'66	0'56	0'68	0'53
32 Independent ....	0'60	0'31	0'28	0'27	0'45	0'39
	0'06	0'22	0'21	0'37	0'28	0'25
<i>Females.</i>						
33 Semi-domestic	1'50	2'72	1'56	1'71	1'76	1'77
34 Dress .....	0'64	1'49	0'90	1'24	0'59	0'88
35 Trades .....	0'66	0'91	0'59	0'46	0'56	0'59
36 Employing.....	0'11	0'16	0'06	0'18	0'10	0'12
37 Supported .....	0'44	0'24	0'46	0'38	0'37	0'38
38 Independent ....	0'09	0'05	0'21	0'27	0'24	0'20
39 Other adult women }	8'46	7'20	7'46	8'97	5'88	7'38
	100'00	100'00	100'00	100'00	100'00	100'00
Total population....	73,518	44,582	62,063	110,321	166,393	456,877
Area (in statute acres) .....	378	243	462	679	2,335	4,097

I have thought best not to burthen this table with the actual numbers in addition to the percentages, but have given the totals to which the percentages apply.

The districts are very unequal in the numbers of their inhabitants, and still more so in area, nor are they less so in the character of the population. I cannot hope to make the rows of figures in this table as luminous and picturesque to every eye as they are to mine, and yet I am not content without making an attempt to do so. Each district has its character: in Whitechapel are to be found most of the common lodging houses accommodating the strange bed-fellows whom misfortune brings together, and lower still there are the streets of furnished rooms and houses where stairways and corners are occupied by those without any other shelter. Whitechapel is Tom Tiddler's ground, the Eldorado of the East, a gathering together of poor fortune seekers: its streets are full of buying and selling, the poor living on the poor. Here just outside the old city walls have always lived the Jews, and here they are now in thousands, both old established and new comers, seeking their livelihood under conditions which seem to suit them, on the middle ground between civilisation and barbarism.

Of the population of Whitechapel  $18\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. appear as employed in making clothes,  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. in cigar making and food preparation, 8 per cent. are street sellers and general dealers, and  $5\frac{1}{4}$  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  $7\frac{1}{4}$  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 11 per cent. of the population, and have their homes in a mass of squalid streets and courts; and here are to be found also the largest proportions of regularly paid labour, viz.,  $24\frac{1}{3}$  per cent. of the population. In all, nearly 39 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. George's-in-the-East. Doubtless a line might be drawn which would fairly divide the population of St. George's into two portions, the one side falling naturally with Stepney and the docks, the other side with Whitechapel and the Jewish quarters. The makers of clothes,  $18\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. in Whitechapel, become  $10\frac{2}{3}$  per cent. in St. George's, and fall away to  $1\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. in Stepney. The preparers of food and tobacco,  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. in Whitechapel, become  $4\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. in St. George's, and drop to about 2 per cent. in Stepney. On the other hand, the

casual labourers, who are 11 per cent. in Stepney, stand at  $9\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. in St. George's, and fall away to 4 per cent. in Whitechapel; and so also with the other classes of labour, except those with irregular pay, who seem to bear a larger proportion to the population in St. George's than anywhere else. On the whole, it may be said that St. George's shares in the poor characteristics of both her neighbours, and is more entirely poverty stricken than either.

Passing from Whitechapel to Mile End Old Town we more quickly get rid of the foreign element, but it is to be found, as already described, in the westernmost angle or tongue.

Mile End Old Town does not lend itself to sensational description of any kind.<sup>2</sup> It contains very much that is quietly respectable, and very little extreme poverty; the remark "nothing to be called "poverty here" occurs continually on my notes for the streets of this district. The sections which reach their maximum here are shop assistants, clerks, subordinate officials, and persons of independent means; and wherever the proportion runs exceptionally high, it is always on the side of respectability. The small employers in this district, who are numerous, are not usually of the sweater class, but master builders, painters, &c., employing a few hands; and throughout it is true that not only are there fewer of the poor trades, but such as there are are better off.

Poplar is too large a district, and too various, to be properly treated as one; it is however a single registration district. It contains, taken together, a fair contingent of labour, the largest proportion of artisans, the largest proportion of railway servants, of seamen, and of the professional classes; in clerks it stands next to Mile End. Its poor consist largely of those in regular employment at a low wage (Section 4), of whom nearly two-thirds out of all Tower Hamlets live in Poplar. It contains by far the largest percentage of the artisan class, who increase in numbers as we go eastwards. In Whitechapel (excluding dress and food) they are  $9\frac{3}{4}$  per cent., in St. George's  $11\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., in Stepney they are 19 per cent., in Mile End (lying parallel to Stepney) they are  $19\frac{3}{4}$  per cent., while in Poplar they account for 26 per cent. of the population.

<sup>2</sup> Mile End is remarkable, however, for the number of brothels to be found amongst its otherwise respectable streets. These houses probably seek a quiet neighbourhood, and draw their supporters from large areas. The characteristic forms of East End prostitution are more rough and ready, and are exhibited to an astonishing extent in Stepney and Poplar. Vice is said to be more bestial still in Whitechapel, and St. George's is very bad in its own way.

On the whole the part played by prostitution socially and economically in some very poor districts, and among people none of whom are other than poor, is greater than would be generally supposed.

VI.—*Special Subjects.*

The subjects which claim special treatment in connection with this district are:—

- (1.) Employment at the docks.
- (2.) The Jewish settlement and immigration.
- (3.) The “Sweating” system and middle men.
- (4.) Working women.
- (5.) The unemployed.

The two last are questions common to the whole of London.

It would not be possible to deal adequately with these subjects here; each would be enough in itself for a whole paper, and I shall content myself with indicating the position of each in connection with my subject.

(1.) *Employment at the Docks.*—The docks situated in Tower Hamlets are the London and St. Katherine’s, East and West India, and the Millwall. The Victoria and Albert, and the Tilbury, though they are owned and managed by the London and St. Katherine’s and the East India Docks respectively, do not draw their labour mainly from this district; and while the opening of these docks has diminished the amount of employment offered, more especially by the East and West India Docks, I am informed there has been no great attempt on the part of the dock labourers to follow the work down river by changing their homes. These outlying docks seem to have largely drawn fresh labour from outside. The character of the men employed, and of their work, may not be greatly different from that of the other docks, but it is probable that the new docks afford more constant work, as there is less money to be picked up out of odd jobs, charity, and the work of the wives, than in our district. Some of the regular men employed in the outlying docks are to be found living in the Poplar district; stevedores go down to their work by train wherever work offers, and some casuals will go down when these docks are busy, living temporarily in the neighbourhood while the work lasts. But I believe most of the men employed in them have their homes near, and I cannot count these docks as drawing largely on the casual labour supply of the Tower Hamlets.

The system of employment in the London and St. Katherine’s Docks is somewhat different from that of the East and West India Docks, but the results as to the labour employed are substantially the same. In these docks there are three grades of employés; first, the labour foremen, samplers, permanent labourers (acting frequently as gangers), numbering, with the police, about 500 in each dock; secondly, labourers, who by regular work or preference

gain a constant low wage, of whom there may be 900 in the London and St. Katherine's, and 500 in the East and West India; thirdly, true casuals, of whom the numbers employed vary from 500 to about 3,000 in the London and St. Katherine's, and perhaps 200 to 2,000 in the East and West India.

In the East and West India Docks the foremen class are always weekly wage earners, not paid for overtime; while the labourers are paid at the rate of 5*d.* an hour, with a plus on the amount of work done.

In the London and St. Katherine's two systems are employed, the work being done partly by day work at 5*d.* an hour, and partly by contract piece work, for which the labourers are supposed to get 6*d.* an hour. The foremen in the first case receive definite wages, and in the other act as independent labour contractors; the true casuals in both supplement the regular and preferred labourers, and for the most part show varying degrees of unfitness, either in lack of strength and dexterity, or want of persistency, or in general untrustworthiness. On this point all the dock companies agree, that they lose heavily on casually employed labour, and regret the irregularity of their trade, which seems to make the employment of it inevitable.

In the Millwall Docks the whole work is done by contract: the labour contractors employ gangs of permanent men guaranteed 21*s.* per week, and said to average 32*s.* all the year round. These strictly permanent men, with the police, &c., amount to about 250. The other hands above the casual level, who may number about 1,000, though irregularly employed, get fairly constant employment on the whole, shifting from contractor to contractor according to the work offering. For both regular and irregular it is piece work, pretty well paid, and, in the case of timber, needing special training. These men therefore are different in their characteristics from those employed in the other docks, resembling in some ways the stevedores. As might be expected, the labour contractors of the Millwall Docks lose heavily when forced to employ true casuals. They reckon that a gang of casuals at grain work can only do one-fourth of the work done by a permanent gang in the same time.

A general characteristic of dock labour is the extreme irregularity of hours: the substitution of steamers for sailing vessels is said to have increased this irregularity, though it has diminished the fluctuations of employment according to the seasons of the year or changes of the wind.

The keen competition between the dock companies and the exigencies of steamship management compel them to discharge immediately and rapidly: therefore a gang of labourers will sometimes work twenty-four hours on end, with short intervals for



food; while at other times men will be employed only two or three hours in the day. It need hardly be pointed out that the alternation of over-work and enforced leisure is not favourable to moral or physical health.

The total maximum employment afforded by these three docks for casual men will never much exceed 6,000, the minimum falling as low as 1,500 or 1,000. With this amount of employment must be compared the 10,000 men who are counted as chiefly depending upon it for their week's income.<sup>3</sup>

(2.) *The Jewish Settlement and Immigration.*—The Jews are to be found scattered over the larger part of the Tower Hamlets district, but are concentrated in great numbers in Whitechapel, and the adjoining portions of St. George's-in-the-East and Mile End. The total number is a disputed point. An estimate, working from the statistics of Jewish burials, makes the number of Jews in all London about 50,000, and places 34,000 of these in the East End.<sup>4</sup> These figures depend on the death-rate, which is assumed as 23 per 1,000 for the whole of London, and 25 per 1,000 for the East End. The best estimate I can make myself gives a total of fully 40,000 Jews in the Tower Hamlets; and as Bethnal Green must contain a considerable number, I get about 45,000 as the total of East End Jews. I do not wish to fly in the face of the estimates given above, but I question whether the assumed death-rate can be taken as conclusive in a population so largely and recently recruited by immigration, and hence not necessarily containing its due proportion of different ages. I lay some stress on this point, because arguments and inferences have been drawn from a comparison between the numbers of poor Jews relieved, and the total number of the community, and between the infant and adult mortality, which would be erroneous if what I suppose is true, viz., that the adult deaths are below the normal rate, and the total population is greater than supposed.

It is not difficult to recognise the Jews; the School Board visitors know them well. They congregate together; whole blocks of buildings and whole streets are recognised as theirs; in other streets they may count as half the population, and then again there are those that are scattered. To form my estimate of the

<sup>3</sup> *The maximum and minimum of employment at these docks is not the addition of the figures for each dock separately, as one dock may be busy when another is slack.*

<sup>4</sup> Jewish deaths in 1886:—

London	{ Burial Society's return	1,047
	{ others estimated .....	109

1,156 at 23 per 1,000 = 50,261

East End separately ..... 850 „ 25 „ = 34,000

numbers I have classified the streets, and taking the inhabitants as all Jews where Jews prevail, and half Jews for the mixed streets, and omitting altogether those who are to be found scattered among the Christians, I have obtained a proportion of families which indicate a population of over 40,000.<sup>5</sup>

If I am right on this point, the other facts fall into their places; and to this point I venture to think further inquiry should first be directed. Meanwhile I can only give what I have seen and heard on the subject for what it may be worth.

The Jews living in this district, whatever their number may be, are divided by nationality as well as by trades, and the divisions are strongly marked by language, by character, and by the locality in which the various sections live. By forms of religion also they are separated into two main bodies; one called "Spanish" (though little or nothing of Spanish nationality remains), whose numbers are small, but who have a complete organisation of their own; the other usually called "German," and represented by the United Synagogue, and the Jewish Board of Guardians. There are few Jews of essentially German birth in London, though there are many who speak German as their native tongue. The two principal nationalities are Dutch and Poles. The Dutch may belong to either the Spanish or German Synagogue, the Poles all belong to the United (German) Synagogue. The Poles may be divided into German (including Austrian) and Russian Poles, according to the part of the old kingdom of Poland from which they come. The languages spoken by the foreign Jews are Dutch, German, and a patois made up of a Polish-German and Hebrew, which forms a common tongue for the whole Polish body. In addition there are the English Jews, those whose families have been long settled here, and whose language and ways are English.

The English Jews are mostly well-to-do, or at least above the line of poverty; their employments are of many kinds, and they are in no way peculiar to the East End of London. The Dutch are also old established, and not very poor; they live in Spital-fields, and their principal employment is cigar making. The

<sup>5</sup> The numbers shown by this estimate are—

Whitechapel.....	28,790
St. George's .....	5,880
Mile End .....	7,750
	<hr/>
	42,420

including Bethnal Green, the number of East End Jews will be fully 45,000.

If I had foreseen that it would have been useful, I could have classified the Jews throughout separately: unfortunately I did not do so, and thus have been obliged to fall back on a classification by streets, to show their numbers and condition separately from the rest of the population.

German speaking Jews are a mixed set, including rich, poor, and very poor; old established, and new comers; and they are of many occupations: bread bakers, sugar refiners, shoemakers, tailors (more of these than anything else), and dealers in clothes, furniture makers and dealers in furniture, street sellers and general dealers, small employers, shop keepers, importers, and wholesale dealers. They are a striving, hardworking set of people, and, on the whole, prosper. I do not know that it is possible to draw a distinct line between these and the Russian Poles. It may be that each portion of old Poland yields much the same material, and that the division made between German and Polish Jews depends rather on the degree of poverty and ignorance than on any question of origin. Nevertheless the "Russian Poles" are recognised as a separate, and now very large, section of the East End population. Most of them are employed in cheap tailoring. They arrive destitute, often without the knowledge of any trade, and for a long time they know no language but their own; they naturally resort to the quarters already occupied by those speaking the same language, and perhaps hailing from the same districts abroad, or connected by relationship or acquaintance. Their compatriots are hardly better off than themselves, and can only share with the new comers their wretched accommodation and ill paid work. The result is an aggravation of every evil; the condition of the houses becomes indescribable, and the slavery of the sweating system is intensified.

The numbers now arriving are less than they have been, but certain districts are overrun, and the effect has been to flood many established trades with unhealthy cheap labour. Miserably destitute themselves, they also increase the destitution of their own people, and of our own people. The Jewish Board are fully cognisant of this deplorable state of things, and have made great exertions to check the influx, and to send back, or send further, those who come; the great weight of the evil falls on them and on their people.

The poor Jews rarely apply to our guardians, except for medical relief, and the Charity Organization Society hands over to the Board all Jewish cases.

The total amount given in one form or other by rich Jews to their poor brethren is very large, and it is worthy of serious consideration (both by Jew and Christian) whether such bounty does not tend to increase the numbers of those it aids to live, without permanently benefitting them at all. It must however be said that many of the Jewish endowments are provided to maintain the religious observances and position of the poorer members of the synagogues, and for education. Of actual relief most passes

through the hands of the Jewish Board of Guardians, a very carefully managed charitable institution, combining in itself various forms of relief and organised charity, with functions very different from those of our poor law authorities.

The numbers receiving relief last year at the hands of the Board were very large (14,000), but were swollen by the exceptional state of things connected with the Mansion House fund,<sup>6</sup> and the total expended in relief, though a large sum (11,000*l.*), is not very much among so many. It is hardly reasonable to count as a pauper every poor Jew who receives some assistance.

These foreign Jews are straight from the pressure of grinding despotism; some may add nihilism and the bitterest kind of socialistic theories to very filthy habits; but the meek and patient endurance with which they live their hard lives, and their ready obedience to the law, do not suggest any immediate fear of violent revolutionary activity on their part. They seem capable of improvement, and so far have improved. It may take them "several years to get washed," but if we compare the new comers with those of the same race who have been settled here some time, the change is very marked. The streets in which the former herd on arrival become more foul than ever before, but those occupied by the latter are quiet and orderly.<sup>7</sup>

The Jewish wives of every grade seldom work for money; they attend to cooking and household duties, and seem to be careful housewives.

All round these people have the characteristics of their race, good and bad; laborious and frugal to a fault; well schooled in the science of how to live on next to nothing, rising early and working late, they, as their numbers increase, elbow out their less thrifty gentile fellow workers. They show strong family affection, and the bond of race and clan creates exclusiveness.

Whether such people ought to be refused settlement in England I will not attempt to say. The nation, as a whole, probably does not lose by them; they produce more than they consume. But other considerations are involved, and at any rate the immediate hardship on those whose earnings are depressed is very great.

<sup>6</sup> I am informed that the first quarter of 1887 shows a very marked diminution in numbers of new cases compared to 1886:—

January .....	190	as against	217 cases.
February .....	119	„	232 „
March.....	77	„	591 „

<sup>7</sup> It is said that this process of improvement can no longer be counted on; that those who arrive now find familiar surroundings here, coming from a Ghetto to a Ghetto, and will retain and perpetuate here the habits of Russian frontier life. It is thought that we may hope to assimilate those already here, but not an unlimited number.

As to poverty, the results of a classification of the streets show roughly that out of over 40,000 about 15,000 may be called quite poor, a further 15,000 moderately poor, and 10,000 comfortably or well off.

(3.) *The "Sweating System" and Middlemen*.—This is closely connected with the Jews, and especially the poor Jews. The system has its base in the character of those whose labour it employs. It employs those who are incapable of the disciplined factory system, and it is hard to see how house or home employment could be managed successfully on any different plan. In boot making the boot factor gives out his materials to the middlemen, who are usually themselves workmen, doing the most skilled part of the work, and employing a few others to do the easier parts; these men they teach. Each "greener" who learns the whole trade strives to take the leading place and get the larger, though still small, pay that goes with it. Character as well as skill on the part of the small contractor is needed, because of the materials entrusted to him, and even more to secure punctuality, and to keep his workpeople together: to get the work finished in time is an important part of the middleman's duty, and probably the wife assists in this. On the whole these men work hard for what they make. The idea that they are useless bloodsuckers is altogether devoid of truth, as is another idea that they are merely used as agents of the rich in oppressing the poor. Given a quantity of ignorant, poverty-stricken, unskilled men, scattered in their wretched homes in the purlieus of a crowded city, and what other plan could bring work to them at all? In tailoring the system is much the same, but worked on a larger scale, and there are sub-contractors, and even sub sub-contractors, as well as contractors.

The system is worked in a variety of ways, but all alike result in long hours of work for bare subsistence. That which is most particularly connected with the poor Jews may be called residential. The master houses and feeds his two, three, or four men: he and his wife live in one room, the men work, eat, and sleep in another; the wife cooks for all. The master gets the materials from the shop for which he works, and returns the finished article. He is the skilled man, arranges the work for the others, and does the more difficult parts. Slightly removed from this is the employment of men who sleep elsewhere but come in to work, and this extends to a semi-factory system more particularly described below. Another plan, which may be called "home employment," consists of giving work out: those who do this are essentially middlemen; they may, or may not, work at the trade themselves; the more work they undertake the less they can do of it themselves.

Then again these different systems are mixed; some of the

men may reside, and some may come in to work; some part of the work, that done by women for instance, may be put out, and the rest done in the middleman's house.

It is a very elastic system, which adapts itself to the conditions of city life, to the habits of the people, and to the peculiarities of the various industries so worked.

The evils of the state of things which creates such a system, as well of the system which tends to perpetuate and intensify such a state of things, are most serious; but they are not to be touched by denouncing the middlemen and gibbeting them as sweaters. Nor is the foreign element to be debited with all the mischief. There seems to be a tendency against organised factory labour in London. Factory work, for many reasons, succeeds better in the provinces, and so leaves London; by leaving, it further increases the quantity and decreases the value of labour which seeks any kind of employment for a living; and this is the material out of which the sweating system is constructed. Other causes tend in the same direction: it is not only foreigners who do not readily take to factory employment; many men prefer the greater liberty of working at home; they may have to work as long or longer, but they can keep their own hours, and can get help from their wives and children. The result on trade and profits of the struggle for work is a very cutting competition which pushes prices down, and probably deteriorates the quality of work; the labourer suffers, and it is doubtful if the consumer gains in proportion.

Between factories proper and home work lie a class of home workshops: these are usually built in the yard or garden behind the dwelling house, sometimes connected with, and sometimes detached from the house. The earlier specimens to be seen are poor outbuildings, but those of recent construction look well enough. This plan seems to be on the increase, and there is no reason why it should not be worked in a respectable way. It is applicable to industries where no power machinery is needed, and is a great improvement on employment in city houses.

(4.) *Working Women*.—In Section 39 of my table I include unmarried women over 20, and widows without families.

There are some few children under school age belonging to, and supported by, these women, but not many who do not share the home of some scheduled family.

I have little information as to these women, and I am very glad to know that an inquiry into the conditions under which they live and work is now being undertaken by competent hands.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> The factory department of the Young Women's Christian Association has an inquiry on foot into the condition of life and employment of working women and girls.

Girls from school age to 20 are here passed into the sections with the families to which they may be supposed to belong. There are some servant girls under 20 and other exceptional cases in which young girls live independent lives, but the overwhelming majority of young girls in this district live at home and their earnings are subsidiary to those of the head of the family. I do not know to what extent this is also the case with the women over 20, but I know that young widows, scheduled here as heads of families, are very often to be found sharing their father's home; I imagine this to be still more so with those who have no children, and perhaps more again with those who have never been married. Sisters share their brothers' homes, and compound households are formed of many sorts for reasons of economy or kindness.

I am thus inclined to believe that the women who live independent lonely lives, or even those who club together, women with women, are comparatively few; those who do so are at a great disadvantage compared to such as only need to make enough to help the common life of the home; and it is important, if possible, to know what the proportion of them is.

In my tables I assume that every class has its proportion of unmarried women who share its hardships or its advantages.

As to earnings, many women are deplorably ill-paid, but it is noteworthy that there is not a uniform low level of pay; one young woman will work endless hours for less than 1s. a day, and even fail to get regular work at that price; while another, working also with her needle, may make "as much as father and mother "put together," taking her work from different shops, so that no one shop may know the total amount earned, and having more work offered than she can do. Such a case may be exceptional, but a great variety in rates is constantly to be noted; and I venture to suggest to those who are conducting the inquiry I have referred to, that to learn why so much more is paid to some women than others, or for particular sorts of female work, would be an important step in their inquiry.

(5.) *The Unemployed.*—Though no attempt is here made to count or classify those who are "out of work," something may be done towards it if we can define what we mean by "unemployed." In one sense the whole of Section 1, half Section 2, and about one-third of Section 3 must be counted, amounting at once to 10,000 adult men in this district; and to this number must be added a percentage of the artisans. These are the plentiful materials from which a mass meeting of the unemployed may be drawn. In another sense it is only those who usually have regular work, and now have none, who are "out of work."

As to the 2,987 adult men of our Section 1, or whatever their

numbers in the Tower Hamlets may be, 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 9,842 adults, there are weeks when every one is 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 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 badly employed, those who might very well accomplish in the due seasons of their employment more work than is offered them, are, I think, 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 total number of the superfluous is the true number of the unemployed.

Hence I conceive that to inquire into the condition of the people by groups of trades is the only way to throw any clear light upon this subject. No plan but this will cover the ground completely, or show the facts at all as regards the definitely unemployed, viz., those whose trade should be, and has been regular, who now 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 in the Tower Hamlets. 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 equanimity, or than the organisation of industry ought to require.

Connected with this lack of employment is the silent want I have already referred to, and the gradual impoverishment of



respectability which recent Government inquiries seem to point to.

As to the quality of these men as workmen, I do not want 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. These cannot keep work when they 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 unemployed 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.

#### VII.—*The Basis and Accuracy of the Figures given in this Paper.*

The steps by which my conclusions have been reached, and the bases of the figures given, are stated very fully in the appendix. The whole structure is built on three assumptions:—

(1.) That the numbers of married men with school children in each section, imply a similar proportion in the same sections of married men without school children, and of other male adults. This, because the choice of employment is made before the epoch of school children, and the period of employment prolonged long after; the fathers of the school children of the day are but a section of a 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 number of school children scheduled.

(3.) That the condition as to poverty of those with children at school in each section, will safely represent the condition of the whole section; 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.

These assumptions fail as to Section 1, where there is neither family nor industrial life of a regular kind; and also as to Section 2, to the extent that casual work is not so much an

employment, as the resource of those who have no employment. To meet these failures I have allotted to these sections an estimated proportion from the unscheduled population before proceeding to the apportionment.<sup>9</sup>

The information was mostly obtained during last winter and the early spring, but a whole year was so far as possible taken as the unit of time.

#### VIII.—*Results to be Obtained from this Form of Inquiry if carried further.*

The imperfections of any results to be obtained from the figures of a single district of London are very evident; it is even impossible to be certain to what conclusions they truly point.

The population of any provincial town, dealt with as a whole, would give a clearer result than that which can be got of the analysis of the half million people with whom I have attempted to deal in this paper, and in addition they could be much more easily dealt with. My only justification for taking up the subject in the way I have done, is, that this piece of London is supposed to contain the most destitute population in England, and to be, as it were, the focus of the problem of poverty in the midst of wealth, which is troubling the minds and hearts of so many people. So that perhaps what is shown to exist here may be supposed to be the most serious thing of the kind anywhere in England, and thus an *à fortiori* argument becomes possible. Beyond this I think it might be practicable to complete the whole of London on the same plan, within a reasonable time, if the results to be got in that way seem worth while to those whose co-operation would be necessary.

I have already touched on the advantages which would result from dealing with the subject under groups of trades as well as by districts. This plan only becomes possible when we have the census figures of occupation to fall back upon, which is not the case except for the whole of London. It is not enough to deal with certain trades, we must put each in its place and arrange to include the whole population in the groups made. The materials for such an analysis and description are even now being collected by the Statistical Department of the Board of Trade, not only for London, but for the whole country, and will no doubt soon be available. It is also probable that the great employers and trade associations, both of masters and of men, would be ready

<sup>9</sup> Different rates of mortality in different trades or under different conditions may be supposed to increase the number of children under 3 in proportion to those of school age where infant mortality is high, and to increase the number of the old in proportion to the parents of school children where life is prolonged. These tendencies to error act fortunately in opposite directions on my totals.

to contribute an account of the condition of their own industry, or separate accounts if their opinions differed, if they knew that these accounts would be used for an impartial statement of the whole condition of trade and employment. Treated in a large way, the inter-connections of various trades would become visible, and the whole picture would become complete, and, as I think, of great value for many purposes.

#### IX.—*General Conclusions.*

For many reasons I hesitate to draw any conclusions yet. I do not know whether the facts disclosed will be considered surprising, or which of them may be so considered. Many of them have been a surprise to me, and they have too recently emerged from the mass of figures in which for many months they lay hid, for me to have fully grasped their significance. Some points will probably call for reinvestigation, and all need the confirmation and rounding off which can only be had by extending the inquiry to other districts and from separate trade inquiries.

In attempting this work I had one leading idea: that every social problem, as ordinarily put, must be broken up to be solved or even to be adequately stated.

The divisions into which I have thrown the population have been arbitrary, but they may serve to show how complicated the interests are which I have attempted to disentangle. The proportion of the population shown to be above the line of poverty, I make to be 65 per cent., that on the line 22 per cent., while those falling chronically below it into the region of distress are 13 per cent. Of these last a part must be considered separately as the class for whom decent life is not imaginable.

This is a serious state of things, but not visibly fraught with imminent social danger, or leading straight to revolution. That there should be so much savagery as there is, and so much abject poverty, and so many who can never raise their heads much above the level of actual want is grave enough; but we can afford to be calm, and give to attempts at improvement the time and patience which are absolutely needed if we are to do any good at all.

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 perhaps hundreds of distress. Against this method I strongly protest, and I do so all the more that I am deeply in earnest in my desire that the conditions under which the mass of the people live should be

improved, as well as that of those who now suffer actual distress. 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.

It is the sense of helplessness that tries every one; the wage earners, as I have said, are helpless to regulate or obtain the value of their work; the manufacturer or dealer can only work within the limits of competition; the rich are helpless to relieve want without stimulating its sources; the legislature is helpless because the limits of successful interference by change of law are closely circumscribed. From the helpless feelings spring socialistic theories, passionate suggestions of ignorance, setting at naught the nature of man and neglecting all the fundamental facts of human existence.

To relieve this sense of helplessness, the problems of human life must be better stated. The *à priori* reasoning of political economy, orthodox and unorthodox alike, fails from want of reality. At its base are a series of assumptions very imperfectly connected with the observed facts of life. We need to begin with a true picture of the modern industrial organism, the interchange of service, the exercise of faculty, the demands and satisfaction of desire. It is the possibility of such a picture as this that I wish to suggest, and it is as a contribution to it that I have written this paper.

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## APPENDIX.

The subjoined tables form the basis of the figures I have used. They have been compiled from information supplied by the School Board visitors, combined with the population statistics for each parish contained in the census of 1881. The visitors have particulars of the occupation, &c., of all heads of families who have children between 3 and 13 years of age, and these are shown in the first column of the tables. In addition they recognise a large number of families without children of these ages, but as a rule have no particulars concerning them. These have been apportioned to each section on the basis of those with children and form column two. The third column contains the number necessary to make up the total of married persons given in the census (after allowing for married men in common lodging houses, who have been allotted to the lowest class) and has been similarly apportioned, every married couple being counted as a family, although having no children. The unmarried adults (after a similar allowance from lodging houses) have been apportioned in the same way, and the wives allotted in proportion to the married men. The children aged 3 to 13 (of whom of course the visitors have full particulars) have formed the basis on which all the others under 20 years of age have been allotted to each section. The numbers of poor and very poor have been arrived at by extending proportionately to every family in each section the particulars given by the visitors for those who have school children.

It has of course been necessary to bring the total population up to date, and in order to do this it has been assumed that the numbers have increased in the same ratio as the school children aged 3 to 13. Unfortunately it is not possible to do this by direct comparison with the census, because the latter does not give the number of children 3 to 13, nor do the districts correspond with those of the School Board; but in 1882 (immediately on the publication of the census, and about a year after it was taken) the School Board authorities prepared a special return of these children on the lines of the census districts. The number of such children at that time in the Tower Hamlets was 100,550; whilst for 1886-87 (as ascertained by the present return, which has also adhered to the census districts) the total is 105,031, or an increase of 4,481 in five years. Assuming that the increase between 1881 and 1882 would be one-fifth of this, we have 99,654 as the total of children 3 to 13 for 1881. This shows an increase of 5·4 per cent., and the popula-

tion at each of the other ages into which it is here divided is supposed to have similarly increased. Allowance, however, has to be made in the case of the inmates of public institutions (which are here excluded from the totals as forming no part of the general population), and also in the case of absent seamen, who are not counted in the census, but have been included in these returns, because, as many of them are keeping up homes here, and supporting wives and children, they undoubtedly form an integral part of the population, which must be counted in any local analysis. It is different, however, with inmates of public institutions, the effect of including whom would be to show a fictitious proportion of the population at certain ages, and in certain classes, as may be judged, for example, from the fact that Mile End Old Town has within its boundaries two workhouses, two infirmaries, and a large parish school, whilst Stepney has no parochial institutions of any kind. A short table will perhaps show more clearly how the total population of the Tower Hamlets for 1886-87 has been arrived at:—

School children aged 3—13 in 1882 .....	= 100,550
„                      1886-87 .....	= 105,031
	<hr/>
Increase, 1882 to 1886-87 .....	4,481
Add one-fifth for increase, 1881 to 1882 ....	896
	<hr/>
Increase since 1881 .....	5,377 or 5·4 p. cent.
	<hr/>
Population by census in 1881 .....	= 439,137
Less inmates of institutions.....	7,821
	<hr/>
	431,316
Add 5·4 per cent. for increase, 1881 to 1886-87....	23,713
	<hr/>
	455,029
Add for absent seamen (four-fifths of those } scheduled) .....	1,848
	<hr/>
Total population, 1886-87 .....	456,877
	<hr/>

The figures for each registration district or union have been arrived at in an exactly similar manner. A return of the numbers and ages of the inmates of institutions at the present time (April, 1887) has been obtained, and the proportions are assumed to have been similar in 1881. Four-fifths of the seamen scheduled are estimated to have been at sea at the time.

The number of heads of families given, as already shown, is the total of married men by census. This will really be too many by

the number of those among them who happen to have had neither wife nor child with them; but to be set against this are the widowers with children not scheduled in the heads of families. The wives have been allotted without regarding this discrepancy; the effect of which upon the general figures is very slight. It may be added that by way of checking the particulars given by the visitors, a special return of the inhabitants of the principal blocks of buildings in the division and some other special property was obtained from the rent collectors, the results of this test being generally quite satisfactory; whilst, by way of completing the information, the Commissioners of Police kindly placed at my disposal the particulars possessed by their officers as to the numbers and class of inmates of the registered common lodging houses in the districts covered by this inquiry.

The figures in black type are the basis of the tables. The other figures have been apportioned :—

## WHITECHAPEL.

Class.	Description.	Heads of Families.			Wives.
		With School Children.	Without School Children.		
			Recognised.	Remainder.	
<i>Males.</i>					
Labour.....	1 Lowest class, loafers, &c.....	45	32	332	403
	2 Casual day-to-day labour .....	228	162	110	493
	3 Irregular labour .....	143	101	51	291
	4 Regular work, low pay .....	195	138	68	395
	5 " ordinary pay .....	619	436	217	1,256
	6 Foremen and responsible work ...	56	39	20	114
Artisans ....	7 Building trades .....	126	88	44	255
	8 Furniture, woodwork, &c. ....	177	125	62	359
	9 Machinery and metals.....	90	63	32	183
	10 Sundry artisans .....	300	212	106	608
	11 Dress .....	1,261	890	446	2,556
	12 Food preparation.....	443	313	157	904
Locomotion	13 Railway servants .....	52	37	18	106
	14 Road service .....	62	43	22	126
Assistants ..	15 Shops and refreshment houses ....	110	77	39	223
Other wages	16 Police, soldiers, and sub-officials..	105	73	37	212
	17 Seamen .....	13	9	5	26
	18 Other wage earners .....	37	26	13	75
Manufac-	19 Home industries (not employing)	116	81	41	236
turers, &c.	20 Small employers .....	327	231	115	662
	21 Large " .....	49	34	17	100
Dealers.....	22 Street sellers, &c.....	254	180	89	516
	23 General dealers.....	281	198	98	569
	24 Small shops .....	310	218	109	630
	25 Large shops (employing assistants)	170	120	60	345
Refreshment	26 Coffee and boarding houses .....	48	34	17	94
	27 Licensed houses .....	76	53	27	154
Salaried, &c.	28 Clerks and agents.....	129	91	46	262
	29 Subordinate professional.....	40	28	14	81
	30 Professional .....	18	13	6	37
No work ....	31 Ill and no occupation .....	45	32	16	91
	32 Independent .....	7	5	2	14
		(5,932)	(4,182)		
<i>Females.</i>					
	33 Semi-domestic employment .....	199	162	—	—
	34 Dress .....	83	68	—	—
	35 Small trades .....	78	63	—	—
	36 Employing and professional .....	17	13	—	—
	37 Supported .....	61	50	—	—
	38 Independent .....	14	11	—	—
		(452)	(367)		
	39 Other adult women .....	—	—	—	—
	Total population .....	6,384	4,549	2,436	12,376



## WHITECHAPEL.

Unmarried Males over 20 and Widowers.	Young Persons, 15—20.		Children.			Total.	Very Poor.	Poor.	Remainder.
	Males.	Females.	13—15.	3—13.	—3.				
795	283	69	25	82	32	2,098	2,098	—	—
973	116	122	146	488	191	3,029	3,029	—	—
174	76	82	97	322	125	1,462	192	1,184	86
236	96	101	120	401	157	1,907	—	1,907	—
749	336	353	425	1,404	548	6,343	—	1,079	5,264
68	34	36	44	143	57	611	—	—	611
153	72	77	92	303	116	1,326	44	366	916
216	99	107	126	419	163	1,853	104	326	1,423
109	46	49	59	194	74	899	19	123	757
362	159	168	200	665	255	3,035	106	777	2,152
1,525	734	773	929	3,088	1,204	13,406	724	5,718	6,964
540	275	289	344	1,148	448	4,861	92	1,016	3,753
63	24	25	31	103	39	498	17	67	414
75	35	38	46	149	58	654	21	232	401
132	60	64	76	253	98	1,132	44	168	920
126	60	64	77	254	98	1,106	43	164	899
15	7	7	9	29	10	130	5	19	106
44	20	22	26	86	33	382	14	54	314
140	68	71	86	281	107	1,227	53	366	808
406	237	251	302	996	391	3,918	—	—	3,918
58	21	22	26	88	34	449	—	—	449
468	147	154	186	618	244	2,856	348	1,482	1,026
337	164	174	208	687	268	2,984	75	552	2,357
372	163	173	207	683	267	3,132	16	235	2,881
206	97	103	124	407	159	1,791	—	—	1,791
57	26	28	34	112	43	493	—	—	493
91	37	39	47	155	63	742	—	—	742
155	72	77	93	305	116	1,346	44	165	1,137
48	26	27	22	109	42	437	—	—	437
21	10	10	12	40	15	182	—	—	182
54	22	24	28	95	35	442	132	310	—
8	1	1	1	6	2	47	—	—	47
—	82	87	103	344	131	1,108	339	545	224
—	35	38	45	149	56	474	102	307	65
—	37	40	47	157	62	484	96	247	141
—	5	6	7	23	9	80	—	—	80
—	24	25	30	100	36	326	48	150	128
—	5	5	6	20	8	69	—	—	69
—	—	—	—	—	—	6,199	719	1,655	3,825
8,776	3,811	3,801	4,486	14,906	5,794	73,518	8,524	19,214	45,780

## ST. GEORGE'S-IN-THE-EAST.

Class.	Description.	Heads of Families.			Wives.
		With School Children.	Without School Children.		
			Recognised.	Remainder.	
<i>Males.</i>					
Labour..... 1	Lowest class, loafers, &c.....	36	13	172	220
2	Casual day-to-day labour .....	571	206	105	876
3	Irregular labour .....	377	134	49	560
4	Regular work, low pay .....	272	95	36	403
5	"    ordinary pay .....	796	285	106	1,180
6	Foremen and responsible work ....	202	71	26	300
Artisans .... 7	Building trades.....	179	64	24	267
8	Furniture, woodwork, &c. ....	178	64	24	265
9	Machinery and metals .....	129	46	17	192
10	Sundry artisans.....	242	88	32	360
11	Dress .....	657	236	87	970
12	Food preparation .....	296	106	39	440
Locomotion 13	Railway servants .....	34	13	4	50
14	Road service .....	55	20	7	82
Assistants .. 15	Shops and refreshment houses ....	92	34	12	136
Other wages 16	Police, soldiers, and sub-officials....	19	7	2	28
17	Seamen .....	180	64	24	267
18	Other wage earners .....	56	21	7	83
Manufac- 19	Home industries (not employing)	71	26	9	105
turers, &c. 20	Small employers .....	109	39	14	162
21	Large " .....	21	8	3	31
Dealers .... 22	Street sellers, &c. ....	74	29	10	110
23	General dealers.....	82	27	11	121
24	Small shops .....	304	108	41	449
25	Large shops (employing assistants)	121	43	16	180
Refreshment 26	Coffee and boarding houses .....	54	20	7	80
27	Licensed houses .....	87	31	12	129
Salaried, &c. 28	Clerks and agents .....	107	39	14	158
29	Subordinate professional .....	26	10	4	39
30	Professional .....	14	5	2	21
No work .... 31	Ill and no occupation .....	20	7	3	30
32	Independent .....	16	6	2	24
		(5,477)	(1,965)		
<i>Females.</i>					
33	Semi-domestic employment .....	268	73	—	—
34	Dress .....	142	39	—	—
35	Small trades .....	87	24	—	—
36	Employing and professional .....	19	5	—	—
37	Supported .....	28	8	—	—
38	Independent .....	6	2	—	—
		(550)	(151)		
39	Other adult women .....	—	—	—	—
Total population .....		6,027	2,116	921	8,318

*Note.*—The figures for St. George's-in-the-East are not quite so accurate as the rest.

## ST. GEORGE'S-IN-THE-EAST.

Unmarried Males over 20 and Widowers.	Young Persons, 15—20.		Children.			Total.	Very Poor.	Poor.	Remainder.
	Males.	Females.	13—15.	3—13.	—3.				
103	50	46	11	59	23	733	733	—	—
629	190	176	176	940	370	4,239	4,239	—	—
267	126	116	117	625	246	2,617	411	1,964	242
192	94	87	87	463	183	1,912	—	1,912	—
554	273	253	252	1,355	534	5,588	28	1,129	4,431
142	70	65	65	345	136	1,422	—	—	1,422
126	62	57	57	305	120	1,261	65	288	908
126	62	57	57	304	120	1,257	61	249	947
91	45	41	42	220	87	910	29	130	751
170	83	77	77	413	163	1,705	63	381	1,261
462	225	211	209	1,116	440	4,613	249	2,002	2,362
208	102	95	95	507	201	2,089	40	436	1,613
24	12	11	10	59	23	240	6	25	209
39	19	18	18	95	37	390	24	123	243
65	32	29	29	157	62	648	22	85	540
13	6	6	6	32	13	132	4	18	110
126	62	58	58	310	122	1,271	42	168	1,061
39	19	18	18	95	37	393	13	53	327
50	25	23	23	123	48	503	30	132	341
77	30	28	28	148	58	693	—	—	693
15	5	5	5	27	11	131	—	—	131
52	28	26	26	138	54	547	86	244	217
58	26	24	24	128	50	551	15	110	426
213	105	96	97	520	205	2,138	9	141	1,988
85	31	29	29	154	61	749	—	—	749
38	15	14	15	75	29	347	—	—	347
67	21	20	19	104	41	531	—	—	531
75	38	35	34	185	73	758	23	92	643
18	10	9	9	50	20	195	—	—	195
10	4	3	4	18	7	88	—	—	88
14	7	6	5	34	13	139	62	77	—
11	4	4	3	20	8	98	—	—	98
—	89	84	83	444	174	1,215	434	596	185
—	49	46	46	244	96	662	163	384	115
—	30	28	28	150	59	406	95	179	132
—	5	4	4	24	9	70	—	—	70
—	7	7	7	35	15	107	18	29	60
—	2	2	1	8	2	23	—	—	23
—	—	—	—	—	—	3,211	538	781	1,892
4,159	2,063	1,914	1,874	10,029	3,950	44,582	7,502	11,729	25,351

This district was scheduled first on a less complete plan than was afterwards adopted.

## STEPNEY.

Class.	Description.	Heads of Families.			Wives.
		With School Children.	Without School Children.		
			Recognised.	Remainder.	
<i>Males.</i>					
Labour ...	1 Lower class, loafers, &c. ....	22	16	145	183
	2 Casual day-to-day labour .....	727	514	189	1,430
	3 Irregular labour .....	220	156	54	430
	4 Regular work, low pay .....	319	226	77	622
	5 " ordinary pay .....	947	671	228	1,846
Artisans ....	6 Foremen and responsible work ...	317	226	77	620
	7 Building trades .....	269	184	66	519
	8 Furniture, woodwork, &c. ....	349	247	85	681
	9 Machinery and metals.....	385	273	93	751
	10 Sundry artisans .....	234	165	57	456
Locomotion	11 Dress .....	87	62	21	170
	12 Food preparation .....	125	88	31	244
	13 Railway servants .....	34	25	8	67
	14 Road service .....	42	29	10	81
	15 Shops and refreshment houses ....	101	71	25	197
Other wages	16 Police, soldiers, and sub-officials....	114	82	28	224
	17 Seamen .....	192	136	47	375
	18 Other wage earners .....	50	35	12	97
Manufac- turers, &c.	19 Home industries (not employing)	100	71	25	196
	20 Small employers .....	121	86	30	237
	21 Large " .....	25	18	6	49
Dealers.....	22 Street sellers, &c. ....	93	66	23	182
	23 General dealers.....	38	27	9	74
	24 Small shops .....	180	128	44	352
	25 Large shops (employing assistants)	134	95	33	262
Refreshment	26 Coffee and boarding houses.....	46	33	11	90
	27 Licensed houses .....	89	63	22	174
Salaried, &c.	28 Clerks and agents.....	230	164	56	450
	29 Subordinate professional.....	89	63	22	174
	30 Professional .....	42	30	10	82
No work ...	31 Ill and no occupation .....	19	13	5	37
	32 Independent .....	16	12	4	32
			(5,756)	(4,075)	
<i>Females.</i>					
33 34 35 36 37 38	Semi-domestic employment .....	192	158	—	—
	Dress .....	107	91	—	—
	Small trades .....	69	56	—	—
	Employing and professional .....	7	6	—	—
	Supported .....	55	46	—	—
	Independent .....	19	16	—	—
			(449)	(373)	
39	Other adult women .....	—	—	—	—
Total population .....		6,205	4,448	1,553	11,384

## STEPNEY.

Unmarried Males over 20 and Widowers.	Young Persons, 15—20.		Children.			Total.	Very Poor.	Poor.	Remainder.
	Males.	Females.	13—15.	16—18.	19—21.				
196	45	42	14	64	25	752	752	—	—
681	339	317	376	1,572	611	6,756	6,756	—	—
205	106	100	118	492	191	2,072	378	1,436	258
296	147	136	162	679	264	2,928	—	2,928	—
877	486	454	538	2,243	874	9,164	83	2,154	6,927
295	160	149	176	739	287	3,046	—	—	3,046
250	138	129	153	641	249	2,598	179	473	1,946
323	175	163	193	810	315	3,341	134	554	2,653
357	191	178	212	884	344	3,668	154	552	2,962
217	113	106	127	524	203	2,202	75	390	1,737
81	40	37	44	184	72	798	142	174	482
116	63	58	71	293	115	1,204	63	290	851
32	17	15	18	77	30	323	4	17	302
39	22	21	24	103	40	411	35	116	260
94	47	43	52	217	85	932	23	109	800
106	56	52	62	259	101	1,084	27	127	930
178	83	78	94	385	149	1,717	43	200	1,474
46	22	20	24	100	39	445	11	52	382
94	54	50	58	249	97	994	71	222	701
112	68	63	75	314	121	1,227	—	—	1,227
23	12	12	14	58	23	240	—	—	240
86	46	42	50	211	82	881	158	336	387
35	18	17	20	84	33	355	24	89	242
167	92	85	102	426	166	1,742	5	97	1,640
124	73	68	81	340	132	1,342	—	—	1,342
43	21	19	23	97	38	421	—	—	421
82	38	35	41	174	68	786	—	—	786
213	107	99	118	493	192	2,122	49	230	1,843
82	43	40	47	198	77	835	—	—	835
39	22	20	24	100	39	408	—	—	408
18	9	8	10	42	16	177	78	99	—
15	5	5	6	25	9	129	—	—	129
—	65	61	72	302	117	967	396	472	99
—	38	35	41	175	68	555	153	286	116
—	26	23	28	117	45	364	97	135	132
—	3	2	3	12	4	37	—	—	37
—	19	18	21	90	35	284	57	36	191
—	10	9	11	45	18	128	—	—	128
—	—	—	—	—	—	4,628	805	931	2,892
5,522	3,019	2,809	3,303	13,818	5,374	62,063	10,752	12,505	38,806

## MILE END OLD TOWN.

Class.	Description.	Heads of Families.			Wives.
		With School Children.	Without School Children.		
			Recognised.	Remainder.	
<i>Males.</i>					
Labour.....	1 Lowest class, loafers, &c. ....	12	9	203	224
	2 Casual day-to-day labour .....	354	274	45	673
	3 Irregular labour .....	259	200	33	492
	4 Regular work, low pay .....	362	280	46	688
	5 „ „ ordinary pay .....	1,517	1,173	196	2,886
	6 Foremen and responsible work ....	293	227	38	558
Artisans ....	7 Building trades .....	679	525	86	1,290
	8 Furniture, woodwork, &c. ....	614	474	78	1,166
	9 Machinery and metals.....	431	333	55	819
	10 Sundry artisans .....	653	506	84	1,243
	11 Dress .....	645	499	83	1,227
	12 Food preparation .....	537	415	68	1,020
Locomotion	13 Railway servants .....	99	76	13	188
	14 Road service .....	199	154	25	378
Assistants....	15 Shops and refreshment houses ....	437	338	56	831
Other wages	16 Police, soldiers, and sub-officials...	232	180	29	441
	17 Seamen .....	172	133	22	327
	18 Other wage earners .....	197	153	25	375
Manufac-	19 Home industries (not employing)	209	161	26	396
turers, &c.	20 Small employers .....	341	264	43	648
	21 Large „ .....	47	36	6	89
Dealers ....	22 Street sellers, &c. ....	146	113	18	277
	23 General dealers .....	262	203	33	498
	24 Small shops .....	349	270	44	663
	25 Large shops (employing assistants)	269	208	34	511
Refreshment	26 Coffee and boarding houses .....	24	19	3	46
	27 Licensed houses .....	117	91	15	223
Salaried, &c.	28 Clerks and agents.....	648	501	83	1,232
	29 Subordinate professional .....	176	136	22	334
	30 Professional .....	64	49	8	121
No work ....	31 Ill and no occupation .....	31	24	4	59
	32 Independent .....	53	41	7	101
		(10,428)	(8,065)		
<i>Females.</i>					
	33 Semi-domestic employment .....	357	294	—	—
	34 Dress .....	266	218	—	—
	35 Small trades .....	101	83	—	—
	36 Employing and professional .....	31	25	—	—
	37 Supported .....	80	66	—	—
	38 Independent .....	58	47	—	—
		(893)	(733)		
	39 Other adult women .....	—	—	—	—
	Total population.....	11,321	8,798	1,531	20,024

## MILE END OLD TOWN.

Unmarried Males over 20 and Widowers.	Young Persons, 15—20.		Children.			Total.	Very Poor.	Poor.	Remainder.
	Males.	Females.	13—15.	16—18.	19—21.				
91	52	52	9	46	18	716	716	—	—
350	151	151	150	760	305	3,213	3,213	—	—
200	120	120	120	609	245	2,398	575	1,623	200
279	147	147	146	740	297	3,132	—	3,132	—
1,171	672	673	667	3,390	1,361	13,706	54	2,508	11,144
227	128	128	128	648	261	2,636	—	—	2,636
523	302	302	302	1,529	614	6,152	370	1,200	4,582
474	291	291	290	1,471	590	5,739	328	1,073	4,338
332	197	197	195	993	397	3,949	124	443	3,382
504	287	287	288	1,454	584	5,890	154	833	4,903
498	291	291	291	1,479	592	5,896	342	2,024	3,530
413	241	241	240	1,216	487	4,878	98	736	4,044
76	47	47	46	232	92	916	11	49	856
153	93	93	94	474	191	1,854	62	380	1,412
336	193	193	193	979	393	3,949	76	331	3,542
180	100	100	100	503	203	2,068	39	174	1,855
133	67	67	67	338	137	1,463	28	124	1,311
152	73	73	72	365	147	1,632	31	138	1,463
160	101	101	99	508	205	1,966	117	378	1,471
262	183	183	181	920	370	3,395	—	—	3,395
36	30	30	29	151	60	514	—	—	514
113	68	68	66	341	137	1,347	247	582	518
201	136	136	135	685	275	2,564	46	312	2,206
270	159	159	158	803	322	3,197	19	166	3,012
207	130	130	129	654	263	2,535	—	—	2,535
19	13	13	13	68	28	246	—	—	246
90	48	48	47	240	97	1,016	—	—	1,016
500	290	290	287	1,460	587	5,878	97	427	5,354
135	79	79	78	397	161	1,597	—	—	1,597
49	32	32	31	161	64	611	—	—	611
24	16	16	15	78	30	297	171	126	—
41	17	17	17	85	34	413	—	—	413
—	122	122	121	618	247	1,881	572	1,024	285
—	89	89	87	441	177	1,367	371	693	303
—	33	33	32	165	66	513	104	153	256
—	14	14	14	70	28	196	—	—	196
—	27	27	26	136	54	416	42	83	291
—	19	19	18	94	38	293	—	—	293
—	—	—	—	—	—	9,892	791	1,840	7,261
8,199	5,058	5,059	4,981	25,301	10,157	110,321	8,798	20,552	80,971

## POPULAR.

Class.	Description.	Heads of Families.			Wives.	
		With School Children.	Without School Children.			
			Recognised.	Remainder.		
<i>Males.</i>						
Labour.....	1	Lowest class, loafers, &c.....	22	15	396	425
	2	Casual day-to-day labour .....	1,491	1,036	178	2,652
	3	Irregular labour .....	525	364	63	933
	4	Regular work, low pay .....	1,569	1,090	188	2,792
	5	„ „ ordinary pay .....	1,886	1,310	225	3,355
	6	Foremen and responsible work ....	714	497	86	1,272
Artisans ....	7	Building trades.....	1,399	971	167	2,487
	8	Furniture, woodwork, &c. ....	1,116	775	133	1,985
	9	Machinery and metals.....	1,603	1,113	192	2,851
	10	Sundry artisans .....	744	516	89	1,323
	11	Dress .....	430	298	51	764
	12	Food preparation .....	278	194	33	495
Locomotion	13	Railway servants .....	421	292	50	748
	14	Road service .....	159	111	19	284
Assistants....	15	Shops and refreshment houses ....	344	240	41	613
Other wages	16	Police, soldiers, and sub-officials...	336	235	40	599
	17	Seamen .....	711	495	85	1,266
	18	Other wage earners .....	263	184	32	470
Manufac- turers, &c.	19	Home industries (not employing)	195	136	23	347
	20	Small employers .....	235	164	28	419
	21	Large „ .....	46	32	5	82
Dealers ....	22	Street sellers, &c. ....	143	99	17	254
	23	General dealers .....	101	70	12	180
	24	Small shops .....	584	405	70	1,039
	25	Large shops (employing assistants)	258	180	31	460
Refreshment	26	Coffee and boarding houses .....	67	46	8	119
	27	Licensed houses .....	121	84	14	215
Salaried, &c.	28	Clerks and agents.....	778	540	93	1,383
	29	Subordinate professional.....	322	223	38	572
	30	Professional .....	127	88	15	226
No work ....	31	Ill and no occupation .....	85	59	10	151
	32	Independent .....	59	41	7	105
			(17,132)	(11,903)		
<i>Females.</i>						
	33	Semi-domestic employment .....	558	472	—	—
	34	Dress .....	190	160	—	—
	35	Small trades .....	170	144	—	—
	36	Employing and professional .....	30	25	—	—
	37	Supported .....	115	98	—	—
	38	Independent .....	89	75	—	—
			(1,152)	(974)		
	39	Other adult women .....	—	—	—	—
		Total population .....	18,284	12,877	2,439	30,866



## POPLAR.

Unmarried Males over 20 and Widowers.	Young Persons, 15—20.		Children.			Total.	Very Poor.	Poor.	Remainder.
	Males.	Females.	13—15.	3—13.	—3.				
332	172	82	11	56	22	1,533	1,533	—	—
1,019	641	543	637	3,367	1,311	12,875	12,875	—	—
359	226	192	225	1,188	463	4,538	1,130	2,823	585
1,072	657	557	652	3,450	1,343	13,370	—	13,370	—
1,288	836	707	829	4,385	1,707	16,528	131	2,562	13,835
488	323	261	321	1,695	660	6,317	—	—	6,317
956	639	541	634	3,354	1,306	12,454	982	3,201	8,271
762	523	443	519	2,747	1,069	10,072	795	2,589	6,688
1,095	716	606	711	3,759	1,463	14,109	662	2,201	11,246
508	338	287	335	1,777	692	6,609	246	890	5,473
294	195	165	194	1,024	399	3,814	350	1,248	2,216
190	124	105	123	649	253	2,444	108	372	1,964
288	193	164	191	1,014	395	3,756	46	80	3,630
108	68	57	67	352	137	1,362	73	410	879
235	153	130	152	802	313	3,023	84	146	2,793
229	155	131	154	813	317	3,009	84	147	2,778
486	264	224	263	1,389	541	5,724	159	280	5,285
180	82	70	81	431	166	1,959	55	95	1,809
133	88	75	87	460	180	1,724	153	480	1,091
160	114	97	113	599	233	2,162	—	—	2,162
31	21	18	21	109	42	407	—	—	407
98	65	56	65	343	134	1,274	207	453	614
69	42	36	42	221	86	859	26	175	658
399	207	176	206	1,090	425	4,601	54	524	4,023
176	126	107	125	660	257	2,380	—	—	2,380
46	28	24	28	148	58	572	—	—	572
82	63	54	62	331	129	1,155	—	—	1,155
531	342	289	340	1,792	698	6,786	178	311	6,297
220	142	120	141	745	290	2,813	—	—	2,813
87	59	50	58	308	120	1,138	—	—	1,138
59	38	32	38	198	77	747	273	474	—
40	21	17	21	108	43	462	—	—	462
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	187	159	185	984	383	2,928	1,084	1,177	667
—	63	54	62	331	129	989	306	439	244
—	61	52	60	320	125	932	288	335	309
—	11	10	11	60	23	170	—	—	170
—	40	34	39	209	81	616	75	48	493
—	23	20	23	121	47	398	—	—	398
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	9,784	1,182	2,299	6,303
12,020	8,046	6,745	7,826	41,398	16,117	166,393	23,139	37,129	106,125

## TOWER HAMLETS. (WHITECHAPEL, ST. GEORGE'S-IN-

Class.	Description.	Heads of Families.			Wives.
		With School Children.	Without School Children.		
			Recognised.	Remainder.	
<i>Males.</i>					
Labour.....	1 Lowest class, loafers, &c.....	137	85	1,248	1,455
	2 Casual day-to-day labour .....	3,371	2,192	627	6,124
	3 Irregular labour .....	1,524	955	250	2,706
	4 Regular work, low pay .....	2,717	1,829	415	4,900
	5 „ ordinary pay .....	5,765	3,875	972	10,523
	6 Foremen and responsible work ...	1,582	1,060	247	2,864
Artisans ....	7 Building trades.....	2,652	1,832	387	4,818
	8 Furniture, woodwork, &c. ....	2,434	1,685	382	4,456
	9 Machinery and metals.....	2,638	1,828	389	4,796
	10 Sundry artisans .....	2,173	1,487	368	3,990
	11 Dress .....	3,080	1,985	688	5,687
	12 Food preparation .....	1,679	1,116	328	3,103
Locomotion	13 Railway servants .....	640	443	93	1,159
	14 Road service.....	517	357	83	951
Assistants....	15 Shops and refreshment houses ....	1,084	760	173	2,000
Other wages	16 Police, soldiers, and sub-officials...	806	577	136	1,504
	17 Seamen .....	1,268	837	183	2,261
	18 Other wage earners .....	603	419	89	1,100
Manu'ac-	19 Home industries (not employing)	691	475	124	1,280
turers, &c.	20 Small employers .....	1,133	784	230	2,128
	21 Large „ .....	188	128	37	351
Dealers ....	22 Street sellers, &c. ....	710	487	157	1,339
	23 General dealers.....	764	525	163	1,442
	24 Small shops .....	1,727	1,129	308	3,133
	25 Large shops (employing assistants)	952	646	174	1,758
Refreshment	26 Coffee and boarding houses.....	239	152	46	429
	27 Licensed houses .....	490	322	90	895
Salaried, &c.	28 Clerks and agents.....	1,892	1,335	292	3,485
	29 Subordinate professional .....	653	400	100	1,200
	30 Professional .....	265	185	41	487
No work ....	31 Ill and no occupation .....	200	135	38	368
	32 Independent.....	151	105	22	276
		(44,725)	(30,190)		
<i>Females.</i>					
	33 Semi-domestic employment .....	1,574	1,159	—	—
	34 Dress .....	788	576	—	—
	35 Small trades .....	505	370	—	—
	36 Employing and professional .....	104	74	—	—
	37 Supported .....	339	268	—	—
	38 Independent .....	186	151	—	—
		(3,496)	(2,598)		
	39 Other adult women .....	—	—	—	—
	Total population .....	48,221	32,788	8,880	82,968

## THE EAST, STEPNEY, MILE END OLD TOWN, POPLAR.)

Unmarried Males over 20 and Widowers.	Young Persons, 15—20.		Children.			Total.	Very Poor.	Poor.	Remainder.
	Males.	Females.	13—15.	3—13.	—3.				
1,517	602	291	70	307	120	5,382	5,832	—	—
3,652	1,437	1,309	1,485	7,127	2,788	30,112	30,112	—	—
1,205	654	610	677	3,236	1,270	13,087	2,686	9,030	1,371
2,075	1,141	1,028	1,167	5,733	2,244	23,249	—	23,249	—
4,639	2,603	2,440	2,711	12,777	5,024	51,329	296	9,432	41,601
1,220	715	639	734	3,570	1,401	14,032	—	—	14,032
2,008	1,213	1,106	1,238	6,132	2,405	23,791	1,640	5,528	16,623
1,901	1,150	1,061	1,185	5,751	2,257	22,262	1,422	4,791	16,049
1,984	1,195	1,071	1,219	6,050	2,365	23,535	988	3,449	19,098
1,761	980	925	1,027	4,833	1,897	19,441	644	3,271	15,526
2,860	1,485	1,477	1,667	6,891	2,707	28,527	1,807	11,166	15,554
1,467	805	788	873	3,813	1,504	15,476	401	2,850	12,225
483	293	262	296	1,485	579	5,733	84	238	5,411
414	237	227	249	1,173	463	4,671	215	1,261	3,195
862	485	459	502	2,408	951	9,684	249	840	8,595
654	377	353	399	1,861	732	7,399	197	630	6,572
938	483	434	491	2,451	959	10,305	277	791	9,237
461	216	203	221	1,077	422	4,811	124	392	4,295
577	336	320	353	1,621	637	6,414	424	1,578	4,412
1,017	632	622	699	2,977	1,173	11,395	—	—	11,395
163	89	87	95	433	170	1,741	—	—	1,741
817	354	346	393	1,651	651	6,905	1,046	3,097	2,762
700	386	387	429	1,805	712	7,313	186	1,238	5,889
1,421	726	689	770	3,522	1,385	14,810	103	1,163	13,544
798	457	437	488	2,215	872	8,797	—	—	8,797
203	103	98	113	500	196	2,079	—	—	2,079
412	207	196	216	1,004	398	4,230	—	—	4,230
1,474	849	790	872	4,235	1,666	16,890	391	1,225	15,274
503	300	275	297	1,499	590	5,877	—	—	5,877
206	127	115	129	627	245	2,427	—	—	2,427
169	92	86	96	447	171	1,802	716	1,086	—
115	48	44	48	244	96	1,149	—	—	1,149
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	545	513	564	2,692	1,052	8,099	2,825	3,814	1,460
—	274	262	281	1,340	526	4,047	1,095	2,109	843
—	187	176	195	909	357	2,699	680	1,049	970
—	38	36	39	189	73	553	—	—	553
—	117	111	123	570	221	1,749	240	346	1,163
—	59	55	59	288	113	911	—	—	911
—	—	—	—	—	—	33,714	4,035	7,506	22,173
38,676	21,997	20,328	22,470	105,443	41,392	456,877	58,715	101,129	297,038

DISCUSSION *on* MR. BOOTH'S PAPER.

THE CHAIRMAN (Dr. T. Graham Balfour, F.R.S.) said that Mr. Booth had stated very well the extreme difficulty of getting accurate statistical information upon the questions which he had discussed. One great difficulty must arise from there being no defined line between the different occupations, and one occupation and one class of society shading into another. He was sure that they would all feel much indebted to Mr. Booth for having brought before the meeting a very important social question.

Professor A. MARSHALL said that economists were accustomed to be charged, as they had been by Mr. Booth, with confining their attention to abstract reasoning, and paying little attention to the real facts of life. Speaking as an economist, he would return good for evil, and say that it would be difficult to conceive a paper of more absorbing interest to economists than that which had just been read. The economists who do not study actual facts, but evolve their theories out of their inner consciousness, had, so far as his experience went, this peculiarity, that they themselves were not actual facts. They were figments of the imagination evolved out of the inner consciousness of their critics, and altogether unlike the real facts of life in the shape of economists as they actually existed. At all events he was sure that all those economists whom he had the pleasure of knowing would say that there was not a line in the paper which they ought not to think over most carefully. There were however several directions in which Mr. Booth might on a future occasion give a little more help, without going away from his main purpose. English statistics were behind those of several other countries in failing to give any estimate of the average number of persons employed in each establishment. The want of this knowledge hampered economists very much, and Mr. Booth might be able to arrange his figures so as to supply it if Government persisted in refusing to do so; as it was he only gave the numbers of heads of families among employers and employed, and of course most of the employed in London were not heads of families. He thought the figures relating to irregularity of employment were of great interest as far as they went. There were no doubt a few trades in which, for exceptional reasons, employment was becoming more irregular. The statistics of these trades had been quoted repeatedly, and too much importance had been attached to them. There were many reasons for believing that a broad survey would show that employment was, on the whole, becoming more regular, and Mr. Booth's figures tended to confirm him in this belief. Another fact upon which Mr. Booth threw light, but upon which he might throw more, was the number of persons employed in London who were under no necessity to live there. There was something wrong when things

produced for the wholesale market, and without reference to individual orders, were made by workpeople in London, when a family could not get thoroughly good accommodation for less than 10s. a week, and when consequently they often lived in one room, or a part of one. We want to know how many are really compelled to live in London to meet its requirements as a great centre of commerce, of government, and of intellectual and artistic work. The riches of London were sufficient to pay those people whose work there was really necessary high enough wages to enable them to live decently. There seemed to be no unwillingness on the part of rich people as individuals, or as a tax-paying community, to pay any sums which might be required in order to remove the festering spots among them. But the fear was that by making London attractive they would increase the flow of labour to it. The immigrants into it kept down the wages even in those trades which were necessary there, and overflowed into other trades which produced for the wholesale market, and having to compete with places where rent was low, could not get wages high enough to pay for decent house room in London. That which tended to make life in London more attractive was no doubt good so far as it went, but its good was entirely in the present, and it was likely rather to increase misery in the future by inducing people to come to London. A contrary result would be produced by spending money on the making of open places, and by insisting that persons in London must have a certain amount of house room. The laws in existence on this subject were stringent enough, but it was physically impossible to enforce them suddenly with regard to those in London. Many difficulties would however be solved at once by giving notice that, though a temporary dispensation would be granted to those who had already obtained a settlement in London, no excuse would be admitted on the part of new comers. It would not be necessary to make invidious distinctions as to particular nationalities. But those who were thinking of coming to London, whether they were foreigners or country people, would be made to understand that if they came there they must be able to pay for decent and healthy house room. Then he would tighten the screw gradually with regard to those who were already living in London. The effect of these changes would be that those trades which it was not necessary to carry on in London would not be carried on there, and the great mass of helpless labour which was now at the mercy of any pushing employer would gradually take itself away. Those who were obliged to live in London would have to pay whatever price was necessary to secure decent accommodation, and they would be sufficiently scarce to demand wages high enough to enable them to pay for it. Again, it would be very interesting to get yet more information than Mr. Booth had yet supplied with regard to those persons who did not wish to work. An employer wrote some time ago to say that he had offered work to the unemployed: many had tried it, but not one of them would stick to it. Probably however he had set them to work which anyone in full health and strength ought to be able to do, but which required more strength than they possessed. It would be desirable to know more clearly

what was the kind of work which persons who were returned as unwilling to work were asked to perform. He believed that a few of the poor law officials were inclined to demand work which men were unable to perform, not on account of any moral unwillingness, but because want of food or some other cause had deprived them of the stamina necessary for it. He believed that the information contained in the paper was one of the most valuable presents which the economists had had, and that when the work was verified and completed it would take a unique position among the materials out of which their science was being built up.

Professor LEONE LEVI said that they were much indebted to their friend Mr. Booth for his interesting microscopical inquiry as to a portion of the population of London. Such papers as this were required from time to time. Persons were in the habit of taking large views of the population of the United Kingdom and of the world, and sometimes failed to take narrow and exhaustive views of things near at hand. There were, however, he submitted, several imperfections in the paper. It was well to remember that whatever might be the proportion of poverty which was indicated, it was confined to a very small section of the general community. Quite recently there had been published a paper called the "Bitter Cry of Outcast London," which implied the existence of a very extensive amount of poverty in London; but when they came to see how far such poverty extended, it might be found that it only applied to some hundreds or some thousands of persons amidst nearly four millions of people. He wondered also whether the paper gave an accurate idea of the word "poor." Who was a poor man? The author had stated that a certain number were very poor who were in the receipt of from 18s. to 20s. a week. An income of 18s. or 20s. a week, even with four or five persons in a family, where there was generally more than one person earning something, ought not to leave the recipient in the condition of poverty. The view that such persons were poor was not justified by the cost of living; and if the expenses of such people included drink and unnecessary luxuries, there was no ground for sympathy with their poverty. It is a misnomer to call a person poor where, out of an income of 20s. a week, he spends 10s. or 12s. in a wasteful manner. The author had not mentioned the causes of poverty, such as gambling and drink, nor had he touched upon the average wages of the community with which he dealt. His own impression was that poverty proper in the district which had been described was more frequently produced by vice, extravagance, and waste, or by unfitness for work, the result in many cases of immoral habits, than by real want of employment or low wages. It was satisfactory to find that there were 65 per cent. of the whole number above the line of poverty. He would like to know what was meant by there being 22 per cent. on the line of poverty and 13 per cent. below the line. It would be of great value if Mr. Booth would add as an appendix budgets of the income and expenditure of as large a proportion as possible of the classes with whom he dealt.

Major CRAIGIE joined with previous speakers in thanking Mr. Booth for the trouble and care which he had taken in bringing these figures before them. At the same time he would emphasise the desire which had been expressed that the inquiry had gone a little farther before its results were published. There was always a danger in figures going out to the public which did not cover the whole case. He should like to ask Mr. Booth whether his attention had been directed to the investigation which the Society made officially into much the same districts exactly forty-three years ago? In the year 1844 a very important committee appointed by the Statistical Society, with Mr. Hallam as president, endeavoured to ascertain the condition of the poorer classes in St. George's-in-the-East, as a typical metropolitan parish. To aid the inquiry, which was, he believed, a house to house one, in the area to which it extended, money was contributed by gentlemen outside, and also from the funds of the Society. That investigation went to the very point which Professor Levi had just referred to, namely, the proportion of the expenditure of the families to the earnings of their heads, and particularly the expenditure in house rent. It also gave an analysis of the trades and professions of the district, and the conditions of life and health, and especially the position of the women, and rate at which the population multiplied. He would suggest that Mr. Booth should supplement his paper by drawing on that committee's report for comparative information on some of the points included in his investigation. It had occurred to him that perhaps the information now given to the school board visitors was not to be entirely relied upon in all cases. It was very well known that in many districts of the metropolis the visits of these visitors were not always welcome, and the answers given to them might be given with an obvious purpose, and this to a sufficient extent to impart a bias to any statistical conclusions resting on the data thus collected as to the financial condition of the parents visited. It was not too much to hint that there might thus be an element of possible suspicion with regard to this information. Some years ago he had occasion himself to go over a part of this district and somewhat similar districts in the south of London, and he was not, on the special point to which his inquiries were directed, impressed with the fulness of the knowledge which the school board authorities possessed of the circumstances of the parents of the children in the schools. Out of about 5,000 children whom he saw, cases were to be found of pupils excused the payment of the school board fees on the ground of poverty, who were yet as a matter of fact at the same time putting money into the savings banks in connection with the board schools. This showed that the school board machinery had not probed to the bottom the social conditions of the population around their schools, or that there was a concealment or misrepresentation of facts which might be again practised on the school board visitors. He regretted that the paper made so little reference to the remarkable statistics of pauperism in this part of London. Anyone who had studied the question of poor law administration at all, had always looked to

Whitechapel and St. George's-in-the-East for some of the most striking examples of good poor law administration. These parishes were conspicuous in the reform which had taken place in London generally. He had that very evening examined the official record for January last year, which showed how enormously official pauperism had diminished throughout the metropolis generally. In the year 1857, 47 or 48 persons out of every 1,000 were in receipt of relief at the end of the month of January. As lately as 1871 there were 50 in every 1,000 in London on the pauper roll; but at the present time, in spite of the distress which had been heard of in connection with the east of London, the proportion of actual pauperism had fallen to one-half what it then was, and there were not now more than 25 per 1,000 on the pauper roll. That was a fact which could not be ignored by anyone who was looking into the social condition of the metropolis as a whole. Undoubtedly the conditions of relief had been altered; but he believed that those who were conversant with the poor law management would agree that the altered condition of administration had been closely followed by a great rise in the position of the class who formerly received relief. There had been, what there was much room for, a greater cultivation of self-reliance, and a greater exercise of faculties which had lain dormant while the paupers could live at their ease upon the more industrious section of the population. Professor Marshall had ably referred to the question of the injurious concentration of the population in districts like the metropolis. He (Major Craigie) trusted that their efforts would be rather to prevent the agglomeration of masses of half employed or of irregularly employed persons who came up to London on the vague chance of competing with the crowds already there for irregular earnings. They had heard proposals made of late for the abolition of the coal and wine duties, on the ground that they would thus be promoting greater manufactories in London and increasing metropolitan trade. This meant drawing from the country greater mobs of expectant workers to London, who would be far better employed in local centres. It was just the opposite result they should aim at—the diffusion not the concentration of industrial activity. He was sure that the greatest curse of London was its growing and enormously increasing masses of irregularly employed persons, and any policy which should check that dangerous concentration should be welcomed equally on political and on social grounds.

Mrs. HECKFORD said that she had been working for some time in connection with the Working Women's Co-operation Association with the idea of promoting a rise in the wages of working women. She wished to corroborate one remark which had been made by Mr. Booth, and that was that a very great deal of the want in London arose from the physical unfitness of the workers. Of 75 women who passed through her hands in the last two years, there were only 10 who were really good workers. The rest were unfit for the work which they had to do. They had either become incapacitated by work which they had been obliged to do, or they



had never learnt their trade thoroughly, and consequently they could not do their work quickly enough to enable them to earn proper wages. Out of the 75 there were only 3 women who drank, and only one who drank at all heavily, and had to be dismissed in consequence. There were only 4 whom she could not call trustworthy; the others were honest, and anxious to earn what money they could, although for the most part unfit for competition. Many of them were worn out before their time, and one of them, a woman of 40, had the appearance of a woman of about 60.

Mr. S. BOURNE said that it was not by one mode of research alone that they could ever expect to arrive at the truth. He thought that what they wanted was not so much an extension of the paper as some speakers had suggested, as an independent investigation starting from different bases, and following in different directions, with a comparison of the results of such investigations. For instance there was needed most decidedly an investigation into the moral position of the various classes of society, for his belief was, like that of Professor Leone Levi, that a large amount of distress in the country arose very much from the immoral conduct of the poorer classes, in which respect they followed very closely the example which was set them by the higher classes. If they could make a moral division of the community, they would arrive at data which would throw a great deal of light upon the causes of the conditions set forth in the paper. Then, side by side with that, they needed an inquiry into the expenditure of the people. When he spoke of morals he was not referring exclusively to drunkenness or want of chastity, but he meant those habits which affected the earnings and the expenditure of the people. A great deal had been said about extravagance and want of thrift; but they must bear in mind that the stoppage of extravagance and the cultivation of thrift would not altogether remove the evils which now existed, for what was extravagance in one person furnished employment to another, and in a certain sense led to the distribution of wealth. The only true extravagance with regard to the whole body of the population was the waste of that which was required, and the only real want of thrift, taken in the sense of the whole community, was in the failure to use all the powers that existed in the mass. With regard to pauperism and a comparison of the numbers of persons relieved from time to time, it must be borne in mind that any investigation into the relief which was doled out by the State was incomplete, unless there could be added to it that which came from charitable sources. He believed that a large amount of the diminution of poor law relief arose from a greater recognition on the part of the wealthy of the obligations which they were under to share their means amongst their poorer neighbours, and thus to a greater extension of private charity or help. He would not class it altogether as charity. There was certainly now a great deal more of help from the West End to the East End than there had ever been before. According to the paper there was undoubtedly a want of sufficient employment for the mass of the people, as

well as a neglect of the proper use of that which the employment produced ; but it would be useless, he thought, to attempt anything like the legal interposition which Professor Marshall suggested for preventing people from coming to London. He did not think that it would be possible in the present state of society to take any step of that kind. What they needed to do was to offer attractions to people to reside out of London, and to direct people to the magnificent openings for the employment of labour and the production of the necessities and luxuries of life which existed in distant parts of the empire. The true course was to draw people away from those connections which were attended with so much that was immoral, and vicious, and so much foolish waste of time and strength. They must take some national means of lessening the pressure of population. The causes which had been in operation to produce the present state of things were going on at an accelerated rate. At present we had very cheap food, and he hoped that it would continue. At the same time it was quite clear that there was less wealth coming into the country than formerly to meet the pressure of circumstances from year to year. In that fact there was to be found an additional reason for the spreading of the population abroad in those places where they could become the creators of wealth, and be without their present inducement to waste so much in foolish amusements.

Dr. G. B. LONGSTAFF said that it was unfortunate that Mr. Booth had not gone more into detail as to the statistical method which he had employed. He should like to have heard Mr. Booth's equation of the supply and demand of dock labour, which must be one of the most interesting things that Mr. Booth had to give them. As a piece of statistical work the paper reflected the very greatest credit on the writer. He confessed that when he heard many months ago of Mr. Booth's intention to carry out a work of this kind, he thought that it was altogether impossible that he could ever get so far as he had done, and he congratulated him on his success. As regarded the ultimate sources of the information, these, like the ultimate sources of all statistical information, were liable to fallacy as they all knew very well. All information had to come ultimately from individuals, and individuals were all fallible, school board visitors amongst the number. On the whole he thought that the social condition of the people was likely to be described by the school board visitors as worse than it really was, as regarded not only the disreputable classes, but the disreputable members of all classes. Probably as regarded the more respectable classes the reverse might be the case, and the visitors might often think that people were better off than they really were. The respectable man was the one who made the best of his circumstances, and the disreputable man was the one who made the worst of his circumstances. With regard to the estimates of population which were alluded to in the appendix, they knew that as attention was called to any subject the information was likely to become more and more complete. In the case of births, when these were first registered in the year 1837, the registration was very defective,

and some portion of the apparent rise in the birth-rate was due to improvement in registration. He thought that it was the same with regard to children of school age, and that every enumeration would more and more closely approximate to accuracy, and that therefore the population had not increased as much as Mr. Booth imagined. Probably however the error was not very great. Mr. Booth seemed to be in some doubt as to the increase of the population of Stepney. He suggested that Mr. Booth might be able to check the estimates by the number of births registered, assuming the birth-rate of Stepney to have fallen to the same extent as that of London generally. Mr. Booth had rightly told them that his sources of information were imperfect, and his figures were therefore only approximations. He (Dr. Longstaff) thought that while for working purposes it was always right that a statistician should take notice of two places of decimals, he did not think that in the tables there was need to notice them at all. Mr. Booth's figures were of course only approximations, and therefore it became almost an affectation to state the percentage in decimals while the error was probably two or three per cent.

Colonel LENOX PRENDERGAST said that having represented the Tower Hamlets district on the London School Board for eight years, he thought that Mr. Booth might like to have from him a corroboration as to the sources of information which he had relied upon. The school board visitor was a person who was in close contact with the people, whatever might be thought about it, and he knew very largely the condition of the people, and though visitors had in many of the districts in London a connection with the remission of fees, probably in the Tower Hamlets district that would be less the case than in other districts, for, during many years, the Tower Hamlets district had never remitted any fees at all. They gave the people penny schools, and they found that that for several years was the best method of dealing with that class of population, so that the considerations which had been urged as to the *bona fides* of the information obtained by the visitors would scarcely apply in that district. He had felt that a fallacy had run through the discussion that evening. General conclusions seemed to have been drawn with regard to the whole of London from the condition of the Tower Hamlets district. There were however very great peculiarities about that district, and, at the present moment, very serious peculiarities. The population was largely a waterside one, and was enormously affected by the state of trade. For miles down the river there were new docks, and new sources of employment, which dragged the population from their own neighbourhood to work in some other. Many of the men went for miles to their work down the river, and the demolitions which had taken place had had a most serious effect upon the condition of the people. Obviously a riverside population as this so largely was, must live near their work. Much of their work went on at night, and some worked all night. A hardship had been brought upon the people by the old houses being pulled down, without new ones being built for them, and yet many must live close to the spot at

which they were employed. The consequence was that immense crowding had taken place, and great misery and discomfort had been caused; but from his knowledge of the very lowest and the very poorest of the people, of classes C and D, he was bound to say that in no part of London had he seen better moral conditions than he had amongst the very poorest of the people of that district. It was extremely desirable that when people talked about the "vice" prevalent in that district, the facts should be fully stated in regard to this portion of the population. There was plenty of vice in the Tower Hamlets, but where was it to be found? It existed amongst the people who occupied the houses which were described just now as having been built by the jerry builders. The occupants of these houses got them at low rents. They passed the whole day in bed, and passed their nights preying upon society within a few hundred yards of the place where we are met to-night. That was the part of the population amongst which the chief vice existed. It did not exist in anything like the same degree amongst the poorest of the population. He would venture to make one slight correction, if Mr. Booth would permit him to do so. In the paper just read he spoke about the low and miserable class whose children attended the board schools, as if it was in the board schools only that they were to be found. That was an error. Those who attended the non board schools were of the very poorest class, and some of them were even poorer than those who attended the board schools. The information which Mr. Booth had obtained from visitors was of a most valuable character, because the visitors dealt with the whole elementary school population of the district, and did not deal simply with the class with which the board school education was connected. He (Colonel Prendergast) had ventured to interpose because he felt that it was important that such a body as the Statistical Society should verify its references, and weigh carefully how far the particular district described in the paper would or would not justify their forming a judgment of the condition of the rest of London. In conclusion he wished to say that school board members had been very glad to afford the assistance of which Mr. Booth had so kindly expressed his appreciation, and the Statistical Society were now in possession of fairly reliable information relating to a large district of the metropolis, which could scarcely have been obtained but for the existence of the body of officers known as "school board visitors," and they had gladly co-operated to the best of their ability.

Mr. E. K. FORDHAM said that he did not think that there was any hope of a returning tide from London to the country. There was a continual tide from the country to the town because labour was so much better paid for in the town. Men who could earn only 10s. or 12s. a week in the country could obtain 27s. a week in the towns. Then there was a continual stream of men into the ranks of the police. He found in his own district that the Great Northern Railway took away many of the country labourers and gave them work on the line. He really did not see how the people were to be prevented from leaving the country and going into the

towns. Nor did he think it desirable that they should be kept in the country. There was very little work for them in the country as far as agriculture was concerned, because we were glutted with foreign provisions of all kinds. With regard to the poor law administration, he found that there was an immense number of the children of paupers who obtained situations in London. The girls went into service as housemaids and cooks, at wages of from 20*l.* to 40*l.* a year, and the boys became household servants—butlers and so on—and they helped to contribute very largely towards the support of their parents. They did not do this ten years ago. This state of things had arisen within the last ten years. It indicated a good disposition on the part of the children, and a generally improved state of society.

The CHAIRMAN said that he was sure the meeting would agree in a most cordial vote of thanks to Mr. Booth for the very interesting paper which he had read.

Mr. BOOTH, in replying to the discussion, said that no one could be more conscious than he was of the imperfections of his paper. He entirely agreed with very many of the criticisms which had been made. With regard to Professor Marshall's points they should certainly be taken into account if he was able to continue the work. As to Professor Leone Levi's suggestion it would be not only important, but a necessity, in order to make the paper of greater value to insert something like a budget of the expenditure of the people referred to. The question of their earnings he had dealt with in the paper by saying that the information could only be got by a trade inquiry. The expenditure of the different classes might be ascertained by persons who were living and working amongst them, and he hoped that such persons would procure the information. Mr. Stephen Bourne had pointed out that the moral questions would form a third set of inquiries. He (Mr. Booth) had omitted these entirely from his paper. His justification for reading such an imperfect paper was that he felt very great doubt whether he could go on with the work by himself without going wrong, and he wanted to bring it to the touch of public discussion. He had been very thankful for the discussion which it had elicited.

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