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A 33

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Booth

Third Series

Vol. 1. Chap. I. contd.

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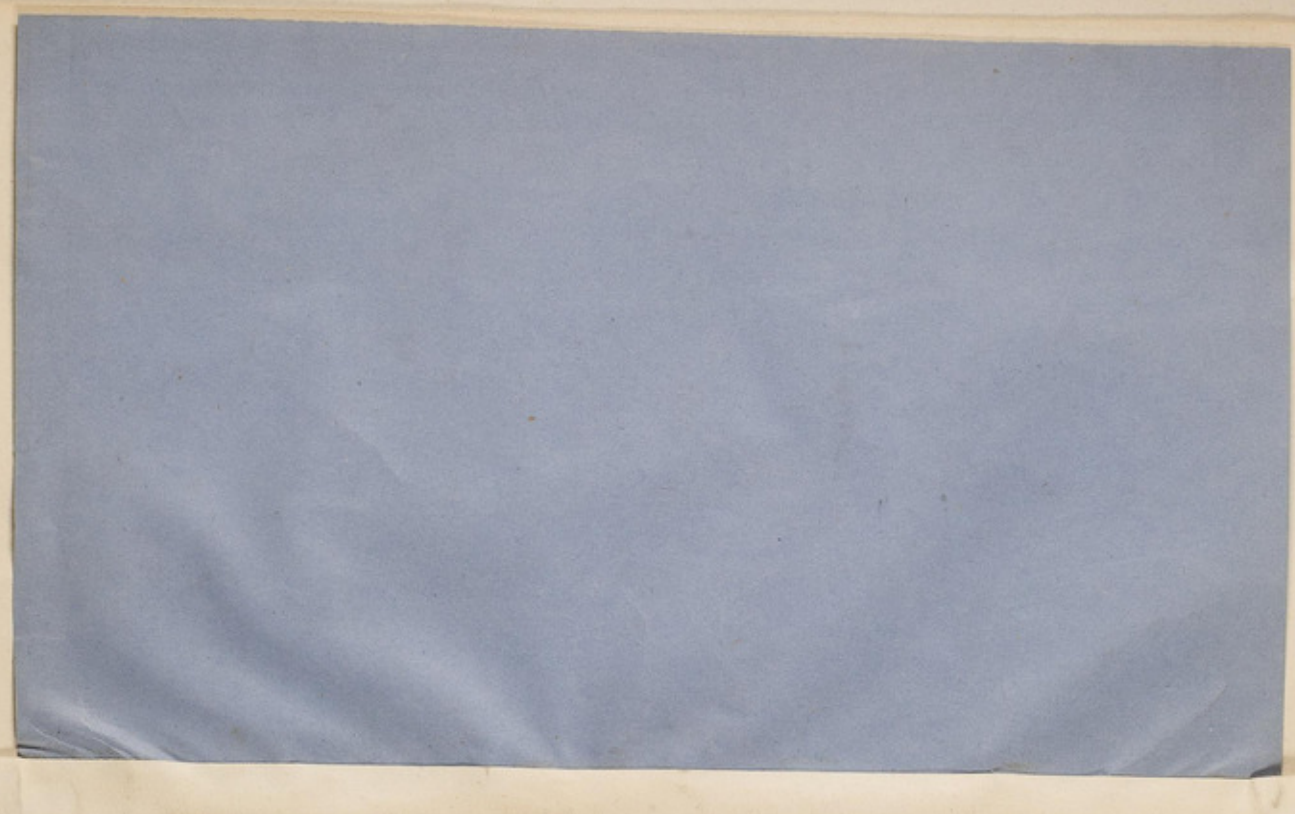

[1]

Report on District 10.

Mile End Old Town

(9)

see Booth, Life and Labour..... 1902-3.
Third Series, Vol. 1. Chap. I.

[Reports by Booth's "secretaries": Report on District 10 (Mile End Old Town). fols. i, 38.]

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District 10.

District 10 comprises the sub-registration districts of Bethnal Green East- and West and Old Ford East.

Analysing the District as in previous Reports parish by parish we begin with that of St John. As to the condition of the people in this parish our information ~~seems to be~~ is rather scanty: ~~but~~ according to our map a large proportion of them are very poor; there seems no reason to believe that there has been any great change in the last ten years, though the dark line patch immediately to the west of Globe Road seems distinctly to have improved in

character. The only spot in the parish which bears a thoroughly bad reputation is Queen's Buildings in Russia Lane, a miserable block of dwellings little if at all better than that ~~block~~ of the same name and belonging to the same owner in Islington.

The Vicar of this parish is Rev. Hodges, apparently a hard and conscientious worker, but with no great influence or attractive power.

The only non-con. of whom we have any information in this parish is Rev. Millar who carries on a mission, mainly among children, in Red Grove: but a far more important influence is exercised by the Presbyterian and Congregational churches to which we shall come in the next parish.

Next page >

This is St. James the Less a parish which, like

Mr Cox is the Parochial Sunday School and Mission
Remarkable chiefly as being an unattached Mission Room on
distinctly Church rather than so-called undenominational
lines. It appears to be a quiet unobtrusive little work.

the exception of a few streets in the north was poor
when our map was made, but is now a good deal
poorer, a large number of the ~~s~~ purple streets having
become dark ~~blue~~ blue. The decay is attributed partly to
the disappearance of the respectable wealthy element, partly
to clearances elsewhere. It may be noted too that here
the Church has for many years been utterly inactive.
The old Vicar has however recently retired and his place
has been taken by a remarkable man in the words
of Ditchfield. The Ditchfield has only been here a few
months but during that time he has collected and
spent £320 on the church, has raised an evening
congregation of 300 to 400, has a Sunday afternoon service
for men with over 400 in attendance, has built
gilled seats for women and children, has started numerous
social agencies, ~~and~~ has Priest and Sick Clubs with 600

members paying in £17 a week, and has sent his visitors from house to house and room to room throughout the parish. Though he must presumably have gifts of eloquence Mr Ditchfield has no personal attraction: it is clear then that a good popular preacher & who is energetic and admirably ready - Mr Ditchfield's hits are scattered broadcast - can in a very short time make the wilderness blossom as the rose. The question of course arises as to how far the roses have been stolen from other gardens, how far they are a genuine growth from virgin soil: on this point there is the usual difficulty of getting reliable evidence, but it seems probable that Mr Ditchfield, whatever may be the case with his ordinary congregations, has ~~some strange~~ a real power of attracting men, and that he draws to his mens' services many who have hitherto refrained from churchgoing. Whether the influence goes deep and leads to any ~~actual~~ spiritual

change or to any reform in the daily life is a still
more difficult question. The members gathered together in
so short a time & lead one rather to doubt the permanent
or deep effect of the work, which Mr Ditchfield himself
admits that the most easily seems ~~the friends~~ workers
men for the most part leading decent respectable lives
men who earn regular wages. What his success seems
to prove is that there is a considerable floating population
not habitual churchgoers
both of men and women, who can be brought to
church if the services are made sufficiently attractive and
the sermon is of the kind they can understand and
appreciate.

(for it is not reasonable
to suppose that all these
people have been so suddenly
converted and changed their
way of living)

Note on next page →

The parish surpasses of the church in this and the
adjoining parishes may possibly account to some extent
for the activity of the non-comers in the neighbourhood.
Here we find two large churches Wesleyan and
Congregational carrying on vigorous work both spiritual

Note.

Mrs Ditchfield kindly claims that the effects of his Mens' Services and allied work are as follows:-

(1) On drinking habits. His own writings and the opinion of publicans (with whom he was very friendly) agreed that Sunday drinking had gone down one third.

(2) Made homes available and broke down prejudice against the church.

(3). Increased thrift and providence; during four years at Holloway £3300 was put into sick and thrift clubs.

(4) Affected homes: increased tidiness and often led to an extra room being taken

(5). led to the Womens' Union on Tuesday from 3 to

4, which gave those who came time to get home
without interfering with comfort of husband.
(6). Earlier Communicants increased 2½ times during 5
years.
(7). Provided a machine by which much other work
could be undertaken in the parish.

5th

and social. Among the Wesleyans Dr Stephenson is the most prominent personality, but his work in connection with the Boys' Home and the Deaconess' Institute is national rather than local or metropolitan; though he takes a little part in the actual work of the church compensating for it. He is a man of such mark in the Wesleyan body that his presence in the district must tend to strengthen their position. For the work of the church Mr Gregory is chiefly responsible. Mr Arthur says that he is an earnest Christian with heart and soul in his work and has a band of earnest workers round him who have some of the same enthusiasm. Altogether this is evidently one of the most active organisations in East London.

? ?

Close to the Wesleyan Church is the large and imposing block of buildings of the Congregationalists.

This church has been for more than a year without a pastor, and our information as to the spiritual side of the work is rather scanty. But ~~from~~ more interesting is "The Christian Instruction and Benevolent Society" in connection with the Church, in which Mrs George is the moving spirit. "The prime object of the Society" we are told "is to bring the Gospel to the homes of those who never enter the House of God, and this is done by means of tracts and heart to heart conversation and by practical Christ like sympathy with distress in whatever form it is found." The methods by which the Society carries out these objects seem to me so typical of a certain side of religious philanthropy, and as we have so suggestive an account of

them in ~~the pamphlet entitled~~ "The Silver of Lazarus
that of a later stage of this Report I propose to
quote ~~largely~~ from that pamphlet.

In Norton Co., in the centre of the dark blue
patch, to the north of Green Co., there is a Baptist
Chapel of which Mr Clark is the Pastor: in spite
of its locality Mr Clark says that most of their
people are "lower middle class and nearly all come
from a distance": there is the neighbourhood "seem
to have no thought or care for their eternal interests"
Mr Clark is described as "not a strong character
but a good man".

There is a decadent Congregational Chapel in Sidney
N. which from want of funds is without a
pastor

Zelotes

The parish of St Giles's contains a population of almost exactly the same character as that south of Old Ford Road in St James the less, a mixture of people and dark blue, the blue in Colin's Rear and the adjoining streets being of a shade little if at all removed from black. The Vicar of this parish is here again: he is old and slightly paralysed, with the result that the parish is dead. The Low-Lows are not represented ~~in this parish~~.

The parish of St Barnabas lies to the East across the Canal. Here we find a rather better class of people, but they are still poor, mixed with a few tradespeople. The Vicar Mr Barnes is ~~of~~ one of those sad cases of a good man actually unsuited by his ~~by~~ and nature for the work of such a parish, and with his natural difficulties increased by age

and poverty.

The low-lows here are represented by a Baptist-chapel of which Mr Thomas is the Pastor: they appear to be active.

The parish of Holy Trinity is marked by migrations, the efflux of the better class, and the influx of the Jews to the latter houses. The poorest parts of the district around Bradford St. ~~have~~ have improved in character in recent years. Mr Jones the Vicar is described by Mr Bax as "indolent" while Mr Thomas speaks of him as "a regular old woman" and Miss Lilly as "one of the parsons who brings the church into contempt."

In this district and indeed over a much wider area a far more important influence has been exercised for many years by the great Baptist chapel of the

East End, the East London Tabernacle, in Bonnett Road.
There can be little doubt indeed that Mr Archibald
Brown, the late Pastor, was the greatest spiritual force
in the East End; ~~and~~ xx from since his departure his
teaching and the organisation he started are probably
exercising a wider ~~if~~ not a deeper effect than ~~that of~~
any other church East of Aldgate. The ~~w~~ whole work
of the church ~~seems to have~~ has suffered less than might
have been expected by Mr Brown's departure: there is
still a congregation of about 2500: but the
large charitable work carried on by Mr Brown has
had to be considerably curtailed. In various forms
of which and medical ~~xx~~ work over £3000 a year
was spent.

The parish of St. Bonet's, with the possible exception of a bit south of Mile End Road, is solid working class with little or no poverty: it appears in fact to be the most respectable parish in the East End west of the canal. The Vicar is Mr Richardson, as to whom personal character and influence opinions are rather conflicting. The most interesting feature in Mr Richardson's work is his perfectly organised system of Ticket-distribution.

In this parish is situated Latimer Chapel, the centre of the operations of the notorious Mr Atkinson, who spends in which between £3000 and £4000 a year. There seems no reason to suppose that - apart from his relig Mr Atkinson is a person of any importance.

The parish of St Peter is dominated by Charrington's Brewery the Phoenix Distillery and Judaism. A very large proportion of the population are connected with the drink interest, and though they are capable of taking enormous quantities without getting drunk they are said be so sodden with liquid as to suffer from "fatty degeneration of the soul". The Vicar Mr Dennis is a pheasant-plucked man of the hectic type, who has given the thing up as a bad job.

The parish of St Anthony is decent working class in character with one squalid little slum in Cornwall Place. The Vicar Mr Sedge appears to be a hard worker. The most interesting feature in his work is the promising which he gives to the Dispensary system in his Sunday Schools

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We now pass south of this Old Road to the parish[14] of St. Dunstan, Stepney, the mother church of East London. In this large parish every stratum of the working class is represented, with a sprinkling of the lower middle class. But here as elsewhere the general complaint is of increasing poverty: and there seems no doubt that the streets between White Horse Lane and Hartford St. have deteriorated greatly in the years with the exception of the few which now own their dark blue: the whole of this district is now very akin to the neighbouring slums surrounding Leman Street.

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~~to how pass south of this Old Road to the~~ The parish of St. Phanchas ~~Stepney~~ is probably the most efficiently organised and worked parish in East London. To give some idea of the extent of its operations I may mention that there are 15 paid workers and 6 voluntary who devote their whole time to the parish while the other voluntary workers number 140. The Buildings, including two churches, number 12, and the calendar of the week's work enumerates 132 services and meetings of clubs etc. But all this activity would be of little worth without a good man at the head of affairs. The Dalton, who is now responsible for the organisation of this great machine, is luckily a man of the highest type, calm, strong, full of common sense.

The Rom- Cons in this district are so much more than local in their influence that I propose to treat them for separate treatment-

The parishes remain, those of St Luke and St Paul, covering roughly so much of District- to as lies immediately East- and West- of Burdett Road. Here our information is very scanty, but there seems no reason to suppose that there has been any material change in the character of the population since our map was made. Except in Burdett Road and a few streets north East- of St Paul's church the prevailing tone is that- of a poor working class.

The Vicar of St Luke's has been seen, but- is as his brother clergy say "very eccentric". So eccentric indeed as to be incapable of coherent- or

comfortable speech; he has known an active and
stable life, ~~and who~~ who is probably responsible for any
active work in the parish.

The Vicar of St. Paul's, Rev. Thomas, is the
only person to see, but outside opinion gives
the poorest account of his work.

In St. Luke's there is a Congregational
Church, of which Rev. Rivers is the minister; he
is said to be "a frank, manly, earnest fellow."

In this parochial survey I have omitted
all mention of the three great religious agencies
which though situated in this district extend their
operations and draw their adherents from the whole of
East London: these are ~~&~~ the Great Assembly Hall,
Edinburgh Castle, and the Wesleyan East End Mission.

Of these the Great Assembly Hall (Town Hall to Mission) is the largest. Though calling itself a Mission it is in fact nothing more than a large, so-called undenominational, but really non-conformist church, gathering together an immense number to hear the word, who come more or less regularly but are not known. "The services" he said "are conducted from month to month by the highly chosen evangelists, selected from men noted for their sound doctrine and their piety. The Hall which seats 5000 is thronged on Sunday nights, and indeed well attended ~~on~~ every week evening. It is wonderful how many hundreds of working people manage to come in night after night straight from their various occupations, to listen to the grand old Gospel". How far the congregation is

really of the working class it is difficult to estimate:
a visit on Sunday morning showed "a genuine congregation
of the poor". but on Sunday evening the report
says that "then may have been poor and working
class people there, perhaps in considerable numbers,
but if so they were swamped by the middle or
lower middle class people". In addition to the
ordinary services there is a 'Men's Own' - hooked on
the plan of attendance cards with prizes and a
distribution of books - drawing an audience of from
400 to 500. The social and charitable work connected
with the mission is of the usual character, but on
a larger scale than at most churches.

The methods at Edinburgh Castle closely resemble
those at the great Barnsley Hall. We are told in the

[A note may be made of an offshoot from the Guardsmans Hall in the Mile End Division E.M.C.A., an unusually vigorous and aggressive branch of this well known Association. The whole Report is of great interest but perhaps the most striking feature in the work is the Lascars' Mission Band, consisting of a small inner circle formed of Lascars, formed to reach the lowest ranks of society "as it would be no good for a person in a good position of life to go to them".]

Report that " For a quarter of a century the Gospel in all its simplicity and power has been preached here in the sight of an audience ~~which~~ which each Sunday evening gently fills the Lecture ... There is a well-trained adult mixed choir and a good organ, besides an orchestra consisting of ~~two~~ over 30 performers on stringed and brass instruments. ... In the evening we are always sure of the attendance of a very large congregation and this fact alone will serve as a sufficient answer to the familiar sophism that Christianity fails to attract the working classes."

The Report then gives a year's statistics as follows:-

Number of religious meetings held	866
Aggregate attendance at same	365,320
Number of temperance, social, and charitable meetings	238

Aggregate attendance 81,160.

Total number of meetings 1104

Total attendance 45-0, 460.

How too then is the large P. S. A. or Mens' Class,
from which "standard works of biography, history,
travel, and religion are obtained by the members on
Exceptionally favourable terms" (i.e. in plain English
"at a loss to the Mission")

Such is the rose coloured & howling of the Report.
But an interview with Mr Bowron, the Secretary, leads
to the conclusion that in this Report as in many
others there is a great deal of "suppressio veri"
not- & unaccompanied by "suggestio falsi".
So remarkably frank was Mr Bowron in his statements
that it may be well to quote from his evidence at some

length. The people who come he says are drawn from a very wide area practically the whole of East-London and Stock-ford: they are exclusively middle class and the upper stratum of the working class; probably ach of them do not at the Castle would to ch some church or chapel. "People" he said "come from other parts of London to the one hearing expecting to find the poor in rags and tatters, and are astonished to find themselves among a congregation such as they might almost find in the West-End". Not to the really poor - the people of Canning and Limehouse Fields, for whom the Castle and the Missions connected with it were intended. they go nowhere; not even into a few hyppen attract- them except in the most insignificant numbers. So great is their aversion to be preached at-"

It is worthy of further note that many of those who habitually attend at Edinburgh Castle - and no doubt this would apply equally to the great Heavily Hall - are said to be members of the Church of England who can find no church in the East End sufficiently evangelical to suit their taste.

The Wesleyan East End Mission has at present three large centres in the East End: of these two are situated in District 10. The Agent, under the control of the Rules, seems to be the head-quarters of these centres. The Stepney Tabernacle in Commercial Road, with Mr Howard at its head, is full of activity: as Mr Howard's evidence it really seems to touch the working class: he has given us an analysis of those who are in membership, showing that far the

larger proportion ~~that~~ belong to that class: on the other hand a visit to the chapel on Sunday night showed one of the most aristocratic looking congregations in the East End. Over all the work connected with this Mission there is a suspicion of Father Ignatius that seems to be considered legitimate even by the Churches.

In considering the district as a whole one is driven
to the conclusion that it is poorer than was the case
ten years ago. The pink parts, with the possible
exception of a few streets, still remain pink, but
there is evidence that they are more crowded and
approaching more closely to purple than they were.
Of the purple streets on the other hand it is obvious
that a large number, both in the neighbourhood of
green St. and White Horse Lane have changed to
light- and dark- blue: while the blue parts
on our map seem to have remained about the same.
This district then seems to confirm what our
inquiry had led one to suspect - that not that
the workers in London are poorer, but that
~~than ⅔ of them who live in~~ London proper is now

and now becoming the dwelling place of only the poorest of the workers, all those who can afford to do so living beyond its borders; do we not thus yield ourselves fraud of the very real danger that all the working class districts of London are tending to become cities of people and Men?

To the Missions & agencies at work among this increasingly poor population there are two points that at once attract attention. The first is the existing weakness of the Church of England: while quite recently the only parish where the church could be described as strong was that of St. Dunstan Stepney: to this must now possibly be added that of St. James the less when our

Ditchfield is at least as the Bishop of Stepney says, "making a splash": in the other parishes the church is a asylum, when indeed it is not; owing to the character of the incumbent, an active influence for harm. and x in this district there are at least two of the clergy who are likely to bring their church into contempt. In this district. Here more glaring than in any other district that we have touched one realises the weakest point adequately in the church - its apparent inability to deal with the cases of the old, the incapable, and the insane among the clergy.

The second point that arises is that this district is as we have seen the great centre of Non-conformist mission work. That is the effect

of these large Mission centres? In the first place it is certain that they do what the ordinary churches and chapels for the most part fail to do - they attract large numbers of East end dwellers to their services and meetings. ~~What is~~ The source of their attraction is not so clear: it seems to be ~~the~~ due partly to lavish advertisement and the love of crowds, partly to orchestras and brass bands, and largely to the style of preaching adopted: the sort of preaching which the working and lower middle classes enjoy is seen raised to its highest power in Mr John McNeill with his rugged power, his homely pathos, his simplicity, his earnestness, his vulgarity, his want of reverence, his absolute assurance of knowledge of the Almighty and his ways.

But who are the people who go to hear this preaching

As we have seen the evidence goes to show that with few exceptions they would, but for the attractions of these missions, be found in other churches or chapels: and if it be true, as is held by non-conformists as well as churchmen, that the work of the large missions is largely 'froth' that it leads to a religion which makes no demand on life; then it is clear that even on the spiritual side the work is not justified: even if it leads to the conversion or salvation of a few what is that compared with the loosening of the spiritual tone of those who are drawn away from churches and chapels which refuse to play down spiritual to the lower side of spiritual life, and

more easily
which are able to demand from their members some
more positive service and proof of right living than is
~~this~~ involved in a mere church attendance?

The third point to be noticed is the powerful
deluge of charitable relief which flows from Districts
10, and which no doubt overflows in no small measure
into the surrounding districts. Rich and poverty comes
from Hampstead, but only a short way behind lies on
the great Heath, and the East London Tabernacle,
which Whitefield established, the Presbyterian Church in Hopkins Road, and their
the Congregational Church in Approach Road, and their
~~Wesleyan~~ Wesleyan neighbours are varied in their distribution
of relief, or if not of actual relief then of teas,
Dinners, treats and ~~other~~ allied forms of charity.
In this helpful competition the church of England is

this district. Takes comparatively but little part: in many districts so double-team is not much to choose between the two, but Greytown it is said I think to found that the non-cons and the R.C's are more harish and indiscriminate in their ridicule than the church: this fact may probably be traced to the much closer cooperation of late with the C.O.S. of the church than other religious bodies: the Church being the most prominent religious agency in each district the C.O.S. has made its first efforts at converting the clergy, and has to some extent induced them to form the committees and attend meetings, with the result of doing still further check the representations of other religious agencies. It is not necessary to detail any further the evil effects on the people of all this

indiscriminate relief: that point has been sufficiently
emphasized in previous reports. But it may be not
uninteresting to notice how detrimental to the administration
of this relief must be the hiring of the asylum
which it seems necessary to issue in order to bring in
the money of the charitable public: hurrying [illegible] to
be picked in the highest possible [illegible]; the truth must
be suppressed and falsehood suggested not consciously
no doubt, but from an instinctive feeling that only by
exaggeration can the power of the workhouse be forced
upon. I had intended to quote at some length from
some of these reports, but on reading them through I
realize that to produce the requisite effect it
would be necessary to quote at greater length than

this district report would justify, and I can only emphasize the importance of reading such documents as the Record of the Town Hamlets Mission on "The Silence of Laymen."

As to the attitude of the people to the Churches and to religion there is little to be added to what I have said in previous reports on similar districts such as Bromley or Hackney: there are the same complaints of non-attendance at worship and of utter apathy and indifference for which the same causes are assigned. The only point on which the evidence suggests any new thoughts is the often repeated remark that there is no hostility to religion: in a broad sense this is probably true, but it may be well to remember that nearly all our testimony on this point comes from ministers

of religion, and the growing politeness and intensity produced by education would make such hostility less natural to them even if it existed. But even from the clergy (e.g. from Dalton) one hears that the general opinion of the working man is that the clergy are either knaves or fools, while the Bishop, a schoolmaster of unusual culture, emphasizes this point and seems rather to approve the verdict which he quotes that matters of religion are "rather a poor lot", lower rather than better than their fellow men. There is no doubt that this feeling is widespread, and if it does not constitute hostility to religion it does at least show a very considerable prejudice against the churches, a prejudice which even men of the undeniable goodness and strength of Dalton or Howard have the greatest difficulty in breaking down.

And is not this attitude to some extent pictured? ~~It~~ ~~is not the result of~~ No doubt it is due in no small measure to the fact that the churches ~~are bound~~ with their restrictive doctrines, are bound when represented by saints, to be regarded with dislike by the mass of ordinary men. But it is it not also largely the result of the sins of the churches? The ~~Pharisee~~ not the average man who stands outside the churches some reason for thinking that the intemperance, the impurity, and the gambling against which ~~their~~ ministers of religion are always thundering are no worse than the fighting, the lying, and the uncharitableness which fill so large a place in the daily lives of so many of their good people? The working man may perhaps scarcely have reached the point of putting his feelings into words: but at the back of his mind may still be the ~~thought~~ "Oh religion what sins have been and still

are committed in thy name!" Because evil actions are done with a good motive they do not cease to be sins, and the good people who do wrong be punished as severely by the higher powers for all the evil things which they are doing with such admirable intentions as the bad people for their drunkenness and fornication. ~~which both of their mischief of which~~ "Bloody Mary" I imagine was typical of many a ~~good~~ good man or woman of to-day and the crimes which she committed in obedience to the promptings of her conscience, are no more heinous ~~than many of~~ allowing for the different standards of the ages, than many of the things which the 'workers for Christ' are now doing in Bethnal Green and Mile End.

Is there not too on the part of our historians too great

a tendency to assume that - this indifference and apathy are the result of ignorance rather than of scepticism or infidelity.? Then again no doubt the working man has not thought the matter out very deeply, but the thoughtful scepticism of those who are better educated has penetrated and permeated all classes of society, and the rather blatant atheism of the school of Bradlaugh, which was looked upon by the churches as horribly vicious has probably given place to a more tolerant agnosticism which will be less noisy in its effect.

[1]

Report on Poplar & Limehouse

District 11

THE LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS
AND POLITICAL SCIENCE.
HOUGHTON ST., ALDWYCH.
LONDON, W.C 2

(10)

see Booth, Life and Labour... 1902-3.
Third Series. Vol. 1. Chap. I.

[Reports by Booth's "secretaries": Report on District
11 (Poplar and Limehouse). fols. i, 59.]

Poplar & Limehouse.

The Boundaries of the District.

Poplar & Limehouse together are bounded on the South by the Thames, on the East by Bow creek, on the North by a line running almost due North-West from Bow Creek across Orchard Street through the middle of the East India Dock & up as far as the corner formed by Bow Common Lane and St Pauls Road, a line which there turns West down the St Paul's Road & across the Blackwall Extension railway and does not turn South until it reaches White Horse street, on the West by Whitehorse Street, Salmons Lane, and, at the Junction of Salmons Lane and York Road by a line running due South through the Limehouse basin of the Regents Canal & so out into the River Thames.

Four distinctive areas within these boundaries.

Broadly speaking, there are within this area four great districts each of which has a distinctive character. In the first place there is the Isle of Dogs on a tongue of land formed by one of the great S bends of the River

River Thames, where the population is one almost exclusively composed of labourers employed in the Island itself. In the second place there is Blackwall forming the eastern portion of our district with an Isle of Dogs in miniature in the shape of the 'Orchard House'. Then there is Poplar proper which lies between Blackwall & Limehouse and is a district of skilled artisans & seafaring men. And lastly there is Limehouse with the Limehouse cut & the Regents canal running through its midst which is perhaps the poorest of all and contains a greater number of black spots than all the other districts put together. We will begin with the Isle of Dogs and then work round from East to West through Blackwall Poplar & Limehouse respectively.

The Isle of Dogs.

The Isle of Dogs is an island of Docks. Practically the whole of the centre of it is occupied by dock basins. In the Northern half there are the West India Docks where trading ships and steamboats of all kinds load & unload, & in the Southern half are the Millwall Docks which are al-

almost entirely given over to the Grain & timber trade. But, in addition to its Docks the Island has an immense river frontage which is lined with factories throughout its length, of which the most important are oil works, iron foundries, shipbuilding yards and provision factories. There is in consequence a great demand for labour of every sort from that of the skilled mechanic to that of the humblest Dock labourer. But, although there is this demand for labour of every grade, the source of supply is not by any means confined to the Island itself. Every morning there is a vast immigration of outlanders from Poplar on the north, from Forest Gate by train on the East and from Greenwich across the river, on the South. Those who come in are for the most part the more highly skilled. The Island is not a fashionable dwelling place and those who can afford to live away from it, do so.

The real inhabitants of the Island therefore are first class and second class labourers and dock workers. There is in fact no large district in London which is so entirely inhabited by the labouring class and by the labouring class alone as is the Island. When this is taken into

from p. 4/-

Many are country men-
men who have come from
Sunderland to take the
place of strikers. Their fleet
-ness compares the I. to a
large country village

to p. 3

The character of
the streets.

into account with the fact of the isolated position of the Island we can grasp the two main reasons for the peculiar character usually given to its inhabitants. They are rough, they are stay-at-home, they have few interests outside the public house, but withal they are not vicious in the same sense as those who live more in the centre of London. In the whole of the island there is not one recognized house of ill-fame.

As regards the character of the streets themselves, there is, with perhaps two exceptions, no great variation. The general tone of the Island is violet. If we enter ~~the~~ Island on the Western side crossing over the Limehouse entrance to the West India Docks we find ourselves between high walls which echo with the noise of heavy carts and heavy horses. This is the West Ferry road and is the only entrance to the Island on the Western side. It is not until Cuba street is reached that there is any sign of tributary streets & dwelling houses. Shops and dwelling houses then make their appearance in the main road and take the place of the dock & factory walls. On the East side

is

is a block of streets between Alpha Road & the West ferry road inhabited by labourers who though poor are respectable. a considerable number of dock foremen & permanent hands
This block is improving in character as the inhabitants feel the benefit of more regular work at the docks. The small streets on the West or river side are in general poorer than those on the East and conform with the dictum 'the nearer the water, the poorer the street.' This is true generally of the streets all round the Island. The district is known as Millwall and forms the Rev. J. Hewlett's parish.

Further South and across the 'Second Bridge' or entrance to the Millwall Docks is a small group of very poor streets by name. Caverick, Crowe & Claude streets, forming one of the two exceptions mentioned above. These streets are inhabited by casual labourers many of whom are Irish. To a certain extent their condition is due to the same cause which led to the improvement of the streets further north. There has been less casual work to be had at the docks, as they depend entirely upon it for their subsistence, they are worse off than they need to be. This district is under the care of the Rev. R. Free the curate-in-charge.

Passing along the South of the island and turning northwards up the Manchester Road we find ourselves in Cubitt town and in the Rev.C.S Coldwells' parish. The East side of the island is new and has always been rather more prosperous than the western side but it is not without its rough & poor streets. Stebondale street has a reputation for roughness but is improving; and further north there is a very poor block lying between Stewart street & the Manchester road. Apart from these there is a comfortable air about the houses in the Glengall Road district and some allotments on a piece of waste land south of the road have been very successful and led to a greater respect for order on the part of their possessors. A great blow was struck to the prosperity of this area by the closing of Lenadas ship building yards in consequence of a strike & for some years there was great suffering: now there is some recovery owing to the growth of Yarrows torpedo boat works. The County Council pumping works have also done much for the better drainage of the houses. Stebondale St is 9ft below high tide and before the works were started the drains used to run backwards and flood

flood the basements of the houses in this and the surrounding streets. Now they are comparatively dry. Once past the Glengall Road we are in the Rev. G. Cowan's parish which reaches up as far as the Blackwall entrance to the West India Docks. At this point the 'Island' properly speaking comes to an end & merges in Blackwall and the mainland again.

The clergy on the island

With regard to religious influences, the island is not without them but it must be confessed that have little or no apparent effect. The representatives of the Established Church on the western half are – the Rev. J. Hewlett at St Lukes in the Alpha Road, & the Rev. R. Free at St. Cuthberts (not yet built): while On the Eastern half are. the Rev. C. S. Coldwell at Christchurch in Cubitt Town, & the Rev G. Cowan at St. John's Church which is situated at the corner of the Manchester Road and Galbraith Street.

Hewlett is an old man and past his work; Free is a learned and pleasant man, somewhat emotional perhaps but sensible with an earnest & energetic wife to help him; Cold-well

Coldwell is rather shifty an unreliable and has been inhibited for drink but he has a vigorous wife; & lastly, there is Cowan who is burly, hearty, active ~~and~~, unmarried and rather High-Church. During the period of Coldwell's inhibition (seven years) his parish was worked by the Revs E. C. Mackenzie & the Rev. Kite, two enthusiastic and energetic young curates who only left about two years ago upon Coldwell's return. Since then Coldwells Parish has been subdivided and a district with a church to be named St Cuthberts carved out of it. Thus we see there are only two really vigorous Church workers in the island - Free and Cowan.

But whether active or inactive their accounts of their congregations do not greatly differ. The people, they say, are entirely working class; they are genial and friendly but do not care about church going. They are indifferent as to religion. This is again confirmed by the Roman Catholic Father Egglemeers whose church and schools are in the West Ferry road in the S.W. corner of the island and by the Nonconformists. Father Egglemeers goes so far as to say that even when parents do send their children to church they

they do so only because they think that the effect of Religion is to 'make their children more obedient and easier to live with at home.' Mr Nicholson, (in Cowans parish) a Wesleyan, states that 'the people are not reached by any church' & Mr White another Wesleyan working in Hewlett parish says that 'Religion is at a very low ebb.'

The chief reason for this lies in the nature of the week-day lives of the inhabitants. There is very little 'thinking' on the island. The men are for the most part manual workers and employed out-of-doors. They are dockers rolling trolleys and lifting heavy weights, or grain and timber men balancing heavy sacks or long planks of deal on the 'hamnies' at the back of their necks and working at high pressure at piece rates. When Sunday comes they are tired, they sleep long in the morning and the mental effort of prayer or listening to sermons is too much for them. The result is that they do not go to church. But if they will not come to the Church the Church must come to them and Free and Cowan have started out door lantern services which meet with much appreciation. The wall of a factory is

is used as a lantern screen and each picture is explained by the preacher as it is thrown upon it - It is more easy to stir the understanding of these men through their eyes than through their ears. Something may be done in this way but the work of the church among the adults of this generation is not of great promise - Cowen, who has better congregations than any other man and is an amusing preacher, frankly recognizes this fact and is paying particular attention to the spiritual training of the children - especially the boys.

Church Services.

The actual number of services which the people might attend if they would varies enormously with the personal predilections of the rector - Morning prayer, or, as many prefer to call it, Matins, at 11 am, & Evening prayer or Evensong at 7 PM are the staple Sunday services - Morning prayer may be preceded or followed by Holy Communion, or both: Cowen, for example has three celebrations every Sunday, two before and one after morning service: he has also one every weekday morning and two on Saints' days - But this is an abnormal number; one on Sunday, one during the week & one on Saints days would seem to be more usual - Sun-

Sunday afternoons are taken up with Catechizings, Sunday school teaching, Baptisms and Churchings, which occupy the time of the clergy between lunch and tea-time. At 7 as we have said there is Evensong which ends the services of the day. Evensong is the most popular service, many are not up at 11 in the morning and therefore come to the evening service only. Those who go to church in the morning generally go in the evening as well.

The Roman Catholics

The Roman Catholic flock in the Island consists almost entirely of poor Irish; men & women who are very poor and very rough, sufferers most of them, from the effects of greater regularity at the Docks. Their pastor is the Rev. Father Egglemeers who is an old man & past his work. He is anxious to leave and only remains there at the express wish of Cardinal Vaughan. He says himself that he exercises no influence over his people.

The Nonconformists

The Nonconformists, though there are several small mission halls, cannot be said to be making any headway. The people have not sufficient leisure nor is the leisure that they have sufficiently moneyed and comfortable to enable them to

to enjoy doctrinal religion.
It would seem then that the working man of the Isle of Dogs are more likely to come under the influence of the High Church party than under that of the Roman Catholics or the Nonconformists: as being the only body which without the stigma attaching to the name of 'foreigner and papist', can present to him religion in a form in which it is both intelligible and acceptable to him. (pages 12, a. b. c to come in here)

Amusements

(Belongs to p 13)

The Island is entirely without places of indoor amusements. There is not even a music hall in the place, much less a theatre. Sing songs and friendly leads in public houses and Church entertainments in schools or mission halls do what they can to cater for an undoubted demand but are in no way sufficient. There is no place where a man is received without an ulterior motive - in the first case of selling more beer, in the second of bringing more people to church. This is one of the wants of the district.

But there is one winter game in which the island is preeminent, that is football. The name of the Millwall athletic Club

Other Philanthropic work

With regard to other religious & philanthropic effort. There are the Monks of Cubitt Town consisting of two young men who have adopted monastic ways and dress, and who work with Cowan. They pay special attention to the boys of the district. They are ritualists and have been the cause of some bitter feeling on the part of Mr Chorley a retired butcher and earnest worker for the North East London Gospel Mission. Chorley and the monks represent the extremes of Low & High Church doctrine & practise. Chorley, himself, the author of a very violent pamphlet against them & declares they 'have chopped on their block all the principles for which the Protestant reformers died'. There is no love lost between the sects for Cowan speaking of one of the City missionaries (Mr Prowel?) calls the one in his district a 'snake in the grass'. The neutral ground on which they meet is in the cause of Temperance and in organizing the proper apportionment of the Country Holiday Fund.

Then there is Mr Bullivant in Hewlett's parish who organizes free breakfasts & dinners for the School children

during the winter months, but (with the best intentions) probably does very little good.

The best charitable work on the Island is perhaps that undertaken by Miss Price, in Cold wells parish, among the factory girls. Miss Price herself is a keen high Churchwoman, cheery and sensible who, in all her clubs, allows none of the work to be entirely secular in character. She has herself started 3 girls clubs, a mothers' meeting, a provident Bank & a Coffee Tavern. All of them are succeeding. This is most important work, for the number of girls employed in the Island increases year by year.

Womens work

These are, in particular, Mortons & Macnaughtons jam and provision factories which employ a very large number between them. The work for women indeed shews a tendency to increase in a far greater proportion than that for men. This year (1897) and the preceding have been prosperous years for men's work, but on the whole men's industries shew a tendency to leave the island just as those for women give signs of greater development. In the future it is quite possible that the men may begin to depend on the power of the woman to be the bread winner of the household & grow lazy in consequence. Herein lies the importance of Miss Prices' work. She is teaching the factory girls self-respect. She is also weaning them of their ex-

extraordinary love for unwholesome food and further, shewing them the practical value of plain sewing.

See back to page 12

Club is one of the best known in England and many thousands crowd to their matches on Saturday afternoons. In spite of the fact that they are made the occasion of much betting yet they have certainly been of benefit to the people in rousing their interest in matters outside themselves; and now that an occasional licence is refused for the sale of beer or spirits on the ground itself the complaints made of a direct increase of drinking habits due to the matches have ceased. Some say that the men are even too much interested in them matches. We were told for instance that 'Millwall is foot-ball mad' & that boys neglected their work & 'were even proud to get the sack on the ground of having been at a foot ball match.' But is probably not a harmful madness. Cricket, to use an American expression has not yet caught on.

? other afternoons

° South East

On the North East side of the island there is a public garden and a branch of the Poplar free library. Both are a success but the garden more so than the library. The natives are only just beginning to read but they like the open air, especially on a Sunday evening in the summer when the County Council band is performing. Then they go in crowds much to the disgust of the per

persons who complain of a diminished attendance at evensong-

Vices.

The chief vices of the island are drinking, gambling and thieving - The hard manual work of its inhabitants and the absence of adequate counter attractions account to some extent for the first two. As for the third, thieving seems particularly confined to boys and is regarded by themselves as a sign of prowess - One way and another plenty of things get left about - bits of old iron, goods from leaky sacks, loose stores from ships that are being loaded or unloaded etc etc; "once anything portable is found lying about there is not a boy who would not try to remove it" so one informant told us. Perhaps this is going a little too far, but certain it is that the Island provides more juvenile thieves than any other portion of the K police Division. A love of mischief would probably more accurately describe the spirit that prompts these thefts than any inherent viciousness of character.

With regard to drink there is said to be some improvement /

a successful theft /

Health

With regard to health that of the island is good. The climate is damp & foggy and every newcomer suffers from his throat and it is not the best place for those afflicted with rheumatism, but apart from these evils which are prac

practically common to all London the Isle of Dogs has a very fair name. There is no overcrowding; the smell of chemical & manure works, though unpleasant, acts as a corrective to more malignant odours; and above all the County Council pumping works have practically stopped the sewage back-flow of which there was formerly so much complaint.

The question of ~~unemployment~~ work, education, and Local Government will be spoken of later in connection with the district of Poplar generally.

Blackwall.

Turning into Blackwall once the Blackwall entrance to the West India Docks we find ourselves at once in the Rev. Chandler's parish. There is a poor block of streets lying between Brunswick street on the East and Preston's Road on the West. But there is not so much poverty now as formerly. There have been great changes owing to the Blackwall tunnel works. Instead of the very poor Leicester street there is a great block of County Council dwellings. Norfolk street has been opened up & of Gaselee street only the East side remains. Then round by the South Quay, past Blackwall station, & across the dock into Orchard street. The back of the station fronts on the river and is known as 'East-end by the Sea'. There is always a fresh breeze here and in consequence crowds come here on Sunday evenings during the summer. It is even said that local doctors recommend this spot to patients in an incipient state of consumption. The whole neighbourhood is one of docks, warehouses and iron works. The streets run between high dock walls & there are no dwelling houses until

(Yabsley St. (3))

or.

The Orchard Ho

Orchard place is reached. Orchard Place is the main street of a little tongue of land surrounded by Bow creek which is known as the 'Orchard House'. In shape it is the isle of Dogs in miniature, in character it is very much worse. Formerly it was a quiet country place where some of the smaller ship-builders lived. After that the whole of the Northern end was taken up by the Thames plate glass works which failed owing to the stress of foreign competition. The glass works were superseded by oil works & galvanized iron works and by a Board school all of which still hold the field. The dwelling houses are ~~all~~ at the Southern end and accomodate 50 families, of whom only 10 are said to be respectable. The members of the remaining 40 are rough, poor, piratical and predatory. Their weakness is drink. There is a great deal of overcrowding — 5 houses alone send 57 children to school. Rents vary from 4/- to 4/6 for two rooms and the ground. Landlords are the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. Marriages are very early — often at 16 or 17 - and 'generally for pressing reasons'

Here then is an Alsatia which would seem to be a rich man's opportunity. The area is necessarily limited and any man

man who turned his attention towards it would have the satisfaction of seeing it improve under his own eyes. The first and most obvious means of relief ~~to the distant~~ would be to throw a foot bridge over the Lea to Canning Town.

It must not however be supposed that nothing is now being done for the district. There is Mrs Brown the Board school mistress a sweet & motherly woman who exercises a great influence for good. Her complaint is that so few of her pupils reach the higher standards and all of them leave the very moment they are 13. The religious work is undertaken by a Mr Campbell who has a mission under Chandler, & he is helped by his sister Mrs Ricardo. The result of their efforts has been to make the people rather more human but they are still so rough, ~~work~~ that neither the Thames iron works nor the oil works will consent to employ them. The chief ways in which they earn a living is by dock work & unloading barges, while the boys get odd jobs in cleaning the boilers of small steamboats.

There are 4 public houses and no other means of entertainment than

than drink in which the women as well as the men indulge.
The Thames galvanized iron works (Mr Leach. manager) have started
some successful football, cricket clubs and speak of their value in
'giving the men an excuse to pass the public houses without
turning in'. The law as ordinarily understood hardly runs in the
Orchard House & a policeman is very rarely seen.

On leaving the Orchard House the road runs between the
Bow creek and Dock walls until it reaches the main East India
Dock Road. There is a roughish block of streets enclosed by Robin
Hood lane on the East and Cotton street on the West of which
Aston Street & Wells street bear the worst characters & just behind
the Board School is Providence Place which is also very turbulent.
There are good many Irish in this neighbourhood. Wells street on the
North side looks very poor & while the Grosvenor Buildings which make its
South side have taken the place of a very bad slum but do
not themselves bear a very enviable reputation. They are the
dwelling place of many of the loose women who ply for hire
in the East India Dock Road. Moving westwards there is a
respectable group of streets between Cotton street and the railway.
Here

Here is the Westerly limit of Chandlers parish which includes part of Poplar as well as the whole of Blackwall. Speaking generally of its inhabitants it may be said they are almost entirely of the working-class; born Londoners the majority of them and employed as Dock or riverside labourers, as railway men or carmen. In characters they are migratory, inverterbrate and apathetic, epithets which are often applied to the East ender but are perhaps especially applicable to the inhabitants of riverside and dock districts owing to the uncertain conditions under which they live. The Parish though poor is not very poor. The Rev. A. Chandler who has charge of the district is Rector of Poplar and has his head quarters at the All Saints Church whose large burial ground fronts on the E. India Dock road. He is an active Oxford man, a broad ritualist of the new school who is anxious to be friends with the working man. He has 3 curates to help him, all first-class Oxford men. ("It is nearly always easy to get good men as curates in the East End as all the keen men wish to come there.") Of all the clergy in Poplar ~~district~~ he is the one who is most talked about. His services are popular and he is one of the very few ~~in the district~~ who appeal to the adult working man successfully. In cooperation with W. Crooks LCC he started the Sunday afternoon

lectures in the Town Hall which are largely attended. These lectures except in Lent are usually secular in character and are generally given by some man who is prominent in religious or social life such as Gore, Scott-Holland, Dickinson, Fletcher etc. About 600 persons come to them.

In religious work Chandler aims especially at the maintenance of a steady church nucleus. He has missions at stated seasons in order to stir up the consciences of the neighbourhood but his main work outside the Kernel is social rather than religious.

vid. notebook. I. p13.

At the children's service in the afternoon he has started the 'Dupanloup' system to take the place of Sunday School. On the new plan the children assemble in three centres, the elder ones in the church and the younger ones in two school-rooms. The teaching is given in a definite course by the clergy themselves & order & discipline are maintained partly by monitors selected from the children and partly by former Sunday school teachers. The children have fixed places assigned to them; they are questioned separately and marked for their answers. Further they are encouraged to write compositions each week on the subject of the

the last Sunday's instruction - Infants under 8 are still taught in classes in the old way. The new system has met with great success & the numbers attending has gone up from 600 to 1000. Since Chandlers arrival the number of Easter communicants has risen from 235 to ~~460~~ 500.

Nonconformists.

The Nonconformists are not making much way. ~~in the district~~ - They have to live on the offerings of their congregations & the working class of the neighbourhood are not well enough off to afford any regular contributions. The Rev. W. Joyces the Baptist minister at the Cotton street Chapel does good work in a small way and the United Methodists & Wesleyan Methodists also visit/- But their work does not compare in extent with Chandler's. The Salvation Army also has little real influence. The Catholics in the district are under Father Lawless of whom we shall speak later.

among the lower middle class/

Poplar.

The next portion of our district is that which includes Poplar proper & such of Limehouse as lies to the East of the Limehouse cut & North of the West India Dock Road. It is bounded on the South by the Black-wall

-wall Railway, on the East by the North London Rail-
-way, on the North by a straight line drawn between
the E Corner of Southall St and the Limehouse cut, and on the W
by the Limehouse cut itself, the Burdett Road & the West
India Dock Road.

Character of Poplar.

The Character given to the inhabitants of Poplar
is that of being intelligent but not intellectual.
No one is very rich but there are a great many who
are not very poor. There is a sailor-like breeze about
the district and a friendliness about its people that
is contrasted with the quiet exclusiveness of the in-
-habitants of such a middle class District as North Bow.
Nearly every one is connected with the sea. Many
are petty officers on board ships but a still greater
number are skilled mechanics employed on iron ships and engineers. Formerly
the captains of big sailing ships might be counted
among its inhabitants & some of the great wooden shipbuilders.
Now the captain of a modern 'liner' is far too great
a personage to live in the East and the shipbuilders
with the exception of Green & Yarrow have left the Thames
bank

With the disappearence of wooden ships may be reckoned also that of those especially connected with their manufacture, shipwrights, caulkers, mast & block & sail makers &c. The master men in these trades have gone and with them a well to do ~~upper~~ middle class has departed from the district. Nevertheless there are many left who are well to do and the Nonconformists have a fairly large following in the district.

With regard to women's industries there is a marked increase in the number employed in slop-tailoring in shops pointing not only to a normal expansion of trade but also to a gradual change in status of the Poplar people.

The roughest and poorest spots in Poplar are 1) The Bath Place district which lies between the N. London Railway and Cotton Street 2). The Sophia street district lying between Hale street & Wade Place & 3) The South side of the Poplar High Street & Pennyfields. Further, some of the streets on the northern boundaries near the Limehouse cut though not nearly so poor as the foregoing bear rather a disreputable character. Although Bath place & the surrounding streets still have a bad name there is some improvement, chiefly in the form of demolition, to be noticed. The North side of Cottage Street is all down and Cottage Row the worst street in the

in the block exists no more except as a waste place -
The notorious Finch court which contained a common lodg-
-ing house known as Miller's where the rejections of the other common lodg-
-ing houses of the neighbourhood were received, has also been
closed of the above -. The Sophia street area is a noted dwelling
place of very rough cockney Irishmen, so is Dingle
lane on the South side of Poplar High Street. No
English men or Scotchmen will live in the same street
as these Irishmen who monopolise the rough spots of
Poplar. They quarrel & fight, they have no respect for
any authority except that of the priest & their habits
and homes are filthy - When they fight they have a way
of biting not only one another but also those who inter
fere with them which makes them especially disliked
by the police - For the most part they are employed at
the Docks as casual labourers & many of them work
for stevedores who recognize them as men who have
a knack of clever stowage - But rough as these areas
are they are not so rough or so lawless as the district
known

Known as the Fenian Barracks in Bromley.
The South side of Poplar High Street also has several houses of ill-fame frequented by common sea men, so has Pennyfields. The north side of the street in both these cases is better than the South side. Northern Poplar comprising Cotall Street Clifton St, Sabbarton St, Byegrove & Giraud Street has a shady character because of the number of loose women who inhabit these. They are not of the lowest class of harlots but that is all that can be said of them. They are the women who aim at the petty officers of ships lying in the Docks just as the prey of the women in the high street are the common seamen.
The most respectable parts of Poplar are the streets on the north side of the E. India Dock road, with the exception always of Clifton St and the others just mentioned: there are also some well-to-do streets on either side of St Matthias church.

The clergy of the established Church who minister to the

to the needs of the District are 3 in number. The Rev. J Neil vicar of St Mathias on the East, the Rev. R T Elliott Vicar of St Stephens in the East India Dock Road in the centre and the Rev J Beardall, vicar of St Saviours on the West. These are all men belonging to rather the old school of Churchmen. Neil is a scholar, who, though he recognizes the necessity of binding those connected with religious work by social activity says that the first duty of the person is to teach. His Church was formerly the chapel of the old East India Company: it is very old, and tradition has it that the wooden pillars & seats in the inside were made from the masts & spars of ships belonging to the ships captured from the Spanish Armada. His relations with the Roman Catholics are inactive but friendly but active as well as friendly with the Dissenters. He has a reputation for forming true Churchmen.

Elliott has been for 31 years a vicar at St Stephens, & is therefore an old man. In character he is genial and has a great love for the very young & the very old. He is more like the typical country clergyman than one who

who has to live among the hurry and ferment of an East End parish. His church is his idol & much of the beautiful carving & work that is in it, has been constructed under his own supervision & even put up by his own hands. His aim is 'to beautify the place of God's sanctuary and to let his people see the beauty of holiness.' He is especially anxious that people should come to church, and, to make his services attractive, has a good choir and often a preacher from the West End. He is not without his prejudices and speaks in strong disapproval of the School Board which he regards both as unscrupulous and extravagant.

Beardall is a mild mannered man who exercises a gentle influence but is without any fervour. His congregation is drawn entirely from the neighbourhood and consists chiefly of mechanics and clerks whose work lies outside the district. His aim is "to do good and if possible what we regard as the highest good."

Roman Catholics

The Rev. Father Lawless who has his church at the corner of Upper North Street and Canon Street, is the strongest

power among the Roman Catholics. His 'mission' embraces the parishes supervised by the Revs Chandler, Neil, Elliott, Beardall, Gordon and Alpe in Limehouse & Poplar, and those of the Revs Bedford, Carroll, Bennett and Dobson in Bromley. Altogether he has a Catholic congregation of two or three thousand persons, the majority of whom are Irish though there are a few Polish tailors in the west corner of the mission as well as some German bakers. The Irish Roman Catholics are not only the roughest & poorest of Father Lawless' congregation, they are as a body the roughest and poorest inhabitants of both Poplar and Limehouse. Father Lawless himself is a short, stocky man of great physical strength. He is the only man in the district who is capable of restraining the Irish cockneys. Even the police admit their inability to do so but allow that "once Father Lawless is there the people seem to be ashamed and slip away one by one until all is quiet: they do not even start fighting again as soon as his back is turned." Father Lawless has a fine church and a very good choir. More poor people attend his church than go to

to Anglican Churches but he himself can hardly be spoken of as a permanently humanizing influence and his effect on the character of his congregation has not been a marked one. Unlike the established Church the greatest numbers attend the morning services. Attendance at Mass is compulsory in the Catholic Church & this is certainly the reason of it; the poorest come at the earliest mass at 7.30 a.m. because then their shabby clothes are not so much in evidence.

Father Lawless has one paid curate, and, in addition to the stipend allowed them from headquarters, receives from £100 to £150 a year as the result of collections made every Sunday on behalf of the church by outdoor Collectors in the neighbourhood. There is also a sisterhood in the E. India Dock Road who work exclusively for him. In spite of the personal power of Father Lawless the Romans are not making any great advance in the district, if anything they are decreasing in number. In all probability they are leaving for Canning Town & now that the Blackwall tunnel is open there will be a tendency to emigrate from this side of the water to the other.

& there are Schools with room for 800 children, attached to the Church.

The Dis-

The Dissenters still have a strong hold in Poplar though they have been hardly hit by the gradual change in character of its inhabitants. The Primitive Methodists are the most active and the nature of their success at their various chapels is instructive as throwing a light upon the comparative well-being or poverty of the areas in which they are situated. The Rev. W. Lee is the superintendent of the Poplar circuit and has his headquarters in Chrisp street which is practically the centre of well-to-do Poplar. He is a paid minister. There is only one other who receives a salary namely the Rev. J. Walton at Cubitt Town. In addition to these there are 18 local preachers and 9 'Praying bands'. Altogether the membership of the circuit numbers 358 persons. In Poplar they have one chapel and a mission hall, Cubitt Town & Millwall each have a chapel and so has Bromley-by-Bow. At the Chrisp Street chapel the people are hearty and enthusiastic and £330 pa raised yearly from their voluntary subscriptions. In the Manchester road (Cubitt Town) & Boulcott Street (S. Bromley) chapels the work is progressive. These are both districts that

are improving in character and are feeling the effect of more regular work at the Docks. In Powis Road which is a poor street in a very poor district in North Bromley they are hardly holding their own; the same is the case with the Maria street chapel where although the district is improving there is not much comfort in the neighbourhood. Maria street is not altogether a case in point because formerly, when the district was even poorer than it is, there are said to have been good congregations.

Mr Robert Brown the Wesleyan Methodist poor steward of Poplar complains that their Chapels are too respectable and do not touch the working classes. /

The Salvation army works hard and perhaps is more successful with the lower classes than the Methodists but it has not any real hold and its street meetings are very poorly attended.

In Poplar as in so many other districts neither Church nor Chapel-goers form a large proportion of the population. The aristocracy of the neighbourhood attend the established Church. The middle-classes go to chapel:

A great help to the Dissenters have been the George Green schools in the E. I. Dock Road. These schools and chapel were founded by the rich ship builder Mr George Green. He had originally intended that the chapel should be a church but changed his mind when he discovered that he would not be allowed to make the presentations to the living. /

q Here are two or 3 strange sects such as Swedenborgians
y Conditional immortality Christadelphians q the Peculiar people that have a small following; lower down the Salvation Army affects a few belonging to the lower ^ middle classes and the Roman Catholic church reaches the cockney Irishman - But the bulk of the population is indifferent to religion - It is merely indifferent and not in the least hostile or antagonistic. There are no Secularists in the district but if there were they would probably be viewed with distinct disapproval - Speaking generally with regard to influence of the Church as it exists, there is reason to think ~~that~~ that the people have more effect on the Church than the Church on the people. q this being so it is probable that the High Anglican element which is so successful further East in Chandler's parish, would not meet with the same approval here. Poplar throws off not only the cream of her population but the dregs as well - The middle & lower middle classes remain. The cream is drawn westwards while the dregs flow east across the iron bridge to Canning Town. For some time the toll kept the poorest back but when that was taken

taken off an exodus at once began and still continues, an exodus which will receive still further encouragement now that the Blackwall tunnel is open. The remaining middle and lower middle classes are not those who look with favour upon either the doctrine or practise of the High Church party. It is probable therefore that those of the population who care about dogmatic religion at all will incline towards Methody or a distinctly moderate form of Anglican-ism.

Charity

With regard to the administration of charitable relief there is a good deal given both by Church and Chapel. Chapels given less in amount than the church but, as far as it is possible to judge, they give it less wisely. However, they are not of that opinion themselves. The Rev W. Jopson minister at the Cotton street Baptist Church says that 'If the people want pea-soups they go to the Church but if they want the Gospel they come to Chapel', Chandler retorts by complaining of the indiscriminate relief given by Dissenters. They both profess to work on C.O.S lines.

The

The C.O.S have an able secretary in Poplar in the person of Mr Hartley. There are a good many complaints of their want of sympathy with cases of distress but perhaps that is not their business. Chandler complains of it though he adopts their principles. Dr Corner a 40yrs resident, says that they are hard 'but are doing a grand work'. Others such as the Rev D. McQueen think their Committee is too much dominated by Church influences. The Rev W Jagues was formerly prejudiced against them but has had his prejudices removed by experience. Mr Galt the city missionary is the only witness who speaks strongly against them. 'The C.O.S.' he says, 'are hated with a bitter hatred.' & he complains of the 'brutal impudence of their visitors'. Mr Galt gives away hospital letters in great numbers & probably has found that his practise has failed to meet with their approval.

Poor-law.

Relief under the Poor-law is given fairly easily. There is a single board of Guardians for Poplar, Bow & Bromley with committees working under it for the purpose of administering relief. W. Crooks L.C.C, member of the vestry

x

a Guardian is a trustee for Poplar is the ruling spirit of the Poplar Committee just as Lansbury is for Bow. Crooks himself is a Cooper by trade and a Labour member of the county Council. Of very few men is it possible to hear so much good spoken. Mr Butler the clerk to the Guardians speaks of him as 'one of those rare characters a thoroughly honest & trustworthy man'. A dissenter calls him 'the provost of Poplar'. Dr Cornet too, praises him, while admitting that formerly his views were rather too progressive; & says that he has learnt wisdom with years & with the advantage of consorting with men cleverer than himself in Spring Gardens. Crooks is in favour of granting 'judicious out-relief' and takes pains to ensure that the investigations made shall be thorough. Every case that comes up has to be examined by by the Board & by the Medical Officer before a grant is made. Then relief is allowed for two weeks during which time the case is watched carefully and reported upon by the relieving officer. The result has been successful. Out relief is never given to able bodied persons unless they are sick. Want of work is never relieved. When relief is given, as it is mostly to

x V. 53.

old people it is enough to enable them to live decently. No part of it may go into Crooks has also been the means of bringing two county council bands to Poplar, one of which performs in the public garden attached to St Matthias, Poplar church, the other plays on Sunday evenings in the public garden in Cubitt Town.

The Poplar Board of Works covers the 7 districts of . It has done good work in pulling down Cottage row and the streets are very fairly swept and kept in order. The largest block of Buildings constructed under its supervision are the Grosvenor Buildings in Manisty street. These take the place, as we have said above, of a very bad slum. They are now let out in 535 occupied tenements. In the London County Council Buildings there are 48 occupied tenements with 175 inhabitants and in the Henbury Buildings at the corner of King street + Dingle Lane, 33 tenements with 140 inhabitants.

(NB. We don't know enough yet about Public work in Poplar G.H.D.)

North of the East India Dock Road there are no slums and little if any overcrowding. It is only when you come south into the Dock quarter that the overcrowding and dirt

dirt is a serious matter - Even here where the unspeakable cockney Irish man & woman abound there has been some improvement. In Sophia Street & Rook street which are nearly the poorest there are now clean blinds in the windows. Crooks remembers the time when they were only changed once a year at Christmas-time.

lending with a branch in Cabbage Town

Poplar also boasts a free Public library which was adopted by 3300 votes to 1100 ℓ. It is especially strong in technical manuals relating to the iron & ship building trades and is fairly patronised. It is not open on Sunday. Sunday opening was tried during the 3 winter months of last year but was found to be a failure. Those who read like to stay at home on Sunday. Besides, Poplar is not intellectual; there is only one bookshop in the place & it draws its customers from the sailors rather than from the residents. The Rev. D. McQueen says there is only one question that you can discuss in Poplar and that is the Labour Question. But undoubtedly the existence of a free library has encouraged the reading of books & the solitary bookseller who at the outset opposed its construction now

now admits that the effect of it has been rather to increase than to diminish the number of book buyers at his store. In the homes of the Local working classes books are an unusual sight unless they be the Bible or some prize that the children have gained at school. Horner's penny stories in which a moral is wrapped up in a love tale are distributed freely by the Dissenters and read. Penny novelettes have some vogue among factory girls: 'Rare bits' 'Titbits' & 'Scraps' are also occasionally seen about in poor homes. The Daily newspaper is rarely bought except for the betting news and never reaches home. A curious fact is that the Irish are greater readers than the English in this district. But on the whole, as we have said, Poplar is not intellectual.

Amusements. The Queen's Music Hall is the only place of entertainment in either Poplar, Blackwall, the Isle of Dogs or Limehouse. Of other amusement there is no provision except that provided by the various religious bodies, by the Public Houses or by the bands in the Public Gardens. There is not even a working men's club.

In

In this respect Poplar is very deficient. The sailors have nowhere to spend their evenings with the result that they pass them either in the public-house or in company with loose women. The provision of a theatre in Poplar or at least a Music Hall in the Isle of Dogs would surely be a profitable investment.

Prostitution

Loose women are in particular a source of trouble. There are several brothels in the Poplar High street and a still great number in Breeds Street on the South side of the West India Dock Road (a district of which we will say more when we come to consider Limehouse). Sailors it seems will have somewhere to go to. The common seaman frequents the houses in the High Street and Breeds street while the petty officer goes further North to Chifta Street, Salmon Lane, Byegrove & Grand Streets. The regular meeting places for the first are in the two beer houses at the corners of Beccles St and Gill St. while the second go to the Public House (the Duke of Suffolk) that runs between Northumberland St

Street and Suffolk street. Vigilance committees have been started and the Church and Vestry have cooperated in procuring evidence against these houses. Convictions have resulted and for the moment a house of ill-fame has been closed and its occupants scattered. But the women have only gone elsewhere and the evil has broken out again in places which were free before. Church & Vestry alike recognized the futility of their efforts and desisted.
The only possible method of effective intervention would seem to be in arranging to secure the girls in a home at the time they are scattered. For a day or two after a conviction they are homeless & if they were taken in hand at once some good might result. There are already two rescue homes in Poplar. Otherwise the only result of dispersion is the sowing of the seeds of vice anew.
At best an abatement of the evil is all that can be hoped for: There are too many sailors of all nations coming and going to expect a cure. Perhaps the enforcement of the contagious diseases act as at Portsmouth might act as a deterrent influence. The greatest indirect preventive

has been the custom of boarding ships both by H.! of Trade officers & by missionaries as they arrive in dock & by their presence with special facilities for sending money by post as the men are paid off - Much money has been diverted in this way to the families of seamen, which would otherwise have been spent on riotous excess.

Drink

Drink is the curse, but with improved education there has been a gradual improvement -/. Beer is the labourers tipple and whiskey that of the man just above him - Of the two the fiery stuff called whiskey that is sold in East End Houses is that which causes the greatest harm. 'Soaking' produces an enlarged liver and finally liver disease but not the alcoholism & madness that results from spirit drinking. This year there has been some increase, owing to greater prosperity, in the amount spent in alcohol. The temperance movement in spite of the fact that every church has its Band of Hope, 'Children of the Cross' etc seems to make but little way. It is probably a mistake to connect it so closely with Religion

Nevertheless working men still took on drunkenness with a lenient eye/

Religion - Wider interests and greater mobility are the two surest enemies to Drink - The introduction of the bicycle has already had some effect & both parson and publican are complaining of decreased attendances in direct consequence of its use - Dr Corner would have all licensed houses closed at 10 PM as his experience has shewn him that it is between 10 & 12.30 that excessive drinking takes place.

Nursing

The Nursing Sisters of St John the Divine are the most important body of nurses in the district - They are all trained nurses, they work in the following seven parishes. St Gabriels, St Stephens, St Michaels, All Saints All hallows, St Frideswides & St Saviours. Altogether there are 5 of them in the Poplar branch. They nurse the poor in their own homes free of charge - For confinements they charge 5/- which includes nursing for 9 days after - One or two of the Churches have a nurse attached them; & the Dissenters sometimes have an untrained Bible woman; but the main work of nursing the poor is done by these Sisters.

St Frideswides & St Saviours have nurses of their own so that they are not so active in these two parishes as in the others/

They are all paid workers and are directed by the Mother Superior at the central home in Drayton Gardens South Kensington. Everyone speaks well of their work. Except on exceptional occasions they do not sit up at night with their patients: what is still needed in the East End, so they say, are night nurses because it is at night that a patient is most apt to be at his worst. In addition the Salvation army have just started some nurses. The Island has only one resident nurse.

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Education.

With regard to education: the work of the Board schools is admirable. The Farrance Street school under Mrs Shadbolt is known throughout the country as having the highest number of attendances of any Board school in the Kingdom. There is but one disappointment - that is they have never had a perfect week.

The complaint made of the decreased respectfulness of children to parents that is so commonly ascribed to Board school teaching has probably some foundation. But the remedy to this, is more teaching rather than less.

The other schools in Poplar are - British Street, Cubitt Town

church-schools in the Isle of Dogs. and 8 in Poplar./

Glengall Road, Board schools in the Isle of Dogs: the Orchard Place, Woolmore Street, Ricardo St, Upper North St schools in Blackwall & Poplar. There are also 3 church

There is ~~however~~ one man who speaks very ill of the Board Schools: he is Father Lawless who boldly declares that "All education outside religion is damnable".

Marriage. Early marriages are not a feature in Poplar. The usual age is between 20 & 21 for both sexes. The people of the Orchard House where the marriage of persons only 16 or 17 years has been referred to, are an exception. Connection before marriage is not at all uncommon but marriage when there is prospect of the birth of a child is customary.

Mixed marriages. With regard to mixed marriages there are some Roman Catholics who regard them with dislike such as Father Lawless, others do not: it is probable that the gain to the Church is as great as any leakage that may ensue from the parent being a Protestant. The best chance of the children of such a marriage being brought up as Catholics seems to lie in the mother being a Catholic. Here is the

the home influence and a child is more likely to follow its Mother than its Father.

Volunteering

Swimming

Thrift

There are two or 3 other points which we can only touch on very shortly. First - there are no games in Poplar proper. Volunteering is not much indulged in: but it may become more popular after the Jubilee procession. Thanks to the efforts of Dr Connor swimming, especially for girls has become rather popular. Secondly, there is not much thrift except in the form of burial clubs to one of which most working men belong. Collecting Banks started by the COS, and by Chandler & by Connor are a new form of thrift which so far have had very promising results. A great many boys subscribe to them & so do Mothers of families; girls curiously enough will not pay into anything that is not a feather club.
The Poplar Benevolent Society is an old fashioned ticket Society and distributes about £170 per annum in ½ tickets. It has been founded 50 years.

Limehouse.

The remaining district is that of Limehouse. It is bounded on the South by the Thames and Garford Street; On the East by the West India Dock Road and the Limehouse cut; on the North by St Paul's Road & Ben Jonson's Road; & On the West by White horse Street. Salmons lane & a straight line running from Salmons lane through the middle of the Limehouse Basin into the Thames.

Limehouse has two very poor and disreputable districts and one respectable one. The first of the bad areas is that lying between the West India Dock Road and the Thames & is known as Limehouse proper: the second is the East Street area which lies between Stepney Parish church and the Regents Canal. The Respectable area is that lying between the Limehouse cut and the Regents canal.

Character of Limehouse

The Character of Limehouse proper is and always has been the same and probably always will be. Worsement is more noticeable than betterment & the worsement is probably due to betterment in other places. Those who have been too poor to go over the bridge into Canning Town but have been displaced from such places as Cottage street and Manisty Street as well as from Chaucer Street and King John's Court/ have

have settled into these quarters. In addition there is a large foreign element. On the Northern side of the West India Dock Road there is the Asiatic Home which houses between 700 & 800 coloured men in the course of the year and on the other side of the road there is Limehouse Causeway which is the Japanese and Chinese quarter. The Japanese and Chinamen are as a rule quiet and easy to deal with. Of the two the Japs are the noisiest. The Chinaman is tame and quiet though tricky in his ways and a slippery customer; still he has a great respect for authority and once you have made him toe the line right you have no more trouble with him. The Jap is more like an Englishman, he is a good sailor & is being more & more employed on English ships. When he comes ashore he drinks beer, gets drunk & runs after women.

Japanese & Chinamen

Between the Limehouse Causeway and St Anne's Church (Gardiner's) there is a very bad block of streets of which Rich street, Breeds Street & Gill street are the worst. Up to two years ago 20 out of the 24 houses in Breeds St were brothels ~~but~~ do. The same was the case in Rich street. Ten houses in each street were prosecuted at the instance of the Vigilance

Vigilance committee to which reference has already been made. One of two were closed in consequence but their inhabitants only went elsewhere & became new centres of demoralisation. If there must be such places it is probably better to have them where you know you can put your finger on them. The charges made by these low women vary between 5/- & 10/- & the hire of a bed costs between 6d & 1/-. The business is a profitable one and much money is made besides by robbing the sailors. A man very seldom comes out of their clutches with anything in the shape of money or valuables upon him.

Breeches St is the changed name of Jamaica place. It was hoped that a new name might help it to a new character but no one in the district recognizes the name Breeches Street: to the inhabitants it is still Jamaica place.

In Limehouse Causeway are the last remaining of the opium dens in London: Lascars, Indians, Japs & Chinamen frequent them - As far as one can see it is a very harmless vice for Asiatics & their existence is winked at by the police.

At the end of Limehouse causeway was formerly a very black spot known as King's Johns court. This has been de-

demolished but its inhabitants have not left the district.
In the same district are Gun Lane & Three Colt street which have more brothels. Further west in a broad court called Nightingale Place which is a noted thieves resort. Church Row, is really the only respectable street in this neighbourhood.

Leaving Limehouse proper & crossing the East India Dock Road there is a a black spot on the North side of the road called Chrushan place. It is entered by a very narrow passage past a factory and is a thieves resort: It is better than it was because there is less of it: formerly there were two rows of houses, now there is only one: but the character of what remains has not changed: ——. Each house has a way through into the other & after a robbery in the East India Dock road, it is to this spot that the thief makes his way. There are two channels of escape for those who know their way about. the first is into one of the houses & the second is over the blank wall in front which separates Chrusen place from the towing path of the Limehouse cut.

Chrushan Place

Carr St. Dist.

In order to reach the Carr street district it is necessary to return to the main road & after crossing the

the Limehouse cut at the Britannia Bridge to turn N.W up Salmons Lane. Salmons Lane is the market street of the neighbourhood and is crowded with booths on either side ~~of the road~~ : at the Northern end is Fern Lane street and at this point there is a foot bridge which leads across the Regents canal directly into Carr street.

The Carr Street district is one of the poorest in London. Poverty here has been crowded against the sides of the canal and against the Commercial gasworks : it is as if caught in a trap from which there is no escape. The streets without exception are dark blue in character. Worse in the East end Rows it is Carr Street, to its inhabitants as well as to most other people its name is Donkey Row. The industries of the place are Lead stock curing (stock work) and there is some employment at the gasworks.

The respectable part of Limehouse lies to the East side of the Regents canal and includes part of the Burdett road. at its Eastern extremity namely at the junction of Bow Common Lane with the Limehouse cut the baleful influence of the Gaslight & Coke companies works and of the Chemical works is felt. But as

Gordon

as a whole the District is respectable.

The Rev. F. Gordon at St. Ann's Church is the rector of Limehouse and has charge of this District. He is an energetic man without nonsense of any kind & his energy & definite purpose is evident throughout his work. His aim is to organize a force from the material that offers and to keep this force at work amongst what is largely an alien population. To a great extent what can be done (outside the band of helpers themselves) is confined to the children. Gordon has 1000 children in his Sunday schools and 700 in the Church schools. Many of those who come to school are unconnected with the Church of England; some of them are Dissenters. The choice of school is largely determined in most peoples minds by personal questions - such as nearness & convenience of sending children (consequently) or by the popularity of the teachers. There is also a Sunday night school which was taken on from the ragged school Union and is attended by a rough class of boys. His church is $\frac{1}{3}$ full in the morning and $\frac{2}{3}$ths full in the evening

Haden

the Unitarian minister in Elsa Street/

Non-Cons

have an earnest minister in the Rev. W. Daniel at the Coverdale congregational chapel close to the Lime house church but they/

Alpe.

evening. Of the other religious influences in the Parish Father Higby is doing a good work among the Roman Catholics. The Nonconformists/are suffering from the gradual departure of the tradesmen class - St Bernards Edinburgh Castle being their stronghold; While the Salvation army has no real power.

In the Brecknock Street district the Rev. P. Alpe is vicar at St Peters Church in Garford Street. He is a great contrast to Gordon being limited in intellect and lazy in character. He has been 16 yrs in the parish and seems to have expended all his energy in procuring the recognition of his mission as an ecclesiastical parish;-it was only a mission when he first came there. His parish contains a very poor population - Alpe calls them a decent poor but we have seen that they are not so. They are chiefly Dock & riverside labourers who find employment during the day in Millwall. His aim is to 'promote spiritual life by means of Church services and pastoral intercourse'. He is not successful in doing so.

The other religious influences in his district are a Danish Church in King Street. A semi-religious Scandinavian home for Danish sailors & a small school conducted by

Ply-

Plymouth brethren. The Scandinavian home is not altogether an influence for the good of the district. Alpe says that it attracts loose women 'like flies to a honey-pot'.

Haden

About Haden who has charge of the Carr Street district we have no information. Radford Sharpe of the Stepney C.O.S. speaks of him as hard-working but Mr. T. Wilson North at the Salmon's Lane congregational mission says that St. John's (Haden's Church) is never heard of & so does the Rev. J. Joyce / the Unitarian minister in Elsa Street /

The district is rough, very rough, and the people are indifferent to anything except drink and gambling. They are for the most part casual labourers and are probably incapable of anything like regular work. Both Booth & Joyce work chiefly among the young, they admit that it is impossible to get hold of the men. Fowler of the Salvation army finds that his people are always pelted with rubbish when they have a meeting in the Limehouse Fields which is the name for this set of streets

Non-Cons

Joyce who is in charge of the Unitarian mission at Durning Hall in Elsa street, & works with his family to help him and confines his efforts to Elsa street only.

Elsa

Elsa street is the new name of North Street.

It is probable that nothing can be done towards the im-provement of this district until it is opened up. The people will not leave of their own accord they remain from generation to generation & have gradually come to consider themselves as owners of the whole district with the right of doing what they like in it. There is one family of Derbys who form quite a clan and have been there for nearly a 100 years. Another bridge across the canal either at the Eastern end of Heyrod street or Repton street would relieve some of the congestion though it might very possibly be strongly opposed by the respectable in-habitants on the other side.

Father Higley

Father Higley the Roman Catholic priest who has charge of the district bounded by the West India Dock Road & Burdett Road on the East and by White horse street and London Street on the West counts the very poorest among his congregation. He speaks of his people as migratory which the other evidence we have hardly endorses. He is a strong man like Jordon and thus

He is of humble origin and proud of the fact.
who looks things in the face. He gets many of the poorest
to mass & partly explains it by saying that the require-
-ments as to dress are less exacting among Catholics
than amongst Anglicans. He himself is supported by
an allowance (?) supplemented by organized collections of
of money from house to house every Sunday. His district
is poor and he allows no luxury in his own house. House keep-
-ing expenses are limited to 10/ for each person per week.
Here again it is difficult to say how much good the
Roman Catholics are doing. They may perhaps secure a
larger attendance of the very poor at mass than either the churches or
chapels but when you turn to the character of their
people you find they are not only the poorest but the
worst as well. Father Higley's aim is to lead people into the
ways of virtue & decencies of life through the organization of the Cath. Ch.

Poor Law.

For the purposes of the administration of the Poor
Law, Limehouse is joined to Stepney. Out-relief was
formerly refused now it is 'judicious'. Radford Sharpe
is the Secretary of the C.O.S of the District and works in

cordially both with Gordon and Stepney. J.A. Lewis clerk to to the Stepney guardians says that they are less in touch with outside charities since out-relief has been allowed.

Public work. Of public work in Limehouse we have a partial account from Mr Thos. Jefferson, a mild mannered affable man without any deep knowledge of the people. He has been for 12 years a member of the vestry and is now Chairman of the Limehouse District Board of Works. Limehouse is very progressive in spirit and sends 18 members to the Board. In spite of this there are no Public Baths Washhouses or Library in the District; Mr Jefferson only boast is of a fine new mortuary and coroners court in the Horse-ferry branch road. Rainford Sharpe says there is much log-rolling & that the moral tone of local Government is low.

Charity Most of the clergy as we have said work in with the C.O.S for the purposes of charitable relief. Complaint is made by Gordon of the harm done by the flood of charity that sometimes flows in from the West which the Church is

expected to distribute at once - What is wanted as E.C. Mills a member of the Limehouse Board of Works and a guardian for Stepney, is a reserve fund. Spasmodic charity may do much harm & special gifts generally come too late - Mills suggests that East End parishes should combine in prosperous times like the present to build up a reserve fund which could be drawn upon when there was real distress -

Morality

Drink, casual labour & prostitution are the three curses of Limehouse - In the matter of drink there is no improvement, for, in a district like this, drink is the test of prosperity - Of prostitution we have already spoken at some length. Dr Stephen medical officer of health to the Stepney Guardians speaks of much sexual immorality and some incest. The people generally look with an indulgent eye upon immoral relations & Mrs Bolton Smart of the Wesleyan Mission & Dr Stephen mentions it as not ~~being~~ uncommon to baptise the child and marry the parents on the same day.

The hope of the future lies in the children, and it

it is somewhat remarkable how all the religious workers seem to have come to this same conclusion - whether Churchmen, Chapel goers or Roman Catholic - Gurdon, Doze & Booth, & Father Higley in particular; all seem to recognize the hopelessness of doing anything for the present generation of adults -

[i]

Report on

Bow

District 12

THE LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS
AND POLITICAL SCIENCE.
HOUGHTON ST., ALDWYCH.
LONDON, W.C.2

11

see Booth, Life and labour.... 1902-3.
Third Series. Vol. 1. Chap. I.

[Reports by Booth's "secretaries": Report on District 12 (Bow). fols. i, 62.]

Bow.

The district generally.

Bow is the Clapham of the Inner Hamlets. It is, it is true, becoming fewer, but a tradition respectability lingers in it. Its evangelicanism has been pronounced for 150 years, this has been a stronghold of Nonconformity in the past. Its name as a postal address is still preferred to that of the respectable (and more ambiguous) Bromley.

Its modern character.

But the district as we know it is of somewhat a mushroom growth: it is mainly the product of the last 50 years. The view of the Stephens shows a photograph of 38 years hence with the church tower looking towards London over green fields, & Mr Jerrold's is introduced on a spot surrounded now by many poor & crowded streets, where a modest hill was planted 48 years ago. In 1841 Bow was little more than a large village with less than 6000 inhabitants; &

since 1801 the population has increased from 111377 to 411587 & in 1896 it was over 350 %.

Geography.

The district forms part of the Eastern ring of Greater London. The Bow Road, skirting it's Southern border, and dipping in from Bromley, it's greatest extent; Victoria Park to the North it bounds to the N.E. lie the Hackney Marshes & open land to the East, although [illegible] London stretches much further, and feels that it is being gradually left behind. To the West with among its Eastern streets, & to the South, broadly a mile off, flows the Thames.

Healthiness.

Partly because it is [illegible]; partly because much of it is built on open ground, with good broad streets; [illegible] partly because many fine trees are still reasonably [illegible]; & partly because of it having comparatively good, undrained soil, & its drainage is the same as that for the whole district. Its death rate is a little [illegible]

of London.

Housing.

It is a neighbourhood of small houses of congested
construction and a widespread desire is being expressed
for cheap workmen's dwellings. In Bow there is only
one such block* this is a block only. Such housing on the whole
is good, the Victoria Dwellings in Fish Street are selected
as an exception is being built house-by-house. The opinion
of the Managing Director of Peabody Buildings that there "is
nothing to complain of" is borne in mind in the future work
in spite of the prevalence of shoddy building in the Minories district.
of the rest we have no information at present.

*?. V.14 p.101

Common Lodging Houses.

There are 4 Common Lodging Houses in the district of this petition
are quite of the undesirable kind. They are chiefly kept, are for the
class, & are suspected of being used for immoral purposes.

Slum.

Poor Streets.

Part is made to this finish quarter, not far from the one mentioned above and here possesses. This bit just to the East from church, consists of Albert Place, Bowers Alley &c, is clearly an intruding area in the general built up, & is probably the suitable place for a clearance. Spring & Summer Streets in the North Ward are a great deal worse than remains by prostitutes & and bits of poor streets are given by Dr. Sullivan No 11 p.29; Mr. Creagh, No 10 p.3, Mr. Haggard No 6 p.21 and others. The "slums" in the poorer houses distributed in the better-class area of poverty lie in the lower end of Fore Street & North Side Roman Road. This road is maintained by Lambeth & seems to divide the worse from the less well-to-do part of Fore Street. ~~Most of the worse part is included in Dock Street.~~

Government:

The Vestry

Government: Now form part of the administrative area of the Poplar district, for the purposes of Local administration and the Poor Law. For general purposes therefore Bow is governed by the Poplar Board of Works, the Vestry being ~~the~~ under Secondary of the Act-, & except as regard the Works Work House & Public Libraries, being non-administrative. For wise functions are elected, which is nothing up to grades of members to serve on the administrative Board, this is the voting authority. Having the latter function into the Board of Guardians, it acts as a kind of Board House, collecting the funds that are requisitioned by the Local Spending Departments - the Board of Works the Guardians Members.

Guardians:

The purpose of Poor Law Officer is not a single unit, but proper being an separate authority, viz. an - Cottesloe Poor Relief Committee being a Visiting- Committee & the Local Board is Authority to it in all matters is own District

Area. Rateable value.

& it acts with- only part- of Bradley -

The area of the Town is 1763 acres, and the rateable value in 1896 was £160422. This was 3 times the original valuation & a rise of about £600 in seven. But- from 1889 to 1895- the average value has been slight-, & the years are not short a continuous expansion.

Stationariness of the Population.

The People. The population has been already mentioned, & ? it is interesting that it is almost stationary. Since 1881 it has only increased by about 4000, and since 1891 only by about 2000. & this has been a big element in the important change having to a diminution of residential for business purposes. It is a little difficult to understand the very wide-spread opinion that the district is becoming more crowded. But there is a definite universal opinion that a change is going on that is not best in the natural course & what is this, merely the constant tendency for the better & better class district after this class to be taken by a poorer class. In Battersea it is true. Some of the district as a whole is as well & as or is more

Migrations, & changing character of inhabitants.

+ Dr Sullivan was starting with the letter of 4 pp. dump
out is "courage how they stick in a crisis". With these
two exceptions there is a consensus of opinion that the
proposition is a very inviting one, that it looks likely
to become a popular one. This is emphasized a
week by Mr Asquith in the very powerful letter of the
4th as by Mr Runciman in comparatively apathetic Mr
Stephens, + Lansbury has as little doubt about it as
Mr Rose + the writer of the Review, Mr Hare.
The change has undoubtedly taken place: Treasury
Square gaiety is no longer kept up by a "financial
crisis", + the financiers no longer drive in
their carriages to the public counter. The unsatisfactory
financial position of the Home Rule Bills does not

Effect on prevailing standard.

to the same angle the weakest position of wire-
comprising both the same tide. Measured from the
top therefore tide is no doubt - but the distant has
declined. Measured from the bottom however the
angle is not quite uncertain. The string test
here proved as we a guide as in the past, but
tide is no evidence to show that the aggregate
standard is lower. The certainly showed length
varies in it proportion among those the standard
has gone up in recent decades, and that is no
reason to tide that the powers are power than they were.
It is in this sense probably that Mr Batchelor uses
his favourable statement, his used expressing the opinion
that tide was a much comfort- to set, in the district
although is was not widely-spread. Taking the
district as a whole this is probably true, there is the

There seems to me some-what tendency with writers on
opinion that "poverty" is more prevalent than it was ten years
ago & Mr. Freeman says that in his parish there is "little or no" poverty
that is extreme, & that even as a whole is in nothing like a state.

The movement-East. The general movement of population is similar to that which is taking
place in other parts of more central London - the poorest
have by force also can afford to & must move with it, possible,
for more suburban London. From how there is a tendency
for a great many to live still further East, & doubtless many
of the better-off ~~have population~~ also live a little more up
& more here under than to live in, skip it now, & pass
on to Leytonstone & other similar places.

The newcomers. As regards those who come to live in how different opinions
are held. Mr Nunn, for instance, holding that the old

the we can trace with the deepening of the knowledge. In respect of Stephen on the other hand the intelligence [illegible] direct there & there a decent dose of migrant from other parts is much more likely to be [illegible] a fact.

The invasion of the Jews.

One other feature of the change in the population is found in the invasion of the Jews. The earliest line of his advance is already leading him to Bow. Treacher Lane is largely occupied by him; ~~[illegible]~~ this is said by him to have to be true of ~~the~~ this is the case of the Jews in the main word. To some extent he is [illegible] but he is taking his share in bringing about the industrial angle in the district. Aldgate Road, for instance, was simply a residential street is being taken up by workshops

of these well ~~are~~ being kept.

Largely a residential district:

Exemptions: To a great extent Bow is a residential district in the same way that Wanstead and other parts are, a very large number working elsewhere, & the ~~disproportion~~ working classes in the City & West parts is exceptionally large. As compared with Poplar, Bromley the Isle of Dogs for instance. It is not a locality with practical employment for its own inhabitants. The great of the Docks, for instance, is almost entirely in the employ of the Docks, there is practically no important centre of employment in the whole of that particular area. The density of local factory workshops is less marked in the East than parishes but taken as a whole Bow is not an important centre of

Local industries. Principal industry. The great exception is Bryant & May's Match factory, situated in Fairfield Road, but these do not find employment for those from over a wide area, a minority in your town living in Bromley. Great credit & employment are given to employers owners in being free from any recognition of parochial boundaries. A house does factory employing some 200 or 300 persons, mostly young men, seem to be the best work in- factories give credit & employment, and among their workers spending hours in dull occupations, without much interest in working, proper training, thinking are mentioned. It is said by the little girls from there that the parents find employment

in metal-working, tailoring, & rope-making and, among the men,
on the docks, but it is probable that some of the new industries, such
as confectionery & wallpaper-making, also absorb a certain proportion of
the same class - the expansion of industries employing low-class
labour in districts where are probably being to a greater extent occupied
by low-class labour is rather striking. ~~In this district probably~~
This is partly cause & partly effect. & Lambeth has a much superior
as the residential part for the well-to-do
young labour as a hot-bed for the multiplication of the "hooligan"
~~and~~ the other. In the East End we don't find the presence
of the semi-skilled artisan tends to the lower standard of life
Under that needs them. In the East Mr Adamson answers
Mr Booth's figures by his personal, visual experience the particular
importance & any one of them in his constituency which we are

Even now the preceding occupations are understood, from the
occupations, understanding, paper-staining, enamel-working etc.
& also what are "a good many hall-workers, drovers &
casual labourers" while we have only the first half of
his people are "artisans, mechanics & small clerks," a general
description that is probably equivalent to that given by his census
of his people as one composed mainly of "the working-class &
lower middle class".

A danger. There may be quite a large & distinct industry
employing hundreds, & perhaps even thousands of
mechanics, occupations flourish, it is a distinct risk work

than any other in the Lower Hamlets and on it workers easily.

The absence of any satisfactory local field for these

of its adult male workers thus de-fines employment-

elsewhere, accompanied by an exodus of the best type requiring

female labour & semi-skilled male labour, marks perhaps

the greatest danger in the future of its industrial development.

The Chief retail market.

The change in the general character of the district has been accompanied by a change in its habits & customs. A few artists must live – cheap indeed, this is now provided for them in the Roman Road. Respectable mechanics & workpeople there would never have ~~[illegible]~~ brought a Music Room into existence, but this is being rapidly provided by the Roman Road of today. As a street-market it is said to be the equal of the best 10 or 15 years, but at the present time it is ~~said to be~~ one of the cheapest sources of supply in the whole of London. There are now seen to be

any other injectable mapping exists in the whole of the interval

Any such mapping?

Habits of the people.

Drinking. accompanied by a very general opinion that there is
less drunkenness than in the past, is almost universally held that
"drinking" is the great curse of the district. But there is wide
any work in this respect. than the rest part of East London; on the
whole the prevailing habit, as suggested perhaps by the little Sister of the
Poor when speaking of week-day drinking is "the one bank of the week, the
rest work is done". The increased amount of drinking in prosperous
times is noticed by some writers, but a larger number draw attention
to the drinking habit of the women. Mr Sullivan says they are "a bad
lot", "the curse of the habit of drinking among them is notorious
by Mrs Coolidge, the Lambeth worker, and Mr Wells. He is not clear to

drinking by women.

non-state is a struggle that the wine-lead to excess, we appre-
from this two practices of drinking in public. Losses would be
depreciated by practically one who have been interested, + is probably
this rather than drunkenness that is in the mind [illegible] witnesses.

Private drinking. We mean, like a week-end as private, and attention to the in-
crease of the practice of private drinking, a practice that
more possible if next pence is long enough to buy in larger quantities as,
in the case of spirits, by the bottle. No importance seems to be

Grocer's licences: attached to the grocers' licence as facilitating the purchase of drink by
the wife of week-end man: the district is providing quite wealthy

through for the increase a proof of importance.

[Note: The only possible explanation of this reluctance
business, as well as of public-houses.
Police-court returns of arrests would perhaps throw light
on the drinking-habits & the weaknesses of highest-class]

Drinking at funerals.

The decrease in the amount of drinking at funerals is mentioned
by the Warder. He is also apparently getting to a genuine change in
habit but I suspect a great deal by the stoppage of the Board
Cemetery & the Sunday funerals.

Early Marriage: While regarded by nearly all the writers as
grounded and as an evil, some (as Mr Bartholomew of Ingol- Mrs
Mr Wyatt, more emphatic as to Cowley) consider the early marriages
are not so common as in the past. Miss Cairns finds Early Marriage
Nursing found among the wild birds as "the curse of the poor"; Dr
Sullivan finds them "a people evil"; while Lansbury & Rupert
to understand how the young couples get on. The best time for
the explanation is when, the case with their young fellows can even
get work for the first few years of an untrained working life and this
accentuates the evil, another measure of which could be found

by ~~Marriages~~ ~~Births~~ ~~Deaths~~ ~~in the Parish~~ of this Parish Register. 24

Population: Everybody seems to agree that since the Poor Rates, especially on the North Side from the Church to the Railway Arch, - a principal part, it is asserted by several with every assurance, that there are considerably fewer in Number. When the women who live in Spring & Summer Streets take their walk, it is said, to keep on the South side of the Road; & in bad weather the only place that are suitable & being used for universal purposes as the common Lodging-houses* of the people that are any thoroughfare Streets in the district they would seem to be almost unknown. It is said by the Poor Law Guardians that a certain number of Irish women are living in the district.

* Here.

Non-legalized cohabitation.

Although opinion is fairly unanimous as to the freedom of Boer girls from prostitution, evidence is more conflicting as to the amount of non-legalized cohabitation. Mr Sullivan, for instance, says that it is "the rule to cohabit before marriage", while the "little sister" stating that the girls in the neighbourhood marry between 20 & 22, says that "is not much vice in Boer". The more general opinion seems to be however that there is a good deal of irregular cohabitation, Mrs Haggard (Baptist) & Mr Donaldson go so far as to explain the frequent avoidance of legal marriage

An explanation.

as a means of evading certain obligations and the right of withdrawing with perfect freedom & safety through the diminished freedom of action (~~[illegible]~~) that would thereby result. As one man said - "If I married my woman, I should never be sure of my tea". (8/p.19). He would appear however that what is much less illegitimacy than

Illegitimacy.

[illegible]. Mr Wolfe, for instance, has baptized two children
in 18 months at the Parish Church. Nine + more at Meadowside,
in spite of the "rough" lives that he knows as many of his people,
meddling especially the fishermen girls,
live. So convinced is he that the Lord's gift of his
first step of obedience in faith that he suggests that
disciplined practices are used. We have a Lenten
fortnightly for Boys, but is 18/6 for the week of Prayer
Thursday only 129 are to return out of a total of 400
kids.

Gambling & Betting: Toward witnesses any real decline has diminished.
None any as of gambling & betting, the very general opinion being
that they has increased. Mr Dalton, the chairman of the Bow Valley, on
the Temperance rather than anti-Temperance man, finds that
gambling & betting are now the greatest kind of curse, & presses
very serious possibilities of harm. Lambeth says that the practical
habit increases enormously, that "one can't keep nothing it."
For gambling cards are the chief means; for betting, watch house-
warming, hair-pomps-fights, footraces & dances. There is a little
wrappers-warning on two Models. As an indication of broad

holds, perhaps the attainment of the programme of the Eastern Empire Music Hall of that day commission agents (with their counterparts in Havana) may be mentioned. The local booking agent (with the recognized exception of Paris & Vienna) as apparently the most insignificant.

Genre: Bow is not a criminal district. Its Harris expression - nothing special" is probably inadequate; in spite of a certain notoriety which the figure has acquired as a resort for house-breakers.

Victoria Park. Amusements: The Victoria Park is the great playground of the neighbourhood, & provides in the fields & grounds the most welcome form of recreation. Thursday is an Early Closing Early Closing. day, the practice of getting right away for the district often, on Holidays. Saturday afternoons, & for longer spells during the holiday months is becoming more & more common: we are learning more & more to make use of our leisure as well as for work - the London suburbs offering, as do special attractions.

There is an open space with Manor Road near Stamford Hill, which is the only open bit of ground. The Bow Cemetery, Pleasure Fields. the Cemetery Fields, & one of the "rights" for way, The Cemetery Rights. two cathedrals of which are in the district.

Breaks. Bicycle, tricycle & perambulators of every kind, Vans, Carts, &c, are

Bow & Bromley Institute.

by Mr Dd

here it is

wonderful

the

the

Eastern Empire Music Hall.

People's Palace

* private.

the only way of getting on the first district, but Mr Adamson[30] writes especially the parts that are dear to workers. He describes their homes without sympathy, as lacking [illegible] comfort-breeding.

~~The Music Hall in the East, not~~ The Mile End already mentioned, the only one in the district. The prices range from 3d in the gallery to 2/6 for a seat in a box and 4/, the performers are [illegible] crude, [illegible] vulgar, [illegible] coarse style. The audience well-conducted.

The People's Palace, new & important, attracts the poor, this not as a decent-looking place, as well as one that gives new interests & hope, is especially mentioned

Bow & Bromley Institute.

by Mr Roby. The new Bromley Institute is in the district but it appears is a little historic, as was a little middle-class. It is being built by the double process that placed carpets were laid down in the past, that was to use so much land, and is now used in that part. In this instance however by the local clergy & the place is [illegible] completed as at present, this present is another instance as a reason for not giving grants to the wretched side & poverty work - On the other hand the assistant-librarian has mentioned the extra [illegible] cannot transpire in getting up their own catalogues & thus their own special wishes & wants as among the influential who have watched the Institute's work. The membership is now 450*, has been 1040 in past years - Many classes (mainly & a great technical kind) are held there, & last year there were 1150 entries, in-

* private.

cluding two women. A census is being compiled by which the place can be appointed to the People's Palace.

Clubs. The Bow Social Literary Club is now a social centre. Which is devoted in its title is said to be the "distinguishing" feature. The Bow Constitutional and the North Bow Progressive (so opposed.) clubs complete the club-provision for the neighbourhood.

Absence of intellectual stimulus. Apart from the Bow Working Institute, which is widely devoted to commercial technical instruction, and the Church Temperance Societies, in so far as they may entitled, Victoria Park with its Sunday Concerts, speaking the East London Ethical Society, Bow has no clubs that can be said to stimulate intellectual curiosity or interest of any kind. There are several news-agents

Reading habits. but no booksellers, the press that circulates most widely

is second-rate or worse. Mechanics, says Dr Sullivan,
may have their Daily Chronicle, but in the hour of the poor he
never sees a daily paper, & rarely a book. Tit-bits, Ally Sloper,
& the penny broadsheets are said to be in the greatest demand, &
probably inundate & corrupt the scrappy, the vulgar, & the
objectionable stimulus & large number of even a higher as
their usual demand, if they get to read at all.

More mediocrity & intellectual indifference or hostility are
perhaps reflected in the sluggishness of the civic life of
the neighbourhood & in its somewhat neutral attitude to
regard religion. It has little vitality in any form that
shows itself in all publicity. The more active
forms of association of any kind would probably be found to

Absence of civic & religious spirit.

The personal stimulus.

× Laodicea.

In these remarks with friendly frankness* on the real interests & life, rather than personal considerations - such, the causes & work of the cause of Christ, the hope & joy of the Christian life, the likelihood of being able to transplant this to some more desired locality. Laodicean in almost every respect, as regard poverty, crime, drink, vice & religion the leading characteristic is probably summed up in "I am rich & increased with goods & have need of nothing" not "the people generally live exact industrious lives".

*. "The hopes in the distance are numerous as the eagles being most prominent". Isaiah. 10 p.13.

Influences. -

Influences.

The Police. No one speaks derisively against the police, & most speak well of them without any qualifications. The charges against them are that they can be squared too easily & induced to overlook minor offences, & as the playing of this trade by the bookies again in the public a way; & the slighter bearing outside a public-house at closing time.[2] & one M.P. told me

(1) Lansbury; (2) Lansbury, Lodge.

good enough, that in his against the force he used as against those who are in authority, but believing in the whole is well-conducted. But it would appear that on the whole they are applied, there is no doubt but that their relation with the people [illegible] generally are friendly.[1] The little tiffs,

(1) e.g. Lodge.

arising from black sheep among them, any they are a very

Reading Col-"; D. Sullivan says "Tent 1 KK is very good", the
Keeper of Bone, into the Record Book the following Coordinates.

Local Government. The general administration is in the hands of the
Poplar District Board + we have little information of an independ-
ent character into special reference to them. Dr Talbot in his special
Officer for this district - has the sanitary condition of
the district "in very hand" is necessarily more of a
prejudicial nature. The location of the district however the absence
of any conflicting evidence may be taken as corroboration of the
opinion. There are two sanitary inspectors for Poor + outdoor
this is another as every district to both sides, in view of the population
of the increasing number of workshops, the staff seems small.

We have no information with regard to the rest of the Home
Office inspectorate in the district.

Bath Road Houses.

The Rom Valley has adopted the Bath Road houses Act, & the establishment of an adequate fire-brigade. This will cost the rate-payers £1500 a year, but the Chairman of the Valley considers that this money is well spent. The Free Library Act has also been adopted by the Library has not yet been erected. Bradley is in the front position & a proposal is under consideration by which a ~~site~~ higher building for the district would be used to supply. In this case the Library would have to be in the Bow Road, & the negotiations are said not to be running smoothly owing mainly to considerations as to the site of the Free Library Coming.

Library would be situate on ground, since the playing rate is Bow only yields £582 net, hardly sufficient to maintain & provide for the expenses of a good Library. The Bath Road Houses are in the centre of the district in the Roman Road, but this site, according to Mr Mead, should have been a fine building site Bradley.

The character of the Valley:

The composition of the Valley has considerably altered since the passing of the Parish Councils Act - it being much more democratic, & according to the larger, more ~~[illegible]~~ less mannerly. The church stays as it was a hundred years ago, but the congregation are a different type from the ones who built it. Probably a few of the local people now find nothing for appointments or orders may be going. The valley is probably going through the same phase as many rural parishes have gone through. Considerable keenness & activity, largely the result of suggested ideas of individuals could be done under the new act. ~~[illegible]~~ a reaction that is probably calculated to leave the valley less strong religiously & more ~~[illegible]~~ than it has been ~~[illegible]~~ lately, & more apathetic & critical than in the past. The main life & the work of the [illegible] Valley is the effort in which it leads up its quota

to serve on the District Board, but opinion of both the
inspectors, except the first, is decidedly against
it on the above mentioned. He has lately, I believe, been elected
Chairman of the Wells Board -

Direct & indirect voting.

The difficulty of securing permanent staff in local appointments is always
increased when members of the Administrative Board are elected by the
indirect method of election, & we think the opinion was unanimously
held that a healthy change would be brought about by the abolition
of the local Votes, the Ratepayers should vote a single vote &
Government in every case, into direct election to the Central Board.

Executive Efficiency.

But even as at present constituted the administrative offices
under the Board seem to carry out the local business well, &
I believe
there are few complaints as regards lighting, cleansing & the administration
of the Public Health
Acts. In any case they are very rare. If this be
so, all the best & the active influence is needed up the time

of the district would be found in its local administration. The
police were Bow men in keeping order, the Board its officers
who kept men in decaying houses.

[Few public conveniences? Note a cause of congestion Street-Traffic, so perhaps not-
any great need.]

Board of Guardians: The intent of Bow in connection with
the administration of the Poor Law centres in the work of the Bow
Relief Committee, & in the personality of its chairman George Lansbury.
The institutions controlled by the Guardians - the Sick Asylum, the
Workhouse, the Cemetery, the Schools are within Bow itself. In
connection with them almost every year the demonstrations of the
Board has led to exceptional expenditure, & more often the causes of
mounting rates & Lansbury's initiative. In the workhouse the most
glaring improvements have been introduced as in dietary, the
most important consideration by which many complaints can be answered is the
size of the inmate. Side by side with this is a clamour that a
higher price for the able-bodied is being exacted, while the hours
is being diminished. The main charge however, even on this side of the

The Institution.

agst. in the original "spirit" that is said to prevail, & the working
body by the Lambeg. reveals the most human sentiment & true
as here is accepts public relief. A few may think that improve-
ment have been carried too far, & one the duties of the Workhouse
& the Boards should receive serious point of view. But approval
rather than disapproval is the dominant note.

Out-Door Relief: As regard the administration of out-door Relief in Bow (upon
of Poverty) by Lambeg Committee the attitude is very different. ←
while not the Rule of the strong Workhouse Visitor, in the only
visitors the authority appears. In the rule, these visitors is very
decided, & strong epithets (some "shameful" by the reasons) are
used. The first case to be visited
(1) inquiry is here, but that the Committee is aware
by anecdotal at this point. Relief Officers

(2) the risk is being run of supplanting them of lowering the
very high standard at work, whose real position the
Committee has been made to go at;

(3) a certain number are being attracted to the district by the comparative
ease with which they can be obtained.

Lansbury:
Working Spirit.

Lansbury himself admits only an occasional mistake, thanks in
Committee's work in this at
circles to prove their charge. The figures for the last year are better
(1) 834 to 908 showing a steady trend towards increase (1) in all the 3 districts
dealt with by Lansbury Committee accomplished by a steady fall in all
(2) 908 to 743 the other districts (2). This proves that it is Lansbury Committee's administration
since it might be held that the other Committees were to blame. But it proves
nothing any one does say in the time & makes it how just the trend
concerning Lansbury. On the other hand it is impossible that there is any
very flagrant bungling, or the whole Board would exercise power & revising
the decisions of its Standing Committees. Further there is evidence that al-

temple are being made to make inquiry complete & Lawsons
is almost unanimously believed to be an honest man, not incapable
& good hearted; & those who know him best believe that he like other
men, is learning the lesson of experience & as probably this binding
work is acting as a Guardian of the Poor.

Charities: The Guardians are somewhat basic in how, how
the district has four charities. The following seem to complete the
list:-

Poor Parochial charity: Income £300. Administered by
the Trustees, £140 by rent personally, £160 by grant to Board
visitors. Clerking this kept by clerk.

Clown Charity: £30. "To assist poor children".

Bells Charity: £90. Cond. By Rector & churchwardens.

mainly temporary grants.

4b

There is also a Poor Committee for distribution on 2nd Sundays to 40 applicants who come regularly to church. Assisted from parish funds — often with difficulty. An unsatisfactory interview & attempt being made to combine it with the Guardians' one.

[N.B. A report on the Boy Charities has been published by Charity Commissioners.]

[illegible]: Apart from the case of the poor specially known by curates or clergy there is no centre of charitable work in the district except the Charity Org. Committee. This is directed by Mr Everleigh, one from local less from Central Society. She has been many years in the district. He knows its work;

C.O.S.

C.O.S. + Clergy.

Cooking & Cookery. & the influence of the Nutmeg Grinder which has

keep him.

Wood: Uses in Confectionery, & praises the Leather-work.

Adamson: Uses in. "Gold Fish" Bowl, would send any good

case he is.

Thurlow (R.C.) Gives information for wire-corporate.

[Gen. Report & Committee for Pictures & what

were done.]

Nursing. Most of the nursing we have in the district is done by the two wives of the E.L.N.F. only the little sister of the Assumption. But there are naturally vacancies in this work but is practised to some extent among the women of England, these Catholic societies. But we cannot!

The nursing in the different districts is as follows:

Swedish: One paid and two voluntary nurses.
Welsh: Queen Amy Nurse. (Agency founder always)
Manx: E.L.N.F. nurse.
Hart: E.L.N.F. nurse.
Aramon: Bible nurse.

Although a desire for an additional nurse is making itself known, there is no serious complaint of inadequate provision, the cost of present

The E.L.N.F. is able to send members of its staff sending to meet.

The little sister made throughout the whole district.

The Harley Street surgeon has a lady missionary who is also a trained [illegible]

nurse she is wanted. (8. /p. 117). No. The surgeon has a wife, the

sister of the Wilkinson district who writing "as a rule" in that expression (8/p. 91).

They would like a word of their own in Scotland, but not Mr. Fraser's,

the devil them well.

Temperance: We have an important branch of the Local Temperance Friendly Society. Apart from the regular meetings we have been considering the question of the relation of religious societies. The Committee finds that the temperance movement is an entirely unsectarian one, but the only organization that makes any provision is the Institutions Band of Hope, with good results. This is the largest in London. Judging however from what the answers will report it would appear that the temperance question is the chief of any religious worker.

Elementary Schools & Evening Classes. Education. There is a district of Board schools, Sunday and evening classes provide about the usual proportion for education.

The Wednesbury has a primary school for "most hopeless" children

whose parents neither care to pay Board schools, nor the ordinary

Sunday or evening classes, besides the public ones. On the whole the

town may claim a higher degree of competence in the management, during, &

labour in every case, than Aldridge, or the Coseley districts.

B.B. Institute. The Bloxwich Institute has been already noticed. ~~Some~~ All

other independent Educational agents are directly connected with religious

life, or, as in the case of the Adult Board, have primarily a religious

Purpose.

Influence of the Schools.

Lastly, opinion that the rising generation of young men trained under the better system than their predecessors is most on the rising hand - the schools are beginning to tell." As a powerful influence, working both for a more orderly & more intelligent life, this is probably nothing else in the nation to compare with the schools.

Note. St Thomas's R.C. school is in Bromley, but is probably attended by a few of the Bow R.C. children -

Religion: In endeavouring to study the influence of religion in the district we are tempted to connect it with the personal qualities of our Chief or rather that we see exerted. Research in this way we are led to think that the influence can be small, for there is no strong personality in the whole district, leaving any great influence or strong people to a religious life. With the possible exception of Mr Jackson, whose work we are inclined to accept Mr Bartholomew's verdict that the clergy ministers of the district are "rather a poor lot".

On the whole Religion is not a distinct or Boer with a low

interdenominational movement usually is worship. The newer

approaches to evangelism are seen in the work of evangelists & Holy

Name Gospel Jubilee services, the annual Conventional attendance & its

following a well-known preaching service on Sunday evening, at the baptism

and the quarterly administration of the Revised. But religion as

interpreted & lived is mainly expressed either as with the Protestant, who

seems set to win souls for Christ, with the Bible, who is distinctively

missionary in his practice; as implied, as with the Protestant, or,

as witnessed by the congregations, the with the Protestant, the Roman Catholic.

Religious propaganda is generally accompanied by more or less

other forms of provincial opposition, Chartism, trade ~~unionism~~ Edwardian interventionism.

The result is a jumble, difficult to analyse. Motives are necessarily mixed, and must often be corrupted by the medley. But on the whole the varied activities probably make for the bettering of life, and often ameliorate, in any case for the moment, its material conditions. ~~of life~~.

Lowther Admiral and

Quite apart from trade unionism, from strikes & industrial bargaining of any kind, there is

Co-operation, Sunday Schools & Mutual Meetings, there is probably a

~~[illegible]~~ religious aggressiveness & remains of the active & vigorous sense of sin in the religious movement, even in the Salvation Army, practically useless in individual life. It is true for instance, that the Co-operative Movement depends for its success, this being "Business", on the ~~[illegible]~~ fact that we do not cheat each other as a rule during every hour of the day.

But probably more important than any energy of the moment is
the Continued instinct of the people. On the whole the
atmosphere [illegible] place — when Lansing called it Nonsectarian
Conference — seems to keep people pretty straight. You cannot,
for instance, measure the influence of religion in Old Ford by the
[illegible] entrance
congregations even the Wesleyans or the failure of such a man
as McAdam.

But apart from Temperance work, when the real problems of Boy are considered — the necessity for better domestic management, cleaner homes, a greater share of parental responsibility, more rational amusements, more interests in life, greater neighborliness, a higher morality, better general industrial training, the maintenance raising [illegible] standard of life generally, & a greater spirit of thrift — it is difficult to believe that on both of the effort [illegible] upward tendency, is best adapted to secure these ends. Those who are apart from Temperance work

keep in view are too exclusively remedial. The individual may be talked to, or preached at, or helped, but in the practical work, save temperance agencies & work with the evildoer, hardly any seem to have preventive efforts primarily

in view, that must make it possible for men women to live their own lives, independently as good citizens, in the best way possible.

"Enabling" Social and religious work is as essential as "enabling" legislation, but the temperament constantly tended to of making some particular campaign or membership an object, although we were constantly good in theory, and of making social improvement actually subservient to the cause or gospel. Being as Mr Wyatt says, taking many forms, religious observances are almost certain to cease to be "pure" unaffected if they are in any way connected with either ~~completely entered by~~ the membership of some club or guild that gives pleasure, or the receipt of charity in any form — be it a ticket for food or the chance of buying materials cheaply through a society meeting — 9/- requires a strong man rightly to separate in his mind the religious teacher thinking, seeking to make men pure and address to a spiritual, and that of the keeper of the poor relief roll, or the centre of social activity, especially when such is evidence on every hand of an almost complete absence of spontaneity in the religious life, as manifesting itself in any appreciable form.

In Paisley: (For details see tables.)

The Parish church.

Mr Hart is minister of the North Parish. In the year he is a man of moderate opinions, very pronounced & hanging loosely upon the change of Ministers. He is a person who is ~~[illegible]~~ Moderate but Conservative, among the Conservatives rising in a Conservative way. He is a pleasant man, but leaves nowhere the impression of any great strength of character.

Hanover St. Chapel:

This is the most new-fashioned congregation in town, but is on the decrease by deaths. Mr Hamilton's successor Mr Ritchie has recently taken holy orders. The chapel in the centre of ~~[illegible]~~ various fashionable colonies. The most conspicuous of which is the "Neil Arms", a very attached service, a P.S.A. Chapel, near the Bow & Broadley Institute & Lunacy ~~[illegible]~~ asylum. The minister work is carried on independently, & is very well, with intelligent wisdom. The work is a great deal for

Roman Catholic Church: The church is in Mr Thorn's parish. It is attended
but there are some R.C.s in Bow & I think the parish
Bromley served by Fr Thorne. There are mostly poor
among the poor, and well-ignorant, but indeed are increasing,
according to Fr Sullivan, though the little sister who visits the
parish. During the last 2 years there have been 2 new
conversions. We have little of Fr Thorne's character.
He is about 70 years old, & seem to be a sensible person.
His 2 assists are still more ordinary quantities.

Baptist Chapel (v. dead).
Theosophists. (— " —)
Other agencies &c.

Bow & Bromley Institute.

Clifden House: an institute & Settlement for working
girls, mainly work by those working for Royal Holloway. A
lodging house for 12 is attached. Mr Sinclair is the chaplain
here for the W.C. the place is an attempt to keep centre &

social & industrial work. The Work of superintendent is described as a busy life & strong & pleasant & capable. But has to & but keeper, but is responsible. From 3 to 4 girls attend the Institute.

St Marks: The Vicar, Mr Freeman, is probably the strongest person in Bath. He is active & his methods, & energetic, have social activity, although little importance to it. He is an actively workers parish & much visiting is done. The Vicar is a hard worker, with plenty of common sense. But he has no personal attractions except for the clergy. From his point of view, as a genuine evangelical, his theology & methods & doctrinal zeal & undoubtedly good. He may repel some & frighten others, but can hardly be blamed, since he is evangelical & of a high order in a practical manner would "succeed". But he seems to be the antithesis of his own name.

St Marks Mission Church: The curate-in-charge does seem to be a younger Mr Freeman, with the redeeming quality of a great friendliness & cheerfulness.

Railway Mission. (Mr Avery)

St Stephen's: Mr Hanson: a second-rate workman from Cranbourn. He is somewhat like Mr Keay, Londoner in most respects. There is no workmanship of any kind in his ~~work~~ parish. The workers neglect. His services are ~~un~~-attended, he does ~~nothing~~ what he could for he has little work in a very poor parish. There is no interest about him, apparently his greatest interest lies in his pigeons. Quite true apparently, those feet and about occupy the whole of his work & time. Thank-heaven. I know nothing of his church.

Congregational: Mr Lamborn. As a minister Mr S. counts for very little; as a social philanthropist worker, he is here in the greatest energy, sympathises & his wife is loved & prized by all in the parish, their position as a model for L.S.B. they in particular.

Holy Trinity chapel has a Sunday School connected & Tuesday Prayer, and a Crèche in Usher Road, & the Old Town Mission (Mr Farmer) is also in Tredegar Road. The latter is run by voluntary workers; aims at the poorer & lower part; attempts prayer meetings, religious services, the Sunday School; Tuesday on a considerable scale & considerable work. Tickets to seem to be given away

rather freely, but it is claimed, only to those who are known. It is probable however that no great discernment is shown. There is also a copper trap. The mission seems to be a mixture of philanthropy of the usual kind and religion of the narrow kind, but our information is not very complete.

St Pauls. Mr Hanson is probably a hard-working, earnest man of limited views & strong conscientiousness in his place as an Native Pastor-but as a clergyman he seems entirely unqualified, & his only part of his work that appears commendable is that of his wife-made.

Wesleyan Chapel Mission. A very active centre under the direction of the Rev Hilton Hellier Wallis. There are a large number of agencies & one thing or another; visiting is actively carried on; & much good work is done among the girls & women & also children. Mere philanthropy & religion seem to be mixed up in rather an unfortunate & dangerous way. The appeal at rather sensational & is unfortunate that the Bible contains so many vivid very gory in the upper. But they are clearly very active workers, & the Rev would seem to be a good specimen of the strictly religious evangelist. His methods are probably those on which Hundreds acted: & few people in that mind have.

Mr Townshend has a mission in the Hong Road.

Box 1: Sec's Rept. on Bowl.

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Franklin Road: Baptist Home Mission Board. A board formed on the Birmingham model, with a little primary Convention station in town working with a religious object. The board in this town is a small one with only 80 members. There is also a Wife Assn for children with 60 members. The visiting the superintendent is a rather weak man.

"Two more chapels":

East London Christian Institute: in the Limes Road. 80 members, who live over a wide area. The committee [illegible] rather than the Institute itself would be drawn from the town. The Institute is undenominational, but is mainly supported by those who are baptists & the visiting ministers for night-lectures are more often a Congregational than a Baptist. The Institute is well-planned, has [illegible] - a little group of Congregational members who are associated also with undenominational institutions. [illegible] Hall is a large & [illegible] building, but very expensive, because of the very pretentious, heavy -

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