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LIFE AND LABOUR

OF THE

PEOPLE IN LONDON

BY

CHARLES BOOTH

ASSISTED BY

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Third Series: Religious Influences

I

LONDON NORTH OF THE THAMES: THE OUTER RING

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LONDON NORTH OF THE THAMES: THE OUTER RING

Date of the Inquiry in this District: 1897-1898

I

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LONDON NORTH OF THE THAMES:
THE OUTER RING

INTRODUCTION

I HAVE at times doubted whether the prolongation of this work has had any other basis than an inability on my part to come to a conclusion. I have asked myself whether I should indeed have anything more to tell my readers than had been already told in previous volumes.

My first attempt was to enumerate the mass of the people of London in classes according to degrees of poverty or comfort and to indicate the conditions of life in each class. In connection with this attempt I mapped out the streets in colours and endeavoured to show by sample descriptions the kind of persons dwelling therein, their habits and the manner of their lives. A second and similar classification, the results of which were published at the same time, was based on what I could learn of the children in elementary schools; and in connection with this the educational opportunities offered to these and other children in London were described. My third and most ambitious attempt took advantage of the census of 1891 and classified the people afresh from top to bottom, testing poverty by the degree of

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crowding in their dwellings and wealth by the number of servants employed. In this way I obtained results applicable alike to the whole population, or to local divisions of it, or to any section grouped according to the occupation of the head of the family; and with this industrial tabulation I included an account of the conditions of labour in each group of trades.

Broadly these three methods of social analysis yielded similar results, and thus supported each other. If it was not exactly or invariably true that the direst apparent poverty, the closest crowding, the greatest lack of respectability and the lowest scale of remuneration went hand in hand in every locality and in every degree, still it did appear that the numbers of the crowded and the numbers of the low paid were much the same; that industrial capacity and higher and more regular wages lead to better housing, and that order, cleanliness and decency do almost invariably follow in their train; or, reversing this, it may equally be said that decency, cleanliness and order lead to better housing, to more regular employment and to the higher wages which industrial capacity commands; and thus the hope is engendered that improvement in any direction would involve improvement in all.

These investigations completed, the task which I had originally proposed to myself was done. Yet I did not feel satisfied to leave it so, for just as life day by day is conditioned by the character of the home, the opportunities of education or recreation and the chances of employment, so there are other social influences which form part of the very structure of life, and some account of them is necessary to complete the picture of things as they are.

Among these influences Religion claims the chief part, and the investigation of the action of organized religious effort in all its forms has taken the first and largest place in the additional inquiry of which I now

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give the results. But I have besides tried to appreciate other organized social and philanthropic influences, and also those that come under the heads of Local Government and Police, and in connection therewith have sought information on Housing and Health, on Drink, Prostitution and Crime, on Marriage and on Thrift; and though questions as to the extent and degree of Poverty do not enter directly, they will come constantly under consideration.

My principal aim is still confined to the description of things as they are. I have not undertaken to investigate how they came to be so, nor except incidentally to indicate whither they are tending; and only to a very limited extent, or very occasionally, has any comparison been made with the past. These points of view are deeply interesting and not to be ignored, but are beyond the scope of my own work. Still less could I set myself up as a critic of religious truth. My concern in the matter of religion is solely with the extent to which people accept the doctrines, conform to the discipline and share in the work of the religious bodies, and with the effect produced, or apparently produced, on their lives. In a similar way an attempt is made to show in what manner the action of Local Authorities and County Council, Poor Law Guardians and Local Government Board, affects the condition of the people, but there is no pretence of going deeply into the principles of government involved.

The general scheme of the book is as follows: Beginning with London North of the Thames, in the far Eastern corner at the Isle of Dogs, we proceed along the metropolitan boundary by way of Poplar, Bromley, Bow and Hackney to Islington, St. Pancras, Maida Vale and Hampstead. The whole of this outer ring has been built up within the memory of men still living. Within, between it and the City boundary, lies another ring, an 'inner ring,' and to

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this our inquiry is next directed. Here old purposes and needs have given way to new, and destruction and rebuilding go on apace. Then the West Central district follows, after which the City and Westminster lead us to the true West End of wealth with its rapidly filling *hinterland* at Hammersmith and Fulham. Crossing the river to the South side, and beginning with the inner and riverside parts, we then trace the extension of London southward over outer and outermost rings of population, stretching from Roehampton on the extreme West to Eltham on the extreme East.

In connection with the part played by religious and other social influences, the physical peculiarities of each district and the housing and condition of the inhabitants are incidentally described, and the districts are compared one with another. Six volumes are thus occupied and in the seventh these various threads are drawn together and the place of religion in the lives of the people is considered in a more general way.

The 'Poverty Map' of 1889 has been revised and much enlarged, and the revised map, cut into sections, is bound up with the present volumes. The original map was based on information obtained from the School Board visitors, checked by local knowledge from various sources. The new map starts from the old one. There has been no attempt to obtain fresh information such as that on which the original compilation was founded. On the other hand the revision has been very systematic. Every street, court and alley has been visited, and when changes seemed necessary in the tint that had been given to it, these changes have been most carefully considered. Some of these alterations may be consequent on errors in the original map, but the bulk of them are simply the result of the natural alterations of ten years of

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demolitions, rebuilding and expansion involving changes in the character or distribution of the population. In our prolonged walks through London, when engaged on this revision—walks to be measured by hundreds, or even thousands, of miles—we had, by the kindness of Sir Edward Bradford, the company and co-operation of experienced members of the Police force, chosen for their local knowledge.

Our plan of action may be likened to a voyage of discovery. We have moved our camp from centre to centre all over London, remaining for weeks or even months in each spot in order to see as well as hear all we could. (Spiritual influences do not lend themselves readily to statistical treatment, and we have not attempted it.) The subject is one in which figures may easily be pressed too far, and if trusted too much are likely to be more than usually dangerous. Our object, rather, has been to obtain truthful and trustworthy impressions, which we might hope to be able to transmit to our readers, of whom, though many would know accurately some part, few can have surveyed the whole field.

In forming our impressions we have neglected no means open to us of giving them a sufficiently wide base. We have endeavoured to see, and with comparatively few exceptions have seen, all the responsible heads of Churches of whatever denomination. The account of their work, its successes and failures, forming the basis and material of this work, is contained in written reports of nearly 1800 personal interviews, of which 1450 were with the direct representatives of religious work and nearly 350 with other authorities.

I believe that no work of any importance has failed to find a place in our notes. The men we have seen are of many types, representing every shade of Christianity. In our interviews with them we have endeavoured to maintain a sympathetic rather than

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a critical attitude. To counterbalance the effect of any tendency on the part of our informants to magnify their office, we have trusted mainly to the insight gained by a long series of such interviews, but have been guided also by what we have seen when we have ourselves visited the churches and institutions in question. We have also been able in most cases to compare what men say of themselves with what others say of them.

If in the use of this material I appear at times to be vague when I ought to be explicit, or personal when it might seem that I ought to stop at generalities, I hope the great difficulties of my task will be remembered.

I have veiled identity where it seemed desirable so to do, or where individual action appeared merged in a mass of similar effort. But in cases in which the work is too large or too peculiar to be so treated, or when it is definitely associated with a particular man's name, it would have been useless and even absurd to suppress the name. In other cases where no names are given the veil is frequently so thin that for those who know anything of the subject there is no disguise.

It has been sometimes difficult to know how far it was justifiable to reproduce statements made in very varying degrees of confidence, but whenever I thought there was any doubt on this point I have sought to leave no clue of identification. Single quotation marks are used when the passage is taken from our notes of what was said by the authority from whom we quote, and double ones only when the passage is taken verbatim from printed or written matter.

I have made no statement for which I have not trustworthy evidence, nor put forward any opinion without having, as I think, good grounds for it; but I cannot promise to produce my proofs. Statements and opinions must stand for what they are worth as

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the result of honest, careful and, I trust, impartial investigation; but among so great a mass of facts as are here dealt with some errors cannot fail to have crept in; I have done my best to avoid them, and trust they may not be of a serious character.

In the grouping of parishes for each chapter, the larger recognised local areas have, so far as practicable, been adopted. When ignored, it has been in order to obtain sections presenting the greatest possible uniformity of condition; or in order to keep within the four corners of a rectangular map; a consideration which the actual boundaries—leaning on the past, and guided by the ancient limits of properties large and small, by farm and field, by rising meadow and meandering brook, by manor house and garden wall, churchyard and village green—entirely disregard.

Each section of the coloured map is accompanied by a few pages of descriptive notes which, without breaking the thread of the book, may assist the reader to understand the character of the district portrayed. In these notes has been embodied such information as we have gathered incidentally in regard to rents and prices, and to them has been added a list of the parishes and of all places of worship in each so far as we have been able to identify them. Such statistics as are given will be found at the back of the sketch maps which accompany the chapters. They approximate closely to the areas dealt with in the chapters, but owing to the many changes in boundaries during the decade 1891-1901 do not correspond exactly.

The Clergy and Ministers of all denominations have been very kind and helpful to me and my fellow workers, and unwearied in the patience with which they have listened and responded to our questions. If in what I have written I have said anything to give just offence either in manner or matter I shall

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be very sorry. My thanks are specially due to the late and present Bishops of London, to those of Rochester and Southwark, and to Cardinal Vaughan, for letters which enabled me to approach their clergy under favourable circumstances, and to the Archdeacons of London and Middlesex for much valuable preliminary assistance. In pursuit of my inquiries I have also been greatly helped by Local Government officials, Schoolmasters, Charitable workers, Doctors, Nurses and others who from prolonged residence or from exceptional opportunities have possessed intimate knowledge of local conditions.

Owing to the huge area to be covered the inquiry has extended over more than three years. In this time many changes have taken place in the *personnel* of the religious workers in London and in the character and prospects of special pieces of work. Considered as a whole this will hardly affect the accuracy of the picture. I have inserted at the beginning of each volume the date at which that portion of the work was done; and in individual cases, have introduced additions or corrections where subsequent changes seemed to render these necessary.

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CHAPTER I

OUTER EAST LONDON

§ 1

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE POPULATION

THE sketch map on the next leaf shows the small piece of the Metropolis with which our present survey begins. It is the true East End of London, but it lies beyond the districts which usually go by that name; and beyond it again, outside the present Metropolitan boundaries, a new quarter is rapidly forming, equally populous and not less poor. The district with which we have to deal differs for the better in many ways both from the old East End of the past and the new that is coming into being. It contains a solid English industrial population endowed with noticeable vigour and independence of character, as to which our notes contain frequent testimony not only from those living here still, but also from those who, after working among the people here, have moved to other parts of London. This population is almost altogether poor in the sense that among the residents none are rich, and that the middle class has left or is leaving, but except in a few special parts it is in no way poverty stricken. In the sense that almost all are of the working class, it is as uniformly level as any in London; but this does not preclude wide differences between various grades of this class.

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Over the larger portion of the area there has been great prosperity during the past few years, showing itself in the most marked way in the open winter of 1896-7.* Immense sums were paid out by the 'Slate clubs' and other sharing-out societies which adopt the method of dividing up their balances at Christmas. The money so distributed was freely spent, and not all ill-spent, by any means; but much undoubtedly went in drink, and we have been told by many informants that never before have they been witnesses to such scenes of drunkenness. With regard to the greater part of the district we have been told again and again that, except on account of illness or in old age, there is, and has been, little want or distress not caused by idleness or drink. Work has been plentiful and food and all necessaries cheap.

The standard of dress amongst young people is rising fast; clothing, like other things, is cheap; but whilst more is obtained for the money it is also the case that more money is spent. Minor refinements are sought. Scent, for instance, is extensively sold in small bottles at a low price, and girls very generally wear jewellery of some sort. The smoking of cigarettes and cheap cigars has also become general in recent years, and among young men a clay pipe is rarely seen. There are few who do not possess a watch. There appears also to be an extraordinary abundance of doctors, explained by the success which has attended cheap fees. To make a large income in this way, and drive a pair of horses, seems to have been quite possible, and though the business is perhaps now overdone it is still profitable. Bow, we are told, is a 'paradise for tallymen'; and door-step canvassers of all kinds thrive. There is

* 1897-1898 was the period of the inquiry in this part of London, but during the three subsequent years there has been little or no change in the general conditions of employment.

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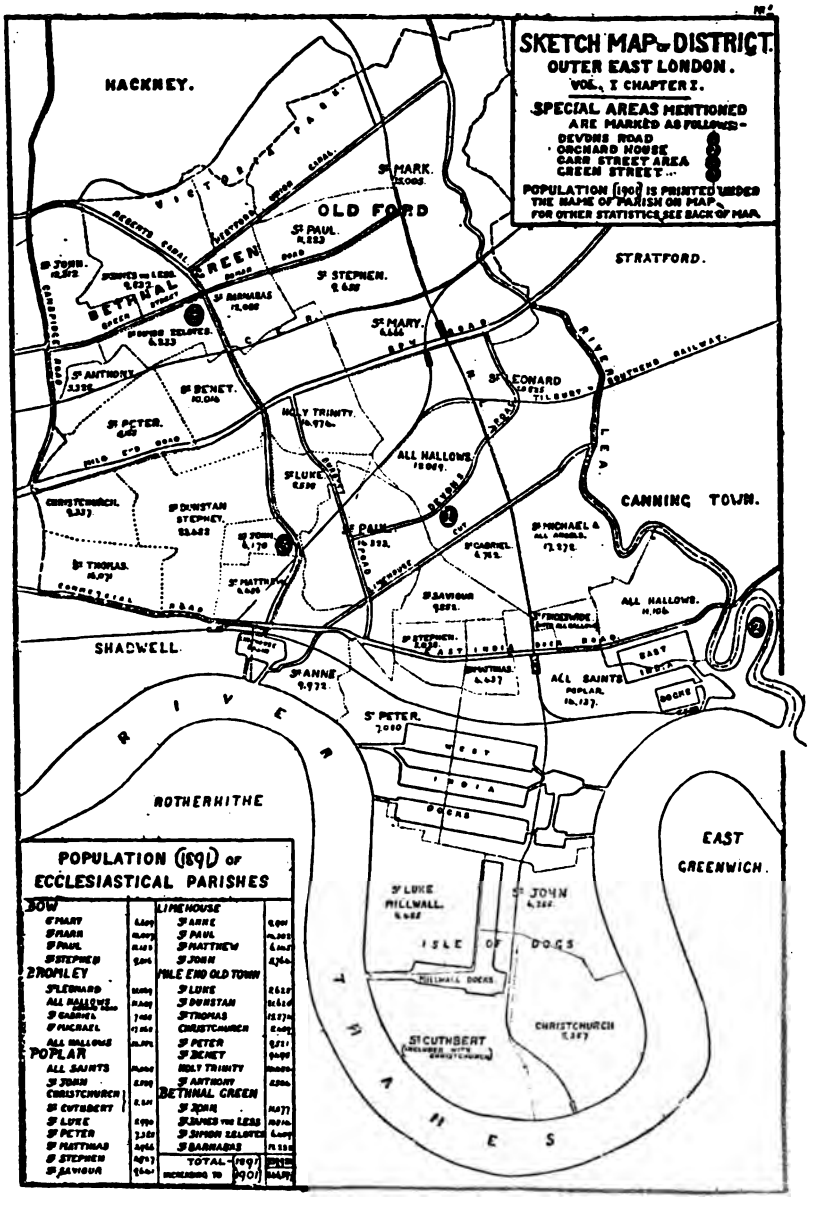

STATISTICS *bearing on the* AREA INCLUDED IN SKETCH MAP NO. I. *Described in Chapter I. (Vol. I.).*

CENSUS STATISTICS.

Showing Increase or Decrease of Population.

Population in 1881.	1891.	1896.	1901.	Increase per Cent. 1881-1891.	1891-1901.
335,569	350,665	358,911	358,712	4·5 %	2·3 %

Density of Population.

1891.	1901.
Persons per Acre.	
96·2	98·4
Inhabited Houses.	
45,740	45,818
Persons per House.	
7·6	7·8
Number of Acres.	
3,644	

Age and Sex in 1891.

Age.	Males.	Females.	Together.
Under 5 years	23,666	23,912	47,578
5 & under 15 yrs	40,868	40,472	81,340
— 20 ,,	17,442	16,910	34,352
— 25 ,,	15,984	16,117	32,101
— 35 ,,	26,978	26,763	53,741
— 45 ,,	20,105	20,024	40,129
— 55 ,,	14,978	14,834	29,812
— 65 ,,	8,631	9,544	18,175
65 and over	5,690	7,747	13,437
Totals.....	174,342	176,323	350,665

NOTE.—This area includes the civil parishes of Poplar, Bromley, and Bow, which together constitute the Borough of Poplar; and in addition the registration sub-districts of Bethnal Green East and Limehouse, the greater part of Mile End Old Town and part of Ratcliff; and thus does not coincide exactly with any section available for statistical purposes. For the figures given on this page the portion of Ratcliff has been entirely omitted and on the other hand the whole of Mile End Old Town is introduced. A more detailed statement of the Special Family Enumeration is given in the Appendix.

SPECIAL ENUMERATION FOR THIS INQUIRY (1891).

Sex, Birthplace and Industrial Status of Heads of Families.

Sex. Male.	Female.	Birthplace. In London.	Out of London.	Industrial Status. Employers	Employees	Neither.	Total Heads.
62,882 83 %	12,961 17 %	44,548 59 %	31,295 41 %	4978 7 %	56,775 74 %	14,090 19 %	75,843 100 %

Constitution of Families.

Heads.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied.	Servants.	Total in Families.
75,843 (1·0)	72,268 (·95)	187,165 (2·47)	3878 (0·05)	339,154 (4·47)

Social Classification according to *Rooms Occupied* or *Servants Kept.*

	Persons.	Per Cent.	
4 or more persons to a room	12,066	3·4	Crowded 32·7 %
3 & under 4 ,, ,,	23 698	6·8	
2 & ,, 3 ,, ,,	78,943	22·5	
1 & ,, 2 ,, ,,	101,205	28·9	Not Crowded 67·3 %
Less than 1 person to a room	14,828	4·2	
Occupying more than 4 rooms	88,605	25·3	
4 or more persons to 1 servant	11,236	3·2	
Less than 4 persons to 1 servant & 4 to 7 persons to 2 servants	3,988	1·1	
All others with 2 or more servants	707	0·2	
Servants in families	3,878	1·1	
Inmates of Institutions (including servants)	11,511	3·3	
Total	350,665	100	

Living in Poverty (as estimated in 1889)	33.6 %	100 %
,, in Comfort (,, ,,)	66.4 %	

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evidently a good deal of money to be picked up in various ways. Betting agents carry on their lucrative trade very openly. A favourite local amusement is whippet racing, the whippet being a small greyhound; the races often take place on the Bow running ground, and thus give opportunity for some betting combined with a breath of fresh air.

An enormous business, too, is done in excursions for the day by train or brake. School children are mostly treated, but, even when the pleasure is taken under religious auspices, adults invariably meet part of the expenses and not infrequently pay entirely for themselves. Some of these excursions are arranged for the men working for some particular employer, others by the members of some club or society, and others again are set on foot by some publican or caterer at so much a head for all who like to go. For such purposes there is always plenty of money.

There is, indeed, all over London a greediness for amusements, and it is to be hoped that in this direction taste advances. The statement often made to us, that 'entertainments have been overdone,' referring to their use on the social side of religious effort, no doubt implies that the people are less easy to satisfy, as well as that too important a place has been given to such things as a part of Church work.

Amidst all this ready expenditure of money on dress, or drink, or pleasure, there appears to be little that leaves any very permanent results in acquisition of other than temporary benefits. Such actual saving as we hear of is for the sunny rather than the rainy day. Insurance against death and to cover funeral expenses is indeed general, and maintained almost as a first charge upon income, and membership in solid Friendly Societies, providing substantially for sickness as well as death, is fairly common, but otherwise little seems to be done of a permanent character, and we are told

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that the bulk of the population has nothing laid by. It is, however, possible that there may be more than is known; men do not advertise their savings, and a rather high standard of home life, involving accumulations of some kind, is suggested by the appeal of a purveyor of musical instruments on the hire system, who advertises on every wall 'What is home without a piano?' It is to be regretted that no form of co-operative buying, with its contingent facilities for the accumulation of savings, has yet been found suited to the ordinary circumstances of London life.

The tendency to uniformity of social grade, due primarily to the exodus of persons of the middle class, is carried further by the movement to Ilford, Leytonstone or Forest Gate, of those among the working classes who become a little better off than the rest; and is supplemented to some extent by a movement of the very poorest over the Metropolitan border into Canning Town and West Ham in search of lower rents or less stringent sanitary regulations. The drifting away of the better-to-do leaves a general impression of increasing poverty, and in some parts the population has become distinctly poorer, but it is nevertheless questionable to what extent this change is really in progress, since not only do those who are the poorest leave, as well as those who are best off, but among the better-to-do of the working classes it is those whose position is improving who go. They leave because they have become more prosperous. This, while it prevents the district from gaining, does not necessarily indicate any falling away. It has, however, a very depressing effect on those who are trying to amend the condition of the people, especially when those who go are the very ones on whom an impression has been made, such as the most hopeful scholars in a school or the living stones out of which a Church is being built. In some ways, however, all this

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movement is a very good sign. Young people leave when they marry and so start their new life under better conditions in a new place; and children, as a rule, strive to rise above the position occupied by their parents.

The foregoing remarks apply chiefly to the upper half of the population. As to the lower half we hear of hasty marriages due largely to the money earning powers of the young women, and not infrequently brought about by the pressing consequences of previous relations. These low-class girls, though apt to run wild, are not vicious. They have great liberty, being financially independent, and practically uncontrolled by their parents.

With, perhaps, the exception of the rough streets of an Irish Colony, called locally the 'Fenian Barracks,' strangers are everywhere treated with respect, school-board visitors, sanitary inspectors, missionaries, Sisters of the Poor, nurses and the clergy are all well received, and, except in the case of these rough Cockney Irish, the relations of the police and the people are noticeably friendly.

Education in the Elementary Schools seems to be successful, so far as the results during school years go. One witness, who is neither a school master nor a school manager, declares that his district can boast 'the nobbiest school children to be seen anywhere,' and he speaks for a poor district. One of the schools to which he refers stands at the head of the list for regularity of attendances—averaging over 95 per cent. All the children, we are told, take a keen interest in these figures. There has never been a 'perfect week.' Once Friday was reached, and then 'one miserable child spoiled it.' Of the general civilizing influences of the schools there can be no doubt, but the after results are partly disappointing. On leaving school many of the children rapidly forget most of what they have learnt

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and we hear of many young men and women who can barely sign their names. Efforts are made to retain a hold on the children by continuation classes, with what measure of success can hardly yet be said. It may, however, be fairly hoped that little by little an atmosphere of education will be created which will make reading and writing a matter of course and of daily practice.

For morality this district stands well. There are indeed near the docks the usual accompaniments of the life of sailors ashore complicated by the outlandish characters that an unusually mixed seafaring population brings together—Chinese, Indian, and Malay, with their opium dens, and an occasional murderous scuffle. But, on the whole, the people are amenable to order and grateful for whatever efforts may be made on their behalf.

As to physical health also there are few complaints. The low level of the Isle of Dogs had a bad influence, especially where the drains were inoperative at high water. This worst evil has been cured by pumps, but when, especially in the valley of the Lea, the streets extend on to low and marshy levels, occupying ground really unfit for dwelling houses, there is quite needless ill-health, creating and aggravating poverty. But taking the whole population there is no lack of energy or of capacity for both work and play. Nor are the industries practised such as leave no leisure. The normal hours are not excessive either for regular or irregular work.

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§ 2

THE RESPONSE TO RELIGION

Such being the general character of the people and the condition of life in this part of London, we now turn to the consideration of the religious and other efforts which are being made; and shall add such local details as seem needed to complete the picture, of which the ground-plan is laid down in the coloured maps (A) and (B) which follow pages 20 and 72 respectively.

At the southern extremity of the district, severed from Poplar by the West India Docks, lies the Isle of Dogs, and at this point we start. Here, virtually isolated from the rest of London, there is a fringe of population surrounding a central mass of docks, and in this population we find an approach we may almost say to village life.

The space between the river bank and the small streets where these people live, is occupied, from Limehouse to Blackwall, by an almost continuous string of ship-building yards, factories and works of various kinds. All who live in the Island seek their employment there, and many others who live away come here daily to their work. The place provides work; but little or nothing besides for the delectation of its inhabitants. Few shops, and those only of poor class, no market, no theatre or music-hall, no bright streets, no pleasant promenades; not even an old churchyard. But, as in a country place, there are allotment gardens. The splendid river is close at hand, but it is almost entirely hidden from view; and only of late has the County Council opened a small park on its borders, where a band plays on certain days in the Summer months. Adjoining the park there is a free public library. Otherwise the one exception to the dulness of local life is afforded by the football matches

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in the grounds of the Athletic Club; and these exercise an attraction so irresistible, that men and boys will boast of having incurred the risk of dismissal, by snatching a half-holiday, rather than forego the pleasure.

The residents in this little industrial world, though not very numerous, are interesting as being so strangely remote from the stir of London. They are neither in it nor of it. A large proportion of the inhabitants are country born and bred, representing men brought here in connection with labour disputes in the past, or families introduced with the new industries that were started when for a time ship-building was driven out. Many even of the adults, it is said, have never seen St. Paul's. The women go by the penny 'bus to do their marketing in Poplar, and the young men find their evening diversion in the High Street, where is found the nearest music-hall.

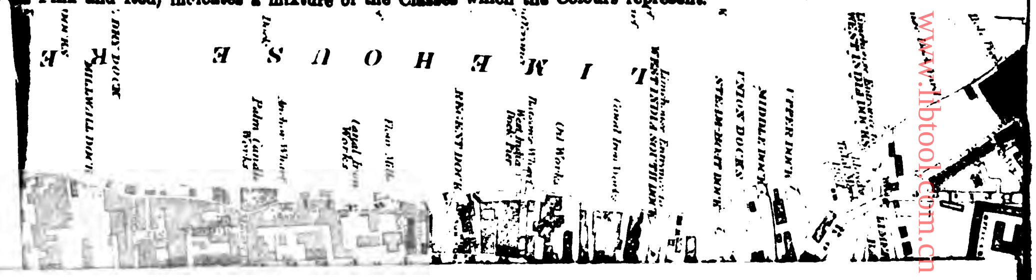
Amongst such a population there would seem to be special room for religion, but religion appears to play a very small part in its life. Effort on the side of the teachers is not wanting; it is the response that fails. On this all the authorities consulted are in accord. The clergy admit and deplore the fact. 'The people,' says one, 'though their attitude has improved, are essentially irreligious.' Another, who has just come, reports that he found his parishioners 'genial and friendly, but not willing to come to church.' In a third parish, where the services are High, there are indeed tolerable congregations, but those who come are characterized as 'fickle'; which may be as much as to say that they are influenced by novelty; attracted, but not held; attending the services so far as they do attend partly from curiosity. In this same parish we are told that although there is no secularist propaganda there is actual hostility to religion, carried to such a point that even churchgoers and the members of the church

Map A.—ISLE OF DOGS (1900).

The Streets are coloured according to social condition of inhabitants as under:—

Lowest Class | Very Poor | Moderate Poverty | Poverty & Comfort (mixed) | Fairly Comfortable | Well-to-do | Wealthy

Combined colouring (as Pink and Red) indicates a mixture of the Classes which the Colours represent.



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clubs are almost afraid to recognise the parson in the street. But this state of public feeling is not in truth hostility to religion, but strong opposition, itself religious in character, to the observances of this particular church; it is a clashing of practices and prejudices; a contest in which both sides seek to stir the indifference of the mass of the people, with rather uncomfortable results.

The priest in charge of the Roman Catholic mission, whose flock is entirely Irish, and of a low type, and who is concerned only with his own people, spoke of them as being very indifferent to religion and beyond his influence. The Wesleyans and Primitive Methodists, who represent orthodox Nonconformity, tell a similar story.

In addition to the regular Churches there are some small Missions which put a good deal of intensity into their limited work. One, the most successful of them, sprung from the soil, was started and is carried on by a resident who is himself a man of the people and works in the Island. It began in 1882, a stable and loft being adopted for use as its mission-hall. A faithful band of workers make honest efforts by open-air services and other means to reach those who do not attend any place of worship; but the superintendent speaks sadly of failure, and says that in spite of much propagandist activity, religion is at a low ebb; and that attendance at church and chapel has decreased in his time.

Another Mission lives mainly on the struggle between Protestantism and Ritualism, already referred to, and beyond rousing what no doubt is quite genuine Protestant feeling, maintains its position chiefly by the distribution of food and coals.

There is a club for factory girls doing very useful work; with religion as its avowed motive, and much self-devotion is shown by its managers. A few others

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are also to be found who give their lives to some special piece of work amongst those whose neighbours they become; but these exceptional efforts only emphasize the fact that upon the people of this district, isolated though they be, and in the main quiet and respectable folk, religion has no hold. Nor, as will be shown, do they differ greatly from others in this respect.

The region that lies between the Isle of Dogs and Victoria Park has no natural beauties, but the soil is sand or gravel, the air fairly pure, and those who live there find the district by no means disagreeable. It is cleft fan-wise by great thoroughfares, and athwart and across by the canal, and railways pass over it in various directions. The main divisions of this area are known as Poplar, Bromley and Bow: Poplar, in which the river and river-side employment are still dominant influences; Bromley, also exceptionally well supplied with large centres of local employment; and Bow, which being in direct and easy communication with more central London, remains to a great extent a residential district. Further East are the marshes of the Lea, still mainly open and it is to be hoped that dwellings will never be erected on them. Such ground may surely find other and more fitting uses.

The division we have made between inner and outer East London brings parts of Bethnal Green, Mile End Old Town, and Stepney into the outer section. The line drawn is a somewhat arbitrary one. Into these parts the Jewish invasion is now spreading rapidly, and its main stream extends even into Bow. Otherwise the character of the population is similar throughout the district I am now describing. There are in it patches of poverty and low life, but respectability and a reasonable standard of comfort prevail.

The upper working-class element, which is somewhat

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lacking in the Isle of Dogs, is fairly represented in other parts of this area. Great efforts have been made to bring this class into touch with the Churches, and active religious work has been rewarded here and there by good congregations, some of those who come being drawn from the desired class, but the uphill character of religious work among the best as well as the worst in the district is evident. Very different accounts are, however, given of the people. On the one side we hear that their prevailing characteristic is want of backbone; it is said to be easy enough to start things, but that to keep them going is a task of the utmost difficulty; 'everything starts with a great flare up, but then fizzles out.' This it is said is characteristic of social and recreative as well as religious and educational movements; cookery classes, cricket and football clubs, all seem to share the same fate, 'they are well supported for a week or two and then languish or die.' 'Invertebrate apathy' is spoken of as characteristic of the population. But we are also told of marked independence of character; that 'the parson must make his way as a man, not as a clergyman,' and that 'friendships are not easily made, but last.'

These East-enders are for the most part decent, respectable people. An old man who knows his people well, vicar of a large parish which contains few but the best of the working class, says that he sees no sign of social decay among them. They are mostly in regular work. Twice he has taken a census of his parish, and has been personally into almost every house—'clean, bright, happy homes.' Large sums are put into the Savings Bank, and there is very little distress amongst his people. This parish, even in its poorest parts, is remarkable for the length of time the people remain in the same house. An empty house is never seen. The rents (it is explained) are now rather low because, following an unwritten law, they are not raised on old

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tenants. A missionary who has worked here eight years bears out the vicar. He reports that only old people and widows are needy, and indeed thinks he might have been sent where he would have been more wanted. Yet among this comfortable and worthy population few go to church or recognise religion by any outward sign.

A London City missionary, referring to the effect of his visits upon those who are 'not the best nor the lowest,' just the 'ordinary people of London,' remarks that he does not always try to read the Scriptures, for even 'this becomes a form of ritualism to some'—a very pregnant saying.

We are told by the rector of one of the largest parishes, where there are two churches and three mission-rooms and a very energetic staff, that mission work is a complete failure: 'if the people will go anywhere they will go to church.' From the superintendent of an independent mission in connection with the Church of England in the very next, a rather poorer parish, we hear, on the other hand, that 'the Churches are powerless and mission-halls the only thing that will reach the people,' but our informant's own success does not seem to be great. The lease of his hall expires in a few years, and the committee of management has not decided what it will do respecting renewal. 'The future is veiled in obscurity.' The vicar of a neighbouring parish says that 'not more than ten working men in the parish ever come to church;' while another tells us that there is no hostility, 'simply utter indifference.' The church is always crammed for harvest festival, but in this the vicar recognises 'a relic of superstition.'

In yet another parish, although the church, which holds twelve hundred, is greatly used for baptisms, marriages and churchings, 'there are never one hundred adults at either morning or evening service, except for

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harvest festival.' The vicar here, speaking of those who are drawn on Sunday nights to his mission-room, says, 'What they like is the warmth, the fellowship, the shaking of hands—given these things they are utterly indifferent to theological dogma.' The hard-working incumbent of another parish speaks of 'things going down steadily, though his personal position was never better or his parishioners more friendly.' A general condition of unrest he holds to be partly responsible for the attitude of the people towards religion, and he traces this unrest to political and social causes. Another of the clergy says that in his parish those who go to church are, with rare exceptions, the fairly well-to-do, together with a few old women, most of whom are pensioners. He considers that the influence of the Church on the whole is very slight. 'We are not so successful and are not getting such a grip as some try to make out; we are only just scratching the surface.' In truth, very few claim success. 'The characteristic of the people is apathy.' 'Glad to see you, but quite indifferent to anything done for them.' 'Only come for new year's eve service'—such remarks occur again and again.

The Nonconformists are no less emphatic in their own way on the same side. 'Stagnation seems the order of the day. The true Church of God is hard pressed,' comes from the late minister of the most successful of the Baptist churches, where, if anywhere, is found a genuine working-class congregation. He was at the time nearing the completion of thirty years' ministry in East London, and the last words of his letter are as follows:—"Amid all these things the hope of my heart is the speedy personal return of the Lord Jesus. Nothing but the coming of the King can put things right." A missionary representing the Congregationalists, who has worked untiringly and without remuneration for nearly half a century, and has thus

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witnessed all the changes that have taken place during that time in his locality and in the character of its inhabitants, says of the present population, whom he sums up as 'third-class clerks, warehousemen and artizans,' that they are 'non-church-goers; they won't and don't come,' though not necessarily irreligious. Another of the Baptists, whose own people come from a distance, and are lower middle-class, says of those who live near the chapel, 'They will not come—they seem to have no thought or care for their eternal interests.'

Yet another, writing to his helpers in support of home missionary work, says: "The great masses of the people will never be reached by sanctuary services. Were a street to consist of nothing but churches, chapels and mission-halls, both sides of the way, thousands would walk along it without a passing thought of entering any one. London will never be won to Christ by multiplication of buildings. Few of those we have are full. Personal dealings with the poor in their own homes are still the most potent method employed."

A London City missionary—a stoutly built man with a pleasant face, whose claim it is that on visiting he always 'leaves people so that he can go again'—says that the great difficulty is the general indifference; adding, 'it nearly crushes me.' To quote figures, we hear that of 70 families in one street only 2 attended a place of worship, while of 1199 persons in 3 streets only 29 were accounted 'professed Christians.' An Evangelical deaconess, in charge of a nurses' institute, who sees the people through a nurse's eyes, says 'they have had too much of religion. There are none who have not heard of the Gospel, but at the same time they do not accept the way of salvation.' One of the staff of an active and successful Wesleyan mission, notices a growing tendency to regard religion and religious work as

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professional, that is, as the special business of those who are paid to do it. And one of the missionaries speaks of the favour which people think they do him if they come to his service, regarding it as a very bad sign. 'I will give you a look in,' is the patronizing way in which they put it. These remarks bear upon an idea which we have heard mentioned more than once, as being commonly entertained, namely, that the clergy are paid from the rates and make rather a good thing out of their job.

It will not be a matter of surprise that those not directly connected with religious work agree with the verdict as to its failure among this working-class population. For instance, one whose work for thirty years has thrown him into contact with the people and especially the poor, reports, as do the clergy, that the mass of the people are not antagonistic, but quite indifferent to religion. 'Each religious organization has its small band of earnest devotees and workers, but the results,' he says, 'do not seem to be at all proportionate to the exertion put forth.' Another witness speaks of the work of the Churches as a 'drop in the ocean.'

It cannot be said that there are no results, or, if we consider the whole population, that they are not in some sense reached by the Church and by other religious bodies; but the results are very disappointing. Response is lacking. The mass of the people make no profession of faith and take no interest in religious observances. They attend no place of worship. At the same time there is little or no active hostility; no public scoffing; and many of the aims of the Church meet with general sympathy. The attitude of the workshop indeed is contemptuous, but not that of the home. In family life religion has a certain recognition, as for instance we are told in the habit of private prayer among the women, though how far this really is

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common I do not know. Even the most indifferent seek its support or protection or countenance, if only in view of respectability, at the crises of existence. These manifestations have, it must be owned, the appearance of spiritual weakness, and sometimes of lingering heathen superstition, rather than of any real awakening to a higher life, but even so, and even when most conventional, they afford occasions of which a minister of religion might take advantage; for by virtue of his office his presence is assured at what should be, and often are, the most solemn moments of life. But there is no evidence that these great opportunities are so used as to be followed by any particular results in avowed religious life among the people.

Religious influence has also its chance in regard to the young. As to this the facts are very remarkable. The children of the respectable working classes, even of professed atheists, come regularly to Sunday school. The parents think it only right that they should, and the children like to come. Carefully washed and brushed and prettily dressed, they troop to the nearest school and are abandoned, without hesitation, to the religious teaching offered there, whatever it may be. It is said by some (rather meanly) that the parents have at heart, not their children's benefit, but solely their own comfort; being anxious to get them out of the way. So, too, the rich are glad at times to send their children to the nursery. Others say that parents profit in home comfort by the docility which the children acquire. For my part I see no reason to doubt that the ruling motive is the good of the children, and the wish to do what is right and usual, but it is certain that, as amongst Protestant Churches, no discrimination is exercised for or against any of their forms of religious doctrine. 'They make no invidious distinctions between the sects.' The religious bodies strive to keep Protestants and Catholics apart, and,

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with the help of social cleavages, this can generally be done; but as between all forms of Protestantism nothing of the kind is possible, the children go to the most convenient school, or, when rivalry runs high, are fought for by contending visitors.

At any rate the children are everywhere reached without difficulty; are sent freely, and attend willingly. To encourage them to maintain an allegiance to this or that school, and to attend with regularity, an outing or treat of some kind is usually provided in the summer, and perhaps a Christmas festivity. Thus a majority of the children, so far as Sunday school goes, come completely under religious influence. In the district we are now describing, their education otherwise is chiefly in the hands of the School Board, but the day schools provided by the religious bodies are well attended, and even preferred by many of the parents, being sometimes considered a little superior in class to the ordinary Board school. The doctrine taught is taken as it comes. It does not figure as any particular attraction; but that religion should be taught is usually approved; it is recognised as proper. The Board schools themselves are by no means without a religious tone, and their Bible teaching, though undogmatic, is very thorough. Their managers are largely drawn from the clergy and Free Church ministers.

The attempt to retain a hold on the children when they leave school, by means of clubs for girls or boys, boys' brigades, and the like, meets with very fair success. Again the way is fully open.

The women also are reached in a special way, the 'mothers' meeting' being everywhere a successful institution. It is sometimes said that those who come are 'bribed' to attend, but the word is unnecessarily hard. If applicable here, there is hardly any social function to which it does not apply. Some of the

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clergy would like to add a greater touch of discipline; would like to insist on regularity of attendance; on coming to church; even on Church membership; but most are wisely content to accept for what it may be worth the willingness of the women to meet and work together under religious influences. That it seems not to avail much is another of the strange facts with which we have to deal. It is from an apathetic population that the children come and that the mothers are drawn within the influence of the Christian Churches. The Churches are as missions preaching to the heathen and shouting the tidings of salvation in the open air for all to hear. Only with the Church of Rome is this otherwise. In this district, whatever may be the case elsewhere, she seeks those only who belong by rights to her community, some of whom may indeed have slipped out of knowledge, or be indifferent, but over whom, when found, the priest usually wields an unquestioned authority. The Protestant Nonconformist bodies, too, were formerly satisfied to gather together their own people. But this spirit has changed or is changing. Their natural congregations consisted mainly of middle-class people, most of whom have left the district. They are now seeking new life in the home mission-field.

Every religious body, every creed, and indeed every fad, finds some adherents amongst this population. 'Everybody has his fling,' as one vicar puts it. The Church of England has many, perhaps thousands, of sincere supporters. The Baptists, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Wesleyans, Primitive Methodists and Unitarians, have their several flocks. Minor sects or divisions of sects abound—Plymouth Brethren, Swedenborgians, Christadelphians, British Israelites, Mormons, Spiritualists, Peculiar People, and others. They hold their various opinions with equal intensity, and all wish to make others share them. Each sect

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regards its own solution of the relations between God and man, and all the problems of religion, as of the highest importance both in this life and the life to come; and in spreading the truth, as it has been delivered to them, all meet with about the same proportion of success in individual cases, overshadowed by the same great cloud of general failure; and almost all accept social work of various kinds, as intermediary to higher things. How similar these social efforts are, by whomsoever undertaken, is very remarkable.

Beyond the circle of active adherents every established denomination counts among its numbers some who join or conform without either strong convictions, or willingness to share in the work undertaken. Some of these do genuinely believe and honestly confess the faith of which they are adherents; others may be attracted by one or other of many motives, ranging from the simple unquestioning acceptance of ancient custom to the deliberate promptings of low self-interest, while some are birds of passage, and very many attend only occasionally, and can hardly be counted. But if all these various classes, the sincere, the self-seeking, the indifferent and the really attached, be included, the total of adults is still not very great. The mass of the population remains alienated or unconcerned.

§ 3

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

The parochial system is in effect confined to the Church of England. Other bodies may map out districts which, amongst them, cover the whole ground, but in these districts it is their own people they seek, or else some definite portion of the irreligious or of

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the destitute. The Church of England may abstain from interfering with the flocks of other shepherds; but, apart from this, counts the whole population as under her care. Moreover here, in outer East London, among the Nonconformists, most of the wealthier members having moved away, the churches are almost everywhere failing or being converted into special mission centres. The field is thus to a great extent left to the Church organizations, but the Church of England is, as we have seen, very far from bringing the population under her wing. Whether the Churches be High or Low, active or inactive, her parochial ambition represents an unrealized dream.

Amongst the thirty-five ecclesiastical parishes or separate mission districts with which we are now dealing, there are representatives of every kind, but we can trace far greater variety in the character and vigour of the efforts made, than in the effects produced.

The most marked feature of the work of the Church of England here is the extensive scale on which, in many instances, it is carried on. We have, for instance, the mother parish of Stepney, St. Dunstan's, with a population of 22,000. It can boast two churches, two schools, three mission-rooms, a parish room and four halls. Besides the rector there are five curates, two Scripture readers and seven paid lady workers, together with about 150 voluntary workers and a corresponding list of activities.* At St. Anne's,

* ORGANIZATION AND WORK OF A LARGE PARISH (St. Dunstan, Stepney):—

Population.—22,000, including all grades of working and lower middle class. No squalid streets.

People Employed.—Rector, five curates, two Scripture readers, seven paid lady workers, six unpaid lady workers, sixty monthly visitors, fifty Sunday school teachers, fifteen temperance workers, and about ten others connected with clubs, &c.

Buildings.—Two churches (St. Dunstan and St. Faith), two schools, three mission-rooms, parish room, and four halls: Grosvenor Hall, Red Coat Hall, St. Faith's Hall, and Dongola Hall.

Services at St. Dunstan's Church, Sunday: H. C., 7 and 8 a.m.; Matins, 11 (H. C., 1st and 3rd); children, 3.15; Evensong, 7 p.m. Weekday:

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Limehouse, there are three curates and two mission women, a nurse and a deaconess—all paid—and a

H. C., 7.30 a.m.; Evensong, 8 p.m.; Intercessions after Evensong on Saturday.

St. Faith's Church, Sunday: H. C., 7.30; 9.30 (Choral); Lit., 9.15; Matins and Catechizing, 11.30; children, 3.15 (2nd and 3rd); Evensong, 7 p.m. Weekdays: H. C., 7.30 a.m.; Evensong, 8 p.m.; Wednesday, Mission Service, 8.30; Intercession, Saturday.

Temperance Societies.—St. Dunstan's Branch, Tuesday, 8.30, at Old Church Road Mission-room or at Red Coat Hall.

St. Faith's Branch, Thursday, 8.30, at St. Faith's Hall (usually a concert)

Clubs, &c., for Men.—St. Faith's Hall, Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday, 7 to 10 p.m., for members of either Church or of Bible-classes.

Young Men and Lads.—Dongola Hall, every night except Thursday, for those who attend Bible-classes. St. Dunstan's Work Society, Thursday, Red Coat Hall, 5 to 7 p.m.; Gymnasium, Tuesday and Friday, 8 to 10 in winter (*6d* per month).

Drum and Fife Band.—Thursday, 8 to 10 p.m. (*2d* per week); Football Club (*2d* per week); Cricket Club, Thursday and Saturday; Swimming Club, Monday and Thursday.

Young Women and Girls.—Grosvenor Hall, Tuesday and Thursday, 8.30 to 10, for members of Girls' Friendly Society. Shandy Street Mission-room, Friday, 8.30 to 10. Clive Street Mission-room, Sewing Class, Working Girls, Wednesday, 8 to 10. Parish room at Rectory, Sewing Class, Working Girls, Thursday, 8 to 10.

Guild of the Holy Child for school children over eight years:

Object.—To unite and encourage in Christian life and total abstinence.

Rules.—To pray morning and evening; to go to a Church Sunday school every Sunday if possible; to obey parents and teachers, and be cheerful and kind; not to use bad words; to be good to animals.

Stepney Green Branch: Boys, Monday; Girls, Wednesday; 6 p.m.

St. Faith's Branch: Boys, Monday; Girls, Wednesday; 6 p.m.

Old Church Road Branch: Boys, Monday; Girls, Wednesday; 6.30 p.m

Clive Street Branch: Boys, Tuesday; Girls, Thursday; 6 p.m.

Grosvenor Hall Branch: Boys and Girls, Friday, 6 p.m.

Benefit Society (St. Dunstan's Branch of C. E. T. S.), 4th Thursday, at 8.30.

Penny Bank.—Dongola Hall, Monday, 6 to 7.30; Clive Street Mission, Tuesday and Thursday, 2.30 to 3.15; St. Faith's Hall, Thursday, 9.30 to 10 p.m.

Parish Library.

Day Schools.—Red Coat (Stepney Green); Green Coat (Whitehorse Street); Infants, Redman's Road (Christ Church parish); Free School, St. Thomas's, Arbour Square.

Sunday Schools.—Stepney Green and Whitehorse Street, Mission Hall, Old Church Street, St. Faith's Mission Hall, and Trafalgar Street Board School.

Bible-classes.—Sunday: Men over 18, Parish room, 3.30; Young Men and Lads, Church House, Dongola Street, 5.30; Boys over 14, Shandy Street Mission, 6; Women, Grosvenor Hall, 3.30; Young Women and Girls over 14, Green Coat School, Red Coat School, and St. Faith's Hall, 3.15.

Weekdays: Married Women (inquire of your district visitor), Men and Women, Clive Street, Thursday, 8 p.m.; Young Women, Parish room, Monday, 8.30; Baptism Class, Children 6—13, Mondays, 5.30.

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crowd of voluntary workers; whilst at St. Leonard's, Bromley, there is a paid staff, consisting of seven clergy, seven women workers and three lay-helpers, who occupy, in addition to the church itself, three licensed and five unlicensed mission-rooms. There are here sixteen services every Sunday, and seventeen different Bible-classes are held. There are about two thousand children in the Sunday schools, and it is said, by the rector, that over two thousand persons attend the services. In such parishes, under an energetic rector, the work of the Church comes to be very highly organized, and if undertakings on a large scale have a charm, these parishes have at least that advantage.

The great mother parish churches hold a kind of Cathedral position. The ordinary services in them are never extreme in character, and the congregations, although no doubt mainly middle class, contain all grades of parishioners. They may be drawn indifferently from anywhere within the old parish boundaries, and often include persons formerly connected with the district but now living at a distance. The tie is one of habit and affection and the unit is the family more usually than at other churches. The attendance at these churches is also promoted and maintained by their commanding sites and architectural advantages, which are a great inheritance. All Saints', Poplar, St. Anne's, Limehouse, St. Dunstan's, Stepney, and St. John's, East Bethnal Green, are all nobly and prominently situated, and so in its way is St. Mary-at-Bow, while St. Leonard's, Bromley, possesses many of the charms of an old country parish church.

To advertise its existence is as necessary for a church as for a shop, and our forefathers best knew how by bell and building this could be done. The 'rodum-sidum' type of city church, having no such advantages, makes the most of its situation by bright lights shining through painted glass, and shares with the Noncon-

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formists the attractive force of the sound of hymns which often compels the passer-by to pause and listen; but the old parish church remains with a marked advantage.

Although whole families of father, mother, and children often go to church, the female element largely preponderates even in these old parish churches, especially in the evening. The morning congregations of adults are almost always very small, but the numbers are often eked out by the presence of the school children. There is a previous gathering of the devout, mainly the church workers, at early Communion, and often there is a recognised Children's service in the afternoon, followed by Baptisms when required; but the main gathering is for the evening service (or 'evensong,') at 6.30 or 7 o'clock, when these churches, large though they be, are very fairly filled.

Individuality, according to the character of the incumbent, or the peculiarities of the population, or the traditions of the place, is not absent even in the case of the old parish churches, but there is far more variety both of men and method in the other churches. Thus among the clergy we have examples of scarcely disguised indifference as well as of manifest incompetence, the result of old age or mental peculiarity, and only partly compensated by the devotion of helpers and subordinates in some portion of the neglected work. Then, again, there are men of action, who fling themselves restlessly into their work, contrasted with men of thought, whose aim it is to be teachers rather than administrators. Or we may compare the hopeful energy and stirring methods of the new comer with the doubts of the old man who humbly feels, and expresses the fear, that his congregation can no longer hear him with interest. If they no longer respond, neither can he put much heart into fresh calls. He has tried, and failed. Hope has

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turned cold. Then we meet some Churchmen who are strong Tories; while others, as Christian Socialists, have enthusiastically espoused what they feel to be the cause of the people, but in practice have discovered that the social and political aspirations of labour do not provide a sufficient or sound basis for religious ideals, or the pursuit of a Christian life. And it is found to be far easier, if not more satisfactory, to bring working men together for secular lectures in the town-halls, than for any form of Church service.

In addition, mingled with and cross-cutting all, are the differences of Church party. We have High Church, usually energetic: Low Church, as a rule rather slow: and Broad Church, inclined to be somewhat slack; but with these special characteristics tempered in every case by the faults of their qualities or the virtues of their failings.

The High Church in this district has not been very extreme in ritual; nor does it seem to have been so successful in drawing the poor or attracting men of any class, as in some other parts of London.* The congregations, especially in the morning, are more numerous than those of other churches, but both morning and evening are almost entirely formed of women, and mostly young women, all very smartly dressed, so that, as seen from the pulpit, a church is said to resemble the flower-beds of Park Lane. In the working of guilds and clubs, as well as in incessant services, the High Church undoubtedly shows the greater activity, but as to visiting, and schools, and mothers' meetings, in which lie the main work of every Church, there is nothing to choose between High and Low, and curiously enough very little between active and inactive, competent or incompetent ministers—for these things are often maintained in full vigour

* Father Dolling's work in this neighbourhood (St. Saviour's parish) dated from after the time of our inquiry, and has now been closed by his death.

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irrespective of the incumbent's own inaction, or even in spite of it. The Low Church here is at some disadvantage, being overshadowed by the great Evangelical Missions which, beginning as ragged schools, and still in theory aimed solely at the needs of the poor and the irreligious, fill their great halls to a considerable extent from those who would otherwise attend some other Evangelical place of worship.

The parochial efforts made to reach the poorer classes by the use of special mission-halls are dismally unsuccessful. A morning service is rarely attempted, but if ventured upon, is practically a meeting of children; while in the evening, gathered together in a rather cheerless building, there may usually be found, in addition to those who are responsible for the undertaking, half a dozen painstaking men, a number of more or less subsidised women, some of the school children, and a few older girls and boys. There is nothing spontaneous about the attendance.

Among those who come to the churches, and mainly among the younger men and women, many societies are formed—clubs and guilds of various kinds, musical unions, temperance and other societies. Some of these have their counterparts at the mission centres; or the work at church and mission is linked together, and helpers are provided to manage the benefit societies and other institutions especially designed to meet the needs of the poor and the sick. Whether these efforts have a mutual or a philanthropic basis, the young people find life and interest in them, and for the poor something is certainly done; not always wisely, and not, it would seem, with any particular effect on their religious attitude, but on the whole better done than left undone.

Underlying the whole there is commonly a system of visitation; sometimes perfunctory, sometimes very highly organized; at times attempting more than can

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by any possibility be successfully accomplished; but always working in close connection with the mothers' meetings, the Sunday schools, and the distribution of charity.

Going about among these churches I have been struck with the excellent manner in which the services are rendered. This no doubt becomes, and is, an end in itself. Twenty men and boys combining in this work may find pleasure in the sound of the organ and of their own voices, and satisfaction in the effect of the lights and shadows of the resounding church, even if the rest of the congregation be no more numerous than they themselves. It is otherwise with the reading of the lessons, and ten times otherwise with the sermon. If this be addressed to empty benches the preacher can hardly avoid dulness, and certainly the sermons one hears are as a rule extremely dull.

Although the general effect is that of failure, I should give my readers a very wrong impression if I led them to suppose that nothing is being done. It is just because the effort is so great that the results are so disappointing. I have spoken of the scale on which the large mother parish churches conduct their operations, and have chosen St. Dunstan's, Stepney, as an example. I will close this section by describing, in some detail, the work done from one of the ordinary parish churches.

The vicar is quite an old man and has held the position for more than thirty years. A man of large heart, full of pity for the poor, and especially for the very old and very young. A benevolent man, whose language grew strong when he spoke of some dwelling-houses which 'had been closed and never should have been re-opened,' and of some other place (not actually in his parish, but close by) as 'a perfect hell' through which he would like to put a cannon-ball. His own

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people are mostly comparatively well-to-do; his congregation almost entirely so; it is drawn from one of the best parts of this district. He employs a curate and one mission-woman, and has had the help of two devoted daughters. In addition he has secured, for the management of mothers' meetings, &c., the aid of a considerable number of his parishioners.

The Church services are old fashioned, but made attractive with good music, and many of those who come are from other parishes. Parochial boundaries are little regarded, and old friends who have gone elsewhere continue to attend the church. There are guilds for young men and young women, and at their social evenings dancing is not forbidden. They have also occasional lectures. The day schools have suffered from Board school competition, and the Sunday schools also, perhaps, from that of other religious bodies, but the Band of Hope, the work of the vicar's daughter, is the largest in the Rural Deanery. Adjoining the vicarage, so as to be entered from it, is a Boys' Home and a Home for Aged Persons. In the latter are six old people 'whom it would be a shame to let go to the workhouse;' in the former there are eighteen boys. The Boys' Home dates from more than twenty years ago, when the vicar received three young waifs into his own house. Each generation of boys has the run of the vicarage, almost as members of the family. There is, too, a good deal of kindly charitable giving; guided, it is claimed, by a thorough knowledge of the people, but imbued with the sense that 'it is not wise to ask too many questions.' The old vicar is the friend of his people, and he has spent his life and such small means as he possessed in their service, and in the beautifying of his church, upon which thought and care without end have been lavished in order to perfect it and make it worthy to be a sanctuary of God.

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§ 4

OTHER RELIGIOUS WORK

The Nonconformist places of worship fall into two categories. There are some, for the most part moribund, which still serve their original purpose of gathering together those Christians in any neighbourhood who, as Wesleyans or Primitive Methodists, Baptists or Congregationalists, or as members of any other denomination, think alike on matters of doctrine and Church government; and others which, either springing from the ashes of their dead selves under the impulse of missionary enterprise, or inaugurated and established with that aim, have set themselves to the work of attracting the people to Christianity; of winning, as they say, souls to Christ.

Of these bodies the Baptists are here the most successful, and though what is said above as to a twofold character applies to them as well as to the others, it is with a difference. The least progressive amongst them are, perhaps, the little self-contained communities of Particular Baptists, who are, however, just able to maintain themselves, gathering together, it may be from a distance, a faithful few to listen to the homely earnest prayer and exposition of the pastor. Of the other Baptist communities, some have and others have not succeeded in popularizing their services and attracting the outside world. Among those which have succeeded, the most important is the East London Tabernacle, from the pulpit of which Mr. Archibald Brown formerly exercised a wide spiritual influence. During a prolonged interregnum, while the pastorate remained in abeyance, this congregation successfully maintained its numbers and organizations, in itself a proof of strong vitality. The Tabernacle has been and is a great centre of religious work. It combines church and mission. It

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lays hold of the young people of its congregation and fills their lives. It welcomes, recognises and employs both young and old. It attracts working as well as middle-class people, and altogether constitutes a great religious force. But it may be doubted whether this church, any more than all the rest, gets hold at all of the lowest of the people, at whom so much of its work is directly aimed and upon whom much money is also expended. What is done is to attract the more serious minded of the lower middle and well-to-do working classes, and to provide for them a religious life consonant with their social habits, and religious exercises suited to their taste.

On a somewhat smaller though still fairly large scale, the same character applies to the work of the Baptist Church at Bow, and it is perhaps not essentially different even with their remarkable mission churches called 'Berger Hall' and 'The Lighthouse,' though these draw their supporters from a lower social level, having been successful in reaching the people who live in the surrounding streets. All these Churches and Missions have large Sunday schools, and, especially in the case of the Missions, the children to a considerable extent are those of members of the congregation. In every case the work done amongst the poor costs a good deal of money.

It is asserted that as soon as men and women are converted and join a church they rise at once in the social scale, and it is argued that this accounts for the well-dressed and respectable appearance of these congregations (as of many others also). To this argument some weight attaches, especially as regards the Missions, but not enough to alter the general conclusion that it is respectability that causes people to come to church far more than it is church-going that makes them respectable.

The characteristic work of the Congregationalists

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will be better dealt with elsewhere. Their successes in this district lie in, or north of, Bow Road, amongst a better class of residents. In Poplar and Bromley their regular supporters have left, or are leaving, and their churches must either adopt missionary methods or close their doors.

The Wesleyans are fully aware of this necessity, and are introducing Sisters of the People and other aggressive features into the organization of the Bow Circuit. The full force of the new movement in this body is represented by the East London Mission at the Stepney Tabernacle and at the Lycett Memorial Church in Mile End Road; but as the true centre of this effort, and the main field of its work, lies in St. George's-in-the-East, it will be described later.

The Primitive Methodists strike a different note. Their tiny chapels, like those of the strict Baptists, are comfortably filled by the little congregations of earnest folk, who meet in them to worship God after their own fashion. They pretend to no great work of evangelization, but collect and teach the neighbouring children in their Sunday schools.

Besides all these there are scattered throughout the district many small independent mission centres established out of pity for the poor, and to be found mostly where the spiritual and physical want are greatest. So far as visible results go, they fail to influence to any great extent the class at which they aim, but, like all the rest, they have their mothers' meeting and provident clubs and crowded Sunday schools, and each one gathers its small band of faithful workers. The administration and management is often entirely unpaid; the work all quite voluntary; and it seems impossible that such simple self-devotion should not have its effect. Perhaps they, and all of whatever denomination who live similar lives, are

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slowly building in their own hearts and in the hearts of the people an unseen, unrecognised Church.

The same may be true of the Salvation Army, whose efforts otherwise appear to meet with little success in this district. Its officers and soldiers preach in-doors and out, they march through the streets in all weathers, they gesticulate and shout, and the noise of their trumpets penetrates everywhere; but nobody seems to mind them, and their faith is sorely tried. The people, they say, are 'gospel hardened;' and it may be noted that the same militant methods when adopted by other Protestant bodies have here no better success.

Lastly, to be counted among Nonconformist places of worship are three great institutions. Of these one, though itself a Congregational Church, with a middle-class membership and a full string of social activities for the benefit of the poorer classes, has developed under its pastor, Mr. Atkinson, into a gigantic organization for charitable relief. The other two are the very remarkable efforts of Evangelical preaching to which I have already referred. Although his church and mission-buildings are in the district now under review, it will be more convenient to describe Mr. Atkinson's relief work, and the perfected system of begging for charitable support on which it is based, in connection with other similar enterprises in the inner portion of East London, where most of his poor are found. But the two great preaching centres are not only within our district, but draw their congregations largely from it, and hardly at all from the poor of the inner ring, and are therefore best considered now; even though they have no essentially local characteristics and share in some sort the begging and giving in which Mr. Atkinson leads the way; for the true basis and justification of their work lies in the preaching of the Gospel.

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The greatest of these Gospel centres (known as the Great Assembly Hall) had its origin many years ago as a little ragged school, carried on at first in a loft above a stable, and has been made what it is, a great permanent expression of the revivalist spirit, by persistency and good business management, combined in a very remarkable way with fierce enthusiasm. Its great hall provides an unequalled opportunity for the evangelist, whoever he may be, and its some five thousand seats are continually filled; the efforts of the managers being devoted to the task of finding for their platform a succession of famous mission preachers. It is objected that they 'preach to the converted,' that only a change of religious diet or some fresh excitement is sought, and that those who come in this spirit are 'landed nowhere.' The words 'religious dissipation' and 'religious pleasuring' are used to describe the evening services. These charges are very distasteful and are bitterly controverted, but in the main they are true. It is, however, no small success to bring together in London every Sunday (and on week-day evenings too) so many thousands drawn from the mass of the people, to join in the singing of hymns and the recognised worship of God. The other of these institutions was from the first a preaching centre, and it, too, draws every Sunday or oftener a large audience to hear the Word from successive evangelists. It replaced a large public-house and still retains its name of the 'Edinburgh Castle.'

In addition to the preaching of the Gospel to all comers and their relief work, these great Missions do also attempt to build up a true Church by the selection of zealous spirits from amongst those who regularly attend their services. For this inner band are provided the same round of work for the cause, and the same kind of organizations among themselves, as are found elsewhere. There are enormous provident clubs to be

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managed, and mothers' meetings and Sunday schools are conducted on the largest scale.

Here undoubtedly we have to chronicle success, but it is not success of the kind claimed, nor at all what the organizers of these great Missions set out to do. They do not draw within their halls 'the poor who go nowhere,' it is not of such people that their audiences are formed; nor 'the outcast who have never heard of Christ,' for these do not exist in London. They simply cater successfully for the religious tastes of many people of the middle and working classes. What they offer falls in with the usual habits of large numbers of the people, especially young people, on Sunday, and their audiences are drawn from a wide area.

Both these institutions, in order to reach the working man, have special services on Sunday afternoon, at which the attendance is maintained by ingenious devices of cards and prizes. They readily obtain members, and in this they do not stand alone. A very successful men's service, inaugurated and managed by the Baptists and Congregationalists in the neighbourhood, is held every Sunday in the Bow and Bromley Institute: and at St. James-the-Less, Mr. Ditchfield, the vicar, holds the largest gathering of the Men's Pleasant Sunday Afternoon kind connected with the Church of England. As regards the Church of England Mr. Ditchfield has been a pioneer in this field. At the time of our inquiry he had not left Holloway, where he began the work as a curate, but since then we have watched his success here. This phase of religious activity must be considered later as a whole, but meanwhile it may be said that it seems to be almost the only development in which the working classes take any hearty interest or prominent share, and it is noteworthy that in this essentially working-class neighbourhood we find it at its height. It may also be remarked that whatever the religious body with which

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these services are connected, Church, Nonconformist, or Independent Evangelical, the methods adopted are very similar. There are minor differences of class or of condition between one audience and another, but not enough to bring about any material difference in what is demanded; we find the same tastes and the same prejudices. The same ideas prevail and the same methods succeed.

The Roman Catholic ecclesiastical districts are called 'Missions,' but this does not imply aggressive proselytism. The first and often the last duty of the priest is to find and minister to those who by rights belong to his community. If the propagandist spirit entered at all, it would be in the shape of a desire to convince other Christians of their errors; but of conversions to Rome we hear nothing in this part of London; and the Roman Catholics take no share in the ordinary mission-work of preaching to the heathen of London the Gospel of Salvation. In this respect the work and methods of the Catholics amongst the poor present a complete contrast to those of the Protestants.

In bringing their people to church the Catholic clergy in this area are not altogether successful. The districts are large and their people scattered. Their measure of success is greater in Whitechapel, St. George's and Limehouse; but nowhere are they themselves satisfied. All that an outside observer can say is that their churches and schools are on the whole well filled, that their people are of the poorest, and that their priests exercise a great influence over their flocks. Failure so marked as that noted in the Isle of Dogs is rare, and already since we made our inquiry a change has taken place there.

The work of some of the Protestant Missions and also that of the Roman Catholics is described in greater

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detail in the account that follows of some of the poorest and lowest spots in the area under review.

The club for factory girls in the Isle of Dogs has already been mentioned, and there is another doing excellent work in Bow, mainly amongst Bryant and May's match girls.

§ 5

SPECIAL AREAS

The poorest and roughest part is the little group of streets already mentioned as going by the name of the 'Fenian Barracks.' The area lies near the Limehouse Cut (a portion of the canal), and has a very bad name with the police for violence; sending, we are told, more police to hospital than any other block in London. It can at present be approached only from Devons Road, and its seclusion is its bane. The men who live in this place, said our informant, 'are not human; they are wild beasts.' But being Irish they are at least human to this extent, that if one of their number is taken by the police a rescue is attempted. Amongst themselves they fight terribly, and no one not Irish would be tolerated at all. The casual visitor, however, judging by our own experience, meets with no serious disrespect.

The general appearance of these streets bears out their character: women on the side walks without hat or bonnet, some drunk; a group of young men playing pitch and toss; many children about who should be at school; lean cats prowling round; windows grimy and broken, door-steps uncleaned; in fact, all the usual signs of semi-vicious poverty. The place is over-run with rats. They live in the drains and haunt the canal barges and factories, wherever there may be anything

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they can eat, and on a summer morning early after a shower come out by thousands.

The streets lying immediately to the north of Devons Road are perhaps equally poor, but are not so exclusively Irish and are a shade less savage.

The Roman Catholics of this district are ruled by Father Gordon Thompson, who carries on the most remarkable work of the Roman Catholic Church in this, or perhaps any part of London. It was to bring religion to these people that he came about eight years ago. Here he has built his schools, his church, and presbytery, having spent £20,000, drawn mostly from the pockets of his former West End circle of communicants. He is helped by a Sisterhood who work 'for the love of God.' Their task lies mostly among the children, into whose lives they have brought a great change. The children used not to go to school at all, and are no doubt very irregular still, but the Sisters now 'go to fetch them and often wash and dress them,' the father perhaps lying in bed in the same room. Indeed the parents remain quite indifferent, only saying, 'Oh, yes, Sister, take them if you like.'

The district had been abandoned as hopeless by the Catholic Church; and it is too soon to say what effect may be produced on the children by the inculcation of habits of cleanliness, decent dressing and demeanour, to say nothing of religion and the other R's. At any rate the battle is being fought.

Among the young people sexual relations are loose, but there is no traffic in vice. The girls 'run as wild as rabbits,' but protected by their gregarious habits (chaperoning each other, to use the language of another class) do not come to much harm, and once paired the couples keep together faithfully. The poverty is great, and the crowding terrible, and the wonder, freely expressed, is that any sense of morality or decency is left. As to the men, the most that can be said at

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present is that the priest or the Sisters, if on the spot at the time, can always stop fighting. The people resist authority—even his at times—but in the priest's view are not *bad*. 'They drink and fight, but nothing worse.'

It is in the northern part of this district that the Baptists have their mission-church called 'The Lighthouse,' and those in charge give a very similar account of the place and the people. They are described as the lowest of the low, constantly drinking and quarrelling; not criminal, though there are criminals among them; and with many couples living together unmarried as the most convenient plan. One man is reported to have said, 'If I married my woman I should never be sure of my tea; now she knows if she don't do it she would go out in two minutes;' on the other hand, there are women who will live with a man, but would not trust him so far as to marry him.

The 'Lighthouse' shines over a wider area than that of Devons Road, and, as we have seen, has chiefly to do with those who are not the lowest of the low, but rather the more decent and respectable among their neighbours, collecting from among them a considerable congregation. As regards the whole district, the minister finds a downward tendency both socially and economically. In his view, the only hope for it is in the Gospel.

There are a number of other Missions concentrating their efforts on this degraded population, all supported by the same hope. They teach the children, visit the homes, establish classes for the older girls and for the boys, and try to relieve poverty. A representative of one of them said very simply, 'We give as much as we can (but it is not much), in grocery, bread and coal tickets; lots of other Missions and people giving also.' Father Thompson, too, said he had always a 'sixpence in his pocket for those who needed it.'

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If the Devons Road area is the most notorious, the 'Orchard House' is the most curious patch of disorderly poverty hereabouts. This little place, surrounded by the loop of the River Lea called Bow Creek, is, in shape, a miniature Isle of Dogs. It contains one street, out of which run miserable courts crowded with the poorest class of people. The total number of families in the place is fifty, but they take lodgers, and every house is crowded. Children swarm. From five houses there came no less than fifty-seven. Until a school, now in the hands of the London Board, was placed here some years ago, the education of the children was entirely neglected, and the difficulties of securing attendance have been great. There is no family, we are told, which has not had a child sent by the magistrate's order to a truant school. A devoted teacher is in charge, and many of the children are bright and intelligent, but few of them reach the higher standards. Some improvement begins to show itself in the matter of collars and boots and pride therein, but many still go barefoot. Boots, if supplied, are forthwith pawned or sold.

The place has been a sort of Alsatia for dock thieves; the people are said to be 'by nature piratical and predatory.' It is so remote that a policeman is seldom seen in it, and twenty-five minutes would be needed to fetch one from Poplar. Many of the families have been here four or five generations. If they at last exhaust the patience of the landlord and disappear for a time, they are apt ultimately to return, and the place is as full of gossip and scandal as a village. Many of the women and girls work at the factories which occupy the banks of the Lea, but few of the men take regular work. They prefer chance employment, such as unloading barges.

In one way or another a great deal of money is made, and it is as freely spent. For the needs of

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this population and those of workers at adjacent factories, there are three or four public-houses. The women drink as much as the men (even more we are told), and a funeral is an orgy of drunkenness. The houses are like pig-styes. A mission service among this rough crew is held every Sunday by a blind clergyman with the aid of his sister.

Another dark spot of long standing poverty and extremely low life is the Carr Street area in Limehouse, wedged in between the Regent's Canal and the Gas Works; Carr Street itself being commonly known as 'Donkey Row.' Here, too, we find those whose families have been resident on the same spot for a long period, and who act as though the place belonged to them. This is also reported of the poor and rather criminal area near Green Street, and it is often the case that in the poorest and worst spots there is the least change in this respect. The inhabitants move from house to house, but often cling to the same neighbourhood even from generation to generation.

The condition of those who live in Carr Street or thereabouts does not seem to improve, and yet they are over-run with Missions. We are told by one who works amongst them that they are indifferent to everything except drink. Even the bait of free suppers will scarcely bring the people in, 'they so hate being preached at.' Another who makes rent-collecting the basis of his influence, complains greatly of the destructive and insanitary habits of his tenants. The work of the Missions here, as indeed everywhere else, is principally among the children. The Sunday schools are well filled. The parish church is not very active, but to represent the Church of England there is in addition a mission-room managed from an adjacent parish. Besides all these Missions concentrating their efforts on a few small streets, there are some

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deaconesses connected with Dr. Barnardo's evangelistic work who have their home here and make this the centre of their operations.

The utmost result that can be outwardly traced from missionary effort in any of these bad spots is found in the appearance of the children, whose better and more decent clothing bears witness to an increase of self-respect and perhaps, too, of motherly pride. One missionary puts forward the view that religion acts as a restraining power, and thinks that were this withdrawn 'awful scenes would follow.' But there is no proof of this. A social pressure of great importance in support of order is unquestionably exercised; but the main representatives of this pressure are the police. Moreover, the indirect disciplinary influence of the schools is far greater than that of the Churches and Missions.

It is also said that if they fail to raise the mass, the Missions do continually lift individuals out of it, and so justify their existence. This point opens up the whole subject of the character of religious influence on our population, and I will only now point out how perfectly compatible is this form of success with the open indifference of the majority.

§ 6

THE POLICE, DRINK AND DISORDER

Nearly everyone speaks well of the police. Even if some think them not sufficiently a terror to evil doers, it is admitted that the line taken is a matter of policy, and is no doubt dictated from headquarters. At any rate, it is generally assumed that the men are advised not to make trouble. They do their duty, and take

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hard knocks and broken heads as all in the day's work when they have occasionally to strive with the fierce Irishry of Devons Road. They may not interfere as much as some desire with prostitutes in the streets near the docks or elsewhere; they may be content merely to frighten boys found playing pitch and toss in some quiet court; or may shut their eyes to minor infringements of the licensing acts or to the betting that goes on in all directions; but those who demand more stringent action admit that it would be difficult to go so far beyond public opinion as would be necessary to enforce the strict letter of the law, and that to attempt this would not only require a greatly increased number of police, but would run the risk of disturbing the happy relations which exist between police and people. Of crime, in the sense of professional criminals, there is little. Only in Mile End, just on the borders of Bethnal Green, are a few bad streets where known criminals reside, but there is a good deal of rough quarrelling and fighting, which may extend to manslaughter, in the special areas we have mentioned, and also among the sailors and their associates by the river side, where prostitution and robbery often go together. Where there are sailors prostitution is inevitable; but apart from Poplar and Limehouse there is not much immorality of this kind. The local authorities, urged by Vigilance Committees, make raids from time to time, successfully prosecuting the keepers of the houses, or for the time clearing the streets, but no permanent improvement comes from their action. The best that can be said is that a momentary chance is afforded for the rescue of some of the girls thus thrown adrift.

Of drinking there is a great deal; both of the excessive indulgence due to prosperity, and of that which goes with and even springs from the depths of poverty. Among women the evil seems to be very

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prominent, the increase of drinking habits among them being mentioned again and again. It is to the poor, most of all, that these habits apply, but in their case, both among men and women, drink is generally recognised as the principal cause of poverty. In the class which habitually spends in this way whatever surplus there may be, the women now take their turn with the men. They have their day. The week's earnings come in on Saturday: Sunday clothes are then taken out of pawn, pressing claims met, and Sunday dinner bought; this accomplished, the men drink till all is spent. On Monday the clothes go back into pawn and the rent is paid, and the club money, too, will be called for and paid, and then the women repair to the particular public-houses they affect—'cowsheds,' as they are hideously termed—and take their fill. It is a horrible state of things, but it is, of course, limited to the streets and population of low character.

Beyond this, with women of all classes here represented, there is far less shame felt at being seen to enter a public-house than used to be the case. This change is not altogether bad. It may even be a forward step in the march to better things. It is, at any rate, one of the results of the emancipation of woman and of her increasing financial independence. In this connection it is to be noted that among men, drinking, or at any rate drunkenness, is stated on all hands to be decreasing.

On the whole, the public-houses are well conducted. If the publican treats or gives small presents to the police, it is rarely in order that he may commit any serious offence, but rather that he may receive consideration and help in his many difficulties in dealing with drunken men. Disorder is very much against the respectable publican's interest, though the consumption of drink, which is his interest, leads up to

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drunkenness, and drunkenness to disorder. Where there are many small beer houses, each with its little *clientèle*, some of them may find it difficult to make a legitimate livelihood, but the houses of bad character are known, and I have no reason to suppose they meet with favour from the police.

§ 7

MARRIAGE, THRIFT, ETC.

While there is not much prostitution here there is, perhaps in place of it, a good deal of loose morality. With the lowest classes pre-marital relations are very common, perhaps even usual. Amongst the girls themselves nothing is thought of it if no consequences result; and very little even if they do, should marriage follow, and more pity than reprobation if it does not. As a rule the young people, after a few experiments, pair off and then are faithful, and usually end by marrying. It is noted by the clergy who marry them, how often both the addresses given are from the same house. It is observed also that it is nearly always the young woman who puts up the banns; not unfrequently she does not know the man's full name. More licence is granted by public opinion to the evasion of the bonds of marriage by those who have found it a failure, than is allowed to those whose relations to each other have not yet assumed a permanent form. This peculiar code of morality is independent of recognised law, and an embarrassment to religion, but it is intelligible enough and not unpractical in its way, and those teachers of religion who come in closest contact with the people are the most forward in recognising that the word 'vice' is inapplicable to the irregular relations that result,

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whether it be before or after the legal marriage; though they would probably cling (in religious desperation) to the appellation of 'sin.'

I do not know exactly how far upwards in the social scale this view of sexual morality extends, but I believe it to constitute one of the clearest lines of demarcation between upper and lower in the working class. I do not suppose that young men of the better working class are any more virtuous than those of the classes above, or than their talk among themselves would indicate; on the other hand the girls, though not ignorant of evil, are full of pride, and a fall from the paths of virtue is a very serious matter for their families and themselves; serious enough to bring very great pressure on the man concerned, who is most likely to be well known. In such cases, however, a prompt marriage may probably hide all. It is girls of their own class that the young men run after, and with whom, if at all, the Lotharios amongst them will boast of their successes. But equality of class is a great safeguard, and the free and honourable terms of companionship, under a very definite code of rules, between those who are recognised as 'keeping company,' are in favour of virtue, and are made more effective by the early age at which marriage is possible and usual. And it may be pointed out, that while the pressure of the consequences of previous relations leads in some cases to most undesirably early marriages between mere boys and girls, the non-postponement of marriage brought about by the general freedom of courtship, carries with it many social advantages. Consequently, here as well as elsewhere in our inquiry, we have received very contradictory evidence as to the assumed evils of early marriage.

The influence of factory girls' clubs on the lives of the young women has been already mentioned. It is in many ways excellent, and is said to be having an appreci-

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able effect in the postponement of marriage by steadying them and supplying other interests in their lives.

As to thrift, the readiness and even eagerness of the people to put away money in provident or loan clubs are noticeable. These institutions were formerly the exclusive appanage of the publicans, who, while providing the management, reaped a benefit at every turn. It was on their premises the men met to pay their quota or arrange their loan, and they of course enjoyed a glass; and when the annual distribution was made an orgie not improbably followed. Now, however, these clubs have been, if not superseded, at least outdone, by those inaugurated and managed by religious bodies on the social side of their work. They are carried out on an enormous scale, reaching, in some instances, to over one thousand members, and dividing as much as £1500 or £2000 at Christmas.

Of social condition generally we may certainly say that it is on the whole better than is commonly supposed. The new comer, be he parson or missionary, doctor or nurse, schoolmaster or policeman, is almost always favourably impressed. Things, if not better than where he came from, are at least better than he had been led to expect.

Finally, I will once more refer my readers to the faithful transcript of the map, in the colours of which the existing conditions may perhaps be read better than I can tell them in words.

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§ 8

HOUSING AND TRANSIT

Throughout this part of London the usual type of house is of two storeys, built of yellow brick with a slate roof, fourteen to sixteen feet frontage and containing four to eight rooms, the kitchen being generally built out at the back into the yard or garden (and we are reminded of the common origin of these words). The first floor front is the best room, taking the whole width of the house and having two windows. If the upper floor is let separately, the occupants share in the use of the wash-house and other conveniences of the yard. There is not much overcrowding, but there are very generally two families to a house, and in the poor streets as many as three or four.

Poplar has a very busy market in Chrisp Street, and Bow is very well served from the Roman Road, and in Green Street (the continuation of the Roman Road westward), the costers' barrows find another stand to supply the crowded population of East Bethnal Green; Salmons Lane serves Limehouse and the eastern portion of Stepney. Only Bromley is without this convenience, yet no quarter is more in need of a centre of business attraction, seeing that communication with the neighbouring districts is made difficult by the barriers interposed by the canal and the railway lines; and it seems strange that the *rôle* of market street has not been filled by Devons Road.

The drift of population, whether of the poor or of the prosperous, has been eastward; the old dockers to Canning Town, encouraged by the removal of the halfpenny toll at the Iron Bridge; the better off and the young to Plaistow, West Ham, Stratford and Leytonstone, assisted by cheap fares on the Great Eastern Railway. The means of communication, both Citywards and outwards, and even from side to side of

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this district, are fairly complete as regards routes, but everywhere a more frequent service is required, and the greater speed which electric traction would give is badly needed for the tram-car lines. There is room for some additional lines, on an outer circle, as from the south-east corner of Victoria Park, by Old Ford Road, to Bow, and thence by St. Leonard's Road to the East India Dock gates; or diagonally, from the same starting point by Tredegar Road to the Mile End Road, and thence by Bow Common Lane and forward across the railway and canal to the same terminus.

Improved means of communication are wanted here, not so much to bring people in, or to take them away, as to add to the convenience of the existing residents in regard to both work and pleasure.

§ 9

MUNICIPAL ACTION

I do not propose to attempt any exhaustive description of the constitution or power of the local authorities. Such information can be better obtained from other sources. Moreover, our investigation in this district and in almost every part of London, was conducted prior to the coming into operation of the London Government Act of 1899, which largely changed the character and *personnel* of local administration. The account I have to give is therefore already to some extent historical, but as showing the influence exercised by these local bodies and the success or failure of their work in dealing with the surrounding conditions of life, and the way in which their action was regarded, it retains also some present interest.

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Before the new Act came into force local government in what is now the Borough of Poplar was primarily in the hands of three vestries, representing the parishes of Poplar, Bromley and Bow. Until a few years ago these bodies consisted of tradesmen and others elected by a very small section of ratepayers. They were cautious, slow-going people, and their statutory duties were very light. They selected certain of their number from each parish to compose the Poplar Board of Works, appointed such officials as churchwardens, overseers, and trustees, and then met about four times a year to receive the reports of those upon whom the actual administration had devolved. The power to erect baths and wash-houses remained in the hands of the vestries, and they had to administer the Public Libraries Act if adopted by the ratepayers. Except in Poplar these powers have not been very largely used. A great change, and one which gave a decided impulse to municipal action, took place in 1894, when the property qualification for vestrymen and guardians was abolished together with the other ways of voting save the ballot-box, and when the parochial franchise was extended to lodgers. With this alteration, power passed into the hands of the working classes whose representatives obtained possession of the machinery of local government, coming in full of zeal for reform and suspicion of the old order and its ways. Although this change was partly temporary, being modified by subsequent elections, its results are well worth studying.

That the process has been politically educational is certain; even those who find most fault with the policy adopted, admitting that the working-men members have learnt a lesson from their new experience. The general view expressed by those whose opinions we have gathered not only bears this out, but asserts that the outcome has been a purer as well as a more energetic administration.

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The slackness, incompetence and jobbery charged to their predecessors, probably loomed larger in imagination than the truth would bear out. The new members no doubt gradually became aware of this, and of the difficulty of accomplishing all that they desired; and their too confident belief in the efficacy of some of their own plans of action must have been shaken. No one now fears revolutionary results or thinks that ruin will be the price paid for experiences of this kind. The restraint exercised by rising rates proves effective with the new men as with the old.

The complaints made against the democratic *régime* are those of lack of order, rude manners and bad language at their meetings; over zeal, shown in an unnecessary number of meetings, and the discussion of subjects beyond their province; the favouring of the working man, financially by the encouragement of direct employment and by the increase of the wages bill without regard to the interests of the ratepayers, and morally by giving credence in any disputed question to the employed person rather than the employer; and, so far as Poor Law guardians are concerned, the lavish scale on which relief is given.

The charge of lack of order applied chiefly to the vestries whose new constitution increased the number of members to a very undesirable and unmanageable extent; too much zeal and the wasting of their own time in unprofitable discussions are venial offences; the favouring of the working man in the manner described is jobbery, but not, in the extent to which it has gone, very serious in its effects; and a lavish administration of poor relief is not an offence peculiar to the class against whom the charge is made. Moreover these complaints were not all universally applicable, and where applicable their justification seemed to be gradually passing away, and might in time have ceased to exist.

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The good results that on the whole have attended this experiment in democratic government, have been, in the outer ring of East London, very largely due to the character of the two leaders (Crooks in Poplar and Lansbury in Bow) who, whatever their mistakes, have unquestionably the gift of honesty. This is recognised by everyone, by opponents as well as supporters; the result is a wholesome influence against machine-made politics, as while these two men pursue the same ends, and in the main act together, they can afford to differ, and do differ, on many subjects both from each other and from their respective constituents.

In the erection of baths and wash-houses Poplar led the way, those opened in the parish in 1852 being among the first in London. Since then the buildings have been enlarged. Taken together the two enterprises almost pay their way, the profit from the baths nearly making good the loss on the wash-houses. The Public Libraries Act also was enthusiastically adopted in Poplar. The library and reading-rooms are excellent and largely used, and the branch library established in the Isle of Dogs has been already mentioned. Bow, too, has erected baths and wash-houses and, as at Poplar, the baths return a profit, but not one large enough to balance the loss on the wash-houses. Nor do the wash-houses exactly fulfil the ideas with which they were projected, being made use of largely by those who do washing professionally for others. Still, the money is considered to be well spent.

The ratepayers of both Bow and Bromley some years ago adopted the Public Libraries Act, but a great deal of time was then lost in a vain attempt to secure joint action. One central library would serve all purposes, but the question as to the side of Bow Road on which it should be erected appears to have been insuperable. The very high rating already reached (over 8*s* in the

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pound) made each body hesitate to incur the expense single-handed, and thus when the Borough Council came into being it found Bromley with a small reading-room and the foundations for a library, but Bow still without any commencement of either.

All our informants speak well of the action taken as regards sanitation; though much still remains to be done in the black patches. Several small areas have been condemned and are being reconstructed, and others need to be. In the Isle of Dogs the County Council, by a system of pumping, already referred to, have successfully lifted the sewage clear of the basements of the houses into which it used to be forced back by any exceptionally high tide.

On the whole, where the district rises on to firm ground above the river level it is naturally healthy, and even where it lies low it is airy and open. War against zymotic disease is fairly well maintained. It is solely as regards child mortality that this neighbourhood shares with other poor districts of London a high death rate. We are too ready to regard as inevitable the deaths of babes who never reach twelve months, and think far too little of the further terrible waste that occurs between the first and fifth year. These losses are, here as elsewhere, compensated, if compensation it be, by an equally exaggerated birth rate.

In matters of housing the difficulties here are not very great. There is crowding certainly, but over-crowding as defined by law (stated in cubic feet per adult) is quite exceptional. When pressure is applied in such matters, as it has been under the powers given by Parliament, the people cross the Lea and establish themselves beyond the Metropolitan boundary, or using the marvellous Blackwall Tunnel roadway, go to live in East Greenwich, where there is more room. The pressure has also been eased by the voluntary removal of the more prosperous in the same directions;

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there has also been some vacant land to occupy, and a few large, many-storied, buildings have been erected; so that on the whole the increase of population has been provided for, and crowding decreased. It still exists however, as does bad sanitation, in the poor areas we have enumerated, and some other smaller patches. Nearly all of them have more or less the *cul-de-sac* character, shut off by railway, river or canal, and needing above all to be opened up by the building of bridges and carrying through of streets.

The sweeping of the streets is fairly well done, and there is talk of laying down asphalt in market streets; but nothing has been accomplished yet in that direction in Poplar, Bromley or Bow, and the pavement of the poorest streets, where the children play, is often very foul. The supply of water has frequently been deficient, and in hot weather the scarcity has sometimes been so great that the watering of streets and flushing of sewers has had to be discontinued, to the danger of health; and even for domestic purposes the supply has been greatly restricted—a very grave inconvenience. House cisterns, always objectionable in districts where they are sure to become foul and likely to be left uncleaned, have been generally, and quite rightly, abolished in reliance on a constant service of water such as ought to be provided; and the East London Water Works Company, which is responsible for the supply, has on these occasions of scarcity been driven to meet the necessities of the people by the erection of stand pipes in the streets, and by the supply of large jars for the use of poor families. The removal of house refuse is another important matter which has been well attended to, and the Poplar Board has recently erected a dust-destructor. It has also handed over an exhaustive scheme of electric lighting to its successors, by whom it is being pushed forward.

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Of large open spaces set aside for recreation there are none except Victoria Park, which forms the northern boundary of Bow. Meath Park (late Victoria Park Cemetery) and Bethnal Green Gardens serve the population in their neighbourhood, and the churchyards of St. Anne, Limehouse, and St. Matthias, Poplar, have been laid out as gardens. The Tower Hamlets Cemetery will doubtless become a recreation ground in the future, when the dead give place to the living there; but meanwhile playgrounds are greatly lacking in Bromley and Bow. There is, however, open ground or open water on three sides: Victoria Park to the north and the Docks to the south, while to the eastward of the whole region lies the unbuilt valley of the Lea. The winds of heaven gain access through the cleavage of railways and canals, and a good supply of fresh air passes through the streets.

Victoria Park is the arena for every kind of religious, political or social discussion, and, with the exception of Peckham Rye in South London, it is unlikely that any other open space in the world could compete with it in this respect. As a pleasure resort, too, it is enormously used, but, nevertheless, it is very desirable that some portion of the Lea valley, which is unsuited for building, should be made into a people's park. Access to such places is an untold boon for the health and happiness of children and for the relief of crowded homes. We have already mentioned the little park at the southern end of the Isle of Dogs which the London County Council has laid out. On it a band plays at stated times, forming a centre of attraction. An object for a walk is also found in coming to watch the fall of the ball on Greenwich Observatory by which all Poplar sets its time. There is a railway to this point and a ferry across by which those who wish can reach the beauties of Greenwich Park.

The policy adopted by the Board of Guardians for

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Poplar, Bromley and Bow may very well be considered together with municipal action, for over this the same men struggle for mastery and the same democratic ideas have prevailed. It is all one Board, but there are separate Relief Committees, and in spite of general agreement there is a certain cleavage of opinion between Poplar and South Bromley on the one side, and North Bromley and Bow on the other. They agree fairly as to the indoor poor, and the workhouse has been made much more comfortable for those within its gates, especially the old. The difference of policy occurs with out-relief, which is granted more readily and more liberally (or lavishly) in the north than in the south. More out-relief has always been given in Bow than in Poplar, but the working-men guardians have carried it further; they are, however, gradually learning the danger of this policy. Out-relief is given in Poplar too, but only after careful inquiry into the circumstances, and though more is given individually to those who are relieved in this way, the numbers assisted are much smaller than for Bow. The opinion of our witnesses is almost unanimously against the policy of extension in out-relief; 'very lax,' 'lavish,' 'perfectly dreadful,' 'heart-rending' are the sort of phrases used by those who see, or fear to see, the evil effects. It is only from the Roman Catholic 'Little Sisters of the Poor,' whose sole business it is to beg and give, that hearty approval comes. There is reason to think that the system adopted will harden, and indeed that it has already done so to some extent.

Outdoor medical relief is given freely at Poplar as well as at Bow, and for the care of the sick poor there is an asylum or infirmary at Devons Road, Bromley. In this Stepney joins. The nursing and medical organization of this infirmary are of the best, and whether it be for indoor or outdoor treatment the people come quite readily in case of sickness. The

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Union schools are at Forest Gate, but are to be superseded by new buildings at Spenfield.

Mile End Old Town, now part of the great new Borough of Stepney, was formerly under the control of a vestry, and in 1894 experienced a change similar to that which the Bow and Bromley Vestries underwent. New men of the working class obtained power, and the same complaints reach us of disorderly proceedings, over zeal, and suspicion of the action of other classes. But whatever their faults, there was undoubted honesty of purpose, and as the vestry was an administrative one with full powers, the result was shown in keener efforts to deal with unsanitary conditions. Visitation and inspection have been the chief features of the work, the parish having neither baths nor a library, nor, apart from a vestry hall, any municipal building except a small and primitive dust-destructor. But of inspection there has been a good deal—too much some say—and full use has been made of the Public Health Act and of the enactment which provides for the registration and inspection of houses let in lodgings; whilst, following on a complete house-to-house visitation, twice performed, great improvements have been effected in house drainage. In dealing with unsanitary property there has been less success. Houses have indeed been condemned and closed, but only to be patched up again and reopened. This is a constant difficulty with which the authorities have to contend, and an attempt to deal with a block by clearance fell through owing to the prohibitory cost of reinstating the displaced population according to law.

The policy of the Mile End guardians is described by one who sympathizes with it as 'generous treatment of the aged and infirm and the proper fulfilment of legal duties without reference to outside agencies.' Out-relief is given to all the aged poor if the payment of rent can be secured and if physical or moral

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conditions are not too unsatisfactory. Those who are responsible for this line of action admit that the receipt of relief loses its stigma (and are perhaps not unwilling that this should be so), but still say that many only apply in the last resort. Within the workhouse increased comforts are provided, and more liberty given to take a day out; there is a comfortable infirmary for the sick with properly trained nurses, while outdoor patients are liberally treated, nourishment, as well as medicine, being supplied when required. The children have hitherto been accommodated in a building adjoining the workhouse, but new schools on the cottage-home system have lately been erected, and to these the children are to be transferred.

The part of Bethnal Green included by us in Outer East London will be best considered, as to local government, in Vol. II., where we deal with the Inner Eastern District.

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DESCRIPTIVE NOTES. MAP B. (VOL. I., CHAPTER I.). **Outer East London.**

Adjoining Maps—N. Hackney (p. 114); S. Isle of Dogs (p. 20); W. Inner East (Vol. II.).

General Character.—Comprises districts of Poplar, Bromley, Bow, Old Ford, Bethnal Green East and parts of Mile End Old Town, Stepney and Limehouse. Lies low, but not very low except the eastern edge bordering on the River Lea, and to the south along the line of the docks. Servants rarely kept, except in shops on main streets and in middle-class district on either side of Bow Road. Remainder entirely covered by streets inhabited by artisans and labourers (pink to light blue), broken by some large patches of extreme poverty (dark blue). On either side of West India Dock Road is the Oriental quarter of London; Lascars, Japanese and Chinese are common in the streets.

Poverty Areas.—The Regent's Canal, dividing the western from the eastern part of the map, at same time marks off old standing from newer growth of poverty. In LIMEHOUSE there is poverty and vice side by side, due to combination of casual dock labourers' homes and sailors' brothels. In POPLAR, off the High Street, are small colonies of rough cockney Irish, and further east the Orchard House (*vide* p. 50). Northward there is a considerable admixture of moderate poverty on either side of the North London Railway, and across the canal in BROMLEY are the Devons Road area, or 'Fenian Barracks' (*vide* p. 47), another group by Devas Street near the workhouse, and other smaller patches to the north between the railway and Bow Road—all connected with casual work at canal, gas works and docks. In Bow, north of Bow Road in Old Ford, there is much poverty of long standing, due rather to low pay than irregularity. In BETHNAL GREEN and MILE END, west of Regent's Canal, poverty of an old established East End type is prominent on either side of Green Street and in the neighbourhood of Globe Road; to the south of Mile End Road in the streets off White Horse Lane—costers and gas workers; and south of this again, in the Carr Street area (Donkey Row)—costers and fish curers (*vide* p. 51). The poverty throughout is generally connected with the presence of Irish, descended from those who sought work here at the time of the famine.

Changes of Population.—During the past ten years some improvements have been made by the demolition of slum areas off Poplar High Street and the clearances for the Blackwall Tunnel, but these have been counterbalanced by extensions of dark blue in the Carr Street and Green Street areas, due to incomers displaced from courts in Whitechapel and Shoreditch. Speaking generally, there is more purple and light blue and less pink. There has been little new building, and the drift outwards has been of the fairly comfortable rather than the poor. On the whole, poverty is more uniform and more widely spread over the whole area than it used to be.

Employments.—In POPLAR, dock and river-side work form the largest section; including marine engineers and ships' carpenters; here are also railway workers and some factories: many seek work in the Isle of Dogs. In SOUTH BROMLEY, 'bus and tram men and canal workers. In NORTH BROMLEY AND BOW, chemical, colour, paper staining, box making and other factories line the canal and River Lea. Starch, match, confectionery and paper bag works, employ a large number of women and girls. In EAST BETHNAL GREEN, bootmakers and cabinetmakers; and a few old weavers still remain. In MILE END OLD TOWN, breweries and distilleries and gas works; and for women, cocoa, confectionery, and

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cheap clothing; in addition, large numbers of clerks and warehousemen and girls variously employed go citywards to work. In LIMEHOUSE, there are zinc works, ship-biscuit factories and other industries. Large numbers go from here as well as from Poplar to work in the Isle of Dogs.

Housing and Rents.—Except in the main streets and middle-class district of Bow, the prevailing type of house is two-storied, of yellow brick, and slate-roofed. In POPLAR, houses with four to six rooms vary from 8*s* to 11*s* per week; single rooms from 1*s* 6*d* for a back room to 3*s* 6*d* for a good front one, two rooms 4*s* 6*d* to 5*s*. In SOUTH BROMLEY, on newer property, with wider streets and houses well cared for, rents were low at 6*s* or 7*s* for four rooms, but pressure of population has raised them to the same level as Poplar. WEST OF THE CANAL, most of the houses date back fifty years or more, and the older houses are marked by the size of their back gardens, six rooms let for 12*s* to 14*s*. The spread of the Jews is causing a general rise in rents in MILE END OLD TOWN.

Markets and Prices.—Chrisp Street is the great market street of Poplar, and the Roman Road serves Bow. Bromley has none of importance. In Green Street, Bethnal Green, bacon was offered from 5*d* to 10*d* a pound, mutton chops at 4½*d*, cabbages 2*d* and 4*d* each (it was in January), sprouts 1*d* per lb., bowler hats 2*s* 6*d*, crêpe bonnets 2*s* 11*d*. Mile End people go to the stalls in Mile End Road or Whitehorse Street, and the poor part of Limehouse is served by Salmon Lane.

Public-houses are thickly dotted along the main roads. On the line of the Roman Road and Green Street there are thirty-six licensed houses and in Poplar High Street twenty-five. In the triangular bit of Limehouse contained by the river, Limehouse Cut and West India Dock Road, there are no less than forty-seven licensed houses, of which twenty-eight carry full licenses, and over the whole district the number of beer-houses is notable.

Places of Amusement.—Little amusement is provided for the inhabitants in the district itself. There are music-halls in the Mile End Road, in Poplar High Street, and at Bow, and a few minor halls are attached to public-houses. In addition, entertainments are given at the People's Palace and the Bow and Bromley Institute

Open Spaces (*vide* p. 65).

Means of Locomotion (*vide* p. 58).

Health (*vide* p. 63).

PLACES OF WORSHIP

List of Parish Churches in the district covered by Maps A and B described in Chapter I. (Vol. I), with other PLACES OF WORSHIP grouped according to the ecclesiastical parishes.

All Hallows, Bromley.
- Lighthouse (Bapt.), Devons Rd.
- Bapt. Chapel, Blackthorne St.
- Wesl. Miss., Devons Rd.
- Brethren's Miss. Hall, 223, Devons Rd.
- Somerset Hall, 207, Devons Rd.
- Tryphena Hall, Tryphena Place.
- Bow Common Miss., Fern St.
- Latter Day Saints' Miss. Hall, Bow Common Lane.

All Hallows, East India Dock.
- All Hallows' Miss., Leven Rd.
- P. Meth. Miss., Benledi St.

All Saints, Poplar.
- All Saints' Par. Rm., Bedf'rd St.
- All Hallows' Miss., Orchard House Place.
- Bethel (Bapt.), High St.
- Bapt. Chapel, Cotton St.
- U. Meth. F. Ch., East India Dock Rd.
- L. City Miss. Hall, Kirby St.

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Christ Church, Isle of Dogs.
Wesl. Chapel, Stebondale St.
P.Meth.Chapel, Manchester Rd.
Assembly Hall, Glengall Rd.

Christ Church, Stepney.
Stepney (John Knox) Pres. Ch., Oxford St.
L. City Miss. Hall, Silver St.
Salv. Ar. Barracks, Jubilee St.

Holy Trinity, Mile End Old Town.
St. Clement's, Longfellow Rd.
Trinity Miss., Bridge St.
E. London Tab. (Bapt.), Burdett Rd.
Assembly Hall, Maidman St.
Guardian Angels (R. C.), Mile End Rd.

St. Anne, Limehouse.
St. Ann's Miss., Three Colt St.
St. James's Miss., Dod St.
St. Andrew's Miss., Ropemaker's Field.
Coverdale (Cong.) Chapel, Commercial Rd.
Brunswick Chapel (Wesl.) Three Colt Lane.
U. Meth. F. Ch., Piggott St.
Brethren, Three Colt St.
S. A. Hall, 769, Commercial Rd.
Norwegian Miss., 723, Commercial Rd.
Our Lady Immaculate (R. C.), 636, Commercial Rd.

St. Anthony, Stepney.
St. Anthony's Miss., Cornwall Pl. (closed).
Gordon Hall (Wesl.), Globe Rd.

St. Barnabas, Bethnal Green.
Bapt. Chapel, Grove Rd.

St. Benet, Stepney.
Latimer (Cong.) Ch., Bridge St.
Latimer Cong. Miss., Ernest St.
Salv. Ar. Barracks, 398, Mile End Rd.
Brethren, 394B, Mile End Rd.

St. Cuthbert, Millwall.
St. Edmund (R. C.), W. Ferry Rd.
Pres. Miss., West Ferry Rd.

St. Dunstan, Stepney.
St. Faith, Shandy St.
St. Dunstan's Miss., Clive St.
St. Dunstan's Miss., Old Church Rd.
Grosvenor Hall, Grosvenor St.
Stepney Meeting House (Cong.), Garden St.
Lycett (Wesl.) Ch., Mile End Rd.
Stepney Temple (Wesl.), Commercial Rd.
P. Meth. Chapel, Stepney Green.
Unitarian Ch., Stepney Green.
East London Synagogue, Rectory Sq.

St. Frideswide's, Bromley.
L. C. Miss. Hall, Grundy St.

St. Gabriel, Bromley.
P. Meth. Chapel, Chrisp St.

St. James the Less, Bethnal Green.
Cong. Church, Approach Rd.
Cong. Chapel, Sidney St.
Hope (Bapt.) Chapel, Norton St.
Wesl. Chapel, Approach Rd.

St. John, Bethnal Green.
Park Chapel, Old Ford Rd.
Twig Folly (Wesl. Miss.), Bonner St.
Ashley Miss., Peel Grove.
Parmiter St. Miss.
Salv. Ar. Hall, Parmiter St.
St. Casimir and St. Joseph (R. C.), Cambridge Rd.

St. John, Cubitt Town.

St. John, Limehouse.
Durning Hall (Unit.), Elsa St.

St. Leonard (St. Mary), **Bromley.**
St. Andrew's Ch., Marner St.
All Saints' Miss., Arnold Pl.
Miss. of Good Shepherd, Back Alley.
Cong. Chapel, Bruce Rd.
Bapt. Chapel, Botolph Rd.
Wesl. Chapel, Bow Rd.
P. Meth. Chapel, Powis Rd.
U. Meth. F. Ch., Bruce Rd.
Pres. Church, Bow Rd.
Shaftesbury Miss. (Presb.), Arnold Rd.
Berger Hall, Empson St

St. Luke, Mile End Old Town.
Cong. Church, Burdett Rd.
Edinb'gh Castle, Rhodeswell Rd.

St. Luke, Millwall.
Millwall Cong. Ch., W. Ferry Rd.
Wesl. Chapel, Alpha Rd.
P. Meth. Chapel, Maria St.
Salv. A. Slum Post, Strafford St.
Tobago St. Miss.

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St. Mark, Old Ford.
St. Paul's Ch., Old Ford Rd.
Jubilee Hall, Comboss Rd.
Park Hall, Dace Rd.
Wesl. Chapel, Old Ford Rd.
P. Meth. Miss., Smeed Rd.
Emmanuel Hall, Old Ford Rd.
Railway Miss., Fairfield Rd.

St. Mary, Bow.
St. Mary's Miss., Bow Rd.
Cong. Church, Harley St.
Bapt. Chapel, Bow Rd.
Our Lady Refuge of Sinners (R. C.), Bow Rd.

St. Matthew, Stepney.
St. Matthew's Miss., Carr St.
St. Matthew Miss., York St.
Salmon's Lane Mis., Condor St.
Earl Cairn's Miss., Salmon Lane.

St. Matthias, Poplar.
St. Matthias' Miss., Grundy St.
Wesl. Ch., East India Dock Rd.
Welsh Chapel (Wesl.), Duff St.
Pres. Church, Plimsoll St.
Christian Community Hall, 115, High St.
Salv. Ar. Hall, Kirby St.

St. Michael and All Angels, Bromley.
St. Michael's Miss., Uamvar St.
Bow Tabernacle (Bapt.), Brunswick Rd.

St. Paul, Old Ford.
St. Paul's Miss., Libra Rd.
Cong. Miss., Old Ford Rd.
P. Meth. Chapel, Driffield Rd.
Salv. Ar. Hall, 335, Roman Rd.
Salisb'y Hall, 400, Old Ford Rd.

St. Paul, Stepney.
Church of the Holy Name (R. C.), St. Paul's Rd.

St. Peter, Globe Rd.
St. Peter's Miss., Eagle Place.
Welsh Calv. Meth. Ch., 211, Mile End Rd.
Gt. Assembly Hall, Mile End Rd.
Work. Men's Mis., Mile End Rd.
Children's Hall, Mile End Rd.

St. Peter, Limehouse.
St. Peter's Hall, Gill St.
Brethren, Pennyfields.
Danish Lutheran Ch., King St.
L. C. Miss., Pennyfields.

St. Saviour, Poplar.
St. Saviour's Miss., Giraud St.
L. C. Miss. Hall, Augusta St.

St. Simon Zelotes, Beth. Green.
St. Simon's Miss., Surat St.
Bapt. Miss., Green St.

St. Stephen, Old Ford.
Rosebank Miss. (St. Stephen's), Rosebank Rd.
Cong. Church, Roman Rd.
Farnan Hall, Tredegar Rd.

St. Stephen, Poplar.
Trinity (Cong.) Ch., East India Dock Rd.
Elim (Bapt.) Chapel, Pekin St.
Finnish Miss., 14, North St.
SS. Mary and Joseph (R. C.), Canton St.

St. Thomas, Stepney.
St. Thomas' Mis., Devonport St.
St. Thomas' Mis., Bromehead St.
Bapt. Chapel, Wellesley St.
Bapt. Miss., St. James' Place.
Brethren, Sidney St.
Samarit'n Mis. Hall, Arbour Sq.

Map B.—OUTER EAST LONDON (1900).

The Streets are coloured according to social condition of inhabitants as under:—

Lowest Class | Very Poor | Moderate Poverty | Poverty & Comfort (mixed) | Fairly Comfortable | Well-to-do | Wealthy

Combined colouring (as Pink and Red) indicates a mixture of the Classes which the Colours represent.

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CHAPTER II

THE NORTH-EAST

§ 1

HACKNEY: PAST AND PRESENT

THIS district, as it is shown on the sketch map, has been rounded off by the inclusion of two or three parishes which do not strictly belong to Hackney, and the exclusion of one or two others which do. It answers nearly enough, however, for purposes of comparison, to the Hackney of the past, about which Maitland in his History of London, written in the eighteenth century, says: "The village of Hackney being anciently celebrated for the numerous seats of the nobility and gentry occasioned a mighty resort thither of persons of all conditions from the City of London . . . . and though the place at present be deserted by the nobility, yet it so greatly abounds with merchants and persons of distinction, that it excels all other villages in the Kingdom, and probably on earth, in the riches and opulence of its inhabitants, as may be judged from the great number of persons who keep coaches there."

This statement has for us a value beyond antiquarian lore. The nobility have indeed gone and left no trace, but the day of the merchants is scarcely over. A few of the old houses in Clapton Road are still in the occupation of wealthy city men, and many more have their residences on Stamford Hill, just outside of our

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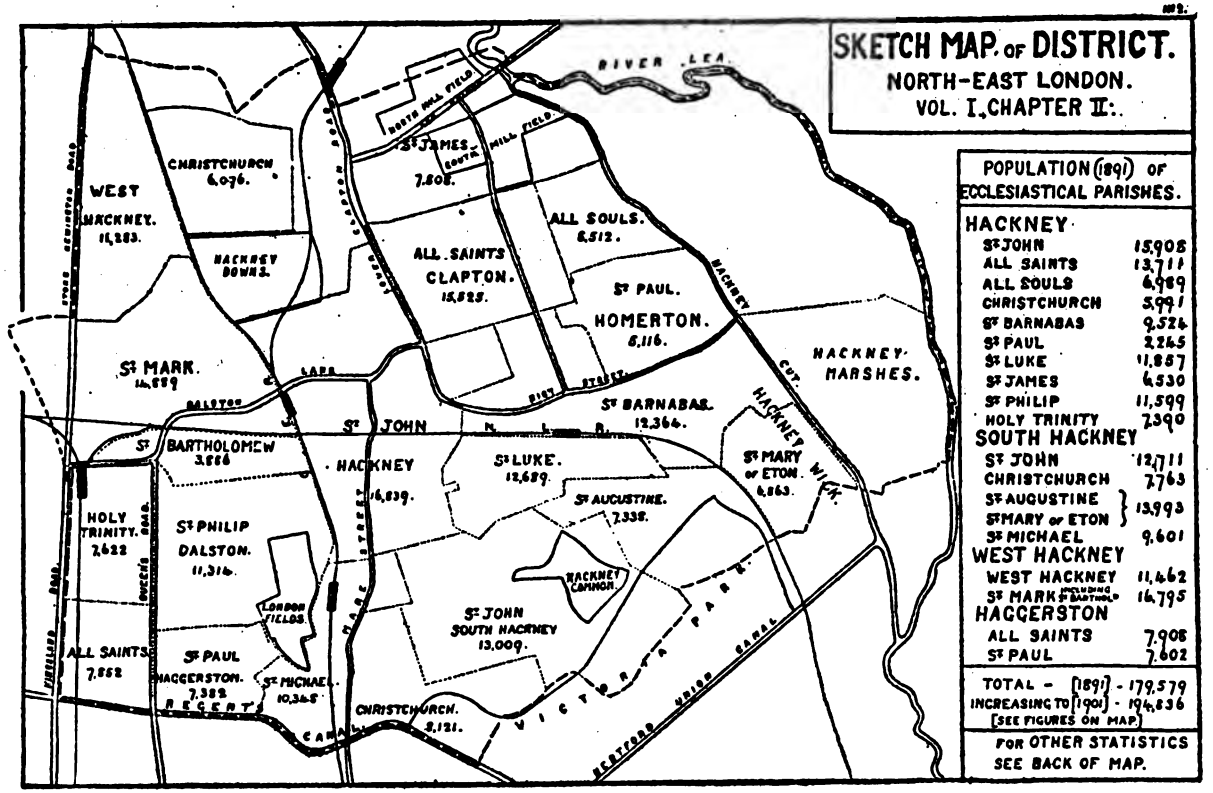
present district, though within Hackney parish; while the streets of which the ancient village was chiefly composed, Mare Street, Well Street, Dalston Lane, and High Street, are lined with the outer shells, at least, of the solid and comfortable mansions in which dwelt generations of prosperous merchants whose carriages took them daily to and from their office or warehouse in the City. It has been noted that the same limit of time applies now to the greater distances which the railways have made possible, but Hackney then represented the greatest distance at which a man of business could live out of London, and come in comfortably to his work in the City.

The period of which we speak is even well within the memory of some of those from whom we have taken evidence; and no account of Hackney as it is would be complete which failed to record the fact that not so long ago it was a suburb of large houses surrounded by their gardens or even parks, interspersed with nursery gardens, watercress beds and ponds, and fields where cows might graze. Even now there is greenery enough left in corners to show how well the soil responded to cultivation.

Doubtless there were in the old times, as now, courts and alleys occupied by a very poor class; the locality of which may still be traced in the slums behind Mare Street, and out of Morning Lane, and round about Homerton High Street. For this poor class large endowments were left by the opulence which built the stately churches and chapels of Hackney.

The general tendency during the last half century has been for Hackney to become a poorer and much more crowded quarter, but the change has not been uniform. The line of Mare Street and Clapton Road, running due North and South, divides the district into nearly equal parts, and almost all the poverty is to be found to the east of this line, excepting that in the



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STATISTICS *bearing on the* AREA INCLUDED IN SKETCH MAP NO. 2. *Described in Chapter II. (Vol. I.).*

CENSUS STATISTICS.

Showing Increase or Decrease of Population.

Population in 1881.	1891.	1896.	1901.	Increase per Cent. 1881-1891.	1891-1901.
163,681	198,606	213,044	219,272	21·3 %	9·8 %

Density of Population. 1891.	1901.
Persons per Acre. 60·3	66·6
Inhabited Houses. 28,422	30,634
Persons per House. 7·0	7·2
Number of Acres. 3,299	

Age and Sex in 1891.

Age.	Males.	Females.	Together.
Under 5 years	11,932	11,969	23,901
5 & under 15 yrs	21,147	21,860	43,007
— 20 ,,	9,344	11,529	20,873
— 25 ,,	8,562	11,225	19,787
— 35 ,,	14,668	17,643	32,311
— 45 ,,	10,650	12,508	23,158
— 55 ,,	7,515	9,032	16,547
— 65 ,,	4,470	5,919	10,389
65 and over	3,449	5,184	8,633
Totals ...	91,737	106,869	198,606

NOTE.—The area included in the sketch map comprises the old Registration sub-districts of Hackney, South Hackney, and West Hackney, except De Beauvoir Town. It also includes a small portion of Haggerston. In the figures here given the Haggerston parishes are omitted, De Beauvoir Town included and also the Registration sub-district of Stamford Hill to complete the Civil Parish of Hackney, which is the area most nearly corresponding to the map for which all the statistics are available. For a more detailed statement of the Special Family Enumeration see Appendix.

SPECIAL ENUMERATION FOR THIS INQUIRY (1891).

Sex, Birthplace and Industrial Status of Heads of Families.

Sex. Male.	Female.	Birthplace. In London.	Out of London.	Industrial Status. Employers	Employees	Neither.	Total Heads.
33,935 81 %	7,940 19 %	24,557 59 %	17,318 41 %	4,791 11 %	27,225 65 %	9,859 24 %	41,875 100 %

Constitution of Families.

Heads.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied.	Servants.	Total in Families.
41,875 (1·0)	43,508 (1·04)	100,428 (2·40)	7,578 (·18)	193,389 (4·62)

Social Classification according to *Rooms Occupied* or *Servants Kept.*

	Persons.	Per Cent.	
4 or more persons to a room	3,148	1·6	Crowded 19·8 %
3 & under 4 ,, ,,	7,693	3·9	
2 & ,, 3 ,, ,,	28,297	14·3	
1 & ,, 2 ,, ,,	43,506	21·9	Not Crowded 80·2 %
Less than 1 person to a room	8,132	4·1	
Occupying more than 4 rooms	66,820	33·6	
4 or more persons to 1 servant	17,908	9·0	
Less than 4 persons to 1 servant & 4 to 7 persons to 2 servants	8,284	4·2	
All others with 2 or more servants	2,023	1·0	
Servants in families	7,578	3·8	
Inmates of Institutions (including servants)	5,217	2·6	
Total	198,606	100	

Living in Poverty (as estimated in 1889)	23·9 %	100 %
,, in Comfort (,, ,,)	76·1 %	

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centre of the parish to the south a slight divergence westward is needed to include, in the poor section, the southern borders of the rather dismal open space called London Fields. Here a number of very rough poor people seem to have drifted from Bethnal Green across the canal at the Cat and Mutton Bridge, hangers-on to the skirts of the boot-finishers, who in the neighbourhood of London Fields have made a second centre for their trade. The indigenous poor of Hackney, however, are not to be found here, but as already indicated, in the vicinity of the old parish churches of Hackney and Homerton, of Homerton High Street, and to the south as far as Well Street.

In these parts there has been little change. At St. Barnabas', Homerton, the mass of poor streets on either side of the church, presents, according to the evidence of the incumbent, little or no general improvement, though looking back twenty years the worst streets are said to be better than they were. If some poor folk leave, others come; the clearances in Bethnal Green have furnished their quota of those who find in such streets as these their natural home. An inordinate number of public-houses seem to thrive; 'in spite of poverty money is always found for drink and outings, and also for the sweet shops.' It is remarked, however, that the people are much gentler and more civilized than they were twenty years ago.

The unkempt poverty lying along the Eastern side of our map by Hackney Wick and All Souls', Clapton, also differs, no less than does that near London Fields, from that of the poor streets which represent the old villages of Hackney and Homerton. In these outlying districts, where London stretches to her furthest limits on the North-East, there are very marked peculiarities, and to find any parallel we must seek the opposite corner of the map of London, and the valley of the Wandle. They are indeed due to a development of

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that centrifugal movement of population which is common to all London. But here in the remoter portion of Hackney, in place of a general spreading outwards, it would rather seem as though the rejected from the centre had been flung completely over the heads of the rest of the population, to alight where no man yet had settled, occupying undesirable ill-built houses on the marshy land that is drained or flooded by the River Lea.

In the parish of All Souls', Clapton, the streets abutting on South Mill Fields were built for better purposes, but are falling to the social position of Hackney Wick, or even lower. Some of them are laid out on the actual level of the marsh; others slope upwards from North or East, rising picturesquely to the height of a natural bastion. The better part is invariably at the upper end, but, all through, these streets are tending to greater poverty than could be recognised here ten years ago. This district has been the refuge of shady characters, and a poor class is attracted by the low rents. It is a dismal, but not a rowdy district. Nor need it be dismal at all. It has indeed rather unique natural advantages and might improve rapidly in social standing if South Mill Fields, which are already recognised as an 'open space,' should be kept in better order.

The remainder of the district, to the west of Mare Street and between Wick Road and Victoria Park, is either lower middle or solid working class, and it may be noted that the prevailing pink of the large map changes to red as we approach Stamford Hill or Victoria Park, the social change thus indicated being in both cases from regular working-class inhabitants, with residential shopkeepers in the main streets, to well-to-do middle-class people with, here and there, little patches of extreme poverty.

There can be no doubt that Hackney is becoming

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poorer. The larger houses are turned into factories. The better-to-do residents are leaving, or have left. In the homes and in the churches their places are taken by a lower middle grade. The Churches suffer pecuniarily and in some cases in numbers also. Each class as it moves away is replaced by one slightly poorer and lower; and even among those who are still to be accounted middle class, such as poorly-paid clerks, we finally reach a non-church-going level.

With this downward tendency there is a considerable augmentation in total numbers. The working-class population has increased greatly, and, in addition, room has been found in some parts for new comers of a very much lower degree. The same houses accommodate more people and, where there has been rebuilding, more houses stand upon the same land. The outward movement of the well-to-do has been checked to some extent in Dalston, where the restriction in the number of licensed houses on some rather large estates has had a marked effect, and there has even been a tendency to return to the good old houses on the part of families driven south again by the working class invasion of Enfield, Tottenham and Edmonton.

The small shop-keepers in this neighbourhood are amongst the poorest of the people even in those parts where almost all are poor; and in other parts we hear of the pinched and pathetic lives of some of the lower middle-class, who are struggling to maintain a social position they cannot afford. The middle classes as they move away leave a residue of such cases, and others may be found amongst the new comers for whom the move hither has been often an effort after more respectable surroundings.

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§ 2

THE RESPONSE TO RELIGION

The changes in progress, and the varieties of class to which we have referred, render seemingly inconsistent evidence quite compatible with truth: as when we are told, on the one hand, that 'the people of Hackney require no urging to go to church,' and on the other that Sunday is 'merely a holiday.'

Those who need 'no urging' are mainly the middle class, and it is they who make up the bulk of the good congregations usually obtained. The great mass of artisans and mechanics, and the working class generally, hold aloof here no less than in the district we have just left; for them Sunday is merely a holiday; while the quite poor, if they attend any religious service, are confessedly more or less bribed, and become, as one of the clergy quaintly describes them, 'the camp-followers of the Church.' The only time the poorer classes come in crowds is for midnight service on New Year's Eve, when they flock in from the public-houses. There are, indeed, always a faithful few who, once attached to Church, or Chapel, or Mission, become its staunchest supporters, and who, although they may be poor, are usually sober, self-reliant and independent characters.

With these exceptions the Churches do not reach either the working classes or the poor, and religious services at the Missions fail to attract those for whom they are intended. As to this our evidence, oral and ocular, is overwhelming. Many of the Churches have organized large clubs for working men, but they have been constrained as a necessary condition of success to banish from them all overt ideas of religion. The men will not have it. There is sometimes even actual hostility between club and church. The very choir boys when their voices crack promptly claim the

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privileges of men, and give up church-going, of which no doubt they have had a surfeit.

Much the same aloofness is also manifested when the people are visited in their homes. 'The poor,' it is true, 'receive everybody,' no matter from what denomination, for every stranger may prove a friend: to them none are Greeks, and all may be welcomed who bring gifts. But the ordinary working-class home is less approachable. 'One-third of the houses are never entered. The visit only results in a conversation on the doorstep, or through the half-closed door,' or if a man answers to the knock he will very likely say, 'Ah! you're from the church; you want to see the missus'—and will then clear out. Or a curate will perhaps have the door shut in his face with 'you want me to come to church, I suppose—well, I'll give you a turn some day.' Such experiences are common. It is undoubtedly true that a 'great deal of tact is demanded.' People of this class are not responsive, and their attitude may be partly due to the system of gifts which alienates them though it suits the class below—those who it is said 'have relief poured upon them' and are 'deluged with visitors.' Even the mothers' meetings are mostly avoided save by the lower class of women, and several of the clergy begin to turn against these meetings altogether. If the men of the same poor class join the Church at all, they are reported to be more satisfactory than the women; being less inclined to hypocrisy and cadging. Whether it be accompanied by an attendance that is perhaps prompted by ulterior motives, as is the case with many of the women, or with complete abstention, as with few exceptions is the case with the men, religion is but scantily honoured, and one cannot be surprised if all this is spoken of as being 'sometimes very depressing.'

The foregoing quotations are all from Church of England evidence, but the Nonconformists also seem

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almost to abandon as hopeless the pursuit of the working man. 'Not five per cent. of the working classes ever go to church,' is said by two of the ministers; 'certainly not ten per cent.,' by a third. 'New comers are not church-goers.' 'People not church-going, though respectful and come occasionally.' 'You cannot get two classes, working and middle class, together.' 'Congregations dwindle as the middle class leaves.' 'Thousands who live round the chapel never go anywhere.' 'The road to the religious feelings of the people is not yet found.' 'Visiting is hard when the people show they do not wish to receive you.' 'We need a great deal of courage and perseverance.' So runs our evidence.

A missionary, working in a low part of the district, says: 'Our halls do not get the class they are meant for; none of us get the very poor. They are Gospel-hardened and sick of religion: the Salvation Army has made it too cheap. You can buy a congregation, but it melts away as soon as the payments cease.' This man comes himself from the artisan class, and, speaking of the charitable relief given, said, 'I am quite sure it does more harm than good.' Of the working class as a whole, he, too, says that at most five per cent. go anywhere. Another witness, a Baptist minister, fears that in attempting to reach the working man they are letting the people of the middle class slip, and with them 'the means of evangelizing the poor.' 'Religious organizations, though active, are a failure as regards the mass of the people,' is a statement which may be accepted as summing up the situation.

Finally, the lady manager of a very successful factory girls' club attributes the success that has undoubtedly been achieved in influencing these girls, to the elimination of what she calls the religious element. The clergy, she says, are hampered in their social work by a suspicion of ulterior aims; people resent having

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religion thrust upon them. The clergy, however, are not suspicious of her aims, and give her club their hearty support.

In spite of all this, the general tone of the clergy and ministers of all denominations is confident and happy. Their congregations as a rule are not amiss; some churches are even crowded, and there is a ready response from a somewhat larger circle to the social activities of which nearly every place of worship is the centre. The lack of working-class support is thus less felt; at the same time the incubus of poverty and low life is not so crushing, while here, no less than where the pressure is greater, each Church gathers together its inner circle of devoted adherents, who give to each other mutual support. Consequently a more cheerful view is taken. There is a tone of happy confidence in God and hopefulness for man. Excuses begin to be made for the working man, and explanations are offered which tend to put a better face on the situation. Much stress is laid on the fact that fashion with working men is against church-going. The vicar of a thoroughly working-class parish is ready to admit that of those who do not attend church at all, by far the larger proportion are as decent and respectable as those who do. He suggests that many men are deterred by the fact that a church-goer becomes at once a marked man, the subject of ridicule and chaff, and points out how different all this is in country places. The High Church vicar in another working-class parish says: 'In London those who come are all keen churchmen. Regular church-goers are always communicants—not so in the country.' Again, we are told that, 'When the poor take to religion they are much more in earnest than the well-to-do.' They are going against instead of with the stream. 'A working man gives up drink if he becomes a church-goer—not so the better-to-do.'

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'To those who are attached, the church is the chief interest in their lives. They are never happy unless doing something in connection with it.' There is comfort in such reflections, and we are led on further by them. 'Indifference to Church,' says one of the clergy with sturdy optimism, 'is not a sign of unbelief. The people do believe in the Christian faith, or at least are not prepared not to believe.' 'They lead hard lives,' says this kindly critic. Londoners, it is openly claimed, are as religious and perhaps more moral than the country people. Yet it is 'Heathen London' after all, and parish priests are often in very much the same position as the minister of some Nonconformist body with a large mission district as a special field of work.

I have merely given two aspects of the same subject; it is the same men who speak. The Nonconformists, also, may be quoted on the bright, as well as on the dark side. We hear, and it is largely true, that though they feel the financial strain, all the Congregationalist Churches are doing well. One of their ministers, a very successful preacher, says that his congregation maintains its numbers and increases its energies in spite of the loss of its richer members. It still remains middle class. Services and sermons are what his people look for. Many come to all three services, to two on Sunday and one on a week night. He preaches a gospel of active effort, and finds great encouragement in the way in which young men take up the work and persevere in what they undertake. Yet the missionary work they do must be accounted in itself disappointing. It is practically confined to children. The poor districts within reach are mapped out and regularly visited, but, as to adults, with little effect. From a large Evangelical Mission, which is, like so many others, a Church that has grown up round a Sunday school, we hear of large numbers

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touched by religious and social efforts; but it is added that they are mostly of the lower middle class, and they are, I should be inclined to suppose, people who take to religion like 'ducks to water.'

So, too, with the Salvation Army, the soldiers are, to a great extent, drawn from those who belong, or have belonged, to some other dissenting body, and demand a stronger expression of religion; and, most of all, from the Primitive Methodists who, in former days, were more ejaculatory and sensational than they are now.

§ 3

CHURCH-GOING AND WORKING MEN

In the matter of the non-church-going habits of the poor and the working classes, it is very necessary to distinguish between their different grades, for though all alike may abstain from church-going, the explanation is not necessarily the same in each case. Among the quite rough poor, those whose terrible lives affect the imagination and bring about the establishment of Slum Missions, the women eagerly sop up the charitable assistance that is offered, and take relief and religion as they come. On them depends the keeping of the home together, by what they earn or what they beg. The men are more independent and can the better afford to be so since they usually spend on themselves the bulk of what they themselves earn. The rare exceptions to this rule are likely to rise out of the class, and when they do so will probably quit the neighbourhood. To rise in this way man and wife must pull together. A worthy wife cannot save the situation when the husband's habits are bad and his employment irregular, any more than can an

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ordinary labourer, however steady, when cursed with a drunken or slatternly wife. More than this, if they are to lift themselves clear of low surroundings, many positive virtues are required from both man and woman. The man must be hard-working, abstemious and self-denying, and the woman capable, thrifty and provident. Of such qualities religion is, perhaps, rather the crown than the cause; at any rate, they are found both with and without it.

For this low class, mission services are specially intended, but, as already stated, they fail in their purpose. In recognition of this failure to reach those aimed at, it was said that 'If they will come anywhere they will come to church,' and in general the statement is true. For non-attendance, dress is a common and a perfectly sincere excuse; but it is only an excuse. The effort after a decent life, which would lead men or women to attend some place of worship voluntarily, never stumbles over this obstacle. No doubt this is mainly because such a life is usually also industrious and sober, and, if not frugal, it is only because 'what they save in drink they spend in dress.' But to dress with propriety does not involve much expense, and even to dress well, for an occasion like church-going, is consistent with considerable poverty.

So, too, the ordinary habits of the people—the late lying in bed on Sunday morning, the occupation of the women in preparing the only set dinner of the week, with the eating of that dinner and its digestion, and the devotion of the later afternoon and evening to family visiting—are pointed to as obstacles to church-going. But time is found for all these things by those who do go to church, except the last hour or two in bed of a morning.

That there is at bottom nothing in the question of dress, nor in poverty generally, to interfere with church-going, is shown conclusively by the Roman

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Catholic Churches, whose people include the very poorest. Large numbers of every class attend Mass. For the very poor, as for the well-to-do, among Catholics this is a religious duty, and though they sort themselves more or less according to class in the hour at which they come, all are ready to enter and kneel down together in the House of God. But amongst Protestants, as regards the labouring classes, church-going is rarely attained, except with the very poor in connection with relief; and then it is only the women who come.

But it is not of the poorest I would speak now, but of the true working classes, who do for the most part remain deliberately outside of all religious organizations in London.

For them it would be childish to talk of dress as being any serious hindrance to church-going. They can and do dress well, and would be received with respect in whatever garb they chose to attire themselves. As to their wives, and still more their daughters, when they do attend church or chapel, it needs a very fine eye for class distinctions to pick them out from amongst the other prettily dressed women who form the bulk of almost every congregation in London. Nor can lack of intelligence be readily accepted as the hindrance. If we are told of a minister 'preaching above the heads of his congregation,' it usually means that his sermons are desperately dull. If the working classes are not attracted, or when that is so, it is simply because they are not interested; but this is no proof of want of intelligence.

The London working man is great in all forms of discussion. No one can frequent the parks and public places without noticing this. Any subject will do, but religious subjects are the most popular, and after the organized debate is over, little groups of men remain,

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crowding in, all heads pushed forward and ears strained, to hear the continuation of the debate by those who have not summoned courage enough to mount the stool which has served for a public platform. Neither intelligence nor interest lacks; but neither interest nor intelligence leads to public worship.

That the intricacies of a liturgy may be deterrent is a point which has some force. To those, and they are many, who if written words are read, love to follow with eyes as well as ears, the Church of England service offers many pit-falls. The plan adopted in case of special services might well be made general, so as on all occasions to provide people, if they desired it, with 'a book of the words.' It would cost very little. But in truth if difficulties of this kind were the obstacle they would long ago have been removed. With the Roman Catholics, who all seem to know the responses by heart, liturgical services are successful; but if the usual form of service among the Dissenters, the singing of hymns interspersed with extempore prayers and readings from the Bible, with running comments, culminating in the pastor's address, be that which suits the working man, it is freely offered to him. Everywhere on Sunday evening the chapel windows shine out upon the darkness, yet the men remain in the streets.

The suggestion that the working classes cannot afford to share in the expenses of organized religion, is hardly true even of the poorest. Among the Roman Catholics everyone pays something. For that which is valued, the people will find the means to pay; and, on the other hand, they rarely do value that for which they pay nothing. If the working people really cared to come to church they would, even though very poor, be willing to contribute something towards expenses. Nor are the mass of the people of London poor in the sense of having no margin. They have

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always money to spare for the pleasures or purposes in which they take an interest. Thus it is not lack of money to put in the plate any more than the lack of intelligence or Sunday clothes that keeps men from attending the existing churches. If the financial question comes in, it is in connection with the larger one of popular administrative control. If ever the London working man takes seriously to the forms of religious worship, he will want to feel that it is his own church and not one provided and paid for by others. For this a good deal of money would be needed, and to find it would be something very different from putting a penny in the plate. But even this difficulty might be overcome if there were among our artisan class any strong religious feeling. In this direction the Salvation Army has led the way in recent years, and has, at any rate, shown that, financially, 'where there's a will there's a way.'

At bottom it is none of these things, but a moral obstacle with which we are confronted. What the classes above seek in religion is its support, what the working man fights shy of is its discipline. Working men have a far more exacting conception of its ethical obligations. They expect a religious man to make his life square with his opinions. They like their club with its pot of beer, its entertainments, its game of cards or billiards, or the 'pub' and its associates and a bet on to-morrow's race, but they look on these things as inconsistent with all religious profession, and every form of religious association thus becomes (if they think seriously about the matter at all) something from which, in honesty, they must hold themselves aloof.

They are unwilling to accept a restraint that would deprive them of these everyday pleasures, and the step to denounce as hypocrites those members of religious bodies who lead mundane lives is easily made. And they are, as might be supposed, especially prone to

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observe instances of a lack of Christian conduct or of just dealing amongst their employers, who may at the same time figure prominently as Church members. Coupled with this there is some class feeling against joining churches which are supposed to side with the rich, so that to go to church may even be regarded as disloyalty to class.

Thus there springs up a public opinion amongst themselves which in their workshops may make a favourite, if not a hero, of the man who most defies religious restraints; who is even most reckless in his life and conversation. This perversion of view in the name of honesty is perhaps no greater than that which in the name of godliness indulges in season and out of season in shallow expressions of religious fervour. The two paths lead far apart; but there is a *via media;* for, contradiction though it seem, it is undoubtedly the case that the most trusted leaders of the working classes have not infrequently been religious men, just as very many of them are teetotalers.

Among the middle classes there are social advantages that attract, and a social feeling that almost compels a man to put himself in connection with some Christian community, but with the working classes in London the feeling is all the other way. It is the recognition of this; it is the conviction that a working man is not to be damned because, being hindered by an impracticably high ideal and not assisted by fashion, he does not go to church, which makes it possible for the clergy and ministers of religion in Hackney to take the cheerful view they do. They have enough adherents to fill their churches and such of the working classes as they attract are of the best, and they hope, and are justified in hoping, that the combined social, educational and moral fare which they offer, may, as the standard of life rises, attract more and more of this class to what they claim to be the Kingdom of Christ.

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§ 4

LOCAL DETAILS OF RELIGIOUS WORK

Although there is a certain degree of sameness about portions of this district, and about the religious activities with which it abounds, I am not content to pass them by with a general remark. The very amount of this religious life is, however, a difficulty. Our notes of interviews with the clergy here occupy several large books. The abstracts I have made from these run to more than fifty foolscap pages. As to the Church of England we have information concerning the work carried on in twenty parishes, and of Free Churches, Chapels and Missions not less than fifty are included. There are some others whose ministers we have not seen, and among these perhaps there might be a larger proportion of failures, but with those we have seen we have on the whole to chronicle success amongst their own middle-class people, though there is generally failure in the missionary enterprises carried on among the poorer neighbours.

A few examples may be given.

The old parish church of St. John maintains its congregation in the way usual with old parish churches in London, drawing from a wide area. Standing amongst trees, in a large and picturesque churchyard, it is a very commanding edifice, its situation giving it a great advantage. Practically all who come are of the middle class, and women greatly preponderate. The poor do not come at all. For them there is a mission-church, not well attended, but more success is claimed for the out-door services in drawing men who will not enter a church. This is success, however, on which little reliance can be placed.

Besides the out-door services there is systematic visiting by ladies who each undertake the care of a few streets and the wisdom of whose methods in the

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distribution of relief is very questionable. The social activities of the Church are concentrated in a club or institute, the object of which is to enable the clergy to learn to know the men and win their confidence, and into this undertaking great energy has been thrown.

Altogether there is here a very powerful organization, consisting normally of rector, five curates, mission-woman, and others, with large day schools and very large Sunday schools. At the time of our inquiry (1897) the living was vacant.

St. John's, South Hackney, is also strongly staffed with a rector, four curates, and eight paid lay-helpers, besides many devoted volunteers, among whom there are some young women of the working class. This church also is a commanding edifice, standing in a large churchyard. Its congregations are drawn in the main from the middle-class people who still form half the surrounding population. The working class come very little either to the church or to the special mission-services, and it may well be doubted whether the results of this latter part of the work are commensurate with the efforts put forth, a large part of which go in collecting the necessary funds.

Christ Church adjoining is equally active, and is successful in a very similar degree. The mission-buildings here are described as 'probably the best of their sort in East London.' The congregations include 'a portion of the well-dressed poor.' Clubs instituted for young men, boys, and girls, provide cricket, football, tennis and other social amusements. Guilds and classes abound, but except as regards the Sunday schools, the work among the poor meets with the usual rather meagre response.

In this South Hackney district the minister of an active Wesleyan Methodist congregation says he never had a church where there were so few poor, and it is the same with the Congregationalists, who are doing a quiet work among their own people.

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The parish of St. Michael, west of the line of Mare Street, includes the rough poor district already referred to as partly an overflow from Bethnal Green by Cat and Mutton Bridge, and something like it is repeated in All Saints', Haggerston, beside the canal, facing the gasworks. This parish, and the adjoining one of St. Paul, are both actively worked and gather fair congregations. St. Paul's, being without poor, shares a portion of those belonging to St. Michael's. Both churches give choral services and attract the middle class, and with both the mission churches are failures; both are very successful with clubs for boys, and both have large Sunday schools, and it may be added that of the bad influence exercised by the Borough of Hackney Working Men's Club both complain.

At St. Philips', in Dalston, we find a moderately high attractive service, drawing middle-class congregations, of whom half are always strangers. Thirty services are held weekly, but the people of the neighbourhood are not responsive. Holy Trinity, adjoining, has the advantage of a beautiful building, a rare thing in this part of London, and shows more active life, but has suffered from the struggle between High and Low for mastery. The present incumbent came to a wrecked parish. His penultimate predecessor was an advanced Ritualist whose goings-on, while they filled the church, alarmed his patrons (one of the City companies), who appointed in his place an extreme Evangelical. The newcomer revolutionized everything, and roused such antagonism in the congregation, that they did all in their power to hamper him. So he left, and now a middle course has been adopted, seemingly with fair local success. The surrounding population are working class, and some of them come to church. All who come are well dressed.

As we move further North the religious situation becomes much easier. West Hackney Church is

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always crammed, especially for evening services. It draws some of the rich from Stamford Hill, but most are of middle class. To whatever extent they may care about religious doctrine, they, at any rate, come to church. Many are attracted socially; clerks, for instance, finding in the Church a valuable social centre. The ritual here is high, but no less successful activity, based very much on the same social view of religion, prevails among the middle-class adherents of the Baptist and Congregationalist Churches.

In the neighbourhood of Hackney Downs are several large Nonconformist Churches, each with its subsidiary societies and meetings which fill every evening of the week with engagements. Their church buildings are large and some of them architecturally beautiful. The conditions approximate to those we shall find best exemplified in North London. All seek, by the establishment of mission-halls, to do their duty to their poorer neighbours, and claim some measure of success, but in every case the success attained is philanthropic and eleemosynary rather than religious, and, except for the Sunday schools, the benefit to the people is doubtful. These mission centres are to be found in every poor part of London, and their character varies little. They are at once an expression and a part of the religious life of the members of the parent Church, who establish them, and who give their best energies to convey to others the Gospel as they have themselves received it, seeking thus to apply, in some practical way, Christian rules of life. Seeing this, we begin to realize the meaning of their failure and the measure of their success.

The small Salvation Army corps in and about Hackney are not successful, and in vain seek by constant change of programme and of persons to stir the people. But at the Congress Hall, Clapton, they have their greatest religious centre. From here

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officers are sent forth in all directions to evangelize the world, and to this centre they come from all parts. It is the largest London corps, and on Sunday morning the total congregation exceeds one thousand, and in the evening, when many of the poor are attracted, there may be two thousand or even three thousand present. But with them, no less, and perhaps even more than with all the rest, it is their own religious life that is spun and woven, and what they would persuade themselves and others to believe as to their religious work in the world, and its influence as a Gospel deliverance, is but part of an extraordinary illusion which begins to stand unveiled before us.

§ 5

AREAS OF SPECIAL DIFFICULTY

The rough poverty of the district immediately south of London Fields has already been mentioned as being by no means typical of Hackney. Doubtless it requires exceptional religious treatment, but that meted out is not always wise. The people are not easily moved by spiritual appeals, and alms giving, if indiscriminate, is greatly to the injury of religion. The case is mentioned of a lady who took a hall where services were held at which every one who attended was given tickets for coal and food. The minister of a Primitive Methodist chapel situated here admits that the services in the chapel are not attended by any of the people round about. His congregation, who are clerks and artisans, come from a little way off, and constitute themselves a mission-band, ministering to the needs of the poor and preaching to them in the open air. 'Contented with their surroundings; apathetic; expect-

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ing to have everything done for them,' are the terms used to describe these people, who, though called 'poor,' do, it is pointed out, actually earn about the same amount as many of those who minister to them, 'only spend it differently.' In this case all the members of the Church are members of the mission-band. A Presbyterian minister, who has worked in this neighbourhood for forty years, says there is a surfeit of open-air meetings; corner after corner, on the main thoroughfare, being occupied in this way on Sunday. He notes the change in religious effort, which has become evangelistic and missionary in character, and he attributes the failure of the Church of England in reaching the people to persistence in old methods. He suggests that services and hours should be changed. But I cannot gather that he is himself particularly successful. His congregation is not drawn from the surrounding streets, and the attempt to reach the children by a mission-school has been abandoned because of the fear of contamination entertained by parents among his own flock. The Baptists have an old and fairly successful Church near by, which also draws its congregation from elsewhere, and for the needs of the district merely contributes to the 'surfeit' of open-air services.

The population of Hackney Wick consists largely of failures who have drifted ~~there~~ from other districts. Dirty, shiftless, helpless and undisciplined, but not criminal, they lack the sturdiness of offenders against the law, and are rather to be described as 'crushed and down-trodden.' Still they may be divided into two classes: those who are respectable and willing to work if work offers, and the loafing idlers. Inefficiency is a characteristic of both. The women play too prominent a part as wage earners in most households. Among this difficult population the Church of England

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is represented by the Eton Mission, and, in spite of lavish expenditure of men and means, what the place was before the Mission was established, that it still in the main continues to be.

The chief work, from generation to generation, is among the young, but the operations of the Mission, though not always continuous, have been so extensive that everyone is affected by them more or less; for good or evil. Perhaps too much is done; probably too much is given. Those who never have as much as they would wish to expend on their own work, say the Mission is too rich. It is looked at as a friend by all, but its religious influence is evidently very slight. In the men's club, with over three hundred members, there is a tacit understanding that no attempt shall be made to introduce religious matters, and among the members collectively there is admittedly a strong prejudice against the parson and religion; there has indeed in the past been a positive cleavage between Church and club, the churchgoers refusing to join the club, and the club members declining to go to church; but these divisions are to some extent breaking down. In the boys' club, however, with nearly one hundred and fifty members, a weekly service is held, at which attendance is compulsory, and the boys like it.

The other organizations working at Hackney Wick, are a Wesleyan Mission Church for which two Sisters of the People visit from house to house; a Salvation Army Slum Post, garrisoned by two more young women, who also visit assiduously; and a Mission connected with a Congregational Church, which has good buildings here. All these share the doubtful success of the Eton Mission, and with so much done for them it is perhaps no wonder that the people are described as invertebrate.

We are told, half in satisfaction and half in regret, that those who can and do improve, leave; and that

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their places are filled up with people of the old types. Otherwise here, if anywhere, it might be possible to test the results of sustained religious effort upon a low and poor population. There is some improvement, but this seems rather to be due to the police and to the Board schools, as well as to the sanitary authorities (urged to action, it is true, by the Missions), and the improvement most confidently looked forward to is the opening of a good road through the Wick to Stratford, which would break down its isolation.

The lady captain of the Salvationists, who had lately come from a post in the worst part of Bethnal Green, regards the Wick as quite respectable by comparison. 'Here the people receive us very kindly, and are grateful for help. In Bethnal Green they beat us.' This was not said in a complaining way, but merely to emphasize the good disposition of the Wick folk. The influence of the work that has been done is doubtless reflected in this. 'I believe they all look upon us as their friend,' said the head of the Eton Mission.

Some way to the north of Hackney Wick, following the London boundary, lies the parish of All Souls', Clapton, already mentioned, which has a somewhat similar class of people; there are, indeed, frequent interchanges. The houses, however, are of more recent construction, and conditions here still tend downwards, which is not the case at the Wick. The adjoining parish of All Saints is of much the same character. In both parishes the broadest spirit prevails. 'There is a time for everything,' the clergy say, and add (with special reference to clubs) 'it is a mistake to force religion down people's throats.' At both parishes they are opposed to sensational Evangelical work, disposed to wait to be asked for spiritual advice, and the visiting done has, for the most part, a simply social character. Nevertheless it is claimed that the impression made by the

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Church is great. The people are not religious. On this point the clergy are without illusions. No direct or sudden spiritual result is expected from any part of the work. 'Some may expect to see, and perhaps do see immediate results in conversions or other spiritual manifestations from each sermon preached. To be able to sustain such a frame of mind may be more effective, but here we teach that change can only come by quiet growth. We don't expect the Sacraments, or even Confirmation, to change bad into good at once. We tell the people that if they will take advantage of the means of grace, they may hope gradually to become more Christlike.'

Amusements are provided by these churches for their people because the respectable poor need something in place of the music-halls, and although such methods are described as 'the strings of the net,' the strings are not hastily or tightly drawn.

One of the largest of the Congregational Missions has its centre here, and an active Primitive Methodist Mission also finds amongst this population its field of work. Beginning in a very small way, this Mission has led to the formation of a special circuit including a number of mission churches, of which two are in this neighbourhood. Their religious membership is insignificant compared to the amount of social work undertaken, and this work, which is the most distinctive feature, does not seem to be very well devised. Indeed, in the opinion of some, the deterioration of the neighbourhood has been hastened by the indiscriminate giving for which the Missions are responsible.

On the west side of the map there are also two special areas that deserve some notice, the one being in Shacklewell, and the other a curious patch beside the Great Eastern Railway to the north of Hackney Downs. The former lies in the mission district of

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St. Barnabas, a part of West Hackney parish, run on strongly ecclesiastical lines by the Merchant Taylors' School. It is the scene also of the Dunn Street Mission, a simple, undenominational organization. Excepting the children, few of the inhabitants attend either church or mission.

The superintendent of the Mission has been working on this spot for nearly half a century, and says that the parents of the children will come in for any very special service, or if you have anything to give them, but not otherwise. The Mission is short of workers, and obtains the best assistance from those brought up in it. This fact, and the letters he occasionally receives from old scholars who are doing well in Canada or elsewhere, cheer him; but, except for these bright spots, the struggle and its negative results are spoken of by this good old man as 'enough to crush the life out of him.' The people round, he says, are perfectly indifferent, and only send their children to Sunday school in order to be rid of them; and the children themselves divide their patronage between his school and that of the Church Mission in order if possible to qualify for two treats. But nevertheless, and without doubt, his influence must be good.

The missioner of St. Barnabas speaks of some of the people, especially women, as a 'terribly cadging lot,' and ascribes this partly to the fact that relief has been, and is, poured in on them from all the neighbouring Churches. His own work is of a frankly proselytizing character, and he regards his district visitors as 'too much wrapped up in their provident collections.' Practically all his church-goers are communicants. The men's club is, however, open to all, and the few who go to church seem to be rather scouted by the rest who refer to them as the 'upstairs lot' (the church being over the club). A good many of the club members are old choir boys, but most of

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these give up church-going when they become adults, looking upon it as not manly. But so long as they remain in the boys' club all are expected to attend church or Sunday school. At the schools the Dupanloup system has been adopted, so as to combat what is called 'the appalling doctrinal ignorance of the children,' but the system is not popular with them, there being 'more grind' about it. If we ask again 'what good it is?' we can only take the reply of the old missionary when we asked him the same question—'Who can say?'

The other patch of poverty goes by the name of Navvies' Island, showing that it had its origin when the railway was built. Later some quarrel arose between the different property owners concerned, and the area was cut off so far as possible from the surrounding streets. It became a very low place indeed, and has been the scene of much mission work. Its condition has very greatly improved, and for this the Missions may fairly claim some credit, but a more potent influence has been the presence as residents of a few policemen, who to begin with were allowed to live here rent free. To open a way through would be of the greatest advantage in this case; at present it can be entered from the east side only.

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§ 6

SOCIAL INITIATIVE OF RELIGIOUS BODIES

Not only in the special districts referred to, but over a large part of Hackney, it seems to be regarded as part of the duty of the Church to supply decent amusements, and the entertainments in winter time are described as 'incessant'; consisting of dances, balls, concerts, plays, and, in two of the parishes, culminating in an annual pantomime. These entertainments often pay for themselves, and sometimes leave a surplus. In summer there are excursions without end, and the cricket clubs are extremely numerous. Every permitted pitch in Victoria Park and every other available place is appropriated, and mostly by clubs with Apostolic names. Good lectures, too, are organized, and one parish has a successful flower show every year.

The main object of all this, and of the large social clubs connected with many of the Churches, is to get to know the people. Much of it is directly connected with mission work, and usually there are ulterior spiritual aims. But these social efforts come to have a life of their own which requires little other justification. In one very poor parish, described as 'intensely dull—the end of all things—no shops, no traffic, no amusements within miles,' where all are poor and church-goers few, and the clubs are open to all, the clergy take a hand of whist or join in a game of billiards with any man. They say, 'The bigger blackguards the better pleased we are to see them.' Friendly intercourse on these simple lines must surely make for good.

Nor are the Baptists, Congregationalists and Wesleyans behindhand in providing recreation of a more or less serious kind for their young people. All their leading Churches have large Literary and Philharmonic societies and frequent lectures and concerts are given.

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Such activities as this last are by no means peculiar to this district. We shall hear much more of them as we go forward into North London; but they are notable here as indicating the passing over from East to North; from working class with a substratum of poverty, and great lack of social initiative, to middle-class activity and domination.

§ 7

THE POLICE, DRINK, AND PLEASURE SEEKING

We hear nothing of crime in this district except that one portion of it is the residence of ticket-of-leave men or others whose wish to avoid publicity makes them seek a quiet neighbourhood. The police are reported as tactful; too much so for some ardent reformers, who would wish them to be a terror to the publican. But on the other hand the Salvation Army say that the police are 'always very good to them,' and the force is spoken of as containing 'many Christian men.' I have myself seen more than once the gentleness and consideration shown by police officers when the traffic was interfered with by the audience at some out-door service and the road had to be cleared.

There are some complaints of the lively character of the crowds of young people who make a promenade of Mare Street on a Saturday, or Sunday, or any fine evening, but, so far as this has come under our observation, it would not be fair to describe the conduct exhibited in very harsh terms. It is not actually rough, nor is there anything which passes the bounds of decency and propriety. To set against some danger of disorder, there is a moral safety in numbers. There is hardly room for street-walkers among the walkers in the street, and there is

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in fact very little of prostitution in this form east of Dalston Junction. On the other hand, the open spaces, Hackney Downs, and London Fields, are the scenes of much shameless, unprofessional immorality. Victoria Park, railed in and under good control, is free from this evil, and at night, unless they are small enough to be thoroughly lighted, it is absolutely necessary that open spaces should be closed. The Guardians find illegitimate births an exceptional trouble, and it is said that the unfortunate girls who come into the workhouse for their confinement can often barely designate the father of their child. It is possible that this outbreak may have some connection with the closing of all brothels in Hackney, and the fact that at the time of our inquiry there was neither theatre nor music-hall in the locality would, I think, tend to increase the evil.

Local pleasuring usually takes the shape of a day in Epping Forest. Brakes by the hundred cross the bridge on a fine Sunday, and return making the streets resound with songs and cornet-playing. The Lea is also a favourite resort, and the scene on a fine Sunday morning is very animated. The river is crowded with boats, and the towing-paths from Lea Bridge to Tottenham are alive with people; cocoanut-shying is indulged in on the adjoining marshy land, and the river-side public houses do a good trade amongst more or less *bonâ fide* travellers until one o'clock admits all. The Salvationists are there, unheeded; man and pipe and dog form a purely working-class picture, and afford proof, if any were needed, that the difficulty of getting-up vanishes when any pleasurable object is to be attained.

Except as regards the working-men's clubs, which have a very bad reputation, drinking habits are mentioned here very little; we have no word of such excesses as were so often reported in Poplar and Bromley. We hear in a general way of more drinking

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among women and less drunkenness among men and less rowdiness of behaviour. But the large way-side public houses on the main streets or opposite the local railway stations drive a roaring trade, catering for the wants of pleasure seekers. They are patronized by both sexes and all classes of the population, and become astonishingly valuable properties. The change from middle to lower middle and working class has been greatly in their favour. In connection with this the entire failure of adult temperance organization may be mentioned. It is regretted, but admitted by all. There are probably more abstainers, but the enthusiasm has passed, and the propaganda is practically dead. Licensed property is at present more valuable than ever, though it is probable that the limit in this respect has now been reached.

§ 8

MUNICIPAL ACTION, ETC.

The administrative area of Hackney was practically unchanged by the Act of 1900. A reduction in the number of members, and some alteration in *personnel* accompanied the change from Vestry to Borough Council, but otherwise the machinery of local government remains very much as it was when our inquiry took place. As in Poplar and Mile End, the working-class element had its period of control, dating from 1894, and here, too, gave an impetus to sanitary improvement and public enterprise, which has not been lost in the succeeding reaction. We hear, moreover, little suggestion of jobbery in connection with their stewardship of public funds, apart from the vague assertion that upon the question of wages 'the working man member is for the working man.'

This vestry, it may be remarked, was one of those

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Meanwhile, refuse is still dumped on the marshes, and the children who poke about among its dirty treasures contract diseases of the skin.

Bathing in the Lea, out of which it is especially difficult to keep the boys, has been a source of infection as well as disorder. To purify the water (if that be possible) and to regulate the bathing would be the most satisfactory plan. At present the practice is unrecognised and unregulated, and numbers bathe at great risk. Public baths, costing £60,000, have been recently erected and are much used, and public money has been spent in various other ways, notably in the installation of electric light. The Town Hall has been enlarged to double its former size; and other improvements have been made. Roads to connect Hackney with Leyton and Stratford are planned. The latter of these, as already mentioned, would pass the Lea at Hackney Wick and do away with the peninsular character of that settlement.

Experiments, not very successful, have been tried in finding work for the unemployed, in the winters of 1893-4, 1895-6, and again, though for smaller numbers, in 1896-7. Since that time nothing of the kind has been found necessary; but some men have been sent, at the expense of the parish, to the Salvation Army farm colony, with success in individual cases, but failure on the whole, the material being too bad.

Out-relief is rather freely given by the Hackney Guardians, but the evils which result are recognised on all hands, and it is be hoped that their appreciation may gradually leak through to the electorate. The workhouse and infirmary seem to be well kept. To go to the workhouse is considered a disgrace, but the infirmary is regarded as a public hospital. There is no regular hospital nearer than Dalston.

There are no less than a hundred endowed charities

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in Hackney; mainly small, but their total income is £3730. Of this, one fund represents £1263, another £375, and a third £260. Of the rest only nine are over £50. They are managed and distributed in various ways, but the plan of distribution by popular vote (a show of hands taken at a public vestry) seems to be the most successful. These charities can be used to assist cases of distress when the Guardians cannot act and they are put to good purpose in helping the convalescent after serious illness, but on the whole the good they do is more than doubtful, and the lack of independence in the poor is traced partly to their influence. There is some talk of consolidating these funds and unifying their management, and if this should be done, some portion is likely to be devoted to the maintenance of a Polytechnic Institute, which the district needs.

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DESCRIPTIVE NOTES. Map C. (Vol. I., Chapter II.).
Hackney.

Adjoining Maps—S. Outer East (p. 72) and Inner East (Vol. II.); W. North London (p. 164).

General Character.—The map comprises the districts of Hackney, Hackney Wick, Homerton, Clapton, Shacklewell and Dalston. The area is divided by Mare Street and Clapton Road, running North and South. The western half is mostly middle or lower middle class, the eastern half generally working class. On the western side the land rises from the Regent's Canal to Hackney Downs and Stoke Newington Common. The eastern half is more undulating, starting with high ground north of Victoria Park, falling away north of Cassland Road, and rising through Homerton to fall again at the northern extremity by South Mill Fields. The connection between physical features and social character can be clearly traced. Starting on the eastern side, there is a well-to-do colony on the high ground north of Victoria Park, and further north we find the pink of fair comfort (artisans and small clerks) on either bank of the main stream of poverty which here follows the low ground in the centre of the map.

Poverty Areas.—A broad band of poverty crosses the map in a North-Eastern direction, drifting from inner London across the Regent's Canal through Sheep Lane into Mare Street, turning eastwards along Well Street and so through the low ground along the Wick Road until the stream is finally discharged into Hackney Wick (*vide* p. 96). On its way it flows into and adds to colonies of old-standing poverty such as that round Palace Road: at Morning Lane a branch of it leaves the Wick Road and runs North through Homerton, past the old cottages round St. Barnabas' Church, and ends in the new and ill-built houses on the low ground near Mill Fields, where a new Hackney Wick is in course of formation (*vide* p. 98). On the west side of the map there are three or four special patches of poverty. At Southwold and Northwold Roads, Rendlesham Road (*vide* p. 101), Arcola Street (*vide* p. 99), and on the west side of London Fields; and of a more central London type, mixed with vice, off the Haggerston Road and between Sheep Lane and the Broadway at the foot of our map (*vide* p. 95).

Employments.—Near the canal are chemical, colour, india rubber, and jam works. Further West are xylonite and scent factories, and some piano and cabinet makers. Round London Fields the staple industry is boot and shoe making; near Dalston, confectionery. Those who go elsewhere for work are small clerks or artisans, some of whom work at Poplar, the Albert and Victoria Docks, and Woolwich, to which place access is easy by the North London and Great Eastern Railways.

Housing and Rents.—Few, if any, rents would exceed £100. A house of nine rooms and scullery, with garden, fetches £36. to £40. Rents of better class houses have fallen, and there is little demand for the large old-fashioned houses built for a single family. In the new 'pink' streets, north of Homerton, the houses are two storeyed with bow-windows; frontage 16 feet: two families as a rule share the house. Rent 6*s* 6*d* for four rooms; 5*s* 6*d* for three. In the newer streets of Upper Clapton inhabited by commercial travellers, &c., the price for two storeyed yellow brick houses, with bow windows top and bottom, was (1897) £480. for single fronted, and £680. for double fronted houses, with £6. ground rent on ninety-nine years' lease. South of Mill Fields, where drainage is defective owing to the lowness of the ground, and where the houses have been badly

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built upon made ground, rents vary from 6*s* 6*d* to 10*s* 6*d*. In a very poor 'dark blue' street near the centre the rent for four or five rooms is 6*s* 6*d* to 8*s* 3*d* per week. The ordinary price for single rooms unfurnished in poor streets is 2*s*, but even in the poorer streets few families live in one room; the majority have two.

Market Streets.—The chief markets are Mare Street and Wells Street in the centre, Chatsworth Road on the east, Kingsland Road and Stoke Newington High Street on the west, and the Broadway, London Fields, to the south.

Public-houses outline Mare Street and Kingsland Road, and are dotted over Dalston, and are used practically as club houses by the comfortable classes. They are markedly absent in the new streets to the north. Beer houses are features of the old poor parts, and off-licences of the new poor districts on the marshes.

Places of Amusements are almost non-existent except in the immediate neighbourhood of Dalston Junction and Mare Street.

Open Spaces are plentiful. Mill Fields to the North-East, Hackney Marshes on the East, Victoria Park and Hackney Common on the South-East, in addition to London Fields, Hackney Churchyard, Hackney Downs, and Stoke Newington Common, further West. Leyton Marshes and Epping Forest are also easily accessible; moreover, there is an unusual supply of breathing space in the shape of private gardens still remaining, but the largeness of the old gardens has rather led to harm wherever factories have been built on them, notably in the neighbourhood of Mare Street.

Health.—The soil for the most part is gravel, and except in the low-lying clay districts on the marshes to the East, the general health is good.

Changes of population.—No district except the corresponding sheet, *vis à vis*, for the outer South-West, shows so well the general law of successive migration. The tip of the tail of wealth may be seen disappearing out of the northern edge of the map. The wealthy outgoers move toward Epping Forest, their place is taken by a comfortable servant-keeping middle class as shown in the North (red in the map). Further South on the western side the map when compared with that of ten years ago shows the change from 'red' to 'pink barred with red,' denoting generally the incoming of lodgers and notices of 'apartments' in the house windows. South again the 'pink-barred' becomes 'pink' of the artisan. On the eastern side we have spoken of the inward drift of the poor and of the growth of a new district of the pink class on the high ground in Clapton; both come from inner London; the fairly comfortable coming in greater numbers than the poor. There is also an onward migration of the working classes from the district to Tottenham on the North and Walthamstow on the East. The magnitude of the change taking place may be judged from the fact that over two hundred houses have taken the place of eight in the neighbourhood of the Downs Road, and over three thousand cover the space occupied by Priory House and grounds in the North-East. To Dalston there is some return of people of the 'red' class owing to its accessibility, and to the excellence of its houses which have been allowed to stand.

Means of Locomotion.—The North London Railway gives a frequent service of trains to Dalston Junction, East, West, and South. The eastern branch bends South towards Poplar, and by junction with the Great Eastern Railway at Victoria Park gives access to Stratford, to the Victoria and Albert Docks, and to Woolwich. The Great Eastern Railway serves

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the centre of the district North and South, and a fairly efficient service of horse trams runs North and South along Kingsland Road, and on the line of Mare Street northward to Tottenham. There is also a slow tram service, by Graham Road to Dalston and Islington, and another enters the district from Mile End terminating in Lauriston Road. What is needed is (1) the quickening of existing services, and (2) the establishment of new lines to connect Hackney with Leyton and Forest Gate.

PLACES OF WORSHIP.

List of Parish Churches situated in the district covered by Sketch Map No. 2, and described in Chapter II., with other PLACES OF WORSHIP grouped in their ecclesiastical parishes.

All Saints, Clapton Park.
All Saints' Miss., Blurton Rd.
Clapton Park Cong. Ch., Lower Clapton Rd.
Bapt. Tabern., Chatsworth Rd.
P. Meth. Chapel, Blurton Rd.
Congress Hall (S.A.), Almack Rd.
Mission, Rushmore Rd.

All Saints, Haggerston.

All Souls, Clapton Park.
All Souls' Miss., Gilpin Rd.
Cong. Miss., Glyn Rd.
Wesl. Miss., Blenco Rd.

Christ Church, Clapton.
Rendlesham Rooms (Bapt.), Heatherley St.
St. Scholastica (R. C.), Kenninghall Rd.

Christ Church, S. Hackney.
Christ Church Miss., Vyner St.
Cambridge H'th (Cong.), Mare St.
St. John the Baptist (R. C.).
Salv. Ar. Hall, Mare St.

Holy Trinity, Dalston.
Holy Trinity Miss., Forest Rd.
Cong. Church, Middleton Rd.
Wesl. Church, Mayfield Rd.
Homer Miss. (Breth.), Blomfield St.

St. Augustine, S. Hackney.
St. Augustine's Miss., Cadogan Terrace.
Sth. Hackney Cong. Ch., Victoria Park Rd.
P. Meth. Ch., Brookfield Rd.

St. Barnabas, Homerton.
Ram's Episcopal Ch., High St.
Grove Miss. (Cong.), Brooksby's Walk.
Bapt. Church, Homerton Row.
Evangelical Miss., High St.

St. Bartholomew, Dalston.
German Ch. (Luth.), Ritson Rd.

St. James, Clapton.
St. James' Miss., Lea Bridge.
Down's Chapel (Bapt.), Queen's Down Rd.
Waterloo Rooms (Bapt.), Prout Rd.
Wesl. Ch., Clapton Rd.
Pres. Ch., Down's Park Rd.

St. James, West Hackney.
St. Barnabas' Miss., Shacklewell Row.
St. Paul's Miss., Clevedon St.
Cong. Ch., Rectory Rd.
Spensby Miss. (Cong.), Lawrence Bldgs.
Old Bapt. Union Miss., 111, Shacklewell Lane.
Wesl. Ch., High St.
P. Meth. Chapel, Stoke Newington Common.
Salv. Ar. Hall, Wellington Rd.
Dunn St. Miss., Dunn St., Shacklewell.

St. John, Hackney.
St. John's Miss., The Grove.
St. John's Miss., Kenmure Rd.
Lower Clapton Cong. Ch., Amhurst Rd.
Trin. Cong. Ch., Devonshire Rd.
Cong. Miss., Morning Lane.
Wesl. Ch., Richmond Rd.
U. Meth. Fr. Ch., Pembury Rd.
Brethren's Hall, Richmond Rd.
Christian Ch., Loddiges Rd.
Gospel Hall, Paragon Rd.
Gospel Temp. Miss., Brett Rd.
Y. M. C. A. Hall, Mare St.
South Hackney Synagogue, Devonshire Rd.

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St. John of Jerusalem, South Hackney.
St Andrew's Miss., Wells St.
Victoria Pk. Tab. (Cong.), Wetherell Rd.
Orchard Miss. (Cong.), Well St.
Hampden Chapel (Bapt.), Lauriston Rd.
Wesl. Ch., Cassland Rd.
Church of Martin Luther, Speldhurst Rd.
Bruce Hall Mis., Havelock Rd.
Free Gospel Hall, 2 and 4, Cassland Rd.

St. Luke, Homerton.
St. Luke's Miss., Kenton Rd.
St. Luke's Miss., Hassett Rd.
Old Gravel Pit Ch. (Cong.), Chatham Place.
Wesl. Ch., Church Rd.
Unitarian Chapel, Church Rd.
Immaculate Heart of Mary (R. C.), Ballance Rd.
Salv. Ar. Hall, Durham Grove.
Brunswick Miss., Retreat Place.

St. Mark, Dalston.
St. Mark's Miss., Boleyn Rd.
Kingsland Cong. Ch., High St.
Dalston Bapt. Ch., Ashwin St.
Kingsland Miss. (L. C. M.), Castle St.
Shacklewell Green Miss., Norfolk Rd.
New Dalston Synagogue, Birkbeck Rd.

St. Mary of Eton, Hackney Wick.
St. Mary's Miss., Chapman Rd.
Cong. Miss., Chapman Rd.
Bethesda Chapel (Bapt.), Mallard St.
Salv. A. Slum Post, Mallard St.

St. Michael, London Fields.
St. Michael's Miss., Ada St.
Bapt. Ch., Mare St.
P. Meth. Chapel, Exmouth Pl.
Pres. Ch., St. Thomas' Square.
Cath. Apostolic Ch., Mare St.
Morley Hall, The Triangle.
Brethren's Miss., Twemlow Terrace.

St. Paul, Haggerston.
St. Paul's Miss., Duncan St.
Cong. Ch., Shrubland Rd.
Cong. Ch., Pownall Rd.
Bapt. Ch., Queen's Rd.

St. Paul, Lower Homerton.

St. Philip, Dalston.
Good Shepherd Miss. Ch., Wilman Grove.
Bethesda Miss., London Fields.

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Map G.—HACKNEY (1900).

The Streets are coloured according to social condition of inhabitants as under:—

Lowest Class | Very Poor | Moderate Poverty | Poverty & Comfort (mixed) | Fairly Comfortable | Well-to-do | Wealthy

Combined colouring (as Pink and Red) indicates a mixture of the Classes which the Colours represent.

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CHAPTER III

NORTH LONDON

§ 1

GENERAL CHARACTER

THE North London district, to which we now pass, does not lend itself very well to treatment as a whole, nor does it fall readily into component parts having a unity of their own. It is bounded on the South by Pentonville Road and the Regent's Canal, on the East by Kingsland Road produced in a straight line to Stoke Newington, and on the West at King's Cross, by York Road and its continuation; while to the North the boundary is that of London, and extends beyond the limits of our tinted map on either side of Finsbury Park, which itself is extra-metropolitan, to Highgate and Stamford Hill.

The district is cut up by great thoroughfares and by several railway lines, and by the artificial channel of the New River; but the divisions thus formed carry no social significance. For open spaces, besides Finsbury Park on its borders, it has Clissold Park and Highbury Fields. But they are all distant from the chief centres of population. There is no symmetry or convenience or natural order of any kind in these arrangements. All seems hap-hazard, and it is probable that the account I have to give of the local influences and religious life of this great district will reflect the absence of

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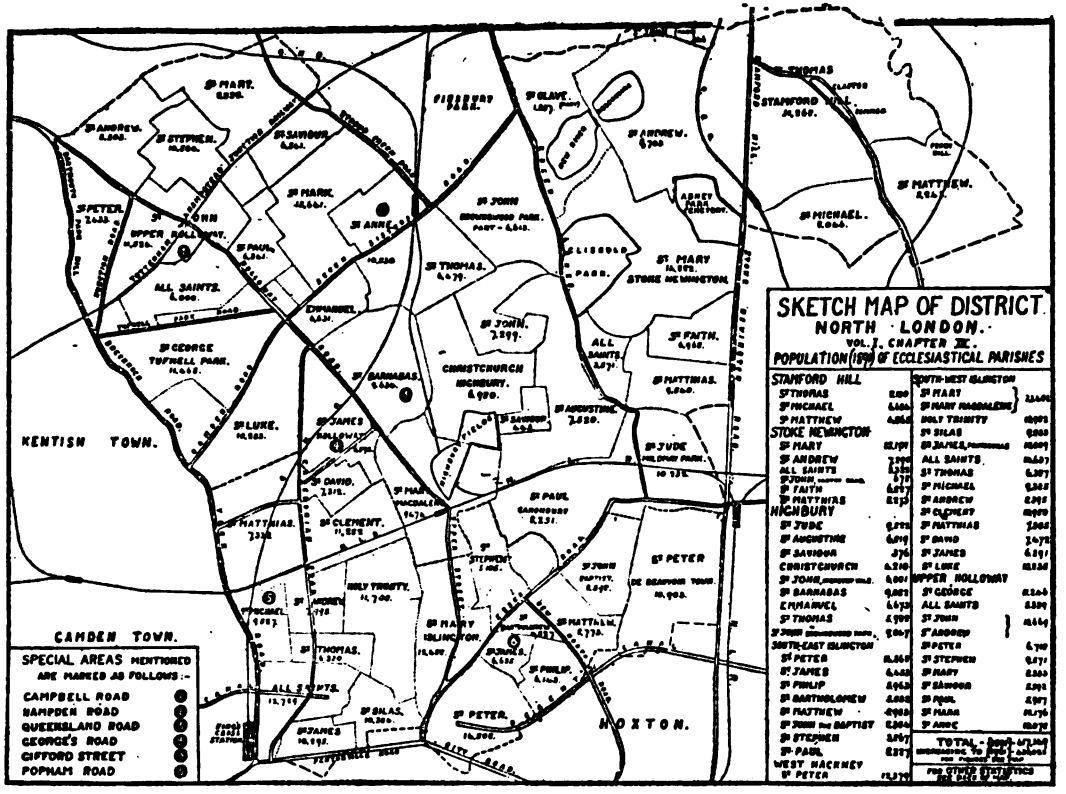
well-defined sub-divisions, either physical or social. I propose to single out such developments as appear to be most characteristic, and indicate where and under what conditions they are in force; I shall add details by way of sample, and then, drawing upon the varied information contained in my notes, shall seek to show the conditions under which the 400,000 people with whom we are here concerned live, and how the facts agree with and explain the colours of the large map.

Speaking broadly, the working classes and the poor are found mainly to the South, and the middle classes mainly to the North, but the working classes and the poor reach northward, along the track of the Great Northern Railway through Holloway and as far as Hornsey, while the middle classes still hold Canonbury and remain to some extent in De Beauvoir Town, thus extending southward even to the banks of the canal.

Each working-class district contains at least one patch of low-lived poverty. Of these the six largest are known as the Popham Road area off Essex Road; the Gifford Street area off the Caledonian Road, repeated to the North beside the Cattle Market; the George's Road, Queensland Road and Hampden Road areas, which are all three off Holloway Road; and Campbell Road out of Seven Sisters Road. Some particulars will be given about each of these.



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STATISTICS *bearing on the* AREA INCLUDED IN SKETCH MAP NO. 3. *Described in Chapter III. (Vol. I.).*

CENSUS STATISTICS.

Showing Increase or Decrease of Population.

Population in 1881.	1891.	1896.	1901.	Increase per Cent. 1881-1891.	1891-1901.
305,646	350,079	370,249	369,535	14·5 %	5·5 %

Density of Population. 1891.	1901.
Persons per Acre. 93·4	98·6
Inhabited Houses. 42,642	43,181
Persons per House. 8·2	8·6
Number of Acres. 3,747	

Age and Sex in 1891.

Age.	Males.	Females.	Together
Under 5 years	20,439	20,529	40,968
5 & under 15 yrs	35,571	35,990	71,561
— 20 ,,	16,070	18,710	34,780
— 25 ,,	16,125	19,764	35,889
— 35 ,,	28,396	32,028	60,424
— 45 ,,	20,487	23,012	43,499
— 55 ,,	14,051	16,413	30,464
— 65 ,,	7,952	10,499	18,451
65 and over	5,243	8,800	14,043
Totals ...	164,334	185,745	350,079

NOTE.—The area included in the sketch map comprises the whole Civil Parish of Islington, Stoke Newington, a detached portion of South Hornsey, the Registration sub-district of Stamford Hill and De Beauvoir Town belonging to Hackney, and the greater part of Pentonville. During the decennium 1891-1901, the detached portion of Hornsey (population 16,892 in 1891) has been added to Stoke Newington, and Pentonville has been combined with Amwell, another sub-district of Clerkenwell. The figures here given refer to Islington and Stoke Newington, the figures for Stamford Hill, Hornsey, De Beauvoir Town and Pentonville being omitted. For a more detailed statement of the Special Family Enumeration see Appendix.

SPECIAL ENUMERATION FOR THIS INQUIRY (1891).

Sex, Birthplace and Industrial Status of Heads of Families.

Sex. Male.	Female.	Birthplace. In London.	Out of London.	Industrial Status. Employers	Employees	Neither.	Total Heads.
62,831 80 %	15,539 20 %	41,042 52 %	37,328 48 %	7,852 10 %	52,513 67 %	18,005 23 %	78,370 100 %

Constitution of Families.

Heads.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied.	Servants.	Total in Families.
78,370 (1·0)	76,260 (·97)	173,875 (2·21)	13,355 (·17)	341,860 (4·35)

Social Classification according to *Rooms Occupied* or *Servants Kept*.

	Persons.	Per Cent.	
4 or more persons to a room	13,858	4·0	Crowded 29·0 %
3 & under 4 ,, ,,	24,488	7·0	
2 & ,, 3 ,, ,,	63,108	18·0	
1 & ,, 2 ,, ,,	79,457	22·7	Not Crowded 71·0 %
Less than 1 person to a room	12,790	3·7	
Occupying more than 4 rooms	88,734	25·3	
4 or more persons to 1 servant	26,236	7·5	
Less than 4 persons to 1 servant & 4 to 7 persons to 2 servants	14,845	4·2	
All others with 2 or more servants	4,989	1·4	
Servants in families	13,355	3·8	
Inmates of Institutions (including servants)	8,219	2·4	
Total	350,079	100	
Living in Poverty (as estimated in 1889)		30·2 %	100 %
,, in Comfort (,, ,,)		69·8 %	

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§ 2

MIDDLE-CLASS RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT

The northern part of the district, from Highgate to Stamford Hill and from Holloway to Balls Pond and Canonbury, provides the best example of London middle-class life and of the religious and social influences to which it is subject. Amongst this population Nonconformity is strong, and amongst Nonconformists the Congregational Church is the most typical religious organization. It will be seen as we go on, that each leading sect seems to have its special *milieu*. The Congregationalist, Baptist, and Wesleyan each in turn comes to the front, as do also the various divisions of the Church of England, and, hardly less than the Scotch Presbyterians or the Roman Catholics, find a natural place in meeting the special wants of special sections of the people. In addition, beyond making provision for the spiritual needs of its people, each sect attacks, after its own fashion, the general problems of poverty and spiritual destitution presented by this or that district.

In their working methods the sects frequently take hints from each other, and under similar circumstances often adopt similar courses. The Church of England is by no means entirely outside of this form of concurrent action. In North London her methods become more Congregationalist in character; her adherents being won and held very much as in the Free Churches, while her efforts among the poor, falling in with the facts of the situation and the character of the surrounding population, tend to concentrate in special mission districts.

These methods seem exactly to suit the middle-class North Londoner, and while there is in them much that is out of harmony with the parochial system of a National Church, and not quite in keeping even with

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the Wesleyan organization or with the character of the ideals and methods of the Baptist community, there is nothing in them that is other than quite natural to the Congregationalists.

With them the pulpit is practically the centre round which everything turns. Each church is self-governed and owes no outside allegiance. There is a working organization of deacons for financial and disciplinary purposes, and an inner circle of members forms the Church. The members choose their pastor, but are not necessarily united with any strictness in the bond of a common doctrine. The congregation, those who are reached by the voice of the pastor, are a larger body, including many who, for one reason or another, remain outside, or perhaps because of their youth, have not yet taken up membership; but the whole assembly, members and non-members alike, is simply the spontaneous expression of a Christian sentiment seeking leadership, mutual support, exercise, discipline, and work. On the one hand there are the Church members with whom all ultimate power lies, and on the other stands the man chosen by them as pastor, with whom rests the absolute leadership of all those who gather round him.

Of such great Congregational pulpit centres there are ten in this district, as well as two belonging to the English Presbyterian body, working on almost exactly similar lines, and there are four more in the northern portion of Hackney. There are also some others of a smaller kind. The sixteen large churches accommodate about twenty thousand worshippers, and are well filled, and in some cases crowded, both morning and evening on Sunday. They provide for their congregations a host of interests, religious and otherwise, throughout the week. Nearly all of them have established a mission church, and several have two, or even three, of such enterprises, planted not neces-

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sarily in their own immediate neighbourhood, but wherever the need seems greatest.

Their congregations are almost entirely of the middle class. There are not many wealthy members; and very few who keep carriages; but on the other hand of what are called the 'poor,' there are none save at the mission churches, and excepting a few old members who have seen better days and whose needs are cared for out of the Communion offerings. Nor are there any considerable number of the regular working classes, who are for the most part untouched either by the Churches themselves or by their missions. But within the wide limits of the 'middle class' they have their range; a range to be found usually in each congregation, but noticeable also in a general way between one congregation and another. Money is not lacking. These congregations pay their pastors liberally. The church buildings are kept in perfect order and the missions are well supported. When new buildings are required a special effort is made, and bazaars are a common expedient for raising money. They do not beg from outsiders, nor do they borrow systematically. With them a debt is something that has to be paid. Though not people of large incomes they are for the most part prosperous.

With them prosperity and religion go hand in hand. This they readily recognise, thanking God for His good gifts, and praying that they may use them rightly for their own advantage and that of others. There is no trace of sourness or severity in their theories of life. Pleasure is not tabooed. The young are trusted and encouraged. Happiness is directly aimed at, but is associated with the performance of duty: duty to themselves, and to each other, and in various ways to the world around. Their pastors preach this ideal and boldly act up to it. They use their churches without hesitation for any purpose which is not actually

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irreligious. Concerts, popular lectures, debates on social or political questions; all find a place. Even on Sunday, in special services, they do not hesitate to combine the mundane with the spiritual. All may be done to the glory of God; but the immediate object is the brightening and deepening and widening of human lives. It is not by individual units according to High Church methods, nor as a concourse of strangers as with the large Evangelical Mission services, but in the main as families that their people are handled and held. Such work may be thought to fail, if the saving of souls by the preaching of Christ be the ultimate aim, but it is undoubtedly a wholesome and lasting influence for good.

Young people are the life of these Churches, just as of every individual family. They form the choir and organize concerts, devoting hard work to the necessary training. They are the members of the debating society, and they crowd to the lectures. Among themselves they get up minor clubs of all kinds. The pastor is *ex-officio* at the head of everything, and perhaps once a year takes his place as president of cricket club or choral union. It is a common practice in these Churches to aim the evening service about once a month specially at the young and then, after the service, there is often a social gathering of young men, in order that they and their pastor may become better acquainted.

Special religious teaching is not neglected. There are Bible-classes for young men and young women; but the pastor's aim is to interest them all in the life of the congregation and to find them work to do, either as teachers in the Sunday schools, as mission workers, or in some other post connected with the organization.

Those who attend the churches are all in effect of one social level, but with the Sunday school and the mission, class distinctions come in. The little children

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of the members receive their religious instruction at their mother's knee, and need no Sunday school, though those who live near may attend. Thus these institutions, even when held at the church itself, are mainly filled by the working-class children from round about, while to the mission buildings come the children of the poorer people, boys, girls and infants, who swarm in the quarters where the missions are planted. The parents of these children do not attend the services either in church or mission-hall to any great extent, unless it be on some special occasion, such as Harvest Festival or Sunday school anniversary; but every mission has its social agencies: provident clubs, penny banks, temperance societies, Bands of Hope, boys' gymnasiums, girls' sewing classes and mothers' meetings. These last are in some cases constituted on a very large scale and are so conducted as to become in reality religious week-day services for women.

For the teaching in the Sunday schools and for the management of all these undertakings, volunteers are required, and so is money. The parent church finds both, and in this way provides for her people, and especially for her young people, the exercise and discipline of 'Christian Endeavour.' The schools are managed by a superintendent, a man of years and experience, who is frequently willing to give all his spare time to this work. The mission itself, as needing daily care, is usually in charge of a paid missionary; but a 'mission band,' which often conducts open-air services, is constituted to assist and support him. The operations of these missions are in several cases on a huge scale. Including the work of its own Sunday school, which is of quite the same character, one of the Congregationalist churches has over 2600 children on its Sunday school registers, and provides a volunteer staff of 284 teachers. In another instance there is a mothers' meeting with over six hundred members,

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who quite fill the mission chapel on Monday evening, with an overflow meeting next night.

At present I am not seeking to measure the influence of this work on the classes for whose benefit it is undertaken, but desire rather to lay stress on the part played by it in the lives and moral development of the young middle-class members of these great Congregational Churches.

The wide sympathies and untiring energy of the ministers, and the inexhaustible eloquence of their pulpit utterances; the excellence and congregational character of the music; the dignity and beauty of the buildings used, and their appropriateness for their purpose; make these Churches the most complete and successful religious organizations in North London. Of the friendly human atmosphere that prevails, and of what is lacking of religious sentiment, I shall speak later when I attempt to compare various religious ideals one with another.

The work of the Baptists in this district differs not very much from that of the Congregationalists. They draw their adherents from practically the same classes, but with a larger admixture of working men. They, too, have in most cases their literary societies and clubs for cricket, football, cycling and lawn tennis, but there is a more definitely religious tone about all they do. On the other hand, they undertake less missionary work. Of their churches there are about ten in the part of the North London district we are now describing, with seating room for as many thousand, but not more than half filled at any ordinary service.

The Wesleyans have also about ten churches in this district. They are linked in the usual circuits, and the poorer churches become practically missions run by the richer. They all seem rather to lack life, and at any rate present no especially noteworthy features. They have no share in the remarkable

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missionary enterprise that has been developed by this body in recent years, of which, more particularly in Central and Eastern London, I shall have occasion to speak later.

In this district there is nothing special to be said of the Strict Baptists or of the minor Methodist Churches. The Brethren have a large church in Upper Clapton, with several off-shoots beyond the London boundary in Wood Green, Tottenham and Walthamstow. They are a body of very earnest and sincere Christians. The Agapemonites have a church near Clapton Common, noticeable for the elaborate symbolic carved stonework of the building, while near Highbury Station is found the solitary example of a congregation of the Sandemanians, split into two sections. In the same district the Swedenborgians undertake an active propaganda amongst those who are dissatisfied with the teachings of other sects. They have lectures and class meetings as well as Sunday and week-day services, and social gatherings amongst their own congregation with occasional concerts and dances, got up by the young people, 'who are given free scope in this matter, it being desired to make the church in every way attractive to them.' In fact this church falls in completely with the *genius loci*.

The Unitarians also have an interesting and successful organization, which deserves notice.* The church is on Highgate Hill, and is a considerable centre of social and educational work. The most remarkable feature in their organization is a reading-room used by all classes, with a library of seven thousand volumes. Of the fifteen hundred families who take out books only eleven are Unitarians. 'Our people,' it was explained, 'have books at home.' The reading-room is crowded. It is open nightly, except

* We regret to say that the minister of this church has died since our inquiry was made.

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Monday and Thursday, when the room (which is also the school-room) is needed for other purposes. No charge is made, and small indeed are the sums that are voluntarily placed in the box. Yet its success is due to the fact that neither trouble nor money are spared. The leading magazines, religious periodicals of all shades of opinion (a line of literature which no free library supplies), ladies' papers, literary papers, and illustrated journals, as well as the daily press, all find a place. And the range of printed matter offered is reflected in the persons using the place, who are of every class. The library, too, is kept well supplied with important new books; their cost being defrayed by the fines imposed when books are kept too long—a very perfect instance of indirect taxation. Otherwise the use of the library is a gift, freely made and, it would seem, freely received. Besides the reading-room and library there is, connected with this church, a social institute, with a membership of about two hundred, of whom one-fourth are their own people, and lantern lectures, concerts, &c., are given. There are also University Extension lectures, 'only second to those at Gresham College for numbers,' for which text-books are furnished by the library, and the regular educational classes include drawing, painting and music. In addition to all this there is, as usual, a Sunday school and Band of Hope. More class-rooms are projected; and, meanwhile, the Sunday school overflows into the church.

The Roman Catholics have on Highgate Hill a great propagandist establishment called the Retreat of St. Joseph, with a domed church that is almost a cathedral. It is the headquarters of the Passionist Fathers. They undertake parochial duties over a large district lying mostly outside of London, but their main work, and the main object for which the order was established in England, is that of conversion. Like

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the Swedenborgians, they seek those who are not satisfied with the religion they have rather than those who have none. In this matter it is said they have been very successful, and that more than half their regular congregation are converts, while those who fill the church in the evening, many of whom are drawn by the fame of its music, are to a large extent non-Catholics. They attract the middle and upper middle class. Such as there are of lower middle and working class, or of the poor, who attend, would be, as a rule, Catholics by birth. It is a favourite church, and for its sake Catholics come to live in the neighbourhood.

The total number of Roman Catholics in North London is not large and they are dispersed over the entire area. Two of their churches in Hackney I have passed without mention, together with the Retreat of St. Scholastica (which does no propagandist work), and besides that belonging to the Passionist Fathers there are three churches in the district we are now dealing with, but none of them are of any importance. They shepherd their scattered flocks as well as they can and take a modest part in the conversion of England.

The Church of England under middle-class auspices is active and successful.

Out of thirty-five parish churches which may be counted in the northern part of the district, there are eleven which, whether nominally High or Low, do actually in their efforts to attract, to hold and to employ their people, follow pretty closely the methods of the Congregationalists, and adopt similar plans for fulfilling their duty to the neighbouring poor. The others are made up of eight old-fashioned Evangelical churches, eight again in which the ritual is High, and eight of which the organization is strictly and successfully

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parochial. All, or nearly all, have good congregations drawn almost entirely from the middle classes. They pay their way, being many of them without endowment.

The churches of each type are to be found together in groups, suggesting some relation to the character of the population they serve. Of those of Congregationalist type, the best example is All Saints', Upper Holloway. The attendance here is strictly middle class, the church always full and even crammed, and the proportion of men who come large. 'You can always' (the vicar claims) 'get men if you cater for them.' 'You must do away with silly hymns and with platitudes from the pulpit.' There is a popular service once a month, when some question of social, political or intellectual interest is dealt with; and congregational life is fostered by a literary and debating society, by tennis and recreation clubs, and *soirées*. In one of his addresses, the vicar says, "I never tire of telling you, for it is what I believe with my whole heart, that everything that is done for the benefit of our fellows, whether it be what men call secular or religious, may be for the glory of God. All work that tends to the common good is work for the King. All work is Divine work if it be for the comfort, the well-being, the educating, the helping and the uplifting of the race." Besides the church itself there is a mission church, together with two mission-halls and two club-rooms, and of his congregation 220 are counted as doing work of some kind for the church. So, too, St. James', Holloway, is a great middle-class preaching centre. The poor never come, but have their special services (which they do not attend) at the mission building. It is the same with others. Of one of the clergy it is critically said, 'He makes his work too much a business, run for success;' but the success is achieved and the results are good.

In these cases personalities are strongly marked. This is shown in our notes. It can be observed in the

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description given of the men. Pulpit appearance is of great importance. For example, we read: 'Fine head and great shock of hair;' 'Plain, bright, humorous face;' 'Frank, almost jovial tone;' 'Good presence, muscular, attractive;' 'Massive, grey-haired man;' and with more than one a non-clerical appearance is mentioned. Or as to the character of the eloquence, 'Emotional, succeeds as a preacher,' is said of one. 'Easy capacity, impressive,' of another. Though frequently said of Nonconformist ministers, it is not often that such things as these are considered and come to be reported of the clergy of the Church of England.

The methods adopted are not always approved by the more old fashioned. One of these clergy, an old man, whose own preaching has ceased to attract the worshippers who formerly filled his beautiful church, speaks with genuine detestation of the combination of 'attractions' with religion: 'A *missa cantata* and a seven-minute sermon.' Worse still in his eyes is the use of such auxiliaries as 'cards, smoking, dancing, dramatic performances, and entertainments of all kinds,' culminating in the abomination of 'taking a Bible-class to the theatre for a treat.' 'You may get people to church, but not by these means will they be made Christians.' It is no doubt a somewhat jaundiced view, but serves well to indicate, by the channel of adverse criticism, what seems to me the peculiar character of this phase of happy, successful, middle-class religious development.

Of the eight essentially Evangelical churches the most successful seems to be St. Paul's, Holloway, where admittedly the work is more congregational than parochial, but the spirit of it is more missionary than social. The vicar was formerly a missionary in China, and he has formed a band of thirty workers who devote themselves to open-air preaching among the poor. His congregation is of the middle class. At St. Luke's, Holloway, which is the least successful

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of the eight, the tone is despondent. It is 'a hard fight to carry on God's work' in face of the seductions of Ritualism, secularism and pleasure seeking, and with active competition from Protestant Nonconformist chapels of every kind, and it is complained that the greatest offenders in the providing of 'attractions' are the clergy themselves; which again points by implication to the bright Congregationalist spirit of the surrounding churches.

I have attempted to draw a distinction between Congregational and Congregationalist methods. By the first is merely indicated the breakdown of the parochial system, which as to church attendance is in greater or lesser degree common to all London. But by 'Congregationalist' is implied a peculiar use of social life in connection with religious work and congregational unity.

High churches as a rule are not parochial. They strongly attract or strongly repel, and here, as elsewhere, draw adherents from a wide area. Where they are parochial, as in Stoke Newington, Stamford Hill, and Upper Clapton, the congregations consist mainly of women. Beyond definiteness of doctrinal teaching, reliance is placed upon the brightness of the service offered, and it is remarkable that at St. Clement's, Barnsbury, it is the competition of the Nonconformists that is felt rather than that of the Evangelical churches, the reason given being that the services at the chapels are brighter and more effective.

Finally there are the eight churches which fill truly parochial positions. Of these perhaps the most successful are in Stoke Newington, a district which is referred to as having 'strong religious traditions.' 'The middle class all belong to church or chapel, and the artisans attend better than elsewhere.' In the parish of St. Andrew there are no social difficulties of any kind. The church is well filled by an appreciative congregation. In the mother parish of St. Mary the old

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church and the new stand opposite to each other, forming, with the trees of Clissold Park, a singularly beautiful scene. The old-fashioned church, with its square pews, offers an old-fashioned service to old-fashioned worshippers; while the other, a highly ornate church of almost cathedral size, is filled by the larger numbers who follow the fashion of the day. There is here a great parochial organization. All Saints', too, lying a little further south, is quite successful. The church is the pride of the vicar, who has seen it grow up out of the little iron mission-building to which he first came some thirty years ago. Its services, which are well attended, are buttressed by lectures, concerts and dramatic entertainments. Other churches of this type, all of which are useful and active, lie between Holloway Road and the railway.

Thus outer North London has many well-filled churches. Its religious life runs strongly. Every denomination is well supported, and from among their supporters each can draw a body of volunteers to help in the choir, if that be needed, to teach in the schools, and to push forward missionary enterprises in the poor streets of adjacent districts.

Of the regular working class in this district we hear little. One or two Nonconformist churches claim to have won their support to some extent; but with it seem to have lost that of the class above. It is very difficult to combine the two. Almost the only successful attempt is found in the parish of St. Peter's, Highgate Hill, of which Mr. Osborne is vicar. This was the scene of Mr. Ditchfield's first men's services, which have been maintained by his successors. There is in the same parish a Primitive Methodist congregation, composed almost entirely of working men, with a homely man of the people for their minister. Between this body and the church very friendly relations are

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maintained. A few others there are, not particularly successful, in which religion has largely given way to political propaganda; but on the whole the regular working classes are untouched.

The failure of the religious side of the work of all these churches and chapels amongst the poor is also admitted on all hands, great though the efforts are, and much is said of the demoralizing results of the ways in which charitable relief is given, and of competition in treats and entertainments. 'The poor remain outside, but come for help;' 'they expect the Church to help them;' 'are friendly, of course, because we give them so much help;' 'they come in hope of charitable relief.' 'We cannot visit without giving. The mission is the recognised channel for the charity of the well-to-do, and relief is expected.' 'The poor,' says one, 'are great cadgers and quite indifferent to religion, unless wanting something. They are not hostile, they merely "can't be bothered."' The overlapping of 'every conceivable religious influence' is spoken of. Some abandon the attempt. 'We have never seen an opportunity to start a mission without interfering with some already at work,' says one. In another case there is no mothers' meeting, and, it is added, 'these institutions are abused.' They are even spoken of as 'miserable work;' and the mothers as 'a hardened set,' managing to attend two or three meetings. Finally a Scotch Presbyterian minister, one of the wisest, is altogether sceptical of the results of the free provision of mission services. 'The people,' he thinks, 'should take the burthen on themselves.'

The work attempted, of which the results are so unsatisfactory and disheartening, extends in some cases to the southern portion of the district, but, for the most part, the poor who are its object live in the poor parts of the north. The southern parishes have difficulties of their own.

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§ 3

EVANGELICAL WORK AND METHODS

Roughly speaking, the North London Railway forms the dividing line between North and South, as here adopted. On the border line there are five parishes—St. Jude, St. Paul, St. Mary Magdalene, St. Clement, and St. Matthias, Barnsbury. The two last-named I have included in the southern portion of the district, in which I count eighteen parishes. Of these fourteen are Evangelical and three are High Church, while one, which is neither High nor Low, assumes successfully a simply parochial position. Of the fourteen Evangelical churches eleven are practically empty and for the most part inactive. Of the three that are fairly successful, two, St. Mary and St. Stephen, lie near together, a little to the north of most of this dead district; and the third, St. Peter, by the canal, only succeeds, if it is to be counted success, by the employment of very sensational methods; while the incumbent of one of the other parishes near, himself a very vigorous man, described his parish as perfectly dead: 'the place an iceberg; the people as hard as nails:' 'officers, choir and congregation could all have got into one omnibus.' In like manner, of the three High churches two are practically empty, while the one that is fairly filled relies on an eclectic congregation drawn from outside the parish. The Church of England is here at a low ebb. Its only successful work is with the children. Many of the elementary day schools belong to the churches and all of them have large Sunday schools.*

The generally Evangelical character of these churches is traced to the facts that the patronage is largely in

* One of the most hopelessly unsatisfactory and inactive of these churches has since been revolutionized and is now extremely High and very active—with what result remains to be seen.

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the hands of the Vicar of Islington, and that this living is itself in the hands of an Evangelical Trust, the members of which are renewed by co-optation. But except in so far as change might bring some more life, and variety some healthy rivalry, there is little real ground for the natural assumption that the churches fail because they preach Evangelical doctrine. The failure is mainly due to the class of residents. The middle class has gone, replaced by a non-church-going working class, and the poor are no more easy to deal with here than elsewhere.

The Nonconformists are not a whit more successful than the Church. They, too, maintain large Sunday schools, but their regular chapels are all empty, and the result of their mission work is small. Several of the chapels, that prospered here 'while the shop-keepers still lived over their shops' (*i.e.*, before the middle class left), have been entirely closed. Their place is taken by special missions, connected, in most cases, with an active church elsewhere. With these missions the regular working class will have nothing to do. The poor and the degraded are sought, and for them 'a great deal is done with small results.' We hear of kind-hearted ladies, without discretion, constantly imposed upon. And there are mutual recriminations. One of the clergy complains of those who corrupt the people with teas, and another, the numbers of whose congregation are sustained in the same way, speaks of Mildmay Deaconesses as 'over-doing their bribery.' The poor 'will only go where they are helped,' and that the religious agencies have practically no influence upon them is confirmed by many.

The minister of a chapel belonging to the Methodist New Connexion, whose own little congregation consists of decent and prosperous working-class people, not two of whom he says could 'give half a sovereign

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without thinking very carefully about it,' undertook, with the assistance of his workers, to visit from house to house among the working-class people of the neighbourhood. He reports that they were very well received. The people like to be called on, 'not because they hope to get something by it, but because they like to know that somebody cares about their welfare.' They, however, will not put themselves out in the least to come to church, but 'spend their Sunday lazily.' Pure indifference is the characteristic; and nowhere else, neither among the colliers of Stafford nor the dockers of Hull, has he found its equal.

Visiting was also extensively tried in this locality by a Congregational minister, who, succeeding to an almost dead cause, believes that the church is to be saved by this method. He and his helpers visited every house and tenement within a quarter-mile radius, with the result of raising the congregation from twenty-four to fifty-two in the morning, and from fifty-two to one hundred and fourteen in the evening.

The Free Methodists, too, have a church, now worked as the 'King's Cross Mission,' which to some extent touches the working class. The minister and his wife have devoted themselves body and soul to the work. They were determined to fill the church on week-days as well as Sundays, and found good concerts the most successful means of doing this. They give secular music, but open with prayer; and in the same spirit they combine pastoral visiting with the distribution of cheap and good literature. The old congregation had all gone, and in these ways they sought and have found a new one. But the work is not self-supporting and tends to be less so, and to become more and more a mission to the poor, which the working class will then surely avoid. Besides good music and cheap literature, it now offers cheap food. Penny tickets representing a pennyworth of

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food are freely distributed, and the requisite funds are supplied from outside by the Free Methodist Connexion.

Thus is the seemingly hopeless task of Evangelizing the masses shared between the Church and the Nonconformists. The methods employed are usually the same in every case. The mothers' meeting and its adjuncts; the Sunday school and all that goes with it; these form the staple work of every mission, whatever the denomination, and there is a good deal of overlapping; for where the poor are, there the missions are crowded together. We meet here the first specimen of an independent 'Medical Mission,' though there are branches of this work connected with several of the larger Missions in East London. Those who seek medical advice have first to sit through a half-hour's religious service. They make no objection to this. It is very kindly meant and is doubtless better than sitting in sadness and silence as they might have to do anywhere else, but I conceive it to be absolutely futile as a means of 'spreading the Gospel.'

Another, and in this case an important, Evangelical development connected with the district, is that which goes by the name of 'Mildmay,' from having its headquarters in Mildmay Park, but the scope of its work is far wider. The Institution dates from 1860. The Conference Hall, in which Evangelistic services are held, was built in 1869, and round it a splendid group of buildings has arisen, including the Deaconesses' Training Home, a Memorial Hospital, and other buildings, all standing in garden grounds. The hospital, which is a Medical Mission on the largest scale, was established in memory of the Rev. William Pennefather and his wife, the founders of the Deaconesses' Institute. Theirs was the first attempt to regularise the service of women amongst Protestant churches, and the beautiful name 'Deaconess'

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was chosen by them. The movement has been widely followed, till now there is amongst Protestants no organized religious body of any size that does not recognise Sisterhoods of women who, generally marked by a distinguishing dress, and sometimes under vows, devote their lives to the work.

Deaconesses trained at Mildmay work in fifteen London parishes, not (it is explained) under, but always, it is intended, in harmony with the vicar. They take their instructions from headquarters. In two cases the work includes a Medical Mission, and some skill in the care of the sick is always part of the training given, while at the branch establishment on Newington Green, a little to the north of Mildmay, there is a home for those who take up nursing professionally.

Locally Mildmay shares to some extent the work of St. Jude's Parish, of which Mr. Pennefather was formerly incumbent. The Conference Hall, seated for over two thousand people, has become an important centre of Evangelical missionary propaganda. Its great use, as its name implies, is for 'Conferences,' or special meetings of the body in connection with their religious work; but regular Sunday services are also held in it. Some pains is taken to avoid interference with the parish churches, a men's Bible-class, over by half-past ten, being held instead of any regular service on Sunday morning. Services are, however, held in the afternoon and evening. These draw from all round, and doubtless other congregations suffer somewhat when any exceptional attraction is offered at Mildmay, but at other times the huge hall is often very poorly filled and looks bare and desolate with three hundred or four hundred people in it. The religion preached is entirely unsectarian. Like the great mission centres of East London, it offers religion without the responsibility of membership; but its attractions do not seem to be scouted as those of the

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East London Missions are, as 'religious pleasuring' or 'gipsying'; and no complaint of its competition is heard. In its financial methods it is irreproachable. £30,000 a year is obtained and spent, but Mildmay never begs; and for its own immediate purposes never even has a collection. The work was started, and has been carried on in faith. Once a fortnight there is a 'financial prayer meeting' when they 'put their wants before God.' They never fail to get what they require, and, if I may say so, the accounts are kept as though God would audit them.

§ 4

SPECIAL AREAS AND THEIR TREATMENT

The areas of special difficulty are found to the North as well as to the South. I have already enumerated the principal ones. Beginning at the North we have that lying off Seven Sisters Road, centring in, and practically consisting of, Campbell Road. This is one of the cases in which house property has, for some reason, lost character completely. The vicar of the parish reported that Campbell Road had never had a fair chance; for many years it was left unfinished, unpaved, unmade and unlighted. It was little better than an open sewer, people threw their slops and garbage out of the window into the streets, and the houses were made filthy by the mud and muck which was carried in on men's feet. It had therefore always attracted an undesirable class. But it has probably suffered to some extent in recent years from the advent of some of the worst characters cleared out of central London. The street contains a number of common lodging houses, and as houses fall vacant they are usually taken for this purpose.

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The Congregationalists have two missions here which divide the district between them. One of these places in Lennox Road is supported by New Court Chapel, Tollington Park, at a short distance to the north, and the following extract from notes supplied to us by one of the earliest workers tells at once the story of this mission and that of Campbell Road, and confirms the account of the latter given by the vicar.

'About twenty-five years ago,' it says, 'I resided in Lennox Road. The houses were cheap and the neighbourhood was very respectable, occupied by well-to-do families of the middle class, clerks and artizans, but there was one dark spot, and that was half of Campbell Road between Seven Sisters Road and Paddington Street. At this time—twenty-five years ago—I was a member of the New Court Bible-class. One Sunday afternoon a little girl tapped at the door and asked if someone could come and help at the mission as the president had not come. I was sent, and upstairs in the first floor front room I found a young woman trying to teach about twenty girls, and a few boys disturbing them. This constituted the New Court Mission on a Sunday afternoon, and there was service in the evening at which, when I went to preach, the congregation consisted of four women. The mission began to grow, and I became one of the visitors for the district. One half of Campbell Road was different from the other half, inhabited by navvies and builders' labourers with large families living in tenements of one or two rooms. Wet or frosty weather stopped their wages—most of the women had to work; children neglected; no home comforts for the men; to the public-house in the evening—I have known men, come from the country to work on the railway as plate-layers, live in this road and become wrecks. Later the three best houses in the better part of the road were let to families living each in one room, and a large house at the

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corner of Paddington Street was turned into a lodging-house. From that time the respectable people began to leave. Houses were let in one or two-room tenements and overcrowded. I have known as many as thirty-three persons living in one house. Campbell Road got such a bad name that no one would live in it, except persons that had large families and could not live anywhere else. The place became a pest, and the parish cleared out some of the overcrowded houses. Two of them bought cheap were turned into lodging-houses. This proved profitable; others embarked in the same business, and the results are loafing, immorality, and crime.'

The writer thanks God that he, a working man, has been called to such a work as that of this mission, and speaks enthusiastically of its beneficent action, with its sick club, Sunday school and penny bank, and especially of its latest offshoot, an institute for outcast lads for which seventy-two lads have been gathered off the streets.

From the other mission, which adjoins its parent church at the corner of Seven Sisters Road and Palmerston Road, we get an equally bad account of this locality. Campbell Road is spoken of as the worst street in North London, the resort of criminals and tramps. The mission lady, they say, is always well received, but not so the police. This mission confines itself to Palmerston Road, and to the lower part of Campbell Road, and finds its greatest difficulty in the shifting character of the population; so that, as they put it, 'the good done is often lost to their eyes,' and the report goes on to speak, in the usual language of these documents, of 'some disappointments' as well as 'much encouragement' and of 'pegging away' with 'slow results.' It would I fear be difficult to find any measure of what is done in improvement shown in the district itself.

The appearance of the street, and the account given

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of it by the police, do not soften the picture. A street fairly broad, with houses of three storeys, not ill-built, many being occupied as common lodging-houses; broken windows, dirty curtains, doors open, a litter of paper, old meat tins, heads of fish and stalks of vegetables. It is a street where thieves and prostitutes congregate. The thieves' live in the common lodging-houses, paying 4*d* a night, and the prostitutes, generally two together, in a single furnished room, which they rent at four or five shillings a week. They are the lowest class of back-street prostitute, and an hour or two after midnight they may be seen returning home. The police say that the missions cannot touch the denizens of Campbell Road at all, but that they do good to a class above the lowest.

The Hampden Road area includes a little group of three or four streets off Holloway Road. It is divided between the parishes of All Saints and St. John, each church having a mission-hall, as have also the Baptists, assisted by a City missionary. The inhabitants are poor labourers and costermongers, with some thieves. The houses have 'loafer' stamped upon their walls, the bricks blackened and shiny where they have been leant against, the mortar picked or kicked away by idle hands and feet; women and girls standing in the open door-ways, and small children wearing as best they may the ragged cast-off clothing of their elders. The Church mission-hall in Hampden Road, with broken windows and paintless doors, fails to set a good example. It is as shabby as the houses and as ragged as the children.

The houses in this area are mostly of three storeys, with two rooms on each floor, and there are three or four families in each house. One of these houses, recently closed as insanitary, contained, the missionary informed us, seven families consisting of thirty-two

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persons; there being one family in each room. The windows were broken and stuffed with paper. Another house, which we ourselves visited, contained twenty-four persons. On the ground-floor, in two rooms and a kitchen, lived a man, wife, and twelve children, of whom the eldest was a girl of nineteen and the youngest a baby. On the first floor were a man, wife and two children; above, in the front room, an old man dangerously ill in bed, his wife and two grown children; and in the back room, an old woman and her son of thirty, liable to fits. Is it to be wondered, with such homes, that those who visit also give?

Queensland Road, the next black and blue spot, is a *cul-de-sac* lying athwart the railway lines. The police class it with Campbell Road for viciousness, but its population is more mixed. Some quite respectable people are to be found amongst them, as well as thieves and prostitutes. It is said that those who have been most improved have left, but also that the worst have gone, because they find the surroundings too good. Another of the City missionaries visits here, and the parish church has a mission-hall. The vicar traces considerable improvement in his time, claiming, albeit modestly, the credit for the church, and being in this corroborated by an independent witness. Increased assessment is adduced as a proof that a real improvement has been made. If, as the vicar believes, the worst characters have left, they may perhaps be found in Campbell Road, or in the almost equally low quarter by George's Road, to the south of Holloway Road, where the people are described as costers, casuals, criminals and cadgers. Here the children cannot be mixed with those who attend the Sunday schools of the church, so there is a special Sunday evening school for them. Otherwise the church at the time of our inquiry seemed to be solely

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a dispenser of charity, taking largely the form of soup, sold below cost or given. During the year twenty thousand quarts of soup and over two thousand loaves of bread were supplied at about half cost on the average. A City missionary also visits here.

An effort to raise the people of quite a different kind is that of Dr. Gwyther in the Beaconsfield Buildings, in the parish of St. Michael's, Bingfield Street, hard by the Great Northern Terminus in York Road. This building is an early specimen of block dwellings; a badly-lighted grimy place. It contains no less than 480 tenements, and accommodates a population of three thousand souls, and, though the name is now an anachronism, one of the blocks is still known as 'the thieves' cage.' The people do not welcome the ministrations of the Church, and undoubtedly they are a rough lot; but many of them have proved amenable to the influence of Dr. Gwyther exercised in quite a unique way. He came by chance eight years ago to look up a case of distress, and struck by the low character of the buildings, he decided to try what he could do by taking some rooms there, coming there every evening and being 'at home' to his neighbours. His wife shared this enterprise. Many of the people were suspicious of ulterior motives, but his attitude gradually reassured them. 'Don't come if you don't want to'—he would say, adding 'I thought you might like to have a room to sit in and to hear some music occasionally.' This beginning gradually expanded into a regular club with provision for men and boys, billiard tables, and gymnasium, under a members' committee of management. The rent of the rooms is Dr. Gwyther's contribution; and he has paid for the fittings; and last, but not least, he and Mrs. Gwyther give their time and their company. Mrs. Gwyther has a club for girls and gives them dancing lessons.

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The clubs do not depend on Dr. Gwyther's presence. When he is absent the committee see to it all, and although the final authority rests with Dr. Gwyther this is not often used. Men pay 1*d* per week (if they don't pay, they can't attend), women and girls ½*d*, and the boys usually 3*d*, being 1*d* for the club, 1*d* for the gymnasium, and 1*d* for football. It is explained that boys can afford to pay better than the men, for they are all in work and have plenty of pocket money. The members and the inhabitants of the buildings generally take great pride in their club.

Beer used to be allowed in the club, but after a trial the committee decided against it, considering that the 'pub' was near enough for those who wanted it. The 'buildings,' it is said, drink and gamble a great deal, but 'a drunkard would not dare to put his nose inside the club.'

The aim of Dr. Gwyther's work is entirely secular, and the Bible woman, who, while frightened of these people, recognises the buildings as her special charge, was shocked at the music played in the club on Sunday. But she admits that good has been done. The relief of poverty is no part of the design. In winter soup is made in the club kitchen to be sold to any of the inhabitants at cost price, and if any case of starvation or destitution occurred in the buildings Dr. Gwyther would relieve it; but such cases are rare. There might be perhaps one in a hard winter. Such assistance as may be sought, and is often given, takes the shape of a loan, as between friends, to be refunded at convenience; without legal obligation or any formality, but in most cases duly repaid.

Whether due to Dr. Gwyther's influence or not, there has certainly been some improvement in the buildings. Ten years ago to have been convicted of some offence against the law at some period of their lives was common enough among the inhabitants.

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Now, it is claimed, there is hardly a case. The buildings were then, Dr. Gwyther thinks, as low as they could go ; now there are worse places, and a move out no longer means necessarily a move up. Families are gradually becoming more settled. They used always to be in and out. They are still very uncouth, but seem to be behaving rather less roughly to their religious teachers. The Salvation Army when they first came were pelted with stones and rubbish, but later were disregarded and now no longer come. The attitude of indifference is found more discouraging than hostility. But the observances of religion are not entirely neglected and the door is always open for its influence. Many of the women belong to mothers' meetings, and after childbirth it is customary to be churched. The babies, too, are usually baptized, as 'the fair thing' for the child, with an eye to its future, the parents remembering that they were baptized themselves in their day, and Sunday school teaching is valued for the children.

Still they are a very rough lot. Drink and gambling are their vices. They gamble more than they drink, and the women share this passion. The men are railway 'bank' men and platelayers, carmen, builders' labourers, handy men and other industrial hangers on. The more respectable earn about 24*s* a week, and most of them are some three months in the year out of work. Most of those who are members of the club seem to be following some employment different to that which they claimed when they first joined. None ever had been skilled men. The women do mantle making, or are employed in jam and confectionery works, or in the making of paper bags, or at laundries. The children all attend the Board schools, and on leaving school readily find work. They claim their independence early. The family tie is weak.

In all that Dr. Gwyther had to tell us there is not

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Careful management of the property, and its improvement, and the regular collection of the rent, do not by any means comprise all that is done. Savings are collected; there is a library for the use of the tenants; a room is hired for lectures and concerts; and there is a boys' brigade. In all more than twenty ladies are employed. There is no religious propaganda, nor a direct appeal to any religious motive, but otherwise it is almost a mission, and is recognised as a school for those who hope to find in such work a career of usefulness.

Such work has a sound economic as well as moral basis, and tends to spread. In this case Quinn's Buildings, on the opposite side of the street, which remained as bad as ever and even grew worse, because they became a refuge for those who moved across, has recently passed into the hands of some of Mrs. Blyth's associates. And even if the whole theory and practice adopted be not followed by others, the example has its effect and the tone of the neighbourhood rises.

The method chosen is radically different from that of a religious mission. The one begins with insisting upon order and cleanliness, decent behaviour, and the due payment of rent; and on this basis seeks to influence, or, if it must be so, drive away the disorderly or insolvent individual. The other begins with the individual, helping him to live and pay his way, and seeking by the Gospel message and by kindness to win him over to decency, order and religion, but content and even glad if the result is that he escapes from his wretched surroundings. It is not enough in the one case to point to the now orderly buildings in proof of success, nor in the other case to the persistent disorder in proof of failure. To judge fairly of either it is necessary to pursue the matter further, but it is very difficult to do so; difficult to disprove the claim of the missionary that his kindly hand and Gospel teaching have brought forth fruit unto salvation bodily and

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spiritual, however doubtful the claim may be; difficult to be sure that the order attained in well-managed buildings is not being counterpoised by fresh disorder springing up elsewhere.

Dr. Gwyther's attempt to influence his neighbours partakes in some degree the merits of both the other plans without their defects, but this is so mainly because it falls short of either. Its aim is much more limited. It moreover, perhaps, demands a more exceptional character to carry it on, and its extension on any large scale could not be looked for.

§ 5

RELIGION AND CLASS

The map seems to give the key to the situation, for the colours show in general outline the religious, no less than the social, features of the district. Where the streets are red, we find a vigorous middle-class religious development combined with active social life. Where the streets are pink, there is, as regards religion, a comparative blank. Where the colour is blue we have the missions, and step by step, as it deepens to black, the more hopeless becomes the task. From these broad conclusions there is no escape.

The mixed colour, purple, lying between blue and pink, indicates streets in which the comfortable working class and the poor live side by side, neither of these prevailing over the other to any great extent. In this case they, as individuals, may be supposed to follow the law of their class. And the missionaries find it out. Visiting from house to house the character of their reception quickly indicates the class of those within. But purple may also suggest a middle term

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in condition, pointing perhaps most often to a falling down from working-class independence towards the mission level. It is people of this kind that make the purple-tinted streets often less satisfactory to deal with than those that maintain the permanent steady, but never extreme, poverty indicated by light blue, and it will probably be from the light blue streets that the few come who attend the mission services from religious motives and nothing else, prepared to give rather than to get.

The other mixture of class, indicated by a red line upon the pink, denotes the presence in the same street of middle and working-class people; but another meaning has been found, in what is almost a distinct grade of small-salaried people, minor officials, and the upper ten of the working-class world. These people, who are more often on the upward than the downward tack, are sometimes religious and sometimes not. In De Beauvoir Town they do not seem to respond, and we had a similar account of them in Dalston; but it is probably otherwise in Stoke Newington and Highbury. Much depends on their antecedents and on the character of their employment, and much, too, on the habits of those whose way of life they seek to imitate. As a rule this class provides the most hopeful chance for the net of religious fishers of men.

The intermixture of class in many localities in this district is shown by the need of divisions according to grade in Sunday schools, gymnasiums, &c. We are told that contingents from different streets would never mix. In one case as regards the Summer treat three divisions are made; 'no treat;' 'pay towards it;' and 'pay nothing,' and in another case the gymnasium is open on three nights for different grades of children.

We may remind the reader that the line of class is not always that of poverty. There are many clerks,

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for instance, who though perhaps not poor from the subsistence point of view, are pinched owing to the increased requirements of life, and some even in great poverty who do not lose class.

Almost everywhere in London we shall find all classes on the same map, but nowhere more irregularly distributed than here, and in what follows this intermingling needs to be remembered.

The dominant social fact observable is the steady northward movement of the people. Throughout London movement from the centre outwards is noticeable, but in no part is it more marked than here. Those who come are poorer than those who go, and each district in turn grows poorer. Yet it may easily be that, as individuals, all are better off; that those who come are not so badly housed as before, while those who go have gone to better quarters.

A great impulse has been given to this movement by demolitions in the inner circle in connection with the Holborn Valley improvements and the making of Rosebery Avenue, and by the extension of business premises in Central London; but concurrently with the need thus created for house-room for the poor, and the consequent invasion by them of the available districts most adjacent to their old homes and their centres of employment, there has been, on the part of the well-to-do middle class, a tendency to move further out, a tendency born of prosperity. Their places are taken by a lower section of the middle class or by well-employed members of the working classes, all fully contented with the change they make; and under new conditions of housing room is made, in the general shuffle, for the outcasts from elsewhere as well as for natural increase; the whole result being a great additional population and a rapid change in the character of almost every part of the district. In the

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midst of many changes up and down, De Beauvoir Town (pronounced locally 'Bover') has maintained its old appearance and something even of its old character. De Beauvoir Square is surrounded by old-fashioned stone-built houses with diamond-shaped window panes; they may have been the habitation of the 'lean annuitants' of whom Charles Lamb speaks as living in the "suburban, northerly, retreats of Dalston and Shacklewell." Their present inhabitants are very respectable, but said to be poorer than might be supposed. The Sussex Hotel, a large public-house at the apex made by Ardlegh and Culford Roads, with flower-boxes above the door and on the first floor window-ledges, and a small railed-in space in front bright with daisies and geraniums, and its Assembly Rooms, has more the style of a county town hotel than a London public-house. It maintains a music licence, and the neighbourhood, its wives and its daughters, still go to entertainments there.

The outward impulse extends to the extreme North, where the poorest and worst, in their desire for cheaper houses or less stringent rules, cross the London boundary, as do the rich in search of pleasant gardens and green fields.

Amongst the incomers to the South-East of this district have been many Jews. Dalston and Canonbury are said to be among the first steps upwards of the Whitechapel Jew, and Highbury New Park is called the New Jerusalem.

The course of these changes has been greatly affected by the character of the houses built for or adapted to the use of the new population, or by other local circumstances. High Hill Ferry, by the Lea, just within the London boundary, is an old village still retaining many of its original characteristics. Five or six rowing clubs have here their boat-houses, and on the money spent by pleasure seekers a poor

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and very badly housed population depends. One corner of this place is a veritable Alsatia. With this offspring of pleasure may be coupled, or contrasted, the area subject to the baneful influence of the white-lead works in the South-East corner of the map near the canal. The worst employment, like the worst houses, may be said 'to attract' the poorest class, and the fact is stamped on the neighbouring streets. Just as the irregularity of work connected with the service of pleasure creates an Alsatia at Ferry Hill, so does the desperate character of the white-lead industry result in a gathering together of outcasts, prostitutes, and thieves near Shepperton Road. The North-West corner, near Hornsey, is said to have been ruined by bad building, having had everything else in its favour. The clearances in Somers Town for railroad extension sent a whole colony of very rough people to the badly built streets near Junction Road, and as a consequence it is even noted that 'crime has increased in Holloway.' Of the Tufnell Park area, from which the rich are now going, it is said that if the new houses are of the same kind as have been put up in Corinne and Hugo Roads, the whole neighbourhood will inevitably go down rapidly; for the poor and rough will press into it from all sides. But the owners of the large estates here seem to be alive to the danger.

Further illustrations of the importance of special local influences may be noticed. For instance, the good condition in which Highbury Fields have been kept for the public use since their transfer to the County Council is said to have arrested general deterioration, although decline in some of the best parts immediately adjacent to the Fields may have been hastened; and in some other places the character of particular estates has been sustained by restrictions as to licensed houses. On the other hand, to the East, in the parishes of St. Matthias (South Hornsey) and

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St. Faith, bordering upon Stoke Newington Road, social decay is reported as having reached so low a level that some streets are almost squalid; and as an explanation, it is stated that the houses were built too early to have any of the improvements which the middle and artisan classes now demand. Moreover, they were badly built, and have seen their best day, so that it is feared the district may reach a much lower level yet.

Of Islington it is reported that the lower middle class are 'absorbing the squares, dividing the houses and letting lodgings.' The square gardens then become neglected, no caretaker or gardener being employed, till the local authority comes to the rescue and re-opens them as public spaces.

The only large local centre of employment is the cattle market, and this, like the district round it, has gone down, being gradually superseded by Deptford and by the importation of dead meat. It has even been rumoured that the market will be closed. It is of potential value as an open-air space; but would be still more valuable as a garden and playground, for which purpose a portion of it has recently been acquired. More public gardens and playgrounds are needed. Near the market, especially, most of the streets are narrow, the houses high and gloomy, and quite unfit for child-life. There is, in the northern part of the district, some lack of places of amusement, but there are many signs of free expenditure. Brakes with pleasure parties are often seen; betting and gambling are rife, and immense prices have been paid for licensed houses in good situations.

In spite of the many difficulties connected with social deterioration, and in spite of the failure of religion to cope with them, there has undoubtedly been improve-

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ment. 'Less roughness, less brutality,' say the police. 'The present generation much more sober than the last, there has been a great decrease of rowdiness and savagery,' says Prebendary Shelford, of St. Mary's, Stoke Newington; and he adds that the difference in moral tone is due to a combination of causes, religious, educational and administrative, the main factor, a resultant of these, being the 'dawn of hope for the working man, who has begun to realize that he has ample opportunities to improve his position.' Dr. Barlow, till lately the Vicar of Islington, spoke of distinct improvement in the slums attributable chiefly to the activity of the sanitary authorities.

Only as to drink can no general improvement be recorded. Drinking habits, it is said, are increasingly prevalent among women, and among young people of both sexes. With men, though as much, or perhaps more, may be spent in this way, there is less drunkenness.

We even hear it said that there is an improved religious tone—more humility, and less smug respectability—which is a remarkable commentary on the prevailing change from middle to lower middle class among those touched by religion.

The empty churches and hopeless missionary enterprises of the southern part of this district, where the poor and working classes mostly live, and where are found, as lodgers, great numbers of a nondescript lower middle class employed in the City, show that the religious methods which will touch these people have yet to be found. A great strain has also been put on Local Government and Elementary Education to keep pace with the growth and changing character of the population. Improvement, to any great extent, could hardly be expected under the circumstances. To say that things are not becoming worse is to record a considerable success; and it may be hoped that the

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time of change will end, and that upon a firmer basis suitable social structures may arise: churches which the people make their own; schools which succeed in softening manners and which may lead to polytechnic developments; and a local administration which, in a naturally healthy district, such as this, shall do something more than stem the forces of physical degradation.

§ 6

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

I have described the efforts of the religious bodies to improve the conditions of life where they are lowest in this district and to deal with the demoralization caused by the influx of a mass of poor and degraded people. Taken as a whole they fail. At most what we see is a gradual humanizing effect and in this direction the influence of the schools is greater than that of the churches. Underlying the failures and successes of these moral agencies are the conditions of housing and of health; and it is perhaps not too much to say that with a population increasing in numbers and changing in character as this has done, Local Government plays the first part in maintaining or securing public welfare.

In Islington the management of municipal affairs seems to be both honest and energetic, and shows a good deal of vigorous enterprise. The task has been one of great responsibility and no little difficulty, and on the whole it has been well performed. The physical health of the people is perhaps the best available test of successful administration, and the administration stands this test very well. In spite of the change in character

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from upper to lower middle, and from lower middle to working class, over the whole area, involving all the disadvantages connected with the adapting of houses to purposes for which they were never built; in spite of the advent of thousands of a very low class migrating from Central London; and of having in connection with all this to deal with a vastly increased population; the death-rate remains low. It has even decreased, and it never was high. The district is naturally healthy. The Eastern part rests on a bed of gravel, and only where the clay crops up at Caledonian Road and Upper Holloway can fault be found with Nature. Good sanitation has thus had a favourable opportunity; and the difficulties of dealing with the sewage of an extremely rapid increase in population, which have been great, have been, to a very large extent, overcome.

The authorities have done something to add to the advantages afforded by the gaps made by railway lines and by the cattle market in regard to fresh air by the clearing of new spaces, and have done a good deal (though more remains to be done) in the way of taking charge of neglected squares and old churchyards in order to make them available as public gardens; Thornhill Square might be well utilized in this way. As to the cleaning of the streets also, and the prompt removal of ashes and rubbish, there is little room for complaint, except that here, as elsewhere, the poorer streets are apt to be neglected. The laying of asphalt in these streets is strongly advocated. They could then be easily kept clean and would be fit for the children to play in.

There are excellent public baths and wash-houses (three sets), and municipal electric lighting has been successfully undertaken on an extensive scale.

The Islington Guardians, though a little more strict than they used to be, give out-relief rather freely;

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with the usual result that the allowance to each individual is meagre, and has to be supplemented from other sources. The difficulties of administration have been aggravated by the incoming of many of the shiftless pushed out by clearances in Inner London. The workhouses and infirmary were for a long period overcrowded, and now, after many delays, a great new Infirmary has been erected at a cost of over £300,000.

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DESCRIPTIVE NOTES. MAP D. (VOL. I., CHAPTER III.). North London.

Adjoining Maps—E. Hackney (p. 114); S. East and West Central (Vol. II.); W. Inner North-West (p. 196).

General Character.—The map comprises the districts of Stoke Newington, South Hornsey, Ball's Pond, and De Beauvoir Town on the East; Highbury, Canonbury and Islington in the centre; Pentonville, Barnsbury, Tufnell Park and Holloway on the West. The ground lies high, falling West, North, and East, from Upper Street and Highbury. The social condition is rich and residential in Highbury (yellow and red); middle class in Tufnell Park, Canonbury, and part of Stoke Newington (red); working class in Holloway, Barnsbury, Islington, De Beauvoir Town and the eastern part of Stoke Newington (pink to purple). The special feature of the district is the large and increasing number of lodgers. Proximity to Central London and the great railway stations accounts for their presence.

Poverty Areas.—Poverty occurs in pronounced patches, some of the worst streets of London being on this map. On the South-East is the large dark blue area off Essex Road (*vide* p. 146); further North there is old established poverty at the north end of Essex Road, east of Newington Green and off Church Street (light blue). Poverty of a Central London type is extending at Pentonville, due to demolition further West; off the Caledonian Road is the Bemerton Street area, with Beaconsfield Buildings (*vide* p. 143); there is rough poverty near the cattle market and at George's Road; vicious poverty with low common lodging-houses at Queensland Road (*vide* p. 142) and in Campbell Road (*vide* 138), the only completely black road. This last neighbourhood tends downward, and some new streets off the Hornsey Road are light blue. West of the Holloway Road is the Hampden Road area (*vide* p. 141) and New Highgate (light blue).

Employments.—The district is residential rather than manufacturing. People sleep here, but work elsewhere. In Stoke Newington there are many clerks; in Barnsbury, warehousemen, porters, labourers, and shopwomen, all working in the city. The main local industries are connected with the railways, with the cattle market, and with the large tram and omnibus yards in Holloway. Some streets west of the Caledonian Road are known as the 'Railway barracks.' Here live guards, porters, shunters, 'bankmen,' platelayers, carmen, and cabdrivers.

Housing and Rents.—Many of the newer houses in Stoke Newington have been built for two families, with two rooms and kitchen on the ground floor, two rooms and kitchen on first floor, and a common scullery and W.C. at back. The garden belongs to the householder, who is a yearly tenant. Rent of such a house would be £30. to £35. with rates and taxes. In Highbury the best class of houses have fallen very considerably, in the last twenty-five years, both in selling value and in rental. Houses below £50. let as well as ever, and the new houses are built for two or three families to let at £40. to £50. In the new streets off Highbury Fields (pink barred) the houses built in 1890 are of red and yellow brick, of two or three storeys, and with small gardens behind. The two storeyed houses have six or seven rooms, and a frontage of fifteen feet. In the poor part of Upper Holloway two-room family life is usual. Ordinary working-class houses are two storeyed, with six to eight rooms. Rents: eight-roomed house, 12*s* to 14*s*; six roomed house, 11*s* to 12*s*; single rooms,

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2s to 3s; two rooms, 4s to 6s 6d. In South Islington rooms are difficult to get and rents are higher.

Markets.—The chief shopping streets are Upper Street, Holloway Road, and Seven Sisters Road. Chapel Street, Pentonville, and the Caledonian and Essex Roads, are cheap market streets. The stalls in the cattle market attract buyers from a wide circle.

Public-houses, beerhouses, and grocers' licences are thickest near High Street, Islington, and in the shopping streets, and almost absent in the residential parts of Canonbury, Highbury, and Tufnell Park. Off-licences are numerous in Upper Holloway.

Places of Amusement.—Two theatres and two music-halls are in the district, and several are easily reached by tram or omnibus. The Northern Polytechnic and several halls are largely used for concerts and entertainments, and the Agricultural Hall in Upper Street is noted for its exhibitions.

Open Spaces.—Public open spaces are a feature of the north; Highbury Fields, Newington Green, Clissold Park, and just across the London boundary, Finsbury Park. The south depends on squares not yet open to the public, though De Beauvoir Square, lately open, makes a pleasant little public garden. More open space is badly needed in the centre; Islington Green and Barnsbury Square have been opened and part of the vacant ground at the cattle market utilized as a playground, but on the west side of the map the chief spaces not built upon are the large railway sidings of south-west Islington and Holloway, and the private gardens and cricket ground of Tufnell Park.

Health.—The soil is gravel and sand from Upper Street eastward, and London clay elsewhere. The high ground is very healthy, especially Stoke Newington, but by the Caledonian Road and in Holloway the low level and clay soil make drainage difficult and health indifferent.

Changes of Population.—Most of the changes in the map have been downward. Population from inner London has pressed in, turning pink streets in the south to purple and light blue. The middle-class people of Tufnell Park and Highbury go to Hampstead or further North, and are succeeded by less wealthy folk. The opening of Clissold Park and Highbury Fields has checked deterioration in their immediate neighbourhood, but an exodus from Canonbury to Harringay and Wood Green is in progress. One witness notes the return of some with families now grown up, the cost of season tickets more than counterbalancing the saving in rent effected by living out of London.

Means of Locomotion.—TRAMWAYS AND OMNIBUSES.—The 'Angel' at Islington focuses nearly all the tram and omnibus routes. Trams and omnibuses pass this point South-East along the City Road and Goswell Road; North-East along Essex Road to Dalston; North by Upper Street and Liverpool Road to Holloway and Highgate; West to St. Pancras, the trams going on to Hampstead and omnibuses to Paddington. Omnibuses also go South-West by Rosebery Avenue to the West End. A service of trams runs from Clerkenwell north along Caledonian Road to Finsbury Park. Another crosses the northern part of the district from Camden Town on the way to Finsbury Park and Tottenham, and a third line from Kentish Town goes to Highgate Hill. On the East side trams from Finsbury Pavement enter the district by New North Road, going to Holloway, and by Southgate Road going North to Clissold and Finsbury Parks. The trams and omnibuses along Kingsland Road serve Stoke Newington. RAILWAYS.—The North London Railway gives access West and East as well as to Broad Street, while from Finsbury Park good services go South to King's Cross and Broad Street.

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PLACES OF WORSHIP.

List of Parish Churches situated in the district described in Chapter III., with other PLACES OF WORSHIP grouped in their ecclesiastical parishes.

For the Parishes not included in area of coloured Map, see Sketch Map, p. 117.

All Saints, Caledonian Rd.
All Saints' Miss., Crinan St.
St. John's Miss., Copenhagen St.
Bapt. Miss., Lavina Grove.
U. Meth. F. Ch., Charlotte St.

All Saints, Stoke Newington.
Wesl. Ch., Green Lanes.

All Saints, Upper Holloway.
St. Matthew's Miss., Rupert Rd.
Bapt. Miss., Rupert Rd.
Brethren, Wedmore St.

Christ Church, Highbury.
Bapt. Ch., Highbury Hill.

Emmanuel, Holloway.
Cath. Apos. Ch., Gloucester Rd.
Welsh Ch., Hornsey Rd.

Holy Trinity, Cloudesley Sq.
St. George's Hall, Richmond Rd.
Meeting Room (Brethren), 70, Barnsbury Rd.
N. Lond. Synagogue, Lofting Rd.

St. Andrew, Barnsbury.
St. Andrew's Miss., East St.
Cong. Ch., Caledonian Rd.
Gifford Hall (Bapt.), Gifford St.

St. Andrew, Stoke Newingt'n.
Pres. Ch., Manor Rd.

St. Andrew, Whitehall Park.
Wesl. Ch., Archway Rd.
Unitarian Chap., Highgate Hill.

St. Anne, Tollington Park.
Cong. Ch., Seven Sisters Rd.
P. Meth. Chapel, Durham Rd.
Railway Miss., Goodwin St.
Finsbury Pk. Hall, Station Rd.

St. Augustine, Highbury New Park.
Cong. Ch., Highbury Quadrant.
Park Pres. Ch., Grosvenor Rd.
Dalston Synagogue, Poets' Rd.

St. Barnabas, Holloway.
St. Barnabas' Miss., Queensland Rd.
Palmer's Pl. Miss., Drayton Pk.
Albany Miss., Albany Place.

St. Bartholomew, Shepperton Rd.

St. Clement, Barnsbury.
Cong. Ch., Westbourne Rd.
Cong. Ch., Offord Rd.
*Sandemanian Meeting House, Barnsbury Grove.

St. David, West Holloway.
St. David's Mis., Wellington Rd.

St. Faith, Stoke Newington.
Raleigh Memorial Cong. Ch., Albion Rd.
Devonshire Sq. Bapt. Ch., Stoke Newington Rd.
U. Meth. F. Ch., Victoria Grove.
Gospel Hall, Allen Rd.
Walford Miss. Hall, Nevill Rd.

St. George, Tufnell Park.
St. George's Miss., Ward Rd.
St. George's Miss., Grafton Rd.
Friends' Meet. Ho., Mercers Rd

St. James, Holloway.
Ch. of Scotland, Holloway Rd.
Sacred Heart of Jesus (R. C.), Eden Grove.

St. James, Pentonville.
St. James' Miss, Collier St.
P. Meth. Chap., Winchester St.
Welsh Cong. Ch., King's Cr. Rd.
Mildmay Mis., King's Cross Rd.
Red, White and Blue Institute, Cumming St.

St. James, Prebend St.
Cong. Ch., Britannia Rd.
Wesl. Miss., Windsor St.
Islington Med. Mis., Windsor St.

St. John, Brownswood Park.
Wesl. Ch., Wilberforce Rd.
Fins. Pk. Synag., Portland Rd.

St. John, Highbury Vale.
St. John's Mis., Blackstock Rd.
Cong. Miss., Myrtle St.
Wesl. Miss., Gillespie Rd.
P. Meth. Miss., Elwood St.
Highbury Miss., 100, Riversdale Rd.

St. John, Up. Holloway.
St. John's Miss., Hampden Rd.

St. John, Vartry Rd.
Wesl. Ch., Amherst Pk.

* Now closed (1902).

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St. John Bapt. Cleveland Rd.
St. John's Miss., James St.
Salter's Hall Bpt. Ch., Essex Rd.
Wall St. Miss., 27, Wall St.

St. Jude, Mildmay Park.
St. Jude's Mis., 37 Ball's Pond Rd.
St. Jude's Mis., King Henry St.
Wesl. Ch., Mildmay Pk.
Earlham Hall, Ball's Pond Rd.
Salv. Army Hall, Ball's Pond Rd.
Almshouse Chapel (Christadelphian), Ball's Pond Road.

St. Luke, West Holloway.
St. Luke's Miss., North Rd.
St. Luke's Miss., Fakenham St.
Holloway Cong. Ch., Camden Rd.
Bapt. Ch., Camden Rd.
Wesl. Ch., Caledonian Rd.
New Jerusalem Ch., Camden Rd.

St. Mark, Tollington Park.
St. Mark's Miss., Hornsey Rd.
New Court Cong. Ch., Tollington Pk.
Cong. Miss., Lennox Rd.
Bapt. Chapel, Hornsey Rd.
Zoar Bapt. Ch., Tollington Pk.
Wesl. Ch., Hornsey Rd.
Pres. Miss., Andover Rd.
Calv. Meth. Chapel, Sussex Rd.
Brethren, Everleigh St.
Salv. Ar. Hall, 300, Hornsey Rd.

St. Mary, Hornsey Rise.
St. Mary's Miss., Marlboro' Rd.
Cong. Miss., Blenheim Rd.
Wesl. Ch., Holly Park.
P. Meth. Miss., Hornsey Rd.
Pres. Ch., Crouch Hill.
Brethren's Meeting Room, Duncombe Rd.
Seventh Day Adventists, Duncombe Rd.

St. Mary, Islington.
Bishop Wilson Memorial Hall, Church St.
Barnsbury Cong. Ch., Barnsbury St.
Islington Cong. Ch., Upper St.
Bapt. Ch., Cross St.
Wesl. Ch., Liverpool Rd.
Unitarian Chapel, Upper St.
German Ch., Fowler Rd.
Salv. Army Hall, Almeida St.
Barnsbury Hall (Christadelphians), Barnsbury St.
Myddleton Hall, Almeida St.
Brethren's Meeting Room, Ferret's Place.
Temperance Hall, Church Pass.

St. Mary, Stoke Newington.
St. Mary's Old Church.
St. Mary's Miss., Chapel Place.
Holy Redeemer Mis., Church St.
Abney Cong. Ch., Church St.
Abney Cong. Miss. Hall, 35a Church St.
Bapt. Ch., Bouverie Rd.
Friend's Meeting House, Park St.
Salv. Army Hall, High St.
Brethren's Hall, Defoe Rd.
Our Lady of Good Counsel (R. C.), Bouverie Rd.

St. Mary Magd., Holloway.
Union Cong. Ch., Upper St.
Union Cong. Miss., Station Rd.
Providence Bapt. Chapel, Highbury Place.
Wesl. Ch., Drayton Park.
Sandemanian Meeting House, Furlong Rd.
Salv. Army Citadel, Ronald's Rd.
Bethshan Meet. Ho., Drayton Pk.
Brethren, Park St.

St. Matthew, Islington.
Salem Bapt. Chapel, Wilton Sq.
Welsh Calv. Meth. Ch. Wltn. Sq.
Rosemary Miss., Rosemary St.
Morton Miss., Morton Rd.

St. Matthew, Upper Clapton.
Good Shepherd Miss., Harrington Hill.
Holy Trinity Miss., Lea Bridge.
P. Meth. Chapel, Southwold Rd.
Ferry Gospel Hall, Big Hill.

St. Matthias, Islington.
Belle Isle Miss. (Bapt.), Brewery Rd.
P. Meth. Chapel, Caledonian Rd.

St. Matthias, Stoke Newington.
Old Bapt. Union Chapel, Wordsworth Rd.
Wesl. Chapel, Matthias Rd.
Unitarian Ch., Newington Green.
Welsh Chapel, Barrett's Grove.
Salv. Army Hall, Milton Rd.

St. Michael, Islington.
Brethren, Pembroke St.

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St. Michael, Stoke Newington.
S. Michael's Mis., Rossington St.
Cong. Ch., High Rd.
Cong. Miss., Conduit St.
Brethren's Miss., Rossington St.

St. Olave, Woodberry Down.

St. Paul, Ball's Pond.
Harec'rt C'ng. Ch., S. Paul's Rd.
Wesl. Mis., Newington Green Rd.
Conference Hall, Mildmay Pk.

St. Paul, Upper Holloway.
St. Paul's Miss., Blenheim Rd.
Bapt. Ch., Holloway Rd.
Samaritan Miss., Grove Rd.

St. Peter, Dartmouth Park.
St. Peter's Hall, Brunswick Rd.
Cong. Ch., Junction Rd.
P. Meth. Chapel, Dartmouth Park Hill.
Salv. Army Citadel, Junction Rd.
Assembly Hall, Junction Rd.
St. Joseph's (R.C.), Highgate Hill.

St. Peter, De Beauvoir Town.
St. Peter's Miss., Hertford Rd.
Brotherhood Cong. Ch., Southgate Rd.
Trinity Pres. Ch., Southgate Rd.
Our Lady and St. Joseph (R.C.), Tottenham Rd.
Brethren's Miss., Downham Rd.
Salv. Ar. Hall, 383, Kingsland Rd.
Kingsland Gospel Miss., Tottenham Sq.
Working Men's Miss., Nimrod Alley.

St. Peter, Islington.
Presb. Ch., Colebrooke Row.
Cath. Apostolic Ch., Duncan St.
New Jerusalem Ch., Devonsh. St.
Brethren, 346, Goswell Rd.
Rufford Row Mission.
St. John Evangelist (R.C.), Duncan Terrace.

St. Philip, Arlington Square.
Meth. New Conn. Chapel, Packington St.

St. Saviour, Highbury.

St. Saviour, Tollington Park.

St. Silas, Pentonville.
St. Silas' Hall, Penton St.
All Saints' Miss., White Lion St.
Sermon Lane Mission.

St. Stephen, Canonbury.
Cong. Ch., River St.

St. Stephen, Upper Holloway.
St. Stephen's Hall, Elthorne Rd.
Bapt. Chapel, Hazelville Rd.
Bapt. Chapel, Elthorne Rd.
Hazelville Room (Brethren), St. John's Rd.
Pres. Miss., Grovedale Rd.

St. Thomas, Finsbury Park.
Christadelphian Hall, Gillespie Rd.
Gospel Hall, Blackstock Rd.

St. Thomas, Hemingford Rd.
St. Thomas' Miss., Twyford St.

St. Thomas, Stamford Hill.
Holy Cross Miss., Ravensdale Rd.
Cong. Ch., Stamford Hill.
Cong. Miss., Stamford Terrace.
P. Meth. Miss., Olinda Rd.
Clapton Hall (Brethren) Alkham Rd.

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Map D.—NORTH LONDON (1900).

The Streets are coloured according to social condition of inhabitants as under:—

Lowest Class | Very Poor | Moderate Poverty | Poverty & Comfort (mixed) | Fairly Comfortable | Well-to-do | Wealthy

Combined colouring (as Pink and Red) indicates a mixture of the Classes which the Colours represent.

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CHAPTER IV

THE NORTH-WEST

§ 1

COMPLICATION OF CLASS

As we pass from East to West along the northern boundary of London, the problems of life become at each remove more complicated by class. We begin with the working men of Poplar, Bromley and Bow as the dominant ruling class, seeking to deal with the surrounding poverty by social legislation. They are without any religious organization of their own, and to them the various religious bodies appeal in vain; but they have their ideas. It is to political action that their hopes turn both for themselves and for the class below. So far there are in effect only two classes, the skilled and the unskilled wage-earners. It is not till we approach Victoria Park that the presence of another class is felt, and with the change the disappointment and despondency of ministers of religion turn to confidence and hope. This is the lower middle class; with superabundant life and energy and small though sufficient incomes. Further North and further West, lower middle gives place to or is mingled with middle and upper middle class. There is more wealth, and the duty of the rich to the poor plays an increasing part in the organization of religion.

Thus the number of classes increases from two in

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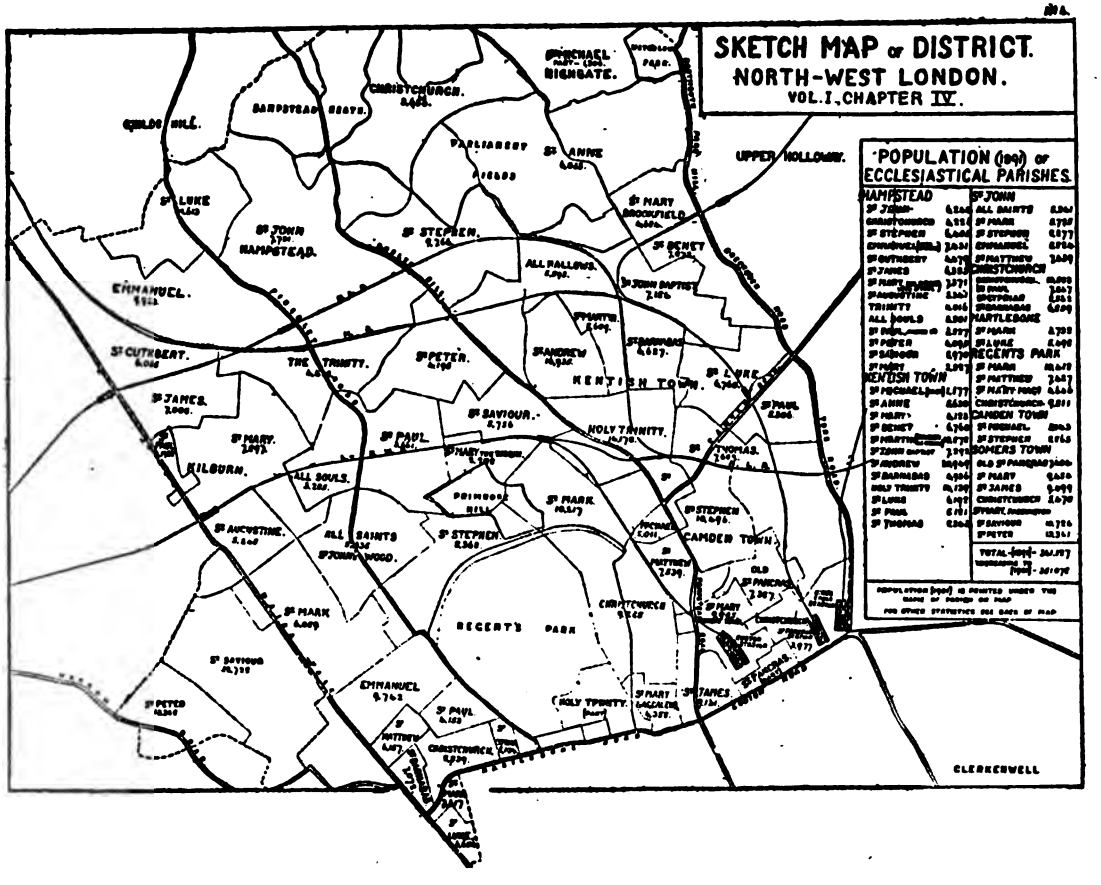
Poplar to three in Hackney and four in North London; but in the district we now enter five can be counted.

As in East London the working and in North London the middle class dominates, with Hackney as a bridge between the two; so is the district we have now to deal with a bridge from the North to the wealth and fashion which prevail around Hyde Park. We have in the North-Western district our first experience of the contact of riches and poverty, in the sense of rich and poor living cheek by jowl as neighbours. Not only is there here wealth enough to tinge our map with yellow, but the worst patch of poverty, the strange and anomalous Lisson Grove area, stretches southward into the West End, pushing its way into an opulent and even fashionable region, and coming within hail of Park Lane itself.

Throughout the whole of this great district the poor parts have been much affected by railway terminal enlargements, which are still proceeding. The Great Northern and Midland together have eaten up a considerable space at the south-east corner of the map, and the latter has absorbed many acres more at Kentish Town; while the London and North-Western, in addition to the ground occupied at Euston, has a wilderness of sidings at Chalk Farm. Moreover, every opportunity is taken by these railways to acquire adjacent property for future extensions. Finally, there is the new Great Central Terminus in Marylebone, necessitating, with its approaches and yards, large clearances, the effects of which have been very marked.

As regards the area directly affected, crowding is aggravated, but the general results of present and past action of this kind may be summed up in the remark, 'the people are not less poor, but there are fewer of them.'

The conditions under which those who remain live,



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STATISTICS *bearing on the* AREA INCLUDED IN SKETCH MAP NO. 4. *Described in Chapter IV. (Vol. I.).*

CENSUS STATISTICS.

Showing Increase or Decrease of Population.

Population in				Increase per Cent.	
1881.	1891.	1896.	1901.	1881-1891.	1891-1901
291,172	314,447	325,188	321,514	8·0 %	2·4 %

Density of Population.	
1891.	1901.
Persons per Acre.	
55·4	56·7
Inhabited Houses.	
36,560	36,750
Persons per House.	
8·6	8·7
Number of Acres.	
5,680	

Age and Sex in 1891.

Age.	Males.	Females.	Together.
Under 5 years	17,520	17,840	35,360
5 & under 15 yrs	29,860	30,560	60,420
— 20 ,,	13,859	16,721	30,580
— 25 ,,	14,528	19,520	34,048
— 35 ,,	24,975	31,727	56,702
— 45 ,,	18,110	21,408	39,518
— 55 ,,	12,548	15,376	27,924
— 65 ,,	7,259	9,800	17,059
65 and over	4,811	8,025	12,836
Totals ...	143,470	170,977	314,447

NOTE.—The area included in the Sketch Map comprises Hampstead, four Registration sub-districts of St. Pancras—Kentish Town, Camden Town, Somers Town, and Regent's Park—and two of Marylebone—St. John's Wood and Christchurch—as well as four ecclesiastical parishes—St. Mark and St. Luke, Marylebone, and St. Peter and St. Saviour, Paddington. These four parishes are omitted from the statistics, detailed figures not being available. For a more detailed statement of the Special Family Enumeration see Appendix.

SPECIAL ENUMERATION FOR THIS INQUIRY (1891).

Sex, Birthplace and Industrial Status of Heads of Families.

Sex.		Birthplace.		Industrial Status.			Total Heads.
Male.	Female.	In London.	Out of London.	Employers	Employees	Neither.	
56,455 79 %	15,104 21 %	33,701 47 %	37,858 53 %	8,158 12 %	46,038 64 %	17,363 24 %	71,559 100 %

Constitution of Families.

Heads.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied.	Servants.	Total in Families.
71,559 (1·0)	63,219 (·88)	147,971 (2·07)	20,958 (·29)	303,707 (4·24)

Social Classification according to *Rooms Occupied* or *Servants Kept.*

	Persons.	Per Cent.	
4 or more persons to a room	19,823	6·3	Crowded 35·3 %
3 & under 4 ,, ,,	30,195	9·6	
2 & ,, 3 ,, ,,	61,057	19·4	
1 & ,, 2 ,, ,,	64,172	20·4	Not Crowded 64·7 %
Less than 1 person to a room	9,360	3·0	
Occupying more than 4 rooms	50,469	16·0	
4 or more persons to 1 servant	17,592	5·6	
Less than 4 persons to 1 servant & 4 to 7 persons to 2 servants	15,983	5·1	
All others with 2 or more servants	14,098	4·5	
Servants in families	20,958	6·7	
Inmates of Institutions (including servants)	10,740	3·4	
Total	314,447	100	

Living in Poverty (as estimated in 1889)	27·2 %	100 %	
,, in Comfort (,, ,,)	72·8 %		

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and the religious and other influences under which they come, I shall try to describe, and those that have moved we shall come across in their new homes. From Somers Town the evicted have mostly gone North, whilst from Marylebone they have moved rather to the West, and we shall hear of them at Kensal Town.

Apart from the great railway termini, the most notable features in this district are its open spaces; Hampstead Heath and Parliament Hill Fields, extending inwards half-way towards Primrose Hill and Regent's Park, with the wide open roads and extensive gardens of Belsize Park as a connecting link. This chain of grass and trees divides the district, and in what follows we shall adopt this division. The eastern portion will also be best divided again as North and South, and on the western side the poor areas of Portland Town and Lisson Grove be treated separately from St. John's Wood and Hampstead.

§ 2

HIGHGATE AND KENTISH TOWN

From the metropolitan boundary at Highgate southwards, St. Michael's, St. Anne's, St. Mary's, and St. Benet's are all prosperous churches, well attended by the middle classes.

St. Michael's, with its fine tower, occupies a commanding position on the summit of Highgate Hill, and can be seen from the South for a long distance. It has a large Sunday morning congregation of regular well-to-do churchgoers, but is not so well attended in the evening. There is a numerous staff of lay workers, mostly ladies, who assist in the management of day and Sunday schools, lads' and girls' clubs, Church lads'

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brigade, clothing and coal clubs, temperance society, &c. Home mission work is not undertaken—and most probably is not required—but some financial aid is sent to poorer churches, and a good deal of assistance is given to foreign missions. Visiting is systematically undertaken, and the comparatively few poor parishioners are doubtless well cared for.

St. Anne's still bears something of the stamp of a country parish, though the population has greatly increased during recent years, having doubled in the decade 1881 to 1891, and been still further augmented since. There are only three public-houses in the parish and these have become extremely valuable properties. The vicarage, which is just within the four mile circle, has three and a half acres of garden and the parish can boast of fifty allotment gardens, the allottees of which form a club, meeting twice a week. Shoddy building is represented to be the great evil. "If you want to make me angry, start that topic," said the vicar, who having been here about twenty years has seen it happen. The social agencies of the church are open to all irrespective of creed, and relations between the different religious bodies are friendly. The 'sick club,' with 873 members, is on the plan of a provident dispensary; it has no building, but works on an arrangement with two or three of the best local doctors. The 'parochial mission' is a mothers' meeting on a very large scale, having over four hundred members.

In these northern parishes the population is increasing very fast, and a poorer class coming in. Some of the richest inhabitants are Nonconformists, and the Congregationalists and Baptists have each a large well-to-do congregation; the former being quite of the type described in North London; as in North London, so too here the principle is accepted that 'everything that is good helps to the higher life.' The Baptist Church touches a slightly lower social grade, though still

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mainly of the middle class. It is a very considerable religious force, and is stamped with individuality. The following extract from the annual report is characteristic:—"The church has no endowment of any kind, nor grant in aid from any source. It is thought that we are able to 'pay our own way' and ought to do it, and that whatever expenses are necessary to the right and worthy maintenance of the work should be met by ourselves—*each member bearing some share.* It has not been thought advisable to fix definitely what share each should bear, but this does not mean that anyone should consider himself relieved from responsibility to give. Even the poor should share . . . and the juniors in Christian families should not consider themselves relieved because their fathers and mothers give. This method of not fixing how much each should give is meant rather to provoke thoughtfulness on the subject, and to bring in a glad unconstrainedness and willingness, and to make giving to be more definitely 'to the Lord.'" This church has established a mission in Kentish Town, but in this work has met with no more success than others.

A little to the west of the district we have been describing, between Lismore Circus and the North London Railway, lies the new parish of All Hallows, Gospel Oak, accommodated, at the time of our inquiry and till quite recently, by the temporary Church of the Good Shepherd in Mansfield Road. All Hallows' Church, in Savernake Road, remained for some years a huge unused and unfinished building, upon the shell of which about £20,000 had been expended. The church has now been roofed in and consecrated, and, though still far from complete, is a building of magnificent proportions. In the temporary church very active work was carried on for some years. The parish consists mainly of the Mansfield Estate,

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a very superior and carefully managed property occupied by upper working and lower middle class of the most respectable kind. To the ministrations of the church this population responds very well; on 'Sunday evening the temporary church used to be packed,' and a large congregation gathers in the new building. It is rather characteristic of what may be called North-London methods that 'a great ping-pong tournament' has been organized to help in raising funds for the church, the Town Hall being hired for the purpose.

In the same neighbourhood there is also a flourishing Wesleyan Church which was only in the making at the time of our inquiry.

The parish of St. John, Kentish Town, has been greatly cut down in size, but still has a large area. It retains all that is left of the old village, and though many of the poorest and most degraded, as well as the richest, have gone, the parishioners are still very much mixed. The development of the Midland Railway has swept away many slums and has also introduced a good class of working men both as its own employees and by fostering the multiplication of local factories, and in a general way by the advantages it has brought to the neighbourhood. As a result rents have risen, and the poor being pushed out have betaken themselves to Highgate New Town and other parts. The church service at St. John's is Evangelical, with good music, but the congregation is rather small compared to the size of the old-fashioned building, and there is no great activity shown. No district visitors are sent out by the church.

Religious organization is, indeed, said to be overdone. 'Roman Catholics, Catholic Apostolic, Wesleyans, Baptists and Presbyterians are all represented,' and the result is a struggle for the remaining poor

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with 'over lapping' of effort and charges of 'bribery' bandied about.

Of these competing bodies the Wesleyan Church is the most important. It has a large staff, and in its active congregational life tries to give everybody something special to do, including (as they say) the sending of 'people with clear heads and warm hearts to visit the poor,' for (it is added) 'you can never get them to a meeting and must go to them.' The deaconess acts as nurse. There is a 'slate club' with a thousand members, and although the direct result of such work, from a religious point of view, is admittedly small, it is claimed that by agencies of this kind prejudice against religion is gradually broken down. So, too, the temperance society of this church, seeking a side wind to fill its sails, discusses social questions generally. A full use is made of music in rendering the services attractive and all that is done is well advertised. A week of special mission services carried on in this spirit brought some outsiders, though not very many. 'The deepening of the spiritual life of the members' was admitted to be the chief effect produced.

The Presbyterians have here a mission connected with their Camden Park Road Church. The missioner has a 'gift of song,' which he uses. He draws not the poor, but the respectable working class, such as railway men and their wives—mostly country people. They want no charity, but they receive their religion free, at the cost of the Camden Road Church. The mission service is held in the evening only, and may draw partly from those who attend other churches in the morning.

There is no doubt that this neighbourhood is 'going up as well as down.' The account given by the vicar of St. John's is confirmed by that of the Presbyterian minister and others, but where there was no old poverty to be improved away the tendency is all

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downwards. In the parishes of St. Paul, Camden Town, and St. Luke, this change is especially noted. The well-to-do have left, and the letting of furnished apartments is a usual resource of those who have taken their place.

At St. Paul's, which is the more fashionable church, there is a musical service with moderate ritual. The congregation is large, and there are five hundred communicants. A natural impulse appears to take the people here either to church or chapel, and they require no pressing; but with church attendance the matter ends. The lack of spiritual life is felt. It is the same at St. Luke's, where the ritual is rather higher. The church is easily filled, but parochially the people are difficult of access. It is less of a family church than St. Paul's, drawing its adherents rather as individuals. The religious work in these parishes is shared by the Presbyterian body, whose mission in Kentish Town we have mentioned. They have a fine church, and though suffering from the outward movement of the richer families, are still a very prosperous congregation.

The remainder of Kentish Town, with which may be included the rest of Camden Town lying north of the great railway clearance, is in the main one of working-class life and consequent religious difficulty; and socially the conditions have been aggravated by the incoming of many degraded poor ousted by railway extensions further South. But if it is thus to the railways that the worst inhabitants are due, it is the regular railway men who are among the best.

There are five parishes, St. Thomas, Holy Trinity, St. Barnabas, St. Andrew and St. Martin, all contending with the same difficulties. Two, if not three, of these were 'dead' before the present incumbents came. All are now actively worked, but they have not succeeded in 'bridging the gulf between church and people.' 'I would,' said one of these clergy, 'die for

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the working man, but I do not really understand him; I cannot speak his language, and I cannot think his thoughts.' This inability to see eye to eye with the working classes he believes to be the chief cause of the failure of the Church to touch them. Those reached by this particular church are mainly lower middle-class people, many being clerks. They are tremendously keen and in earnest; all are communicants, and all are workers for the church as well as worshippers in it. With slight differences in degree the same description applies to all; 'congregations small, but parochial; inner circle red hot.' These churches include High, Low and Broad, and their vicars are of every type; but all are hard-working men; and all frankly admit the limited success of their work. One who has tried men's services but failed, 'not having Ditchfield's gift,' sighs to think that 'after all these years, he can get no further than friendliness.' He 'opens his arms to the sorrowful,' and after a funeral the family attend church a few times; but that is all that comes of it.

In the district covered by these parishes, the Nonconformists have many churches and missions, and the resulting competition is complained of: 'The effect upon the people is most demoralizing.' 'It becomes miserable work.' 'Everything that is done is copied,' and everything is 'run' for financial and numerical success. In this competition it is admitted that there is nothing to choose between the chapels and the churches. It is to be feared that the poor lend themselves to it. The case is mentioned of a child who was found to have been baptized by the Roman Catholics and Wesleyans as well as the Church of England.

The Congregationalist churches are the most numerous. Of these there are four, as well as a large mission connected with Dr. Horton's church

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at Hampstead. They are supported by middle-class people coming from the red streets of our map, lying East and West, and clerks and others of like class make up the numbers. But none of them are full, surrounding social conditions no longer favouring them. They hardly touch the working classes at all, except at the mission, which will be described later.

The Wesleyan Church in the Prince of Wales Road, is the most successful of any in this neighbourhood. It is a young people's church, overflowing with energy and hope, and flings itself, with undashed confidence, into the religious arena. It seeks to convert the irreligious by open-air services, to assist in which it has organized a brass band. To give to the funds and to share in the work of the church is the privilege of all, young and old. The congregation is said to be 'representative of all classes,' and does undoubtedly reach a lower level than those of the Congregationalist churches. It has steadily grown in numbers for thirty years, and is largely recruited from its Sunday school. The hold on the young is prolonged by the usual society classes and by the Wesley Guild, which, beyond its religious side, provides lectures and entertainments, and counts two hundred members.

Below the Wesleyans, again, in the class reached, comes the Salvation Army, which has here a model corps with a large number of local officers and a good brass band. For open-air work they divide into three parties. Their hall seats six hundred and fifty, and is sometimes crowded on Sunday evening with servants and working-class people. This corps tends to become a regularly established congregation. As such they seek to maintain their numbers and position by 'roping in' their own, or attracting other young people. The 'Young People's Legion,' for boys and girls just above school age, has classes for music, drawing, fret-cutting, shorthand, and dressmaking, and has meetings of some

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kind nearly every night. New recruits are undoubtedly drawn mainly from other religious bodies; being not so much those without religion as those who want more of it; but there are, in addition, converts redeemed from bad habits who are said soon to become decent and respectable, to save money, and to get on in the world. The large number of railway men from the country is doubtless a help to both Wesleyans and Salvationists, and also to the Primitive Methodists, who have a church here.

The Congregationalist mission is the best example of its kind and well worthy of a fuller description. Throughout this part of London, and, indeed, as a rule wherever poverty is found scattered in patches, each patch furnishes the opportunity for one or more missions. Most of these centres of religious and philanthropic effort are connected with, and supported by, some wealthy church or chapel of the vicinity, and many of them are conducted in an extremely business-like way. There may be an 'evangelist,' or a City missionary, or a scripture reader, a lady superintendent, or a Sister, in charge, but the mainspring of active force is often supplied by a man of business, whose enthusiasm has, perhaps, been roused, and is sustained and inspired by the spiritual force of some great preacher. Such management makes for practical success, and such is the character of the management at Lyndhurst Hall Mission, which is the lasting result of an impulse given by Dr. Horton's preaching many years ago.

The ultimate aim is undoubtedly religious: 'to bring the people into union with God through Christ,' and all the work is done with a religious motive, but both Dr. Horton and those who act under his inspiration look upon religious and social work as inextricably mixed and the accepted lines of action are very broad. With the exception of the boys' brigade,

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whose members are expected to attend a Bible-class, all the social agencies are open without religious obligation of any kind and at the services there is a complete absence of the Evangelical methods and language which turn on 'conversion.'

There are at this mission 130 voluntary workers and twelve distinct branches of work are maintained, as follows :—

- Religious services; Adult school.
- Sunday school.
- Band of Hope.
- Senior and junior clubs and institutes.
- Boys' brigade.
- Girls' parlour, girls' club, and girls' brigade.
- Mothers' Union.
- Sick and benefit societies, provident clubs and savings bank.
- District visiting.
- Women's workroom.
- Educational classes and lending library.
- Saturday concerts.

Comparatively little of the work is primarily religious, and it is most successful where most social in character. The religious services and meetings are on the whole poorly attended. The best work of that kind is the so-called adult school, a democratic organization modelled on the plan initiated by the Society of Friends, which will be fully described when we encounter it at its chief London centre in Bunhill Fields. Of those who join the school, many belong to other churches and take it up in addition to other religious engagements.

This mission cannot be charged with bribery, but nevertheless it does not altogether escape criticism for loose methods of relief, the administration of which by means of tickets for bread and other necessaries seems to be confided to the unguided judgment of the individual visitors. This part of the work, however, has very little connection with all the rest.

Those touched are the working classes, but not, except through its charities, the lowest. The social level at which the work stands is best indicated by the

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fact that it has been found necessary to exclude clerks and others of that class who would be glad to take advantage of the clubs and gymnasium; and that to sustain the mission character of the undertaking it has been found necessary to limit membership to those living within a mile. When it is remembered that the situation in Warden Road was chosen for the sake of the poor of the immediately surrounding streets, and especially the degraded poor of Litcham Street, it is evident that this mission does not exactly fill the place it was intended to fill. Its development has, however, followed natural lines and the work it does is excellent.

It is very noteworthy that the report of this mission makes no appeal for funds, except by gravely calling attention to a persistent falling off in the amount of the quarterly collection made in the parent church on its behalf. Its managers do not claim, as is so commonly the case, that if only money enough is supplied everything can be done. On the contrary, they admit that the extension of the work depends entirely upon the men and women the church can find to do it. The list of these, they say, is a long and noble one; but add that more are needed; such as suitable men for the management of the clubs, the gymnasium and the boys' brigade, men who can talk on the questions of the day, or men of military training or athletes as the case may be, and their counterparts of the other sex.

The Unitarians have a mission near by, which undertakes very similar work. It, too, is supported from Hampstead. It has its headquarters in Rhyll Street, with a branch in Litcham Street. The Litcham Street people are difficult to deal with. They will not mix with the others. The mothers prefer to have their own meeting and there has to be a special Sunday school for the children. The 'Pleasant Saturday Evening' held here for adults fails in its attempt to keep men from the public-houses, for those who come

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are not those who might otherwise get drunk, but sober men, not necessarily from Litcham Street at all, who might be better occupied, as the missionary thinks, in going marketing with their wives. At Rhyll Street the mission touches a superior class and seems to be particularly successful with the children. The Sunday morning service is for them, and about three hundred attend; the same number come previously to the morning school, and nearly twice as many in the afternoon. Their Band of Hope counts one thousand members. For the young people there is a mutual improvement and debating society, with cricket and tennis clubs, free lending library and reading-room, lectures and entertainments. Again the religious element bears a small proportion to the whole, again the social operations are the more successful, and again the main work of the mission lies with a class far above the poorest.

§ 3

CAMDEN TOWN, REGENT'S PARK, AND SOMERS TOWN

The Rural Dean, vicar of St. Michael's, Camden Town, reports that throughout his deanery (covering a larger area than is being dealt with in this section) the parishes are now all well worked, and adds that this could not have been said some years ago. Our own experience confirms this. If success is rather wanting it is not for lack of hard work. Between Euston Road and Chalk Farm there are ten parishes, and I propose to divide them into two groups—St. Mark, St. Michael, St. Stephen, St. Matthew, and Christ Church, Albany Street, all decadent, but still containing a middle-class population; and Old St. Pancras,

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Christ Church, Somers Town, St. Mary, St. James, and St. Mary Magdalene, containing many good working-class people, but characterized more particularly by the presence of old established and very degraded poverty.* Both sections have felt the effect of the clearances made by the Midland Railway in Somers Town, and in both the question of housing is pressed forward; and on these questions many points will be brought out as we go on which I shall try to put together later.

The five parish churches lying to the south of Chalk Farm which I have mentioned are none of them well attended. Not one is ever more than half full for the ordinary services, unless it be St. Mark's, the westernmost, which touches upon the district north of Primrose Hill, and to which some people are drawn from a distance, attracted by the extreme High Church practices adopted. Those who attend its services are mostly well-to-do. The parish poor are cut off from the church by the railway line and relations with them, worked from a mission-room in Arlington Street, seem to be of the most elementary and eleemosynary description. Christ Church, which is also High, was one of the earliest, if not the first of the kind in London, and was for many years a famous church; but it has never advanced its ritual and has been left behind, abandoned by those who 'crave for some new thing.' There is, however, probably no essential difference in doctrinal standpoint between the two churches. Though less successful than in the past, Christ Church has a fair congregation, and many of its members are still drawn from outside the parish. 'The working classes come badly, and increasingly so,' although in debates held between Church people and agnostics their sympathy was shown to be on the side

* Part of the ecclesiastical parish of St. Pancras, lying north of Euston Road, is in this district, but the larger part and the church lie to the south.

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of religion. That they send their children to the Church day school produces throughout the parish a friendly feeling. So, too, at St. Stephen's the day schools are the principal channels of Church influence. They are well attended by children of all sects, and on festival occasions little Jews may be seen lustily singing Christian hymns in a Christian church. The population is mainly working class in good regular employment, 'not interested in religion,' and not easily reached by the Church. A well meant attempt by 'The Social Institute Union' to arrange for meetings with concerts in the Board schools was a complete failure; possibly because smoking could not be allowed, as being against School Board regulations, or more probably because the management carried with it a suggestion of patronage. On the other hand, the St. Pancras Reform Club, considered by the Church to be a very bad influence, is popular. St. Matthew's, a handsome church with a fine spire, relies mainly on good music as an attraction. The regular congregation is small, but some strangers come who 'like a walk,' and perhaps come again and again.' The church is filled for special oratorio performances from the neighbourhood by ticket. The population here is divided, the poor to the north, the better off to the south. With both the tendency is downward. The old residents of the better houses are being replaced by those who find their living partly in letting apartments, and young people of the prosperous working class move further out, leaving the dregs to be continually reinforced by new comers of lower standing. Social vigour is lost; a lack of public spirit is noted. 'It is not religion alone that is neglected; little interest is taken in politics, local government, or education. It is only as to trade unionism that the working classes are keen. Not one in a hundred goes to any place of worship; they send their children to the nearest

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Sunday school perfunctorily and without gratitude. They regard both religion and education as things of childhood, not to extend beyond the age of thirteen.'

Music, says this witness, is the one thing elevating that the people care for. Among such people ordinary district visiting is 'impracticable'; all that can be done is to 'follow up clues,' and in this direction the schools are doubtless a great help; but are of no use in some of the saddest cases, those of decayed people who have once been well off who are apt to drift to, or may be left derelict in, a neighbourhood like this.

The Nonconformists of Camden Town are not successful. They are all struggling against adverse circumstances. The change of class has left their chapels partly stranded. An altogether poorer class has come in. Houses built for one family are now occupied by two, and in some cases by three or four. The principal place belongs to the old Congregational chapel in Arlington Road. But perhaps the most interesting personality and the most interesting experience is that of the Primitive Methodist minister of King Street Chapel, a son of the people, who, beginning his ministry here twenty-seven years ago, left at the end of five years, and was away on other circuits sixteen years. The change in this interval was, he says, marvellous. From a residential quarter of wealth and even fashion, Camden Town had become largely a place of business; among the residents servants were rare, and in nearly every house there was a lodger. If it depended on the immediate neighbourhood, his church could not exist, but the congregation, in which a good deal of vigorous young life is shown, is drawn from a mile radius.

Passing to the five more southerly parishes, we come to Old St. Pancras, a historic church, but without present local importance. Its disused churchyard is now a garden. The area of the parish has been much

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curtailed by railway extensions. Of the parish of Christ Church, too, there is not very much left, and what remains is becoming poorer and lower. 'The local conditions attract a low class,' and by local conditions are implied many missions, considerable charitable funds, and much indiscriminate giving. Their own poor's fund is small, 'not worth the while of the poor to come for it.' The story of this church is one of disappointed hopes. Built by Mr. George Moore at the instance of the Bishop to supply a great need, it has never been otherwise than empty. The large day schools are the most satisfactory part of the work. St. Mary's has a large poor population demoralized with gifts, which the new vicar hopes to check as far as the church is concerned, but he admits that the indiscretions of West-End ladies in this respect are hard to restrain. The congregation has been reduced by the weeding out of those who only came to qualify for relief. St. James's, to the west of Euston Station, has a very similar district. The parish has been much neglected, and five years' work does not appear to have been productive of any great results. It is divided into two parts by Hampstead Road, that to the east being the poorer, and becoming poorer still. Here in most of the streets few of the people are any better than casuals, and the worst streets are 'sodden with drink from top to bottom.'

With the exception of Christ Church, these four churches are all rather High, but St. Mary Magdalene is yet more extreme. It acts as a training ground for young priests, who come here as volunteers, and there is also a large band of lay workers. Besides numerous church services, there are day and Sunday schools and four or five clubs. The congregation comes largely from outside the parish. An equally eclectic, but much larger congregation assembles in the Baptist Chapel in Park Square, of which Mr. Gange is pastor, and on

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Sunday evening the galleries are filled with young people, mainly of the shop-assistant class. The chapel has no great local influence, but employs its energies and its spare funds upon a mission in Drummond Street, near Euston Road.

As a further counterpoise to the Ritualists, there are two Congregationalist churches and one belonging to the Presbyterians. Bedford Chapel (Congregationalist) in Old St. Pancras parish has gone down very much, and an effort is to be made to start afresh on mission lines or as a 'settlement.' The other church in Tolmer's Square has a rather larger congregation, but finds it somewhat of a struggle to exist in so unpropitious a neighbourhood. The Presbyterians are the most active of the three, spending money freely in order to 'bring the people in.' This has always been a mission church, and was connected formerly with the Scotch Presbyterian Church in Regent's Square, South St. Pancras.

Besides these, there is a fairly vigorous branch of the Wesleyan West London Mission, managed by a Sister, and there is the Baptist mission in Drummond Street, with yet another mission, undenominational in character, which is principally occupied with the giving of relief. It was established more than thirty-five years ago with the avowed object of 'preaching of the Gospel to the poor,' and for this purpose still gathers together a few men and some of the mothers of the children, but it is much more widely known as a wholesale giver of free dinners, and appeals to the public mainly for this object. It is the boast of this mission, and a ground of complaint that others make against it, that in winter it gives fifteen hundred dinners a week. The funds being chronically exhausted, it is continually issuing fresh pleas for public support. 'During thirty-three years over a million breakfasts and dinners have been distributed to the most destitute.'

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been to raise site values, and of late there has been little or no fresh building. Extravagant claims are made by the owners of slum property, and every scheme of improvement is hampered. Crowding is chronic, and the instances of excessive over-crowding that come to light are appalling. In many cases no shelter but the workhouse has been available for people turned out into the street with their belongings, in the execution of sanitary orders.

Not only does the over-crowding enable the owners of property needed for improvements to ask almost prohibitive prices, but the difficulty is aggravated by the rehousing conditions insisted upon by the Local Government Board. A scheme of the utmost value to the neighbourhood, and agreed to as between the late Vestry and the London County Council, was blocked in this way. The number displaced was about twelve hundred, the Vestry proposed to re-house 428, as being the number that could properly find room on the site itself, but the Local Government Board demanded that accommodation should be provided (by the purchase of another site) for eight hundred. After considerable delay, the matter has been arranged, and steps are now being taken to carry out the scheme. The London County Council are, also, now at work on the Churchway area.

Every evil influence and every bad condition of life is made worse and more difficult to deal with by the pressure of population on house-room. If successfully combatted in one place, the evils break out in another, and even if seemingly crushed, they are apt to recur. In this respect the difficulties of the authorities here have been great. Action is almost impossible when landlord and tenant combine to conceal what is wrong and defy the law. Registration and inspection might be carried further than at present, but could never

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cure a mischief so deeply rooted. Property which acquires value from over-crowding is apt to be sub-let. The lease is passed on from one to another, and then the leasehold system works very badly. The immediate return is the only thing considered. There is no responsible owner; the houses are rack-rented and ruined. Finally, the last of a string of leaseholders who may be the actual occupier, or may be merely a speculator in leasehold property, finds his account in farming out the rooms. They readily find occupants, but only in this way can the high rents, which are promised, be actually collected. When a lease nears its termination, no money will be spent that can possibly be avoided, and when it is anticipated that the site will shortly be wanted, coming events cast their shadows before them. It may be for the extension of business premises such as Maple's, or for the further enlargement of Euston Station, or by the local authority for widening a street or opening up a slum; but, though all in themselves good objects, their shadow is the shadow of death. In Somers Town one infant in five dies within the year. Except for these conditions the place would be healthy. 'Surprisingly healthy considering the housing,' is even now the opinion of the clergy. Of moral health the same thing is said; the trouble at bottom is 'bad property rather than bad people.' People with large families especially cannot obtain respectable quarters, do what they will, and they, and still more their children, become demoralized by their surroundings.

Bad housing and over-crowding though underlying all are not by any means the only causes of demoralization. The people living in the low courts are spoken of as 'sodden with drink;' and, as we have noted, the ill-considered benefactions of religious effort play their part. Moreover, social demoralization is its own chief cause. The evils become ingrained habits and

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when the people move they carry their low standard of housing and crowding into districts where there need be no pressure of population. As an instance, when the mission premises in Litcham Street (a squalid street further north occupied by this class, of which mention has already been made) were enlarged, a family turned out of one room was found to consist of man and wife, two sons aged twenty-seven and twenty-one, and two daughters aged twenty-one and eighteen. The low-class people driven out of Somers Town tend to reproduce the same evil conditions of life wherever they have gone, and they are to be found in all the poorest streets in the northern part of St. Pancras.

It is not in Camden Town near by, but in Kentish Town that the evils reappear, proving, I think, that those who could no longer find accommodation in Somers Town, moved to the unfinished and unoccupied streets of new districts. Then if ever was the time to brace the lives and habits of these people, and, though late, the opportunity still offers. That it has been neglected is the charge made against the authorities.

The difficulties to be contended with are great and the condemnation of the authorities is perhaps unfair, but dissatisfaction with the action and *personnel* of the late Vestry after 1894, when the body was enlarged and the method of election made more democratic, is widely felt and strongly expressed. We quote a few of the opinions expressed by local people on this subject. One says of the members of the Vestry that they are 'uneducated, illiterate and incapable; three-fourths of them quite unfit for their position;' another, that they are 'mostly small tradesmen, including some good men, but inferior as a body;' that 'they are honest, but think more of keeping down the rates than of public health or improved administration.' 'Not quite the right people; axes to grind,' says a third. Several are either small property owners or agents or have con-

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nections and interests among that class. 'Parties being nearly evenly balanced the least scrupulous, with personal interests to serve, promise most and are often returned.' On the other hand we are told also that 'publicans' influence rules,' and again that the 'trade union men fight solely for their own hand.' The exaggerated and unwieldly numbers at the Vestry are commented on. 'Personal responsibility is dissipated;' and it has been found difficult to keep order; 'there have been disgraceful scenes exhibiting deplorable want of self-control on the part of vestrymen.' It is, however, said that 'more interest is taken in elections' and that in this respect the new electorate is a distinct improvement. We may hope that in time the undoubted increase of public interest in questions of local government may have an effect, and it must be said that whatever the faults of the last Vestry its predecessors were no more successful; in their time were laid the foundations of all the evils from which the district now suffers.

The law as to the registration of houses let in lodgings was, at the time of our inquiry, little enforced, only one hundred and sixty houses being on the register for the whole of St. Pancras, and even to these the sanitary staff, with all its other work, could not properly attend.

In order to make registration less of a farce the Health Committee asked for two more inspectors, nine in place of seven, but this the Vestry refused, and it was said that the opposition came from those on the Vestry interested in small property. A London County Council inquiry, which resulted in a recommendation of seven more inspectors (*i.e.*, fourteen in place of the previous seven), 'found numerous instances of houses urgently requiring proper inspection; dirty and dilapidated rooms, vermin, over-crowding, &c.; a common prevalence of precisely those conditions which

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could be satisfactorily dealt with by enforcement of existing by-laws.'

This recommendation was not acted upon, being defeated by the fear of increased rates, but since then more active steps have been taken by the newly constituted Borough Council, four additional inspectors having been appointed, and the number of registered lodging-houses increased to eight hundred.

Complaints on the subject of housing apply almost as much to the outer as to the inner part of this district, and as to sanitation even more so. Some of the worst charges made concern Highgate New Town where the poor are concentrating, being driven there, not only by the clearances further south, but also by the substitution of middle-class houses for old cottage property in the surrounding district. Highgate New Town seems to have been everything that is bad, and is quoted by several as an example of the worst features of jerry building.

In the main, however, we are told that there is not much of this; only that there are too many people in the small houses to the north, and that the sanitary condition is not up to the mark. The older houses give the impression that 'the builders used to do much as they liked,' with the result that the drainage of most houses built more than ten years ago is defective. 'In every way more care is now exercised.'

To the general management of the streets a good deal of attention is given; though in this matter, too, the local authority has been attacked for parsimony. The chairman of the Committee complains that the public demand wood pavement with little regard to its great cost. Asphalt is objected to by all concerned with horses, but could be used with advantage for the poor streets, which it is urged might be kept cleaner. It is admitted, however, that the streets are

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in better order than formerly. In the supply of electric light there has been bold and successful enterprise, the profits showing a good surplus after providing interest and sinking fund on the capital outlay. As to baths and washhouses St. Pancras is well to the front, the provision being liberal, the management economical, and the financial loss small; on the other hand the Free Public Library Act has been uniformly rejected by a large majority of the ratepayers.*

Other matters, such as the inspection of slaughter-houses, cow-sheds and bakehouses, the control of market streets, the seizure of bad fruit and fish, the testing of ice cream and milk and the checking of food adulteration, seem to be all well attended to. On the whole we have here a fair example of business-like ratepayers' management. The question of housing is at once the greatest difficulty and the weakest spot; possibly because private interests run counter, but more probably because of the extreme costliness of action, the uncertainty of success, and lack of any definite principle upon which to act.

The moral question lies at the bottom; on it rests the economic; and on both is built up the standard of life and habit. These all act and react on each other, and, to be attacked successfully, must be attacked together. It is the business of the local authorities to act directly upon life and habit through regulations as to housing and health. Because of the moral and economic difficulties they do so at considerable disadvantage.

The evidence of the police shows some improvement. Kentish Town, for instance, is said to be 'nothing like

* The action of the ratepayers in rejecting the Public Libraries Act is regarded as 'unaccountable' by one of our witnesses, and it is certainly noteworthy that the large parishes in North London, St. Pancras, Islington and Hackney, as well as Marylebone to the West, consistently refuse to adopt the Act, while East End parishes all welcome it.

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so rough as it was ten years ago.' Peckwater Street, which 'used to be dangerous for the police to go down alone,' is described as having 'vastly improved,' but Litcham Street maintains its reputation for drinking and fighting, and Preston Street, it is held, 'ought to be cleared out.' These particular streets may perhaps be regarded as local rubbish-heaps, while round about them the standard of working-class life and its requirements is rising, and the 'rubbish-heaps' are perhaps diminishing in size. That 'the area of respectability is increasing' is the opinion of the Unitarian minister (already quoted) who has worked in the Litcham Street district as a missionary for fifteen years, and he claims that the improvement shown is due to the half-dozen missions working there. Even in Somers Town, quite apart from the effect of demolitions, a general contraction of the darker shades in the colouring of the streets on the map is noticeable.

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DESCRIPTIVE NOTES. MAP E. (VOL. I., CHAPTER IV.). Inner North-West.

Adjoining Maps—E. North London (p. 158); S. West Central (Vol. II.) and Inner West (Vol. III.); W. Hampstead and St. John's Wood (p. 218).

General Character.—The map stretches North and South from Highgate to the Euston Road, and includes the districts of Dartmouth Park, Kentish Town, Gospel Oak, Chalk Farm, Camden Town, Agar Town, Somers Town and Regent's Park. The area is a shallow valley of London clay; bounded East by the rising ground of Camden Town, West by Primrose Hill, and North by the Hampstead and Highgate hills. It is poor and very poor in the South (Somers Town); comfortable middle-class in Dartmouth Park, off Camden Road, and near Regent's Park; but in the main the inhabitants are a fairly comfortable artisan class. Socially, the best streets tend downwards; the occupiers letting apartments; while the worst streets tend upward, chiefly as the result of demolition and rebuilding. The southern part contains three large railway termini, around which are a large number of brothels and disreputable houses, making the place notorious.

Poverty Areas.—By far the worst area of poverty is that between St. Pancras Station and the Hampstead Road (*vide* p. 186), extending in places to Albany Street. Any improvement here is due to displacement by railway extensions. The people are low, rough labourers, mixed with costers and prostitutes. North, off Camden High Street, are small courts (light and dark blue) with costers; whilst off Chalk Farm Road and Ferdinand Street are light blue streets and courts inhabited by bricklayers' labourers, coalies and railway goods traffic men. Further North are Litcham and Preston Streets (*vide* p. 194), and by the cemetery on the edge of the map is the light blue of Highgate New Town (*vide* p. 192), where people displaced from Somers Town have settled. Much middle-class poverty is said to hide itself in the pink and pink-barred streets of Camden Town. There is not much over-crowding, except in the South, where demolitions have forced the people into the neighbouring streets.

Employments.—The poor are costers, carmen, coalies and casual labourers, working on the railways or canal. The fairly comfortable classes include many railway employees, cabinet-makers and pianoforte makers. Many clerks and shop assistants, male and female, lodge in Camden and Kentish Towns, and work in the City.

Housing and Rents.—In Somers Town most of the poorer inhabitants live in single rooms, rented at 4*s* 6*d* to 5*s* for front, and 2*s* 6*d* to 4*s* for back rooms. Many of these rooms are very small, the usual size being ten feet by ten feet. In a street coloured dark blue with a black line, the houses are three storeyed with twelve feet frontage, and rents range from 2*s* 6*d* to 4*s* per room. In Pancras Square model dwellings, two rooms and scullery let for 5*s* 6*d* to 9*s*, and three rooms at 7*s* 6*d* to 9*s* 6*d*. In the working-class streets of Camden Town rents of single rooms are 2*s* 6*d* to 3*s*, two rooms from 5*s* 6*d* to 7*s*. In Kentish Town rooms are rather larger and rents a little lower. Eight-roomed houses let for £40. and rates and taxes.

Market Streets.—The best-known markets are: Hampstead Road by Seaton Street; King Street, Camden Town (to which the costers were recently removed from the High Street); Kentish Town Road; Queen's Crescent, Malden Road; and Chalton Street, where a daily market is held, Friday being the busiest day.

Public-houses.—Licensed houses are distributed very evenly over the area, except the extreme North and the better class districts by

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Camden Town and Regent's Park. Near Cumberland Hay Market there is a concentration of fully licensed houses, and in High Street, Camden Town, grocers' licences become prominent.

Places of Amusement.—A new theatre and a music-hall have been built within the area quite recently. Access to those in the central area is easy.

Open Spaces.—Excepting Somers Town the district is fairly well supplied with open spaces. Highgate Cemetery and Parliament Fields in the North, with Primrose Hill and Regent's Park in the South, are the largest. Small public open spaces are St. James's Gardens, Hampstead Road, Cumberland Hay Market and Old St. Pancras Churchyard. The large railway sidings add much additional air space. In the parish of St. Anne, Brookfield, there are fifty-one allotment gardens.

Health good, except in the South. There are complaints as to bad drainage in Camden Town.

Changes of Population.—In the South some of the poor have been displaced by demolition; elsewhere the servant-keeping middle-class have declined, and working people in regular employ increased. The middle class have moved to new districts outside London; whilst the great railway companies have brought many country folk into the district. The change in the colouring is usually from red to pink or pink-barred, and dark blue is being eliminated.

Means of Locomotion.—The Midland, London and North Western, and North London Railways, all run through, and have stations within the district. At Highgate Road the Midland connects with the Great Eastern Railway. Tramways run from the corner of the Euston Road along Hampstead Road to Holloway *viâ* the Camden Road; to Highgate (Archway Tavern), Highgate Rise, Parliament Fields and Hampstead; and also from Hampstead and Parliament Fields *viâ* King's Cross to Holborn and Moorgate Street. Except by omnibus there is no communication south of the Euston Road. The Metropolitan Railway touches the district at King's Cross and Gower Street. More rapid services northwards by existing trams are wanted. Also direct connection between the great railway termini and Waterloo, Victoria and Charing Cross Railway Stations. A Tube railway from Charing Cross to Hampstead, now being constructed, will pass through this district.

Map E.—INNER NORTH WEST (1900).

The Streets are coloured according to social condition of inhabitants as under:—

Lowest Class | Very Poor | Moderate Poverty | Poverty & Comfort (mixed) | Fairly Comfortable | Well-to-do | Wealthy

Combined colouring (as Pink and Red) indicates a mixture of the Classes which the Colours represent.

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§ 5

LISSON GROVE AREA

From the Church point of view, six parishes may be considered responsible for this district, viz.: Christ Church, St. Barnabas, St. Matthew, St. Luke, St. Paul, and Emmanuel, representing all shades in the Church of England except the extremely High. There are also Baptist, Wesleyan, and Presbyterian churches, one of each, some eight or ten missions, and two Roman Catholic centres. These churches and missions are all working hard; dealing according to their lights, and to the best of their ability, with the religious and other needs of the people. Although the variety of effort is great, I do not propose to individualize their work, but rather to quote in a general way what they themselves say of it, what they say of each other, and what they jointly say of the place and the people.

Those who take the largest and longest view are the best satisfied. Miss Hart, who has worked for thirty years at Christ Church, says there has been a gradual improvement, due mainly to pulling down and rebuilding and the consequent attraction of a more respectable class. This lady refers also to the good effects of well-administered house-owning in teaching the poorest to live decently. Still, she admits that there are some places occupied by thriftless, loafing people, which become dirtier and more dilapidated and disreputable, and speaks of the migration of the more decent among those who have been displaced to the new buildings in St. John's Wood Road. The Baptist minister also, while he speaks of desperate poverty in parts, bears witness to a 'great toning up,' caused by removals, resulting in less poverty and less crime. Old houses have been replaced by new, and a totally different class accommodated. In other cases we hear merely that 'comfortable flats gradually take the place of small houses.'

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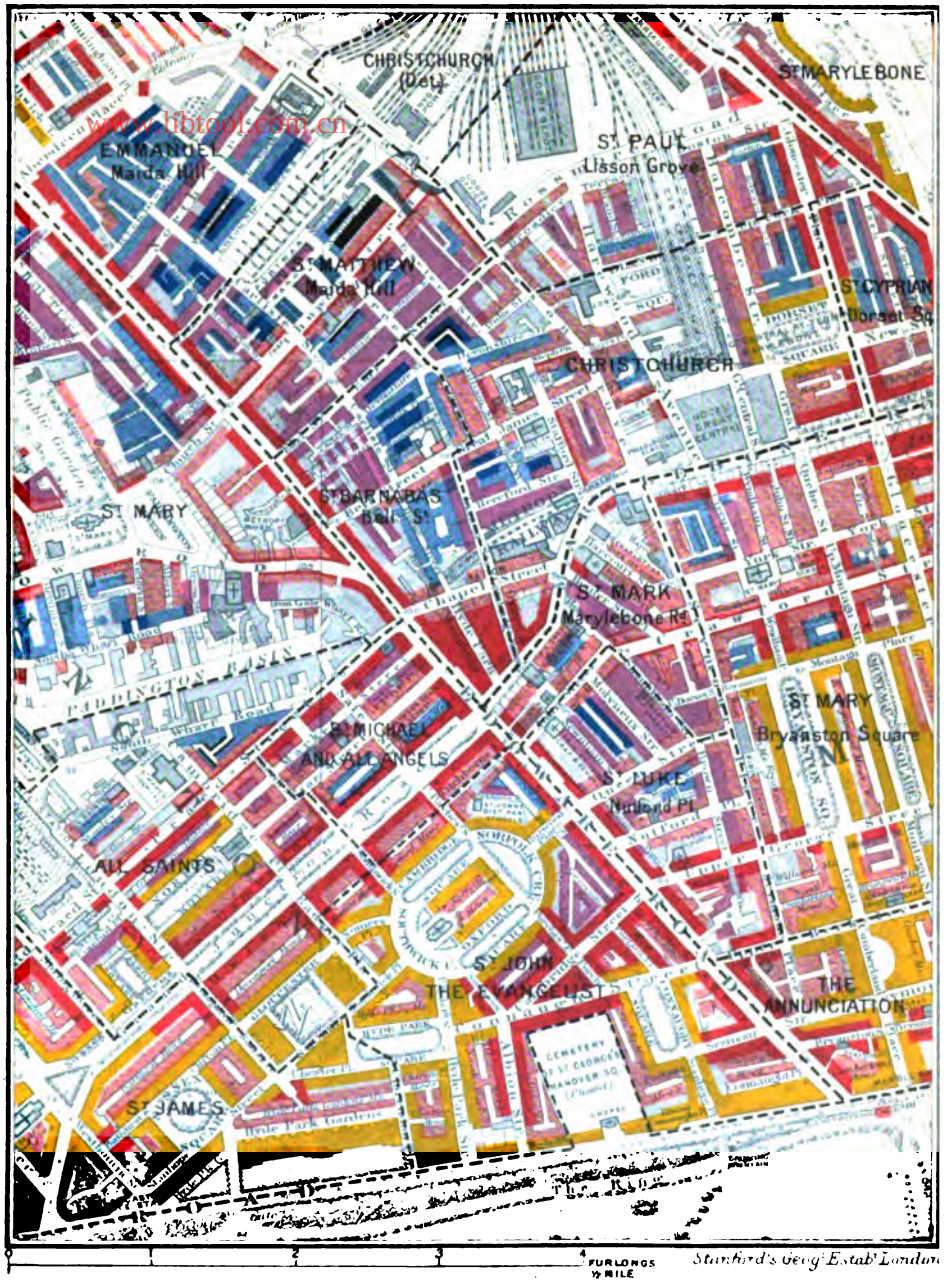
At the southernmost extremity there has been improvement—an encroachment of respectability, though one rowdy, drunken street remains, which is occupied largely by Roman Catholics. Further North the influence of the railway clearances is everywhere felt. To St. Barnabas the demolitions have brought increased crowding and higher rents, with the result that the more desirable people leave. From St. Matthew's parish, a little nearer to the work of the railway, we hear that the advent of the navvies drove the better people away while the worst of those from the demolished area crowded in, so that the change here was distinctly for the worse. But the navvies leave, and to the houses owned by the railway company in St. Paul's parish, which the navvies occupied, quieter people are now coming.

The great blocks of dwellings built by the railway company in Emmanuel parish, which accommodate some four thousand people, contain few of the poor who were displaced, but are filled with regular wage-earners such as engine drivers, porters and policemen. It seems, however, that a poorer class of inhabitants tends to come in as the rules as to crowding and the taking of lodgers are gradually evaded or relaxed. The degraded poor, so far as they have not crowded in to the remaining old streets, are said to have gone West towards Kilburn.

The poverty that remains is still very great. One of the City missionaries (of whom several work in this area) says of those he visits, that there is a family in nearly every room. And the conductor of a remarkable Medical Mission, who for twenty-three years has visited and doctored the poor, tells us that nearly all the families he visits, also occupying only one room, have 'little furniture of any kind, perhaps no chairs; no place to put down his hat,' and that the ailments are most frequently such as are due to poverty and



Streets coloured according to social condition of inhabitants as under :—

Lowest Class — **Very Poor** — **Moderate Poverty** — **Mixed—Comfortable and Poor** — **Fairly Comfortable** — **Well-to-do** — **Wealthy**

Combined colouring (as Pink and Red) indicates a mixture of the Classes which the Colours represent.

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bad drains. But he, too, recognises the improvement in the district, since, though the people with whom he has to deal are as poor as ever, there are fewer of them. A better class has come into the improved tenements. He only visits in the immediate neighbourhood, but patients come to him from far and wide, most of them being women and children.

His heart and soul are in the work. He seeks to heal the sick; while to all he proffers also the Gospel of his faith; but neither this plan, nor the painstaking daily round of the City missionary, nor the completely organized house-to-house visiting on which some of the clergy pride themselves, nor the devotion of individual pious ladies, have any very palpable outcome. One missionary says 'there is not much result, but I do see some; those who are converted improve and move.' Another, while not satisfied, 'can point to those he has got out of the gutter,' but then (he adds) the place becomes 'hell on earth to them.' A lady parish worker can count 'some individuals risen to a higher level of cleanliness, morality and happiness.' 'Those who definitely come out and declare for Jesus are a very few,' says a Bible-woman, but she sees a difference in others in their lives and homes, which she attributes to the 'Word working in them.' But 'not one in a thousand cares about God,' is the cry of one who has given her life to missionary work here.

What we hear from the police and the impression left by what we have ourselves seen of the bad streets in this area, do not tend to lighten the picture. Whether improving or not, the district still compares unfavourably with many if not most other poor areas. It is, for instance, worse than what remains of Somers Town. The indications of poverty and vice are more numerous and more glaring. The visible street life is of a more unpleasant character. Almost every public-

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house has its contingent of loafers. 'In street after street evil specimens of womankind shuffle along with head wrapped in a shawl, or lean out of windows, or stand gossiping at the open doors. Evil-looking, idle, hulking lads are not an uncommon sight; children who ought to be at school are playing about in the streets; and the houses look filthy without and within.' In the streets thus described one-roomed tenements prevail. The only relief is in the references to the children, who, though often dirty, are also often healthy-looking and fairly clad and shod. A group of them, seen cooking fish at an improvised fire in the open, formed rather a jolly picture of scrambling gipsy life. But miserable faces of those locked up at home while the parents were away could be seen peering through the dirty panes.

The proportion of children who attend Sunday school is undoubtedly large, but there is room for more teachers if not for more schools. The vicar of St. Matthew's says that many children go nowhere, and that if he had an adequate staff he could double his numbers. St. Barnabas' has only nine teachers for 270 children, and the cry of the vicar is for more help. He attempts no afternoon school, but more than five hundred come to a service at the church. One of the City missionaries says that some children do not even go to day school, but this can hardly be the case to any large extent in this neighbourhood, and to the ameliorative influence of school teaching is perhaps mainly due the general softening of manners which is admitted here as elsewhere.

'The district is terribly difficult for religious work,' so says the head of a mission which is described as 'a hive of religious industry;' and the reason is given: 'in the past the people have expected to be paid.' In support of this assertion, we are told by another that 'people if they attend and get nothing, think you

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ungrateful,' and the missionary 'sometimes wishes he had no poor's purse.' Much stress is laid on the great number of religious and philanthropic agencies in operation. They crowd upon the ground, and are not always appreciative of each other. For instance, a City missionary, strenuous as nearly all of them are, expresses but a low opinion of curates who make no personal religious appeal, and only talk of the weather. The characteristic of the small missions, says one of the clergy, is to give a great deal for the sake of winning support—'They will do anything to get your people away.' But it is retorted that the High Churches for their part do all they can to discredit missions and draw away other people's converts from what they speak of as 'unconsecrated churches,' and that 'if they do get hold of the people it is mainly by lavish giving, for the people neither understand nor care for the doctrine.' The Baptist minister refers to great activity on all sides, 'sometimes lacking in discretion.' But while granting that there is bribery, regards it rather as 'healthy rivalry.' He himself has no mothers' meeting 'because there are too many already, and the women attend several.' The attempt to get relief is spoken of in another quarter, a little cynically, as 'one of the minor industries.'

The strong congregation of Scotch Presbyterians, which meets in Upper George Street, and is drawn from a wide area, has as yet attempted no local work, but their minister, by training a theologian and not long in London, spoke of the pressure on his soul of the problems of life that lie around him. For him it is not enough that his people should lead decent lives, be good husbands and fathers, and come regularly to church; something more is wanted: 'Missionary zeal must be aroused.' And so he, too, prepares to join in the struggle we have depicted. On the other hand, one of the Church of England clergy, who has faced

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these problems for a quarter of a century, has learnt the limitations and bows to them. 'The poor,' he says, 'do not attend church; the service is not what they want.' No jealousy is felt by him if they go in any larger numbers to mission chapels. He admits that the 'Dissenters' Sunday schools are the more popular,' and that 'the social agencies of the church are not patronized.' 'The mothers who come to our meeting do not get as much as they expect.' Yet the work he does is all very good, as good as that of any.

Thrift organizations are the most successful parts of the work done by the religious bodies, but most of the saving is for immediate rather than remote objects: for boots, or summer holidays, or Christmas fare, rather than for emergencies; the largest thing of the kind, however, is a 'Mothers' Burial Club,' organized by the most active of the missions. This club is not confined to the locality. It has over two thousand members, coming from far and near, to profit by the advantages offered.

The railway clearances have brought money in some cases in the form of compensation for disturbances. St. Paul's, for instance, which has lost half its parishioners, obtains new schools and a vicarage by this means; and the Unitarian mission, which was practically wiped out, has been enabled to make quite a fresh start. It happened, too, that the former missionary died, so that there is new management as well as new buildings, and new ground broken and new people gathered together (all in and from this district); yet asked about other agencies, which one should have supposed he must have come across, the present missionary could only say that he 'knew little of them and often wondered what they did.' It may well be said that 'co-operation is futile.'

The atmosphere of charitable giving pervades everything. The Charity Organization Society has a 'good

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tender-hearted committee,' but even its moderated rules are broken through by those who profess to accept the sound principles that underlie them. Money for charitable purposes is even too plentiful, and one parish actually boasts that it is 'the best relieved for miles round, so that the poor flock in during the winter.'

The Salvation Army, we are told, described Lisson Grove as a 'coal and bread ticket place,' and because they found it hopeless, from the religious point of view, turned their huge hall into a night shelter and food depôt. The shelter is not regarded very favourably in the locality. A City missionary says the street in which it stands has become poorer and worse; it has brought in some rough characters and the more respectable have left. The shelter itself accommodates two classes at different prices (2*d* and 4*d*), and to facilitate this is arranged with separate entrances on two streets. It attracts the class for whom it is intended, but it is not suggested that the shelter has met any local want except so far as it may have temporarily accommodated some of the railway navvies. This shelter work is shared by the Shaftesbury Institute, where also a charge of 2*d* is made. The Salvation Army has not entirely abandoned religious work here, but the corps is now stationed in the Harrow Road.

The headquarters of the Church Army are in Edgware Road, and some local work is carried on, but it is of no great importance. Their brass band may be heard in the streets and the surpliced officers seen marching to and fro, or standing at some corner attempting, without much success, to interest the passer by. The general work of the Church Army will be referred to in a later volume.

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§ 6

PORTLAND TOWN

This little district is described by the Wesleyan minister as an island of poverty in the midst of wealth; but the wealth is not quite equal to that further West and the poverty bears no comparison to that of Lisson Grove. The headmaster of the Board school says that so far as his children are concerned there is no difficulty of any kind. They are well fed, well clothed, healthy and intelligent. The necessity for supplying food or clothing is of the rarest. In the Summer nearly all the children pay their contribution to the Country Holiday Fund and many parents will not avail themselves of the scheme at all. It seems probable, however, that the poorer children go to the church schools.

All agree that the place has been spoilt, and large numbers of beggars and cadgers attracted by the unwise distribution of charity; but there is some difference of opinion as to how far this is still going on. The vicar of St. Stephen's * claims to have altered things for the better since he came, now ten or twelve years ago. But his neighbour, the Wesleyan minister, whose own church has not succeeded very well either on congregational or mission lines, watches with rather jealous eyes the church-workers moving about 'ready to pour their money in,' but rejoices that thereby his own poor members, though few in number, are made the more sturdy and independent, 'thorough in their religion, contented with their lot, and anxious to do good.' Nor are St. Stephen's people the only church-workers. The Kilburn Sisters of the Church Extension have an establishment here, and the Baptists who, as well as the Presbyterians, are represented by a mission, say that there is no neighbourhood where the poor get

* Since deceased.

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more money given, and that there is overlapping amongst the various agencies. The Salvation Army, too, has here a small local corps.

The 'Portland Town Association' was formed in 1884 to consolidate charitable action and obviate its abuses, and claims that there is considerable improvement, part of which, the managers hope, may have been due to its intervention. 'Formerly begging and cadging were the rule—now it is not so.' The association has been helped by economic changes; one which has worked to advantage being the loss to the district of a great deal of the laundry work that used to be done here, but has gone further out to larger establishments, with the result that there are fewer loafing men living on their wives' earnings, and perhaps fewer hard-drinking women, for wash-tub work is undoubtedly apt to lead to drink. The men are employed mainly as unskilled labourers. The officer of the Salvationists, of whom none are very poor, had lately come from Pentonville, and noted the contrast between the two populations; there the people were vicious and depraved; here they are workers. Still, setting aside any comparison with either Lisson Grove or Pentonville, the district is decidedly poor.

While railway construction was in progress, Portland Town shared with Lisson Grove in providing temporary accommodation for the navvies, whose presence is said to have lowered the moral standard and increased disorder and drunkenness. They have all gone now, but have left some legacy of evil behind them.

The need for some humanizing influence on the lives of these men, most of them single or living away from their families, was felt, and special efforts were made by the religious bodies to reach them, of which we received a remarkable account from St. Paul's, Lisson Grove.

A mission was arranged by a committee of local

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clergy, to all of whom the success of the attempt came, I think, as a surprise. The navvies seem to have been readily roused and keenly interested in the religious discussions which were inaugurated by the missionary. The men, being countrymen, were probably more accessible than most Londoners to religious ideas, and there may have been some advantage in the novelty and temporary character of the work, but much credit is due to the missionary.

Taken all in all the account of Portland Town is not unsatisfactory, though from the religious side, indeed, one of our informants says, 'you may write indifference across the whole.' Apart from the poor it is complained that the incomers of middle class are of little good to the Church, being 'Jews, and such Bohemians as theatrical and music-hall managers.'

It is said that when the leases fall in, which will be soon, the whole poor part of Portland Town will be rebuilt with dwellings for middle-class people. This might be unobjectionable if at the same time good working-class accommodation replaced the poor quarter near the Great Central Station.

§ 7

ST. JOHN'S WOOD AND HAMPSTEAD

The older part of St. John's Wood, south of Marlborough Road, is a very pleasant district. Though the numberless little detached or semi-detached stucco villas have no architectural merit, age has lent them a certain beauty, enhanced in Summer by creepers, flowering shrubs and flowers, and endowed even in winter with an air of cosiness and comfort.

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North of Marlborough Road the district is rather newer and more pretentious, but much less attractive. As far as wealth goes there may not be much to choose between the inhabitants of the two districts, but as to character, a good deal. The older locality is largely artistic or Bohemian, and in parts somewhat questionable. The newer is 'solid and stolidy' middle class, whose men for the most part are men of business. Further North the district becomes again pleasant to the eye—houses of the most modern types of architecture, red brick, tiled roofs, low windows and gable ends, changing, as we near Hampstead Town, to the varied beauty of old houses, picturesque cottages, lovely gardens and stately trees, all leading up to the glories of the Heath.

Except for the anomaly of Portland Town, and some long-established poverty in old Hampstead, the whole of this vast district is either middle or upper middle class. Only to the extreme West at Kilburn, and 'West End,' a working-class population has come in and is very rapidly increasing in number, and becoming poor and crowded in places. But the increase happens everywhere, more or less, and with growth in numbers there is social decadence. The old families leave, the Jews come, the artistic and Bohemian element prevails. Of one still well-to-do district, the best that can be said is that it has not yet dropped to the level of letting apartments. The churches retain large congregations, and although they suffer in finance, are still prosperous and even rich. 'The new comers,' says one Nonconformist, 'belong to the Church of England.' In another case, where the present residents are 'Church if anything,' a Congregationalist minister thinks that the impending downfall of the neighbourhood will be to the advantage of Nonconformity. Such changes concern shades and variations of the middle class and the question as to this church or that

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being chosen, but where the working class comes in all the religious bodies suffer.

From the religious point of view, and quite apart from the poor streets forming there, 'West End,' where the population is all new, is found by the Congregationalists to be a 'strange and difficult district.' They think there is no place where people of a similar class are so slack. This, it is suggested, may be because 'the people came before the churches and so acquired habits of neglect,' or, perhaps, because 'existence in flats, only one remove from hotel life, lacks the ties and responsibilities of domesticity.' The vicar of one of the parishes speaks of the rage for cheap and showy flats and of 'mixed classes bound to become poorer.' In ten years the population at 'West End' has increased twenty-fold. The place looks forlorn, and the people seem still unaccustomed to their surroundings.

If we lay aside the question of class, we find religious cleavage to be between High and Low Church doctrine, rather than between Church and Dissent. This is especially so in St. John's Wood, but everywhere the Nonconformists and the Evangelical clergy are on very friendly terms and ready to co-operate in minor matters. In one district a joint committee was formed to prevent overlapping in charities, and still exists, so that it could be called together if there were to be a time of distress; its area has recently been extended so as to include the whole of Hampstead.

The strong feeling against Ritualism which has served as a bond between the Evangelical Churches, has been exasperated by the operations of the 'Kilburn Sisters' and the institutions they have founded. There are two Sisterhoods, both originating in this district. The earlier, formed first for parochial work and afterwards extended as a nursing order, manages a hospital (St. Peter's Home) at Kilburn and has several centres

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of work outside London. It is not the members of this order, but of the second, namely that of 'The Church Extension,' whose enthusiasm and zeal has sometimes taken them beyond the bounds of prudence and perhaps of principle also. Theirs is a teaching order, the object being to establish missions and schools. They have spread all over the world, showing astonishing force and vigour; but, as even their friends admit, have 'blundered in all kinds of ways, have been extravagant, injudicious and unbusiness-like, and have refused to submit to the higher powers of the Church whose extension was their avowed object.' They are to the High Church what Mildmay has been to the Low—the parallel is singularly close—and the comparison is not in their favour.

This Kilburn Sisterhood has here its *pendant* in an aggressive Gospel agency started on purpose to 'combat the rising tide of Romanism.' The organization sends forth evangelists for whom a training academy is maintained, and has also a number of mission centres, one, if not two, being in this neighbourhood. In addition to attacking Romanism and preaching the Gospel according to their lights, they enter boldly into competition with the Sisters of the Church Extension in supplying food and firing to the poor, and point with pride to the thousands of free meals and hundreds of tons of coal dispensed, together with soup seemingly *ad libitum*.

There has been a marked increase in the vigour of religious effort of every kind in North-West London. In parish after parish we have been told that before the present incumbent came, the church was dead. We hear of it not only from those whose work this revival has been, but also from those neighbours whose congregations have suffered by the return of wandering sheep to their proper fold; and these cases are not confined to the

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Church of England. To some extent, they involve only a shifting from church to church, but they also indicate a real awakening to religious duty and a fresh impulse, even if partly one of fashion, towards religious observances and religious work. The churches have all spoken and to each there has been response.

The variety that offers is great. Those aggrieved by extremes in the services of the church in one parish find satisfaction, perhaps, by resorting to some other equally extreme in another direction; while elsewhere harmony is secured and the influence of the Church strengthened by moderation. Among the Nonconformist bodies people sort themselves. With them the boundary of sect is disregarded. Each congregation contains those who have previously been members of other denominations. This is true also as between the Evangelical churches of the Establishment and all the orthodox Nonconformist bodies. It is pleasantly, and also correctly, pointed out, that to revert, or pass on to some other community, is not to lapse.

Out of such church-going material great congregations can be formed. At one, fashion may be the leading attraction; at another, exquisite music; with several it is high ritual. Almost all are energetic in organization. One of the Evangelical churches is full morning and evening, has every pew let, and a 'waiting list' as well. Here sound doctrine is preached, but in addition 'the singing is good, like that of a college chapel.' Amongst the Nonconformists Dr. Horton of the Congregationalists, and Dr. Monro Gibson of the Presbyterians, are very great preachers whose numerous adherents are organized for and stimulated to all forms of Congregational activity and Christian work; and it is the same with the large Baptist congregations of Abbey Road, St. John's Wood, and Heath Street, Hampstead. Moreover, all these examples of religious activity are but culminating points in

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a general measure of success. Failures are quite the exception.

If any of the upper working class come to church or chapel they are greatly welcomed, and some do come. But if they stay away they are hardly missed. Nor are the poor anywhere overwhelming in numbers. They are indeed, save in parts of Kilburn, rather an embarrassment, as clergy and ministers alike testify, because they are so few. 'There are four churches after every poor family,' says one; while another adds, 'such poor as there are, are in effect dependents on the rich.' 'There is too much philanthropic work; so that the poorer classes in Hampstead are spoiled,' with the result that 'they become adepts in the art of getting relief from many sources.' And in one place mention is made, with half a sigh, of a 'splendid soup kitchen not used for three years.'

Finally, I may quote what was said to us by the minister of a small Christian sect. He had only been six months in London, coming from the Provinces, and had plunged into this strange struggle, fought over men's bodies for their souls. He had tried by visiting those near his chapel to win them over to his simple faith, but found it useless. 'The Church of Christ,' he concludes, 'has been a great deal too eager to use doubtful means to get hold of the people. They have been pandered to, and fed with sops and doles. They don't understand that you are concerned with their souls, and do not want to see you unless you have something to give them; and children get the same ideas.'

It would doubtless be unfair to assume that the securing of religious influence is the only motive for all these charities, but it is nearly always present, and more than anything else renders it difficult for the Churches to make common cause; so that, as a result, the poor are demoralized, whilst the cause of religion

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suffers discredit. There is, however, also a great mass of work undertaken by these prosperous wealthy churches which stands firmly on its own merits. Large day schools in many of the parishes, homes for the aged and for orphans, and hospitals for the suffering, and in one, at least, a servants' registry and home, and a great and very successful School of Cookery and Domestic Economy. Such undertakings require money as well as work, and the money is well spent.

§ 8

LOCAL ADMINISTRATION

The Hampstead Vestry has long enjoyed a reputation for good business-like management, and the change in form, to that of Borough Council, is unlikely to make any difference in this respect. Men of high character are willing to serve, party politics are little regarded, and the difficulties to be encountered are moderate and manageable compared to those met with in Islington, St. Pancras, or Marylebone. The Vestry has established baths, wash-houses and libraries, and, as at St. Pancras, has found a source of income in the supply of electric light. In the administration of the Poor Law also, there is at Hampstead no lack of people of character and leisure willing to serve as Guardians. The tone is sympathetic, but careful, and the granting of relief is largely safeguarded by personal knowledge of the applicants.

In the Lisson Grove area, which is part of Marylebone, a steady pressure seems to be exercised by inspection, with good results on sanitation, and 'cellar dwellings have been almost inspected out of existence.' Still, as we have seen, much remains to be done.

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DESCRIPTIVE NOTES. MAP G. (VOL. I., CHAPTER IV.).

Hampstead and St. John's Wood.

Adjoining Maps—E. Inner North-West (p. 196); S. Inner West (Vol. III.); W. Outer West (Vol. III.).

General Character.—The map stretches from Hampstead in the North to Lisson Grove in the South, and comprises the districts of Hampstead, West End, Kilburn, Belsize Park, St. John's Wood, Portland Town, Maida Vale, and parts of Paddington and Lisson Grove. The whole district is mainly middle class and rich. Except at Lisson Grove, poverty occurs in small patches. The ground lies high, rising from St. John's Wood to Hampstead, the lower levels being on the line of Edgware Road, Maida Vale and Kilburn. The soil is London clay, except Hampstead, which is sandy. In Hampstead, the houses stand singly or in small groups, and the map is dotted with spots of colour from yellow to light blue. Lodgers are usual in West End and Kilburn, but neither in Hampstead itself nor in Belsize Park is social decay apparent. South of the North London Railway, in St. John's Wood and Maida Vale, the district tends to a lower social level. The best families go to Hampstead, their places being taken by well-to-do Jews, and a Jewish colony is rapidly growing here and also in St. Saviour's, Paddington.

Poverty Areas.—The most important poor area—Lisson Grove (*vide* p. 197)—extends beyond the limits of the map, and a separate map is given (p. 198). North-West of Regent's Park is Portland Town (*vide* p. 204). Near Kilburn High Road are the blue and purple courts off Abbey Lane, the remains of an old village, and further north Palmerston Road and other purple streets by the railway. Some light blue appears at South End (Hampstead) where the fever hospital has frightened the richer people away, and off the Kilburn Park Road. In the south-west corner light blue occurs on the line of the Canal and Harrow Road, and has a natural connection with the poverty of Kensal New Town. The little poverty existing elsewhere is scattered and hidden behind the large houses and in Hampstead is being eliminated. The poor being gradually forced across the London boundary, a poverty area is growing in the streets west of Kilburn High Road.

Employments.—Except laundries there are few local industries, and the bulk of the people work outside the area. Middle and upper-class business and professional men, merchants, authors, journalists, musicians and others live at Hampstead. At South End are large tram stables, and in the working-class streets near Fleet Road many drivers, conductors, and horsekeepers live, besides railway men and labourers. In West Hampstead are shopkeepers, clerks, managers, and, in the poorer streets, men in the building trades, omnibus drivers, cabmen, stablemen, &c. In St. John's Wood many artists have their studios, while south of St. John's Wood Road railway men, artisans and other comfortable working people are found, as well as the street-sellers, labourers and loafers of Lisson Grove.

Housing and Rents.—In Hampstead rents are very high. Rich and poor pay more for fresh air. Building is entirely for rich: courts are demolished, but no working-class dwellings erected, and working people are obliged to go to Gospel Oak or West Hampstead. From Frognal to Belsize Park the houses are modern, red bricked, slate roofs with gables, gardens with trees; everything suggesting wealth and luxury. Rents range from about £150. to £400. and £500. a year. In the working-class houses single rooms let for 3*s* to 4*s*; two rooms 6*s* 6*d* to 7*s*. In West

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Hampstead and Kilburn rents are lower but rising; two fair-sized rooms let for 5s to 6s 6d and single rooms for 2s 6d to 4s. In the poorer streets (Palmerston Road) the houses are let in flats—the parlours (three rooms) let at 7s 6d, three top rooms for 6s 6d, and two kitchens in basement for 6s. At Portland Town and Lisson Grove railway demolitions have increased crowding, and rents have risen. Single rooms cannot be obtained under 4s. In the dwellings erected by the railway company rents range from 6s 3d or 6s 6d for two rooms to 13s for four. In St. Saviour's, Paddington, rents of the large old houses have fallen. Houses that fetched £150. now let for £120. a year. Good middle-class houses and flats are being built north of Sutherland Avenue, and in Maida Vale flats are taking the place of the older houses.

Markets.—High-class shops catering for the wealthy are found in Finchley Road and High Street, Hampstead. Three marketing centres have formed on the line of Edgware Road—at Cricklewood, just beyond the limits of the map; the Kilburn High Road between Brondesbury and Kilburn railway stations and Edgware Road from Church Street to Marylebone Road (see Map F.). Portman Market is a cheap centre for Lisson Grove; Portland Town does its marketing in High Street, St. John's Wood; and the Hampstead poor go to Kentish Town.

Public-houses are few and scattered, except in Hampstead, in the poor districts of Portland Town and Lisson Grove, and along the line of Edgware Road. Here, as in Kentish Town, grocers' licences are noticeable in the shopping streets.

Amusements.—Hampstead is noted for high-class concerts and lectures, the chief centres for these being the Conservatoire and the Town Hall. There is a theatre at Kilburn and a music-hall in Edgware Road.

Open Spaces are large and easily accessible. Hampstead Heath and Parliament Fields to the North, Regent's Park and Primrose Hill on the South-East, and Paddington Recreation Ground on the South-West. The large gardens of Hampstead and St. John's Wood ensure abundance of fresh air, and the railway clearances similarly benefit the southern district.

Health.—Exceptionally good in Hampstead and St. John's Wood.

Changes of Population.—The growth of population in the North has increased the yellow and red tints of the map at Hampstead and Belsize Park. With a growing population Kilburn is becoming poorer, owing to increase of lodgers. Houses formerly kept by a single family now shelter two. In St. John's Wood the tendency is downward; but little change has occurred except in the South, where the Great Central Railway clearances have swept away many houses here and in Christchurch. These clearances have increased crowding in Lisson Grove, where any improvement is connected with rebuilding.

Means of Locomotion.—From the Hampstead terminus at South End, trams run to Holborn and the City. A short portion of the Harrow Road tramway also touches the south-west corner of the district. Omnibuses ply North and South by three routes: by Edgware Road to Cricklewood; by Baker Street and Finchley Road to Child's Hill; and from Tottenham Court Road by Kentish Town to Haverstock Hill and Hampstead. A frequent train service runs between Brondesbury and Baker Street, connecting with the Inner Circle railway. The Midland Railway has stations at West End and Finchley Road, and the North London Railway connects West End and Hampstead with Broad Street and the Great Eastern Railway. More rapid communication is needed

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between Hampstead and the West End and a service of omnibuses along the northern heights between Hampstead and Highgate.

PLACES OF WORSHIP.

List of Parish Churches situated in the district described in Chapter IV., with other PLACES OF WORSHIP grouped according to the ecclesiastical parishes.

All Hallows, Gospel Oak.
Miss. of Good Shepherd, Lismore Circus.
Cong. Ch., Southampton Rd.
L. C. M. Hall, Lamble St.

All Saints, St. John's Wood.
Cong. Ch., St. John's Wood Ter.
Bapt. Ch., Abbey Rd.

All Souls, Loudoun Rd.

Christ Church, Hampstead.
Bapt. Ch., Heath St.
Ebenezer Bapt. Chapel, Christchurch Passage.

Christ Church, Marylebone.
Christchurch Miss., Shroton St.
St. John's Episcopal Ch., St. John's Wood Rd.
Dauntless Hall (Church Army), Lisson Grove.

Christ Church, St. Pancras.
St. Bede's Miss. Ch., Little Albany St.
St. Katharine's Collegiate Ch.
Wesl. Chapel, Stanhope St.
Lutheran Ch., Stanhope St.
Queen of Martyrs of St. Pancras (R. C.), Little Albany St.

Christ Church, SomersTown.
Culross Hall, Battlebridge Rd.

Emmanuel, Maida Hill.
Church of Our Lady (R. C.), Grove Rd.

Emmanuel, West Hampstead.
Emmanuel Miss., Mill Lane.
P. Meth. Chapel, Mill Lane.
Hampstead Synagogue, Dennington Park Rd.

Holy Trinity, Clarence Rd.
Trinity Miss., Ferdinand Place.
Cong. Ch., Kentish Town Rd.
Cong. Ch., Hawley Rd.
Pres. Ch., Clarence Rd.
Christian Disciples Chapel, Prince of Wales Rd.
FreeChristian Ch., Clarence Rd.
Salv. Army Barracks, 80, Chalk Farm Rd.
Brethren, 1, Hawley Rd.
L. C. M. Room, 62, Harmood St.

Old St. Pancras.
Old St. Pancras Miss., College Place.
Bedford Cong. Ch., Charrington St.
Somers Tn. Presb. Ch., Ossulston St.
Aldenham Institute, Goldingham Crescent.
Aldenham Hall, 49, Aldenham St.

St. Andrew, Haverstock Hill.
St. Silas' Miss., Shipton Place.
St. Andrew's Miss., Modbury St.
Cong. Ch., Maitland Park Rd.
Bapt. Ch., Bassett St.
Wesl. Ch., Prince of Wales Rd.
Oxenden Pres. Ch., Havstck. H.
Domestic Mis. (Unit.), Rhyll St.
Malden Hall, Herbert St.
Lismore Gospel Hall, 1, Lismore Circus.
L. C. Miss., 39, Grafton Ter.
St. Dominic's (R. C.), Southampton Rd.

St. Anne, Brookfield.
St. Anne's Miss., Raydon St.
People's Gospel Miss., Winscombe St.

St. Augustine, Kilburn.
St. Augustine's Mis., Bolton Rd.
Cong. Ch., Greville Place.
*Bapt. Ch., Carlton Hill.

St. Barnabas, Kentish Town.
St. Mark's Miss., Prince of Wales Rd.
P. Meth. Chapel, Grafton Rd.

St. Barnabas, Marylebone.
Domestic(Unit.)Mis., 46, Bell St.
M'bone Medical Miss., 12, Bell St.

* Now closed (1902).

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St. Barnabas (*continued*)—
*Railway Miss., Bell St.
Earl St. Miss., 111-113, Earl St.
Shaftesbury Institute, Bell St.

St. Benet, Kentish Town.

St. Cuthbert, Wt. Hampstead.
St. Cuthbert's Miss., Maygrove Rd.
Brondesbury B'pt. Ch., High Rd.

St. Cyprian, Marylebone.

St. James, Hampstead Rd.
St. James's Parish Hall, George St.
Cong. Ch., Tolmer's Square.
Tolmer's Sq. Institute (Cong.), Drummond St.
Bapt. Mis., 180, Drummond St.
Stanhope Inst., 86, Stanhope St.

St. James, West Hampstead.
St. James' Mis., Netherwood St.
Gospel Miss. (Brethren), 192, Broadhurst Gardens.
Palmerston Miss., 41, Palmerston Rd.

St. John, Hampstead.
St. John's Mis., Holly Bush Vale.
Cong. Ch., Lyndhurst Rd.
Wesl. Ch., High St.
St. Mary's (R. C.), Holly Place.

St. John Baptist, Kentish Tn.
Falkland Hall (Bapt.), Falkland Rd.
Wesl. Ch., Lady Margaret Rd.
Pres. Miss., Leighton Rd.
Cath. Apostolic Ch., Gordon House Rd.
Our Lady Help of Christians (R. C.), Fortess Rd.

St. Luke, Nutford Place.
Bapt. Chapel, John St.
Bapt. Ch., Shouldham St.
Presb. Ch., Up. George St.
Hyde Park Hall, Stourcliffe St.
Nutford Hall (Breth.), Nutford Place.
West London Synagogue, 34, Up. Berkeley St.

St. Luke, Kentish New Town.
Wesl. Miss., Hampshire St.

St. Luke, West Hampstead.
Cong. Ch., Finchley Rd.

St. Mark, Albert Rd.
St. Mark's Miss., Arlington Rd.
Bapt. Chapel, Berkeley Rd.

St. Mark, Maida Vale.
Pres. Ch., Marlboro' Place.
St. John's Wood Synagogue, Abbey Rd.

St. Mark, Marylebone Rd.
Paddington Cong. Ch., Marylebone Rd.
U. Meth. Free Ch., John St.
Our Lady of the Rosary (R. C.), Marylebone Rd.

St. Martin, Kentish Town.
St. Martin's Mis., Dickenson St.
Lyndhurst Hall (Cong.), Warden Rd.
Hampstead Miss. (Pres.) Carlton Rd.
Unitarian Miss., Litcham St.
Brethren's Meeting Ho. Training School, Wilkin St.
Kentish Town Ragged School, Wilkin Street.

St. Mary, Brookfield.
Bapt. Ch., Highgate Rd.

St. Mary Magd., Munster Sq.
St. Mary Magd. Miss., Fitzroy Place.

St. Mary, Kilburn.
Ebenezer Bpt. Ch., Kilburn Vale.
Wesl. Ch., Quex Rd.
Unitn. Ch. Hall, Quex Rd.
Church of the Sacred Heart (R. C.), Quex Rd.

St. Mary, Somers Town.
St. Aloysius (R.C.), Clarend'n Sq.
Christian Men's Gospel Miss., Chalton St.

St. Mary Virgin, Primrose Hill.

St. Matthew, Marylebone.
St. Matthew's Mis., Salisbury St.
Bapt. Ch., Church St.
Lisson Grove Mis., 77, Church St.
Blackbird Coffee Tavern, 82, Church St.

St. Matthew, Oakley Square.
Park Cong. Ch., Arlington Rd.
P. Meth. Chapel, King St.

* Now closed (1902).

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St. Michael, Camden Town.
St. Michael's Mis., Greenland St.
Trinity Pres Ch., Kentish Town Rd.

St. Michael, Highgate.
Cong. Ch., South Grove.

St. Paul, Avenue Road.
New College Chapel (Cong.), Upper Avenue Rd.
King's College Miss. Room, King's College Mews.

St. Paul, Camden Town.
Pres. Ch., Camden Park Rd.
York Rd. Miss. Room, York Rd.
North-West London Synagogue, York Rd.

St. Paul, Kilburn.
(Church is outside London boundary, but bulk of parish is within this district.)

St. Paul, Lisson Grove.
Mount Zion Bapt. Ch., Hill St.
Brunswick Wesl. Chapel, Balcombe St.

St. Peter, Belsize Park.

St. Peter, Paddington.
Bapt. Ch., Shirland Rd.
Wesl. Ch., Sutherland Avenue.
Pres. Ch., Shirland Rd.
L. C. Miss., Amberley Rd.

St. Saviour, Paddington.
St. Saviour's Miss., Shirland Rd.
Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, Lauderdale Rd.

St. Saviour, South Hampst'd.
St. Saviour's Miss., Fleet Rd.

St. Stephen, Camden Town.
Bapt. Chapel, Pratt St.
Wesl. Chapel, Camden St.

St. Stephen, Hampstead.
St. John's Ch., Downshire Hill.
Gospel Oak Wesl. Chapel, Lisburne Rd.
Trinity Pres. Ch., High St.
Rosslyn Hill Unitarian Ch., Pilgrim Lane.

St. Stephen, Portland Town.
St. Stephen's Miss., Henry St.
Wesl. Ch., Barrow Hill Rd.
Pres. Mis., Townshend Cottages.
Salv. Army Hall, Charles Lane.
Abbey Rd. Miss. (Bapt.), Henry St.

St. Thomas, Agar Town.
Old Bapt. Ch., 230, Gt. College St.
College Ch. (Breth), 230, Gt. College St.
Rochester Hall, Rochester Rd.
L. C. Miss. Room, 78, King's Rd.

Trinity, West Hampstead.
Trinity Parish Room, Belsize Place.

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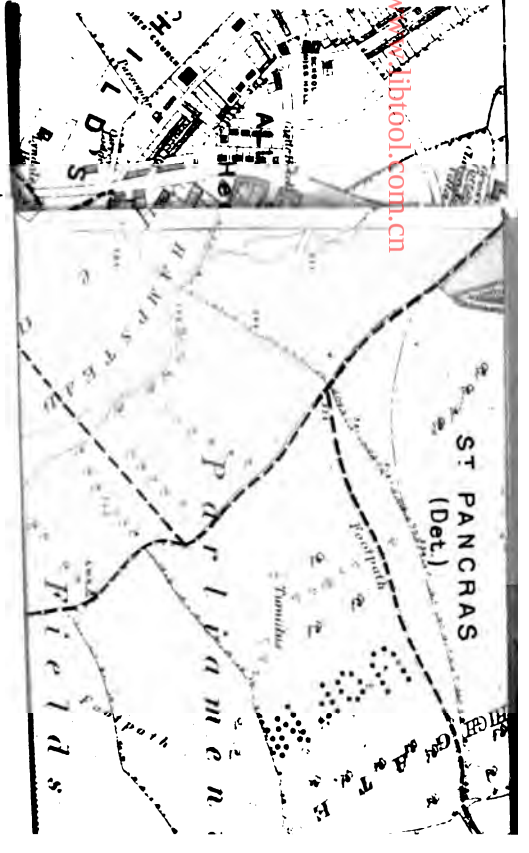
Map G.—HAMPSTEAD AND ST. JOHN'S WOOD (1900).

The Streets are coloured according to social condition of inhabitants as under:—

Lowest Class | Very Poor | Moderate Poverty | Poverty & Comfort (mixed) | Fairly Comfortable | Well-to-do | Wealthy

Combined colouring (as Pink and Red) indicates a mixture of the Classes which the Colours represent.



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CHAPTER V

ILLUSTRATIONS

I HAVE selected a few extracts from the great mass of material before me, in the hope that they may prove of interest and at the same time help to throw light on the condition of things described in the text and on the views expressed therein. But I would beg the reader to bear in mind that the fragments from our note-books which now follow were not written for publication, and must be regarded as illustrations only. No conclusions can be drawn safely except from the whole mass of information collected.

It ought to be mentioned that the 'I' in these extracts is not always the same. The names of those who have co-operated will be found on the title-page.

§ 1

CHURCH OF ENGLAND

(1) I had seen Saturday night up to closing time in the streets of Poplar, and had slept at the hotel there, which is really a large public-house, and got out on Sunday morning, not without difficulty, as the servants were asleep and I had to unbar the door myself and shut it after me as best I could. I, however, found myself in the street at 7.45, and attended the early

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service at a neighbouring church, where there were about fifty quiet people of better class, and very earnest; men and women coming together in some cases, and rising from their seats in turn to approach the altar. In this church at noon there was a choral celebration and a congregation which fairly filled the body of the church, but consisted almost entirely of women, girls and children; two hundred to three hundred in number, I should say. It is a wide, roomy, classical structure, with extensive (empty) galleries, the whole effect ugly, except for a large and beautifully lighted altar. The service was exquisitely given, or performed one might say, for every tone and attitude was studied and perfect, and the organ and choir admirably trained. The congregation knelt, and sang the responses on their knees. At the previous service, matins, a few women and children had been present. In the evening the church was full, but again there were very few men.

(2) St. * * * * * * is a typical mission-church managed on High Church principles. I attended service there in January, 1899, and again in January, 1902. When I went a second time I had forgotten the first visit, but on comparing my notes I found that the impression made was the same each time. It is elaborately decorated, with fully lighted altar and a hanging rood-screen bright with gold and enamel, and the walls are covered with delineations of the stations of the cross and other sacred pictures. On the first occasion I estimated the morning congregation at one hundred, 'more women than men,' and on the later visit I made a similar estimate; but, counting as they came out, found that there had in fact been ninety, of whom, I think, twenty were men. The choir and clergy would add about twenty-five to this total. For the evening service (one visit only) the church looked full; as usual, most were women. This church is set about with buildings: mission house, schools, club and institute, church house, &c., all well built and kept in good order. A good deal of money must be spent. The service includes all that the High Church holds proper: priest in vestments; altar servers in white and red; and at the

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close a procession with cross upheld, and the sacred pyx carried by the priest solemnly in his two hands and with bowed head.

(3) At a third church I arrived one Sunday at the end of matins. There were present a priest, a chorister-man who made the responses, one lady wearing a Sister's dress, and myself. The choral celebration which followed at 11.30 was attended by some eighty to one hundred, including some children. Most of those present were young women, but there were a few men and lads. All knelt devoutly while the priest served the altar, took the bread and drank of the cup; no one of the congregation offering or being expected to partake. The congregation joined in the service, singing as they knelt. The priest wore no vestments, but he and his assistant had short white gowns over their black cassocks. In the evening there was a genuine though small congregation; two hundred to three hundred people scattered over the big church. The priest who had celebrated in the morning was preaching, seated in a chair placed at the top of the choir steps. He was dressed in black and white as before, and looked large and imperial seated in his arm-chair. He preached with great force and emphasis. The priest was Father Dolling.

(4) St. * * * * * * is a neat, small church, and in it there was a considerable gathering of school children awaiting the Sunday morning service. A sweet-faced elderly woman in Sister's garb was in chief command. Besides those of the Sunday school, there were others of higher class, and about twenty adults. The clergy and choir collected behind a curtain in a corner of the church near the door, and began by chanting a prayer behind scenes (as it were) and then issued forth in procession in very orderly, but not High Church style. All this was full of interest for the children.

(5) On Whit Sunday morning I visited * * * * * * Parish Church, arriving a few minutes after the

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service had begun. At that time the congregation consisted of twenty-two, of whom six were adults, these being the vicar's wife, three Sisters, a verger, and a schoolmaster. The rest were children, of whom eight sat in front and acted as a sort of choir. At 11.30 a possibly genuine congregation came in, in the shape of one old woman.

The vicar conducted the service alone; it consisted of morning prayer, Litany and Communion, but no sermon, and was droned through—without the smallest attraction of voice or manner. The whole effect was inexpressibly dull and depressing, but the church is large, light, cheerful and well-cared for.

(6) The vicar of St. * * * * * * is the founder and manager of a Bible and Prayer Union, which has associates all the world over, and in his own parish he attempts to reach every house and family by tract distribution organized (as is the Bible and Prayer Union) to the last point of perfection. A huge ledger gives the name of every family, and a broad-sheet schedule, mounted on cardboard, shows fifty-eight districts; each district is a street or part of a street containing ten to thirty families; and for each block there is a smaller ledger in which it is recorded whether the people wish or decline to have the tracts delivered. These tracts are not given, but lent; and are selected as having some merit as literature. About thirty different pieces make a set. Each copy is sewn into a brown paper cover by an old lady who receives for this a penny a set, and makes or ekes out her living by it. The visitors who bring a new one, take away the last, and so pass them round; and new sets are being continually made up, for they only last about a quarter of a year. No one receives the same tract twice.

The people are solid working class of an immense variety of occupations; 'over one thousand distinguishable for men and three hundred for women' could, the vicar said, be enumerated, but no doubt this is to count every distinct operation as 'a trade;' the 'turning down of a collar' he gave as an instance. At any rate the industrial variety is very great. Those who come to

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church are few; a small, but earnest Christian congregation who are mostly communicants, with a chosen body of reliable workers who are all communicants.

(7) One of the parishes near Victoria Park has a population of about fourteen thousand belonging almost exclusively to the respectable working classes and of many occupations. There is little extreme poverty, and such as exists is mostly due to drink. Judging from the increase in the number of marriages the people have lately been unusually prosperous.

There are two churches and four mission-halls, and the Board schools are rented on Sunday. Besides the vicar and three curates, there is a medical missionary, and there are a number of Mildmay Deaconesses and three paid nurses. Two scripture readers and a London City Missionary also work in connection with the church, and the whole parish is visited systematically. There are four large mothers' meetings with over five hundred members in all; the Sunday school and Band of Hope have each two thousand children on the roll, and there is a large penny bank. There are also football and cricket clubs, but these seem rather to be regarded as concessions to the flesh. 'We provide no amusements,' said the vicar, 'we do not give social questions the foremost place; we make no sensational appeals in the papers; we feel that our work being spiritual we must pursue it by spiritual means. Our great aim is to win souls to Christ. We do not strive after great numbers. We seek the personal salvation of the individual soul. We give ourselves to prayer, and the ministry of the Word. We pray regularly for the parish and for the work that is going on in it. We never set out on any undertaking, whether large or small, without first of all praying about it.' For this purpose a special parish prayer meeting is held every Saturday night.

The following is an extract from a remarkable letter addressed by this good man to his parishioners:—

"In your conceptions of God have no images of the fancy. Stop any attempt to give a kind of embodiment to the Father. God being a Spirit has nothing tangible, or visible, or intelligible to us now. All we can have

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before us is attributes. God is wisdom, power, greatness, holiness, love. We speak to Him as a Being, and so He is: and yet He is above all sense.

"In your approaches to God the frame of mind is everything. God is mystery—worship is faith; God is wisdom—worship is thought; God is love—worship is affection; God is truth—worship is sincerity; God is holiness—worship is purity; God is omni-presence—worship is everywhere; God is eternity—worship is always.

"And take care that your relations to God are honest. If your body kneels, let your heart be humble. If you close your eyes, close your fancies. If you say words, let them express thoughts. If you ask, let it be for what you want. If you promise, mean it. If you praise, hush your soul if it be not in tune. Let worship be worship—a beggar asking, a sinner prostrate, a saved man thinking, a saint rejoicing."

§ 2

CONGREGATIONALIST CHURCHES

(1) Mr. Le Pla's famous church is a beautiful Gothic building, with a large organ cased in dark wood, Gothic in design, framing the window. Below the gallery at the foot of the pulpit were gathered a choir of girls in gay hats, a mass of bright colour. It was Sunday morning, and an anniversary occasion, but the congregation was small for the size of the church. Mr. Le Pla himself was not preaching, but the sermon was good; that of a practised preacher and worthy of a better audience: On Man as compounded of Dust and Deity.

(2) At Mr. Fleming Williams' church in the evening, though it was Question Sunday, there was only about half of a full congregation—it was at the end of May, and the weather wonderfully fine. The questions were interesting, as: How should a young man act whose parents disapproved of his views on religion? he having (I assume) rather broken loose from their moorings; What should

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a girl teach her Sunday scholars, on such points as the nature of heaven, the destruction of the world by fire, &c.? Another was on the practical limits of licence reform; and a fourth, of which the most was made, as to the view Mr. Williams took of St. Paul's denunciation of those who 'quench the spirit,' and, not following that which is best in them, 'crucify Christ again.' On all these questions the replies given were very thoughtful; those of a true leader of his people. One could not but recognise how great a position such a man holds.

(3) In another instance on Sunday evening, for the young people's monthly service, the sermon, as announced by large printed bills, was to be on Hall Caine's *Christian.* The exterior of the building is much like that of a theatre or music-hall—large electric lamp outside, uniformed commissionaire walking up and down, five entrance doors in a row, all in the main road, outer and inner lobbies with half-glass doors and partitions, seats at sides of lobbies, fancy and coloured glass, inlaid tiles, &c. The interior is very bright and comfortable; the walls have artistic designs in fancy bricks; the organ is large, handsome, and powerful; the pews are of polished wood; and there is a massive handsome pulpit: altogether there is no lack of warmth and colouring. It was a boisterous and unpleasant night, but the church was well filled with a middle-class congregation (eleven hundred to twelve hundred persons probably); females were in a small majority. There were a good many young men in frock coats carrying top hats, and a large number of young women dressed no less smartly—probably about half were 'young people.' Watching the people leave, I saw two or three young fellows who might be of good artisan class, but I could not recognise one older man of working class. There was a large choir and good singing, heartily joined in by the congregation. The minister made one very long prayer, lasting about twenty minutes; it evoked some slight restiveness, and an audible sigh of relief when it closed. The sermon went through the main points of the novel, and contrasted at each point the difference between the true Christian as portrayed in the New Testament and as sketched by Hall Caine. The Sermon

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on the Mount was vindicated, and its adaptability to present-day conditions asserted. Altogether it was a good sermon, with occasional flashes of eloquence and touches of humour which evoked smiles and titters from the audience.

(4) As I passed westward one Sunday morning I entered one of the Congregationalist churches. It is a very roomy building with deep galleries. There was in it a congregation of twenty adults and twenty children. I heard the long prayer, the prayer of a devout and earnest man dealing with the wants and troubles of every day, and ending with the coming London County Council election. He prayed against party spirit and that all might be overruled for good; but doubtless for him it is the Progressives who are on the side of God.

(5) At another church I attended a men's meeting on Sunday afternoon. When I arrived at 3.15 there were about thirty men present, but many of them were obviously members of the committee. The orchestra began to play at 3.25, and by the time it had finished the piece, there were, including the orchestra and the members of the committee, just seventy-five people present, and no more came. Of these, about half, I should think, were working men, and the rest middle-class 'top hat' people. While the orchestra was playing, a bright little man, evidently the minister, went about the church talking to the men and shaking hands. He came to me, shook hands, and said, 'How are you, my friend?' At the end of the overture, which was secular, we sang a hymn. There was then a prayer, which was followed by a solo very poorly sung by a lady. The minister then spoke. He began by thanking God (amidst applause) for the result of the London County Council election, and then delivered an address on Christianity and Health. It contained a good deal about health and very little about Christianity, and was full of extreme socialistic radicalism. There was no indication that he had thought at all how to carry out the number of gigantic schemes he advocated for improving the health of the people, but the sentiments won a good deal of applause. After the address, which

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was delivered in a high, monotonous, 'open-air' voice, we sang a song of triumph over the downfall of the tyrant, with evident application to the recent election. It is impossible to believe that any man's spiritual nature is touched by this sort of thing, and certainly no great numbers are attracted by it. On another (a wet) Sunday there were only twenty-five present.

(6) There is connected with one of the great Congregationalist Missions a large benefit club with 960 members, all men, and to match this a mothers' meeting with 670 names on the books. The women meet in the mission church on Monday and Tuesday evenings, those who cannot come one night coming on the other. I attended one Monday evening, arriving a little before seven, and found the building nearly full of working women, all in full buzz of talk and business. At one side the old missionary himself presided at the 'coal' table, taking subscriptions and orders. Opposite at another table was a lady receiving the money for Christmas dinner club, while at a long counter to the front, beneath the platform, several ladies attended to the drapery; the stuff being heaped up behind, partly on the platform itself, where I was given a seat, and whence I could survey the scene. The drapery was the principal business, and in order to be served in turn the women moved in serpentine fashion up through the lines of seats in regular succession till they came in front of the ladies, and then, having paid their pennies and seen their cards marked, they passed on and reseated themselves at the back. The goods are paid for gradually, and only taken away when payment is complete. Everyone remained and others arrived, and by 7.15 the room was practically full, not less than three hundred women being there, together with some small children and babies. A few women had needle-work in hand, but not many. They chatted to each other and waited for the service to begin. At 7.15 much remained to be done, but the missionary then stopped the business, and also promised to make the service short so that all might get home by 8 o'clock. There could be no doubt that the women liked to come and liked to stay.

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The service was very simple. One hymn was tried and did not succeed, as no one knew the tune, so another was chosen instead. The singing was hearty when the tune was known. The missionary's manner was friendly and delightful, and the address he gave was of the simplest kind.

(7) At a Brotherhood Church conference on Sunday afternoon there were seventy to eighty present, mostly men, but a sprinkling of women also; all of the thoughtful class, clerks and such like. The subject of the address was 'Hebrew Ideals,' and treated mainly of the prophecies. The service consisted of two hymns, a short prayer, a performance by the orchestra, and the reading of a lesson, followed by the address. Then a time allowed for questions and reply, and a closing hymn. A collection was duly taken up, and the whole differed from an ordinary afternoon service only in the permitting of some discussion. The address was really a sermon, a distinct effort to teach. It took an advanced view of Christ's nature and the character of His mission. The speaker put his views very well, simply and conversationally, and the audience could not fail to be interested, as he seemed genuinely to lay his ideas and his difficulties before them in 'conference.' When he had done, the questions which followed, and the answers they received, all showed the same spirit; a real desire to learn, to teach, to elucidate; no airing of eloquence, no trying to put posing questions, no attempt to make points or score in any way. It was all very healthy. The absolute avoidance of spiritual excitement, and experiences and hysteria generally, is very welcome.

(8) On Sunday, March 31st, 1901, Mr. Campbell Morgan held his public farewell services at New Court Congregationalist Chapel. In the morning I reached the building a minute or two before the beginning of the service, and found a very large congregation. The moment had come when the last places were being filled up, and the pews carefully packed, so that not a single seat should be wasted. Into one of these I was put, in the body of the chapel, not very far from the entrance,

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but directly facing the pulpit-platform, on which, in addition to the central figure, three or four of the older deacons were sitting. The figures there reflected what I soon felt to be the prevailing tone of the great gathering of middle-class people around me—vigour, intensity, satisfaction, sadness; the vigour and intensity to some extent the normal outcome of their daily lives and their religion, but both made manifest and accentuated by the striking personality of their pastor; the satisfaction traceable to the fact that they had chosen him, that he had been a very great success, and had now been called to what seemed a greater field of work elsewhere; the sadness due to the parting that was imminent. The service was of the ordinary type—singing, extempore prayer, reading from the Bible; and until the sermon came perhaps the most impressive feature was the ethical and spiritual fervour of the prayer. The singing was good and of satisfying volume. The ordinary notices, including as they did the intimation that Mr. So-and-so would occupy the pulpit on the following Sunday, had a different ring about them from the conventional announcements: one could feel that the minister was saying to himself, 'This and this and this I leave,' and the people on their side, 'Next Sunday he will have gone.' Not a few during the whole service were somewhat tearful, and it was evident that the pastor, too, felt greatly the strain of the occasion.

The text was taken from Nehemiah, the subject being the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem, and the actual words chosen were 'The building of the wall is finished.' We have always understood that Mr. Morgan's great power lies in Bible exposition, and when we saw him he had told us that on Sunday morning he generally preached a sermon of this kind; 'less popular in treatment,' than in the evening. I imagine that the sermon I heard differed little from those he had been in the habit of preaching Sunday after Sunday, and I can well imagine that large numbers would flock to listen. There was no straining after effect; no attempt to show scholarship—just a vivid presentation of the conditions under which the rebuilding of the walls took place; a ready grasp of the features of the story that lent

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themselves to spiritual or ethical application; and forcible, sometimes impassioned teaching based thereon. The faith and confidence of Nehemiah; his attitude of prayer; the watchfulness of the workers; the fact that their weapons were at hand as well as their tools, and their readiness to fight if need arose; the sub-dividing of the work, each set of men having its appointed task and section of the wall to build—these and other points were all brought out and used, and he was especially effective as he drew the picture of the sections of the wall approaching completion, the last stones placed in position, and the shout of triumph at a common achievement; and drew the lesson of the need of combined effort, and of the waste, perhaps failure, that ensued if men withdrew from their fellows, and, be it from pride or selfishness, or lack of sympathy, did not make their own task fit in with that of others. At times the preacher was eloquent; he was often impressive; he was at no time uninteresting, and attention was never allowed to flag: from the first word to the last the people seemed to listen intently.

After the morning service there was a special Communion service, and for this very large numbers stayed, the body of the chapel being quite full, and it being indeed necessary to avoid wasting room, as had been the case previously, although not to the same extent. Some eight or ten people, including two or three children, stayed in the gallery as onlookers, and with these I took my place.

The service was the simple performance of a memorial rite. The minister took his seat in the centre of the raised dais at the foot of the pulpit, and on either side of him sat the deacons. On the table in front of them were the numerous dishes of bread and the cups of wine needed for the communion of so large a number. The deacons, taking the vessels from the minister, handed them round, and were themselves served by the minister, he himself eating the bread and drinking from the cup last. While the deacons were serving the congregation, the pastor sat silently in his chair, but he was not unoccupied, as strangers present were asked to hand in cards to show from what religious centre they came, and

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these cards were handed up to Mr. Morgan. He turned them over rapidly in his hand, but had not time to look at all. It seemed a pity that at such a moment it should have been the practice to look at any, although it was striking to hear the welcome extended to this great body of outsiders, of whom there must have been several scores, and to know that they had come from almost all over the world. There was no formal address, save for a few words, mainly expressing the welcome just mentioned. The service was, as I have said, as simple as could well be imagined.

In the evening I arrived about a quarter of an hour before the time of commencement. A considerable crowd, perhaps 150 or 200, were standing outside the chapel, a few of whom were allowed to enter almost as soon as I arrived. The throng closed at once on the doors, and at the doors themselves (which I never reached) it was evident that there was dangerous pressure. More than one woman cried out, as if hurt, but on the cry of 'No more room' being raised by those admitting the people, the crowd fell back, and the great majority at once turned away, perhaps to go to some place of worship elsewhere. At the other end of the chapel there is a private entrance, and three or four people were standing at it. I joined this small group, which fortunately included one man who would not be denied, and who thumped vigorously till at length the door was cautiously opened. When it was discovered that we were only a group of eight or ten people we were furtively admitted, and found ourselves in a sort of vestry behind the chapel, and behind the pulpit. I do not know whether it would be possible to hear more than the singing from there, but in any case it had quite a number of people in it, and some were seated as if they intended to stay there through the service. The doors leading to the body of the chapel were thronged. Outside, I had never seen such a struggle to get into a chapel; inside, I had never, I think, seen one so swarming with people. Eventually room was made in the gallery, and from where I sat I could see the greater part of the crowded building, and Mr. Morgan near, in clear profile.

The atmosphere seemed different to that of the morning.

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Then everything seemed to be charged with a kind of chastened melancholy. In the evening this seemed absent, and something of the nature of excitement to have taken its place. The tone, perhaps, was set by the preacher. In the morning he had been the thoughtful minister of an attached congregation. In the evening, while still affected by the strain of a great severance, he was first and foremost the preacher, more impassioned, more pleading, and more commanding—an evangelist whom one could imagine to be thinking, if not saying, 'Let the world hearken, as well as this great congregation, to the word that I speak.'

He chose a great text: "If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be Anathema. Maranatha." He began by dealing with the Syriac word, and decided in favour of the textual criticism by which it is separated from that which precedes and is made a complete although connected statement. 'Anathema': accursed. 'Maranatha': 'The Lord has come.' 'It is finished.' But the further exposition proved to be not a narrow evangel, as, knowing Mr. Morgan's reputation for orthodoxy, I had feared, but a solemn unfolding of the teaching that those who love not Christ (and this, so far as the exposition of the evening went, seemed to be equivalent to saying 'who love not goodness and righteousness') must suffer. They are self-cursed. 'There is no help for it.' 'Maranatha!' And the word came out again and again, loudly and sharply, in trumpet tones of warning, sighed as with sorrowing for those who failed, and thus incurred their doom—the hell-fire of a tortured conscience. 'They that love not the Lord Jesus Christ are Anathema.—Maranatha!' The Lord has come!

It is always necessary to make allowance for the effect of the environment of the moment, and a crowded and sympathetic congregation creates an atmosphere that not only helps the preacher, but is apt to influence the judgment of the individual listener. But, after making all allowance for this, I think that the very exceptional preaching power of this man, eloquent, gifted, sincere, remains as an indisputable fact. He is a great preacher.

[The crowded church and the difficulty for anyone not arriving early to find a seat, whether for the morning or

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evening service (extending even to the last resource of a side entrance under the guidance of an *habitué*), were not experiences peculiar to the farewell services described above, but chronic during Mr. Morgan's ministry, great boards bearing the words 'no more room' being kept at hand ready to be set up outside the church.]

§ 3

OTHER CHURCHES AND MISSIONS

(1) The little Roman Catholic church is a long narrow barn of a building with a very humble entrance. The place was quite full for the 10.30 service of the Mass; the people all kneeling and perfectly still and quiet while the Host was raised. There were more women than men, and a good many children. All looked poor. The service ended with the Litany spoken by priest and people alternately: everyone knew and repeated the words. Of the strong religious feeling shown there can be no doubt. All who come pay a penny, and change was offered me when I deposited a shilling on the plate. In the evening the place was not so full, nor the people so poor, nor so quiet, but they were listening to a young priest whose discourse never really held their attention. It was a simple address on sin and death and judgment; the evils of life and what could be done to amend them. I was struck that his appeal was entirely that those present should try to do something for others, something to make the lives of others happier and better. For instance, as to drink he did not suggest that those he spoke to ever got drunk themselves.

(2) On Sunday morning Mr. Peter Thompson was preaching at the Wesleyan East-End Mission. His subject was the calling of Matthew, and the feast he made to attract those for whose conversion he hoped, the preacher describing very forcibly the presence of Christ among these people. It was all said in support of

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missionary work, and was very curious as a commentary on the Mission's own methods: the tables spread to attract those to whom should be preached the Word of God and hope of salvation. Mr. Thompson in the pulpit is exactly the same as out of it; a big burly man, with a great voice and strong practical way of saying what he has to say. I was struck (as I had been in the case of the young Catholic priest mentioned above) that he preached as to fellow-workers, and not as to those themselves in the present need of salvation. In the congregation there were many children (the galleries were filled by them both morning and evening), and those in the body of the hall, about one hundred, were mostly young persons. As regards the children the sermon was hardly applicable at all, and as to the young persons, seemed apt to encourage spiritual conceit.

(3) The chapel of the Methodist New Connexion is a truly hideous building, formed into an exact oval by its galleries, which are carried round so as to meet. At the further end there is an organ, and in front of the gallery a high pulpit, from which the minister expounded the Scriptures in an extraordinarily simple, realistic fashion, as to the relations between God and Christ and the angels. He pointed out that God could never grow old; had never been young; if He had ever been young at all He must once have been very young, must once have had a beginning, &c. Then as to the etiquette of heaven: the angels *stood* in the presence of God; Christ *sat*, the work of mediation being finished, but *got up* from His seat to welcome Stephen the proto-martyr, &c., &c. In the morning there was a congregation of about one hundred strictly lower middle class, and in the evening about one hundred and fifty, when there was more exposition, dealing this time, in an exhaustively definite way, with David's poetical language, "As far as the East is from the West, so far hast Thou removed my transgression from me."

On the same evening I was for a while with the Primitive Methodists. They are a very earnest body of working-class people, old, middle-aged, and young, and fill their little chapel full. I listened to an earnest and

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interesting exposition of St. Paul's relations to his adherents, as indicated by the Epistle to the Corinthians.

(4) I reached the East London (Baptist) Tabernacle at 7.45 on Saturday, in order to attend the prayer meeting, which we have understood draws others besides members of the congregation. It is held in the basement schoolroom, a large spreading place, the roof of which, carried on long beams with rows of iron columns, constitutes the floor of the church above. The school forms were grouped so as to make five or six divisions with three clear aisles. When I arrived there were from fifty to one hundred persons present, and by 8 o'clock, when the service began, perhaps two hundred, of whom about one hundred and fifty were women, mostly middle-aged or married-looking, and some quite old. Others arrived late, and came in after the first and second prayer, till at last I thought there were of women as many as three hundred, and about eighty men. Of those who came in before 8 o'clock, some after taking their seats bent the head in private prayer, but others did not; and all nodded to their friends and talked among themselves, so that there was a subdued buzz of conversation. The place has naturally no look of a church and could hardly be so regarded. There is a platform at one end, and on this a desk, and beside it a small harmonium—schoolroom fittings all.

The new pastor presided, and with him on the platform were seven men. The service consisted of hymn and prayer alternately, the prayers being given by different members of the congregation in succession. 'Brother So-and-so will now lead us in prayer,' is the formula. There were generally two prayers between the hymns, and there were about four hymns. The pastor, besides giving some of the prayers, interposed with remarks and reflections; acting just as chairman. The hymns were vigorously sung to powerful chorus-bearing tunes. This congregation does not need much instrumental assistance; I am not sure that they have an organ in their church; and if there is a trained choir at all the members of it are dispersed in such a meeting as the one I was attending. The young lady who sat next me had an excellent voice

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and led everyone in our neighbourhood. Most of the prayers offered contained nothing but the most ordinary phraseology, without merit as language, and so staled, one should think, by custom, that it is difficult to conceive of its having living meaning for anyone, and least of all for the man who uses it; but in this I may be wrong: at any rate, 'Amens' were elicited from all parts; my neighbour whispered hers. To the rule of banality there were two exceptions in which genuine spiritual force shone out, but these only made all the rest more unsatisfactory.

(5) The Mount Sion Chapel of the Strict and Particular Baptists is a little building, but large enough to look rather empty on Sunday morning with a congregation of about forty. They were lower middle-class people of all ages, listening to an elderly bearded man who looked like an apostle in an old picture. He wandered on through a long prayer, which was of the nature of a conversation with the Almighty, lapsing into argument addressed to the congregation, and appealing to both in turn. In the evening it was the same thing over again: again a quaint conversation with God, accompanied by asides to the congregation.

[The minister of another chapel of this sect is a tall spare man of fifty or thereabout, of somewhat forbidding aspect, with bushy eyebrows and beard. His only care seems to be for those who are members of or attend his church. 'We have no mothers' meetings or other agencies, no tract distribution—nothing. If the Lord wishes to save the people He will bring them in.' There are about twenty children in the Sunday school—their own children. Their pastor visits the members of the church and the congregation, and if any need relief they are looked after. 'We take care of our people, better perhaps than others do of theirs.']

(6) I visited Dr. Barnardo's Evangelical Mission, Edinburgh Castle. The old public-house stands just as before, with its sign-board post in front; the sign now contains a text, or a warning against drink; behind, occupying a considerable space, is a large detached building with a low pitched roof and a skylight. The floor is sunk, and in place of galleries the sides of the arena slope up. If it

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was originally built (as I suppose) for some secular purpose it looks as though prize-fighting would fit best. It will seat a very large number of people as now arranged. The end gallery (opposite the entrance) is piled up higher than the sides, and in front of the centre of this gallery is the desk from which the service is conducted. There is a large organ at one side. In the morning the place looked vast and wasty, containing as its principal audience a number of Barnardo boys and girls. The boys nearly filled one side; the girls sat in front of the body of the hall, with some more boys in sailor dress. Besides these children there may have been two hundred people of all ages, looking a mere handful. The total effect was chilly, but there was very hearty singing. In the evening the hall was half full, and this means a large number. The school children were not there. The people were listening to a Gospel salvation address of the most ordinary type. It is difficult to conceive what benefit any one of them could obtain from it; but perhaps the familiar language falls pleasantly on their ears, and no effort of thought is demanded. Those present seemed to be the ordinary lower middle-class audience, largely youngish people, but as I did not stay to see them in detail as they left the building I could not say exactly, When I reached the hall I came upon a number of rather rowdy young fellows, who had just then come out and were lighting cigarettes, in company with a bevy of girls to match; and on entering the building myself I heard the doorkeeper say that they had been talking inside, so I suppose they had been asked to leave.

On Saturday evening in the smaller hall I found about a hundred earnest-looking people, mostly middle-aged women of working or poor class, gathered for a prayer meeting. With them were three or four deaconesses. The women burst into ejaculations of response during the prayers and seemed to be genuinely pious. It was a fearfully wet evening—wind and rain—which made attendance the more meritorious.

[The Deaconess who conducts the special women's service in this hall has a roll of over two hundred members, and says that an even larger number attend. They come from long distances, and, though poor, are dressed

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so well that the meeting 'looks like a garden of nodding flowers.' They come prepared to give rather than get, and she mentioned the way they had subscribed for the distressed Armenians, for instance, as really splendid.]

(7) The superintendent of one remarkable mission is a German, who keeps a shop and deals in all kinds of miscellaneous articles. He speaks English fluently. The mission-room is a large loft above some stables and is reached by a steep ladder-stair, and there is a smaller room below. When discovered [it lies *perdu* up an entry, between two shops, with no name affixed] the room was being prepared for harvest festival. Three or four working women were cutting bread and butter, making ready for tea, whilst two of the men were otherwise busied. The small platform was almost covered with a profusion of vegetables of all kinds, gigantic marrows, &c., and a loaf of bread fully six feet long. There are about one hundred members of this mission, which started four years ago with only five. They are organized after the manner of Plymouth Brethren, taking the Bible as their only authority for faith and practice. They are strict in their habits. Men must be non-smokers and teetotalers as well as Christians before they are admitted to fellowship. Practically all share in the work. The mission is supported by the members. They never ask outside and would not take from anybody who was not a Christian. They publish no printed statement, but have a large sheet, neatly written in columns, framed and hung up. This gives very exact particulars of the attendances and the amounts received and expended on various accounts for six months. The shop is run as part of the work. It hardly pays as a business, but affords opportunities. Those who come to sell or buy may remain to pray.

(8) In another case both secretary and superintendent are working men, and the members of the mission are an earnest band of thirty or forty, all working men. They claim to make some converts every year, and hold that the poor will never be touched except by those of their own class, who naturally speak to them in language

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they can understand; the churches and chapels are out of reach, 'there is too much intellect there.' They frankly express the opinion that those who attend churches and chapels do so for what they hope to receive in gifts.

(9) The secretary of another mission, a very strong Protestant, is a most unprepossessing man of fifty or sixty, with a strongly marked, almost brutal, face, but he spoke in a quiet voice, there was nothing immoderate in what he said and no suggestion of cant. He referred, indeed, rather warmly to the doings of his neighbours, the Ritualists, but that is his *métier*. 'They have chopped on their block all the principles for which the Reformers died.' The metaphor is powerful. The man was formerly a butcher by trade.

§ 4

'MEN'S OWN' SERVICES

(1) At the East London Tabernacle the afternoon service for men is in effect a Bible-class. It is held in the 'young men's room.' At Edinburgh Castle, though quite religious in character, the service is made pleasant with orchestral music and solo singing, and evidently attracts young fellows. In all there were five hundred or six hundred present, mostly young, and some quite lads, all of lower middle and working class. The orchestra and chorus number about one hundred, and include female voices. At the Great Assembly Hall there is also a meeting, but of a different character. It is held in the small hall, which looked quite full with perhaps three hundred men. The men were on the average ten years' older, and quite a degree, or a class, poorer than the audience at Edinburgh Castle. Some did not wear collars and the atmosphere testified that many were unwashed. They were in hearty accord with the speaker, whose

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address was very effective—on Zaccheus, the little man who climbed up into a tree to see Jesus:—so disadvantages might stimulate to higher things. The service included and closed with a performance of 'religious minstrelsy' by blind singers. At the back of the hall were clerks at tables to enrol new members—a special effort in this direction made for the new year, it being early in January. On the following Sunday I attended a similar service at the Bow and Bromley Institute, and arriving at 3.30 I found the hall ringing with the first hymn. There were then fully three hundred men present and more were streaming in every minute, so that the total might probably reach four hundred. The hall is a large place and looked dishevelled and almost dissolute with the traces and *débris* of the Saturday night's entertainment, which had consisted of gramophone and magic-lantern displays interspersed with songs and dances "intended (as the advertisement claimed) to elevate as well as amuse." This entertainment had been largely attended —admission 3*d* and 6*d*. The Sunday afternoon meeting consisted very largely of working men of all kinds and ages. They showed genuine religious feeling, and the leader held their attention with ease. There was a large orchestra, vocal and instrumental, and the singing was strong.

(2) I have twice attended Mr. Watts Ditchfield's Sunday afternoon men's service at St. James-the-Less. On the first occasion it was 'Question Sunday.' The body of the church was full of men, not less than five hundred, I thought. Looking at them from my seat at the back I took them to be mostly above working-class level, but studying them later as they left the building one could see that a large proportion were either artisans or the sons of working men employed as clerks. The answering of the questions is very popular and the service draws the largest congregation. A sheaf of posers are sent in every month, of which some are dealt with and the rest postponed. On this occasion the first was 'Is it wrong to smoke?' and the reply in effect was 'according to circum-

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stances': don't annoy others; don't become a slave to a habit; don't overdo it; don't begin too young. Then followed six questions suggested by the Book of Job as to Satan and God's relations with him (according to this authority), which were very difficult to answer from a simple ordinary biblical point of view. Other questions succeeded, and finally a series concerning the present state of the Church of England and the responsibility of the clergy for her doctrines as embodied in the Thirty-nine Articles were considered. The audience was keenly interested in all these points, and the way in which some words of high respect for the late Mr. Spurgeon, and others animadverting against High Church doings were received, showed the general religious complexion of those present; and certainly suggested that even if they are non-churchgoers (as is claimed) their minds are fully awake on religious subjects.

On the occasion of the second visit, made a year later, the men only loosely filled the body of the church, which might mean three hundred. All ages were represented, inclining to young, and there were some possibly of middle class; but the general bulk were lower middle and upper working class, with no very wide divergence amongst them. It is a regular religious service beginning with a specially selected liturgy, the book being provided, followed by hymns and lesson before the sermon. The service was conducted by a very quiet earnest type of curate, and a young layman, who had evidently been schooled to speak up, read the lesson. The vicar came in before the last hymn and at once mounted the pulpit. Without perhaps much spirituality, he has power and simplicity, and goes straight at his object. The (advertised) subject of his sermon was 'The first prayer,' and his opening words on the lasting memory of the prayer learnt at a mother's knee, were very beautiful. He pursued his subject on the need for and efficacy of prayer, and of becoming what he termed 'a praying man,' without very much subtlety of thought, but ended with a genuine appeal made with confidence, and therefore effective and touching.

The church is stamped with the same spirit as the services held in it. It is a wide building, with a fine

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open roof, painted white, and deep high-pitched galleries; decorated in white and gold.

(3) An earlier and practically pioneer attempt of the same kind, of which we have received an interesting account, is that called the Men's Social Union in connection with the Stepney Meeting House of the Congregationalists. It was founded by the son of a previous minister who, returning to England, desired 'to do something for the old place,' and this took the form of a Sunday afternoon meeting of men not exactly evangelical, nor simply social in character, but definitely aimed at the advancement of religious and social reform. The combination requires management. Some men boggle at the discussion of social subjects as being 'politics,' others, if religious subjects are chosen, 'can hear a sermon any day,' but by sandwiching the two both sets are retained. The attendance is not what it was in the earlier and more enthusiastic days, but for some years past there has been no change, and 120 remain members. Once a month, when women are admitted and a special musical programme arranged, the audiences are large. The members pay 1*d* per week, and the money is partly returned in books, a plan, now usually adopted, which came (as did the whole suggestion of the Pleasant Sunday Afternoon movement) from the Midlands. Amongst the members there is a nucleus of men who are very keen, upon whose devotion the whole thing really rests.

There is a week-day meeting place, constituting a club on purely social lines. The need of this was early felt, and a room in the old schools was provided; but money to make the necessary alterations lacked; whereon the men buckled to and did the work themselves, about twenty-five giving in their names, plumbers, painters, carpenters, &c., and for some three months gave their leisure, so that the room was prepared without one penny being spent in wages.

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§ 5

THE SALVATION ARMY.

(1) . . . . . Opposite the churchyard gates is a Salvation Army Citadel, and as I came by the Salvationists marched up, a very small group with noisy instruments. It was just 11 o'clock on Sunday morning, and I entered after them. A few women and children and some lads were already there, and perhaps all told, after the marching party arrived, there would be ten to fifteen adults and twenty children. The soldiers' first duty was to look to the fires, and soon a hymn was started and sung to a lively ballad tune. I did not make any stay. In the evening, after 8 o'clock, I found a larger gathering, which kept increasing by late arrivals of those who had evidently been attending services elsewhere, and finally the total numbers would be forty to fifty, all adults. The service flagged. The conductor started verse after verse of the hymn 'Come to Jesus,' and he and some others sang at the top of their voices, but order was badly kept, and a great deal of talking was going on behind me and all round. Then a young woman, with an excited face, poured forth a prayer, which the leader accompanied by a running fire of ejaculations, as did also some of the others. After her a pale-faced earnest young man, hardly more than a boy, prayed in the usual simple salvationist fashion—from his heart I thought. The male conductor now gave up his place to a woman, and when I left I found him outside. He bade me 'good night and God bless you.'

(2) I entered a Salvation Army barrack one Sunday morning, attracted by the sound of the music, and found there a very energetic little party of people, some twenty or thirty adult Salvationists, and at least an equal number of children. The women all wore the bonnet, but only the men on the platform were in the soldier's garb. The leader, a forcible young man, shouted and waved his arms, and the trumpets brayed, and prayers of the usual kind were poured forth, interspersed with the verses of a hymn. The leader was very professional in all he

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did, turning to talk and even laugh with those behind him, while his arm still worked and his hand thumped to emphasize the tune.

(3) One Sunday evening I came across a corps of the Salvation Army which was just opening new premises. They were in great force, with brass instruments and white helmets for the bandsmen, and the women and officers in regulation dress. They were thirty or forty in all and capable of producing a prodigious noise as they marched along, with a following of ragged children, to a street corner, where they formed up and held a rather emotional service, attracting absolutely no attention; except indeed for a moment from the lighted windows of a house opposite, where someone raising the blind, disclosed a tea party and a curate in the act of lifting his cup to his mouth, and then the blind fell again. I stayed on. One of the Salvationists, an educated woman, threw out a passionate appeal into the darkness; vaguely addressing bystanders or the world at large, for she could not see us; and the fierce threats she launched against those who disregarded her words—a bitter outburst of her soul—seemed to pass us by. She was succeeded by the leader of the party, a German, who raved and ranted and excited his followers till they almost danced. And then back they went, the ragged children and I still in attendance, till they reached their new hall, where doubtless they would have a 'full meeting and much saving of souls.' This was their opening Sunday. I did not go in.

(4) . . . . . Congress Hall is a curious cock-pit of a place, like Edinburgh Castle, but looked even larger. It must hold two thousand to three thousand easily and was gradually filling. The preaching was the same as always. That Christ by His blood has saved us and that He stands ready to receive us NOW. No other ideas at all are offered, nothing but the passionate appeals and expositions and prayers of the soldiers who conduct, mingled with the singing of the hymns. These last were not well given here, there being too much brass band and drum, and too little congregational singing. But the

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leader was an excellent type of soldier. I was struck with his taking off his tunic and throwing it behind him; stripping to his red shirt as he found conducting hot work. The action was very typical.

§ 6

A SUNDAY WALK

It was a foggy Sunday morning, gradually clearing. A proper day, one should suppose, for church-going. From King's Cross I went on foot up the Caledonian Road to Charlotte Street, and looked in on the King's Cross Mission to the Masses. I ascended to the gallery and found myself among some Sunday-school children. It was about 11.15, and a hymn was being sung energetically by the choir to an orchestral accompaniment. In the body of the church there were only a few people scattered about. The masses certainly do not come in the morning nor, I found later, do any very large numbers come in the evening. I did not stay. Thence through the fog to Copenhagen Street, and through the dark blue and black patch to the east of Half Moon Crescent, of which the worst part is empty of inhabitants and undergoing renovation. Then by Barnsbury Road and Penton Street to the corner of Chapel Street, opposite which stands St. Silas' Church. Here, too, I went in. The church has a good interior, and the service is well appointed, but there was hardly any congregation, not more than fifty people at most. Inscribed in large letters could be read, 'This is the House of the Lord. This is the Gate of Heaven,' and it seems to be only too true that few there be who enter therein.

Then I passed along Chapel Street, where were many poor women standing round the cheap auctions of second-hand clothing. At each there is a great pile of old garments, and two women, one at each side, who sell. They pick up piece after piece, display it, name three times as much as they propose to sell it for; then

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successively mention lower prices one after another with hardly a pause; then fold it up as though the figure last named was in truth the final bottom price; but invariably open it out once more and then come rapidly down to real business: 1*s* 6*d*, 1*s*, and 9*d*, following in quick succession for an article that had been opened at 2*s* 6*d*; or 4*d*, 3*d*, 2*d*, for one which began at 6*d*. Then, if no sale is made, the garment is thrown aside and another taken up. I saw nothing sold, but the women went on displaying their goods, and their customers waited, and no doubt knew that what they looked for would come sooner or later; for I think they had special wants, rather than any sporting idea of picking up 'something' cheap. There were half a dozen of these clothes' sales in Chapel Street, and the usual Sunday market stalls for meat, vegetables, and odds and ends, all of the poorest description.

From Chapel Street by Liverpool Street to Trinity Church, Cloudesley Square. Again a large church fully appointed, and just a few people scattered about among the seats. In Upper Street I entered Unity Church, a large and handsome building belonging to the Unitarians, with hardly any people in it. Also in Upper Street is St. Mary's, a fine old-fashioned building, well arranged for a large congregation, but again a mere handful of people. The Islington Chapel, belonging to the Congregationalists, which also I entered during this walk, was a little less empty than the rest—perhaps one-quarter full, and here, as I stood at the back, I heard a portion of an eloquent and remarkable sermon, delivered in a voice with a strong north-country burr to it. The subject fell in with my thoughts. It was on the disappointments of religious effort: the discontent with Christ. Our feelings to-day were compared to those of the disciples who laid the dead Christ in the tomb, from which His Spirit, in ways unforeseen by them, was to burst forth and flood the world.

In a corner behind St. Mary's Church is a little Temperance Hall, on the wall of which hangs a board with the following inscription:—

"The Christadelphians meeting in this hall believe in the divine inspiration of the Bible, and look for the second appearing of Jesus Christ, to give immortality to

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the righteous and to rule the nations for a thousand years."

Then followed notices of the services, and elsewhere there was a placard stating that the subject of the evening's discourse that Sunday would be the coming destruction of the Devil. A young man approached and, after listening awhile, pushed the door open, and entered, and I went in with him. He was evidently at home there. I, fearing to intrude further, stood still, and looked on for a moment. It was a small place, arranged like a lecture-hall. Near the entrance was a table loaded with books and pamphlets. The preacher or lecturer was speaking in a low voice, audible no doubt to all near him, as there was perfect stillness. Here was one of the little communities which continue to bubble up from the great fountain of Christianity. Here, at any rate, there was earnestness. Here two or three were gathered together, and one could not doubt that Christ was in their midst.

§ 7

OTHER EXTRACTS

(1) *Opium smoking.*

. . . . . We knocked, and our conductor inquired, 'Are you at home, mother, may we come in?' 'Come in, come in, my dear,' answered a woman's voice from an inner room, and we passed through a small dark room into another rather less dark, but smaller. The greater part of it was taken up by a large square low bed or couch with curtains at the two sides. In the centre of this bed was set a tray with a small lamp under a glass shade, round the lamp three or four little boxes or bottles, and at the back of the bed four small square pillows. Reclining on either side of the lamp were a man and a woman, both fully dressed, except that the man was in his shirt sleeves. The trousers he wore hung loosely on him, showing an outline of bones and joints which had evidently not been

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born to wear trousers. The man was a Hindoo, the woman English, or perhaps Irish. They were man and wife, and kept the opium den. As we entered they were just about to start smoking. They complained that business was bad. Ships now insist on their crews being on board at 7 p.m., which interferes with smoking at night.

Another den was found behind a Chinese general shop. It was a back room, only about six feet square, with a low bed like the other, and on it two Chinamen, one happy and jolly, wreathed with smiles, who *had* smoked, and a very sour-looking pigtailed heathen who was just *starting* his pipe. Business was bad, we again heard, in spite of the fact that a rival, who had three dens on the other side of the street, is dead and his place turned into a laundry. The proprietor in this case did not himself smoke. He does business of all kinds for the Chinese here, and is very prosperous. . . . . .

(2) *A double funeral.*

. . . . . The two funerals were dealt with in a single service. The graves lay side by side, and round each the particular mourners pressed closely, the chaplain standing somewhere in the middle of them, and a small crowd collecting round about. In two or three minutes all was over. The mourners seemed hardly to realize it, and the parson slipped unobserved away.

The forlornness and the very impersonal character of the whole proceeding was its most marked feature. Death the Comforter seemed far away. The chief female mourner of one of the funerals had been sobbing loudly, even from the moment she left the chapel door, and when the time came to leave the graveside she broke out into violent hysterical grief. She was carried away, and both parties soon after drove off. A little later, when I left the cemetery, I saw the coaches of her party drawn up at a public-house at the corner of the street.

I found the chaplain in the chapel, with five minutes to spare before his next funeral. He had seemed to be pretty busily occupied, but really it was a quiet day for Monday, with only five funerals, whereas there are

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generally about fifteen. Saturday and Monday are the busiest times, and on these days a crowd collects. 'It is one of their sights.' Just before I left, the bell began to toll; a warning that the next *cortège* was approaching. Of the general public there were only some forty or fifty present, mostly women. As I walked down the drive I met two additional onlookers, young fellows, arm-in-arm and both drunk.

Funerals, said the chaplain on another occasion, are still very extravagant, especially in the case of the poorest people, flowers being one of the chief items of expenditure. Plumes on the horses' heads are quite commonly used, but the panoply of ostrich feathers carried in front of the procession is only occasionally seen now. It costs £1. 1s to hire. Fish and cats-meat dealers and costermongers are the people most addicted to showy funerals. A large proportion of the elaborate tombstones facing the main drive belong to these people. There is a feeling among the poor that when a man dies if he has saved money it is his: 'he made the money, poor fellow, and he shall have it.' The people are by habit 'noisy in their grief,' sometimes with little basis of real feeling. A woman, who from the chapel to the grave had repeated in perfectly unbroken sequence the words 'Ay! But what shall oi do without my poor Moike—God rest his soul,' on reaching the place and looking down, interrupted this formula with the involuntary ejaculation, 'Good God, what a hole.' . . . . .

(3) . . . . . A tradesman, who has a shop nearly opposite a public-house much frequented by women, said that 11 a.m. and between 6 and 7 p.m. were the great hours for women's drinking. All classes of women go in, and no one seems to mind in the least being seen. The favourite tipple is gin. There is a butcher's stall close by, and those who buy a joint are treated to a drink. Drinking among women has certainly increased. Factory girls drink, but it is the young married or middle-aged women who take too much. The increase is not among the poor only. . . . . .

(4) . . . . . Friday is the most remarkable day at the

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cattle market. Ponies, horses, carts, donkeys and goats for sale, as well as a miscellaneous rag fair, where nearly everything is offered and nearly everything finds a purchaser. Books by the hundredweight, old pictures, clothes, vegetables, toys, hot drinks, stewed eels, furs, harness, rusty nails, locks, chains, rubbish that one would think would not pay to move a yard. But good things turn up occasionally, and West-End curiosity dealers send their agents early in search of such. . . . . .

(5) . . . . . We went to see Charlie, a man who keeps a rough coffee-shop. The shop was apparently empty, except for Mrs. Charlie and her child of about five, the shop girl, and one customer. There was a long counter, on which were piled, in rude plenty, many loaves of bread, flitches of bacon, a quantity of butter, two tea-urns (unpolished and out of use), three beer-pumps for Kop's ale, and a glass jar filled with pickled onions, together with a great *débris* of mustard pots, glasses, knives and forks, ginger-beer bottles, and a knuckle of ham. In an open space, where a bagatelle board once had stood, was a perambulator and a heap of old boots and other rubbish. We were told that everyone was down stairs watching a skittle match. A staircase led down from the far end of the shop to a cellar, which had been converted into a skittle alley, and here there was a thick crowd of a rough class: young lads of sixteen to eighteen and men of twenty-five to forty, labourers in corduroys tied round the knee: in nearly every case a neckerchief took the place of collar. Several of the men were half drunk. 'All the greatest blackguards about,' said the friendly proprietor. The final round was in progress. Forty entries, at 6*d* a head, for a silver watch (cost 6*s* 6*d*). But for the proprietor's command of language (he is also known to be ready with his fists if need be), there were many moments when a row seemed imminent, but the strongest and noisiest withered away when addressed by him. After the watch was won a match for a leg of mutton was to follow. There were about sixty or eighty persons crowded down in the cellar on either side of the skittle run; no women. After the first match a number came upstairs and partook of a ham sandwich

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and glass of ginger beer or a cup of tea. The demand was brisk, and Mrs. Charlie, in order to be free to cut sandwiches, gave over her child to the care of the noisiest and roughest man, who became tame and quiet in a moment. Charlie himself sat in a corner counting his takings, and no one was paying much attention to the counter, when a navvy who entered seized the great pickle jar and, conveying it to where some boys were eating, invited them to help themselves—all this being done to start Charlie's tongue, which it did very successfully.

(4) *Saturday night in Bromley and Bow—perambulation on bicycle (Summer time).*

11 *o'clock.* Men and women buying, no shop shut, a few children about: more men than women seen through the open doors of the public-houses, all of which were full, but not filled to overflowing: pawn-shops full of women: a few common prostitutes trying to induce young men to accompany them: no street rows or brawling.

11.45. Shops—butchers, grocers, &c.—begin to put up shutters. Solitary women making bargains for the last joint.

Across the bridge into Stratford the scene was altogether different: shops nearly all shut; public-houses shut, the closing hour being earlier; all quiet. Several women sitting on their doorsteps.

Between 12.15 and 12.30 in roads between Bow and Victoria Park, shops with shutters up, but doors generally open; shop-keepers taking a breath of air before closing up for the night. One or two men the worse for drink, but none incapable.

(5) *Note by daylight.*

. . . . . One public-house in Ford Street (North Bow), situated close to a dark-blue patch, has a flag-staff on an adjoining piece of ground, and half way up this a board is nailed, with the following legend in rough characters:—'No more starvation. Mild Ale, *2d* per pot.' . . . . .

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(6) *Bow running ground.*

I visited this place on Sunday morning at 11.20 (*2d* admission) and stayed an hour. Before I left there must have been present some four hundred to five hundred men and lads. They were rather a rough set in appearance, not one in twenty had a collar, and all wore caps, but while I was there their behaviour was admirable. The crowd at the 'Varsity Sports is not more orderly. At the same time the sport was not exciting—nothing but bicycle racing—though I saw that later there were to be whippet racing and bird-singing competitions. I saw no signs of betting, and no one who looked like a bookmaker. There was a notice up, 'No betting allowed.' Doubtless the time of visit was rather early.

(7) *On a fine Sunday evening at the end of May.*

. . . . . The bicycles were a sight coming back with country trophies, mostly branches of hawthorn in blossom, across their handle-bars. One had a large bunch of blue-bells. . . . . .

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SYLLABUS OF THE ENTIRE WORK

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