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LIFE AND LABOR IN THE ISLE OF DOGS: THE ORIGINS AND EVOLUTION OF AN EAST LONDON WORKING-CLASS COMMUNITY, 1800-1980

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THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

LIFE AND LABOR IN THE ISLE OF DOGS: THE ORIGINS AND EVOLUTION OF AN EAST LONDON WORKING-CLASS COMMUNITY, 1800-1980

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

THOMAS J. COLE

Norman, Oklahoma

1984

LIFE AND LABOR IN THE ISLE OF DOGS:

THE ORIGINS AND EVOLUTION OF AN

EAST LONDON WORKING-CLASS

COMMUNITY, 1800-1980

A DISSERTATION

APPROVED FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

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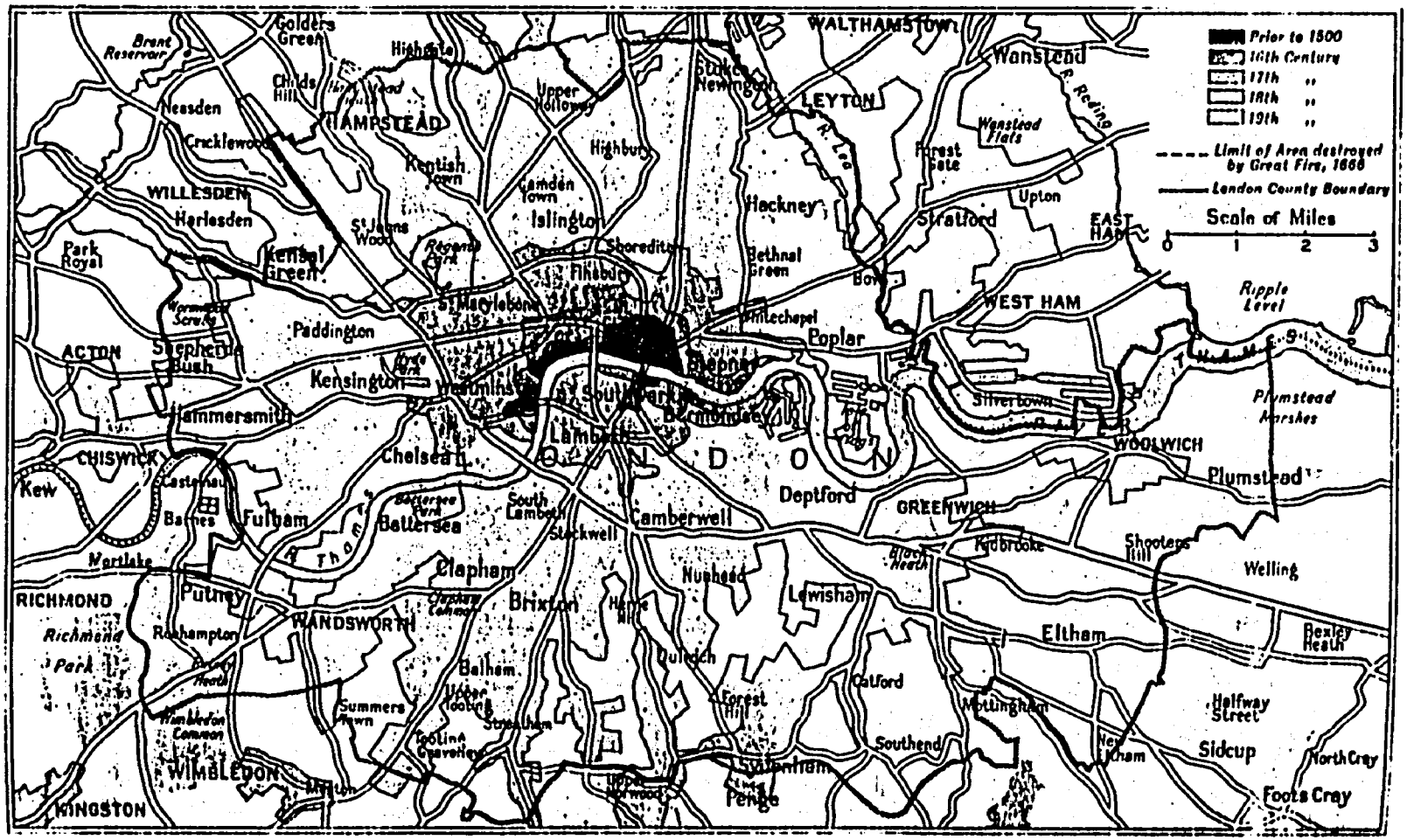
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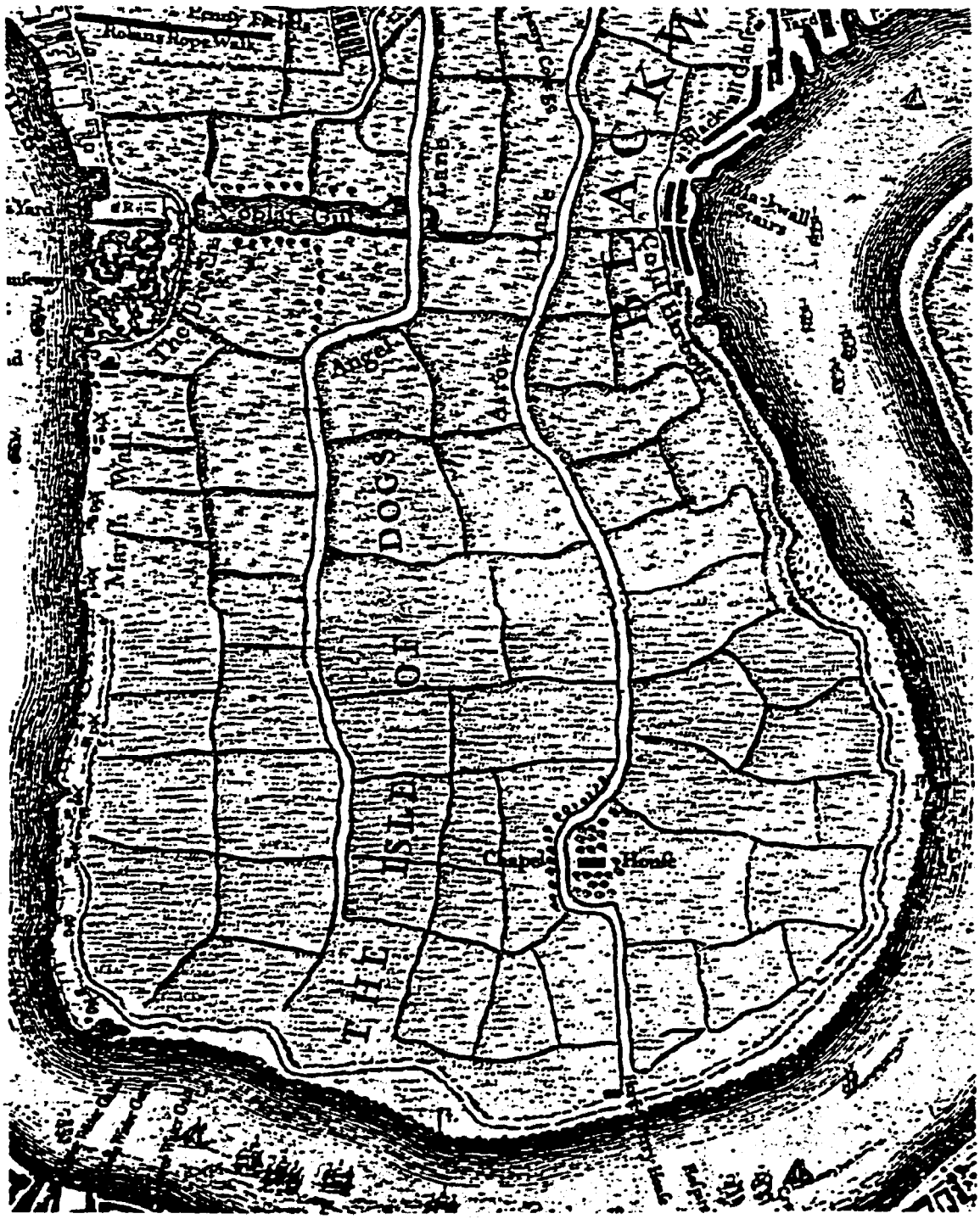
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MAP 1.--London Environs*



*Bartholomew's Reference Atlas of Greater London (1961), map 156.

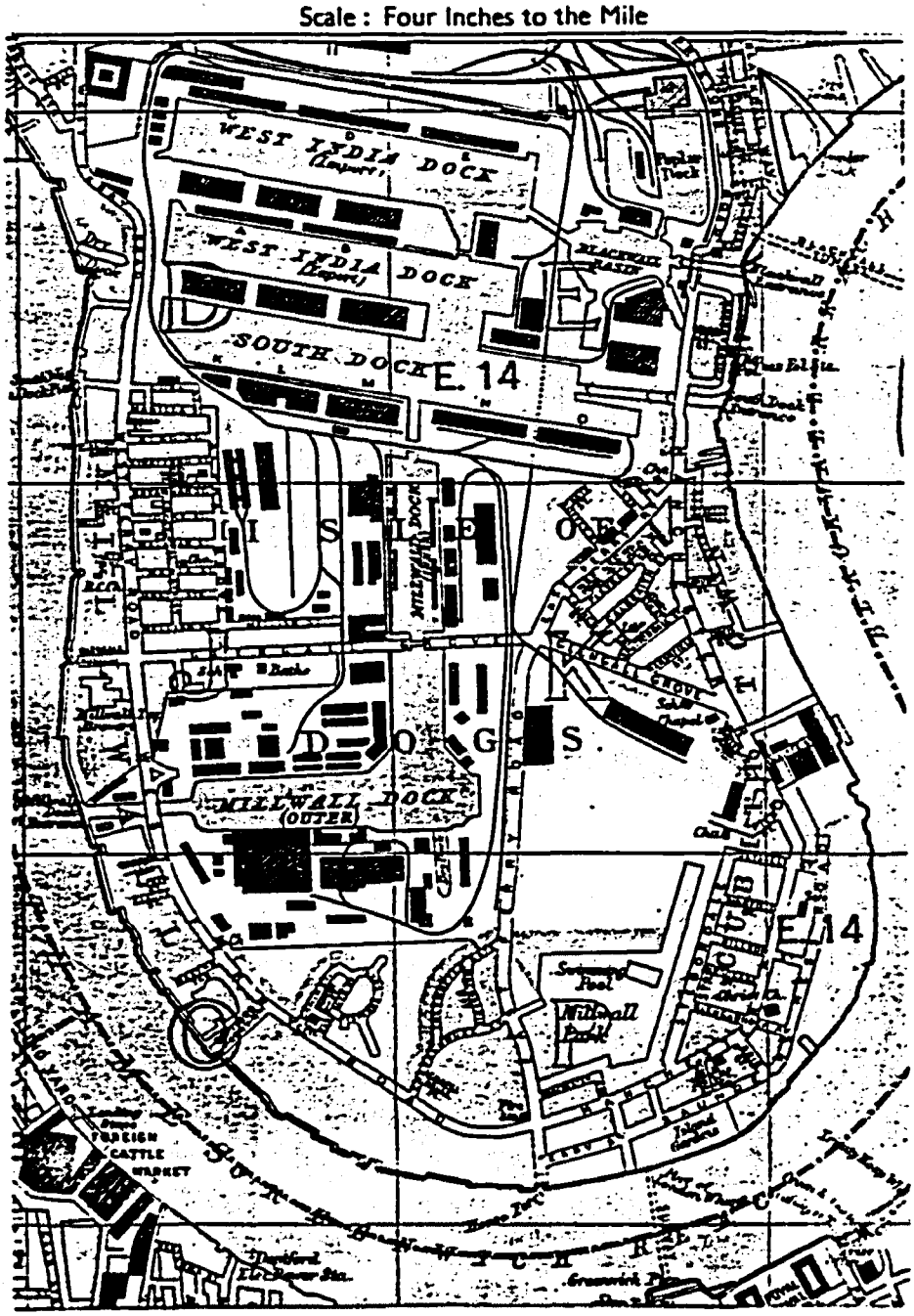
MAP 2.—Isle of Dogs, c. 1745*



*John Rocque, Plan of the City of London and Westminster and the Borough of Southwark (1746).

MAP 3.—Isle of Dogs, 1961*

Scale : Four Inches to the Mile



*Bartholomew's Reference Atlas of Greater London (1961), maps 76 and 77.

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CHAPTER I

THE STUDY OF URBAN WORKING-CLASS COMMUNITIES

Introduction

This dissertation rests upon the idea that cities are composed of urban communities which can be classified and analyzed according to their basic characteristics. It has two major aims. The first is to present a case study of the origins and evolution of a particular type of urban community known as working-class villages. The second is to provide a history of an East London proletarian community called the Isle of Dogs. In accomplishing these aims, a general thesis concerning the evolution of British working-class communal life in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries will be advanced.

This study is divided into seven chapters. The first defines some basic terms, reviews the relevant literature concerning working-class villages, describes the district which serves as the focal point of the dissertation, briefly outlines the methodologies and sources on which the work rests, and presents its basic thesis. Chapters II and III discuss the urbanization of the Isle of Dogs and the formation of a working-class village within its confines. Together they cover most of the nineteenth century. The fourth chapter examines the character of the community during an era of comparative social stability which extended from the end of the nineteenth century to the Second World War. Chapters V and VI

assess the changes which have occurred within the community since 1940 and seek to determine whether or not the Isle of Dogs and similar districts can still properly be considered as working-class villages. The final chapter briefly sums up the study's major conclusions and speculates about the future of both the Isle of Dogs and other working-class communities. All chapters seek to place events which took place in the Isle of Dogs in their proper national context. Several methodological and statistical questions are given additional treatment in the appendices.

Definition of Key Concepts and Terms

The practice of viewing the urban landscape as a mosaic of distinct communities and of regarding individual districts as representative examples of particular types of communities is hardly new. Members of the so-called Chicago school of urban sociology were some of the first exponents of these ideas. As early as the 1920s the Chicago school's founder and most distinguished representative, Robert Park, argued that

> every great city has its . . . racial colonies, . . . segregated vice districts, . . . occupational suburbs, . . . and residential enclaves, . . . each of which has the size and character of a complete separate town, village, or city, except that its population is a selected one.[1]

Park maintained that, when viewed as representative examples of ideal types, such communities could

> provide "a frame of reference," a conceptual order within which statistical facts gain a new and more general significance. They not only tell what the facts are in regard to the conditions of

---

[1]Robert E. Park, Ernest W. Burgess, and Roderick D. McKenzie, The City, with an Introduction by Morris Janowitz (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925; reprint ed., 1967), p. 10. For a useful critique of Park and the Chicago school, see Maurice Stein, The Eclipse of Community: An Interpretation of American Studies (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960), pp. 13-46.

> any given region, but insofar as they characterize an area that is natural and typical [of all cities], they establish a working hypothesis in regard to other areas of the same kind.[2]

If cities are collections of various types of communities, what then constitutes a community? This is a difficult question, for there is no universally accepted definition of the term. Indeed one enterprising sociologist has catalogued ninety-four separate definitions of community employed by a variety of scholars working in several different disciplines.[3] There are two major reasons for this lack of consensus. First, authors generally define community with reference to their own interests and expertise. Geographers emphasize the territorial aspects of community; sociologists stress social interaction; urban ecologists speak in terms of communal functions; and so forth. Second, investigators studying a particular community or type of community tend to define all communities in terms of the one which they happen to be analyzing at the moment. As a result of these two unfortunate tendencies, most

---

[2]Robert E. Park, Human Communities (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1952), p. 198.

[3]George A. Hillery, Jr., "Definitions of Community: Areas of Agreement," Rural Sociology 20 (June 1955):111-23. For some useful discussion of the concept of community and guides to community literature, see Barry Wellman and Marilyn Whitaker, eds., Community--Network--Communications: An Annotated Bibliography, 2nd ed. (Toronto: Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto, 1976); David W. Minar and Scott Greer, eds., The Concept of Community: Readings and Interpretations (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1969); Roland L. Warren, ed., Perspectives on the American Community (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1966); Colin Bell and Howard Newby, Community Studies: An Introduction to the Sociology of the Local Community (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971); Ronald Frankenberg, Communities in Britain: Social Life in Town and Country (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1966); and Douglas Caulkins, "Contemporary Western European Community Studies and Ethnographies: A Basic Collection," Choice 15 (September 1978): 805-24.

definitions of community are either incomplete or lack universal applicability.[4]

Several scholars have attempted to reconcile or at least find areas of agreement between competing definitions of community. One of the more successful, George A. Hillery, Jr., has found that most definitions of the term contain one or more of the following three elements: "area, common ties, and social interaction."[5] None of these features is mutually exclusive. Moreover the frequency with which they are mentioned by various authors plus the difficulty of imagining a community without each of these attributes suggests that all three should be incorporated into any satisfactory definition of the term.

Fortunately a definition exists which does just that. Moreover it is especially appropriate to the subject of this dissertation because it was devised by Harvey W. Zorbaugh, an early member of the Chicago school who helped to pioneer the study of urban communities. Zorbaugh's definition is broad enough to include all kinds of communities. However it is sufficiently narrow to exclude areas which lack a sense of identity, interdependence, or common social life. According to Zorbaugh, an

> area becomes a community only through the common experience of the people who live in it, resulting in their becoming a cultural group, with traditions, sentiments, attitudes, and memories in common--a focus of belief, feeling, and action. A community, then, is an area over which people are using the same language, conforming to the same mores, feeling more or less the same sentiment, and acting upon the same attitudes.[6]

Sociologists have long recognized that people can belong to more than one community simultaneously. The block, the neighborhood, the

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[4]Ibid. [5]Hillery, "Definitions of Community," p. 117.

[6]Harvey W. Zorbaugh, The Gold Coast and the Slum: A Sociological Study of Chicago's Near North Side (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929), pp. 222-23.

district, even the city itself can be viewed as communities of varying completeness and complexity. The manner and degree to which an individual is involved in each of these communities is dependent upon personal choice and opportunities for participation.[7] This dissertation focuses upon what might be called urban district communities. Such communities usually constitute the smallest urban units which can offer a sizable proportion of their residents a more or less self-contained social life. They provide opportunities to participate in institutional, political, recreational, and often even work activities.

Although no completely satisfactory typology of urban district communities has ever been devised, a variety of different kinds of districts have been defined and studied both as representative individual entities and as ideal types. These include middle-class suburbs, bohemias, criminal enclaves, and ethnic and racial ghettos.[8] Among those types of urban communities which have attracted the most interest are "working-class villages," sometimes described as "slums," "urban villages," or "industrial suburbs." There are, naturally, differences between working-class villages within individual cities, in different cities, and in different countries. These usually stem from their respective local environments, age, and the larger social and political units to which they belong. However authorities generally agree that in the capitalist, urban, and industrial societies of the West the basic features of working-

---

[7]Gerald D. Suttles, The Social Construction of Communities (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), passim.

[8]For a useful review of this literature, see Richard L. Sampson, "Sociology of the Community: Current Status and Prospects," Rural Sociology 30 (June 1965):133-37; and Frankenberg, Communities in Britain, passim.

class villages are fairly uniform. This facilitates and indeed encourages comparisons between such communities across city, regional, and even national boundaries.[9]

There are no important definitional disagreements over the composition and character of working-class villages. One of the clearest and most complete descriptions of such communities has been advanced by David Lockwood. According to Lockwood, working-class villages in their purest form are distinguished by

> the existence of . . . closely knit cliques of friends, workmates, neighbours, and relatives . . . The values expressed through these networks emphasise mutual aid in everyday life and the obligation to join in the gregarious pattern of leisure, which itself demands the expenditure of time, money, and energy in a public and present-oriented conviviality and eschews individual striving "to be different." As a form of social life, the communal sociability has a ritualistic quality, creating a high moral density and reinforcing sentiments of belongingness to a work-dominated collectivity. The isolated and endogenous nature of the community, its predominantly one-class population, and low rates of geographical and social mobility all tend to make it an inward-looking society and to accentuate the sense of cohesion that springs from shared work experience.[10]

Recognizable working-class villages first appeared in British cities in the course of the nineteenth century. They were the product of the interplay between urbanization, industrialization, and the increasing segregation of the urban populace along class lines. The bulk of their inhabitants were, of course, drawn from the laboring classes.

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[9]On this point, see Frankenberg, Communities in Britain, pp. 174-75; Herbert J. Gans, The Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the Life of Italian Americans (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1962), pp. 3-5, 229-62 passim; and Marc Fried, The World of the Urban Working Class (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), pp. 9-46 passim.

[10]David Lockwood, "Sources of Variation in Working Class Images of Society," The Sociological Review, n.s., 14 (November 1966):251. For discussions of working class villages as a specific type of urban community, see the works cited in footnote nine above and Gordon Rose, The Working Class (London: Longmans & Co., 1968), pp. 54-62.

The communities themselves were often geographically isolated, cut off from neighboring districts by railroads, canals, busy thoroughfares, waste ground, and the like. They tended to be unsanitary, crowded, unhealthy, and inadequately supplied with social and recreational facilities. Usually they were next to or interspersed with factories and workshops which provided employment for their residents. Working-class villages were, as noted above, marked by residential and social stability and bound together by a tight mesh of interlocking kinship, friendship, and work related networks. Each possessed an unwritten but real code of mores, manners, and morals plus a strong sense of its own identity.[11]

The Literature and Debates on Working-Class Villages

The literature dealing with working-class villages is substantial but very uneven in its coverage of the topic. It contains considerable areas of both consensus and controversy. For the sake of convenience, it can be divided into three major categories. They center upon (1) the origins and historical development of working-class villages, (2) their internal structure and character, and (3) their fate since the Second World War.

The literature on the historical development of working-class villages is quite scanty. It consists largely of random comments made in works which, for the most part, deal with different, although related topics.[12] Only two English working-class villages have been

---

[11] Standish Meacham, A Life Apart: The English Working Class 1890-1914 (London: Thames & Hudson, 1977), pp. 44-59. For a brilliant retrospective analysis of one of these communities by a former resident, see Robert Roberts, The Classic Slum: Salford Life in the First Quarter of the Century (London: Manchester University Press, 1971).

[12] E.g. Meacham, Life Apart, pp. 44-59.

the subject of anything resembling a genuine historical study. Hilda Jennings has written a volume on the Bristol district of Barton Hill, while Peter Willmott has authored a book on the "evolution" of the London working-class district of Dagenham.[13] Both of these works give the historical background of their respective subjects. However, each was written by a sociologist whose major aim was to influence contemporary policy decisions rather than to illuminate the past. Only Jennings really used a wide range of historical sources. Moreover Willmott's study of Dagenham, which began as an interwar London County Council housing estate, does not cast light on the origins of classic nineteenth century working-class villages. The scarcity of literature on the historical development of working-class villages per se is such that there are no well grounded conclusions or significant controversies concerning either their origins or pre-World War II evolution. This is likely to remain the case until more studies of the histories of such communities are available.

Studies which deal, at least in part, with the structure and values of working-class villages are much more numerous than those focusing upon their origins and evolution. Many of these works, including volumes by Richard Hoggart, Robert Roberts, and Louis Heren, are literary and autobiographical in nature.[14] Others are "scientific" or

---

[13]Hilda Jennings, Societies in the Making: A Study of Development and Redevelopment within a County Borough (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1962); and Peter Willmott, The Evolution of a Community: A Study of Dagenham after Fifty Years (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963).

[14]Richard Hoggart, The Uses of Literacy: Changing Patterns of English Mass Culture (Fair Lawn, NJ: Essential Books, 1957), pp. 15-137; Roberts, Classic Slum; and Louis Heren, Growing Up Poor in London (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1973), pp. 9-134 passim. Many other examples could be cited. See the works listed in footnote forty-two of this chapter.

"academic" studies. These include works by such British authors as J. M. Mogey, Madeline Kerr, Elizabeth Bott, Brian Jackson, Michael Young, and Peter Willmott, plus American scholars like Herbert Gans and Marc Fried.[15] They deal with both individual working-class villages and with specific aspects of proletarian communal life such as the importance and nature of kinship, marriage, and associational ties in such communities. While these studies naturally vary in topic, emphasis, and argument, they are in broad agreement concerning the fundamental structure and ethos of working-class village life. Like Lockwood, whose description of working-class villages is a distillation of many of their findings, they portray such communities as possessing a unique set of social characteristics. These include interlocking networks of kinship and friendship, a gregarious social life, egalitarian values, unusual solidarity and cohesion, limited rates of geographic and social mobility, and restricted social and intellectual horizons. Thus, while the literature dealing with the structure and character of life in working-class villages is considerable, there is comparatively little debate on these matters.

The major controversies concerning working-class villages center around their collective fate in the post-World War II era. Some authors argue that all communities, including working-class villages, are being

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[15] J. M. Mogey, Family and Neighbourhood: Two Studies in Oxford (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956); Madeline Kerr, The People of Ship Street (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1958); Elizabeth Bott, Family and Social Networks, 2nd ed. (London: Tavistock Publications, 1971); Brian Jackson, Working Class Community: Some General Notions Raised by a Series of Studies in Northern England (New York: F. A. Praeger, 1968); Michael Young and Peter Willmott, Family and Kinship in East London (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1957); Willmott, Evolution of a Community; Gans, Urban Villagers; and Fried, Urban Working Class.

undermined by the forces of modernity. The most influencial of these pessimists, Maurice Stein, has asserted that industrialization, urbanization, and bureaucratization have created a "mass culture" which is superseding all communities and destroying the intermediate levels of social organization between the primary group and the nation.[16] Many other sociologists, though less sweeping in their generalizations, offer similar if more cautious assessments.[17]

A school of more optimistic observers rejects these views. They contend that local communities still serve important social and economic functions and are major foci of human identity, sentiment, and activity. Indeed some argue that as society becomes more depersonalized, the pressure to preserve communities as arenas of personal action and attachment will mount. The most sophisticated and persuasive proponent of such views, Gerald Suttles, has wryly observed that "despite the forecast of community decline, whole social movements have aroused themselves around the issue of local control."[18]

Most of the literature dealing with working-class villages in the post-war era is more tightly focused and less cosmic and abstract than the works of Stein and Suttles. Those authors who believe that such communities are disappearing include, among others, Svend Riemer, Norman Dennis, J. M. Mogey, Ferdynand Zweig, Hilda Jennings, Josephine Klein,

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[16]Stein, Eclipse of Community, pp. 94-113, 275-303.

[17]E.g. D. E. G. Plowman, W. E. Minchinton, and Margaret Stacey, "Local Status in England and Wales," The Sociological Review, n.s., 10 (July 1962):186-95; and Margaret Stacey, "The Myth of Community Studies," The British Journal of Sociology 20 (June 1969):134-37. Many other examples could be cited.

[18]Suttles, Social Construction of Communities, p. 15.

Gordon Rose, and Stephen Hill.[19] Scholars of such views advance a variety of different arguments to support their conclusions. Jennings and other authors such as Gans and Fried believe that the greatest threat faced by working-class villages is that of urban renewal.[20] Other commentators regard the forces undermining working-class villages as being more profound and pervasive. Riemer and Dennis, for instance, have argued that the increasing range and accessibility of urban employment have eliminated much of the shared work activity which formerly furnished the basis for the isolation, cohesion, and identity of working-class villages.[21] A number of observers such as Roberts, Dennis, Zweig, Mogey, Rose, and Klein either imply or assert that affluence, welfare benefits, and technological change have all lessened the dependence of working-class people on their communities for recreation, security, and support. They claim that this decreased dependence plus increased geographical mobility have irreparably disrupted communal life and solidarity

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[19]Svend Riemer, "Villagers in Metropolis," The British Journal of Sociology 2 (March 1951):31-43; Norman Dennis, "The Popularity of the Neighbourhood Community Idea," The Sociological Review 6 (December 1958): 191-206; Mogey, Family and Neighbourhood, pp. 151-56; Ferdynand Zweig, The Worker in an Affluent Society (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1961), pp. 116-17, 205-12; Jennings, Societies, pp. 1-8, 205-25; Josephine Klein, Samples from English Culture, vol. 1: Three Preliminary Studies: Aspects of Adult Life in England (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965), pp. 219-302 passim, 420-29; G. Rose, Working Class, pp. 54-62; and Stephen Hill, The Dockers: Class and Tradition in London (London: Heinemann, 1976), pp. 163-77, 196-203.

[20]Jennings, Societies, pp. 76-225 passim; Gans, Urban Villagers, pp. 263-335; and Marc Fried, "Functions of the Working Class Community in Modern Urban Society: Implications for Forced Relocation," in An Urban World, ed. Charles Tilly (Boston: Little, Brown, & Co., 1974), pp. 446-65. Some authors who advance this view argue that with the adoption of new urban renewal strategies, working class villages could be saved or recreated.

[21]Riemer, "Villagers," pp. 31-43; and Dennis, "Neighbourhood Community Idea," pp. 194-95.

of traditional working-class communities.[22] Of course, these various arguments concerning the decline of working-class villages are not mutually exclusive. It is quite common for authors to synthesize two or more of them into more inclusive interpretations.[23]

Another school of thought which includes Willmott and Jackson in Great Britain and Bennett Berger in the United States is more optimistic in its appraisal of the fate of working-class villages in the post-war era. These authors argue that--despite the changes caused by urban renewal, economic modernization, affluence, technological progress, and increased state services--the basic character of proletarian communal life remains unchanged. They contend that not only have many working-class villages survived such upheavals, but that new villages are emerging in redeveloped or newly developed working-class residential districts. While residents of these new communities are certainly more affluent and somewhat more home-oriented than their predecessors, they have retained or re-created interlocking kinship and friendship networks; an active social life; a strong sense of cohesion and identity; and recognizably working-class patterns of neighborliness, egalitarianism, and cooperation.[24]

The debate over the fate of working-class villages in the post-war period often spills over into discussions of the desirability of destroying

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[22]Dennis, "Neighbourhood Community Idea," pp. 194-98; Roberts, Classic Slum, chapters 9-10; Zweig, Affluent Society, pp. 205-12; Mogey, Family and Neighbourhood, pp. 151-56; Klein, Adult Life, pp. 219-302 passim, 420-29; and G. Rose, Working Class, pp. 54-62.

[23]See e.g. Klein, Adult Life, pp. 219-302, 420-29.

[24]Willmott, Evolution of a Community, pp. 109-11; B. Jackson, Working Class Community, pp. 160-66; and Bennett M. Berger, Working Class Suburb: A Study of Auto Workers in Suburbia (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1960), pp. 1-12, 91-103.

or preserving such communities by means of urban renewal schemes. Many observers such as Riemer, Dennis, Mogey, John Westergaard, and B. John Parker find little to admire in working-class villages. They contend that such communities tend to be parochial, rigid, and repressive. Riemer and Dennis, moreover, claim that by fragmenting and localizing the loyalties and consciousness of the proletariat, working-class villages enhance the power of society's dominant conservative classes. Given such views, it is not surprising that all these authors either actively support or tacitly accept schemes designed to "reform" and often to eliminate working-class villages.[25]

Scholars such as Willmott, Jennings, Gans, and Fried take an opposing position. They regard working-class villages as healthy social environments which produce a rich communal life and encourage the development of such admirable "proletarian" traits as cooperation, egalitarianism, and neighborliness. Consequently, they favor urban renewal and housing allocation strategies which will preserve existing working-class villages and facilitate the growth of new ones. They generally oppose full-scale demolition of working-class areas and the dispersal of neighborhood populations. They are also critical of housing and relocation schemes which fail to give preference to those who wish to continue to reside near their extended families and old neighbors.[26]

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[25]Riemer, "Villagers," pp. 31-43; Dennis, "Neighbourhood Community Idea," pp. 198-203; Mogey, Family and Neighbourhood, pp. 14-32, 151-55; John Westergaard, "The Withering Away of Class: A Contemporary Myth," in Towards Socialism, eds. Perry Anderson and Robin Blackburn (Ithica: Cornell University Press, 1966), pp. 104-13; and B. John Parker, "Some Sociological Implications of Slum Clearance Programmes," in London: Urban Patterns, Problems, and Policies, eds. David Donnison and David Eversley (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1973), pp. 248-73 passim.

[26]Willmott, Evolution of a Community, pp. 109-24; B. Jackson, Working Class Community, pp. 65-68, 160-66; Gans, Urban Villagers,

Related to the debate dealing with the post-war fate of working-class villages is speculation over the type of communities (if any) which are replacing them. Such communities are often called "working-class suburbs." The archetypical working-class suburb is usually described as a

> council, or private low cost housing estate . . . [T]he most salient feature of these estates is that they bring together a population of strangers, who have little in common, save that they have all experienced residential mobility and that most of them gain their livelihood from some kind of manual labour. In such communities, social life is very different from the communal sociability of the traditional working class [village]. Unrelated by the ascriptive ties of kinship, long standing neighbourliness and shared work experiences, and lacking also the facility for readily creating middle-class patterns of sociability, workers on the estate tend to live a socially isolated home-centred existence. Such conditions favour the emergence of attributional rather than interactional status systems. Whereas in the traditional proletarian [village] status is attached . . . through the individual's participation in several overlapping cliques, the status order of the [working class suburb] is based on conspicuous consumption, by means of which people judge their social standing relative to others without [meeting] them in formal or informal leisure-time activities. The low housing density of the estate, its lack of recreational amenities, the uprootedness of its inhabitants, and their limited capacities for creating new styles of sociability produce a society in which residents are only superficially acquainted and associated with those who live around them. The attributional nature of status ranking that arises from this situation in turn induces an acquisitiveness and a sensitivity to competitive consumption that are quite alien to the communal sociability of proletarian traditionalism.[27]

There is much controversy over the quality of life in these new working-class suburbs. Observers such as Riemer, Dennis, Mogey, Zweig, and Parker tend to be favorably inclined toward such communities. These authors either assert or imply that the freedom and fexibility which

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pp. 328-35; and Fried, "Implications for Forced Relocation," pp. 446-62.

[27]Lockwood, "Working Class Images of Society," pp. 257-58. Also see G. Rose, Working Class, pp. 125-34; and John H. Goldthorpe et al., The Affluent Worker in Class Structure (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1969), pp. 13-29, 43-53 passim.

working-class suburbs offer to their residents more than compensates for any loss of cohesion and neighborliness.[28] Jennings, Willmott, and Young are much more critical of working-class suburbs. These commentators tend to view such communities as socially disorganized and destructive. They argue that such communities leave individuals without the vital group support provided by the extensive networks of kin, friends, and neighbors which exist in working-class villages. This forces people into an unhealthy and unsatisfying social isolation within the confines of their nuclear family.[29]

There is also considerable disagreement over the direction in which working-class suburbs are likely to evolve in the future. Riemer and Dennis claim that--due to the affluence, mobility, values, and aspirations of their residents--working-class suburbs will retain their present character indefinitely.[30] Willmott and Jackson contest this view. They predict, or at least hope, that as the populations of working-class suburbs become more stable, traditional ties and values will begin to reassert themselves. Thus such communities will eventually evolve into working class-villages.[31]

Clearly a good deal of research will need to be completed before the gaps in the existing literature on working-class villages can be

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[28]Riemer, "Villagers," pp. 31-43; Dennis, "Neighbourhood Community Idea," pp. 193-203; Mogey, Family and Neighbourhood, pp. 151-56; Zweig, Affluent Society, pp. 116-17, 195-212; and Parker, "Slum Clearance," pp. 263-70.

[29]Jennings, Societies, pp. 5-8, 101-46, 216-25; and Young and Willmott, Family and Kinship, pp. 97-140.

[30]Riemer, "Villagers," pp. 31-34, 42-43; and Dennis, "Neighbourhood Community Idea," pp. 194-203.

[31]Willmott, Evolution of a Community, pp. 109-11; and B. Jackson, Working Class Community, pp. 160-66.

filled and various controversies concerning such communities resolved. The only manageable means of addressing both these problems simultaneously is by means of the case study approach. Such a study would serve several useful purposes. It would, for instance, provide a much needed example of the origins and evolution of a representative working-class village. It could also serve as a means of testing the various theories concerning the post-war fate of working-class villages--and, indeed, communities in general. Finally, a study of the origins and evolution of a particular working-class community would, at the very least, be a useful contribution to the historical literature on a major British city. This, in itself, would be of considerable importance. Most historians agree that studies of individual urban districts do not exist in sufficient numbers. More of them must be undertaken if we are to arrive at a proper understanding of both particular cities and urban society in general.[32]

Any case study of a working-class village must address several key questions. What forces, both local and national, interacted to create the community? How long did it take these forces actually to form the community in question? What was the nature of communal life? Did it change over time? If so, how and why? Does the subject community continue to exist? If it does, what is its present character and what are its future prospects? Finally, what do the answers to these questions tell us about working-class communities in general?

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[32]E.g. Lynn H. Lees, "The Study of Cities and of Social Processes: Two Directions in Recent Urban History," The Journal of Social History 7 (Spring 1974):333; and H. J. Dyos remarks quoted by W. H. Chaloner in "Discussions," in The Study of Urban History, ed. H. J. Dyos (New York: Edward Arnold, 1968), pp. 63-64.

To answer these questions, a good community study--be it of a working-class village or otherwise--requires three essential ingredients. The first of these ingredients is a well chosen subject community whose history and character are broadly representative of the particular type of community under investigation. The second is a set of sources and methodological techniques capable of producing detailed information about the subject community in a manner which facilitates comparison with other similar areas. The third is a clearly stated and substantiated thesis that relates the history of the subject community to experiences which shaped the development and character of other communities of the same type. The remainder of this chapter will discuss this study's subject community, sources and methodologies, and thesis.

The Isle of Dogs: A Classic Working-Class Village

I have chosen the East London district of the Isle of Dogs as the subject for this case study.[33] The Island, as it is commonly called, is a 608 acre peninsula located immediately south of the West India Docks in the London borough of Tower Hamlets. Its history and character, while in some ways unique, are nevertheless representative of working-class villages in general. Like countless other working-class villages, the Island experienced intense industrial development and urbanization in the nineteenth century. Beginning in roughly 1800 its lush pastures were gradually built over with an impressive array of shipbuilding yards,

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[33]The origins of the name "Isle of Dogs" have never been conclusively established. For the various theories concerning the name and a discussion of their relative merits, see S. Maddocks, "The Isle of Dogs," The Copartnership Herald 6 (March 1936):13-14; and Benjamin H. Cowper, A Descriptive Historical and Statistical Account of Millwall, Commonly Called the Isle of Dogs (London: Robert Gladding, 1853), pp. 7-19.

factories, workshops, wharves, and docks. Its population, less than two hundred in 1800, climbed to over 21,000 by the end of the century. By the 1890s the Island had taken on the characteristics of a classic working-class village. Its population was increasingly homogeneous and stable. Great interlocking networks of kinship and friendship grew up; a common class and communal consciousness developed; and the peninsula became widely known for its insularity, village-like social life, and strong sense of identity.[34]

From the late nineteenth century to the Second World War, the basic socio-economic character of the Isle of Dogs, like that of similar working-class villages, changed comparatively little. Beginning in 1940, however, the Island received a succession of traumatic shocks. Damage sustained during the war, demographic and economic decline, urban renewal, and the arrival of comparative affluence and the welfare state all combined to subject the community to tremendous strain. These strains plus local opposition to a succession of redevelopment schemes led to the emergence of powerful local political protest and community action movements. At present, the consequences of all these developments and the community's response to them are still working themselves out.[35] Due to the diversity and magnitude of the changes which it has experienced in the post-war era, the Island is a perfect laboratory in which to test rival views of the fate of working-class villages since 1945.

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[34]Charles Booth et al., Life and Labour of the People of London, 17 vols., 3rd ser., (London: Macmillan & Co., 1889-1904), 1:20-24; and J. Warrick, "The Island," East London Papers 7 (December 1964):67-78.

[35]John Eyles, Environmental Satisfaction in London's Docklands: Problems and Policies in the Isle of Dogs, Occasional Papers No. 5 (London: Department of Geography, Queen Mary College, University of London, 1976), pp. 4-27; and Charles Rodney Stableford, "Local Plan for the Isle of Dogs," (Ph.D. dissertation, The Polytechnic of North London, 1977).

In addition to providing an example of the origins and evolution of a representative working-class village, the Isle of Dogs is a good subject for a comprehensive study in two other respects as well. First, comparatively little scholarly work has been done on its history. The Island has not been the subject of a major historical treatise for over 125 years.[36] Generally it is dealt with, if at all, as part of larger social and political units. Such treatments naturally tend to be fragmented and sometimes superficial.[37] A full scale study of the peninsula would constitute a useful contribution to both the history of the East End and London in general. Second, the Isle is currently at the center of a variety of planning and development debates concerning London's East End and the Docklands region. A study of the Island's past and its contemporary character and problems might assist those planners, politicians, and community leaders working to shape the district's future.[38]

Sources and Methodologies

Like most scholars conducting community studies, I have employed a wide variety of sources and methods during the course of my research. Each was chosen to reveal particular aspects of local life, culture, and social structure--and the manner in which all have changed over time. Moreover each, to varying degrees, has facilitated comparison between the Isle and similar communities elsewhere. Collectively they have

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[36] Cowper, Millwall.

[37] For a welcome exception to this general state of affairs, see François Bédarida, "Urban Growth and Social Structure in Nineteenth Century Poplar," The London Journal 1 (May 1975):159-88.

[38] Eyles, Problems and Policies in the Isle of Dogs, pp. 4-27; and Stableford, "Local Plan."

yielded enough information and insights to enable me to arrive at certain conclusions with respect to the historical development of communal life in both the Island and working-class villages in general. Of course, no one research strategy is applicable to all communities, or even all working-class villages. The diversity of local sources and experiences plus the different backgrounds and interests of those conducting community studies make such an objective unrealistic. The various sources and methodologies on which this study rest can best be reviewed by dividing them into four distinct categories: conventional archival research, quantitative techniques for the historical investigation of social structure, oral history, and participant observation.

Conventional archival research is the bedrock of all historical investigation. The major public record depositories and libraries which I consulted during my research included, in order of importance: the Tower Hamlets Central Library Local History Collection, the British Library of Political and Economic Science of the London School of Economics, the Guildhall Library of the City of London, the Greater London Council Record Office and Library, the British Museum Library, Goldsmith's Library of the University of London, and the Public Record Office. The information in these archives was essential in piecing together a chronology of the Island's development and in revealing the evolving character of local society, particularly in the nineteenth century. It is hoped that the use of such materials will yield insights into both change and continuity over time, something which many community studies lack. Moreover, when compared to published accounts of other working-class communities, such data made it easier to separate experiences which

were purely local in origin from those which sprang from deeper and more pervasive sources.

Most of the archival material on which this study is based is literary in nature. It covers a broad range of items including newspapers, map collections, trade directories, tax assessments, published and unpublished proceedings of a variety of organizations, papers of social investigators, and so on. Some of this material, however, proved suitable for simple quantitative analysis. Data drawn from trade directories and tax returns, for example, have been organized into statistical tables illustrating industrial development and land use. (See appendix 1.) A complete listing of archival sources can be found in the bibliography.

In addition to conventional archival research, I have employed quantitative methods developed by W. A. Armstrong to computerize and analyze manuscript census data. The choice of this approach was dictated by both the availability of the necessary source material and the sizable body of theoretical literature describing and illustrating the use of Armstrong's techniques.[39] The latter proved invaluable in

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[39]For discussions of Armstrong's methods and examples of his work, see William Alan Armstrong, "Social Structure from the Early Census Returns," in An Introduction to English Historial Demography, ed. E. A. Wrigley (London: Wiedenfeld & Nicolson, 1966), pp. 209-37; idem, "The Interpretation of the Census Enumerators' Books for Victorian Towns," in Urban History, ed. Dyos, pp. 67-85; idem, "A Note on the Household Structure of Mid-Nineteenth Century York in Comparative Perspective," in Household and Family in Past Time, ed. Peter Laslett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), pp. 205-14; idem, "The Use of Information about Occupation," in Nineteenth-Century Society: Essays in the Use of Quantitative Methods for the Study of Social Data, ed. E. A. Wrigley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), pp. 191-310; idem, Stability and Change in an English County Town 1801-51 (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974). I am indebted to Professor Armstrong for advice on one or two technical matters concerning the classification of occupations.

constructing the various tables concerning social class, occupation, overcrowding, sources of immigration, and so on presented in this study. In addition, the tables produced by Armstrong's methods contain standardized statistical data which can be compared with that generated by studies of similar communities which might be done in the future or with information in existing works dealing with different themes, but using the same sources and techniques. Armstrong's own study of York is an example of the latter.

I have departed from Armstrong's approach in two respects. First, since the community which served as the subject of this study was fairly small, it proved unnecessary to adopt Armstrong's sampling techniques. Each table in this dissertation is based on a complete tabulation of the available data. Second, Armstrong's techniques have been used to quantify and analyze data drawn from the 1831 census returns, the Booth papers, and the papers of the New Survey of London as well as the census records of 1841-1911 for which his methods were specifically designed.[40] Some caution should be used in making direct comparisons between statistics based on these different sources. Fortunately, however, the information provided by these different statistical sources has proven to be complementary rather than contradictory. Moreover it tends to support rather than refute available literary evidence. In instances where material taken from different types of sources has been combined into the same table, footnotes point out the relevent discrepancies and shortcomings. For a fuller discussion of this problem, a description of the various quantitative sources and techniques used in this study, and supplementary statistical tables, see appendix 2.

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[40]Due to the one hundred year closure rule on census material, no returns after 1871 were available when I did my research.

The third technique which I used during my research was that of oral history. While I developed my own interviewing questions, styles, and techniques, I relied heavily on the work and recommendations of Paul Thompson for general guidance and suggestions.[41] In all, I interviewed forty people, thirty-nine of whom were tape recorded on one or more occasions. All these people either are or have been associated with the Isle of Dogs in some capacity. The information which they provided was indispensible in reconstructing the character of communal life in the twentieth century. Fortunately a good deal of written and oral testimony by people from similar backgrounds and communities has been published in the form of memoirs, autobiographies, and collections of interviews. This literature formed a valuable point of comparison, enabling me to separate experiences and patterns which were peculiar to the Island from those which were common to working-class villages in general.[42] It is worth noting that when documentary evidence concerning the points on which I questioned my informants existed, it almost invariably supported their collective recollections. Moreover there was, on the whole, very little significant contradiction in the testimony of my subjects. The discrepancies which did occur were usually attributable

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[41]Paul Thompson, "Problems of Method in Oral History," Oral History 1 (1972):1-42; idem, The Edwardians: The Remaking of British Society (St. Albans, UK: Paladin, 1977); and idem, The Voice of the Past: Oral History (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978).

[42]E.g. Geoff Richman, Fly a Flag for Poplar (London: Liberation Films, 1975); Ron Barnes, Coronation Cups and Jam Jars: A Portrait of an East End Family through Three Generations (London: Centerprise Press, 1976); John Blake, Memories of Old Poplar (London: Stepney Books Publications, 1977); Arthur Newton, Years of Change: Autobiography of a Hackney Shoemaker (London: Centerprise Press, 1975); Hackney Workers' Association, Working Lives, 2 vols. (London: Centerprise Press, 1977); and Jim Wolveridge, 'Ain't It Grand' (or 'This Was Stepney') (London: Stepney Books, 1976). Many other examples could be cited.

to different life experiences or personal perspectives. Further information on the methods I used, the problems I encountered, and the people whom I interviewed can be found in appendix 3.

The last research technique to which I resorted is more familiar to sociologists and anthropologists than to historians. It is that of "participant observation." It consists essentially of living in a community and observing the manner in which it functions from day to day on a first hand basis. I was able to draw upon an immense body of literature which examines both the possibilities and pitfalls of this approach.[43] The key problem of employing this technique is that of making contacts within the subject community. Fortunately my wife and I had lived in the Island in 1971-72 while I was studying in London. Five years later, we were able to return to the Island for another year and renew acquaintances which we had made during our previous stay. These friends, plus others made over the course of our stay, introduced me into the community and established my credentials as a legitimate researcher. For ten months, stretching from September 1977 through June 1978, I visited the homes of Islanders, attended parties and meetings, frequented area pubs and clubs, and enjoyed a variety of contacts with friends and neighbors. In the fall of 1979, I returned to London to teach in an extension program

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[43]See e.g. William F. Whyte, Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum, 2nd ed., enl. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), pp. 279-358; Arthur J. Vidich, "Participant Observation and the Collection and Interpretation of Data," American Journal of Sociology 60 (January 1955):354-60; Morris S. Schwartz and Charlotte Green Schwartz, "The Problems of Participant Observation," American Journal of Sociology 60 (January 1955):343-53; Raymond L. Gold, "Roles of Sociological Field Observations," Social Forces 36 (March 1958): 217-23; Howard S. Becker, "Inference and Proof in Participant Observation," American Sociological Review 23 (December 1958):652-60; and Gans, Urban Villagers, pp. 336-50.

operated by Grinnell College. Throughout my nine-week visit, I lived with Island friends--a family of seven, two of whom no longer resided at home but still lived in the district. Staying with an Island family gave me a unique perspective on local life and allowed me to confirm, revise, and rethink my earlier impressions.

The opportunity of living in the Isle of Dogs and freely observing and participating in community life for periods of varying length in 1971-72, 1977-78, and 1979 helped me gain an understanding of the character, values, and functioning of the contemporary community. It also allowed me to compare and contrast local society in the 1970s with that of previous eras as revealed through my own research and interviews with older Islanders. In addition it gave me a means of testing and evaluating the oral evidence concerning present day life in the Isle provided by the people whom I interviewed. Naturally on both of my more recent stays in the district, I kept journals in which I recorded my experiences and impressions of local society. I have drawn heavily on these notes plus my own memories and reflections in coming to conclusions about the nature of contemporary working-class communal life in the Isle of Dogs.

Before closing this section, it should be noted that the evidential bases on which this dissertation rest unavoidably shift over time. Certain types of literary evidence such as trade directories, newspapers, and reports and records from governmental agencies are available for almost the entire period under review. Unfortunately this is not the case with respect to either quantitative data or the detailed observations and recollections of local residents. At the time of my research, no post-1871 manuscript census data was open for public inspection. Thus, with the exception of published census reports, household data

from the Booth papers (1886-87) and the New Survey of London collection (1929), and a few post-World War II surveys, there is little detailed statistical information on the Island's population available for the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Similarly, there are only a few literary sources and no oral testimony from Islanders analyzing the quality and character of local life before about 1890.

Due to the incomplete nature of the available evidence, this dissertation's emphasis and perspective often change from chapter to chapter. During the early parts of the study, much of the evidence and analysis tends to be quantitative. Beginning in Chapter IV, oral testimony replaces statistical tables as the main source of evidence. As a result, points made in the later chapters are often supported by anecdotes and illustrations rather than tables and statistics. Fortunately these conclusions are based upon the reports of knowledgeable investigators and authors such as Charles Booth, Richard Free, Thomas Burke, and H. L. Smith, as well as the memories of local residents. Moreover, where statistical evidence is available, it tends to complement rather than contradict literary and oral sources. Thus while this dissertation's sources and style of presentation necessarily change from period to period, I do not believe that this either distorts or invalidates its conclusions.

Thesis

The key terms and concepts have been defined, the relevant literature and debates reviewed, a subject community chosen, and the major sources and methodologies outlined. Now it is time to propose a central thesis. This dissertation argues that the origin and evolution of working-class

villages such as the Isle of Dogs have been determined by the interplay between purely local conditions and larger trends and forces shaping the whole of society. In the case of the Island, these local factors included the district's distinct shape, its unattractive topography, its fine water communications, its geographic location in relationship to the rest of London, and the timing and character of its initial development. The larger forces which interacted with these local conditions to create Island society included industrialization, urbanization, and the increasing importance of class in dictating the spatial arrangement and social relationships in nineteenth century cities. Collectively, these forces insured that the Island would have an industrial economy; a bleak environment; and an isolated, predominantly proletarian population.

While the course of the Island's evolution was fixed early in the nineteenth century, the process of communal formation was long and complex. The Isle was not unusual in this respect. It generally took decades for nineteenth century working-class communities to develop social homogeneity, closely knit kinship and friendship networks, deeply rooted local institutions, and a strong sense of collective cohesion and consciousness. This was due to two factors. First, such communities could not assume their final shape until the class-based social organization which they reflected was fully in place at the national level. This took most of the nineteenth century. Second, the social and institutional life of such communities was unable to flower fully until they attained environmental and demographic stability. Once working-class communities did achieve such stability, their internal structure and values reflected those of the national proletarian culture which crystallized

in Britain in the later nineteenth century. Indeed working-class villages were the residential units and expressions of that culture.

Ever since their appearance in the nineteenth century, individual working-class villages have been profoundly altered or even destroyed by changes in their local environments. However, their survival as a distinct type of urban community has depended less upon local circumstances than upon the stability and character of the larger capitalist society to which they belong and the particular class culture which they embody. For good or ill, neither has experienced truly revolutionary changes in this century. Despite the considerable reforms and improvements of the post-World War II era, the class based character of the British society has remained essentially intact. This has ensured the perpetuation of the proletarian culture of which working-class villages are a visible and enduring feature.

The forces of economic, technological, and bureaucratic modernization which observers such as Stein believe are undermining all communities have indeed affected working-class villages and their inhabitants. The physical conditions of proletarian life--living standards, health, mobility, and so on--have all improved enormously. Comparative affluence and state services have lessened the need to rely on relatives and on friends in times of crisis. Dwellings are more comfortable and less crowded. Families are smaller. Working days are shorter. Alernative amusements such as television have lessened the appeal of the street corner and the pub. Consequently adults--especially men--tend to spend more time at home. These changes have helped to eliminate or mitigate many of the less attractive features of traditional working-class life.

They have also made contemporary working-class communities less insular, autonomous, and self-sufficient than those of fifty years ago.

Nevertheless, despite these important changes and modifications, the basic structure, experience, and values of working-class communal life have shown remarkable resiliency. My research on the Island supports those who argue that despite the upheavals of the post-war era, many traditional values, attributes, and modes of association have survived or are reasserting themselves. Networks of kinship and friendship are reforming. Social interaction, cooperation, and neighborliness are much in evidence. So, too, is a sense of communal identity, cohesion, and loyalty. The forms which these impulses take—community action groups, tenants' associations, and children's bands—are sometimes quite new. However the collective values and sentiments which such organizations reflect and express are merely modern variations of those which have shaped and permeated working-class village life for a century or more. As Brian Jackson concluded in another community study

> the idea that the working class is ceasing to exist in the old way, a submerged and alternative culture based on habits of cooperation and values of community, is false . . . In most ways working class is undoubtedly far, far better than it was. But in the essence it <u>feels</u> the same, offers the same kind of <u>experience</u>.[44]

All of this means, of course, that working-class villages are not disappearing as a distinct type of urban community. They are, in a somewhat modified form, to be sure, surviving and recreating themselves. Conversely working-class suburbs are not the wave of the future. They are temporary aberrations, usually caused by the disruption of existing communities or the artificial and often ill-planned creation of new

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[44]B. Jackson, <u>Working Class Community</u>, p. 176.

proletarian residential districts. Given time, such areas will tend to evolve into working-class villages.

Despite the charges of their critics, the survival of working-class villages is, for a variety of reasons, a welcome phenomenon. The values that such communities encourage--cooperation, neighborliness, social egalitarianism, solidarity, and a sense of belonging--are worth preserving and encouraging in any social system. Moreover the majority of working-class people appear to prefer the atmosphere of community and friendliness that pervades working-class villages to that of anonymity and isolation which so often marks working-class suburbs. Finally, as the post-war experience of the Island indicates, working-class villages need not be parochial, repressive, or politically apathetic. These features, which were common in pre-war communities, were the result of isolation and poverty. They can and are being remedied without the destruction of the essential structure, values, or identity of individual communities. Indeed the struggle to preserve the autonomy and quality of life in individual working-class villages often enlists the efforts of their most thoughtful, politically aware, and active residents. Hence, living in such communities often politicizes people.

These conclusions have certain obvious implications for planning decisions affecting the Island and other working-class communities. Zoning, investments, and housing policies should be based on a recognition of the value and persistence of such communities. They ought to aim at creating an environment which encourages the preservation and reconstruction of working-class villages and to permit them to develop to their fullest potential. In concrete terms, this means the avoidance where possible of massive urban demolition schemes, the adoption of

housing styles and allocation systems which encourage residential stability, a keen appreciation of the social consequences of economic planning and investment, and the inclusion of local representatives in planning decisions which will affect the community in which they live.

CHAPTER II

THE ORIGINS OF ISLAND SOCIETY

Introduction: The National Context

Pre-industrial English society differed greatly from its nineteenth century successor. Before 1760 England's population was small and predominantly rural. Its economy was heavily dependent on agriculture. Its social structure was a

> classless hierarchy . . . in which men were acutely aware of their exact relation to those immediately above or below them, but only vaguely conscious except at the very top of their connections with those on their own level.[1]

While a degree of class consciousness did exist in England, it was muted and embryonic. By later standards, the pace of fundamental social and economic change was comparatively slow.

The physical and social characteristics of pre-industrial English cities reflected those of the larger society to which they belonged. Before 1700 most cities were small. Aside from London, which had more than half a million inhabitants, only two other English cities possessed populations in excess of twenty thousand--Bristol and Norwich. Less

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[1]Harold Perkin, The Origins of Modern English Society 1780-1880 (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972), pp. 24. For a useful review of the various discussions of class in this period, see Robert J. Morris, Class and Class Consciousness in the Industrial Revolution 1780-1850 (London: Macmillan, 1979).

than thirteen percent of the inhabitants of Great Britain lived in "urban" areas of five thousand or more.[2] The internal structure of these pre-industrial cities differed sharply from their modern counterparts. While recent studies have shown that early modern cities exhibited a surprising amount of residential differentiation on the basis of wealth, status, and occupation, pre-industrial urban districts were generally too small and heterogeneous to constitute self-contained, class-based communities. Even in London, the largest and most differentiated of English cites, there was a considerable degree of social diversity within individual urban districts. Moreover the compact size and poor transport facilities of pre-industrial cities plus the vertical ties of social and economic patronage which bound their populations together ensured a good deal of contact and communication between residents of various social ranks.[3]

The forces which eventually combined to bring working-class villages into existence were first evident during the eighteenth century. They were associated with that great socio-economic change commonly called the Industrial Revolution. The causes of this tremendous

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[2]Phyllis Dean and W. A. Cole, British Economic Growth 1688-1959: Trends and Structure (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), p. 7.

[3]Susan Reynolds, An Introduction to the History of English Medieval Towns (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), pp. 74-80, 160-64; John Patten, English Towns 1500-1700 (Hamden, CT: Archor Books, 1978), pp. 34-40; John Langton, "Residential Patterns of Pre-industrial Cities: Some Case Studies from Seventeenth Century Britain," Institute of British Geographers: Transactions 65 (July 1975):1-27; idem, "Late Medieval Gloucester: Some Data from a Rental of 1455," Institute of British Geographers: Transactions, n.s., 2 (1977):259-77; David Ward, "Victorian Cities: How Modern?," Journal of Historical Geography 1 (1975):135-51; Michael J. Power, "The Urban Development of East London, 1550-1700," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1971), pp. 290-98; and George Rudé, Hanoverian London 1714-1801 (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971), pp. 86-87.

transformation are controversial and need not be considered here. Its consequences, however, bear directly upon the subject of this dissertation.[4]

During the period of most intense industrialization, the population of England and Wales climbed dramatically. It rose from roughly 6½ million in 1760, to 9 million in 1801, to 18 million in 1851, to 32 million in 1901. During the same period, the mainstay of the British economy changed from agriculture and rural handicrafts to large scale mechanized industry. Most important, the old pre-industrial social hierarchy was replaced by a new system of social organization. This system was marked by the "horizontal solidarities of class in place of the old vertical connections of dependency and patronage."[5]

The impact of these developments on the character and internal structure of English cities was profound. As the country's population multiplied and manufacturing eclipsed agriculture, the size and importance of cities increased. Thousands of immigrants streamed from rural to urban districts in search of jobs in Britain's burgeoning industries. The proportion of the population residing in cities of more than 20,000 rose from 19.3 percent in 1801 to 37.9 percent half a century later. By 1901 it had reached 60.9 percent and was still climbing.[6] The pace

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[4]For useful accounts of the Industrial Revolution, see Phyllis Deane, The First Industrial Revolution (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965); M. W. Flinn, Origins of the Industrial Revolution (London: Longman, 1966); and Peter Mathias, The First Industrial Nation: An Economic History of Britain 1700-1914 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969), pp. 23-226.

[5]Perkin, Modern English Society, p. x. Also see pp. 176-217.

[6]C. M. Law, "The Growth of Urban Population in England and Wales, 1801-1911," Institute of British Geographers: Transactions 41 (June 1967):141-42.

and scale of urbanization created unprecedented housing, sanitation, and administrative problems. Moreover as cities expanded, their internal structures gradually changed. They became more complex and rigid. Thanks to the sheer size of cities, the development of sophisticated methods of transport, and the growth of class consciousness, residential segregation by social class increased in both incidence and degree. Taken together, these conditions created an urban environment favorable to the emergence of working-class villages.[7]

While the Industrial Revolution unleashed the economic, demographic, and social forces which eventually interacted to create working-class villages, the speed with which such communities came into being should not be exaggerated. It took decades to reorganize the urban population of England along class lines. Upper- and middle-class elements continued to reside in and play important roles in proletarian districts for much of the nineteenth century. Population growth and turn-over slowed the development of networks of kinship, friendship, and work among the urban laboring population. So, too, did the numerous status, occupational, and ethnic divisions which riddled the lower ranks of society. The laboring populations who inhabited the districts of England's great cities only gradually developed a common-class consciousness and constructed stable urban communities.[8]

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[7]Mathias, First Industrial Nation, pp. 34, 43, 106, 187-89, 198-99, 207-08; John D. Chambers, The Workshop of the World: British Economic History 1820-1880 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 115-29; Ward, "Victorian Cities," pp. 135-51; Mark Shaw, "The Ecology of Social Change: Wolverhampton 1851-71," Institute of British Geographers: Transactions, n.s., 2 (1977):322-48; Colin G. Pooley, "The Residential Segregation of Migrant Communities in Mid-Victorian Liverpool," Institute of British Geographers: Transactions, n.s., 2 (1977):364-92; and H. J. Dyos and D. A. Reader, "Slums and Suburbs," in The Victorian City: Images and Realities, eds. H. J. Dyos and Michael Wolff, 2 vols. (Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973), 1:359-86.

[8]Henry Pelling, A History of British Trade Unionism, 2nd ed.

The origins of Island society illustrate the complexity and duration of the processes which created working-class villages. During the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century, the Island felt the full impact of the forces which were reshaping English society. Its population rose from less than 200 to over 14,000. The peninsula was transformed from a sleepy, agricultural, and riverside backwater into one of London's most important docking and industrial districts. Yet, while its population was predominantly proletarian, the Island did not immediately develop into a working-class village. It continued to contain a considerable number of upper- and middle-class residents. They and their peers who owned property in the district formed a cohesive, active, and influential local elite. The peninsula's working-class population, on the other hand, was fragmented and disorganized. It was shot through with a host of social, economic, and ethnic distinctions. These divisions plus the area's rapid and uneven growth slowed the development of the social and institutional networks typical of fully formed working-class villages. It took many decades for the workers living in the Isle of Dogs to achieve a common sense of class and communal consciousness, a shared set of values, and habits of cooperation.

Chapter II examines the emergence of early Island society. It contains sections on the district's geography and pre-Victorian history, early economic development, and urbanization. It also examines the origins and ethnic diversity of the local population as well as the structure and character of Island society. The chapter concludes with a brief summation.

Harmondsworth,UK: Penguin Books, 1971), pp. 89-91; Robert Q. Gray, The Labour Aristocracy in Victorian Edinburgh (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), chapters 1-2, 4-5; Michael Anderson, Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), p. 106; and Meacham, Life Apart, pp. 30-59 passim.

Geography and Pre-Victorian Beginnings

Topographically the Isle of Dogs is part of the alluvial flood plain of the River Thames. It is located about two miles east of the Tower of London. Much of its surface is four to ten feet below river level at high tide. Consequently, the district has been plagued by problems of drainage and flooding for literally centuries. Indeed the entire peninsula was once known as Millwall, a name derived from the windmills which lined its western riverbank and helped keep the land properly drained.[9] The western third of the Island still retains that name. The interior of the peninsula is taken up by the Millwall Docks. Its eastern third is occupied by Cubitt Town, an area named after its Victorian developer.

The precise date at which the Isle of Dogs was drained, embanked, and put into productive use is uncertain. However references to the district in estate and legal records date back as early as the mid-thirteenth century. Prior to the mid-sixteenth century, most of the Island was owned by the Bishop of London and the London monastery of St. Mary de Graces. During the English Reformation, however, the Bishop lost his land, and the monastery was suppressed. Thereafter all but a few of the Island's acres were in the hands of a succession of secular owners.[10]

For most of its history, the Isle of Dogs was an agricultural district. At the end of the fourteenth century, it contained a population

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[9]Cowper, Millwall, pp. 1-7; and C. E. Everard, "The Physique of East London," East London Papers 9 (Winter 1966):61, 63, 72-77.

[10]Kevin McDonnell, Medieval London Suburbs (London: Phillimore, 1978), pp. 27-30, 66, 71, 93, 139-40, 150; idem, "The Chapel of St. Mary in Stepney Marsh," East London Papers 11 (Summer 1968):57-58; and Power, "Urban Development of East London," pp. 11, 86-101 passim, 101-02, 106-07, 116-18, 144-48, 199, 201-02.

of perhaps fifty to sixty perople. Most of them made a living from the practice of arable farming. The community was large and settled enough to possess its own place of worship, St. Mary's, a tiny chapel of ease for the local parish church, St. Dunstan's of Stepney. During the fifteenth century, a general rise in the water table of southeast England increased the threat of inundations from the Thames to the Island's inhabitants. In 1448 a disastrous flood appears to have forced the abandonment of arable farming in the peninsula and the dispersal of most of its population.[11]

Eventually the Island was reclaimed from the River. However it was not restored to arable farming. The old chapel of St. Mary's was converted to a farm house. While some of the district's rich acres were planted with orchards and market gardens, most were used for pasture. They were well suited for this purpose. In 1793 John Middleton, the famous agricultural expert, claimed that the Isle's lush meadows provided the "richest grass in the county" of Middlesex. Numerous other authorities including John Strype, Daniel Lysons, and James Brewer made similar observations. The area's proximity to London enhanced the value of its pastures. Often cattle brought to the capital from other parts of England were fattened in Island fields before being delivered to City markets.[12]

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[11]Ibid.

[12]John Middleton, View of Agriculture in Middlesex, 2nd ed. (London: Board of Agriculture, 1807), p. 223; John Stow, A Survey of the cities of London and Westminster, and the borough of Southwark . . . corrected, improved, and very much enlarged in the year 1720 by John Strype, 6th ed., 2 vols. (London: W. Inngs & J. Richardson, 1755), 2:762; Daniel Lysons, Environs of London, 4 vols. (London: T. Caddell & W. Davies, 1795-96), 2:468; and James N. Brewer, London and Middlesex (London: J. Harris, 1811), pp. 311-12. Also see Cowper, Millwall, pp. 20-27; "advertisement

As London's commerce expanded in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a few riverside businesses were established in the Island. However in 1800 the area's character was still predominantly rural. The peninsula contained only thirty inhabited buildings, housing a population of roughly 150. Aside from a couple of riverside pubs--the Ferry House and the Folly, a large mast yard, and a few wharves and boathouses, the Isle was undeveloped. At least 485 of its 608 acres were given over to agricultural pursuits.[13]

A survey conducted in 1811 revealed that most of the Island was divided among seven landowners. The largest, a prominent Shadwell shipowner named William Mellish, held 220 acres. Other considerable owners included the City of London, the Ironmongers Company, the Earl of Strathmore, John Byng (created Earl of Strafford in 1847), William Stratton, and Thomas Tooke. Most of the owners rented their property to tenant farmers and small riverside businesses. Only Mellish, who purchased the bulk of his estate between 1800 and 1811, actually worked his own land. Capitalizing on the opportunity created by the Napoleonic Wars, he made a fortune by purchasing oxen and hogs, fattening them on Island grass, and then selling them to the Navy. However, once the war with France was concluded, Mellish, too, leased out most of his acres.[14]

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for sale of land in the Isle of Dogs by Thomas Rideway," 1774, Local History Collection, Record Group 720.2, Tower Hamlets Central Library, London; and Power, "Urban Development of East London," pp. 116-18, 199.

[13]Appendix 1, tables 1-4; and "Poplar and Blackwell first Poor-Rate 1800," fol. 41-45, Local History Collection, Record Group 356.1, Tower Hamlets Central Library, London.

[14]"Plan of an intended Ferry for Persons, Horses, Cattle and Carriages and Goods and Merchandizes over and across the River Thames from the Isle of Dogs, [1811]," Map Collection 500, and "Poplar and Blackwell Church Rate 1811," Record Group 356.1, Local History Collection Tower Hamlets Central Library, London. For Mellish's land purchases,

The first extensive development of the Isle of Dogs occurred shortly after the opening of the West India Docks in 1802 and the City Canal in 1805. Both were built to accommodate the growing number of ships using the Port of London.[15] Once completed, they became the peninsula's northern boundary. Together they constituted a formidable barrier which cut the Island off from the rest of East London. Often all traffic to and from the Isle was stopped for anywhere from thirty minutes to several hours while the bridges were raised to permit ships to enter and leave the docks.

The docks and canal were not without benefit to the Island, however. They attracted a tremendous amount of shipping to the area; and, this, in turn, stimulated a slow but steady growth in the local economy. In 1811 Lysons reported that

> some very extensive ironworks have been lately established in Mill-Wall, near the canal and West India Docks, by Jukes Coulson and Co. In their forge and rolling-mills . . . are manufactured . . . bar and bolt iron for the use of ship-builders and coach-makers, and iron hoops, sheet and rod-iron for home consumption and exportation . . . anchors and mooring-chains . . ., and all kinds of heavy forged iron-work for the Navy and land-service . . . [A]djoining these works is a very extensive ropewalk . . . [a] turpentine distillery and a manufactory or rosin . . .[16]

Thanks to this influx of industry, the estimated gross annual rental value of property in the Island more than tripled between 1800 and 1831, rising from £2,141 to £7,139.[17] During this same period, the number of industrial

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holdings, and activities, see London, Guildhall Library, MSS 9746 and 17208; and Mellish's obituary in The Gentleman's Magazine, March 1834, p. 339.

[15]For more on these facilities, see Walter Stern, "The First London Dock Boom and the Growth of the West India Docks," Economica, n.s., 19 (February 1952):59-71; and idem, "The Isle of Dogs Canal: A Study in Early Public Investment," The Economic History Review, 2 ser., 4 (1952): 359-71.

[16]Lysons, Environs, sup. to 1st ed., p. 300.

[17]"Poplar and Blackwall first Poor-Rate 1800," fols. 41-45 and "Poplar Poor Rate 1829-1831," fols. 92, 105-08, 112-16, Local History

firms in the district rose from three to thirty-nine. Of the many types of businesses which located in the peninsula, those associated with maritime activities were the most common. In the first thirty years of the nineteenth century, the number of enterprises engaged in shipbuilding, ship repair, and marine engineering jumped from two to sixteen. Businesses specializing in lighterage and warehousing increased from one to four. Six timber importers were established in the same period, as were two rope walks.[18] Most of these new firms were concentrated in the Isle's northwestern quadrant and along its western shoreline. This gave them access to both the river and to West Ferry Road, a toll road built in 1812 to service the ferry which operated at the southern tip of the peninsula.[19]

Island firms drew much of their labor force from parts of East London lying north of the docks. However, the difficulties of commuting to work across the dock bridges plus the growing number of jobs available in the peninsula encouraged many workers to move to the Isle. Between 1801 and 1831, the area's population grew roughly nine-fold to 1,344. Likewise the number of inhabited buildings increased from 30 to 230. The Isle's population, like its industry, was concentrated in Millwall just south of the City Canal's west entrance and along the area between West Ferry Road and the riverside. Smaller pockets of people were located around Ferry House, Chapel House farm, and Folly Wall.[20]

Collection, Record Group 356.1, Tower Hamlets Central Library, London. These figures are probably better indicators of the magnitude of increase in the value of local property than its actual worth.

[18]Appendix 1, tables 13 and 14.

[19]For early road development in the Island, see Cowper, Millwall, pp. 112-13. For early industrial development, see Lysons, Environs, sup. to 1st ed., p. 300; and Brewer, London and Middlesex, pp. 311-12.

[20]Appendix 1, table 16; and appendix 2, table 19.

Manuscript census returns for 1831 provide a rough overview of the social composition of the Island's pre-Victorian population. The returns list the occupations of 178 of the district's 224 household heads. Using techniques pioneered by W. A. Armstrong, these household heads have been divided into five social classes based on occupation. Businessmen employing twenty-five or more people plus members of the higher professions such as medicine and law have been assigned to Class I. Class II contains petty merchants, retailers, publicans, small businessmen, and members of the lesser professions. The members of these two groups were roughly equivalent to the Island's upper and middle classes. Classes III and IV comprise skilled and semi-skilled manual workers, respectively. Unskilled laborers, certain types of dockers, paupers, and widows with no visible means of support constitute Class V. Classes III-V contained the district's proletarian elements.

Table 1 compares the social class of Island household heads with their area of residence in 1831. It reveals that a surprising amount of social diversity existed within the district's tiny population. It also illuminates certain clear patterns of residential segregation based on social class. Class I, composed almost exclusively of large shipbuilders and manufacturers, was concentrated in distinct pockets in Montague Place, Ord Street, and along the riverside in Marshwall.[21] The smaller manufacturers, businessmen, shopkeepers, and publicans who comprised Class II were found in the same areas. They were present in still greater numbers along West Ferry Road where many of their businesses were situated. The

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[21]Marshwall was a distinct section of the Millwall riverside. Unfortunately it is included with other riverside areas of Millwall in the tables.

skilled and semi-skilled workers who made up Classes III and IV tended to settle in the Island's interior along Alfred Street and West Ferry Road. However, some could also be found along the river. Conversely, the laborers who made up Class V frequently lived near the Thames. They were found also intermittently along West Ferry Road and, one suspects, Alfred Street as well.[22]

TABLE 1.--Household Heads Classified by Social Class and Residence, 1831

		Soc Class I	Soc Class II	Soc Class III	Soc Class IV	Soc Class V	Soc Class Unkn*	Total # Hsh Heads
Alfred St	#	. . .	. . .	27	12	. . .	12	51
	%	. . .	. . .	52.9	23.5	. . .	23.5	99.9
Montague Pl & Ord St	#	3	7	. . .	. . .	. . .	3	13
	%	23.1	53.8	. . .	. . .	. . .	23.1	100.0
W Ferry Rd	#	1	12	35	14	10	17	90
	%	2.2	13.3	38.9	14.6	11.1	18.9	100.0
Millwall & Riverside	#	4	7	15	2	13	11	52
	%	7.7	13.5	28.8	3.8	25.0	21.2	100.0
Folly Wall	#	. . .	1	3	6	. . .	. . .	10
	%	. . .	10.0	30.0	60.0	. . .	. . .	100.0
Manchester Road	#	1	2	4	1	. . .	. . .	8
	%	12.5	25.0	50.0	12.5	. . .	. . .	100.0
Total	#	10	29	84	35	23	43	224
	%	4.5	12.9	37.5	15.6	10.3	19.2	100.0

*Most of these household heads were probably laborers (Class V).

The occupations of local household heads reflected the Island's industrial structure. One out of every four heads whose occupation is

[22]For the occupational breakdown of different social classes, see appendix 2, table 25. Many of Alfred Street's "unknown" household heads undoubtedly belonged to Class V. Note, too, the absence of Classes I and II in Alfred Street.

known worked in some phase of shipbuilding or ship repair. One out of every seven was employed moving people or goods on the river. Almost twelve percent of the heads worked in the building trades. Half of this twelve percent were stone masons who found employment at wharves which imported, dressed, and then resold stone. Another ten percent of the heads worked in commerce and service industries such as shops, bakeries, pubs, and so on. A slightly larger number (11.4%) were listed as general laborers. In fact, given the large number of unknowns, this percentage should probably be at least doubled. The employment patterns of such men cannot be determined with any degree of precision from the data provided by the 1831 census. However, most probably worked as casual laborers in the Isle's shipbuilding yards, ironworks, and wharves.[23]

The pattern and pace of development apparent in the first three decades of the nineteenth century continued well into the 1830s. The local economy remained closely tied to such traditional portside activities as wooden shipbuilding, ship repair, rope making, transport, and dock work. Agriculture was also much in evidence. As late as 1841 over half the Island's area was still taken up by pastures.[24] Despite the busy and fairly prosperous air that marked parts of Millwall, the Island remained largely undeveloped at the end of the first third of the nineteenth century.

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[23]Appendix 2, table 34. The occupational structure of the Island in this era was fairly typical for the riverside districts of East London. For an overall view, see L. D. Schwarz, "Conditions of Life and Work in London, c. 1770-1820, with Special Reference to East London," (Ph.D. dissertation, Oxford University, 1976), pp. 219-54.

[24]Appendix 1, tables 14 and 17. Despite its large amount of agricultural land, comparatively few agricultural laborers lived in the Island. It took only a few men to tend local fields, most of which were pastures. See appendix 2, table 34.

Economic Development, 1835-66

During the second third of the nineteenth century, the Isle of Dogs grew from a tiny riverside hamlet into one of London's foremost industrial districts. The timing of the transformation was determined by the outward growth of London.[25] Its character was dictated by the Island's geography and economic assets. Strategically situated in the world's greatest port, the Isle was well suited to the needs of industries related to shipping or requiring cheap transportation for heavy materials and products. Moreover the abundance of undeveloped land in the peninsula made it especially attractive to firms which needed large but relatively cheap sites.[26] Finally, the businesses which located in the Island benefited from the rich metropolitan market. At mid-century greater London contained over 2.7 million people—15.2 percent of the population of England and Wales. The capital was also the nation's most important manufacturing center. Its inhabitants and industries consumed vast quantities of almost every product imaginable. Its labor force was easily the largest and most skilled in Britain. Capital was close at hand and readily available. Given these geographic and economic advantages, it is hardly surprising that dozens of businesses were opened in the Island in the mid-nineteenth century.[27]

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[25]For London's growth during this period, see Francis Sheppard, London 1808-1870: The Infernal Wen (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971), pp. 117-201; Millicent Rose, The East End of London (London: Cresset Press, 1951), pp. 139-72; Henry Rees, "The Growth Map of Northeast London during the Railway Age," Geographical Review 35 (July 1945):458-65; and Schwarz, "Life and Work in London," pp. 237-41.

[26]Everard, "Physique of East London," p. 71. Island sites are still considered "relatively large for central London, and . . . relatively cheap." See Great Britain, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Isle of Dogs Planning Study: Final Report, 1969, p. 11.

[27]Karl Gustav Gytzell, County of London: Population Changes 1801-1901 (Lund, Sweden: Royal University of Lund, 1969), p. 123; Peter G. Hall, The Industries of London since 1861 (London: Hutchinson University

The Island's economy was fundamentally different from that which existed throughout most of the rest of East London. The small workshops and domestic sweated industries which characterized Stepney and Bethnal Green did not exist in large numbers in the Isle. Instead, its large industrial sites and fine water communications attracted great shipbuilding yards, engineering firms, iron works, and the like. By the 1860s the peninsula's industrial structure was more akin to the great manufacturing centers of the Midlands and the North than to that of London as a whole. Indeed contemporaries sometimes described the Island as the "Birmingham" or "Manchester of London" because the "articles manufactured [there] are large, important, and of eminently utilitarian character."[28] Once established, the peninsula's basic industrial structure remained remarkably stable. While the types of manufacturing carried on in the Island changed over the years, the district remained a center of large-scale, heavy industry until well after the Second World War.[29]

The Island's greatest growth industry from the mid-1830s until the mid-1860s was iron shipbuilding. At various times in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, fifteen major shipbuilding firms were located

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Library, 1962), pp. 9-11, 21-23, 161-70; Thomas Wright [pseud.], Some Habits and Customs of the Working Classes by a Journeyman Engineer (London: Tinsley Bros., 1867; reprint ed., New York: Augustus M. Kelly, 1967), pp. 249-52; Bédarida, "Nineteenth-Century Poplar," pp. 165-66, 169-80; and Cowper, Millwall, pp. 60-63, 66-76.

[28]Wright, Working Classes, p. 251; Cowper, Millwall, pp. 66-67; Bédarida, "Nineteenth-Century Poplar," pp. 169, 177-78; and "[Poplar] Church Rate 1868," fols. 1-93, Local History Collection, Record Group 356.1, Tower Hamlets Central Library, London. For the metropolitan and East London economies during this period, see Sheppard, London, pp. 158-201; and Gareth Stedman Jones, Outcast London: A Study in the Relationship between Classes in Victorian Society (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), pp. 19-51.

[29]Appendix 1, tables 13 and 14.

in the peninsula. Some of them were among the largest industrial enterprises in the world. William Fairbairn opened the peninsula's first iron shipbuilding yard in Millwall in 1836. Another was established two years later by David Napier. Fairbairn, who was a general engineer as well as a shipbuilder, employed up to two thousand hands when his works operated at full capacity. John Scott Russell employed a like number when he combined the yards of Fairbairn and Napier into a single facility in the 1850s. In the 1860s Russell's yard was incorporated into Charles Mare's still larger Millwall Iron Works, a firm which employed between four and five thousand men and boys when fully manned. Joseph D'Anguilar Samuda who opened a yard in Cubitt Town in 1851 employed up to two thousand men. John Dudgeon, the owner of an engine works in Millwall and a shipbuilding yard in Cubitt Town, employed 650 men at the former and 850 at the latter. Other sizable employers in the shipbuilding industry included Messrs. Westwood and Baillie, Joseph Ash, and--later in the century--Alfred Yarrow.[30]

Island firms were notable for more than their size. Like other Thames yards, they were world renowned for the high quality of their work.

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[30]This information on individual years was culled from a wide variety of sources. See William Pole, The Life of Sir William Fairbairn, Bart. (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1877), pp. 337-42; David Napier, David Napier Engineer 1790-1869: An Autobiographical Sketch with Notes (Glasgow: James Maclehoss & Sons, 1912), pp. 12-13, 36-48; George S. Emmerson, John Scott Russell: A Great Victorian Engineer and Naval Architect (London: John Murray, 1977), pp. 34-168 passim; Philip Banbury, Shipbuilding on the Thames and Medway (Newton Abbot, UK: David & Charles, 1971), pp. 159-308 passim; Frank C. Bowen, "Shipbuilders of Other Days," Shipbuilding and Shipping Record, 21 August 1952, pp. 245-47; E. R. F., "A Visit to the Scott Russell's Dockyard," The United State Magazine, March 1856, pp. 364-72; Sidney Pollard, "The Decline of Shipbuilding on the Thames," The Economic History Review, 2 ser., 3 (1950):72-89; Great Britain, Parliament, Parliamentary Papers (Commons), 1867-68, vol. 39, 19 May 1868, "Royal Commission on Trades Unions and Other Associations, 1867-68," 9th Report, J. D'A. Samuda, A16709-16872, and J. Dudgeon A16873-17183; and Wright, Working Classes, pp. 251-61.

Several firms made notable contributions to the advancement of science and technology. Fairbairn formulated pioneering concepts in ship design and conducted an important series of experiments concerning tubular bridges in his Millwall works. Napier's vessels were famous for the strength of their hulls and the power and efficiency of their engines. Russell's maritime masterpiece, the Great Eastern, was the largest ship built in the entire nineteenth century. Its "construction . . . and launching posed so many problems that their solution carried British engineering across several thresholds."[31] Samuda was also acclaimed for his ability to innovate. His firm had a reputation for building outstanding warships and special-purpose craft such as floating cranes and fire engines. His use of steel in the mid-1850s was considered revolutionary. Dudgeon, too, won a niche in shipbuilding history. His yard was the first to introduce twin screw propellors on a wide scale.[32]

Although less spectacular than shipbuilding, the growth experienced by the general engineering and heavy metals industries in the Island was also substantial. The number of local firms engaged in such activities climbed from seven in 1831 to thirty-two by 1871. Included in this total were engine works, tank manufacturers, boiler makers, lead works, iron

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[31]Aubrey Wilson, London's Industrial Heritage (Newton Abott, UK: David & Charles, 1967), p. 92.

[32]This information on individual shipbuilders has been collected from a variety of sources. See L. T. C. Rolt, Victorian Engineering (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books, 1974), pp. 84-95; Napier, Autobiographical Sketch, pp. 59-65; Emmerson, Russell, pp. 65-157 passim; Pole, Fairbairn, p. 337; William G. Cory, East London Industries (London: Longman & Green, 1876), pp. 8-16; Edgar C. Smith, A Short History of Marine Engineering (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938), pp. 165-66; Banbury, Shipbuilding, pp. 159-308 passim; Pollard, "Decline of Shipbuilding," pp. 76-79; "R. C. on Trades Unions," Samuda A16727, 16761, 16825; "Shipbuilding on the Thames," Engineering, 21 April 1893, pp. 599-600; and East End News (London), 1 May 1885, 5 May 1885, 11 August 1893, and 8 September 1893.

rolling mills, and wire rope factories.[33] Many of these firms had outstanding reputations. Samuel Brown, Lenox, and Company, for instance, was one of the largest manufacturers of anchors and chains in Britain. John Seward, owner of the Canal Iron Works, was a well known and widely respected engineer who invented a telescopic funnel, brine valves for boilers, a disconnecting crank, and the cyclodial paddle wheel. Two other Island manufacturers, G. W. Binks and W. M. Bullivant, founded firms which pioneered the development of wire rope, fencing, and netting.[34]

Other sectors of the Island's economy which expanded in the mid-nineteenth century included building, chemical production, and dock work. Building firms were attracted to the Isle by the amount of construction occurring locally plus the peninsula's fine water communications. The latter were especially valuable to an industry which was dependent on heavy materials such as bricks, cement, and lumber.[35] Chemical firms, which likewise dealt with heavy products, derived similar advantages from the river. They also found the Island's peculiar blend of central location and geographic insularity appealing. It enabled them to remain close to the London market without attracting undue attention from powerful private citizens or prying public health officials.[36] Dock work, of

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[33]Appendix 1, table 13.

[34]For information on these four firms, see "150 Years of Chain Making," The Engineer, 22 June 1956, pp. 731-32; E. Smith, Marine Engineering, p. 57; East London Observer, 9 March 1921; J. Bucknall Smith, Treatise upon Cable and Rope Traction (London: Office of Engineering, 1887), pp. 139-47; idem, Treatise upon Wire, Its Manufacture and Uses (London: Offices of Engineering, 1891), pp. 159-70.

[35]Cowper, Millwall, pp. 66-67; and "A Visit to the Isle of Dogs," The Builder, 7 January 1854, p. 2.

[36]John Edward Martin, Greater London: An Industrial Geography (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), pp. 130-38; and "Visit to the Isle of Dogs," p. 2.

course, expanded steadily as new port facilities were built in the Island. However, thanks to the peninsula's broadening industrial base, the relative importance of such work decreased throughout most of the mid-nineteenth century.[37]

As table 2 indicates, the occupations of the Island's resident population in the mid-nineteenth century clearly reflected the growth and the changing character of the local economy. In 1841 manuscript census returns listed the occupations of 413 Island household heads. Twenty years later this figure had risen to 1,502.[38] Most of these individuals--40.9 percent in 1841 and 52.9 percent in 1861--found employment in manufacturing industries such as shipbuilding, engineering, and the heavy metals trades.[39] The percentage of household heads employed in construction work also exhibited considerable growth in the mid-nineteenth century. It rose from 5.1 percent in 1841 to 10.6 percent in 1861. The proportion of heads of households in the retail trades, public service, and the professions showed little variation.

The areas of relative contraction within the local labor force are as revealing as those of expansion. From 1841 to 1861, the percentage of household heads working in various phases of transportation declined from 10.7 percent to 8.3 percent. Even more striking, the proportion of heads engaged in industrial services--most of whom were general laborers--fell

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[37]Appendix 2, tables 34 and 35.

[38]This number should be higher by 200-300 household heads. Unfortunately some of the manuscript census returns for 1861 have not survived. See appendix 2, table 34.

[39]Ibid. For figures for the entire residential employed population, see appendix 2, table 35. The only significant difference between the two tables stems from the employment of many women non-household heads in the domestic services.

TABLE 2.--Occupational Structure of Household Heads: 1841, 1851, 1861[a]

	1841		1851		1861[b]	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Agriculture	2	0.5	6	0.7	6	0.4
Mining[c]	. . .	. . .	12	1.4	31	2.1
Building	21	5.1	64	7.6	128	8.5
Manufacturing	169	40.9	407	48.6	794	52.9
Transportation	44	10.7	66	7.9	124	8.3
Dealing	32	7.7	60	7.2	104	6.9
Industrial service	96	23.2	155	18.5	201	13.4
Public service & professional	6	1.5	10	1.2	25	1.7
Domestic service	12	2.9	22	2.6	21	1.4
Independent Property owner	11	2.7	6	0.7	3	0.2
Unknown & miscel	20	4.8	30	3.6	65	4.3
Total	413	100.0	838	100.0	1502	100.1

[a]More detailed tables which contain subdivisions within these major occupational groups are available in appendix 2, table 34.

[b]Totals for 1861 are lower than they should be because the MS census returns for approximately 1,200 residents do not survive.

[c]The people classified under mining are almost all brickmakers, limeburners, etc. who ought to be considered part of the building trades. For a full explanation, see appendix 2, pp. 371-72.

from 23.2 percent to 13.4 percent. This latter drop was due in part to a more careful classification of occupations by census enumerators. However, like the fall in the proportion of transport workers, it was also the result of important changes in the local economy. Advanced

manufacturing industries such as iron shipbuilding, engineering, metal work, and so on employed relatively fewer unskilled, general laborers than did traditional riverside trades like dock work. Consequently, the Island's labor force became noticeably more skilled in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. This interpretation is further supported by the slight decline in the already low proportion of women in the resident labor force. It fell from 14.8 percent in 1841 to 13.4 percent two decades later. Women, of course, generally pursued less skilled occupations such as domestic service.[40]

The rapid industrial growth of the 1840s, 50s, and 60s gave the Island a busy and relatively prosperous air. One contemporary journalist described the Isle as a "large, thriving, populous town . . . There are factories and workshops, and hundreds of businesses connected with the seas and navigation, already extending around its banks, a perfect cordon girdling it."[41] In later years an old caulker recalled that during the mid-nineteenth century the

> Isle of Dogs was a gold mine . . . [S]hipyards had keels on every slip . . . The old City Canal was full of craft. The [docks were] full of ships loading and unloading and discharging, and others waiting for their berths and more ships being built all around you . . . Even a man of seventy-five could get a job then . . .[42]

Urbanization, Sanitation, and Local Government

As the Island's economy developed and changed, so, too, did its landscape. During the mid-nineteenth century the district's shoreline,

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[40]Appendix 2, tables 34 and 36. Also see Schwarz, "Life and Work in London," pp. 198-201.

[41]E. R. F., "Russell's Dockyard," p. 372.

[42]East End News (London), 29 August 1908. Also see Wright, Working Classes, pp. 251-58. For information on local wages, see pp. 80-81, 87 below.

meadows, and marshes were covered with streets, factories, docks, shops, and houses. The urban environment which took shape in the Isle of Dogs during these decades left much to be desired. This was due to the nature of the district's topography, the speed and character of its development, and the inability of local authorities to regulate private interests and provide basic services.

The Island's physical character posed serious problems for developers and residents alike. The low-lying, marshy character of the terrain made building and drainage difficult.[43] It also gave the peninsula a damp and chilly climate which fostered certain types of disease. Throughout the entire century, Islanders suffered from an unusually high incidence of diptheria, membranous croup, scarlet fever, erysipelas, and a variety of throat and respiratory ailments. Floods which occurred when the Thames topped or breached the embankments aggravated the situation still further.[44]

Despite these drawbacks the Island's economic assets were such that development proceeded at a brisk pace during the middle decades of the nineteenth century. The peninsula's population, which was barely two thousand in 1841, rose to over fourteen thousand in the mid-1860s. During the same years, the number in inhabited buildings increased almost five-fold from 347 to 1,688. The estimated annual rental value of local property climbed still faster, increasing by more than six-fold to £71,199.

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[43]Everard, "Physique of East London," pp. 73-76; and Rees, "Growth Map," p. 459.

[44]Great Britain, Poplar District Board of Works, Annual Report 1889-90, pp. 99-109; idem, Annual Report 1890-91, pp. 78-92; and idem, Annual Report 1891-92, p. 92.

Conversely, agricultural land, which had covered 329 of the Isle's 608 acres in 1841, had practically disappeared thirty years later.[45]

Throughout the 1840s and 1850s, most building in the Island was confined to areas along the Thames or immediately adjacent to West Ferry and Manchester Roads. In Millwall, which was divided among five major landowners, development was piecemeal and unplanned. However geographic and economic realities imposed a rough pattern on land use. Owners of riverside property usually let their land in large chunks to industrial tenants who saw to the construction of their own yards, factories, and offices. Demand for riverside sites was so strong that often existing cottages and villas were torn down to make room for commercial establishments. Industrialists also acquired a good deal of land along West Ferry Road. However most such property was leased by small speculative builders who quickly threw up shops, pubs, and rows of terraced houses. The builders then sold their improved property to small businessmen, investors, building societies, and a few individual home buyers. The purchasers, of course, took over the leases. Residential streets leading off the main highway were usually developed in a similar fashion.[46]

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[45]Appendix 1, tables 16 and 17; "[Poplar] Church Rate made 17th day of June 1841," fols. 1-10, 103-05, 108-09 and "[Poplar] Church Rate 1868," fols. 1-93, Local History Collection, Record Group 356.1, Tower Hamlets Central Library, London. The estimate for the population during the mid-1860s has been arrived at by multiplying the number of houses by the number of inhabitants per dwelling as listed in the 1861 census.

[46]This paragraph is based on the pattern revealed in surviving records of the Strafford, Mellish (later Glengall), and Ironmongers Company estates. See "Map of Strafford Estate c. 1890," "Map of Mellish Estate c. 1860," "Uncatalogued Deeds of Estate Records of the Strafford Estate 1754-1935," and "Catalogue of Property for sale in the Isle of Dogs," Local History Collection, Record Group 720.2, Tower Hamlets Central Library, London. Also see London, Guildhall Library, Pr P2/ISL and MSS 17205-17209. For useful explanations of building and estate development in London, see Sheppard, London, pp. 83-108; Donlad J. Olsen, The Growth

Unlike Millwall, the eastern side of the Island was largely developed by a single man. Between 1842 and 1853, the prominent London builder William Cubitt leased over 120 acres of Island property. Included in his holdings was more than a mile of valuable river frontage. Eight acres of this land belonged to William Stratton. The remainder was owned by the Countess of Glengall, a daughter of William Mellish. The leases ranged in length from eighty to ninety-eight years and required Cubitt to make substantial improvements in the property. On twenty-five acres of his holdings, Cubitt laid out "timber wharves . . . saw mills with joiners' shops, a cement factory, a pottery for the manufacture of all kinds of ceramic ware, and several large brick fields." Taken together, these various works employed "from 300 to 500 hands, according to the season of the year."[47]

During the later 1840s and 1850s, Cubitt busily built roads, river walls, wharves, and factory sites in the Island. Most of the latter were sublet to industrialists on fifty year leases which required the sublessee to improve the property still further. Other sections of Cubitt's tract were reserved for housing. Cubitt built some houses himself. In most cases, however, he contracted with smaller builders to do the work. Cubitt often assisted them with loans of cash or, more frequently, material.

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of Victorian London (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1976), pp. 127-29, 152-58; H. J. Dyos, Victorian Suburb: A Study of the Growth of Camberwell (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1973), passim; and idem, "The Speculative Builders and Developers of Victorian London," Victorian Studies 9 (Summer 1968):641-90.

[47]"Visit to the Isle of Dogs," p. 2; "Isle of Dogs Lease Book of Mr. William Cubitt. From 1842. Surveyor and Agent William Stocker," fols. 1-9, 89, Deeds 4439-4443, Local History Collection, Tower Hamlets Central Library, London. For a brief summary of Cubitt's career, see Hermonie Hobhouse, Thomas Cubitt Master Builder (New York: Universe, 1971), pp. 7, 96-103, 258.

The pattern of land usage in Cubitt Town resembled that of Millwall--industrial sites along the riverside; a mixture of factories, shops, and houses on the main road; and residential streets in the interior. However in Cubitt Town industry was less prevalent, streets generally wider, and buildings less cramped than in Millwall. The speed with which Cubitt developed the eastern half of the Island is evident from local population figures. In 1851 the population of the area stood at 271. A decade later it had multiplied over ten-fold to 2,846. The venture proved to be enormously profitable for Cubitt. In 1863 his rents to Stratton and Glengall amounted to only £2,459.12.6. Conversely, his earnings from the property in the same year totaled £8,955.1.0.[48]

It was not until the mid-1860s that the interior third of the Isle of Dogs was converted from agricultural to commercial use. The Millwall Canal Company (later known as the Millwall Freehold and Dock Company) was incorporated in 1864 with the express purpose of building a new canal and dock system in the Island. Aside from supplying London with additional port facilities, the complex was intended to provide the Isle's expanding industrial community with new waterside sites in the peninsula's interior. The company purchased two hundred acres of land at roughly £1,000 per acre. Construction of the docks began in June 1865.[49]

The development of the Millwall Docks was cut short by the financial panic of 1866. Sources of capital dried up and entrepreneurs became

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[48]"Visit to the Isle of Dogs," pp. 2-4; "Isle of Dogs Lease Book of William Cubitt," fols. 1-328, and loose sheet stuck in lease book containing rent figures, Local History Collection, Deeds 4439-4522, Tower Hamlets Central Library, London; and appendix 2, table 19.

[49]Joseph G. Broodbank, History of the Port of London, 2 vols. (London: Daniel O'Connor, 1921), 1:225-27; and The Illustrated London News, 9 March 1867.

reluctant to lease the sites offered by the Millwall Canal Company. Eventually the company managed to attract some clients, including McDougall's Flour Mills and Hooper's Telegraph and India Rubber Works, Ltd. It also let some of its land for residential building. However a good deal of its property remained unlet; and the docks themselves, though opened in 1868, were never completed. Consequently, the Island was left with a large, open space in its interior. The dock company used this land as a place to deposit mud and silt dredged up from the docks. Islanders came to call the area the "Mudchute."[50]

As the century progressed, the pace and character of local development combined to create severe environmental problems. The entire district literally reeked with industrial pollution. Chemical plants, tar factories, manure works, and other noxious industries fouled the air. They also spewed tons of untreated waste directly into the Thames. One official report claimed that the Island was surrounded by a river of "black sewage with an intolerable stench."[51] Similarly, much of the district's open ground was converted into unregulated and hazardous waste dumps by local firms.[52]

Whatever its adverse side effects in the form of pollution, industry created jobs and jobs attracted people. Unfortunately employment opportunities increased much faster than housing. An 1851 survey taken by the

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[50]Ibid.; McDougall's, Ltd., A Matter of History: A Century of McDougall's Self-raising Flour (London: n.p., 1964), pp. 5-6; A. G. Linney, "The Story of the Submarine Telegraph Cable--II," The P.L.A. Monthly, November 1932, p. 8; Warrick, "Island," p. 73; and undated article from the Morning Post (London), Local History Collection, Record Group 964 and Deeds 5733-5737, Tower Hamlets Central Library, London.

[51]East End News (London), 4 August 1884.

[52]Wright, Working Classes, p. 251.

Isle of Dogs Improvement Committee revealed that fewer than half those working for Island firms were able to find housing in the peninsula. The observer who reported these results warned that the "demand for labour has far outstripped the provision made for the accommodation of the working class; and it will be well if the worst evils attendant upon overcrowding do not show themselves."[53] These fears were, in fact, realized. The average number of persons per inhabited building in the Island rose from 5.1 in 1821 to 7.8 in 1861. While this was not unusually high for East London, it compared with an average for England and Wales of 5.7 in 1821 and 5.4 forty years later. Thus, while the problem of overcrowding became less severe at the national level during these decades, it got appreciably worse in the Isle of Dogs and, for that matter, the rest of London as well.[54]

The pivotal period for the Island in terms of overcrowding was the 1840s. At the outset of that decade, there were only 1.2 households per inhabited dwelling in the peninsula. Moreover barely thirty percent of the district's households lived more than one to a building. By 1851 these statistics had jumped to 1.6 and 63.8 percent respectively.[55] Rents also appear to have risen to high levels. Many families were forced to take in lodgers to earn enough money to keep a roof over their heads. In

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[53]Cowper, Millwall, pp. 61-62.

[54]Appendix 1, table 16. For figures on England and Wales plus good accounts of the housing problem in London and the rest of the country in this era, see Anthony S. Wohl, "The Housing of the Working Classes in London 1815-1914," in The History of Working Class Housing: A Symposium, ed. Stanley Chapman (Totowa, NJ: Rowman & Littlefirld, 1971), pp. 15-43; and John Burnett, A Social History of Housing 1815-1970 (London: David & Charles, 1978), pp. 3-29, 54-93, 138-83 passim.

[55]Appendix 2, tables 45 and 46.

1841 lodgers comprised 12.8 percent of the entire population and resided in 25.4 percent of all households. While these figures dropped appreciably over the next twenty years, this decrease was almost certainly due to a relative decline in the number of rooms which cramped families could spare to let to lodgers rather than any easing of the problems of high rents and overcrowding.[56]

The location of available housing in the Island exacerbated the evils associated with crowding. Roughly three-quarters of the peninsula's surface was eventually taken up by docks, industry, and waste land. This left relatively little land for residential purposes. Much of it was exceptionally low and marshy. Moreover it was in scattered parcels, intermixed with industrial and commercial property. This often created potential health problems for the local population.

The quality of much of the Island's housing stock was also suspect. Builders took advantage of the high demand for accommodations by throwing up cheap and defective structures. Observers claimed that dwellings in the Isle of Dogs had a tendency to collapse before or shortly after their construction was completed.[57] In 1861 a spot check of Thomas Street by local health officials revealed that builders failed to provide adequate drainage facilities for any of its twenty-three houses. In Cubitt Town builders constructed hundreds of two- and three-story terraced houses

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[56] Ibid., tables 47 and 48; Wright, Working Classes, pp. 260-61; R. Free, Seven Years' Hard (London: William Heinemann, 1904); Wohl, "Working Class Housing," pp. 25-29; and London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group B, vol. 72, fol. 49.

[57] Everard, "Physique of East London," pp. 73-76; Rees, "Growth Map," p. 459; Wright, Working Classes, p. 254; and London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group A, vol. 34., fol. 13.

with poorly built cellars on land which was below high tide level. They were always damp and were frequently flooded by sewage which backed up in drainage pipes during times when heavy rainstorms coincided with high tides.[58]

Many of the deplorable conditions which existed in the Island during the nineteenth century resulted from defects in the structure and personnel of municipal and local government. For over half of the nineteenth century, London lacked a unified administrative authority. The Corporation of the City of London governed the central core of the metropolis. An extraordinary jumble of commissions, boards, parish vestries, and other independent governmental authorities regulated London's remaining districts. Private firms operated many vital services including water supply and the maintenance of numerous roads, bridges, and ferry crossings.[59]

At the outset of the nineteenth century, the Isle of Dogs belonged to the hamlet of Poplar, a subdivision of the vast parish of Stepney. Though nominally subject to the Stepney parish vestry, Poplar, in fact, governed itself after 1593. Local ratepayers transacted public business at hamlet-wide meetings which took place six times annually. At such gatherings, ratepayers received the church warden's accounts; imposed rates; and named officers responsible for overseeing the area's roads, sewers, lighting, police protection, and poor relief. In 1817 Poplar's de facto independence was recognized by law, and the hamlet (including the Island) became a separate parish with its own locally elected vestry.

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[58]Poplar District Board of Works, Annual Report 1861-62, p. 14; and idem, Annual Report 1889-90, pp. 25-30.

[59]William Robson, The Government and Misgovernment of London, 2nd ed. (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1948), pp. 21-49; and Sheppard, London, pp. 18-45.

Unfortunately experience soon proved that parish government while well-suited to rural areas, lacked the resources, authority, and sophistication to effectively administer rapidly growing urban areas like Poplar.[60]

Gradually, however, public administration in London and the Island was improved and strengthened. In 1828 the newly created Metropolitan Police Division took over the job of policing the greater London area. The passage of the new Poor Law in 1834 improved the administration of relief. Poplar, though still an independent parish, combined with the neighboring parishes of Bow and Bromley to form the Poplar Poor Law Union. The Metropolis Management Act of 1855 further improved local administration. While leaving the parish vestries intact, the act centralized administration by creating the Metropolitan Board of Works plus thirty-eight smaller district boards of work. One of these, the Poplar District Board of Works, comprised the old parishes of Poplar, Bow, and Bromley. The Metropolitan Board of Works was empowered to improve roads, construct drainage and sewage facilities, pass building ordinances, and enforce public health regulations throughout most of London, save the City which retained its administrative independence. The district boards excercised the same powers on the local level. Representatives for the Metropolitan Board of Works were chosen by members of the district boards, who were themselves elected by the vestries of their constituent parishes.[61]

While the administrative machinery created by the Metropolis Management Act was clearly superior to that which existed before 1855, it still left much to be desired. Authority was divided between the

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[60]Ibid.; and Power, "Urban Development of East London," pp. 256-59.

[61]Robson, Misgovernment of London, pp. 50-79; and Sheppard, London, pp. 247-96.

Metropolitan Board of Works, the district boards, and the vestries. Moreover the powers of the newly created boards were far too limited. They lacked the authority, for example, to deal effectively with London's pressing housing problem. Likewise the operation of many crucial services such as water supply remained in private hands. Finally, the indirect nature of their election insulated members of the Metropolitan Board of Works and the various district boards from public scrutiny and pressure. This encouraged corruption and bolstered the power of special interest groups.[62]

Thanks to administrative inefficiency and fragmentation, the provision of adequate basic services in the Island was painfully slow in coming. At mid-century residents were still forced to get their water directly from the filthy Thames. One Islander later recalled that he sometimes "had to push aside a dead dog before dipping in his pail."[63] By the mid-1860s the area at last had piped water. However it was available only fifteen minutes a day at public stand pipes. Moreover the East London Water Company which provided the service was notorious for the impurity of its product. In 1849 and again in 1866-67, the Island suffered severely from cholera epidemics caused by contaminated water. Even when water was available, bathing posed a problem. As late as the 1890s, fewer than thirty indoor bathtubs existed in the entire peninsula.[64]

Drainage and sewers were also inadequate. For much of the century rainwater, sewage, and industrial waste were carried away in broad, open ditches which flanked the Island's main roads and criss-crossed its

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[62] Ibid. [63] East End News (London), 1 March 1912.

[64] Cowper, Millwall, pp. 113-14; Poplar District Board of Works, Annual Report 1866-67, pp. 60-61; idem, Annual Report 1880-81, p. 22; and East End News (London), 1 August 1898 and 19 November 1898.

interior. When sewers were finally constructed, they proved to be too small and defective in design. Their outlets to the Thames were below high tide level. If a heavy rain occurred when the river was high, a mixture of rainwater and sewage backed up through drainage pipes into houses. The worst such incident occurred in 1888 when rivers of raw sewage from two to six feet deep inundated 923 houses. A major relief effort was required to prevent epidemics and to replace bedding, rugs, and furniture lost in the flood. Two years later, 300 houses were flooded in a similar incident. Less spectacular cases took place an average of several times a year throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[65]

Even by the standards of the time, the public transport system which served the peninsula also left a good deal to be desired. Aside from constantly being raised to allow the passage of ships in and out of the docks, the four bridges which connected the Isle to the "mainland" were notoriously narrow and decrepit. Until well into the 1890s none could handle more than a single line of traffic at a time.[66] The ferries which linked the southern part of the Isle with areas across the river were likewise inadequate. They could carry people but not goods or carriages. Often they were overcrowded, and frequently they were forced to suspend services due to fogs on the Thames.[67] Roads in the Island itself

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[65]Cowper, Millwall, p. 113; Wright, Working Classes, pp. 250-51; East End News (London), 3-24 August 1888 passim, 26 October 1888; Poplar District Board of Works, Annual Report 1888-89, pp. 40-45; idem, Annual Report 1889-90, pp. 25-30; and idem, Annual Report 1890-91, p. 82. Frequent accounts of floodings can be found in the district board's annual reports and the local press.

[66]Poplar District Board of Works, Annual Report 1888-89, pp. 3-18. Complaints about the bridges appear frequently in the nineteenth century press.

[67]The Kentish Mail and Greenwich and Deptford Observer (London), 8 August 1902; and "Report of the Bridge Committee of the London County

caused frequent complaints. Tolls were charged to vehicles using West Ferry Road until 1885. They were a serious burden to local firms and omnibus companies. Moreover neither West Ferry nor Manchester Roads was fully paved until the late 1870s. Less important residential streets had to wait still longer to be surfaced. Such roads alternated between being dry and dusty or muddy and impassable. As a rule they were "abominably dirty . . . The mud was allowed to remain in the gutter for days or even weeks together, the authorities contenting themselves with sweeping it into miniature mountains and leaving it there to rot."[68]

By the mid-1860s poor terrain, rapid and uncontrolled urbanization, and administrative ineptitude had combined to give the Island an exceptionally bleak urban environment. One contemporary wrote that the Isle of Dogs was

> not very pleasant in its physical features . . . [O]wing to its exceedingly low level it cannot be effectively drained . . . [B]road ditches of filthy water run on each side of its main road. To the casual observer it would appear that a visit to the island could only be interesting to persons who wished to study a peculiar style of dwelling house architecture, the effect of which is that a dissolution of partnership takes place between the woodwork and brickwork of the lower stories before the upper ones are built; or to antiquarians desirous of seeing what the roads of England were like before Macadam was born or Commissioners of paving created. And while its slushy, ill-formed roads, its tumble-down buildings, stagnant ditches, and tracts of marshy rubbish-filled waste ground make the outward appearance of the island unpleasant to the sight; its chemical works, tar manufactories and similar establishments render its atmosphere equally unpleasant to the olfactory sense.[69]

Council on the New Subway for Foot Passengers between Millwall and Greenwich," November 1902, Local History Collection, Record Group 975.3, Tower Hamlets Central Library, London.

[68]Free, Seven Years' Hard, p. 10; and East End News (London), 15 May 1885. For the gradual paving of Island streets, see Poplar DIstrict Board of Works, Annual Report, passim.

[69]Wright, Working Classes, p. 251. For a general overview of sanitation and public health in London during this period, see Sheppard,

Migration and Ethnic Communities

Through the mid-nineteenth century, most of the increase in the Island's population was due to immigration rather than natural growth. Judging from the birthplaces of the district's household heads (see table 3), the pattern of migration into the peninsula did not differ significantly from that for the whole of London during the same period.[70] Most migration was short distance. Roughly one-quarter of the Island's heads of households came from greater London and Middlesex. Another one-quarter to one-third were born in the counties of Eastern and Southeastern England--especially in the extra-metropolitan parts of Essex, Kent, and Surrey. Almost one-tenth of the household heads came from Central England. Socially and occupationally those drawn from the counties surrounding London were quite diverse. However, they tended to be less skilled and of a lower social class than was "average" for the Island. This was due to the large number of agricultural laborers drawn to the peninsula by hopes of an escape from the grinding poverty of the countryside.[71]

Despite the predominance of short-distance migrants, many household heads were born far from the Isle. In 1851, 8.6 percent of the Isle's household heads hailed from the West Country or Wales and the border counties. This proportion rose to 11.9 percent in 1871. People born in

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London, pp. 427-96; and Henry Jephson, The Sanitary Evolution of London (London: T. F. Unwin, 1907).

[70] Arthur Redford, Labour Migration in England 1800-1850, 2nd ed., ed. W. H. Chaloner (London: Manchester University Press, 1964), pp. 68-69, 183-84; H. A. Shannon, "Migration and the Growth of London, 1841-1891," The Economic History Review 5 (April 1935):79-86; and Schwarz, "Life and Work in London," pp. 23-33.

[71] Redford, Migration, pp. 183-84; Sheppard, London, pp. 1-8; and Sidney Willett, interview, London, 3 March 1978.

TABLE 3.--Birthplace of Household Heads: 1851, 1861, 1871

	1851		1861[a]		1871	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Region[b]						
Greater London & Middlesex	262	31.3	353	23.5	703	26.1
Southeast	153	18.3	324	21.6	457	17.0
Central	53	6.3	129	8.6	249	9.2
East	73	8.7	192	12.8	448	16.6
North	75	8.9	98	6.5	168	6.3
Southwest	45	5.4	108	7.2	211	7.8
Scotland	66	7.9	78	5.2	118	4.4
Ireland	65	7.8	108	7.2	147	5.5
Wales & border Cos	27	3.2	70	4.7	113	4.1
Other	13	1.6	17	1.1	50	1.9
Unknown	6	0.7	25	1.7	32	1.2
Total	838	100.1	1,502	100.1	2,696	100.1

[a]Totals for 1861 are lower than they should be because the MS census returns for approximately 1,200 residents do not survive.

[b]Southeast: Berks, Hamps, Isle of Wight, Kent, Surrey, Sussex; Central: Bucks, Derby, Hunts, Rutland, Leicester, Northants, Notts, Oxford, Staffs, Warwick, Worces; Eastern: Beds, Cambridge, Essex, Herts, Lincoln, Norfolk, Suffolk; North: Cumb, Durham, Lancs, Isle of Man, Northumb, Yorks; Southwest: Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Somerset, Wilts; Wales & border Cos: Wales, Chesire, Glos, Herts, Salop; Other: empire, at sea, foreign, British Islands, "England."

the North (especially Lancashire and Yorkshire) or in Scotland headed almost seventeen percent of the Island's households in 1851. Twenty years later, however, this percentage had fallen to 10.6. The proportion of

heads born in Ireland also declined during the mid-nineteenth century, dropping from 9.0 percent in 1831 to 5.4 percent in 1861. With the notable exception of the Irish, long distance migrants tended to be of a higher social class and greater occupational skill than those who moved to the Isle from London's hinterlands. In 1851, for instance, only 4.5 percent of the household heads born in Scotland belong to Classes IV and V. The figure for the nearby counties in Eastern England was 42.5 percent.[72]

Charles Booth and, more recently, Michael Anderson have emphasized that migrants tended to settle near family, friends, or fellow villagers who had preceded them into a given area. They relied on such people for support and assistance in securing employment.[73] This process seems to have taken place in the Island. Certainly many of the ancestors of the area's present day inhabitants first came to the Island as "guests" of relatives or friends who already lived in the district. Often they, in turn, helped other friends and relatives get settled in London.[74]

Small "colonies" of people who hailed from the same area were quite common in the Island. The most noticeable and enduring of these colonies were ethnic in character. The two largest were composed of people of Irish and Scottish descent.[75] The Irish constituted an almost self-contained

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[72]Appendix 2, tables 38, 39, and 41. Also see tables 40, 42, and 43.

[73]Booth et al., Life and Labour, 1 ser., 3:129-37; and Anderson, Family Structure, pp. 152-60.

[74]S. Willett, interview; and Lily E. Byron, interview, London, 6 March 1978. Other examples could be cited.

[75]For an interesting case study of ethnic residential segregation in Victorian England, see Pooley, "Residential Segregation of Migrant Communities," pp. 364-82.

sub-community set apart from the rest of the local population by religion, culture, social background, and prejudice. Irish immigrants were first drawn to the Island by the plentiful amount of work available at its docks, wharves, building sites, factories, and shipyards. They tended to be poor and unskilled. In the middle decades of the nineteenth century, roughly three-quarters of the Irish-born heads of households in the Island fell into Classes IV and V. The proportion of Irish heads classified as unskilled, general laborers fluctuated between thirty-five and sixty percent. As a rule, the Irish lived apart from other Islanders in isolated pockets. They were found most frequently along the riverside or in the worst sections of poor streets and courts off the main road. This residential pattern persisted well into the twentieth century.[76]

The institutional focal point of the Isle's Irish community was the Roman Catholic church. The first Catholic place of worship in the peninsula, St. Edmund's, was opened in Moiety Street in 1848--almost a decade before an Anglican church was built in the Island. In 1874 it was replaced by a larger and better structure located further south in West Ferry Road. Both churches also possessed schools for the training of

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[76]Appendix 2, table 32; London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group B, vol. 169, fol. 137, and vol. 180, fols. 45-53; S. Willett, interview; and A. H. French, interview, London, 22 March 1978. For a good overview of London's Irish population, see John A. Jackson, "The Irish in East London," East London Papers 6 (December 1963):105-19; and Lynn H. Lees, "Patterns of Lower-Class Life: Irish Slum Communities in Nineteenth Century London," in Nineteenth Century Cities: Essays in the New Urban History, eds. Stephen Thernstrom and Richard Sennett (New Haven,CT: Yale University Press, 1969), pp. 359-85. For a useful comparison of Island patterns with those of another area, see Pooley, "The Residential Segregation of Migrant Communities," pp. 364-82. Statistics on the occupations of Irish born household heads come from tables not included in this dissertation. They can be produced upon request.

of Catholic youth.[77] Those Irish who were indifferent to religion—and there were many—found other means of demonstrating their loyalty to the community. Certain pubs were widely recognized as being "Irish," and several Irish fraternal organizations existed.[78] Frequently the Irish organized processions to mark religious, national, or sometimes political events. On such occasions, hundreds participated in the parades. Bands played Irish folk songs; and large, silk banners "with the 'harp of Erin' and wreaths of shamrocks in the centre . . . surrounded by [the] motto: 'May God Save Ireland' . . ." left no doubt as to the identity and loyalty of the marchers.[79]

Though less numerous and clannish than their Irish counterparts, the Island's Scottish inhabitants also formed a distinct ethnic subcommunity. One observer who visited the Isle in the 1860s was struck "by the prevalence of the Scottish dialect and Christian names."[80] Scottish born residents tended to live along West Ferry and Manchester Roads in noticeable clusters. They were especially common in the areas near the Island's great shipyards. As mentioned earlier, Scots tended to be artisans. The overwhelming majority of the household heads born in Scotland—84.8 percent in 1851—fell in Class III (skilled workers). Over half were employed in the skilled trades associated with shipbuilding,

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[77] East End News (London), 24 August 1874.

[78] London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group B, vol. 180, fols. 45-53. Irish organizations were usually short-lived.

[79] East End News (London), 31 July 1874. Such processions were still common in the 1920s and 1930s. French, interview; and Sylvia Stewart, interview, London, 9 March 1978.

[80] Wright, Working Classes, p. 253.

engineering, and ironwork. Some had been brought south by their employers, many of whom were also of Scottish descent. Others came on their own, attracted by London's high wages. The biggest influx occurred in the 1840s, when the proportion of Scottish born household heads residing in the Island jumped from 4.4 percent to 9.0 percent of the total.[81]

The Scottish community was served by a Presbyterian church, St. Paul's, which was built in 1853. It also possessed a network of distinctly ethnic trade and fraternal organization. Most of its male members patronized pubs with an ethnic flavor, among them the aptly named "Robert Burns" and "Highland Mary." Over time the Scots exhibited a tendency to assimilate with the English population. However, the process was gradual. Elements of the local population retained a Scottish identity for decades.[82]

Social Structure and Local Society

As migrants poured into the Isle of Dogs in the 1840s, 1850s, and 1860s, the contours and character of local society began to change. Table 4 provides a rough picture of the Island's social structure throughout the mid-nineteenth century. Due to the district's demographic growth, the absolute number in each of the five classes increased substantially between 1841 and 1861. However the relative size of the classes did not

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[81] Ibid., pp. 252-53; Redford, Migration, pp. 136-37; "R. C. on Trades Union," Dudgeon A16880-81; and Edwin Thomas (Ted) Johns, interview, London, 22 May 1978. Statistics derived from information in appendix 2, tables 40 and 41.

[82] Wright, Working Classes, pp. 252-54; East End News (London), 4 January 1881, and 28 June 1890; East London Advertiser, 13 July 1959; London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group B, vol. 171, fol. 22; and Ann Lowery, interview, London, 15 May 1978. For comparative purposes, see Pooley," Residential Segregation of Migrant Communities," pp. 364-80.

TABLE 4.--Social Class of Household Heads: 1841, 1851, 1861

	1841		1851		1861*	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Social class I	12	2.9	8	1.0	21	1.4
Social class II	55	13.3	87	10.4	98	6.5
Social class III	192	46.5	446	53.2	790	52.6
Social class IV	44	10.7	81	9.7	166	11.1
Social class V	90	21.8	189	22.6	390	26.0
Social class unkn	20	4.8	27	3.2	37	2.5
Total	413	100.0	838	100.1	1,502	100.1

*Totals for 1861 are lower than they should be because the MS census returns for approximately 1,200 residents do not survive.

remain constant. The percentage of upper- and middle-class household heads (Classes I and II), for instance, dropped from a combined total of 16.2 percent in 1841 to 7.9 percent twenty years later. Conversely, the proportion of household heads comprised by the skilled manual occupations characteristic of Class III climbed from 46.5 percent to 52.6 percent. The percentage of their less skilled counterparts in Class IV remained roughly constant--10.7 percent in 1841 and 11.1 percent in 1861. Class V, like Class III, increased substantially, rising from 21.8 percent to 26.0 percent of all household heads. This growth reflected a modest increase in the proportion of unskilled laborers among the Island's household heads. Collectively these figures indicate that local society became progressively more working class in character as it developed in the mid-nineteenth century.

Within each of the five classes into which the Isle's population has been divided, there was considerable occupational diversity. At the top of Island society was a tiny body of men set apart from the rest of the poulation by their wealth (Class I). The core of this group was composed of large shipbuilders and manufacturers. However as the local economy became more diversified and the population increased, this elite broadened to include bankers, estate agents, doctors, and clerics.[83] These "new" men often lacked the wealth and power of the Isle's great industrialists, but they were very affluent by local standards and enjoyed considerable social prestige.

Immediately below this elite stood a larger and more diverse group of small manufacturers, businessmen, shopkeepers, works' managers, well-to-do clerks, school masters, and the like (Class II). In 1851, eighty-seven Island residents, comprising roughly ten percent of the peninsula's household heads, fell into this cateogry. More than one in every three of these men (35.6%) were substantial shopkeepers and publicans. An equal proportion were involved in some phase of manufacturing. Most of these owned their own businesses, but some supervised establishments belonging to others. Another 9.2 percent of Class II were public officials or, more commonly, members of the lesser professions such as teaching. The remainder pursued a variety of different employments. As time went on, the proportion of shopkeepers, public officials, and professionals in Class II tended to rise while the percentage of manufacturers fell off. This general pattern was typical of East London.[84] It reflected the accelerating pace of residential segregation by class.

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[83]Appendix 2, tables 26, 27, and 28.

[84]Ibid.; and Schwarz, "Life and Work in London," pp. 179-95.

Most members of Classes I and II lived in riverside villas; individual dwellings attached to their places of business; or the better, local terraced houses which fronted onto the main streets and were clustered about the Island's Anglican churches. They were found most frequently in Montague Place, Ord Street, Marshwall, along the Millwall shoreline, and in West Ferry and Manchester Roads. Members of Class I gradually abandoned Montague Place and Ord Street to inhabitants drawn from Class II. Otherwise the patterns of residential segregation first visible in 1831 (see p. 43) proved remarkably constant throughout the 1840s and 1850s.[85]

The decline in the relative size of Classes I and II mentioned earlier manifested itself in a number of ways. Cubitt, who had begun to build a group of fashionable riverside villas opposite Greenwich to accommodate the local elite, was forced to abandon the project for want of buyers. Similarly in Millwall houses originally designed for middle-class occupants were sub-divided and rented out to working class tenants.[86] Jobs for servants became relatively less plentiful. The proportion of Island households with servants declined from 12.3 percent in 1841 to 5.9 percent twenty years later. Over the same years, the percentage of live-in servants in the district's resident work force dropped from 9.9 to 5.9 percent. Moreover many of these worked in pubs rather than for private families.[87] Of course, the process of social segregation which

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[85]Appendix 1, tables 21, 22, and 23.

[86]Jonathan J. Sexby, The Opening of the Island Gardens, Poplar by Mr. W. Crooks (London: James Truscott & Sons, 1895), pp. 2, and 4; and Wright, Working Classes, pp. 260-61.

[87]Appendix 2, tables 35 and 50.

these developments demonstrated was not unique to the Island. It had been occurring in British cities for decades. However in the case of the Island, it was probably accelerated by the unattractive nature of the local environment.[88]

The decline in the proportion of the affluent classes residing in the Island did not immediately reduce their influence over local society. Those who remained were still powerful figures--people to whom the lower orders of society looked for jobs, credit, charity, and civic leadership. Moreover statistics like those above which seek to measure the size and power of a local elite by calculating the number of wealthy residents living in a given area are in some respects misleading. Many prominent businessmen and landlords who did not actually reside in the Island still possessed considerable political, economic, and social influence within its borders due to the size of their local holdings. Often they lived nearby, commuting daily to their places of business. The great Island timber merchant, John Lenanton, for instance, resided just north of the Isle in one of the exclusive terraces that lined Poplar's East India Dock Road. Other local notables lived in the same area or in affluent sections of Greenwich and Blackheath lying just across the Thames. Those who lived further away tended to take a less prominent part in local affairs, but at least a few of them were quite active.[89]

The people who made up Classes I and II were more than just a convenient statistical collection of autonomous individuals. They

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[88]For the process of social segregation in Britain, see Geoffrey Best, Mid-Victorian Britain 1851-1875 (New York: Schocken Books, 1972), pp. 17, 56-57; and Sheppard, London, pp. 8-12.

[89]The addresses of many local notables who did not reside in the Isle can be found in election returns. See London, Tower Hamlets Central Library, Local History Collection, Record Groups 321-321.4, passim.

constituted a cohesive and self-conscious local elite. A good deal of intermarriage took place within their ranks.[90] Their common aims and interests led them to form such groups as the Millwall Literary Society, the Isle of Dogs Improvement Committee, and the Millwall Committee. The first of these bodies facilitated social intercourse among the district's affluent inhabitants. The second and third monitored and, to some extent, directed the peninsula's development.[91]

The political influence of the more affluent classes was formidable. Until the Second Reform Act of 1866, they comprised the overwhelming majority of the local electorate. Naturally they chose the Island's representatives to the Poplar Board of Works, Board of Guardians, and Vestry from their own ranks. On such bodies, local officials vigorously pursued what they perceived as Island interests--better roads, new dock bridges, the removal of the toll from West Ferry Road, better communication with areas south of the river, and so on. When representatives of other areas in Poplar balked at these expensive schemes, a group of Island businessmen led by William Cubitt unsuccessfully attempted to establish the "Isle of Dogs as a separate parish with a centre of parochial administration within its limits."[92]

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[90]For examples of the friendship, marriage, and kinship ties which linked many of the Island's upper and middle-class families, see East London Observer, 9 March 1912, obituary of Jabez Binks; and H. Banham, Alexander Duckham. His Life Story (London: Alexander Duckham & Co., 1946), pp. 3-5. This was a common pattern for London's middle classes, who tended to live "district-centered" lives. See Hugh McLeod, Class and Religion in the Late Victorian City (London: Croom Helm, 1974), pp. 11-12.

[91]Cowper, Millwall, pp. 60-61, 65-66; and Eastern Times and Tower Hamlets Gazette (London), 10 December 1859.

[92]London, Tower Hamlets Central Library, Local History Collection, Record Group 036 (large poster calling for meeting for 1 November 1859), Record Group 110.2 (voting lists), and Record Group 321-321.4 (lists of local government officials); and East End News (London), 26 November 1859.

The members of the better off classes regarded the Island's less affluent inhabitants with a mixture of paternalism and contempt. The Earl of Strafford's son, Lord Enfield, remarked that his family looked upon the Isle "as a sort of country district in which to take a special interest." Although residing in the West End, they viewed the "dwellers and workers of that eastern district as persons whose moral, social, and spiritual welfare has a paramount claim on their interests."[93] To demonstrate their concern and fulfill their "responsibility," family members frequently visited the area, patronized local charities, and donated land and money to the Anglican church and school of St. Luke's opened in 1868. Other Island leaders did the same. John Scott Russell paid for much of the cost of the Presbyterian church of St. Paul's. In 1857 Cubitt, the Countess of Glengall, and several Island industrialists underwrote the expense of building the Island's first Anglican place of worship, Christ Church. Five years later, many of this same group donated generously to the construction of a Primitive Methodist chapel situated in Cubitt Town. Obligations did not cease with opening such institutions. Annual donations from the wealthy were common and many of the "better" classes felt both honored and obligated to serve as churchwardens, elders, deacons, and school managers.[94]

The churches and schools created and supported by the local elite instructed the area's working classes in a distinctly middle-class brand

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[93] East End News (London), 24 October 1874.

[94] Ibid.; Cowper, Millwall, pp. 63-65; David Coleman, "The Isle of Dogs and Its Anglican Churches," unpublished and undated manuscript located at St. Mildred's House, Isle of Dogs; and "Souvenir Program from Primitive Methodist Church, Manchester Road, Cubitt Town," Local History Collection, Record Group 224.3, Tower Hamlets Central Library, London. Russell's help in building the local Presbyterian church is commemorated in the sanctuary's

of self-help and respectability. So, too, did several of the local fraternal organizations founded by employers for their men. The most ambitious of these was the Millwall Dock Club and Institute built by the Millwall Dock Company. Opened in the early 1870s, the facility cost the company over £2,500. It included offices, kitchens, dining rooms, a library, reading rooms, a billiard room, lecture rooms, and a large garden. Its purpose "was to enable the men to keep out of public houses, to cook their food there [at lunch], and to spend their evenings in a rational and agreeable manner."[95] Within a few years, the Institute was opened to all the Island's male residents. It quickly became a popular meeting place; and its concerts, lectures, outings, entertainments, and annual dinner were well attended. The club was heavily subsidized by Island employers, and almost all its officers were local "gentlemen." However the bulk of its roughly four hundred members appear to have been drawn from the "better" elements of the local laboring population.[96]

There was another less benevolent side to the local elite. One cleric went so far as to charge that the only aim of most local employers was "to squeeze from the worker the largest possible amount of money-making energy for the smallest possible pay."[97] Those who used unorganized and unskilled workers appear to have been especially bad in this respect. Often the instruments of local government and the courts were

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cornerstone. The activities of the local elite in these matters were fully reported in the local press.

[95] East End News (London), 20 February 1874, and 15 August 1879.

[96] Ibid. Regular reports on the club appeared in the local press.

[97] Free, Seven Years' Hard, p. 182. Also see pp. 163-83.

used to harass local unions.[98] Some employers viewed workers as obedient servants rather than independent employees. John Seaward, for instance, appears to have arbitrarily enlisted dozens of his men as special constables at the height of the Chartist disturbances of 1848.[99]

Likewise the wishes and interests of the community as a whole were usually sacrificed if they happened to conflict with those of the Island's great firms. In 1862 an effort to build a new and better poor house for Poplar was defeated largely by a group of Millwall employers and rate payers.[100] In the mid-1870s the Poplar Board of Works revoked the public right-of-way along Marshwall despite the protests and demonstrations of hundreds of local inhabitants. The closure, which virtually eliminated public access to the Thames, was ordered for the convenience of local firms situated on the riverside.[101] Examples like these could be multiplied many times over.

The great majority of the Island's household heads--53.1 percent in 1831 and 62.8 percent in 1861--were skilled or semi-skilled workers (Classes III and IV). As was the case with East London in general, the proportion of family heads in the skilled occupations of Class III rose sharply in the middle of the nineteenth century, climbing from 37.5

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[98] Ibid.; and East End News (London), 31 January 1873. Many cases could be cited.

[99] "Poplar. Meetings of the Inhabitants from 1815-1864," 7 April 1848, Local History Collection, Tower Hamlets Central Library, London.

[100] Ibid., 13 February 1862.

[101] "Plan Showing Proposed Stoppage of Public Footway--Along the Marshwall in the Isle of Dogs--in the Parish of Poplar and County of Middlesex--12 April 1875," Local History Collection, Map 716, Tower Hamlets Central Library, London; and East End News (London), 25 May, 1 June, 8 June, 29 June, 6 July 1877, and 4 January 1878.

percent in 1831 to 52.6 percent thirty years later. This reflected the increasing prosperity and sophistication of the local economy during these years. Roughly half of those in Class III were skilled artisans working in the shipbuilding, general engineering, or metals industries. In most years between 10.0 percent and 13.5 percent were skilled craftsmen in the building trades. Another five to seven percent were coopers. Class IV was made up primarily of watermen, lightermen, ropemakers, brickmakers, people working in domestic service, plus a scattering of other trades. The proportion of watermen and lightermen in the class fell from 71.4 percent in 1831 to 18.7 percent three decades later. Conversely, the percentage of ropemakers more than doubled from 11.4 to 28.3 percent. When Cubitt's brick fields were in full operation in the early 1850s, brickmakers made up over eleven percent of Class IV; however their proportion fell off rapidly after the 1860s. The same general pattern was repeated by those working in the domestic services.[102]

As was the case with their social "betters," the residential distribution of Classes III and IV showed remarkably little change over the mid-nineteenth century. The household heads belonging to these classes were found most frequently along West Ferry and Manchester Roads and in the residential streets in the peninsula's interior. Both classes exhibited a noticeable tendency to settle in the northern half of the Island. Generally streets located in the southern portion of the peninsula, particularly the southwest quadrant, were distinctly poorer. In spite of these broad geographic patterns, residential segregation between Classes III and IV on the one hand and Class V on the other was never

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[102]Appendix 2, tables 20 and 25-28; and Schwarz, "Life and Work in London," pp. 198-201.

complete. It was simply impossible to prevent different strata of the population from mingling in so small an area. Housing was extremely scarce. Even skilled artisans could not be too choosy about where or among whom they lived.[103]

Within Classes III and IV there was a good deal of diversity in terms of income. However, as other scholars have pointed out, two things are fairly certain. First, in the 1860s skilled workers earned, on average, almost twice as much as their unskilled counterparts. Second, in most cases the wages of Island and East London workers during the first half of the nineteenth century were fairly high by the standards of the time. Moreover they were rising. Hence it is probable that the purchasing power of such workers improved substantially during this period.[104]

Due to the casual nature of many trades in the nineteenth century and the prevalence of piecework, bonuses, and special payments for certain assignments, Victorian wage rates are notoriously difficult to calculate. Therefore the following figures derived from various sources should be treated as no more than rough estimates. In the mid-nineteenth century, the best paid local workers were those involved in shipbuilding and ship repair. Samuda estimated that in 1865 more than thirty percent of the fifteen hundred to two thousand men working at his yard earned in excess of forty shillings per week. Shipwrights, who averaged forty-two shillings a week, were the highest paid workers.[105] However shipjoiners,

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[103]Appendix 2, tables 21-23; Wright, Working Classes, pp. 260-61; and Free, Seven Years' Hard, pp. 186-205.

[104]G. D. H. Cole, Studies in Class Structure (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1955), pp. 51-60; and Schwarz, "Life and Work in London," pp. 217-37, and 254-58.

[105]"R. C. on Trades Unions," Samuda A16718-16723; and Pollard, "Decline of Shipbuilding," p. 88.

caulkers, riggers, sailmakers, and so on were also well paid. In the 1850s and 60s, work for men possessing such skills was so plentiful, one caulker claimed with some exaggeration that "shipwrights could get . . . any pay they demanded."[106]

Engineers, boilermakers, blacksmiths, and skilled metal workers likewise made excellent wages. One authority has estimated that men in these trades who were employed at London's shipyards averaged thirty-six shillings per week. On occasion wages were even higher. One Millwall foundry connected with shipbuilding reported that it paid moulders thirty-eight to forty-two shillings per week, pattern makers thirty-six to thirty-eight shillings, engine fitters thirty-four to thirty-six shillings, and coppersmiths thirty-three to thirty-six shillings.[107] Wages for skilled men in the building trades also appear to have been fairly good. In the early 1850s, skilled men at Cubitt's Island works averaged roughly thirty shillings per week. Over the next decade wages in the industry rose considerably. By the mid-1860s brickmakers, carpenters, joiners, masons, and painters averaged thirty-three shillings, and thirty-eight shillings when fully employed.[108]

Taken together, the bulk of the Island's better paid artisans formed a sort of local aristocracy of labor. The precise size of this group is impossible to measure, for inclusion within its ranks depended not only

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[106] East End News (London), 29 August 1908.

[107] Ibid., 11 October 1872; Pollard, "Decline of Shipbuilding," p. 88; and The London Journal, 24 March 1855.

[108] "Visit to the Isle of Dogs," p. 4; "R. C. on Trades Unions," Samuda A16714-16728; and Arthur L. Bowley, Wages in the United Kingdom in the Nineteenth Century (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1900; reprint ed., Clifton, NJ: Augustus M. Kelly, 1972), chapters 7 and 12.

upon the amount and regularity of a man's wages, but on his values and life style as well. Whatever its exact size, the distinction between the Isle's aristocracy of labor and the rest of its working population was both visible and significant. As one Island observer put it, "there is a certain understood dignity and exclusiveness of caste pertaining to the artisan class which every individual of it is practically compelled to respect and support."[109] Henry Mayhew described the same phenomenon in less flattering terms when he wrote that "those who have not witnessed [the] pride of class among even the most depraved, can form no adequate idea of the arrogance with which the skilled man, no matter how base the art, looks upon the unskilled."[110]

Like skilled men throughout London and the rest of Great Britain, Island artisans possessed both the means and the inclination to express their collective identity through such organizations as trade unions, fraternal associations, and friendly societies. As a group, they strove to attain and embody the mid-Victorian values of respectability, independence, and dignity. Their ability to use their organizations to achieve a degree of financial security and control over their respective trades enabled them to reach these goals. It also gave them a degree of autonomy and independence that was often resented by those above them and envied by those below.[111]

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[109]Wright, Working Classes, p. 258.

[110]Henry Mayhew, London Labour and the London Poor, 4 vols. (London: Griffin, Bohn, and Co., 1861; reprint ed., New York: Dover Publications, 1968), 1:213.

[111]For a good contemporary view of the Island's labor aristocracy, see Wright, Working Classes, esp. pp. 249-61. For a brilliant analysis of the structure, institutions, and values of the labor aristocracy of a neighboring riverside district, see Geoffrey Crossick, An Artisan Elite

The cohesion and exclusivity of the local labor aristocracy (and middle class, for that matter) are illustrated in table 5. The table, which shows the degree of intermarriage between various strata of the local population, is based on the marriage registers of two Island Anglican churches, Christ Church and St. Luke's. It covers the years 1871 and 1881. In both years better than seventy percent of the Anglican grooms from Class III married within their own strata. (The percentage for Class II is still higher, but the sample is quite small.) Men from Class III seldom married women from Class V, though grooms from Class V frequently did wed brides from more affluent groups. This crude intermarriage table suggests that status barriers within the working classes were still quite pronounced during the mid- and later-nineteenth century. It also supports the view that kinship links between different sections of the local laboring population were probably slow to develop.[112]

The labor aristocracy was sub-divided into occupational groups of varying strength and autonomy. Some were so exclusive that they not only

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in Victorian Society: Kentish London 1840-1880 (London: Croom Helm, 1978), pp. 37-242 passim. For other useful discussions of Britain's labor aristocracy, see Eric J. Hobsbawm, Labouring Men (New York: Basic Books, 1964), pp. 272-315; Gray, Labour Aristocracy, passim; and Peter Bailey, "'Will the Real Bill Banks Please Stand Up?' Towards a New Role Analysis of Mid-Victorian Working Class Respectability," Journal of Social History 12 (Spring 1979):336-53.

[112]This crude table and tentative conclusions are in accord with more sophisticated and detailed data presented by other authors. See Crossick, Artisan Elite, pp. 118-27, 132-33; Gray, Labour Aristocracy, pp. 95-120 passim; and John Foster, Class Struggle and the Industrial Revolution: Early Industrial Capitalism in Three English Towns (London: Methuen, 1977), pp. 125-31, 260-63, and 267-69. Information from Island marriage registers of later decades illustrate the persistance of this general pattern through the nineteenth century. For a collection of Island Anglican church marriage registers, see London, Greater London Record Office, P88/CTC/11-15, P88/LUK/10; and uncataloged holdings at Christ Church in the Isle of Dogs.

TABLE 5.—Intermarriage between Social Classes, 1871 and 1881

Father* of the Groom Was from:		Year	Number in Sample	Percentage Where Father of the Bride Was from:					
				SC I	SC II	SC III	SC IV	SC V	Ukn SC
	SC I	1871	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
		1881	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
	SC II	1871	2	. . .	100.0	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
		1881	7	. . .	83.3	16.7	. . .	. . .	. . .
	SC III	1871	17	. . .	5.9	70.6	17.6	5.9	. . .
		1881	20	. . .	5.0	75.0	10.0	10.0	. . .
	SC IV	1871	3	. . .	. . .	66.7	33.3	. . .	. . .
		1881	5	. . .	. . .	40.0	40.0	10.0	. . .
	SC V	1871	5	. . .	. . .	60.0	20.0	20.0	. . .
		1881	5	. . .	. . .	60.0	. . .	40.0	. . .
	Ukn SC	1871	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
		1881	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	100.0

*In almost every case the groom was of the same social class as his father.

dominated the lives of their members, but set them apart from other workers, including fellow artisans. Prosperous, skilled, and well-organized crafts such as shipwrights, caulkers, engineers, and coopers were renowned for their independence and clannishness. So, too, were the less affluent but ancient and well regulated trades of watermen and lightermen.[113] The social

[113]On the clanninshness of these trades, see Iorwerth Prothero, "Chartism in London," Past and Present 44 (August 1969):82-84, 103; idem, "London Chartism and the Trades," The Economic History Review, 2 ser., 24 (May 1971):206-10; idem, Artisans and Politics in Early Nineteenth-Century

and economic barriers between workers created by craft and economic considerations were slow to disappear in the Island as elsewhere. It was a long time before the working classes became the working class.[114]

The remainder of the Island's household heads fell into Class V. The percentage of heads of households belonging to this category rose at a slow but steady pace throughout the mid-nineteenth century, increasing from 21.8 percent to 26.0 percent between 1841 and 1861. It is extremely difficult to discern the precise identity and composition of this group. Most of its members—97.8 percent in 1841 and 78.8 percent in 1851— were described simply as "laborers" by the census enumerators. Undoubtedly the majority of them worked as casual hands at the Island's docks, wharves, building sites, and industrial establishments. Fortunately the 1861 census does provide a bit more detail than its predecessors on the occupational makeup of Class V. It classified 47.4 percent of the heads in Class V as general laborers. Almost eleven percent were described as working in shipyards. Nearly ten percent were said to be employed in the heavy metals trades. Dock workers made up 6.7 percent of the total, but as implied above they were certainly more numerous. An additional 6.7 percent of the heads were widowed females who reported no occupation.[115]

As was the case with the classes discussed previously, the residential distribution of Class V was relatively stable. Throughout

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London: John Gast and His Times (Folkestone, UK: Dawson & Sons, 1979), pp. 22-40, 304-05, and 328-40; Eileen Yeo and Edward P. Thompson, eds., The Unknown Mayhew (New York: Schocken Books, 1972), pp. 399-427; and Crossick, Artisan Elite, pp. 88-164 passim.

[114]Gray, Labour Aristocracy, esp. chapters 1-2, and 4-5; Pelling, British Trade Unionism, pp. 89-91; and Gareth Stedman Jones, "Working-Class Culture and Working-Class Politics in London, 1870-1900: Notes on the Remaking of a Class," Journal of Social History 7 (Summer 1974):479-90.

[115]Appendix 2, tables 26-28.

the mid-nineteenth century its members were found in disproportionate numbers along the riverside. This was largely because, except of the homes of the rich, most houses in this area were cheap, poorly drained, and badly built two- and three-room cottages. Certain streets—such as Thomas and Tooke Streets in north Millwall; Gaverick, Crews, and Claude Streets in south Millwall; and Church and Davis Streets in Cubitt Town—also had more than their quota of poorer residents. In streets where the proportion of heads belonging to Class V was more in line with that of the population as a whole, they were usually found packed together in the most rundown and overcrowded houses. As mentioned earlier, the southern half of the Island, especially the southwest quadrant, had a disproportionately high concentration of household heads drawn from Class V.[116]

Certain factors shaped the lives of most of those falling into Class V. Their lack of skill and level of wages meant that they enjoyed a lower status and standard of living than local artisans. These conditions also made them much more vulnerable to depressions in trade. Generally they were less mobile than artisans, too. Unskilled workers depended heavily on personal contacts and their own reputations to secure employment and credit. Where unknown, they were often unable to secure these necessities; thus, they tended to become tied to the districts in which they lived. The unskilled also lacked the institutions and traditions which bound artisans together and gave them such a rich culture. The wages of the unskilled were generally just too low and irregular to enable them to support trade unions, fraternal associations, and--in some

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[116]Appendix 2, tables 21-23.

cases—even friendly societies.[117] Within their ranks, only the Irish possessed anything resembling a self-sustaining culture.

Yet, in spite of all these common attributes, members of Class V were far from uniform in either their income or their status. Laborers in shipyards and ironworks were fairly prosperous. Samuda claimed that between 1835 and 1865 their wages had risen between twenty-five and thiry-five percent—much more than those of artisans. By the mid-1860s shipyard laborers averaged twenty-one to twenty-four shillings per week, and some earned up to twenty-seven shillings.[118] Factory workers appear to have earned somewhat less, perhaps twenty to twenty-one shillings. Building laborers earned about as much as their counterparts in factories, but their work was much more irregular.[119] The most poorly paid members of Class V were undoubtedly dock and wharf workers. One observer estimated that they earned between nine and fourteen shillings a week in what was a notoriously casual trade. Yet within their ranks, there was, once again, considerable diversity. Port work in London was highly specialized. Stevedores, shipworkers, and men skilled in unloading timber and grain earned higher and more regular wages than others employed at the docks. This created real divisions within the waterside labor force. Men who worked with timber and grain at the Millwall Docks lived lives which were both better and different from those employed as casual dockers in the

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[117]Eric J. Hobsbawm, "The Nineteenth Century London Labour Market," in London: Aspects of Change, ed. Centre for Urban Studies (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1964), pp. 7-10, and 12-14; and Wright, Working Classes, p. 258. The lot of the unskilled worker was still essentially the same in the early twentieth century. See, Thompson, The Edwardians, pp. 54-55, 130-31, and 168-80.

[118]"R. C. on Trades Unions," Samuda A16861.

[119]"Visit to the Isle of Dogs," p. 4; and Bowley, Wages, p. 70, and chapters 7 and 12.

West India system.[120] Thus, even the "bottom" of Island society was far from constituting a homogeneous class.

Summation

The processes unleashed by the Industrial Revolution rapidly reshaped the Isle of Dogs during the nineteenth century. Intense industrialization and urbanization were in progress. Hundreds of people of different backgrounds migrated into the district each year. Local firms prospered and wages were fairly high. While the urban environment was harsh and occasional slumps in trade caused some hardship, an air of intense activity and general well-being marked the Isle of Dogs.

During the early and mid-nineteenth century, the Island's population was predominantly proletarian in character. However the district did not immediately take on the characteristics of a traditional working class village. Upper- and middle-class residents, though a declining proportion of the district's total population, played an active and influencial role in local affairs. The remainder of the peninsula's inhabitants were split along a variety of social, economic, occupational, and ethnic lines. These divisions plus the newness and unsettled nature of the district undoubtedly inhibited the growth of interlocking networks of kinship and friendship. They also thwarted the development of a sense of communal solidarity and identity. It took decades before Island society acquired the social uniformity, residential stability, and rich class-based communal culture which are the chief characteristics of well established working-class villages.

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[120] "R. C. on Trades Unions," Samuda A16865; and John Lovell, Stevedores and Dockers: A Study of Trade Unionism in the Port of London, 1870-1914 (New York: Augustus M. Kelly, 1969), pp. 30-58.

CHAPTER III

THE IMPOVERISHMENT OF THE ISLAND

Introduction

The great forces unleashed in Britain by the Industrial Revolution continued to work themselves out in the last third of the nineteenth century. Economic expansion and diversification, population growth, urbanization, and sharpening class divisions were all in evidence. The continuing importance of these forces in reshaping British society was especially apparent in the nation's cities. Industry became ever more concentrated. The urban population increased steadily in both absolute and relative terms. Residential segregation on the basis of class intensified. And the physical character and infrastructure of Britain's cities gradually assumed the shape they maintained well into the twentieth century. While the magnitude of these developments was certainly great, the pace of change itself slowed considerably. By the end of the century, the basic structure and tone of urban society in Britain had entered an era a relative socio-economic stability.[1]

Historians of the British working class generally view this period as one of profound importance in the evolution of proletarian culture.

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[1]Eric J. Hobsbawm, Industry and Empire (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books, 1970), pp. 109-94; Perkin, Modern English Society, pp. 340-454; and Meacham, Life Apart, passim.

A new sense of collective consciousness plus the emergence of a common cultural style bound the working population into a single class. As E. J. Hobsbawm has noted,

> between 1870 and 1900 the pattern of British working class life . . . thought of as "traditional" came into being. It was not traditional then, but new. It came to be thought of as age old and unchanging, because it ceased in fact to change very much . . . and because its most complete expression was to be found in the characteristic centres of late nineteenth-century working-class life, the industrial north or the proletarian areas of the large non-industrial cities like Liverpool and south or east London . . .[2]

Hobsbawm's general description of the emergence of a well defined working-class culture generally coincides with the events which took place in the Isle of Dogs between the mid-1860s and the early 1900s. After a period of severe economic crisis which pauperized much of the district's resident population, the basic structure of the Island's economy stabilized during the 1890s. This was also true with respect to the social composition of the local population, which became increasingly working class in character throughout the period. Simultaneously the district's basic physical development was completed, and its population leveled off.

The stability of the Island's economy, social structure, and physical environment left the district with most of the characteristics of a classic working-class community. Local society was stable, relatively homogeneous, and characterized by a closely knit communal culture. Chapter III concentrates on the economic, social, and physical forces which brought this community into existence. It also examines the first collective expressions of this new proletarian community in terms of local institutions, trade union cooperation, and political activism.

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[2]Hobsbawm, Industry and Empire, p. 164.

Economic Crisis and the Pauperization of Labor

During the last third of the nineteenth century the Isle of Dogs experienced a profound economic crisis. This crisis resulted in a restructuring of the district's economy plus the pauperization of a large portion of the local population. The Isle's late nineteenth century economic crisis was characterized by three distinct developments. The first was the decline of older, staple industries such as shipbuilding, its ancillary trades, some phases of heavy metal work, and docking. The second was the rise of new industries dependent upon plentiful supplies of cheap labor. Chief among these were chemical production, light metal work, and food processing. These two economic developments interacted to create a third--an alteration in the character of the district's resident labor force. Once highly skilled, diverse, comparatively prosperous, and distinctly masculine in character, the work force became less skilled, more homogeneous, poorer, and included a large proportion of females after the mid-1860s.

Before examining each of these developments in detail, it is necessary to discuss the basic forces which brought them about. These forces were primarily national and metropolitan in scope. They have been illuminated by Gareth Stedman Jones in his brilliant book, Outcast London. In Jones' view, the Industrial Revolution had a paradoxical effect on London. While it increased the city's importance as a market, port, and financial center, it gradually undermined many of its large scale manufacturing industries. Over a long term, London's distance from iron and coal deposits, its steep rents, and the high wages of many of its skilled workers made it difficult for many metropolitan manufacturing firms to produce goods as cheaply as their competitors in the Midlands, the North, and Scotland. Consequently

shipbuilding, heavy metal industries, and some phases of engineering were eventually forced to abandon London.[3]

According to Jones, the departure of these and related industries pauperized much of London's labor force. The displaced workers from these industries taken together with the influx of migrants to London and the city's "natural" increase gave the capital a vast pool of surplus labor. Jones argues that the existence of this supply of excess labor facilitated the rise and expansion of industries dependent upon large numbers of cheap, unskilled, casual workers.[4]

The economic experience of the Island's staple industries from the mid-1860s through the early twentieth century generally supports Jones' thesis. This is especially true with respect to shipbuilding and related trades. Throughout the middle decades of the nineteenth century, Island shipyards, like their counterparts along the rest of the Thames, enjoyed several advantages over foreign and domestic rivals. Chief among them was the unrivaled concentration of entrepreneurial talent, engineering brains, and skilled labor in London. The proximity of London shipbuilders to the great banks of the City and the offices of such major buyers as the Admiralty, the major shipping lines, and various foreign companies and embassies was also an asset. These advantages, plus the long established reputation of Thames yards for high quality work, enabled London shipbuilders to capture a large share of the global market for advanced iron steamers. In the early 1860s Thames yards built almost twenty-nine percent of the iron tonnage produced in Great Britain. The majority of this tonnage was launched by Island yards.[5]

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[3]G. Jones, Outcast London, pp. 19-32, 152-55. [4]Ibid., pp. 99-126.

[5]Pollard, "Decline of Shipbuilding," pp. 72-89; and Wright, Working Classes, pp. 251-53.

Despite its impressive size and apparent prosperity, the Island's shipbuilding industry was structurally unsound. For a variety of reasons the cost of building iron steamers was more on the Thames than in the great shipbuilding centers of the North and the Clyde. As noted earlier, rates and rents were generally higher in London than in other parts of the country. The same was true of the cost of labor, thanks in large measure to the power of the London unions involved in the shipbuilding trades. In addition London's distance from the major coal and iron fields of the North and Midlands meant that basic materials were more expensive than elsewhere. By 1858 vessels built on the Thames averaged from £1 to £5 more per ton than those built in the outports. For a time the superiority of London-built ships offset this cost differential. However as non-London yards gradually acquired better machinery, more highly skilled labor, and increased experience, they began to produce work of comparable quality. By the end of the 1840s, yards along the Clyde, the Tees, and the Wear had started to crowd London firms out of the market for cheap service vessels such as colliers, tramps, and sailing ships. A decade later they were challenging London's supremacy in the production of high-class iron steamers as well.[6]

A number of straws in the wind should have warned those interested in shipbuilding away from the Island. In 1847 William Fairbairn, admittedly more of a scientist than an entrepreneur, was forced out of business. In a dozen years of operation, his Millwall works had sustained a financial loss of over £100,000.[7] It was more alarming five years later when

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[6]Pollard, "Decline of Shipbuilding," pp. 76-79; and "R. C. on Trades Unions," A16588-18075 passim.

[7]Pole, Fairbairn, p. 342.

David Napier, a shrewd businessman as well as a brilliant engineer, closed his yard and leased part of his works to John Scott Russell. Despite a decade and a half as a successful London shipbuilder, Napier had reached the conclusion that the "Thames would never be a place for building steamers on account of everything connected with their production being higher there than in the North."[8]

Several short-time developments conspired to obscure economic reality and allow London yards to maintain a deceptive prosperity. A general expansion in world trade created the need for more shipping tonnage. This combined with Britain's preeminence in the construction of iron steamers and marine engines provided British yards with an abundance of work throughout most of the 1850s and early 1860s. Moreover the Crimean War, the American Civil War, and the conversion of the world's navies from wood and sail to iron and steam created a huge demand for warships. For a time, business was so brisk that new forms financed by London speculators sprang up overnight. In the Island, a Cubitt Town yard run by Joseph Ash and Charles Mare's giant Millwall Iron Works both belonged in this category. Both were unsound. Ash was very inexperienced, and neither his yard nor Mare's was adequately financed. Evidently their need to take orders to keep operating forced both firms to contract for work "at prices which . . . did not always cover the cost of materials."[9]

This wave of expansion and speculation came to an abrupt halt in the spring of 1866. Overproduction plus the collapse of Overend, Gurney, and Company--a City financial house which had invested heavily in the yards

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[8]Napier, Autobiographical Sketch, p. 48.

[9]Times (London), 11 February 1868; "R. C. on Trades Unions," Samuda A16817-16822; and Pollard, "Decline of Shipbuilding," pp. 76-79.

of Ash and Mare--plunged the Thames shipbuilding industry into a prolonged depression. Orders dried up. As work already on hand was completed, firms began to lay off hundreds of artisans and laborers. Mare and Ash were quickly forced to shut down their works. Dudgeon's and Samuda's remained open, but barely. The number of men employed at the former yard fell from fifteen hundred to four hundred, at the latter from two thousand to fewer than two hundred.[10]

The collapse of local shipbuilding yards and their related industries was quickly felt by Island workers. Moreover a simultaneous down-turn in work at the docks due to a global recession and the suspension of local building meant that there was little alternative work in the district for unemployed shipyard workers. Unskilled shipyard laborers who were dismissed from their jobs were almost immediately reduced to poverty. Trade union benefits and savings enabled many artisans to stave off want for a while longer. However they, too, were soon in dire straits. The bleak situation was aggravated still further by a bad harvest, a hard winter, and a cholera epidemic. Expenditure on poor relief, which rose 8.8 percent for all of Great Britain and 20 percent for London in 1867-68, shot up 76 percent for Poplar. This was the largest increase registered by any of the country's 640-odd Poor Law Unions.[11] The Island was considered the hardest hit district of Poplar. By January 1867, over one thousand Island families, representing a minimum of five thousand people, were on parish relief.[12]

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[10]"R. C. on Trades Unions," Samuda A16750 and Dudgeon A16876.

[11]Great Britain, Parliament, Parliamentary Papers (Commons), 1867-68, vol. 23, "Twentieth Annual Report of the Poor Law Board, 1867-68," pp. 13-14, 28-29, 118-20, 364.

[12]Ibid.; Illustrated London News, 26 January 1867; Times (London),

In the hope of alleviating distress, Island businessmen pressed the Admiralty to order more warships from local yards. They also waged a spirited campaign to persuade the City of London to establish a proposed cattle market at the Millwall Docks. Both efforts failed.[13] As a result, there was no significant improvement in the Island's economy in either 1867 or 1868. A journalist who visited the district during this period wrote that

> the great works and factories of Millwall, once occupied by Scott Russell, are dismantled and closed, the machinery sold, the factory tenantless, and the building yard--the birthplace of the Great Eastern--a grass grown waste. The adjoining yards of Mare and Co., and the London Engineering Co., are in the same condition as Scott Russell's yard. Samuda Brothers . . . are idle, and in the Isle of Dogs, where a few years ago one could count 16-20 steamers, there are four vessels only . . . The prosperity of London as a shipbuilding port is at an end, and no one here looks for a revival in business.[14]

Faced with this grim situation, thousands of workers and their families were forced to leave the Island and look for employment elsewhere. Many Island artisans "who had been employed in . . . iron works [and shipyards] at seven shillings a day were [forced] to go to . . . Durham to work as common labourers . . ."[15] One observer reported in later years that he "saw in the Isle of Dogs rows of workmen's cottages, and good cottages, too, standing unoccupied and desolate, their gardens and paths and roadways in front obliterated by weeds. The erstwhile

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12, 15, and 18 January 1867; and Great Britain, Local Government Board, Transcript of Shorthand Notes Taken at the Enquiry Ordered by the Local Government Board into the Administration of the Poor Law in the Poplar Union, 2 vols. (1906), 2:310, 407.

[13] Times (London), 18 January 1867; and East End News (London), 4 and 18 December 1869.

[14] Cited in Pollard, "Decline of Shipbuilding," pp. 82-83.

[15] East End News (London), 11 October 1872.

occupants had had to emigrate to the Clyde or elsewhere often to earn less pay."[16] In 1868 the Medical Officer for Poplar's South District estimated that there were "600 houses empty in the Isle of Dogs."[17] Tax records indicate that the number of empty dwellings was actually 791—almost forty-seven percent of the housing accommodation in the peninsula.[18] After 1869 things improved somewhat. Nevertheless, census enumerators counted 262 empty houses in the Island in 1871.[19]

After the devastating crisis of 1866, Island shipbuilders resorted to a number of different strategies to stave off financial ruin. Some modernized their facilities in an effort to re-establish their technological supremacy over their rivals in the outports. Others took risky orders which contained stiff penalties if ships were not completed on time or failed to perform up to certain standards.[20] Firms which had once been too busy to accept work other than shipbuilding began actively to solicit general engineering contracts. Indeed one great Island shipbuilder—Westwood, Baillie, and Co.--went through several reorganizations and gradually converted its entire business to civil engineering and the construction of prefabricated bridges.[21]

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[16]Alfred R. Bennett, London and Londoners in the Eighteen-Fifties and Sixties (New York: Adelphy Co., 1925), pp. 232-33.

[17]Poplar District Board of Works, Annual Report 1868-69, p. 42.

[18]Statistics compiled from "[Poplar] Church Rate," fols. 1-93, Local History Collection, Record Group 356, Tower Hamlets Central Library, London.

[19]Great Britain, Parliament, Census of England and Wales 1871, 3 vols. (1872), 1:n.p.

[20]For the strategies and tactics of different firms, see newspaper clippings, etc. in London, Tower Hamlets Central Library, Local History Collection, Record Group 901.2, passim.

[21]See clippings, pamphlets, etc. on the company in London, Tower Hamlets Central Library, Local History Collection, Record Groups 901.2, 690.1.

The most successful firms specialized in the building of warships--a line of work in which quality and high performance were more important than cost. Samuda built numerous large warships for the navies of Great Britain, Russia, Germany, Spain, Turkey, Peru, Argentina, Brazil, Egypt, and Japan.[22] Another Island firm, Alfred Yarrow and Co., concentrated on the construction of light draught steamers, patrol craft, torpedo boats, and destroyers. Its success is indicated by the steady expansion of its yard from one-half acre in 1864 to twelve acres in the 1890s. By the latter period, it employed over twelve hundred men.[23]

Despite such occasional successes, neither Island yards nor the Thames industry as a whole ever again enjoyed the prosperity they had experienced in the mid-nineteenth century. The Thames share of British-built iron tonnage dropped from well over a quarter in the early 1860s to less than three percent a decade later. By the turn of the century its share of the market had slumped still further. In 1874-76, 1879-82, 1884-87, 1891-94, and 1902-06 the industry suffered from severe depressions.[24] Of all the great Island shipbuilders, only Yarrow managed to survive past 1900. Yet even his firm faced serious difficulties. Yarrow estimated that due to rising rates, high wages, and expensive materials, his production costs were twelve percent higher than those of comparable

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[22] East End News (London), 11 August and 8 September 1889.

[23] Eleanor C. Barnes, Alfred Yarrow, His Life and Work (London: Edward Arnold & Co., 1923), pp. 41-60; Daily Chronicle (London), 2 December 1905; and "Sir Alfred F. Yarrow," The Engineer, 19 January 1932, n.p.

[24] Pollard, "Decline of Shipbuilding," pp. 84-89. The slumps in the local industry can be determined by consulting the Society for Organizing Charitable Relief and Repressing Mendicity--Poplar, Bow, and Bromley Committee, Annual Report[s], 1873-1900, passim; and London, Tower Hamlets Central Library, Local History Collection, Record Group 901.2.

yards in the North. In a successful effort to avoid the fate of other Island yards, Yarrow moved his entire works to the Clyde between 1905 and 1908.[25] After his departure the Island ceased to be a major shipbuilding district. Only one or two small yards remained, and none of these lasted past 1920. After that date, all the Island yards were either devoted exclusively to ship repair or converted to other commercial uses.

Shipbuilding was not the only Island industry to experience difficulties in the late nineteenth century. Naturally as the "large shipyards [disappeared] all the trades connected with them dwindled down."[26] Sailmakers, mast makers, block and tackle manufacturers, and marine engine works were especially hard hit. Some--particularly engine works--were able to adapt their products to the needs of other buyers. Most, however, gradually disappeared. Companies involved in certain aspects of heavy metals work also suffered. As with shipbuilders, local rents, rates, wages, and material costs made if difficult for them to compete with non-London firms. The iron rolling mills which had existed in the Island in the 1850s and 1860s, for example, had vanished by the 1880s. Fortunately the London market was so vast and the needs of its industries for metal products and work so great that many engineering firms were able to survive by concentrating on repair work and rush orders. However, only those which enjoyed outstanding reputations or specialized in a particular line of work--prefabricated bridges, hoists and cranes, boilers, industrial tanks, and so on--really prospered.[27]

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[25]London, Tower Hamlets Central Library, Local History Collection, Record Groups 901.2, file on Yarrow's firm. See especially, Daily Chronicle (London), articles from November 1905 and March 1908 (no date given).

[26]Local Government Board, Administration of Poor Law in Poplar, 2:18.

[27]P. Hall, Industries of London, pp. 140-46; Martin, Industrial

The declining importance of shipbuilding and other industries dependent upon heavy metals changed the character of the Island's work force. After peaking in the late 1860s, the proportion of Islanders employed in such industries began to decline. As table 6 reveals, the percentage of local household heads working in shipbuilding and industries using large quantities of iron and steel fell from almost a quarter in 1861 to barely a tenth twenty-five years later.

TABLE 6.--Household Heads Employed in Selected Industries: 1861, 1871, 1886-87[a]

	1861[b]		1871[c]		1886-87[d]	
	#	% of All Heads	#	% of All Heads	#	% of All Heads
Shipbuilding	157	10.5	214	7.9	84	3.6
Iron & steel	204	13.6	313	11.6	184	7.8
Total	351	24.1	527	19.5	268	11.4

[a]Figures for 1861 and 1871 are based on MSS census data. Figures for 1886-87 are based on date gathered by Charles Booth.

[b]Totals for 1861 are lower than they should be because the MS census returns for approximately 1,200 residents to not survive.

[c]Totals were undoubtedly higher before the shipbuilding collapse of 1866.

[d]Only those heads with school-aged children were sampled. Booth estimated that this was roughly forty to fifty percent of the total number of household heads.

Geography, chapter 1 passim, pp. 123-25; and London, Tower Hamlets Central Library, Local History Collection, Record Groups 680.4, 690.1, files on Island firms.

Although statistics are unavailable for later years, it is apparent that, in shipbuilding at least, this relative decline eventually became absolute as well. Contemporaries reported that the closure of Samuda's in 1893 was accompanied by an exodus of skilled workers to the North and the Clyde.[28] This same process repeated itself when Yarrow shut down his yard fifteen years later.[29] With pardonable exaggeration, a local physician sadly told one of Charles Booth's investigators in 1896 that the "skilled artisan of 30 years ago is gone . . . Shipbuilding . . . has left and with it shipwrights, caulkers, [and] sailmakers . . . The skilled men have died out."[30]

The decline of shipbuilding, general engineering, and heavy metals work did more than merely reduce the number of skilled workers residing in the Isle. It also drastically changed the lifestyles of those artisans who chose to remain in the district. As employment for skilled workers became increasingly scarce, a large number of local artisans became casual workers. While their wages remained high, their inability to secure regular work resulted in a severe decline in their living standard. Often jobs, when they came at all, were rush orders or repair work which demanded intense exertion and many hours of overtime. They were generally followed by long stretches of unemployment. This irregular work pattern forced many heretofore regularly employed skilled men to live like the typical unskilled casual laborer. By the later years of the century, work in local shipbuilding yards had become so irregular that shipwrights, caulkers,

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[28]Society for Organizing Charitable Relief, Annual Report 1893-94, pp. 2-9 passim.

[29]Idem, Annual Report 1908-09, p. 3; and idem, Annual Report 1909-10, p. 5.

[30]London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group B, vol. 173, fol. 151.

and riggers were often forced to seek work as casual laborers at the docks.[31]

Though less spectacular than the virtual collapse of shipbuilding and the heavy metals industries, the fall off of business at the West India and Millwall Docks and at many of the Island's riverside wharves also had a serious impact on the local economy. Cut-throat competition between rival dock companies; construction of new, bigger docks down river; the growing size of commercial vessels; and a general neglect of the shipping channels of the upper Thames all contributed to a reduction in the number of ships using London's older, up-stream port facilities in the later nineteenth century. Fewer ships and falling profits for the dock companies meant less work and lower wages for hundreds of Island dockers and stevedores. Throughout the 1870s and the 1880s their already paltry earnings dropped still further. The tendency for men who lost their jobs in other fields to seek work at the docks made the situation still worse. Trades which depended on traffic in and out of the docks for business were also hurt. Workers engaged in ship repair, sack production, cooperage, and rope making--all of whom were present in considerable numbers in the Island--suffered severely.[32]

Not all Island-based firms did poorly in the last third of the nineteenth century. As Jones pointed out in Outcast London, certain sectors of the metropolitan economy experienced remarkable expansion during these years. In the Island the great growth industries of the

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[31]Booth et al., Life and Labour, 1 ser., 3:89.

[32]Lovell, Stevedores and Dockers, pp. 15-29 passim; and G. Jones, Outcast London, pp. 116-26. Also see "Twentieth Annual Report of the Poor Law Board, 1867-68," p. 119.

era were chemical production, light metal work, and food processing. All these industries had two characteristics in common. First, they produced bulky, heavy products of a relatively low value. Therefore they benefited from the large sites and access to the river available in the Isle. Second, and more important, all were heavily dependent upon plentiful supplies of relatively low-paid, unskilled labor. As will be demonstrated later in the section, such labor was plentiful in the Island during these decades.[33]

Chemical production, of course, was not new to the Island. However the industry experienced significant growth after 1870. The number of firms engaged in the production of chemicals, paints, greases, lubricants, and so on rose from eleven in 1871 to twenty-five just thirty years later.[34] For the most part, these firms were comparatively small, employing anywhere from twenty-five to seventy-five workers. As a rule they catered almost exclusively to the London market. However a few were of national and even international importance. Burrell and Co. and Nathaniel Fenner and Co. ranked among the largest paint manufacturers in Britain.[35] Alexander Duckham and Co., the twentieth century petroleum giant, was founded in the Island during the 1890s.[36]

Island firms involved in light engineering and metal work expanded almost as rapidly as those engaged in chemical production in the late nineteenth century. In 1885 Bullivant and Co., the wire rope manufacturers,

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[33]Appendix 2, tables 28, 29, and 35.

[34]Appendix 1, table 13.

[35]London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group A, vols. 12 and 27, relevant firms and Group B, vols. 93 and 117, fols. 19-21 and 15-16, respectively; and Martin, Industrial Geography, pp. 130-38.

[36]Banham, Duckham, pp. 6-19.

moved to a larger Millwall site with a fine water frontage in order to ease transportation problems. By the mid-1890s the firm employed between 250 and 300 men and boys and was reckoned to be the "largest manufacturer of their kind in the world."[37] Over the last fifteen years of the century the new manufacturing firms established in the Isle included a nut and bolt plant, a metal drum maker, a hinge factory, two tin works producing boxes and plates respectively, a ventilator manufacturer, a maker of iron mouldings, and a large tube factory. Indeed despite the generally dismal state of the heavy metal industries, the number of local companies producing metal products of one sort or another actually increased from thirty-two in 1871 to fifty in 1901.[38]

The Island's greatest growth industry in terms of numbers employed during this period was food processing. The great flour works of McDougall's Brothers which opened in the Millwall Docks in 1869 expanded steadily throughout the rest of the century.[39] C. and E. Morton--manufacturers of soups, pickles, jams, and many other food products--moved from the City to Millwall in the mid-1870s. Eventually Morton's, which conducted a world-wide export trade, operated the greatest private water front on all the Thames. Its Millwall works employed over one thousand workers. Early in the twentieth century the company opened a second plant in Cubitt Town on the site of Yarrow's old shipbuilding yard. It

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[37] R. Adams [pseud.], Industrial Explorings (London: James Clarke & Co., 1896), pp. 239-42; J. Smith, Cable and Rope, pp. 140-41; idem, Wire, pp. 159-70; and London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group B, vol. 89, fols. 91-94.

[38] Appendix 1, table 13; and The Post Office London Directory (London: Kelly and Co., see for the years 1885-1900).

[39] McDougall's, Ltd., McDougall's, pp. 5-9.

employed another six hundred people.[40] Morton's was rivaled in size by Maconochie Brothers. The firm, which was based outside of London, acquired a six-acre Island site in 1896. Soon it sprawled over a full fourteen acres and contained ten separate plants employing almost one thousand people. At one time, Maconochie's produced ninety-nine different items including all sorts of canned soups, fruits, vegetables, pickles, and sauces.[41]

The decline of the Island's traditional staple industries coupled with the expansion of other sectors of the local economy described above had a tremendous impact on the character and composition of the district's resident labor force. The changes within the local labor force were generally in accord with those postulated by Jones. The proportion of local workers employed by industries requiring highly skilled labor declined. Conversely, the percentage of local residents pursuing less skilled trades increased dramatically.

This general trend is clearly illustrated by table 7, which compares occupational data collected by local census enumerators in 1861 and 1871 with that gathered by Charles Booth's investigators in 1886-87. Due to the Isle's continued demographic growth in these years, the absolute number of people employed in various sectors of the local economy increased. However, their distribution among trades changed dramatically. For example the proportion of Island household heads working for manufacturing firms dropped from fifty-three percent to thirty-two percent. This was

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[40]Martin, Industrial Geography, p. 144; The Star (London), 23 February 1939; and Albert E. Barnes, interview, Lawford, Essex, 31 May 1978.

[41]East End News (London), 20 April 1934; "Maconochie's Up," Transport and General Workers Record, June 1952, p. 11; Alice Beardwell, interview, London, 29 April 1978; and Mrs. D, interview, London, 18 April 1978.

TABLE 7.—Occupational Structure of Island Household Heads: 1861, 1871, 1886-87[a]

	1861[b]		1871		1886-87[c]	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Agriculture	7	0.5	10	0.4	5	0.2
Mining[d]	31	2.1	9	0.3	2	0.1
Building	128	8.6	178	6.6	75	3.2
Manufacturing	791	53.0	1,194	44.2	752	32.0
Transportation	124	8.3	335	12.4	373	15.8
Dealing	104	7.0	179	6.6	203	8.6
Industrial service	198	13.2	533	19.7	835	35.4
Public service & professional	25	1.7	70	2.6	32	1.4
Domestic service	21	1.4	53	2.0	54	2.3
Independent property owners	3	0.2	13	0.5	5	0.2
Unknown & miscel	64	4.3	128	4.7	21	0.9
Total	1,492	100.3	2,702	100.1	2,361	100.1

[a]Figures from 1861 and 1871 are based on MSS census data. Figures from 1886-87 are based on data gathered by Charles Booth.

[b]Totals for 1861 are lower than they should be because the MS census returns for approximately 1,200 residents do not survive.

[c]Only those heads with school-aged children were sampled. Booth estimated that this was roughly forty to fifty percent of the total number of household heads.

[d]The people classified under mining are almost all brickmakers, limeburners, and so on who ought be be considered as constituting part of the building trades. For a fuller explanation, see appendix 2, pp. 371-72.

significant for manufacturing firms employed a disproportionate number of skilled workers.[42] During the same period the percentage of local household heads classified under industrial service jumped from 13.2 percent to 35.4 percent. This, too, was revealing, for virtually all the workers listed within this category were unskilled laborers.[43] The rising percentage of household heads working in transportation—8.3 percent in 1861 to 15.8 percent in 1886-87—also reflected an increase in the proportion of less skilled workers in the Island's resident labor force.

Unfortunately detailed statistics on the composition of the Island's labor force are unavailable for the years between 1887 and the 1920s. However literary evidence indicates that the trends established in the 1870s and 1880s were not reversed. Throughout the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century, the percentage and eventually the absolute number of skilled workers residing in the Island continued to decline. The opposite was true for less skilled and unskilled laborers.[44] By the early twentieth century, one knowledgeable observer estimated that two-thirds of Poplar's factories employed casual labor. He also stated that roughly thirty-eight percent of the district's work force was composed of unskilled laborers. Most authorities felt this figure was even higher for the Island than for Poplar as a whole.[45]

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[42]Appendix 2, tables 25-31. [43]Ibid.

[44]Ibid., tables 30 and 31; and G. Jones, Outcast London, pp. 67-126 passim.

[45]Local Government Board, Administration of the Poor Law in Poplar, 2:18, 20, 463; and London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group A, vol. 33, fols. 3-4. Several other examples from the Booth papers could be cited.

The growing pool of unskilled male labor in the Island during the later nineteenth century was drawn from three main sources. Many of the Island's unskilled workers were the off-spring of families who had made up the lower strata of local society in earlier decades. Still others were immigrants drawn from rural areas. Due to the depressed state of agrarian England, such people continued to migrate to the Island in sizable numbers throughout the 1870s and 1880s. They were attracted by the hope of work at the local docks, food processing plants, and factories.[46] Finally, as noted earlier, the collapse of shipbuilding and its related trades forced many local artisans to take whatever work was available. This was usually semi-skilled or unskilled in nature. Even when artisans resisted this expedient, their sons were often unable to do so. There was simply not enough work in the skilled trades to absorb the children of local craftsmen.[47]

There was a fourth source of unskilled labor which Island employers used in ever greater quantities in the later nineteenth century--women. During the early and mid-nineteenth century the proportion of females in the Island's total work force had been comparatively low--15.1 percent in 1871 compared to 36.3 percent for London as a whole. Over half these women were employed in some aspect of domestic service. Less than a third worked in the manufacturing industries.[48] The low number of female workers in the Island during these years was due largely to the lack of employment for women in the district's dominant industries. Women simply lacked the

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[46]S. Willett, interview; and G. Jones, Outcast London, pp. 130-51.

[47]G. Jones, Outcast London, pp. 19-126 passim; and Society for Organizing Charitable Relief, Annual Report 1901-02, p. 4.

[48]Appendix 2, tables 36 and 37.

skills needed for sophisticated work in shipyards and the strength needed for work at the docks.

By the early twentieth century this situation had undergone a dramatic transformation. The proportion of women in the local work force had practically doubled—increasing to almost one-third of the total working population. Almost seventy percent of these women were employed by firms engaged in manufacturing—particularly food processing.[49] One of Morton's top male hands estimated that "fully 75%" of the company's work force was composed of women and girls. The same was true at Maconochie's. Moreover during the fish and fruit seasons, both firms hired scores of additional female workers. Other large employers of female laborers included rope works, sack factories, and light metal industries.[50]

The availability of huge quantities of cheap female labor in the Island was a direct consequence of the state of the local economy. The wives and daughters of casual laborers and dockers had long been forced to seek work to supplement the wages of their husbands and fathers. The worsening state of these trades no doubt aggravated this situation.[51] The decline of shipbuilding, iron work, and traditional riverside crafts forced still more women out of the home and into the work place. One caulker explained that "on account of so little shipbuilding in London . . . the men are out of employment . . . [In such cases] it is not at all unusual for wives to assist."[52] The president of a London coopers'

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[49]Ibid., table 37. [50]Ibid.

[51]Lovell, Stevedores and Dockers, chapters 3 and 4 passim; and Booth et al., Life and Labour, 1 ser., 4:312-13.

[52]London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group A, vol. 9, sec. 19, fol. 6.

society estimated that at least one-third of the union's members depended on the earnings of their wives to get by.[53] Indeed, according to one Island social worker, "some families [were only] kept from starvation by the mother getting work as a casual hand . . ."[54]

Employers were not slow to capitalize on this situation. During the late nineteenth century many firms moved to the Island for the sole purpose of drawing upon its reservoir of cheap female labor. In 1897 one investigator reported that the

> number of girls employed in the Island increases year by year . . . The work for women indeed shows a tendency to increase in a far greater proportion than that for men . . . [O]n the whole men's industries show a tendency to leave the Island just as those for women give signs of greater development. In the future it is quite possible that men may begin to depend on the . . . women to be the bread winners . . .[55]

A decade later, Poplar Labour leader Will Crooks remarked that

> we have got casual women workers now, a thing that . . . did not exist 10 or 15 years ago . . . [T]he fact is there are thousands of these women on the look out for a day's work. The employer sees the advantage and takes them on for an hour or two [at very low wages].[56]

The wages and working conditions of unskilled laborers--male and female--employed in the Island varied enormously. Some unskilled work was both regular and fairly well paid. Men of exceptional size and strength who were under forty could often get decent jobs doing heavy work at factories and wharves. Likewise unskilled laborers who were steady and reliable were in high demand at chemical plants. Often such

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[53]Ibid., Group A, vol. 8, sec. 16, fol. 11.

[54]Ibdi., Group B, vol. 173, fol. 11.

[55]Ibid., Group A, vol. 33, fol. 12b.

[56]Local Government Board, Administration of the Poor Law in Poplar, 2:356-66.

men earned between twenty-seven and thirty-five shillings a week—sometimes more. In a line of work where one mistake could cause a disastrous accident, a man's character and temperament were often considered more important than his skill at a given type of work.[57] Of course both these types of work had serious drawbacks. Heavy work was exhausting and became more and more difficult to secure with age. Chemical production was often unpleasant and sometimes hazardous to one's health.

Most of the Island's general laborers—and roughly one-third of the district's household heads fell into this category—pursued work which demanded neither exceptional physical ability nor gifts of character. However many of the jobs which they performed did require the strength and maturity of an adult male. This was especially true of the manual work in the docks, in the building trades, or at local engineering works. Such work paid between fourteen and twenty-one shillings per week. It was often irregular, boring, and tiring. Moreover virtually all those employed in such work were condemned to a life of struggle and poverty. Nevertheless the unskilled adult male laborer was not at the bottom of the local workers' hierarchy. That dubious distinction belonged to boys and females.[58]

Boys and females performed those tasks which did not require the strength of an adult male. Both groups were often shamelessly exploited. Many were trapped in dead-end jobs, taught no skills, and discarded whenever it suited the convenience of local employers. The dangers faced by boys who took up work which required no skill and offered no opportunities

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[57] Ibid.; and Booth et al., Life and Labour, 2 ser., 2:99-110.

[58] G. Jones, Outcast London, pp. 99-126.

for advancement were unwittingly explained to one of Booth's investigators by Pelham Bullivant, the owner of the Island wire rope works mentioned earlier. "There is not much skill in the work [we do here]," he said.

> It can be learnt in 2 or 3 months. [Therefore we] employ a great many boys. The difficulty is to get rid of them once they begin to ask for a man's wages. It does not pay to keep them on as men when boys can do the work equally well.[59]

The lot of the female workers was, if anything, still worse. They constituted a sort of permanent underclass within the local work force. Their wages were remarkably low. In the late nineteenth century, factory girls working for local firms averaged six to seven shillings per week—far less than even unskilled male adolescents could command.[60] In addition to low pay, Island women often were forced to endure exhausting and debilitating work. One local plant manager admitted that "he had worked all over the world, but the worst sight he had ever seen . . . was that of the women in his factory, so incapacitated that they lay on the ground, unable to go home."[61] The owner of an Island rope works acknowledged that if it were not for the factory acts he would have worked his female employees "every night till 11 or 12, as their wages were so much smaller than that of men . . ."[62] In food factories owners frequently did just that, for, since their firms handled perishable items which could quickly

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[59]London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group B, vol. 89, fols. 91-92.

[60]Ibid., Group B, vol. 117, fols. 15-16; and Jean Price, Life among Factory Girls and Lads: "The Welcome," Millwall (London: Robert Browning, [1897]), p. 8.

[61]Kathleen Wintour and Katharine Bradford, Island Settlement: The Story of St. Mildred's House on the Isle of Dogs (London: n.p., 1957), p. 6.

[62]Price, Factory Girls, p. 23.

spoil, they were exempt from laws regulating hours and overtime. Sometimes such employers worked their female employees for fourteen to sixteen hours at a stretch. One social worker charged that, "If the girls complain or ask for higher wages, [they get the sack]. [T]here are plenty outside waiting and anxious to be taken on . . ."[63] There was little real improvement in this situation until the 1940s.

Many local leaders and philanthropists worried about the effect of the growing use of female labor on domestic life. Complaints about the loose morals and free ways of local factory girls were frequent. So, too, were charges that work outside the home prevented girls from mastering such vital domestic skills as sewing, cooking, and child-rearing.[64] To deal with these problems, Jean Price, a well-to-do West End widow, opened a facility called "The Welcome" in 1891. It provided a place where girls could purchase cheap hot lunches, attend classes in domestic handicrafts, and enjoy "rational" recreational activities in the evening.[65] Six years later the Anglican settlement house of St. Mildred's was established in Millwall. It carried out the same type of work along with a range of other religious, social, and philanthropic services.[66]

Concern over the morals and domestic competency of the local female population was probably misplaced. As Mrs. Price ruefully observed,

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[63]Ibid. For more on the exploitation of the Island's women workers, see East End News (London), 27 August 1898; Free, Seven Years' Hard, pp. 168-77; Mrs. I, interview, London, 18 April 1978; and Amy Barnes, interview, Lawford, Essex, 31 May 1978.

[64]E.g. London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group B, vol. 173, fols. 5, 69-75, 149-51.

[65]Ibid., fols. 103-15; and Price, Factory Girls, pp. 3-8, 16-21.

[66]Wintour and Bradford, Island Settlement, passim; St. Mildred's House, Annual Report[s] (London: n.p., 1898-1956), passim; and Elizabeth Souttar, interview, Watlington, Oxford, 6 April 1978.

girls in service were more likely to end up pregnant than those who worked in factories.[67] Most working women, once they married, became thoroughly respectable and capable East End "mums." Nevertheless The Welcome and St. Mildred's filled real needs. They provided young women with counseling, social activities, and assistance in times of crisis. Both ran mothers' clubs, and St. Mildred's operated an infant welfare service that provided Island families with free medical care for babies and young children. Hundreds of girls and women made use of the two institutions over the years. They are still remembered with great affection today.[68]

While the growing use of female labor enabled some families to raise their real incomes, it had an adverse impact on many sections of the Island's labor force. Female competition destroyed or pauperized whole classes of male workers. In Island factories, male laborers earning eleven pence an hour were replaced by women and girls willing to do the same work for an hourly wage of five pence.[69] Local sailmakers, who often made tarpaulins and sacks when demand for their services was slack, were driven out of the latter two trades by cheap female labor.[70] In the rope trade, mechanization plus the influx of female workers undermined the earning power of traditional craftsmen.[71] Taken as a whole,

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[67]London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group B, vol. 173, fol. 111.

[68]E.g. Souttar, interview; Beardwell, interview; Lowery, interview; French, interview. Many other examples could be cited.

[69]Price, Factory Girls, p. 22.

[70]London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group B, vol. 85, fols. 45, 47-49.

[71]Booth et al., Life and Labour, 2 ser., 2:335-40.

in short, female labor was a cause as well as a consequence of the decline of many of the Island's skilled trades.

In summary, Jones' thesis about the causes and character of the late nineteenth century economic crisis which destroyed the prosperity of so many London firms and workers is supported by the experience of the Isle of Dogs. The high cost of metals, coal, space, and labor placed the Isle's manufacturing industries at a competitive disadvantage compared with those located in the Midlands, the North, and Scotland. Shipbuilding, its ancillary trades, and some phases of the heavy metals industries were virtually wiped out. The occupations associated with these industries often became casual in character. Simultaneously the Island's docks and wharves experienced severe economic difficulties due to competition from other London port facilities. The only Island industries which expanded were those which relied on an abundance of cheap labor.

Under the impact of this economic crisis, the composition of the Island's resident labor force changed drastically. Put simply, the percentage of skilled workers in the local labor force declined while the proportion of unskilled workers increased dramatically. Moreover thousands of those artisans who remained in the district were impoverished. Many families were forced to rely on the earnings of wives and daughters to survive. Unfortunately, the influx of women into the local labor market eroded the earning power of much of the male population still further. By the end of the nineteenth century a large proportion of the Isle's once prosperous working population had been pauperized. The relative prosperity which had characterized so many of the Island's industries and occupations in the early 1860s was a distant memory by 1900.

Urbanization, Sanitation, and Local Government, 1866-c. 1900

As the Island's economy changed and developed, so too did its physical environment. The process of urbanization which had begun to transform the face of the Isle of Dogs in the early 1800s continued through the remainder of the nineteenth century. After 1870 it was marked by two contrasting characteristics--the steady improvement of the local infrastructure combined with the stubborn persistence of serious environmental problems. The completion of urbanization in the Island in the 1890s represented an important divide in the history of local society in two respects. First, it marked the culmination of a process of physical development which ensured that the Island's resident population would be drawn almost exclusively from the working class for decades to come. Second, it signified the advent of a period of relative environmental and demographic stability lasting for almost fifty years. This era of equilibrium facilitated the full flowing of a classic working class-community within the Island.

In most respects, urban development in the Island after 1870 continued along the lines which had been set early in the nineteenth century. The basic pattern of land use in the peninsula, for example, remained consistent with that which had first been evident in the 1840s and 1850s. Industry was concentrated on the riverside, along West Ferry and Manchester Roads, and around the docks. Due to its location and its inability to support the weight of substantial structures, most of the Mudchute area was not developed. It continued to be used as a dumping ground for mud dredged from the Millwall Docks. Much of the remaining

land in the Isle's interior, however, was given over to residential development.[72]

Most of the new houses constructed in the Island during the 1870s and 1880s were built on the Glengall estate in Millwall and Cubitt Town and on land owned by the Millwall Dock Company.[73] This residential building was supplemented in the 1880s by the construction of a new housing estate in north Cubitt Town. The development of this estate was directed by the British Land Company, Ltd. which purchased a sizable plot of land and subdivided it into 232 lots. These lots were in turn sold to small builders, investors, and housing associations. The purchasers saw to the construction of individual dwellings, most of which were two-story terraced houses. The houses were situated along the northern section of East Ferry Road and both sides of Plevna, Galbraith, Launch, Castalia, Roserton, and Chipka Streets. The homes were of reasonably good quality, and demand was such in the 1880s that they were quickly rented out.[74]

The slackening pace of urbanization in the Island during the later nineteenth century is evident from the declining rate of population growth and new construction. In the mid-1860s the district's population stood at roughly fourteen thousand. Under the impact of a severe trade depression in 1866-68, it dropped to under ten thousand. However, this decline reversed itself in 1869. By 1871 the Isle's population had climbed back to 12,652. During the same year, census enumerators reported 1,691 habitable houses in the district. The Island's population rose

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[72]Ibid., 3 ser., 1:20-24; and Warrick, "Island," pp. 67-68.

[73]London, Tower Hamlets Central Library, Local History Collection, Record Group 720.2 and Map No. 719.

[74]Ibid.

steadily over the next two decades, reaching 17,072 in 1881 and 20,669 in 1891. For these same two years, the number of houses in the district stood at 2,039 and 2,611, respectively. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the Island contained 21,127 inhabitants residing in 2,672 houses. Thereafter the district experienced no significant demographic changes until World War II.[75]

The pace and timing of development in the Isle of Dogs was roughly comparable with that of neighboring districts in East London. The population of the metropolitan borough of Poplar to which the Island belonged, for instance, shot up from barely 31,000 in 1841 to over 116,000 in 1871. Thereafter the borough's rate of growth slackened. Poplar's population peaked in 1901 at 168,882 and slowly declined over the next forty years. After 1890 neither the Island nor Poplar could be considered as a developing urban district. East London's new growth areas were situated well to the east of the peninsula beyond the river Lea.[76]

As the pace of urban development in the Island gradually slowed, public authorities found it easier to provide the district with basic services. The continued reform of the structure of local government plus the activism of local political leaders helped in this respect. The passage of the Education Act of 1870, for instance, permitted the creation of local school boards. This led to a significant improvement in the quality of public education in the Island. Similarly the quality of municipal government improved enormously in 1889 when the Metropolitan Board of Works was replaced by the more powerful and democratically

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[75]Appendix 1, table 16.

[76]Bédarida, "Nineteenth-Century Poplar," pp. 164-69.

elected London County Council. A decade later the effectiveness of local government was enhanced still more when London's vestries and district boards of works were eliminated and new popularly elected borough councils established in their place. The Island became part of the Metropolitan Borough of Poplar, which was yet another grouping of the historic parishes of Poplar, Bow, and Bromley.[77]

The creation of these new public entities gave popularly elected representatives the means to improve and expand public services. Reformers who served on the London County Council, various metropolitan borough councils, and local school boards were quick to seize the opportunities offered by these new institutions. Sanitation and transportation facilities were built, new schools and parks were opened, and improvements in the administration of local government were effected. No place was such activity more evident than Poplar, where two future Labour Party leaders--George Lansbury and Will Crooks--organized and led a powerful coalition of local reformers.[78]

The activities of the LCC, the Poplar Borough Council, and local school boards visibly improved the quality of the Island's urban environment and the lives of its residents in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the mid-1880s the Island was provided with a pumping station which helped ease the problem of flooding. Sanitation and sewage services improved, helping to reduce the death and infant mortality rates. The number of local schools increased from four to

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[77]Robson, Misgovernment of London, pp. 80-138; and Asa Briggs, Victorian Cities (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), pp. 311-60 passim.

[78]Ibid.; and Patricia Ryan, "'Poplarism': 1894-1930," in The Origins of British Social Policy, ed. Pat Thane (London: Croom Helm, 1978), pp. 56-70.

eight. In the 1890s public authorities provided the Isle with its first park (Island Gardens), a small library, and much needed public baths. The decade also witnessed the paving of the last of the district's dirt roads, the construction of new and wider dock bridges, and the start of a free foot tunnel under the Thames to Greenwich (completed in 1902). No longer were those who commuted across the river forced to depend upon unreliable toll ferries. The parks and amusements of Greenwich and Blackheath plus the open air markets of Deptford became more accessible to Islanders.[79]

The efforts of public authorities to improve the quality of life in the Isle of Dogs in the later nineteenth century were complemented by private initiatives designed to achieve the same ends. These private endeavors were undertaken by both religious institutions and individual philanthropists. The former increased the number of churches in the Island from six to fifteen in the last three decades of the nineteenth century. In addition, as noted earlier, the Anglican church established a settlement house in the district in 1897. These institutions did much to provide social outlets for the local population and relief in times of need.[80]

The projects undertaken by private philanthropists were equally useful. In 1880, for example, an Island physician, a group of local businessmen, and a number of local sports enthusiasts banded together to found the Millwall Athletic Club. Eventually the club built a soccer

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[79]Appendix 1, table 15; Poplar District Board of Works, Annual Report 1888-89; idem, Annual Report 1890-91, pp. 4-6; Sexby, Island Gardens, pp. 1-4; and East End News (London), 3 August 1895, 3 August 1898, and 19 November 1898.

[80]Appendix 1, table 15.

pitch, a bicycle course, a running track, and other athletic facilities on vacant ground just off East Ferry Road. The club was extremely well patronized by both men and boys.[81] In 1891 Jean Price opened The Welcome to serve Island women and girls.[82] The same year Sir John McDougall, the owner of a local flour mill and prominent civic leader, provided Islanders with yet another outlet. McDougall leased seventeen acres of land from the Millwall Dock Company and subdivided the acreage into hundreds of garden plots. He then let the plots to local residents for a nominal fee. The response was tremendous. All the plots were taken; and soon local gardeners were raising literally tons of lettuce, potatoes, cauliflower, cabbage, radishes, and so on. Most of the produce was consumed, exchanged, sold, or given away locally. Thus the allotments provided a valuable supplement to local diets as well as a pleasurable pastime for hundreds of Islanders.[83]

Better sanitation and transportation facilities, a park, a public library, more schools, additional churches, social centers, athletic grounds, and garden allotments were all real and welcome improvements. Collectively they did much to enhance the quality of life in the Isle of Dogs. However, they should not be allowed to obscure the persistence of serious environmental problems in the district. Flooding continued,

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[81] London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group B, vol. 181, fols. 169-71; and East End News (London), 15 August 1890. The activities of the club were well covered in the local press.

[82] London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group B, vol. 173, fols. 5, 69-75, 149-51; and Price, Factory Girls, pp. 3-8, 16-21.

[83] East End News (London), 10 March 1891; London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group B, vol. 181, fol. 171; French, interview; and Stewart, interview.

industrial pollution remained a severe problem, and social and recreational facilities were woefully inadequate. Nor did the housing situation improve. In 1901, as in 1861, the number of people per inhabited dwelling in the Island was 7.9. This compared to a figure of 7.3 for Poplar as a whole and a national average of only 5.1.[84]

According to the reports issued by the chief medical officer for the Poplar District Board of Works in the 1890s, parts of Millwall and Cubitt Town were among the most crowded, unhealthy, and rundown areas in all East London.[85] This view was shared by other informed observers. In 1893 a visiting journalist declared that the Island was "dull, deadly dull, especially to newcomers."[86] A local cleric was still more critical of the district. He described it as a "city of desolation . . . --badly lighted, astonishingly foul, inconceivably smelly and miserably bare and lifeless."[87] Thus, despite the very real improvements of the 1870s, 1880s and 1890s, the Isle remained one of the least attractive residential areas in all London at the turn of the century.

The unattractive physical character of the Isle of Dogs had very real social consequences. These will be discussed in more detail in the next section. Suffice it to say here that the district's unsavory environment was hardly likely to attract middle-class residents. Indeed many of those bourgeois families already residing in the peninsula displayed a

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[84]Appendix 1, table 16.

[85]Poplar District Board of Works, Annual Report 1889-90, pp. 99-109 passim; and idem, Annual Report 1897-98, pp. 149-54, 189.

[86]East End News (London), 10 January 1893.

[87]Free, Seven Years' Hard, p. 10. Also see George R. Sims, "In Limehouse and the Isle of Dogs," Strand Magazine, July 1905, pp. 35-42.

marked tendency to leave the district. Thus the district's physical character helped to ensure that its population would become and remain predominantly proletarian.[88]

The Changing Structure of Local Society

In the mid-nineteenth century, Island society was socially diverse. This became less and less the case as the century drew to a close. Indeed by the early twentieth century the Island's population was, for the most part, socially homogeneous. While some upper and middle class elements remained in the district, the vast majority of the Isle's inhabitants were decidedly proletarian. Moreover many of the economic, ethnic, and social distinctions which had once divided the local working population had diminished greatly. Demographically, at least, the Island possessed most of the characteristics of a classic working-class community by 1900.

In many respects the changing structure of Island society reflected national trends. Throughout the later nineteenth century the social distance between Britain's middle class and the upper strata of the working class increased. Different patterns of education, widening income differentials, and declining rates of occupational mobility between ranks of labor and management in British industry all contributed to this situation. The sharpening divisions between the working population and the rest of society was reflected in British cities by an intensification of residential segregation on the basis of class. This process was accelerated by the development of new means of urban transport which eased the problem of commuting from home to work for all classes of society.[89]

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[88] See the following section for more detail.

[89] McLeod, Class and Religion, pp. 1-15, chapters IV-VI passim; and Perkin, Modern English Society, pp. 118, 163, 172-75, 446.

As the gulf between the middle class and the working class widened, the divisions within the working population itself declined. The most notable aspect of this process of proletarian homogenization was the lessening of the socio-economic distinctions between the so-called aristocracy of labor and the rest of the working population. In many cases, technical progress destroyed the status, income, and autonomy of many ancient crafts--ropemaking being but one good local example of this phenomenon.[90] Gradually the spread of new means of production, rising real wages, declining wage and skill differentials, and the establishment of compulsory education helped to narrow the economic and social distance between workers. To be sure, differences still existed. However they were looked upon as differences of degree rather than kind. By the 1880s and 1890s British observers had begun to speak of the working class rather than the working classes when discussing the nation's manual laborers.[91]

Within the Island, a number of purely local developments accelerated and enhanced this process of class separation and homogenization. As noted earlier, the physically unattractive nature of the district continued to encourage the outward migration of upper- and middle-class families. Indeed many artisan families left the Island for the same reason. The tendency for the Island's population to become more socially uniform was reinforced still more by the economic crisis which gripped the district in the later nineteenth century. As shipbuilding, its ancillary trades,

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[90]These developments are dealt with at length in the following works: Pelling, British Trade Unionism, pp. 89-91; Gray, Labour Aristocracy, pp. 107-35, 165-83; G. Jones, "Working-Class Culture and Working-Class Politics in London," pp. 478-90; Richman, Poplar, chapters 3-5 passim; Cole, Studies in Class Structure, pp. 34-60; and Meacham, Life Apart, pp. 11-15, 194-220.

[91]Ibid.

and some aspects of engineering collapsed, many of the artisans who had lived in the Island migrated from the district. Those who remained in the Isle were impoverished. As a result the status and exclusivity previously enjoyed by a number of local artisan elites disappeared. Many Island shipwrights, engineers, and blacksmiths ceased to earn much more than their less skilled fellows.[92] As skilled workers were pauperized, they developed bonds of common experience and sympathy with casual dockers, laborers, and the like. These bonds were powerfully reinforced by the ties and friendships which developed between wives and daughters of men from different occupational backgrounds who were forced in growing numbers to seek regular work outside the home in local factories.[93]

The impact of both national and local developments on the Island's social structure during the late nineteenth century is clearly illustrated in table 8. Between 1861 and 1887 the proportion of household heads belonging to Classes I through IV fell significantly. Only Class V registered any increase in its relative size. This tendency for Class V to expand at the expense of those above it continued into the twentieth century.

The migration of the affluent elements (Classes I and II) out of the Island had, of course, been evident as early as the 1850s. In 1861 the proportion of Island household heads belonging to these groups had already dropped to 8.0 percent. By the late 1880s, it had fallen still

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[92] M. J. Cullen, "The 1887 Survey of the London Working Class," International Review of Social History XX (1975):48-60.

[93] Ties between women were important in cementing the community together and in breaking down the occupational barriers between families. E.g. Stewart, interview; Jean A. Park, interview, London, 9 March 1978; Mrs. F et al., interview, London, 18 April 1978; and Beardwell, interview.

TABLE 8.--Social Class of Household Heads: 1861, 1871, 1886-87

	1861[a]		1871		1886-87[b]	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Social class I	21	1.4	21	0.7	8	0.3
Social class II	98	6.6	171	6.3	115	5.0
Social class III	787	52.6	1,306	48.3	951	41.2
Social class IV	166	11.1	235	8.7	154	6.7
Social class V	387	25.9	846	31.3	1,081	46.8
Social class unkn	37	2.5	124	4.6	. . .	. . .
Total	1,496	100.1	2,702	99.9	2,309	100.0

[a]Figures for 1861 are lower than they should be because the MS census returns for approximately 1,200 residents do not survive.

[b]Only those heads with school-aged children were sampled. Booth estimated that this was roughly forty to fifty percent of the total number of household heads.

further to 5.3 percent. During this period advertisements for the sale or lease of eight to twelve room houses appeared frequently in the local press.[94] There was evidently little demand for such homes, however, for in 1886 one observer reported that they were rapidly "being converted into shops."[95] This tendency for well-to-do families to move further afield was not confined to the Island. It occurred in surrounding districts as well. After 1870 the middle-class enclaves that had long existed in other parts of Poplar along Commercial, Burdett, and East

[94]See e.g. East End News (London), 15 August 1882.

[95]London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group B, vol. 12, fol. 6.

India Dock Roads began to disappear.[96] This meant that the number of Island businessmen living within easy commuting distance of their establishments almost certainly declined.

The residential distribution of those members of Classes I and II who stayed in the Island showed little significant change over that of earlier years. Upper- and middle-class households were still concentrated in Montague Place, Ord Street, select sections of the riverside, and the main roads. They could also be found in one or two places in the peninsula's interior such as Strafford Street.[97] The occupational composition of the Island's residential elite was less stable. Class I remained made up primarily of manufacturers and professionals. However the proportion of manufacturers in Class II fell dramatcially. Between 1861 and 1871 the fraction of Class II household heads engaged in manufacturing dropped from a quarter to a fifth. Conversely during the same period the percentage of Class II heads who worked as shopkeepers, publicans, and retail traders almost doubled, rising from 36.8 percent to 66.1 percent. This trend plus the tendency for Class I to fall in size even faster than Class II meant that the number of really wealthy households in the Isle dropped even more dramatically than the figures in table 8 indicate. As the century wore on, the local residential elite was increasingly composed of retail traders whose primary function was to service the needs of the local working population.[98]

As was the case with their "social betters," the proportion of skilled and semi-skilled workers in the Island's population (Classes III

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[96] M. Rose, East End, pp. 175-76; and Bédarida, "Nineteenth-Century Poplar," pp. 180-85.

[97] Appendix 2, tables 23 and 24. [98] Ibid., tables 28, 29, and 30.

and IV) dropped steadily throughout the later nineteenth century. The percentage of Island household heads belonging to Class III fell from 53.0 percent in 1861 to 41.2 percent a quarter of a century later. During the same period, the proportion of household heads in Class IV was reduced from 11.7 percent to 6.7 percent. This decline was due both to the impoverishment of the community and the tendency for artisans working locally to move off the Isle to nicer districts within traveling distance of their jobs. As one of Booth's investigators reported in 1897, workers commuting into the Isle were "for the most part more highly skilled [than those who reside there]. The Island is not a fashionable dwelling place and those who can afford to live away from it do so."[99] The ease of commuting to the Isle and hence the tendency of locally employed artisans to live elsewhere was increased by the construction of the foot tunnel under the Thames to south London. After it was completed, the vicar of Christ Church told a visiting journalist that the area's "skilled artisans [generally] live on the other side of the river in Greenwich, Brockly, Blackheath or even further afield. Only the small wage-earners are left, and they crowd the mean streets and alleys of the district."[100]

The residential distribution of those skilled and semi-skilled workers who stayed in the Island changed little in the late nineteenth century. They tended to live along West Ferry and Manchester Roads and the streets of the peninsula's interior. On average they were found

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[99]London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group A, vol. 33, fol. 3.

[100]The Church and Family Newspaper (London), 30 December 1904. Also see, Great Britain, London County Council, The New Subway for Foot-passengers between Millwall and Greenwich, by G. L. Gomme (1902), p. 5.

more frequently in the northern than the southern half of the Isle.[101] The occupational composition of Classes III and IV was somewhat less static. In both cases the proportion of household heads employed in manufacturing and building declined. This reflected the depressed state of shipbuilding, skilled engineering, and heavy metals plus the slackening pace of local development. Simultaneously the percentage of both classes employed in transport related industries increased. These trends did not change the basic occupational structure of Class III, in which manufacturing remained the chief source of employment for most heads of households (65.8% in 1871). However in Class IV, transport work surpassed manufacturing in importance. In 1861, 46.4 percent of the household heads in Class IV worked in manufacturing and 31.3 percent in transport. A decade later, these figures were 38.3 percent and 41.7 percent, respectively.[102]

As noted previously, the proportion of unskilled laborers in the Island's population increased dramatically in the later nineteenth century. Between 1861 and 1887 the percentage of local household heads belonging to Class V jumped from 25.8 percent to 46.8 percent. This trend continued well into the twentieth century. Indeed, as early as the mid-1890s, one observer claimed that the "real inhabitants of the Island are [not artisans, but] first class and second class labourers and dock workers."[103] As in earlier decades such workers and their families were found in disporportionate numbers in riverside areas. One investigator remarked that the "nearer the water the poorer the street!

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[101]Appendix 2, tables 23 and 24. [102]Ibid., tables 28, 29, and 30.

[103]London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group A, vol. 33, fol. 3.

This is generally true of the streets all around the Island!"[104] Crews, Gaverick, Claude, Samuda, and Davis Streets all fell into this category. Yet if only because of their growing numbers, the families of unskilled workers became increasingly common in parts of the peninsula's interior. This was especially true in the southern half of the Isle, where large concentrations of poor households could be found in Church and Stebondale Streets. In Millwall older areas such as Alfred Street also exhibited a tendency to become impoverished.[105]

The precise occupational composition of Class V, as noted in chapter II, is difficult to determine. Between 1861 and 1871 the percentage of Class V household heads classified by census enumerators as general laborers rose from 47.3 percent to 59.8 percent. Most of these heads of households appear to have worked in local docks, wharves, chemical plants, provision factories, and metal works. The growth in their numbers indicates that Class V was being pauperized and that casual work was increasing while regular employment declined. This conclusion is bolstered by the simultaneous drop in the proportion of Class V heads engaged in manufacturing from 30.7 percent to 22.8 percent. Other occupational categories remained roughly constant save for transport which rose from 7.0 percent to 9.5 percent. Statistics based upon material gathered by Booth seem to indicate that the occupational distribution of Class V remained more or less constant for the rest of the century.[106]

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[104]Ibid., fol. 5.

[105]Ibid., Group B, vol. 169, fol. 137 and vol. 346, fols. 1-21; and appendix 2, tables 23 and 24.

[106]Appendix 2, tables 23 and 24.

The growth in the number and proportion of Island household heads belonging to Class V resulted in an increase in the incidence of poverty in the peninsula. During the 1850s and 1860s the Island was a comparatively prosperous manufacturing district. While want was certainly no stranger to the area, work was usually plentiful and wages were generally high. In fact, contemporaries considered the Island's residents to be among the more affluent manual workers in East London.[107] By the end of the nineteenth century this was no longer the case. Many local industries were depressed, and much of the local population was impoverished. Data compiled by Booth's investigators in the 1880s and 1890s indicated that over forty-three percent of the Island's households lived in poverty. This compared with 34.5 percent for the East End and 30.7 percent for London as a whole.[108] By 1900 the Island had the demographic characteristics of a classic working-class community--social uniformity and poverty.

Society, Trade Unionism, and Politics

The changing social composition of the Island's residential population fostered some profound changes in the character and tone of local society during the later nineteenth century. As its absolute and relative size declined, the Island's once dominant upper- and middle-class elite found it increasingly burdensome and difficult to maintain its control over local life. Conversely as the district's working population became larger and more homogeneous, its influence and assertiveness

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[107] Wright, Working Classes, pp. 249-61 passim. Also see relevant sections of chapter II.

[108] Booth et al., Life and Labour, 1 ser., 1:33-61 and 131-39.

grew. Proletarian cooperation and fraternity became steadily more apparent in various aspects of local social life. Trade union activity increased, as did working-class participation in Island politics. By the end of the nineteenth century, the Island's traditional bourgeois elite was on the verge of losing both its social and political preeminence in local affairs. This marked yet another phase in the emergence of the Island as a self-contained working-class community.

Though obvious, the decline in upper- and middle-class influence on Island society was gradual. Some Island landowners such as the Strafford and Chartiers families (the latter were descendents of Mellish) remained active patrons of local organizations, charities, and philanthropic endeavors well into the Edwardian era.[109] Several Island industrialists also had distinguished records in this respect. Joseph Samuda was the patron of a local workingman's club, a bicycle club, the district volunteers, and a variety of relief committees.[110] John McDougall, as noted earlier, established allotment gardens for Island workers. Yet another Island manufacturer, Pelham Bullivant, constantly reminded his fellow businessmen that "although we . . . employers . . . reside in other parts of London, our duty lies principally in those districts where we carry on our vocations."[111] Among his many local activities, Bullivant donated time and money to St. Luke's Church and school, provided free dinners

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[109] East End News (London), 18 December 1891; and London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group B, vol. 169, fols. 140-41. Many examples of the activities of these two families could be cited. It should be pointed out that landholders profited from such activity. Anything which helped to raise the tone and protect the character of the neighborhood also, in the long run, increased the value of their property holdings.

[110] East End News (London), 1 and 5 May 1885. [111] Ibid., 1 May 1895.

to needy Island children, and was a member of the Poplar Benevolent Society.[112]

Unfortunately, however, after 1880 or so, such businessmen were increasingly the exception rather than the rule. This was attributable in some degree to the lack of a sufficient number of upper- and middle class people in the Island and its immediate vicinity to fill all the positions in local society. However it was also due to the growing unwillingness of non-resident businessmen to devote the time, money, and energy needed to fill such roles. One local Labour leader complained that well-off "people come here and . . . make a good deal of money out of the place, and then clear off and spend it somewhere else. That is bad . . . for the working people, bad for the social life of the district, bad altogether."[113] The very rich were not the only ones guilty of this failing. It was common among the lower middle class as well. An Island shopkeeper declared that the district would take on a better and more prosperous tone

> if those connected with [the schools] and other public bodies resided amongst us, and helped to cheer and encourage us unfortunate trades people. We need it badly. The feeling nowadays [among the better classes] is to get off the Island as quick as possible, and spend all leisure time, etc., in more congenial parts . . .[114]

This gradual abdication of social leadership and responsibility by the Island's resident and non-resident elite manifested itself in a variety of ways. Island clerics complained of a lack of middle-class

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[112]Ibid., 1 April 1910; and London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group B, vol. 173, fols. 2-13.

[113]Local Government Board, Administration of the Poor Law in Poplar, 2:478.

[114]East End News (London), 29 June 1909.

parishoners to set an example for their predominantly working-class congregations.[115] Teachers and other interested parties charged that too few businessmen were willing to support and help manage local schools.[116] Leaders of the Millwall Institute bemoaned the falling number of gentlemen willing to patronize and direct the club's activities.[117]

As the participation of the affluent classes in Island social life declined, so did their financial contributions to local associations, committees, and campaigns. Bullivant privately admitted that the district's "large employers, of whom many are wealthy, are very mean and spend nothing in the Island."[118] Richard Free, a local vicar, agreed. He claimed that when it came to supporting the work of the Island's churches, local businessmen were "niggardly beyond belief."[119] By the early twentieth century, Island relief committees and institutions such as The Welcome and St. Mildred's received very little help from the owners of Island firms. Instead, they relied upon West End churches, charitable groups, and philanthropists for funds.[120]

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[115]See e.g., London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group B, vol. 169, fol. 75; The Church and Family Newspaper (London), 30 December 1904; and E. F. S. "St. Luke's, Millwall," East London Church Chronicle 23 (April 1911):7-8.

[116]East End News (London), 31 March 1876.

[117]Ibid., 30 November 1886, 16 December 1887, and 8 and 15 March 1892. After the mid-1880s working-class membership in the club also began to decline. Perhaps local workers were tiring of being "guided" by their "betters."

[118]London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group B, vol. 173, fol. 11.

[119]Free, Seven Years' Hard, p. 22.

[120]Ibid., pp. 22-23; London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group B, vol. 173, fol. 11; and

While the influence of the Island's more affluent elements waned in the later nineteenth century, the district's working population became more cohesive and assertive. In some respects this was a natural consequence of the increasingly settled character of the Island. As the pace of urbanization slackened, the district's population stabilized. Gradually kinship and friendhsip ties multiplied among the Island's working class inhabitants. These ties helped to provide local neighborhoods with cohesion and distinct identities. They also encouraged cooperative behavior and a collective consciousness among local workers.[121]

In addition to the bonds of kinship and friendship which were a natural consequence of demographic stability, larger national trends also served to enhance cultural cohesion among Island workers. Throughout the later nineteenth century the income, educational, and cultural differences between most proletarian groups slowly eroded. This process of homogenization was accelerated in the Island by the impoverishment of much of the district's artisan elite. As the social and economic differences between Island workers narrowed, local interaction and cooperation increased.[122]

This increased interaction and cooperation was reflected in several new and more inclusive forms of class and communal activity. These included the proliferation of a variety of special interest groups and institutions which served as a focus for local loyalty and activity. Similarly

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Price, Factory Girls, pp. 3-4, 13-16.

[121]For a more complete discussion of these matters, see chapter IV below.

[122]Ibid.; and Pelling, British Trade Unionism, pp. 89-91; Gray, Labour Aristocracy, pp. 107-35, 165-83; G. Jones, "Working-Class Culture and Working-Class Politics in London," pp. 478-90; Cole, Studies in Class Structure, pp. 34-60; and Meacham, Life Apart, pp. 11-15, 194-220.

the era witnessed a dramatic increase in cooperation between various local trade union groups. Eventually this helped to spur heightened working-class political activity as well. Viewed collectively, these developments signified a growing spirit of sympathy and fraternity within the ranks of the local working population. This spirit permeated virtually every aspect of working-class life in the Island during the later nineteenth century.[123]

The increasing cohesion and inclusiveness of proletarian life in the Island during this era was perhaps first visible in local social institutions. In the 1880s and 90s, for example, Island pubs became less and less identified with particular occupations or ethnic groups. Instead, as was the case throughout the East End, their character and clientele became increasingly "local" in flavor and background. By the end of the nineteenth century, pub culture in the Island reflected the basic unity of working-class life rather than its internal divisions and contradictions. Increasingly local pubs provided places in which workers from a variety of occupational groups could meet, converse, and form friendships and alliances.[124] Local cricket and football teams served a similar function. By the mid-1890s, thirty to forty such clubs existed in the Island.[125]

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[123]Also see chapter IV below.

[124]G. Jones, "Working-Class Culture and Working-Class Politics in London," p. 487; and French, interview. The place of pubs in local society is discussed more fully in chapter IV.

[125]East End News (London), 1894-95 passim. The paper reports game scores for eleven cricket teams and twenty-two football clubs. While the majority of these were for boys between the ages of fourteen and eighteen, well over a third were made up of adult males. For the importance of sport and allotments in local society during this period, see London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group A, vol. 33, fols. 13-14 and Group B, vol. 181, fols. 171-73; French, interview; and John Rickard, interview, London, 18 November 1979.

The same was true of the Millwall Athletic Club and the Island's allotment gardens.[126]

One of the great symbols of the Isle's communal solidarity and identity during this era was a local soccer team known as the Millwall Lions. Though formed in 1885 the Lions did not turn professional until 1890. They quickly became a national power. The club enjoyed enormous local popularity. Playing on the grounds just off East Ferry Road, it regularly drew twenty-five hundred to three thousand spectators. Occasionally as many as fifteen thousand fans would turn out for really important matches.[127] The team had a great following among women as well as men. The vicar of St. John's complained that "Millwall is football mad! On Thursdays and Saturdays everybody goes to see Millwall . . . and its [sic] common to take half a day off for the purpose. A boy is rather proud of getting the sack for being at a match."[128] A local politician, well aware of the importance of the Lions to his constituents, declared that the "football club was an institution, part of the municipality."[129]

The increasing tendency of various sections of the Isle's working population to mingle, cooperate, and acquire the same general attitudes and values manifested itself most dramatically in the growth of trade unionism and trade union cooperation. Due to the depressed state of its industrial economy and its occupational and ethnic diversity, London trade

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[126]Ibid.

[127]See e.g., East End News (London), 1 and 8 April, 6 February, and 10 March 1897, and 7 August 1900. I am indebted to Jim Creasy for much information about the club.

[128]London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group B, vol. 169, fol. 79 and vol. 181, fol. 171.

[129]Evening Standard (London), 19 February 1927.

unionism was relatively weak by the standards of the North. Nevertheless it grew enormously between 1885 and 1914.[130] The Island shared in this general wave of expansion. Indeed, the "new unionism" of the late 1880s and 90s was symbolized by the organization of London's dockers--many of whom lived or worked in the Isle.[131] By 1907 Poplar and the Island had branches of thirty-three different unions plus five socialist or Labour organizations. Though there was considerable friction between these groups and union job demarcations disputes were common, they espoused similar values and principles and, as a rule, worked together for common political and economic ends.[132]

The best example of trade union and occupational cooperation during this era was undoubtedly the great dock strike of 1889. The strike began on August 14. Shortly thereafter, ship painters, lightermen, shipwrights, and a variety of other groups began to support the striking dockers with either financial aid or direct industrial action.[133] In the Island, cooperation between local trade unions was especially close. On August 26,

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[130]Julia F. Bush, "Labour Politics and Society in East London during the First World War," (Ph.D. dissertation, Queen Mary College, University of London, 1979), pp. 19-35, 47-61, 393-404; and Paul Thompson, Socialists, Liberals and Labour: The Struggle for London 1885-1914 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967), pp. 39-67.

[131]Thompson, Socialists, Liberals and Labour, pp. 42-67; Hugh A. Clegg, Alan Fox, and A. F. Thompson, A History of British Trade Unions since 1889 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), pp. 55-96; Pelling, British Trade Unionism, pp. 89-109; and Richman, Poplar, pp. 63-72.

[132]"List of Trade Unions, 1907," Local History Collection, Record Group 332.4, Tower Hamlets Central Library, London; and Richman, Poplar, pp. 63-72.

[133]For accounts of the strike, see H. Llewellyn Smith and V. Nash, The Story of the Dockers' Strike (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1889); Ann Stafford [pseud.], A Match to Fire the Thames (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1961); Lovell, Stevedores and Dockers, pp. 92-120; and East End News (London), August-September 1889 passim.

"2500 or 3000 [workers] . . . coming principally if not entirely from the Isle of Dogs" struck in sympathy with the dockers. Included within their ranks were twelve hundred men from Westwood and Baillie, seven to eight hundred employees of the Chemical Cooper Ore and Phosphate Co., and five to six hundred men employed by the Copenhagen Oil and Seed Crushing Mill.[134] Soon after, other men working for local firms followed suit. After the strike's successful conclusion in September, one local philanthropic organization commented that

> one of the most hopeful and really beneficial features of the Strike was . . . the rallying round the Dockers' Flag of the older and stronger Trade Unions; their sympathy was hearty, and expressed itself in a very practical and generous way, and the artisans and skilled workmen generally seemed to realize their true brotherhood with the large class of unskilled laborers.[135]

While the Dock Strike of 1889 was the most memorable instance of cooperation between different trade union and occupational groups, it was far from unique. During the strike against Samuda's in 1891 and in the general engineers' strike of 1897, protesting shipwrights, boilermakers, and engineers received moral and material support from many sections of the community.[136] The great series of strikes in 1911-12 by dockers, stevedores, lightermen, shipwrights, and engineers in the Port of London and by the employees of Morton's and Maconochie's was yet another example--albeit an unsuccessful one--of trade union and communal

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[134] East End News (London), 30 August 1889. Also see The Times Weekly Edition (London), 30 August 1889.

[135] Society for Organizing Charitable Relief, Annual Report 1889-90, p. 3.

[136] East End News (London), July-September 1891 passim, and July-October 1897 passim.

cooperation.[137] Episodes such as these helped to cement the class and personal ties that bound different sections of the local laboring population together. As one historian of Poplar has written, the "values of [trade unionism] based on the concept of common good rather than individual advancement; on cooperation, loyalty, solidarity, brotherhood, equality, and justice for a class rather than for individuals . . ." reflected and reinforced the cohesion of the local community.[138]

The cooperation and activism of local trade unionism carried over into the political arena. In the 1870s and 1880s, area artisans and the trade unions to which they belonged were an important bloc in the local Liberal party.[139] Eventually, however, the reluctance of local middle-class Liberals to share positions of political leadership or to push for radical reforms in local government created friction within the Liberal coalition. In the 1890s a group of working-class radicals and socialists led by Will Crooks and George Lansbury left the local Liberal party and formed the Poplar Labour Electoral Committee, later renamed the Poplar Labour League. The League was closely aligned with local trade unions and quickly became a powerful force in Poplar politics, electing members to the local Board of Guardians, vestries, school boards, and--after its formation--the Poplar Borough Council. One of the League's most active chapters was situated in Cubitt Town.[140]

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[137] Ibid., August-September 1911 passim, and May 1912 passim. Also see Lovell, Stevedores and Dockers, chapters 6-7.

[138] Richman, Poplar, p. 63.

[139] Thompson, Socialists, Liberals and Labour, chapters III-V passim.

[140] For information on the Labour movement in Poplar during this era, see Thompson, Socialists, Liberals and Labour, pp. 120-23, 217-23, 240-42; George Haw, From Workhouse to Westminster: The Life Story of Will Crooks,

The formation of the Poplar Labour League signaled the beginning of a gradual but steady desertion of the two major parties by local workers. Initially the leadership of the Poplar Labour League was generally "Lib-Lab" in its political thinking. Throughout the 1890s, however, local labor leaders were increasingly influenced by the Christian socialism espoused by George Lansbury. There were several reasons for the doctrine's appeal. It provided a clear and convincing explanation for the economic plight of local workers. It offered a blueprint for addressing the problem. Its idealism had broad appeal. And it made it easier for local labor leaders to distinguish themselves from middle-class Liberals.[141]

The shift from Liberalism to socialism by local labor leaders occurred somewhat faster in northern Poplar than in most other urban districts. This was due both to the fervor and skill of local socialist leaders such as Lansbury and to the severity of local economic conditions. Both conspired to make traditional "Liberal" solutions seem inadequate to meet the needs of the district. By the early twentieth century Poplar possessed one of the strongest labor and socialist movements in Britian. Not surprisingly, this coalition provided the basis for the local Labour Party after its official creation in 1906.[142]

M. P. (London: Cassell & Co., Ltd., 1907), pp. 67-302; George Lansbury, My Life (London: Constable & Co., 1928), pp. 66-188; idem, Looking Backward and Forward (London: Constable & Co., 1935); Raymond Postgate, The Life of George Lansbury (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1951), pp. 30-133; Bush, "Labour Politics," pp. 47-61; and Ryan, "Poplarism," pp. 56-70. Also Albert Barnes, interview.

[141] Ibid.

[142] Ibid.; and Noreen Branson, Poplarism, 1919-1925: George Lansbury and the Councillors' Revolt (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1979), pp. 9-19.

The Island was somewhat more typical of other urban working-class districts than was the rest of Poplar. It lagged behind the rest of the borough in its rebellion against the two major parties. The Liberals and the Conservatives enjoyed considerable support from some sections of the Island's working class up to the outbreak of the First World War.[143] Moreover the Isle never produced a local leader who could rival the appeal or ability of either George Lansbury or Will Crooks, both of whom came from other parts of the borough.[144]

Still, thanks to the work of local trade unionists, local labor groups made steady progress in the Island throughout the pre-war era. In Cubitt Town, where political radicalism was strongest, the Isle of Dogs Progressive Club was opened in December of 1894. It was, from its inception, heavily supported by Island trade unions and the Poplar Labour League. In 1897 the club moved from a house in Stebondale Street to a large new building in Pier Street. By September of 1898 it had over 550 financial members and an annual budget of almost £1,600. The club provided the local Labour movement with a physical focal point--"a place," said its secretary, "in which members could discuss political and social matters."[145]

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[143] East End News (London), 1 and 12 April 1887, 8 and 28 July 1892, and 9 February 1895; Local Government Board, Administration of the Poor Law in Poplar, 2:93-100, 407, appendices i-v; London, Tower Hamlets Central Library, Local History Collection, Record Group 321-321.4, election returns in London; and Bush, "Labour Politics," pp. 17-29, 47-61.

[144] For Crooks' and Lansbury's careers, see works cited in footnote 140 above. From the later nineteenth century through the 1950s, the Island was generally regarded as the most politically apathetic part of Poplar. This was due in large measure to its relative poverty and isolation. This theme is discussed more fully in chapter IV. E.g. French, interview; and Johns, interview, 22 May 1978.

[145] East End News (London), 22 December 1897, 21 September 1898. Also see The Poplar Labour Electoral League Annual Report and Statement

Despite its growing strength, the Poplar Labour movement was unable to win control of Island politics. The restricted nature of the local franchise, the concern of businessmen over rising rates, and the efforts of a few able and ambitious men permitted the district's economic elite to preserve its predominance in political affairs longer than in any other aspect of local life. Up to World War I, Island manufacturers who employed large numbers of workers and were socially active wielded considerable political influence in the district. Using his shipbuilding works as a political base, Samuda held a succession of local offices and represented Tower Hamlets as a Conservative Member of Parliament from 1868 to 1880.[146] Though they belonged to different parties, both McDougall and Bullivant were elected to the London County Council in 1889 as a result of their large works and distinguished records as civic leaders.[147] In 1895 and 1900 Bullivant stood as the Conservative parliamentary candidate for South Poplar. He lost on both occasions to the Liberal incumbent, Sidney Buxton. However, within Millwall itself, Bullivant's influence remained undiminished. Indeed, Will Crooks, the enormously popular Poplar Labour leader, admitted that neither he nor anyone else could hope to defeat Bullivant within the district.[148]

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of Accounts, 1893-1904, passim.

[146] East End News (London), 4 July 1879, 1 and 5 May 1885.

[147] Ibid., 8 January and 19 April 1889, 7 February 1913.

[148] Local Government Board, Administration of the Poor Law in Poplar, 2:407. For illuminating discussions of the political power of local factory owners in working-class districts in London and elsewhere in Britain, see Thompson, Socialists, Liberals and Labour, pp. 68-74; Marc B. Baer, "Social Structure, Voting Behavior and Political Change in Victorian London," Albion 9 (Fall 1977):227-41; Patrick Joyce, "The Factory Politics of Lancashire in the Later Nineteenth Century," The Historical Journal 18 (September 1975):525-53; and idem, Work, Society,

Despite this impressive rear-guard action, the political interest and the influence of the affluent classes declined visibly during the later nineteenth century. After 1880 or so the social background of the men elected to positions in local government began to change. The great manufacturers and shipbuilders who had once represented the Island on the Poplar Board of Guardians and Poplar District Board of Works were gradually replaced by works' managers, shopkeepers, publicans, and--eventually--working men.[149] Local clerics, who had once been important political figures, complained during the 1890s that they were no longer able to "take any part in local government. The men whom the working classes nominate to represent them," said one, "are of the worst type."[150]

Eventually the growing political challenge posed by the local Labour movement forced Poplar Conservatives and Liberals to bury their differences and join forces. In 1905 they formed a new local party, the Municipal Alliance. All its leaders and many of its members were middle or lower-middle class in background. Due to the restricted nature of the vote, which was limited to less than fifteen percent of the population, the Alliance was able to control Poplar's local government until the end of the First World War. In Millwall, where a strong Conservative machine headed by Bullivant had existed since the 1880s, the Alliance dominated local politics. Its hold over Cubitt Town was much more

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and Politics (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1980), pp. 90-157, 201-20, 268-310.

[149]For background and occupations of candidates for local office, see the clippings and official returns in London, Tower Hamlets Central Library, Local History Collection, Record Group 321-321.4; and East End News (London), 1880-1918 passim.

[150]London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group B, vol. 169, fol. 89.

precarious.[151] Indeed, in contrast to Millwall, Labour candidates were often elected to represent Cubitt Town on the Board of Guardians and the Poplar Borough Council. By the early twentieth century, it was clear that the political influence of the Island's traditional elite was on the decline.

In conclusion, the last third of the nineteenth century witnessed some basic changes in the character of Island society. The influence of the once dominant upper- and middle-class elite was waning. Their numbers were falling, their participation in local social affairs diminishing, and their political power facing a severe challenge. Simultaneously the local working population was becoming steadily more homogeneous and self-conscious. The traditional barriers of occupation and ethnicity lost some of their significance. Communal ties, attitudes, activities, and institutions were forging powerful bonds between local workers.

Summation

The social, economic, demographic, and physical forces which shaped Island society in the nineteenth century were powerful but hardly unique to the district. Industrializaiton, urbanization, and sharpening class lines and consciousness were national forces. Together they molded the basic character of thousands of proletarian urban communities throughout Great Britain. Each of these communities had its own distinct identity and peculiarities. However they all possessed three essential characteristics--

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[151] For the compositon and character of the Municipal Alliance, particularly in the Isle of Dogs, see Local Government Board, Administration of the Poor Law in Poplar, 2:93-100, appendices i-iv; Standard (London), 24 September 1909; and Bédarida, "Nineteenth-Century Poplar," p. 187.

social uniformity, a self-contained social life, and a strong sense of communal identity.[152]

The interplay between the national and purely local forces which acted upon Island society during the late nineteenth century was intricate and complex. However the basic direction in which the district evolved during these years was clear enough. Essentially the Island changed from a dynamic, prosperous, and socially diverse manufacturing district into a depressed but stable working-class community. The most important factor affecting this process was the collapse of the Island's economy. This development hastened the decline and departure of the local elite. It also impoverished the local aristocracy of labor and increased the social homogeneity of the local working population. The generally unsatisfactory nature of the Isle's physical environment served to reinforce the trend toward social uniformity within the district's population.

By the 1890s the Island had reached a state of comparative social, economic, environmental, and demographic equilibrium. The structure and character of local society during this era of relative stability will be described and analyzed more fully in chapter IV. However, it is clear that at the outset of this period, the Island already possessed the basic characteristics of a typical working-class community as defined in chapter I of this study. The local population was overwhelmingly proletarian. Kinship and friendship ties had begun to bind working-class families together. These interlocking social networks helped create the basis for stable neighborhoods. Communal institutions and activities were

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[152]Meacham, Life Apart, pp. 11-59, 194-220.

numerous and involved an ever-widening circle of local participants. Trade union activity and cooperation were on the increase. In addition to strengthening the ties between workers formed at the work place, trade unions helped to spark a locally based proletarian political movement. Over time all these developments interacted to create a sense of interdependence and collective identity among Islanders.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL LIFE IN A SELF-CONTAINED COMMUNITY

Introduction

The two preceding chapters were based heavily on quantified data drawn from the manuscript census returns and the Booth papers. The emphasis of both chapters was on the evolving character of Island society. Broadly speaking, they outlined the manner in which industrialization, urbanization, and the intensification of class consciousness interacted with purely local factors to transform the Isle of Dogs from a sparsely settled argicultural backwater into a typical working-class village. This process of communal evolution was essentially complete by the 1890s.

This chapter differs sharply from the preceding two in both its evidential base and its emphasis. As noted in chapter I, the hundred-year closure rule makes it impossible to obtain detailed household census data covering the Island for the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Consequently, most of the evidence on which chapter IV rests is not quantitative, but literary and oral in nature. Fortunately such sources connected with the Island are especially rich for the period after 1890. The observations of investigators and interviews with Islanders contained in the Booth papers provide exceptionally detailed information for the years around the turn of the century. So, too, do the published works of Rev. Richard Free, a local curate. The research notes

for the New Survey of London assembled by H. L. Smith constitute a rich source for the interwar years. Still more useful, of course, are the recorded testimonies of numerous Islanders collected for this study. Other literary sources for the decades between 1890 and 1940 such as newspapers, memoirs, government reports, private records and studies, and so on are also available.

Like its evidential base, the emphasis of chapter IV differs profoundly from that of chapters II and III. The later two focus on change, the former on continuity. All the available data indicate that in the Island the era between the end of the nineteenth century and the outbreak of World War II was one of extraordinary stability. There was, to be sure, some change. The Labour Party took control of local politics. During the interwar years some important urban renewal projects were undertaken in the district. The First World War and the Depression affected lives of many individual Islanders. However none of these developments really changed the district's basic socio-economic structure. Likewise they did not alter the character of local life. Rather than changing, local society merely became more settled and refined. On the eve of the Second World War the Island possessed the same attributes which had distinguished the district during the last years of the Victorian era--a depressed economy, a generally unattractive environment, a poor and relatively homogeneous proletarian population, and a self-contained social life.

Chapter IV takes a close look at the nature and quality of Island life during this long period of comparative calm and stability. It examines the community's basic character, social structure, cultural attitudes, and institutions. In addition it contains sections on the

Island's economy and physical environment. While the focus of chapter IV is on the Island, it should be remembered that there was nothing really unusual about the district. Aside from a few local peculiarities, life in the Island was similar to life in other working-class communities. Working-class society in the Isle of Dogs was not unique, it was representative.[1]

The Structure and Character of the Community

The working-class community which flourished in the Island during the first four decades of the twentieth century was extraordinarily self-centered and insular. Writing at the turn of the century, Charles Booth described the district's inhabitants as "being . . . strangely remote from the stir of London. They are neither in it nor of it."[2] The insularity of local life was due to the interaction of a number of distinct factors. Chief among them were the district's geographic isolation, social uniformity, demographic stability, and economic self-sufficiency.

The impact of geography was in some respects the most visible of the forces determining the nature of local society. Cut off from the rest of London by the West India Docks and the Thames, the Isle was almost a world unto itself. The frequent raising and lowering of the dock bridges made journeys off the peninsula both difficult and time consuming. A local vicar claimed the problems of travel were such that "many of [the residents] have never seen St. Pauls and the women seldom go further than Poplar when they do their shopping at Chrisp Street."[3]

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[1]Meacham, Life Apart, passim; and Roberts, Classic Slum, passim.

[2]Booth et al., Life and Labour, 3 ser., 1:20.

[3]London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group B, vol. 169, fol. 69.

One Islander declared that the peninsula was a "fixture. Nothing don't alter . . . [I]t seems as though you're boxed in . . . You see the same thing everyday. It's not like anywhere else."[4] Another recalled that before the Second World War it was "almost as if we were an island off the mainland . . . People thought of themselves as cut off."[5]

The sense of community created by geographic isolation was reinforced by social uniformity. While class, status, and ethnic divisions did exist in the Island, the district's population was overwhelmingly working class. In 1897 one of Booth's investigators wrote that "there is in fact no large district in London which is so entirely inhabited by the labouring classes and the labouring classes alone as is the Island."[6] In describing the area's social structure, one Islander observed that "this was as level [a place] as you'd ever find anywhere . . . There was no rich people . . . There wasn't such a big gap in salary or wages in . . . industry then, was there? It was just poor, poor, poor."[7] Another resident voiced the same view, claiming that, "you never really got a class distinction. It was a poor district and it remained a poor district."[8]

The social composition of the Island's population, moreover, was self-perpetuating. In 1911 a local cleric complained that

> the constant moving away of what one might call the better church folk makes a marked effect on church attendance . . . [I]t frequently happens that . . . those who are regular communicants are just those

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[4]Lowery, interview.

[5]S. Willett, interview. Also French, interview.

[6]London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group A, vol. 33, fol. 3.

[7]Leonard (Len) Jordan, interview, London, 8 June 1978.

[8]Mrs. K, interview, London, 20 April 1978.

> who seek to "better themselves" [and] are found worthy of promotion and leave for other parts.[9]

One Islander put the matter somewhat more bluntly when she observed that those "who came here to earn their money . . . never stopped here to spend it, if you know what I mean."[10]

The cohesion of local society was further enhanced by the Island's remarkable demographic stability. In 1901 the population was 21,127. According to the last census taken before World War II, it stood at 21,403.[11] Moreover, unlike some districts in London and other large cities, there was little "turn over" in the populace. In 1897 the vicar of St. Johns reported that there was "little migration: nothing like so much as in Dalston where [I] was some years ago: in Dalston [we] used yearly to strike off about 100 out of 700 communicants--here only about 15 out of 600 . . ."[12]

This demographic stability permitted the growth of large, tightly-knit, and interlocking kinship networks. One Millwall resident recalled that during the interwar period there were four families named "Bennett" living in Janet Street and five called "Beeks" in various parts of Cuba Street, West Ferry Road, and Alpha Grove.[13] Describing the same area, another said that "they nearly all intermarried, really. Over Millwall there was about four . . . families . . . All the others were outsiders."[14] Non-Islanders were especially struck by the prevalence of kinship ties

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[9]E. F. S., "St. Luke's, Millwall," pp. 7-8.

[10]Byron, interview. [11]Appendix 1, table 16.

[12]London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group B, vol. 169, fol. 69.

[13]French, interview. [14]Mrs. M, interview, London, 27 April 1978.

within the local population. Elizabeth Souttar, a warden of St. Mildred's in the 1930s and 40s, claimed "there was tremendous interrelation [and] lots of intermarriage . . . because it was a very separate community . . . There was a street opposite us where everybody were cousins . . . They were all intermarried."[15] These kinship networks were a powerful link within local society and served to widen the number of local contacts enjoyed by residents.[16]

Demographic stability also encouraged the growth of wide circles of friendship and acquaintance among the local populace. When discussing pre-World War II local society, Islanders almost invariably remark that "everybody knew everybody."[17] One Millwall resident declared that

> there were very few streets where I haven't been in at least half a dozen houses on each street. It did get to a stage--and I certainly wasn't alone in this--where I could sit down and give you the name and addresses of most people on every street . . . going . . . from Manilla Street right to Glengall Road.[18]

In addition to geographic isolation, social uniformity, and demographic stability, Island society was strengthened by its economic self-sufficiency. One survey taken in 1929 revealed that seventy-five percent of all employed household heads worked in the peninsula.[19] In

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[15]Souttar, interview.

[16]For discussions of the role of kinship in working class communities, see Young and Willmott, Family and Kinship, pp. 57-93; and Bott, Family and Social Networks, pp. 52-330 passim.

[17]Violet Willett, interview, London, 3 March 1978; and Byron, interview. Many other examples could be cited in which people used this precise phrase.

[18]French, interview.

[19]London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, New Survey of London Collection, Parcel 7/4 and household sample cards. The statistic is derived from calculations based on data in the above collection.

the words of one resident, "Not many travelled off the Island to work . . . The Island was the Island, and you didn't go nowhere else to work."[20] The social consequences of this close association between place of work and place of residence were explained by another Islander.

> I think the community spirit was such . . . because very few people went off the Island to work. There was no need to . . . They were craftsmen, . . . ship repairers, dockers, skilled men—this type of thing. They worked in the food factories, . . . mangle works, black lead works, . . . flour works, [etc.]. I doubt there was a handful that went off to work . . . And this obviously created that family spirit, didn't it? As I said, if you didn't know 'em through family, you knew 'em at work.[21]

The community itself was really a fusion of three separate neighborhoods. The northern half of Millwall lying between the west entrance to the West India Docks and the entrance to the Millwall Docks was the most distinct and self-contained of the three. The southern half of Millwall running from the Millwall Dock bridge to East Ferry Road constituted another neighborhood. It was sometimes regarded as an extension of Cubitt Town. However the construction of two London County Council housing estates and a large Poplar Borough Council housing estate in this area during the interwar period reinforced its distinctiveness and ensured its separate identity. The remainder of the Island, stretching from East Ferry Road around to the eastern entrance of the West India Docks, was taken up by Cubitt Town proper.[22]

Each of these three neighborhoods had its own character. North and south Millwall were the oldest parts of the Island. Both were more cramped and crowded than Cubitt Town, whose wide streets and somewhat

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[20]Stewart, interview. [21]L. Jordan, interview, 10 May 1978.

[22]The Island can still be sub-divided along these lines. Johns, interview, 22 May 1978. Also see Richman, Poplar, pp. 14-16.

newer housing gave it a more pleasing appearance than either of the other two.[23] North Millwall contained the Isle's largest concentration of middle-class inhabitants.[24] Conversely its immediate neighbor to the south was the poorest section of the peninsula. It was inhabited for the most part by casual laborers and dockers, many of whom were of Irish descent. Many Islanders from other neighborhoods regarded south Millwall as being rather "rough." Redevelopment in the 1920s and 1930s changed its physical character for the better.[25] Cubitt Town, with its comparatively attractive appearance, allotment gardens, parks, library, and high concentration of skilled workers was probably the most pleasant part of the Isle in which to live.[26]

Many residents regarded the social and residential structure of the three neighborhoods as being somewhat different. North and south Millwall were perceived as being more stratified than Cubitt Town. One Islander claimed that in Millwall people

> seemed to [reside] in sections. One class of people here, another class of people there, another class of people there . . . From

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[23]London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group B, vol. 174, fol. 15; and idem, New Survey of London Collection, Parcel 8/3/24, fols. 1-5.

[24]French, interview. Bédarida's "Nineteenth-Century Poplar" (pp. 184-85) lists Cubitt Town as having a higher percentage of middle-class residents than north Millwall. This discrepancy with my findings is due to Bédarida's decision to lump part of Limehouse with north Millwall in his calculations. His failure to separate the two areas distorts his statistics, for Limehouse was considerably poorer than north Millwall. See London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group A, vol. 33, fols. 1-2.

[25]French, interview; Bédarida, "Nineteenth-Century Poplar," pp. 184-85; and London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group B, vol. 169, fol. 137 and vol. 173, fol. 2.

[26]George Hames, interview, London, 12 May 1978. Also see references in footnote 22 above.

> [East Ferry Road to British Street] . . . was sort of clerical workers, office workers, [and] office staff. Then beyond that you had mechanics, engineers, and all that sort. Beyond that you had the laborers . . . Beyond that you had the dockers. Over the [Millwall Dock] bridge the same sort of system seemed to work . . . Cubitt Town was more [a] mixed up sort of area.[27]

Many aspects of Island life were neighborhood-centered. Anglican churches, Methodist chapels, pubs, and play groups, all tended to draw the bulk of their participants from their immediate neighborhoods. Women who did not work outside the home and younger children seldom had many contacts outside the neighborhoods in which they lived. This was especially true if they happened to live in north Millwall. One Cubitt Town resident recalled that "we didn't have a lot of contact with actual Millwall--Mellish Street and all that."[28] A former inhabitant of Millwall made the same point, noting that

> the two sides of the Island were quite different, and when anyone talked about Cubitt Town to people living here in this part of the Island, they were as remote as talking about people in Hackney or what have you . . . The Cubitt Town people looked upon the people of [north] Millwall as belonging to another world. We didn't know much about [Cubitt Town].[29]

Nevertheless there were many ties that bound the three neighborhoods into a single community. Men from various parts of the Island met one another at work. The same was true of working women, particularly those who were employed at large establishments like Morton's and Maconochie's.[30] Islanders who were Catholic got to know each other at St. Edmund's and its adjoining school.[31] Special interest groups such as fraternal

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[27]Hames, interview. [28]V. Willett, interview. Others could be cited.

[29]French, interview. Other examples could be cited.

[30]Amy Barnes, interview; and L. Jordan, interview, 10 May 1978.

[31]Stewart, interview; and French, interview.

associations, groups centered at St. Mildred's and the Dockland Settlement, pigeon and poultry clubs, and so on also served as meetings points for Islanders drawn from all parts of the peninsula. So, too, did shared activites such as attending Millwall Lion football games or gardening in the local allotments.[32] Moreover ties of kinship and friendship often transcended neighborhood boundaries. In the words of one life-long resident of Cubitt Town, "we intermarried more so . . . then than now . . . As a kid I remember going over to Millwall and I knew everybody."[33]

The cohesion and insularity of Island society gave the peninsula a unique flavor and identity. In the 1890s an Anglican priest declared that the "most noticeable trait of the people is that they are very countrified."[34] A Nonconformist missionary voiced the same conclusion, observing that the "place is more like a country village than anything else, possibly because it is so cut off from other districts.[35] Native Islanders viewed their community in similar terms. They repeatedly described it as a "lovely little village," a "community on its own," and "like a village on its own."[36] The focus of life was intensely local--"You didn't look no further. Your life wasn't involved nowhere else . . . You was centered where you were."[37] A man who lived in Poplar but whose

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[32]Ibid.; and Hames, interview. Special interest clubs are discussed more fully in the fourth section of this chapter.

[33]Joan Jordan, interview, London, 8 June 1978. Others could be cited.

[34]London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group B, vol. 169, fol. 69.

[35]Ibid., vol. 172, fol. 45.

[36]Lowery, interview; V. Willett, interview; and Mrs. M, interview. Many other examples could be cited.

[37]Stewart, interview.

mother's family came from the Isle and who worked in the peninsula for half a century claimed that the Island was more insular than other parts of the borough. "It was more everybody knew everybody else . . . In the Island it was almost an island . . . It didn't spread out too far . . . It was on its own. It had its own churches, its own railway, its own shops."[38] The Island was, in short, a self-contained community.

Class and Status

As table 9 demonstrates, the trends in the Island's social structure which had manifested themselves in the last third of the nineteenth century continued after 1900. Class I disappeared, and the relative size of Class II continued to shrink. The proportion of Island household heads pursuing the skilled trades (Class III) also continued to fall, declining from 41.2 percent in 1886-87 to 24.2 percent by 1929. Conversely both of the bottom two classes increased in size. Class IV climbed from 6.7 percent to 11.1 percent of all heads. The growth in the lowest strata of Island society was still more striking. The percentage of household heads belonging to Class V rose from 46.8 percent to 61.1 percent. Thus, in the half century which preceded the Second World War, it appears that local society became ever more bottom heavy and homogeneous. Most of this change undoubtedly took place between the mid-1880s and 1908, an era which witnessed the final collapse of the district's shipbuilding industry.

The divisions between the Island's tiny group of affluent residents and the rest of its inhabitants remained quite sharp up until the First World War. This was especially true in north Millwall which possessed the Island's largest concentration of upper- and middle-class households. One

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[38]Albert Barnes, interview.

TABLE 9.—Social Class of Household Heads, 1886-87 and 1929

	1886-87[a]		1929[b]	
	#	%	#	%
Social class I	8	0.3	. . .	. . .
Social class II	115	5.0	5	3.3
Social class III	951	41.2	37	24.2
Social class IV	154	6.7	17	11.1
Social class V	1,081	46.8	94	61.1
Total	2,309	100.0	153	99.7

[a]Only those heads with school-aged children were sampled. Booth estimated that this was roughly forty to fifty percent of the total number of household heads.

[b]These figures are based on a random selection of households taken by investigators for the New Survey of London. The investigators surveyed one house in every twenty, taking all households in each house that was sampled.

native of this area recalled that before 1914

> Millwall was divided really into two classes. There used to be the rich and the poor. Because of having all the factories around, there used to be all the governors, and of a Sunday morning you'd see 'em go to St. Luke's church . . . all in their high hats. . . They all [were] like, you know, posh. The school teachers would have their high hats, too. The doctors—you used to look up to the doctor.[39]

By the interwar years, there were few factory owners or managers left in the district. However a few clerics, doctors, large shopkeepers, and school teachers remained to serve the rest of the local populace.

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[39]Mrs. M, interview.

Though somewhat less severe, the social barriers between this group and the Island's working class inhabitants persisted, as did a degree of residential segregation. A Millwall resident who was born in 1917 remarked that

> there was never really an upper crust in this area, but there were . . . little areas where there was a distincly middle class element of people. One inevitably came across them in various activities. You would meet their children at school, for instance, or in the scouts or something like this. They spoke much more attractively. They dressed better, and so on. These were the people who . . . lived in Strafford Street or Havannah Street, in Mellish Street—the area near West Ferry Road. The area near the docks was not so high class. And there were a few houses near the [Millwall Dock] bridge . . . that were quite nice houses . . . These were the Conservative element. Many were very well educated and very well placed. These were the sort of people who would be Church [of England].[40]

Similar middle-class enclaves existed in other parts of the Isle, though they were generally smaller and less distinct. In Cubitt Town the area around Christ Church and Island Gardens was considered to be somewhat exclusive. So, too, were parts of Manchester Road and Billson, Parsonage, Ship, and Stebondale Streets.[41] Often the relatively affluent and the poor could be found residing practically side by side—each recognizing and respecting invisible social boundaries. A long-time Cubitt Town shopkeeper observed that "one side of [Stebondale Street] was all the dockers and all the [working] people. Now on the side where I had my shop, they were all clerks [and] office workers, and they were sort of different . . . They were the elite." Another Millwall resident added that "it was the same way in Mellish Street. One side with pride and

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[40] French, interview.

[41] Byron, interview; V. Willett, interview; and Mrs. H, interview, London, 18 April 1978. The other ladies in this last interview agreed with Mrs. H's assessment of various Cubitt Town streets.

poverty, and the other side with pianos."[42] While they were generally polite to one another, there was seldom much mixing between such groups. As one Islander put it, "they kept to themselves . . . Manilla Street [a notoriously poor area] and Mellish Street, well they wouldn't dare mix with one another. Same as Strafford Street . . . That was what they called a posh street. All the school teachers and managers used to live down in that street."[43]

The gradual decline in the relative size and influence of the local affluent classes continued up to the Second World War. This was due in part to their continuing flight from the district. One Islander recalled that "our governor . . . moved across the river to Blackheath. It was only natural, really. The only [middle-class] people who did live in [the Island] was shopkeepers."[44] Another inhabitant who grew up in the 1920s and 1930s could not remember any employer ever having lived in the peninsula. She believed that they all commuted in to work from nicer areas. "Governors used to come in big cars," she said. "Bigger the car, bigger the boss . . ."[45] Those middle-class people who remained in the district tended to concentrate their energies on their businesses, jobs, families, and homes. Politically impotent and socially isolated, they had withdrawn from most aspects of local affairs by the end of the 1930s.[46]

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[42]Mrs. J and Mrs. K, interview, London, 20 April 1978. Mellish Street, in fact, was known as piano street due to the relative affluence of many of its residents. Also Mrs. M, interview.

[43]Mrs. M, interview.

[44]Hames, interview. Also Souttar, interview.

[45]Beardwell, interview.

[46]French, interview; S. Willett, interview; and Souttar, interview.

Within the ranks of the local working class, there were status divisions based on occupation, earnings, and ethnic background. Most people believed that it was better to be a boilermaker than a laborer, better to be a stevedore than a docker, better to be English than Irish.[47] According to one inhabitant of Cubitt Town, the "foreman engineers . . . were the elite. They were better paid than anyone else."[48] Another noted that "as opposed to what it is now, an engineer was respected. He was a tradesman . . . A shipwright, a millwright, these [too] were your tradesmen . . . and your trades meant something . . . If there was a hierarchy, they were it."[49]

Dockers and laborers were rated considerably lower than artisans on the occupational hierarchy.[50] Those who followed these lines of employment and also happened to be of Irish descent were viewed as the lowest element in local society. Irish people were too fond of the bottle and too rowdy to suit many of their neighbors. "The Irish people," claimed one Islander, "were rough."[51] Another remarked that Manilla Street was called "do-as-you-like street because . . . all [Irish] Catholics lived in there. They boozed it up and all that. We'd be afraid to go down that street."[52] Other areas with strong concentrations of households of Irish decent--parts of Stebondale Street and

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[47]Albert and Amy Barnes, interview. [48]S. Willett, interview.

[49]L. Jordan, interview, 8 June 1978.

[50]Albert and Amy Barnes, interview; S. Willett, interview; and Johns, interview, 22 May 1978. For an excellent discussion of this entire question, see Michael Young and Peter Willmott, "Social Grading by Manual Workers," British Journal of Sociology 7 (December 1956):337-45.

[51]S. Willett, interview.

[52]Mrs. M, interview.

Stewart, Gaverick, Claude, and Crews Streets--were also regarded as rather rough and low class.[53]

Despite their persistence, economic and ethnic divisions lost a good deal of their significance in the years after 1890. Save for the middle class at the top of the local social pyramid, residential segregation began to disappear. "We all lived amongst one another," claimed one old Islander.[54] Declining wage differentials and the casual nature of many types of skilled work made it ever more difficult for artisans to assert their social superiority over less skilled workers. As one Islander remarked, the "skilled man could make a little extra, but it wasn't a lot, really."[55] A Millwall resident who grew up during the years between the wars voiced a similar view. "I wouldn't say there was [an occupational] hierarchy," he said. "Obviously some people had better jobs than others, but they were all very much manual jobs. Virtually everybody in the Island worked with their hands . . ."[56]

Certainly occupational differences did not prevent a free and easy interchange between people who pursued different lines of work. One Islander emphatically stated that "there was no separate [occupational] communities . . . You'd go in the pub of a Saturday night and they'd all be . . . together . . . It didn't make no difference."[57] Most other

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[53]Mrs. J, interview; V. Willett, interview; French, interview; Richman, Poplar, p. 16; and London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group B, vol. 169, fol. 137 and vol. 180, fols. 45-53.

[54]Byron, interview. Also Stewart, interview; and Amy Barnes, interview.

[55]Mr. A, interview, London, 13 April 1978. Also L. Jordan, interview, 8 June 1978.

[56]French, interview. [57]Stewart, interview.

Islanders also declared that whatever peoples' occupations, "they all used to mix in . . . Everybody on the Island got on with everybody else . . . Everybody knew everybody else."[58] Even the Irish gradually merged into the larger community; one resident observed that "as time went on they mixed in more and more."[59] Thus between 1890 and 1940, the occupational and ethnic divisions within Island society appear to have diminished greatly. Recalled one native, "Millwall people were divided into two parts when I was a kid [the rich and the poor]. But then it gradually got to where they were all on the same level."[60]

This is not to say that status distinctions vanished from the community--far from it. They were an enduring feature of local life. However occupation and ethnic background were neither the only nor the most important factors which determined one's social standing. "Respectability" counted, too. Indeed, for some residents of the Island, it was the chief scale by which to rate the social status of their fellows. "[T]here were differences of strata [within the local working class]," observed one Millwall native.

> You had people who worked awfully hard, who obviously spent what they had on their homes, and their wives, and their children. Always clean, always pleasant. There were these people. And there were people at the other end of the scale who spent all the money they had . . . in the public house and that sort of thing . . .[61]

As the above quote illustrates, the stability, insularity, and restricted scale of local life enabled Islanders to take a variety of

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[58]Hames, interview. Also Mrs. J and Mrs. K, interview.

[59]S. Willett, interview. Also Stewart, interview.

[60]Mrs. M, interview. Also Hames, interview.

[61]French, interview. Also Lowery, interview; and Beardwell, interview.

things into account when assessing a neighbor's standing in the community. Personality, character, habits, and adherence to a vague set of communal standards and styles of behavior all figured heavily in this complex and subtle social calculation.[62] In the classic study, Family and Kinship in East London, Michael Young and Peter Willmott aptly described the manner in which social status was determined in communities such as the Island. They wrote that,

> In a community of long standing, status, in so far as it is determined by job and income and education, is more or less irrelevant to a person's worth. He is judged instead . . . more in the round, as a person with the usual mixture of all kinds of qualities, some good, some bad, many indefinable. He is more of a self portrait than a figure on a scale . . . [People's] credit with others does not depend so much on their "success" as on the subtleties of behavior in their many face-to-face relationships.[63]

The reports of Booth and Free and the recollections of native Islanders suggest that the type of status system which Young and Willmott found in the East London district of Bethnal Green in the 1950s existed in its essentials in the Island half a century earlier. This is significant for three reasons. First, it demonstrates that the peninsula's population was highly homogeneous in 1900. Second, it implies that the district was demographically stable. After all, only in a settled community was it possible for residents to engage in such a complete and complex assessment of their neighbors when determining their place in the local social order. Third, it indicates that, in terms of its status system at least, the Island had the characteristics of a typical working-class village by the turn of the century.

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[62]The standards and styles of community behavior are discussed more fully in the fourth section of this chapter.

[63]Young and Willmott, Family and Kinship, p. 134.

Local Culture

Like comparable urban villages, the Island possessed its own informal but rather elaborate code of manners and morals. It was, for the most part, similar to those which pervailed in thousands of other working-class communities in Britain's great cities.[64] A person's respectability, and hence in large measure his status, was determined by the degree to which he or his family emulated and conformed to communally recognized standards of behavior. Certain traits and habits were much admired and brought considerable prestige to those who possessed or practiced them.

The virtue most prized and practiced by the community at large was an intense neighborliness. There was, as one Anglican cleric wrote in 1904, an atmosphere of "affectionate clannishness" throughout the Island.[65] In times of crisis, neighbors usually offered moral and material support to those experiencing difficulties. "It was," said one inhabitant, "a close community. There was always someone willing to help when you were in trouble. Even people that you . . . had fallen out with on other things—if you were in trouble they'd still come by and offer what assistance they could."[66] Another resident remarked that

> if you was in trouble at all, you never had to advertise it. People found out and they were there to help you . . . If you was out of work or anything like that, people came along with packets of tea or sugar or something like that . . . or "Is there anything I can do?", or if anybody [was] sick, you'd have more nurses than you'd want . . . I mean you didn't have to go and beg for assistance or anything like that.[67]

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[64] See e.g., Meacham, Life Apart, pp. 30-58; Roberts, Classic Slum, pp. 26-40; Hoggart, Literacy, pp. 62-137; and Heren, Growing Up Poor, pp. 9-28, 192-202.

[65] Free, Seven Years' Hard, p. 91. [66] French, interview.

[67] Hames, interview. Many other examples of this kind of neighborliness could be cited. It would be easy to dismiss these stories as romanticism or nostalgia. However almost every Islander I talked with could give

The intensity and strength of this pattern of neighboring grew out of the very structure of the community. The Isle's small size and demographic stability made it possible for neighbors to know one another quite well. "[A] death or something like that," said one Islander, "was much more felt in Millwall than it would have been in the wider areas of Poplar or Bow. Everything was so sort of family-minded that a death would be felt by everybody."[68] The social homogeneity of the population also encouraged neighborliness. In the opinion of one Millwall native, "we were more [friendly] . . . because we were all equal. We all had the same. Nobody had any more really . . ."[69] Shared crises, many of which gripped the entire community, tightened the bonds between neighbors. "You got to experience hard times to appreciate your next door neighbor or anybody else," declared one East Ender. A Millwall native agreed, saying "it was the hard times that kept them together."[70]

There was an element of calculation in the generosity that characterized relations between close neighbors. One never knew when disaster might strike. A friendly neighbor was insurance against an uncertain future. Generally, moreover, reciprocity was expected. A person might give his neighbor produce from his allotment garden. A week later he might receive some eggs from his neighbor's chickens as a token of appreciation for his earlier gift. "There was a lot of that sort of thing,"

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specific examples of instances where they had both given and received such assistance from neighbors. Often the aid rendered was quite substantial.

[68]French, interview.

[69]Beardwell, interview. Also Stewart, interview.

[70]Roland J. (Roly) Park, interview, London, 9 March 1978; and Stewart, interview.

said one Islander. "You would do things for somebody else, and they would do things for you . . . You tried to reciprocate in some way. When people gave you things, you gave them things."[71] Yet assistance was often given when nothing could reasonably be expected in return. Sometimes this was done in order to gain social prestige. More often, however, it was motivated by nothing more (or less) than disinterested generosity.[72]

One's respectability--and one's self-respect, too--could be enhanced by the cultivation of a number of other virtues. Independence was much lauded and widely practiced. A social worker with extensive experience in other parts of the capital told one of Booth's investigators that Islanders "are not a begging class . . . [They] are much more independent than the London poor. They do not accept help unless they really need it. [They] say 'Give it to someone else, we have a day's work.'"[73] A Millwall native made a similar point, remarking that

> most people [were] rather proud, and they [did not] like people to know they were in need unless . . . it became obvious. And so, of course, the help that was offered by . . . voluntary workers . . . was accepted rather grudgingly . . . [P]eople felt that they ought to make their own way through life.[74]

Cheerfulness was also much prized. People with a ready smile, a quick wit, and a gregarious and open manner--people with the ability to "grin and bear it" in trying times--were highly regarded. The prevalence of this quality gave Island society an easy informality. Islanders were,

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[71]French, interview.

[72]E.g., Lowery, interview; and Free, Seven Years' Hard, pp. 90-93. Many examples could be cited.

[73]London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group B, vol. 172, fols. 44-45. Also see Free, Seven Years' Hard, pp. 93-99.

[74]French, interview.

claimed one resident, "more 'matey' in those days."[75] Another voiced a similar observation, noting that "people was so different and everywhere was a happy atmosphere, not like today."[76] This general style of personal relations was, in fact, the product of a deeply rooted fatalism. Most people believed that "life is lotted out to you . . . What you're born for, you'll go through, and what is to be will be."[77] It was considered both good manners and good sense to make the best of it by keeping one's sense of humor in the face of the inevitable. As one Islander put it, "Why make trouble? There is quite enough trouble in the world without making it."[78]

Honesty, within certain limits, was also regarded as a virtue. "We was poor, but we was brought up honest" is a boast which Islanders are still prone to make.[79] Doors were left unlocked, and there was little apprehension about one's personal safety or the security of one's property. To steal from or cheat a neighbor was to invite immediate and lasting social ostracism. Besides, as one inhabitant wryly noted, "nobody very affluent [lived] down here, and it wouldn't be worthwhile breaking in" anyone's home.[80] However, honesty was demanded only in personal dealings with one's fellows. Most people considered it perfectly all right to do a little minor pilfering from their employers.

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[75]Beardwell, interview. [76]Stewart, interview.

[77]Lowery, interview. Many examples illustrating the close relation between fatalism and cheerfulness could be cited.

[78]Hames, interview.

[79]Amy Barnes, interview.

[80]June Lenham, interview, London, 18 June 1978. Also Souttar, interview; and Free, Seven Years' Hard, pp. 106-07. Many examples of the general "safeness" of the area could be cited.

Morton's and Maconochie's lost a good deal of food to theft.[81] The situation at the docks was considerably worse.[82] In the 1890s one police officer claimed that

> there are more juvenile thieves found [in the Island] than in any other part of the [borough] . . . Old iron, goods from leaking sacks--there is a market for everything. Once anything portable is found lying about, there is not a boy who would not try to remove it.[83]

Given the poverty of the community, such theft was certainly understandable.

Cleanliness was considered to be the outward manifestation of respectable values and virtues. Despite the absence of private baths in most houses, people went to great lengths to keep their persons clean, often washing themselves daily from copper basins in front of the fire. One resident noted proudly "we were poorish . . . but we were clean--you . . . kept clean and everything."[84] People were also meticulous about their dress, especially their Sunday clothes. They took great pains to ensure that they were presentable and reasonably stylish.[85] Housewives were particularly careful to see that their homes as well as their family's appearance measured up to the standards of the community. Curtains were cleaned, grates were blackened, and door steps were scrubbed

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[81]Albert and Amy Barnes, interview; and Beardwell, interview.

[82]Thomas Burke, Nights in London (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1918), p. 145. Burke reports the testimony of a gate keeper at the West India Docks on this problem. Prosecutions for theft at the docks were a regular part of the "police news" of local papers such as the East End News.

[83]London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group B, vol. 346, fol. 21.

[84]Beardwell, interview.

[85]Lowery, interview; Lenham, interview; Free, Seven Years' Hard, pp. 102-04; and Burke, Nights in London, p. 139.

with an almost religious intensity. "I used to be in the height of glory to do that," remembered one woman.[86] Often the whole family was pushed into the battle against dirt. "Saturday morning we all have our own jobs," reported one Islander. "Dad had a stand that was scrubbed. The salt box, the knife box, the copper lid [all had to be cleaned] . . . There was a little strip of lino down the stairs. The edges had to be scrubbed white."[87]

There was, of course, a less pleasant side to life in the Island. It was, in some respects at least, a dark reflection of those very qualities and characteristics which gave Island society its cohesive and family-like nature. Local society was so inbred and self-contained that it was suspicious of people, ideas, or practices that originated from beyond its borders. An Anglican priest who lauded Islanders for their friendliness and Christian charity toward one another qualified his praise by observing that the "stranger may not look for confidence [or] expect kindness. If he would secure either boon, he must become naturalized by living, during a space of some years, in the midst of the people."[88] An Island resident offered a similar view. Newcomers, he said, "weren't accepted for a long time. They had to sort of gradually prove themselves. I think people were reasonably pleasant, but they were cold."[89]

Island society was so dense and all-embracing as to be almost suffocating at times. Privacy, let along anonymity, was extremely difficult to achieve. One's character and actions were constantly under public

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[86]Byron, interview. Also Beardwell, interview.

[87]Eliza Henman, interview, cited in Richman, Poplar, p. 50. Richman's work contains several useful interviews of Islanders.

[88]Free, Seven Years' Hard, p. 93. [89]French, interview.

review and discussion. A resident recalled that

> there was much more gossip in Millwall in those days than there is now. You'd see people--especially during the better weather--[sitting] outside the front door in little seats [watching] the world go by . . . [T]hey talked, and they talked, and they talked--an awful lot of gossiping.[90]

Such talk could be a powerful means of enforcing social conformity and of punishing those who in some way offended the neighborhood. A Nonconformist missionary told one of Booth's interviewers that there was a "great deal of gossip in the place. A women has been turned out of her house because she did not like the street. It's a frightful place for this" sort of thing.[91]

The only way to avoid being both a participant and a subject in this constant dialogue was literally to withdraw from neighborhood life. A few people did so. One Cubitt Town resident reported that his mother, an "immigrant" from Suffolk, "made only three friends in sixty years."[92] Another stated that "my mother kept to herself. My mother was not a gossip. My mother was a lady. She'd say 'good morning' and 'good night' --that's all."[93] While such aloofness might preserve one's privacy, it did so at the cost of social isolation. It also prevented one from establishing with neighbors the close ties that were so valuable in times of crisis.

Despite the community's efforts to adhere to respectable standards, it was never free of rough behavior and unruly elements. Outsiders and natives alike both agreed that "drink was a curse in them days . . .

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[90]Ibid.

[91]London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group B, vol. 172, fol. 50. Also see vol. 169, fol. 71.

[92]S. Willett, interview. [93]Mrs. M, interview.

[Some] didn't care two tups as long as they were in [the pub] drinking beer from morning 'til night."[94] In the late nineteenth century, employers, clergymen, and social workers claimed that "down here there is more drunkeness [than in most other parts of London]. They are a very drunken lot."[95] Women, as well as men, were supposedly addicted to the vice.[96] Most observers attributed the drinking problem to the area's isolation, poverty, and lack of alternative amusements. The curate of St. Cuthbert's remarked that "Millwall, although an important part of the greatest city in the world, is an outlying primitive village, with all the disadvantages and none of the advantages of village life . . . No wonder [Islanders] fly to drink to find ease, be it for an hour, from the pain [and boredom] of living."[97] A local physician agreed, claiming that "it is distress and discomfort which drive men and women to drink."[98] The situation with regard to drink improved gradually but significantly from the late nineteenth century through the Second World War. However residents still acknowledge that even in the 1930s "there was quite a bit of drunkeness."[99]

Drink was not the only vice which afflicted Island society. Fighting was also fairly common, particularly after the pubs closed down at night.

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[94]Lowery, interview. Also Mmes. D-H, interview, London, 18 April 1978; and London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group A, vol. 33, fols. 4, 14. Many examples could be cited.

[95]London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group B, vol. 170, fol. 70. Many examples of such claims could be cited in the Booth Collection. Also see Free, Seven Years' Hard, pp. 57-72.

[96]Ibid. [97]Free, Seven Years' Hard, p. 66.

[98]London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group B, vol. 181, fol. 169.

[99]French, interview. Also see interviews cited in footnote 94 above.

Most fights occurred between men, but women were sometimes involved in altercations, too. "We used to love a fight, now and then," recalled one Island lady with an impish grin.[100] Until the early twentieth century, the Island was occasionally victimized by what one Anglican cleric described as "hooligans"--gangs of unemployed youths who insulted respectable people in the streets, disrupted local church services, and sometimes robbed drunks and extorted money from street vendors. After the late 1890s stricter discipline at home and in the schools plus stronger measures by the local police seem to have solved this problem.[101] Generally respectable people did their best to either ignore or avoid their rougher neighbors. "We never got mixed up with 'em," remarked one Island matron. "We just had our own way of goin' on and shut the door and whenever they had a fight outside, well, let 'em get on with it."[102]

As was the case with general behavior within the community, the ritual of courtship and the relationship between partners after marriage were informally regulated by the nature and values of local society. While individual experiences in these areas could vary enormously, most followed certain broad patterns. Young girls frequently fantasized about wedding outside the community and above their "station." One recalled that "we used to lay in bed of a night and say 'We're not going to marry men who wear dungarees that you have to scrub . . . We're going to marry men who work in offices.'"[103] Such dreams, of course, were virtually

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[100] Mrs. I, interview.

[101] On "hooliganism," see Free, Seven Years' Hard, pp. 14-18, 44-48; and Wright, Working Classes, pp. 256-57. On the growing intensity of "discipline" toward children in this era, see French, interview; Stewart, interview; and Thompson, The Edwardians, pp. 70-73.

[102] Lowery, interview. [103] Mrs. G, interview.

impossible to realize given the social class of the local male population and the range of activities and acquaintances available to most girls. As one woman put it, "we had no option. We didn't . . . go far afield . . . I think most of us married in the factory."[104] Other places where people met their future spouse included church, clubs, school, dances, and "around the neighborhood."

The pattern of courtship for most people was remarkably similar. Whirlwind romances were rare. Usually couples took a considerable amount of time to get to know one another. This was especially true after the turn of the century when the age at marriage began to rise.[105] The chief activities of courting couples included long walks; trips to Greenwich and Victoria Parks; and nights at local pubs, music halls, and--later--the cinema. The favorite spot for romantic rendezvous was a lonely stretch along the southern half of East Ferry Road, known locally as "Farm Road." Once a strong attachment was formed and the couple began to contemplate marriage, the boy began to visit the girl at home in order to become acquainted with her family.[106]

Parents, fearful of the social and economic consequences of illegitimacy, tried to keep a tight rein on their daughters. One women revealed that even "when I was twenty-one, I wasn't allowed out after half past nine. When [my future husband] used to see me home, my mother would sit in the kitchen and call out, 'Ain't it time that chap went home?' They was

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[104]Mrs. F, interview.

[105]These observations are based on most of the interviews which I conducted. Also see Thompson, The Edwardians, pp. 73-77.

[106]E.g. Byron, interview; Lowery, interview; Mmes. D-I, interview; and Rickard, interview.

always afraid of the girl; the boys could do anything, you know—they was alright."[107] Despite such parental efforts, pre-marital sex between courting couples appears to have been fairly common. "Usually such relationships finish in marriage," reported an Island doctor in the 1890s, "and then nothing is thought of it. But it is severely regarded by the people when marriage does not result." He added that "marriage under such circumstances rarely effects [sic] the after happiness of those concerned."[108] When marriage did come, it was often precipitated by pregnancy. One Anglican cleric claimed that the "birth of a child within a few weeks of marriage was a constant occurrence."[109]

Once wed, men and women usually assumed strictly defined marital roles. The man headed the household. Due to his status as the breadwinner, he usually got more and better food, ample pocket money for beer and tobacco, and grudging respect from all his dependents. The women occupied a subordinate position. "When [women] got married," declared one Islander, "they kept to their rules . . . That was the man they married, and he came first. And he always came first with the food."[110] As the following exchange reveals, married women who did not work ouside the home were especially vulnerable to exploitation by their husbands:

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[107]Henman, interview, cited in Richman, Poplar, p. 50; and Mmes. D-I, interview.

[108]London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group B, vol. 181, fol. 175.

[109]Ibid., Group B, vol. 169, fol. 141 and vol. 173, fol. 69. Also see Henman, interview, cited in Richman, Poplar, p. 50.

[110]Amy Barnes, interview. Many examples of this type of attitude could be cited. For more on this point, see Laura Oren, "The Welfare of Women in Laboring Families: England, 1860-1950," in Clio's Consciousness Raised, eds. Mary Hartman and Lois Banner (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), pp. 226-44.

Mrs. O: Years ago you wouldn't stand up to a man . . . Say you were married and [your husband] were keepin' you . . . Well, it keeps you down a bit, don't it?

Mrs. M: Years ago women used to put up with a lot more than they do now.

Mrs. O: You had to, really, because you didn't work, did you? If you had a good husband, you was equal . . . But some men used to [abuse their power].[111]

Children, like their mothers, were generally under the thumb of the head of the household. Most remember their fathers as being strict and demanding authority figures. However few recall much in the way of severe, corporal punishment. Indeed most now regard parental discipline as having been a good thing.[112] In any event, whatever their internal frictions and tensions, families maintained at least a facade of unity. Most Islanders insist that despite some very hard times, their families "stuck together like glue."[113] Home and family were regarded (or at least remembered) as a rock of refuge in a hard and uncertain world.

Though Islanders valued their homes, their lives were not really home-centered. As Young and Willmott once observed, in the cockney communities of East London, the "emphasis is not so much on the individual home, prized as it is, as on the informal collective life outside it in the extended family, the street, the pub, and the open air market."[114] The existence of an active social life beyond the home was a natural by-product of the cohesion of the community. It was also a consequence of

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[111]Mrs. M and Mrs. O, interview, 27 April 1978. Also see Free, Seven Years' Hard, pp. 129-31.

[112]Virtually every Islander I interviewed made this observation.

[113]Amy Barnes, interview. Many similar examples could be cited.

[114]Young and Willmott, Family and Kinship, p. 130.

its poverty and inadequate housing accommodations. For many Islanders, an evening at home was not an especially pleasant prospect. As one Millwall native explained, "supposing you didn't go out. The rooms were small. People were overcrowded. My father had six children, and he had three rooms . . . [L]ife wasn't all that good if you stayed in. You wanted to get out."[115]

For those who chose to participate in it--and most did, the swirl of activity in the streets, parks, pubs, and markets could be both colorful and satisfying. One well informed popular journalist writing in 1918 described the "typical" evening routine of an Island working man as follows:

> After his meal, he shaves and puts on a collar. Sometimes he will take the missus to the pictures, or, if it's a Saturday, he will go marketing with her in Poplar, or in the summer for a moonlight sail on the Thames steamers. Other nights he attends his slate club, or his union, or drops in at one or other of the cheery bars on the Island, to meet his pals and talk shop.[116]

A Cubitt Town resident painted a similar picture, declaring that before the Second World War

> this was as busy as any place could wish to be . . . You had a park, you had cricket matches, you had tennis courts, you had . . . an open air swimming bath--and they were all well patronized every night during the summer. There was football . . . matches during the winter--about three football pitches . . . That park used to be full . . . Or people would be going to the pub, or to a friend's house, or to anything like that.

Contrasting the present with the past, one Island matron remarked that "you go out now of a night time . . . and it's absolutely dead . . . Then the places would be alive."[118]

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[115] French, interview.

[116] Burke, Nights in London, p. 139.

[117] Hames, interview.

[118] Mrs. M, interview.

Standing at the center of social and recreational life outside the home was the pub. The Island had thirty-five pubs in all—one for every 588 inhabitants in 1896. Surprisingly, the density of pubs in the Island was considerably lower than that of London as a whole, which had one pub for every 393 persons.[119] This disparity was attributable to the restrictions placed on the construction of pubs by the Glengall family and William Cubitt, who developed and leased the bulk of the Glengall family estate. In Millwall, where the holdings of the Glengall family were relatively small, there were twenty-four pubs. Conversely, Cubitt Town, which was situated for the most part on their property, had but eleven pubs—most of which were located in areas that the family did not control. The restrictions placed upon the building of pubs by the Glengalls and Cubitt were designed to protect their investments in local residential properties and to enhance the rental value of those pubs which they did permit.[120]

Despite such efforts, the Island was amply supplied with pubs by any reasonable measure. No house in the peninsula was more than three or four minutes' walk from its "local." Most public houses did a booming business. "The pubs," wrote one Islander, "were the clubs and general meeting places of an evening of the men folk and their wives and . . .

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[119]Appendix 1, table 15; and Brian Harrison, "Pubs," in The Victorian City: Images and Realities, 2 vols., eds. H. J. Dyos and Michael Wolff (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973), 1:162. Also see pp. 167-81 for a good discussion of the role of pubs in working class communities.

[120]For a useful map of the locations of the Island's pubs, see Booth et al., Life and Labour, 4 ser., final volume, map enclosed in pocket on the back cover. For the restrictions on the construction of pubs in the Glengall estate, see "Isle of Dogs Lease Book for Mr. William Cubitt," fols. 1-328 passim, Local History Collection, Deeds 4439-4522, Tower Hamlets Central Library, London.

their friends . . ."[121] They served as placed where meetings could be held, information and rumors circulated, acquaintances made and renewed, and spirits revived after a hard day at work. Island pubs were widely regarded as some of the most lively in East London and often attracted patrons from other areas on the weekends.[122]

In addition to the informal and unorganized life of the streets and pubs, the Island was blanketed by a network of special interest associations which catered to the needs and desires of a large portion of the local population. Some of these organizations were sponsored by religious and philanthropic groups. St. Mildred's House, as noted in chapter III, provided a variety of clubs and services to young girls and women.[123] The Dockland Settlement, which replaced The Welcome in 1923, supplied a similar range of outlets for boys and men.[124] Local churches also sponsored clubs and outings both for their congregations and other members of the community.[125] So, too, did some of the larger firms such as Morton's and Bullivant's.[126]

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[121]George Hames to author, London, 26 April 1979.

[122]E.g., R. Park, interview, 9 March 1978. Others could be cited.

[123]Wintour and Bradford, Island Settlement, pp. 6-8, 10-11; and Souttar, interview.

[124]See file clippings, reports, etc. for the Dockland Settlement in London, Tower Hamlets Central Library, Local History Collection, Record Group 360.2; and Hames, interview. For a general account of the Dockland Settlement movment, see Reginald K. Cox, The Story of Reginald Kennedy Cox and the Dockland Settlements (London: Hodder & Stroughton, 1932); and idem, The Dockland Saga (London: n.p., 1955).

[125]The local churches and their activities are dealt with more fully in the fifth section of this chapter.

[126]Albert and Amy Barnes, interview. Many examples of such groups could be cited from the local press.

Many organizations, particularly those composed of the more affluent local workers, did not require institutional sponsorship or support to survive and prosper. "The well paid," reported one Christ Church curate in the 1890s, "nearly all belonged to the Foresters, Odd Fellows, or Hearts of Oak. There were [also] a great many slate clubs."[127] A native Islander offered a similar observation, adding that the "Freemasons, Odd Fellows, Foresters, and Buffaloes held their meetings in the large upstairs club rooms of the various pubs."[128] Other special interest groups included the Millwall and Cubitt Town Horticultural Society, the Allotment Society, the Poplar Municipal Gardening Guild, the Millwall Esperanto Society, the Millwall Fellowship Club for the Unemployed (founded in the 1930s), the Millwall Poultry Club, the Blackwall and Poplar Rowing Club, a theatrical society, a "bowls" association, several Millwall Lion football fan clubs, and countless pigeon racing and rabbit groups.[129]

Organizations such as these were both a contributing cause and a natural and visible expression of the cohesion and vitality of community life. While many were ephemeral, some--particularly the lodges--lasted for decades. At any given time after 1890 or so, literally dozens of such organizations would be in operation. Their social function and

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[127]London, British Library of Poltical and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group B, vol. 169, fol. 149.

[128]Hames to author, London, 26 April 1979.

[129]All the clubs mentioned in this paragraph existed during the interwar years. Some were of recent origin, others dated back to the mid-nineteenth century. Their activities can be traced in the East End News and the relevant record groups in London, Tower Hamlets Central Library, Local History Collection. For a general discussion of the role of such groups in community life, see B. Jackson, Working Class Community, pp. 22-39, 105-17, 158-70 passim.

significance in the collective life of the community was explained by one native of Millwall who observed that

> Adults used to do more things in which they worked together such as breeding rabbits. This was a big thing on the Island. A lot of people had rabbits. My father had rabbits. A lot of people had chickens. A lot of people had pigeons. Some people had allotments. So, of course, there was the integration with other allotment holders you knew. You'd go over to the allotments with Bill from across the road because he [had] an allotment as well--this sort of thing. There was a much more integrated community because of these interests.[130]

Taken together, this rich and complex tangle of kinship and friendship ties, communal customs, informal social intercourse, and overlapping neighborhood organizations formed an all-embracing local culture. "You made your world where it was," said one Islander. "You had your own pals and like that."[131] For most of its inhabitants, the prospect of leaving the Isle was almost unthinkable. "The old Millwallers didn't like going off," said one woman. "And they wouldn't have never gone off if it hadn't been for the war."[132] Richard Hoggart has aptly described the strength of the ties that bound the individual to the community in working-class villages like the Island. In such districts, he wrote,

> life can have a peculiarly gripping wholeness . . . [A]fter twenty-five it can be difficult for a working class person either to move into another kind of area or even into another area of the same kind . . . [T]hey are used to a group life . . . which has started from the home and worked outwards in response to the common needs and amusements of a densely packed neighbourhood.[133]

Institutional Life: The Role of Education, Religion, and the Labour Party in Local Society

In addition to trade unionism, which is discussed in the following section, three great institutions linked the Island to ideas, beliefs,

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[130] French, interview. [131] Hames, interview.

[132] Mrs. N, interview, London, 27 April 1978. [133] Hoggart, Literacy, p. 59.

and movements that transcended its narrow horizons--the state-supported school system, organized religion, and the Labour Party. The Isle's schools were intended by their creators and supervisors to improve the quality of local society and to provide a means of social mobility for a gifted few. Its churches offered a form of spiritual fulfillment and an alternative life style not available in the streets or at the pub. Labour Party politics provided an outlet and a vehicle for those who wished to alter the moral and material bases of society. However, the gap between the goals and the achievements of each of these three institutions was often considerable.

Since attendance was compulsory, the local school system probably came into regular contact with more Islanders than any other institution. The Isle had eight schools in all. Six of these were primary schools for children aged five to fourteen. Three of the local primary schools were operated by the London County Council. The remaining three were nominally religious--two Anglican and one Roman Catholic--but derived the bulk of their support from the state. In addition the Island had one school for the mentally and physically handicapped and another (Millwall Central) for the relatively gifted. The latter's pupils ranged in age from eleven to sixteen. They were chosen on the basis of teacher evaluations and the eleven-plus examination. In 1903-04, the total enrollment at all these facilities was 4,864--a level which remained more or less constant until the Second World War.[134]

Judging from the recollections of Islanders, local schools left a good deal to be desired. Discipline was strict. The approach to education

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[134]See the statistical information on Island schools in London, Tower Hamlets Central Library, Local History Collection, Record Group 820.2.

was authoritarian--"Children was made to learn," reported one former pupil.[135] The Isle's insularity hampered the educational process, for it was hardly conducive to a lively learning atmosphere in the schools. "Our schools are situated in an isolated area of the metropolis," wrote one teacher. "Needless to say, visitors seldom make their way in this direction, so that Cubitt Town remains a self contained little corner with the characteristics of a village in many respects. The stationary population consists mostly of old scholars now become parents and grandparents."[136] Teachers, few of whom lived in the district, had little contact with pupils outside the classroom. Meetings between teachers and parents were also rare. When they occurred, the social distance between the participants often inhibited communication.[137]

Despite these difficulties the school system did provide a measure of stimulation and upward mobility for some children. One female picklemaker recalled that "the girls [who] had been to Millwall Central . . . got the better jobs . . . in the offices . . . at Maconochie's . . . [T]he office girls used to sit there all day long on stools and I used to think, 'Oh, lovely job they got, not like us.'"[138] Millwall Central also produced its quota of male clerks and white collar workers, some of whom rose to responsible positions in Island, or even City, firms. A talented few won scholarships to attend grammar schools in other parts of London. Those who did so seldom remained in the Island once their

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[135]Byron, interview.

[136]The London School Teacher, 9 December 1927.

[137]Stewart, interview; and Rosemary C. Willett, interview, London, 3 March 1978.

[138]Beardwell, interview.

schooling was finished. Such cases were rare, however. It was far more common for parental, peer, and economic pressures to force talented children to quit school and get a job rather than continue their education.[139]

The vast majority of pupils were eager to leave school and start to work as quickly as possible. They instinctively realized that for all save the brightest, luckiest, and most determined, education was unlikely to bring any real advancement. Given its apparent irrelevance to their daily lives, it is not surprising that most children retained little of what they were taught in the classroom. Indeed in the 1890s one Island factory owner who employed dozens of boys claimed to be astonished by the "extraordinary quickness with which lads forget what they have learnt in school."[140] School masters and teachers were understandably depressed by this situation. Many admitted that despite their best efforts, they made little real impact on the lives of the great majority of their pupils.[141]

Next to the schools, the Island's churches dealt with more people on a regular basis than any other single institution. As table 10 illustrates, the Isle's church-going population was divided into a variety of denominations. With three churches, a chapel of ease, the settlement house of St. Mildred's, two schools, and roughly forty percent of the district's regular worshipers, the Church of England was easily the largest religious body in the Isle. Its congregations were also the most affluent, for a disproportionate number of its members were drawn from the

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[139]French, interview; S. Willett, interview; Amy Barnes, interview; Jean Park, interview, 19 June 1978; and R. Willett, interview.

[140]London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group B, vol. 173, fol. 7.

[141]Ibid., fols. 67-75.

TABLE 10.---Religious Census of 1903[a]

	Men		Women		Children		Total		Demon % of Total
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	
Church of England	318	19.7	393	24.3	904	56.0	1,615	100.0	41.6
Wesleyan Methodist	133	23.2	121	21.1	319	55.7	573	100.0	14.8
Primitive Methodist	133	30.4	129	29.5	176	40.2	438	100.0	11.3
Roman Catholic	99	24.0	161	39.0	152	36.9	412	100.0	10.6
Presbyterian	137	41.6	79	24.0	113	34.3	329	100.0	8.5
Nonconformist Missions	42	17.6	55	23.0	142	59.4	239	100.0	6.2
Congregationalist	35	18.3	41	21.5	115	60.2	191	100.0	4.9
Salvation Army	23	27.7	19	22.9	41	49.4	83	100.0	2.1
Total	920	23.7	998	25.7	1,962	50.6	3,880	100.0	100.0
65% of Total[b]	598	23.7	649	25.7	1,275	50.6	2,522	100.0	100.0

[a]From, Richard Mudie-Smith, ed., The Religious Life of London (London: Hodder & Stroughton, 1904), pp. 45-49.

[b]It was estimated that thirty-five percent of those who attended worship services in East London did so twice in the same day. These adjusted figures are a rough estimate of the number of people who attended church services on either the morning or the evening of February 8, 1903.

upper and middle classes.[142] Less impressive--and perhaps more revealing--was the fact that fifty-six percent of those who attended Anglican services were children.

Roughly a quarter of the Isle's regular worshipers attended its two Wesleyan and two Primitive Methodist chapels. Both of these branches of Methodism tended to draw upon the ranks of the local shopkeepers and skilled workers for their membership. Less affluent Islanders bulked larger in the congregations of the district's two Nonconformist missions and one Salvation Army barracks. Between them, however, these three bodies accounted for only 8.3 percent of those who went to church. The Congregationalists, who operated the oldest church in the Isle (built c. 1817), attracted less than five percent of the district's regular worshipers. Roughly sixty percent of their active congregation was made up of children.[143]

The two churches which exerted the strongest hold over their respective congregations both had something of an ethnic flavor. The Presbyterian church of St. Paul's, which served 8.5 percent of the local church-goers, was referred to locally as the "Scots' church."[144] Most of its male members were skilled shipwrights, engineers, boilermakers, and the like. St. Paul's was more successful in holding its male members than any other church in the district. Of its regular congregation, 41.6 percent were men as compared to an Island-wide average of only 23.7 percent.[145]

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[142]French, interview; and Mrs. M, interview.

[143]French, interview; and London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group B, vol. 171, fols. 3-7, 9-13, 36-43.

[144]Lowery, interview.

[145]London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group B, vol. 171, fols. 22-27.

The congregation of St. Edmund's, the Isle's lone Catholic church, was made up almost exclusively of families of Irish descent. Roughly one-tenth of the Isle's regular worshipers were Catholic. Evidently they were somewhat less diligent in their attendance than their fellows in other parts of London. In the 1890s the local Catholic priest complained that his parishoners were "very indifferent about religious matters." He attributed their laxity, in part, to their poverty. "All say they can't come to church because they have no clothes," he reported. "You can preach to them about the poverty of the Lord [but] they won't go to church without good clothes."[146] Nevertheless St. Edmund's had a higher percentage of adult females in its regular congregation than any church in the Island--39.0 percent as compared to a district average of 25.1 percent. Moreover better than four hundred of St. Edmund's roughly one thousand communicants attended church regularly--an amazingly high proportion by local standards. In contrast to the leaders of the Island's other churches, the priest of St. Edmund's remained a powerful authority figure within his flock well into the twentieth century.[147]

The Island's churches touched the lives of literally thousands of the district's residents in many ways. If nothing else, most Islanders were christened, married, or buried by the representatives of organized religion. Roughly a third of the district's children attended Sunday school regularly.[148] Churches, moreover, sponsored many clubs, activities, and outings for young people. Most also had mothers' circles, workingmen's

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[146]Ibid., vol. 180, fol. 51.

[147]Ibid., fols. 45-53; Mudie-Smith, Religious Life of London, p. 38.

[148]This fraction has been arrived at by comparing average Sunday school and school attendance figures for 1903.

clubs, and sports teams for adults. In times of personal or community crisis, local churches dispensed both emotional and material aid. Indeed local clerics frequently took it upon themselves to organize and lead civic projects and campaigns.[149]

This panoply of functions and activities enabled organized religion to provide a welcome supplement to the community's social life. "Were it not for the church[es]," wrote one journalist, "there would be little or nothing to brighten the long nights of winter in . . . the Isle of Dogs. The taproom and the bar, the streets at night, would be the only resources of those who sought pastimes in their evening hours."[150] Secure in their own alternative culture, regular church-goers constituted a distinct subgroup within the community. Indeed they often held themselves somewhat aloof from other inhabitants of the district. "Chapel goers and church goers . . . wouldn't feel comfortable mixing with people who didn't go to church or chapel," claimed one Islander.[151] This cliquishness sometimes degenerated into social snobbery. In some parts of Cubitt Town, for instance, "to be anybody you had to belong to the [Methodist] chapel."[152]

Despite its impressive range of activities and a dedicated cadre of followers, organized religion never succeeded in attracting the regular participation of more than a small minority of the Isle's adult population. The compilers of the famous 1903 religious census of London, estimated that on any given Sunday roughly half of the capital's people were

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[149]See e.g., London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group B, vol. 169, fols. 67-93; Lowery, interview; Hames, interview; French, interview; S. Willett, interview; and Richman, Poplar, pp. 97-111.

[150]East End News (London), 1 January 1893.

[151]Hames, interview. [152]Amy Barnes, interview.

able to attend church. The remainder were either too old, too young, too sick, or too busy to do so. Of those Londoners who presumably could go to services, only 37.7 percent actually attended. In the Isle, as in other working-class districts, the figure was still lower. Only 23.7 percent of the peninsula's potential worshipers could be found in church on the average Sunday. Allowing for "double attenders" who were present at both morning and evening services, barely 2,500 people--or 11.9 percent of the Isle's population--attended church regularly in 1903. Moreover of this number, half were children.[153]

In the half century which preceded World War II, the size of the Isle's church-going population steadily shrank. Between 1886 and 1903, for example, attendance at Anglican services fell over seven percent while the Isle's population rose by nine percent.[154] Attendance at Nonconformist services suffered as well. Around the turn of the century a frustrated Nonconformist missionary claimed that despite "much religious activity in the Island . . . religion is at a low ebb. The places of worship are not nearly filled and . . . the attendance at church and chapel is depressed."[155] The tendency for church and chapel attendance to decline continued and indeed accelerated in the 1920s and 1930s.[156]

This decline in the numbers who went to church was due to a variety of causes, most of which were national rather than local in their origins and impact. The spread of secularism, the conflict between science and

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[153]Mudie-Smith, Religious Life of London, pp. 15-18, 45-48.

[154]Ibid., pp. 45, 286; and appendix 1, table 16.

[155]London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group B, vol. 172, fol. 6.

[156]French, interview; and Souttar, interview.

religion, the popular rejection of certain aspects of orthodox theology such as the belief in hell, and many other factors doubtless helped to weaken Island churches.[157] Locally the most important reasons for the decline in Sunday worship were the changing character of the population and the proliferation of alternatives to Sunday worship. Certain denominations, especially the Church of England and the Congregationalists, relied heavily upon middle-class families to fill their pews. The migration of such families out of the Island naturally ate away at their congregations.[158] Church attendance also suffered once public and private transport made it possible for an increasing number of people to take Sunday outings.[159]

Of course the real question, in a sense, is not why religious attendance declined, but why was it so low to begin with, especially among the local working classes? Here again, a variety of factors were responsible for the problems of local churches. Some working-class families, as noted earlier, felt themselves too poor to attend church. They were ashamed of their shabby clothes and feared comparison with their better-dressed neighbors.[160] Then, too, after a hard week in the docks or at the factory, few working men were willing to devote their one day of leisure to religious observance. "When Sunday comes," wrote one of

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[157]On these questions, see K. S. Inglis, Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963), pp. 1-20, 322-36; McLeod, Class and Religion, pp. 214-86; and Mudie-Smith, Religious Life of London, pp. 6-40.

[158]E. F. S., "St. Luke's, Millwall," pp. 7-8; and Mudie-Smith, Religious Life of London, pp. 24-25.

[159]French, interview.

[160]London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group B, vol. 169, fol. 75 and vol. 172, fol. 48.

Booth's assistants, "They are tired, they sleep long in the morning, and the mental effort of a prayer or listening to sermons is too much for them."[161] More ominous, so far as the churches were concerned, was the tendency of many working men to associate religion with class privilege. "[T]he Church," argued some, "is financed by capitalists to teach the poor contentment."[162] Among men there was often considerable social pressure against attending church. One Island vicar claimed that

> though there is not active secularist-propaganda there is a great hostility to religion . . . [A]nyone who attends communion or takes any active part in religious work is seen to be "rotten" by his friends, and even those who belong to the church are almsot afraid to recognize the parson in the street if in the company of others. There is a widespread idea that parsons make a good thing out of it.[163]

Many of those who were unattracted by organized religion yet possessed a sense of idealism or a social conscience turned to politics. As noted in chapter III, a local alliance of socialists and trade unionists under the leadership of George Lansbury and Will Crooks became an ever more potent force in Poplar politics from the 1890s on. When the Labour Party was formally created in 1906, Poplar became the home of one of its most vigorous and radical branches. During the First World War the expansion of local trade unions, continued organizational work, and the vigorous advocacy of the cause of local workers in various industrial disputes all combined to win the Poplar Labour Party even more support within the local working population. The franchise reforms of 1918

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[161]Ibid., Group A, vol. 33, fol. 9.

[162]Free, Seven Years' Hard, p. 248.

[163]London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group B, vol. 169, fol. 87.

which expanded Poplar's electorate from 9,658 to over 36,000 provided the final breakthrough for the local Labour Party.[164]

After the war Labour quickly asserted its political mastery over Poplar. In the local elections of March 1919, Labour increased its number of seats on the forty-two member Poplar Borough Council from eight to thirty-nine. All six Island seats were captured by Labour candidates. Labour also won both Island LCC seats and, in 1922, the parliamentary constituency which contained the district as well. Strong races by two Cubitt Town Liberals for seats on the Poplar Borough Council in 1919 and 1922 were the only signs of significant resistance to the Labour tide. After 1922 there were no serious challenges to the rule of Labour in the Island for another forty years.[165]

Throughout the interwar years, Poplar was one of the most radical districts in British politics. Indeed "Red Poplar" and "Poplarism" became national rallying cries for the forces of both the left and right. Poplar's leaders fought and won the battle to equalize London's poor rate, thereby forcing the richer boroughs to pay a larger share of the cost of poor relief. The distribution of relief and welfare services was greatly expanded. A massive borough housing campaign was launched. To outside observers, the borough appeared to be hotbed of radicalism and intense political agitation.[166]

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[164]Bush, "Labour Politics," pp. 47-256, 306-361, 379-80.

[165]Ibid., pp. 306-61, 385-87. Also see election results and newspaper clippings in London, Tower Hamlets Central Library, Local History Collection, Record Groups 321.2-321.5.

[166]Branscn, Poplarism, passim; Ryan, "Poplarism," pp. 56-70; Richman, Poplar, pp. 79-94; and Oscar Tapper, "Poplar on Trial," East London Papers 3 (October 1960):57-65.

As part of the borough of Poplar, the Island was naturally caught up in this political turmoil. Its elected officials supported efforts to implement radical socialist reforms. Moreover, as one of the poorest parts of the borough, the Island derived enormous benefits from the programs which were enacted by the Labour dominated borough council. Nevertheless, despite all this activity and effort, the bulk of the Isle's population was never highly politicized. One former resident declared that the "majority of 'em down there, if they did vote, it was Labour . . . But on the whole they didn't bother anything about politics."[167] Political activists from other parts of the borough viewed the Island as apathetic and unresponsive. The son of one of Poplar's most active socialists recalled that during the interwar period

> the Island was a very much more kind of placid area, a more settled area than certainly Bow or . . . [north] Poplar was . . . Poplar [was] in the forefront of all the socialist battles . . . [T]he Bow area where we lived was a very radical area--a very fiery area. Our house was always full of people . . . talking about politics . . . and there'd be meetings in Devons Road and Salmon Lane . . . But I don't get the impression that there was ever many meetings held in the Island . . . [I]t was a solidly Labour area . . . But I don't remember anybody that ever came to the meetings that the old man held or came to the house in fact. Or even when the old man was talking about things that happened in the past he never mentioned anybody coming up from the Island.[168]

The pronounced political apathy which prevailed in the Isle was the product of a complex mix of geographic, social, and historical forces. In the first place, the Isle's geographic and social insularity were hardly conducive to political activism. "They took their politics more seriously in [north] Poplar," claimed one native of Millwall. "In the

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[167]V. Willett, interview. Also French, interview; and Beardwell, interview.

[168]Johns, interview, 22 May 1978.

Island we tended to feel with politics, as with many other things, that the big world outside really wasn't interested in us and why should we be interested in them."[169] The relative poverty of much of the population also inhibited political involvement. "We never had much to do with politics," said one woman. "We were much too involved with our children, our family, and . . . making ends meet."[170] Finally, most of the rest of the borough had longer and stronger traditions of radical trade unionism than did the Isle. Given the close relationship between unions and the local Labour Party, it is not surprising that the comparative weakness of the former in the Isle hampered the effectiveness of the latter.[171]

With time, political experience, and education, all of these problems might have been overcome. However the triumph of Labour in the Isle was so swift and so complete that the type of consciousness and commitment born out of a long and intense political struggle never had a chance to develop among most of the district's residents. Once nominated by the local Labour Party, a candidate's election was automatic. Thus candidates felt little need to educate or inform the electorate. The voters, in turn, found it hard to interest themselves in a process whose results were a foregone conclusion.

Local officials, once elected, tended to remain in office for extraordinarily long periods. Nellie Cressall served as one of the Island's six borough councillors from 1919 to 1965. Her husband George was on the council from 1919 until 1950 when he was forced to retire due to ill health. Alice Shepherd represented Cubitt Town on the council

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[169]French, interview. [170]Mrs. K, interview.

[171]Johns, interview, 22 May 1978.

from 1928 until 1962. Other figures held office almost as long.[172] While most of these individuals, particularly the Cressalls, were exceptionally able, their longevity was politically deadening. It inhibited the introduction of new people and new ideas into local politics. Moreover it helped to perpetuate apathy and dependence within the local electorate. Whenever one had a problem or complaint about local authorities, "it was left to Mr. and Mrs. Cressall. Any problem . . . you went to Mrs. Cressall and her husband."[173]

Politics, then, like education and organized religion, did not really affect the daily lives of most Islanders. While schools, churches, and Labour Party politics offered real alternatives and opportunities to individuals, they seemed unable to generate meaningful and lasting change within the community itself. Most Islanders regarded the world beyond the Isle with indifference. It is hardly surprising that they viewed the institutions which symbolized and embodied that world in the same manner. The classroom, the sanctuary, the voting booth--all these things were peripheral to the lives of most Islanders. Family, neighborhood, and work--these were the things that mattered. In the absence of basic social and economic change, they were the things which determined the character and quality of life for the individual and the community as a whole.

Making a Living

After 1900 the rate and degree of change in the Island's economy slowed considerably. The number of industrial firms operating in the Isle,

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[172]For the terms and backgrounds of Island political figures, see London, Tower Hamlets Central Library, Local History Collection, Record Groups 100 and 321.3.

[173]Stewart, interview. Also L. Jordan and Johns, interview, 8 June 1978.

for example, showed little change between 1901 and 1941, rising from 159 to 165.[174] The sexual composition of the resident work force also stabilized at roughly seventy percent male and thirty percent female.[175] The Island's economy was not completely static, however. A number of trends first visible in the late nineteenth century continued to operate, though at a slower pace. Heavy manufacturing continued to decline, as did the percentage and favored position of skilled men in the local work force. Trade unionism also grew visibly stronger, though after World War I progress was slow and difficult.[176]

Throughout this period, the Island's economy continued to be dominated by manufacturing and transport industries. However the relative importance of these two sectors of the local economy slowly altered over the years. Between 1901 and 1941 the number of Island firms engaged in manufacturing fell from eighty-two to sixty-four. This reflected the continuing drift of heavy manufacturing out of the district due to the relatively high cost of materials, power, labor, and rates in London. During the same period, the number of transport related firms situated in the Isle tripled, rising from sixteen to forty-eight.[177] Unfortunately the growth in the number of transport firms did not fully compensate for the continued decline of heavy manufacturing, since the former tended to employ fewer people and pay lower wages than the latter.[178]

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[174]Appendix 1, table 13. [175]Appendix 2, table 36.

[176]Bush, "Labour Politics," pp. 161-256; Richman, Poplar, pp. 63-94; and London, Tower Hamlets Central Library, Local History Collection, Record Group 333 passim.

[177]Appendix 1, table 13.

[178]London School of Economics and Political Science, The New Survey of London Life and Labour, 9 vols. (London: P. S. King & Son, Ltd., 1930-35), 2:chapters III and VII passim; and G. Jones, Outcast London, pp. 99-126.

The relative importance of various sectors of the Island's economy is illustrated by table 11. As indicated above, manufacturing remained the most important local economic activity, employing well over one-third of all household heads and almost half the entire resident labor force in 1929. Unskilled labor (Industrial service) accounted for roughly one-fifth of the heads and a similar proportion of the total labor force. These workers were split between a variety of industries, with transport work predominating. A slightly smaller percentage of Island workers actually listed themselves as working for local transport related firms. So far as household heads were concerned, the most important occupational sub-categories (aside from general labor at 22.6%) were warehouse and dock work, 14.3 percent; iron and steel work, 8.3 percent; and machinery and engineering, 7.5 percent. For the resident work force as a whole, the picture was somewhat different. The largest occupational sub-category was still general labor at 15.2 percent. It was followed by food processing, 14.4 percent; warehouse and dock work, 13.2 percent; and iron and steel work, 11.6 percent.[179]

Though certain industries did well during the half century which preceded the Second World War and while there were brief intervals of relative prosperity for the entire community, the local economy was generally depressed throughout most of the period. The seasonal nature of some Island industries subjected large segments of the population to regular periods of either part-time work or complete unemployment. The docks, maritime-related industries, building trades, iron yards, and food processing plants all experienced slack seasons from December through

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[179]Appendix 2, tables 34 and 35. The majority of unskilled laborers almost certainly worked in the transport industry.

TABLE 11.--Occupational Structure of Island Work Force, 1929[a]

	Employed Hsh Heads[b]		Resident Work Force	
	#	%	#	%
Agriculture	1	0.8	2	0.8
Mining	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Building	6	4.5	9	3.6
Manufacturing	50	37.6	121	48.4
Transportation	28	21.1	41	16.4
Dealing	7	5.3	11	4.4
Industrial service	31	23.3	47	18.8
Public service & professional	4	3.0	8	3.2
Domestic service	6	4.5	11	4.4
Total	133	100.1	250	100.0

[a]These figures are based on a random selection of households taken by investigators for the New Survey of London. The investigators surveyed one house in twenty, taking all households in each house that was sampled.

[b]Twenty widowed female heads of households who listed no occupation have been omitted.

March.[180] During these months, many families were forced to rely on credit or the pawnshop to survive. One woman recalled how her uncle, a laborer in the building industry, got through such difficult periods. "During

[180]G. Jones, Outcast London, pp. 33-51; East End News (London), 10 January 1893; Albert and Amy Barnes, interview; and Mmes. D-I, interview.

the summer," she said, "he'd buy all new furniture. Then in the winter if he wanted anything, he'd have to sell it."[181]

Far worse than the predictable oscillation of job opportunities in certain industries were the great depressions which periodically gripped the entire community. The dependence of many Island firms on business generated by shipping or on foreign markets made them extremely vulnerable to economic fluctuations which were either precipitated by or resulted in a decline in trade. Such depressions could have a devastating impact on the community. During the economic difficulties of 1904-06, for instance, the unemployment rate for Poplar (the borough in which the Island was situated) topped eighteen percent.[182] In the interwar years, the situation was considerably worse. Throughout the 1920s Poplar's jobless rate was well above the national average, ranging anywhere from ten to twenty percent.[183] As a result of such severe unemployment, poverty was endemic in the borough. A survey taken in the late 1920s revealed that 24.1 percent of Poplar's inhabitants lived in poverty. While this represented a considerable improvement over the state of affairs reported by Booth in the 1890s, it was still the highest concentration of poverty in any borough in London. The situation in the Island was, if anything, worse than for Poplar as a whole.[184]

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[181]Mrs. M, interview.

[182]Local Government Board, Administration of the Poor Law in Poplar, 2:29, 463.

[183]Hobsbawm, Industry and Empire, pp. 207-09; and clippings and official data on unemployment in Poplar in London, Tower Hamlets Central Library, Local History Collection, Record Group 335.2.

[184]London School of Economics and Political Science, New Survey of London, 3:356-66. The percentage of people living in poverty in the next most impoverished borough was eighteen percent.

The onset of the Great Depression further exacerbated the Island's already severe economic difficulties. Unemployment, of course, intensified. Moreover, the long-term future of many of the Isle's aging industries became increasingly precarious. One man recalled that during the 1930s many local firms

> were having a very rough time of it. Factories [elsewhere] were employing modern equipment . . . —on the Island it was nearly all manual—and producing the sort of things that [we] were producing here much more cheaply, much more quickly . . . The engineering factories in the Island felt this very much . . . and . . . the [wire] rope people too . . . Things on the Island were rather antiquated . . . It was better for owners to move out and open places somewhere else.[185]

Another Islander made the same point, remarking that "in the 1930s work sagged. Some factories were hanging on by the skin of their teeth."[186] All this depressed wages and made the lot of the average Island worker all the more uncertain and difficult.

While different workers employed in different trades experienced wide variation in terms of earnings, security, and job satisfaction, the greatest single division within the work force was not occupational, but sexual. According to a survey taken in the late 1920s, just over seventy percent of the Island's resident work force was made up of men. Better than half of these men belonged to three occupational sub-groups: general labor, 21.4 percent; warehouse and dock work, 19.1 percent; and iron and steel work, 13.5 percent. Smaller but still significant concentrations of male workers could be found in machinery and engineering (6.2%) and in building trades (5.1%). The occupational distribution of

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[185] French, interview.

[186] Hames to author, London, 26 April 1979. Also see London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, New Survey of London Collection, Parcel 8/3/24, fols. 5-6; and P. Hall, Industires of London, pp. 125-26, 135-37.

the 28.8 percent of the labor force composed of women was considerably different. Of this group an extraordinarily high proportion--41.2 percent--worked in food processing plants, principally Morton's and Maconochie's. By comparison, other female occupational sub-groups were rather small: rope and sack making, 8.3 percent; iron and steel work, 6.9 percent; domestic service, 6.9 percent; and clerical, 6.9 percent.[187]

In choosing an occupation, men and women--especially the former--were heavily influenced by kinship connections and traditions. If "your old man was a tradesman," claimed one Island resident, he "made sure you was one--if he was, you was."[188] Some occupations, such as dock work, were practically hereditary. Many Island families were widely known for producing literally generations of corn porters, timber porters, stevedores, dockers, or lightermen.[189] Families were sometimes identified with certain firms as well as particular occupations. Westwood's, Hawkins and Tipson, Bullivant's, Morton's, and many other Island businesses gave preference to the relatives of long-time employees when hiring. "When a man went to work, he spoke for his children, didn't he?," declared one Island woman. "And they spoke for their children--generation after generation. That's how it went in most places."[190] One man, tracing his family's history, revealed that his maternal grandmother had worked for Morton's from 1875-1891, his mother from 1880-1888, and his father from

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[187]Appendix 2, tables 35, 36, and 37.

[188]L. Jordan, interview, 8 June 1978.

[189]Johns, interview, 22 May 1978; and Albert Barnes, interview. Also see Lovell, Stevedores and Dockers, pp. 57-58; and Mr. C, interview, London, 13 April 1978.

[190]Lowery, interview.

1881-1923. He had followed in their footsteps, working for the firm from 1905-1955. "When my grandmother was there," he said, "she spoke for her daughter. She worked there while my father was working there . . . They gradually came together. [I had] uncles and aunts galore [who] worked there . . . so then they got me there," too.[191]

For men, particularly those with families, the main objective in life was to get and hold a job. "So far from shirking work," wrote one Island cleric in 1904,

> the goal of the respectable working man, passionately striven for, is to secure it. He is painfully aware of the wolf at the door, cruel and blood thirsty, waiting for the slightest chance to force an entrance. Be his work, therefore, never so unhealthy, never so exacting, the radiant smile will light up his face with very gratitude. Only when it fails does the fight fail.[192]

The inability to secure regular employment was more than a financial hardship. It could be psychologically crippling as well. One Island social worker, remembering the bleak days of the 1930s, remarked that "it absolutely destroy[ed] people to be unemployed . . ."[193]

In contrast to their general affability and informality in the pubs and on the streets, men were, by necessity, much more serious about occupational and status distinctions at work. Demarcations between occupations were rigidly enforced and specialization was intense. Such tactics helped to maximize the number of jobs available. However, the struggle for advantage in the work place created considerable tension and friction within the community itself. The egalitarian values espoused

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[191]Albert Barnes, interview. Also Stewart, interview. Many other examples could be cited. Though declining in importance, this practice is still common in East London. See Young and Willmott, Family and Kinship, pp. 73-80.

[192]Free, Seven Years' Hard, p. 164.

[193]Souttar, interview. Also see Free, Seven Years' Hard, pp. 164-68.

and practiced by workers outside the factory gate were sometimes at odds with their efforts to achieve job security and maintain decent wages. One man, a skilled worker himself, declared that

> the biggest snob in a way is the working man . . . I used to notice up at the works, if you was a laborer, or a plater's mate, or a riveter's boy, you were a different class entirely to the mechanic himself . . . They say all for one and one for all, but they're cutting at each other's throats all the time . . . I've seen men getting a good price for their work sitting about half the day and their mate still working while they're sitting there. That didn't go down with me . . . I used to say, "It's not damn well right. These chaps are working all the time . . . What are they getting?"[194]

Most men, intent upon providing for their families, accepted such things without a second thought.

Women were generally less concerned about protecting occupational and wage differentials, but they were equally anxious to find work. Most girls, like their male counterparts, began work at age fourteen. Office work was considered the most desirable form of employment by girls and women, but few could get it.[195] The greatest number, as noted above, ended up in the food processing plants. Of the two great Island firms in this field, Morton's and Maconochie's, the former was considered to be the better employer. Its wages were no higher than those of its rival, but working conditions were better and the management was thought to be fairer.[196] So far as factory work was concerned, rope making was regarded as the most difficult. One woman remarked that her two-year stint in the local rope works, "nearly killed me . . . Anything went, more or less

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[194]Hames, interview. Also see Lovell, Stevedores and Dockers, pp. 34-36.

[195]Beardwell, interview; and French, interview.

[196]Albert and Amy Barnes, interview; and L. and J. Jordan, interview, 8 June 1978. Many other sources could be cited.

. . . It was real hard . . . work."[197] Yet even rope making was considered preferable to domestic service. As one former parlor maid who later worked in a paint factory noted, "when you were factory, like, it was limited, wasn't it? Say, 8 'til 5 [or] 8 'til half past 6, but [as a servant] you was on all hours, wasn't you?" Another ex-servant agreed, saying "you got fed up with it. You knew that you was being used as a slave . . ."[198]

A 1929 survey indicated that over four-fifths (80.6%) of the Island's regular female labor force were single. Of the remainder, roughly half were married and half widowed. "After women got married," declared one Islander, "very few . . . ever went out to work."[199] Statistics appear to bear out this claim. Only 7.8 percent of the Isle's married women regularly worked outside the home in the late 1920s.[200] Husbands who could afford it preferred to keep their wives at home. Men and women alike considered a non-working wife as both prestigious and good for the family. "I didn't ever go out to work after I was married," remarked one Island woman. "He didn't believe in it, my husband. Mind you, I was married ten years before I had my [first child]. I mean I could have gone to work, but he wouldn't let me go."[201]

Nevertheless it appears that it was far more common for married women to work for money than such statistics or comments would lead one to believe. Some women, particularly those married to unskilled laborers

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[197] J. Jordan, interview, 8 June 1978.

[198] Mrs. E and Mrs H, interview. [199] V. Willett, interview.

[200] Both sets of statistics in this paragraph were calculated from data in London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, New Survey of London Collection, Parcel 7/4 and household sample cards.

[201] Byron, interview.

and dockers, simply could not afford to leave the work place. They continued to work even if they had children. Many others ceased to work regularly, but still labored as casual hands at Morton's or Maconochie's during the summer fruit and jam season. Sometimes women returned to work as their family obligations diminished. A female worker at Morton's recalled that "when they got married a lot of [women] left . . . As their children grew up, they came back."[202] Those who did not return to the factory tried to earn money in other ways. The more ambitious attempted to open their own shops. To one shopkeeper, the wife of a tailor, it seemed that "every house was a shop . . . Everybody was a business person."[203] More commonly women did a bit of mangling, sewing, or became "ship scrubbers"--cleaning women who serviced the vessels calling at the docks.[204] Over all, comparatively few women were able to avoid working for pay at sometime or other during their married lives.

Because of the depressed state of the local economy and the surplus of labor, Island workers were easily exploited by their employers and supervisors. "The Island was able to command its own sort of labor terms . . . because there were so many people here," said one native of Millwall. "If somebody died, or left, or got the sack, there was always a queue waiting outside to take his place . . . [E]mployers could really rule the roost in those days . . . and of course that kept wages down."[205] One woman

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[202]Amy Barnes, interview. Also Beardwell, interview; Mmes. D-I, interview; Albert Barnes, interview; Mrs. J, interview; and Price, Factory Girls, pp. 10-11, 22-24.

[203]Mrs. J, interview.

[204]Beardwell, interview; and Stewart, interview. Many other examples could be cited.

[205]French, interview.

whose father was a ropemaker claimed that, despite low wages and poor working conditions, "Dad was . . . afraid to leave the firm, afraid that he . . . wouldn't get another job."[206] Well aware of the strength of their position, many employers forced their employees to put in overtime without pay, work in unsafe conditions, and endure petty and unfair fines. Foremen, especially at the docks, were also able to wield enormous power over their subordinates. Frequently they extracted bribes from those who desired work at the establishments they supervised. "It wouldn't do for you to get cheeky to the foreman," said one Islander. "There was plenty of people waitin' to take your job."[207]

The only protection against such exploitation was trade unionism. As noted in chapter III, unions became progressively more active in the Island in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The dockers, stevedores, lightermen, engineers, boilermakers, and shipwrights were the best organized trades. However most occupations had a union of some sort.[208]

The greatest period of growth for local trade unionism before 1939 was undoubtedly during World War I. As one historian has noted with respect to East London as a whole, the "war provided the period of prolonged prosperity which was needed to break a vicious circle of disorganization and poverty . . . For workers, the profitability of industry and the shortage of labour created the opportunity, and rising prices the

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[206] J. Jordan, interview, 10 May 1978.

[207] V. Willett, interview; Mrs. K, interview; French, interview; and Free, Seven Years' Hard, pp. 161-85. Many other examples could be cited.

[208] Thompson, Socialists, Liberals and Labour, pp. 39-67; Richman, Poplar, pp. 63-78; and Bush, "Labour Politics," pp. 393-403.

incentive, to organize as never before."[209] Between 1914 and 1918 trade union membership in East London rose by eighty percent compared to fifty-one percent for the rest of Great Britain.[210]

Despite these gains, trade unionism among the labor force in East London in general and the Island in particular remained weak by national standards. At the conclusion of World War I, only one East End worker in five belonged to a trade union. This compared to a national figure of one in three. Moreover, throughout the 1920s and 1930s, the organization of local workers proved to be a long, slow, and difficult process.[211]

The problems faced by trade union organizers in the Island and other parts of East London sprang from a variety of sources. The poverty of the local populace plus the availability of huge quantities of excess labor often frustrated their best efforts. So, too, did the opposition of powerful employers. One Islander reported that after participating in an unsuccessful strike, his father was fired. It "was pure victimization, but no one took any notice of it." The man was forced to work as a casual laborer for a year before he was able to secure a steady job again.[212] Finally the absence of strong traditions of trade union activity among large segments of the local population also hampered unionization. Many of the Isle's inhabitants, for example, were immigrants from rural districts. They had little experience with or interest in collective action. Indeed, some of them had been brought to the area by local employers as strike breakers in the later nineteenth century. It took them

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[209]Bush, "Labour Politics," p. 161. [210]Ibid.

[211]Ibid., pp. 160-256 passim; Richman, Poplar, pp. 63-78; and London School of Economics and Political Science, New Survey of London, 2:172-83.

[212]Ibid.; and S. Willett, interview.

time--sometimes generations--to acquire the habit of occupational cooperation.[213]

In the Island, the women's trades proved especially difficult to organize. The youth of female workers, their unwillingness to view their occupations as careers, and the high turnover within their ranks made them exceptionally difficult to organize. Though sometimes willing to participate in spontaneous and usually defensive job action, few women were willing to join a trade union. "The women used to rely on their husbands," observed one former female worker.[214] They viewed their earnings as supplemental to the family income. Neither their fathers/husbands nor the women themselves thought it likely that they would remain at work in the same place or occupation long enough to really benefit from union membership.[215]

The problems faced by trade unionism throughout East London were in some ways compounded within the Island. The district's geographic isolation and social insularity appear to have given it a pattern of industrial relations that differed somewhat from that which prevailed throughout the rest of Poplar. In contrast to north Poplar and Bow, both of which were known for the radicalism of their local labor movements, the Island was relatively calm and placid. This was especially true among non-port related industries.[216]

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[213]French, interview; Johns, interview, 22 May 1978; London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group A, vol. 33, fol. 4; and Booth et al., Life and Labour, 1 ser., 4:19-20.

[214]Amy Barnes, interview. [215]Ibid.; and Beardwell, interview.

[216]French, interview; Johns, interview, 22 May 1978; London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group A, vol. 33, fol. 4; and Booth et al., Life and Labour, 1 ser., 4:19-20.

The difference between the temper of trade unionism in the Isle and other parts of Poplar was apparent during the General Strike of 1926. While much of the borough experienced demonstrations and violence, the Island remained quiet and tranquil. "On the Island itself," reported one observer, "there was never any hostility. I suppose the reason was, really, they were well organized in Poplar . . . [while] the Island seemed a little bit out of things."[217] Another resident recalled that "it weren't too bad down here [during the General Strike], were it? But on the other side of the bridges . . . it were pretty rough."[218]

The Urban Environment: Change and Continuity

As noted in chapter III, the initial development of the Island's physical infrastructure was largely completed by 1900. Despite the very real progress of the 1870s, 80s, and 90s, the local urban environment remained distinctly unhealthy and unattractive. Generally speaking, the district was isolated, drab, damp, and dirty. Fortunately the process of gradual improvement which had been evident in the late nineteenth century continued up to the Second World War. This was especially true once Labour took control of the Poplar Borough Council during the inter-war years. From 1919 on, local authorities launched an impressive array of programs to clear slums, improve health and sanitation, and provide additional services to the local population. These efforts were supplemented by those of private philanthropic groups anxious to improve the quality of local life.

The most pressing environmental problem in the Island during the first forty years of the twentieth century was undoubtedly housing. In

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[217] French, interview.

[218] V. Willett, interview. For a long and thoughtful analysis of this theme, see Johns, interview, 22 May 1978.

1901 the number of people per inhabited dwelling was 7.9--a figure which had remained almost unchanged for forty years. This compared to a national average of only 5.7.[219] The scarcity of housing, the high level of rents, and the poverty of much of the local population were such that most families were forced to live two or three to a house. "You didn't earn enough to pay the rent," remarked one women, "so you were glad to let a couple of rooms off."[220] One 1933 survey concluded that forty-three percent of the Isle's population was overcrowded by the standards of the Registrar General. Moreover, it estimated that even if adequate housing were available, twenty-three percent of the district's families would be unable to afford it.[221]

Not only was housing in short supply, much of that which existed was in miserable condition. Most homes were infested with vermin. "Before the [Second World] War," recalled one building maintenance worker, "this Island was runnin' alive with bugs."[222] Visitors to the Isle who were unfamiliar with local housing conditions were frequently appalled by what they found. In 1931 one wrote to the Times

> that many houses are in dilapidated condition, with leaky roofs, broken gutters, falling plaster, and vermin of every description. In addition . . . drainage water rises through the boards on the ground floors, filling the basements with mud and filth, and rendering them . . . uninhabitable . . .[223]

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[219]Appendix 1, table 16; and Burnett, Housing, pp. 138-73.

[220]V. Willett, interview. Also French, interview. Many other examples could be cited.

[221]"Conditions in the Isle of Dogs," Architect's Journal 78 (October 26, 1933):531-33.

[222]Mr. A, interview. Also Beardwell, interview; and Mrs. I, interview.

[223]Times (London), 10 June 1931. Also see Howard Marshall, "Other People's Houses," The Listener, February 1, 1933, pp. 156-58.

Some landlords, particularly, the larger ones, had a good reputation for keeping their property in a reasonable state of repair. Many others, however, were content to collect their rents while allowing their tenants to reside in almost unbearable conditions. A 1933 housing report concluded that in much of the Island "people live in conditions of acute overcrowding, damp, and decay."[224]

In the 1920s and 1930s, programs to rectify this situation were undertaken by the Poplar Borough Council, the London County Council, and two private organizations. The largest and most successful of these campaigns was conducted by the Labour-dominated borough council. During the inter-war period it condemned and demolished dozens of decrepit houses in the Island.[225] At the same time it launched a massive home construction effort. The availability of a large amount of open land in the interior of the Isle made the peninsula well suited for such schemes. It enabled construction to proceed without the costs and delays associated with the demolition of existing structures. This advantage plus the poor state of much of the local housing stock encouraged the borough council to concentrate the bulk of its building program in the Island. Although the Isle contained less than fourteen percent of the borough's population, fifty-five percent of the dwellings which the local council built during the inter-war years were located in the peninsula. In all, the Poplar Borough Council put up 610 housing units in the Island.[226]

224"Conditions in the Isle of Dogs," p. 532.

225See collection of articles and clippings on this matter in London, Tower Hamlets Central Library, Local History Collection, Record Groups 331.1-331.3.

226Poplar Borough Council, "Statements of Housing Accommodation Provided by the Borough Council under Housing Acts to Date, 16 March 1938," Local History Collection, Record Group 331.2, Tower Hamlets Central Library, London.

Most of the dwellings constructed in the Isle by the local council were designed according to the "garden suburb" principles that were so popular during this period. They were two-story, terraced cottages with modern cooking and sanitary facilities and gardens. The Chapel House, Thermopylae Gate, Macquarie Way, Hesperus Crescent, and Manchester Grove complexes in south Millwall and Cubitt Town were praised by architects, urban planners, and residents alike. In addition, the borough built other new housing blocks in scattered locations around the Island.[227]

During the same period, the London County Council constructed two housing developments--the Millwall Estate located just south of the Millwall Dock bridge and the West Ferry Estate situated along the east side of West Ferry Road and the north side of Cahir Street. The former contained 151 dwellings and the latter 234. These units compared unfavorably with those built by the borough. Like most experiments in "multi-level living," they were not popular with their working-class tenants. Islanders, like other working-class people, preferred lower structures with gardens and immediate access to the streets. Tenants complained that it was difficult to know one's neighbors in flats. Moreover they missed the contact with street life that was provided by ground level accommodations.[228]

Most of the private housing developments in the Island during the inter-war years were philanthropic in nature. The Isle of Dogs Housing

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[227]Ibid.; Daily News (London), 14 January 1920; Daily Graphic (London), 21 February 1920; Amy Barnes, interview; and Beardwell, interview. In the future, all these complexes will be referred to as the Chapel House area or estate.

[228]East London Advertiser, 20 December 1935; East End News (London), 27 March 1936, 25 June 1937; Mrs. F, interview; and M. Rose, East End, pp. 252-68.

Society, organized by the staff of St. Mildred's and wealthy West End patrons, relied upon donations and the sale of low interest bonds to raise its capital. In the mid-1930s the Society built a four-story block of sixty-four dwellings in Janet Street.[229] Almost simultaneously the ship repair firm of R. H. Green and Silly Wier, Ltd. built a row of thirty dwellings just off Manchester Road known as Jubilee Crescent. Tenants, whose rents were generously subsidized, were limited to retired workers in the shipbuilding and ship repair industries.[230] Both of these private endeavors, particularly the latter, were popular with their tenants. However, they were far too small in scope to make much of a dent in the local housing problem.

The redevelopment which occurred during the 1920s and 1930s was not without its problems and critics. One observer charged that the

> decision to demolish a house means generally that the people [in it] have to live for months, and often years, in appalling conditions. The fact that a house is coming down means that no repairs for it in the meantime are thought worthwhile. The people in it cannot move, because if they do so they lose all chance of being rehoused in this promised new building.[231]

While some residents complained that public officials were too slow to provide them with new homes, others were reluctant to exchange their dilapidated but often cheap accommodations for nicer but more expensive flats in tower blocks. One resident who lived in an area scheduled for demolition complained that "it would be a wicked shame to turn us out of our houses . . . I went to one of these Council flats . . . and the rents

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[229] See clippings, articles, pamphlets, etc. on the Society in London, Tower Hamlets Central Library, Local History Collection, Record Group 331.4.

[230] East End News (London), 5 February 1937, 15 July 1938.

[231] Church Times (London), 13 April 1934.

are terrible and too much for a working man." A neighbor added that "in the flats you have no outlet. Take anybody, if they have no back yard or . . . garden they have nowhere to have a hobby." The response of exasperated civil servants to such protests was sometimes self-serving and arrogant. One London County Council official

> said that the fact that the tenants did not "want to move was not relevant and it was no criterion [as to] whether a house should be or should not be the subject of a clearance order . . . We all have a distaste for entering the unknown and I quite appreciate the feelings of the tenants on that point, but it is irrelevant."[232]

In addition to its impact on the lives of individuals, redevelopment sometimes had an unsettling effect on the community. As two members of the staff at St. Mildred's noted, "during the 1930s the Poplar Borough Council and the London County Council embarked on vast housing projects . . . So there was a vastly changing population, families being moved in from other slum clearance areas, and old Island families being moved out."[233] Both groups were frequently discontented. The former complained that the Isle's isolation and the operation of the dock bridges made trips off the peninsula expensive and difficult. The latter objected to being forced from the district in which their families had resided for generations.[234]

In spite of such problems and protests, Island society was able to adapt to the public housing schemes of the inter-war years without too much difficulty. Its adjustment to the situation was aided by three things. First, by later standards, the number of people affected by such projects

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[232]For the above quotations, see East End News (London), 22 May 1936.

[233]Wintour and Bradford, Island Settlement, p. 14. Also see St. Mildred's House Annual Report (1933), p. 3.

[234]Ibid.; and East End News (London), 27 May 1938.

was comparatively small while the time it took to complete them was relatively long. Second, the majority of the new units were occupied by Islanders. Those which were not were, for the most part, taken by East Enders drawn from other parts of Poplar. This eased the problem of integrating the new estates into the community. "They [weren't] bad people, really," declared one Islander. "They soon mixed in."[235] Finally with the exception of the London County Council estates, most of the new housing was extremely popular. The Chapel House area with its cottage-type dwellings; modern conveniences; gardens; and quiet, tree-lined streets was regarded as one of the nicest areas in East London in which to live.[236]

This last point deserves some elaboration because it reveals something about the nature of working-class villages and the manner in which their physical structure influenced their social cohesion. The Chapel House Estate was (and is) popular because its dwellings and layout were compatible with the style of life preferred by Islanders and prevalent in the peninsula. Its blocks of two-story terraced houses provided an environment which reflected and reinforced the social mores of the community. Individual dwellings gave their residents the privacy and comfort they desired. However the units were still packed closely together and allowed immediate access to the street. This facilitated neighborliness and social intercourse. It also made it easier for newcomers to blend quickly into local society. This was in sharp contrast to the tower blocks constructed in the inter-war and post-war decades. They were impersonal, limiting their residents' contact with neighbors and isolating them

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[235]Mrs. D, interview; and Amy Barnes, interview.

from the social life of the streets. This weakened communal cohesion and bred dissatisfaction among tower block residents.

The provision of housing was only one of the measures taken by public authorities which enhanced the quality of life in the Island during the inter-war years. A variety of municipal services, especially in the area of sanitation, were expanded. Local dock bridges and roads were widened and resurfaced, improving access to the peninsula. Free medical care was provided for young children. Welfare payments were enlarged and made easier to obtain.[237] Private agencies, notably St. Mildred's and the Dockland Settlement, supplemented and expanded upon the efforts of public officials. Both continued to provide a range of services and activities which otherwise would have been unavailable to the community. They were remarkably successful in brightening up the lives of hundreds of Islanders while propagating and reinforcing respectable virtues among the district's inhabitants.[238] The proliferation of modern technology also helped compensate for the Isle's physical deficiencies. The arrival of the motor bus and the wireless, for example, greatly expanded the community's physical and intellectual horizons. Both, in their different ways, did much to lessen the Island's isolation and insularity.[239]

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[236]Ibid.; and Beardwell, interview. Redevelopment, of course, also eased overcrowding. The number of people per inhabited dwelling dropped from 7.9 in 1901 to 6.3 in 1931.

[237]Noreen Branson, Britain in the Nineteen Twenties (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1975), pp. 127-37; and Charles Key, Red Poplar (London: n.p., 1925).

[238]Wintour and Bradford, Island Settlement, pp. 13-18; London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, New Survey of London Collection, Parcel 8/3/24, fols. 8-10; Souttar, interview; Hames, interview; Beardwell, interview; Mmes. D-I, interview; and Mmes. M-O, interview.

[239]Mr. A, interview; S. Willett, interview; and French, interview.

These material and social improvements helped to soften the rough edges of local life. Drinking, while still a problem, became more moderate. Poverty, though still present, was less pronounced. Residents and other observers were conscious of a gradual improvement in the quality of Island society. "The First World War--that was the first implication [i.e. indication] of it quietin' down," recalled one old Islander.[240] Writing in 1928, a member of the staff at St. Mildred's also noted a change for the better. "Where are the women and girls' drinking clubs, the Christmas orgies, the 'roughs' and the constant street brawls and foul language?," she asked rhetorically. "Gone. The proverbial curate's youngest sister . . . can walk over the Isle and take no harm."[241]

The gradual improvement of the Island's physical and social environment which took place between 1900 and 1939 did not occur in isolation. As H. L. Smith pointed out in the sequel to the London survey of Charles Booth, the quality of life throughout the East End changed markedly for the better during these years.[242] The efforts of public authorities combined with those of private religious, social, and philanthropic agencies did much to remedy the deficiencies inherited from the nineteenth century. The same general process was at work in other British cities as well. Gradually it made the environment in countless working-class communities less harsh and more livable.[243]

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[240]Lowery, interview.

[241]C.E.M.B. to Kathleen Wintour, 1928, in the possession of Sister Bridget, St. Mildred's House, Isle of Dogs, London.

[242]London School of Economics and Political Science, New Survey of London, 1:1-53, chapters III-IX passim.

[243]Ibid. Also see John Stevenson, Social Conditions in Britain between the Wars (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books, 1977), pp. 63-280;

Yet this progress, welcome though it was, should not be overemphasized. While the Island's physical environment improved, it did not change in its essential characteristics. Moreover the amelioration of local conditions had little real social significance. It neither altered the social composition of the local population nor changed its basic lifestyle. Furthermore despite improvements which took place, the Island's overall physical environment remained less than attractive. By any reasonable standards, the district was still crowded, dirty, depressing, and poor.

Summation

During the years between the 1890s and the outbreak of World War II, Island society was remarkably stable and self-contained. The district's population was static in size and settled in nature. While the local economy certainly experienced sharp fluctuations, its basic structure exhibited little fundamental change. The local environment did improve somewhat, especially in the 1920s and 1930s. However these changes were not of sufficient scope or magnitude to alter the character of local life. The rise of Labour did bring a profound change in the personnel and the policies of local government. Yet this did not transform the structure of Island life, for local government lacked the resources and authority to do so.

During this half century of relative calm, Island society exhibited all the characteristics of a classic working-class community listed by scholars like David Lockwood (see chapter I of this study). The Island's inhabitants were linked to one another by powerful ties of work, kinship,

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Noreen Branson and Margot Heinemann, Britain in the Nineteen Thirties (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1971), chapters 5, 9-17; and B. S. Rowntree, Poverty and Progress (London: Longmans, 1941).

and friendship. Residents were neighborly, cooperative, and mutually supportive. The predominantly proletarian character of the local population plus low rates of geographic and social mobility accentuated communal cohesion and insularity. As one historian has noted in a broader context, Islanders tended to live a "life apart."[244]

Opinion is divided concerning the quality of life in communities such as the Isle of Dogs. Critics emphasize the poverty and parochialism of such miniature societies. As they rightly point out, the inhabitants of working-class communities tended to live lives which were limited, uncertain, and colorless by modern standards.[245] More favorably inclined observers paint a rosier picture of life in working-class communities. They praise the cohesion, neighborliness, and cooperative behavior found in such districts. In their view, proletarian communities provided a welcome source of warmth, refuge, and security in an otherwise cold and precarious world.[246]

The truth probably lies somewhere in between these two opposing views. There is no doubt that working-class communities were, in many respects, restrictive and deprived. However they did provide working-class people with a degree of order and security. Perhaps the most balanced assessment of the quality of life in working-class communities during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had been written by Eric J. Hobsbawm. Hobsbawm has observed that while communities like the Isle of Dogs offered "neither a very good nor a very rich life, . . .

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[244]Meacham, Life Apart.

[245]See e.g., Roberts, Classic Slum, passim.

[246]See works cited in chapter I of this study.

it was probably the first kind of life since the Industrial Revolution which provided a firm lodging for the British working class within industrial society."[247]

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[247]Hobsbawm, Industry and Empire, p. 164.

CHAPTER V

A COMMUNITY IN CRISIS

Introduction

On the eve of World War II, Islanders regarded their community as almost immutable. Given its self-contained and stable character this was understandable. For literally decades before the outbreak of war, local society experienced no socially significant change. Its residents participated in and were dependent upon their community. Communal customs, routines, and associations played a major role in determining the character and quality of their lives. To most Islanders their community seemed the natural measure, mediator, and expression of the larger proletarian culture to which they belonged.

In 1940 this era of comparative stability came to an abrupt end. Over the next forty years the Island faced three great threats to its existence. These challenges were not unique to the Island. They confronted most working-class villages in Great Britain. However, few communities were tested as severely or for as long as the Island.

The first of these threats was essentially physical in nature. War and redevelopment resulted in the destruction and reconstruction of vast stretches of urban Britain during the years after 1940. In the process many historic proletarian communities were totally destroyed. Others, like the Island, were severely damaged and disrupted. The physical

changes which accompanied war and redevelopment invariably had serious social consequences for affected communities.

The second threat faced by the Island and many similar communities was economic. Despite the genuine economic prosperity which lasted throughout most of the post-war era, many of Britain's inner cities were in a state of industrial decline during the 1950s and 1960s. This deterioration accelerated during the less prosperous decade of the 1970s. As a result, many historic working-class districts were sapped of their economic vitality. Often this undermined many local social networks centered on the work place.

The final threat to the survival of working-class communities such as the Isle of Dogs was rooted in the social changes which stemmed from the activities of the welfare state combined with two decades of unprecedented prosperity. Government social programs and economic growth greatly improved the living standards and financial independence of most Englishmen. This lessened the dependence of working-class people on their residential communities for security, support, and social activity. Consequently participation in one's local community became less a matter of necessity and more a matter of choice.

Chapter V discusses the impact of physical, economic, and social change on Island society between 1940 and 1980. It contains separate sections on the disruptive changes resulting from war, redevelopment, industrial decline, and security and prosperity on Island society. A brief conclusion summarizes the chapter's major points.

The Ordeal of War, 1939-45

There are two great natural divisions in the history of Island society after 1800. The first is the collapse of the shipbuilding industry

in the late 1860s. The second is World War II. Many Islanders believe that "it was only the war that altered the Island . . . If we hadn't had the war, I suppose the Island would have still been the Island that it was."[1] While this is certainly an overstatement, there is a measure of truth in the remark. The causal link between the physical destruction and demographic decline associated with the war and the later problems created by redevelopment and repopulation is obvious. As one resident put it, the war "knocked down all the little houses, and we had these [tall] buildings of flats go up . . . It altered the structure of the Island . . . Different people came down here--not Islanders, we might say."[2] A former social worker made a similar observation, remarking that the "real upheaval came with the destruction in the war . . . Inevitably people moved out . . . The pity was . . . that more trouble was not taken about . . . giving them the option of coming back."[3]

During the 1930s, British leaders and officials were well aware of the dangers which war posed to London. Most believed that once hostilities began, the city would quickly be devastated by enemy bombs. The Isle of Dogs--highly visible from the air, containing great docks, and lined with wharves and factories--was considered to be one of the prime targets in the capital.[4] In August of 1939, one of Poplar's top

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[1]Stewart, interview.

[2]V. Willett, interview.

[3]Souttar, interview.

[4]Richard M. Titmuss, Problems of Social Policy (London: HMSO, 1950), pp. 3-97 passim; Terence H. O'Brien, Civil Defense (London: HMSO, 1955); Angus Calder, The People's War: Britain 1939-1945 (London: Jonathan Cape, 1969; reprint ed., London: Panther Books, 1971), pp. 188-89; and Tom Harrison, Living through the Blitz (London: Collins, 1976; reprint ed., Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books, 1978), pp. 19-43.

civil defense officials, Thomas Griffiths, declared that the "Isle of Dogs is one of the most vulnerable spots in the country, highly industrialized and surrounded by docks. These facts cause a considerable flow of people to the Island to work, [for whom] there is not shelter accommodation."[5] Similarly, Dave Adams, the M. P. for south Poplar, warned government leaders that the Isle's "only outlet was by bridges at each side of the district . . . In the event of damage caused by aerial attack to the bridges there would be no means of escape."[6]

In response to such warnings, some measures were taken to prepare the Island for war. In the late 1930s a number of local firms began to shift certain aspects of their operations out of the peninsula to areas less likely to be bombed.[7] Simultaneously, efforts were made to provide the civilian population with at least some protection from air attacks. "Air raid shelters were . . . discussed . . ., civil defense was taught, and the evacuation of children was planned," remembered one Islander.[8] Despite these precautions, the district's twenty-one thousand residents remained alarmingly vulnerable. At the outset of the war, the Isle possessed only seven hundred of a planned two thousand Anderson shelters. Moreover, due to the area's high water table, no deep shelters had been constructed.[9]

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[5] East End News (London), 11 August 1939.

[6] Ibid. For local preparations and events, see London, Tower Hamlets Central Library, Local History Collection, Record Groups 080, 081, 081.2

[7] See e.g., McDougall's, Ltd., McDougall's, p. 14.

[8] Hames to author, London, 26 April 1979.

[9] East End News (London), 11 August 1939. Also see London, Tower Hamlets Central Library, Local History Collection, Record Group 080.

As war with Germany approached in late August of 1939, officials acted quickly to remove civilians from London's endangered districts. Literally thousands of Island mothers and children joined the estimated 1.4 million people who either fled or were evacuated from the capital in the days just before and after war was declared.[10] Those who remained behind braced themselves for the expected German attack. Fortunately, given the state of local defenses, the air raids failed to materialize at first. As weeks passed into months, no German bombers appeared. Those who had been evacuated from London gradually began to return. By May of 1940 more than two-thirds of those who had departed the previous September were back in the capital. This was true of Islanders as well as other Londoners.[11] As one resident put it, "a lot of people were evacuated but the war hung about so long before the raids started that you had a lot of them get fed up with being away and they all came back."[12]

The greatest ordeal which Island families faced during the first months of World War II was not German bombs, but economic hardship. Initially the threat of air raids and submarines caused a serious decline in the number of ships using the Port of London. This resulted in a fall in employment at the Island's docks and wharves. Timber yards, dependent upon foreign imports, were also forced to lay off laborers. In addition social workers noted

> many families . . . suffered through the calling up of boys who were just beginning to earn a good wage and many of the younger boys and

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[10] Titmus, Social Policy, p. 543.

[11] Ibid., p. 174; Constantine FitzGibbon, The Blitz (London: Alan Wingate, 1957), p. 25; Calder, People's War, pp. 51-54; and St. Mildred's House Annual Report (1939), p. 6.

[12] Mr. A, interview.

> girls, especially the more successful, have lost their work through the closing down or reduction of City firms. The combination of all this with the rise in the cost of living and exceptionally hard winter . . . made the situation a serious one for many people.[13]

The absence of German attacks plus the economic hardships associated with the war led some Islanders to question the wisdom and character of the conflict. George Lansbury's 1940 peace campaign won the support of some Islanders. Radical local Labourites and Communists regarded the war as the product of a crisis within the capitalist system.[14] Such doubts and views never represented the opinion of the majority of Islanders, however. Moreover as the economy geared up for war, more and more people were put to work. By March of 1940 Poplar was enjoying an unprecedented boom and virtually one hundred percent employment. Hundreds of men and women who had had little or only intermittent employment during the interwar years enjoyed regular work for the first time in their lives.[15] This war-time prosperity, large doses of government propaganda, and working-class patriotism soon took most of the steam out of the local anti-war movement. Nevertheless doubts concerning the seriousness of the war persisted throughout the winter and early spring of 1940.[16]

Local uncertainty about the danger posed by Germany came to an abrupt end in May and June of 1940. As German forces overran the Low Countries and France, the mood in the Island became grimmer and more

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[13] St. Mildred's House Annual Report (1939), pp. 6-7; and Calder, People's War, pp. 61-62, 83-84.

[14] Richman, Poplar, p. 145; Calder, People's War, pp. 67-68; and Postgate, Lansbury, pp. 308-25.

[15] Evening Standard (London) 7 March 1940; and Calder, People's War, pp. 83-86.

[16] See footnote 14 above; and Johns, interview, 22 May 1978.

resolute. Invasion seemed imminent. So, too, did the air raids which had been anticipated in 1939. German bombers began to appear more frequently in the skies over England. In July and August the Luftwaffe concentrated on RAF bases, radar facilities, and aircraft factories. London was largely spared. However, few people believed that this would continue indefinitely.[17]

The first raid on the Island occurred on Saturday, September 7th and Sunday, September 8th. The Germans, determined to break Britain's will to resist as a prelude to a planned invasion, launched an all-out air attack on London. The RAF, expecting continued German attacks on Britain's defense system, was caught off guard. Over three hundred German bombers and six hundred German fighters broke through RAF defenses and swarmed over London.

The first wave of German attackers arrived at approximately five o'clock in the afternoon. Their primary target was the docks. Within half an hour, great pillars of flame and smoke were billowing up from the West India and Millwall Docks plus many of the Island's riverside wharves and factories. These fires as well as those in adjacent areas of East and South London guided successive waves of German bombers to their targets throughout the night and the next day. By midnight of September 8th, there were nine huge conflagrations rated as "100 fire pumps" each raging out of control in London's Docklands area. In addition, there were nineteen fires requiring thirty pumps or more, forty ten-pump fires, plus nearly a thousand lesser blazes.[18]

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[17]Calder, People's War, pp. 119-79 passim; FitzGibbon, Blitz, passim; T. Harrison, Living through the Blitz, pp. 53-60; Hames, interview; and Beardwell, interview.

[18]For accounts of the great raid of September 7-8, 1940, see Calder,

Islanders looking back almost forty years later still remembered the great raid of September 7-8 with remarkable clarity and vividness. "Within half an hour," one resident recalled, "the whole Island was ringed with fire. You couldn't get off the Island because they opened the bridges in case they were bombed to block the entrances to the docks."[19] Another Islander wrote that the peninsula

> was cordoned off, so great was the devastation. All public amenities, gas, electricity, and transport facilities were destroyed and access to the district was banned except to residents, workers, ARP [Air Raid Protection], and firefighting personnel . . . The local "battlefield" was full of debris, horrible smells, and disruptive devastation . . .[20]

Other residents described the ordeal in similar terms. "We were ringed by fire all the way around on that Saturday afternoon."[21] "That Saturday they came over here . . . everywhere was alight! Everywhere!"[22] "The very worst thing that was ever experienced here was that Saturday afternoon when the bombers came over . . . It was a ball of flames."[23] "The most terrible thing that ever happened to me in my life was that Saturday afternoon . . . I didn't think we'd ever get out of it [alive]."[24]

The pounding which the Island received on September 7-8 of 1940 was merely the first of many it was to experience during the war. Over the next seventy-six days, German aircraft attacked London every night, save one. The Island sustained damage in virtually every one of these raids. In November the attacks slackened somewhat as the German air force

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People's War, pp. 178-84; FitzGibbon, Blitz, pp. 43-63; Basil Collier, The Battle of Britain (London: B. T. Batsford, 1962), pp. 123-35; and T. Harrison, Living through the Blitz, pp. 60-67.

[19] Hames, interview. [20] East London Advertiser, 17 September 1965.

[21] S. Willett, interview. [22] Lowery, interview.

[23] Mrs. H, interview. [24] Mrs. I, interview.

switched to other targets. However London and the Island continued to receive regular visitations from German bombers until the Blitz ended in May of 1941. Thereafter, except for the "Little Blitz" of January-March of 1944 and the V-1 and V-2 rocket attacks of 1944-45, raids on the capital and the Island became fewer and less intense. Nevertheless they remained a regular feature of local life throughout the war.[25]

The response of Islanders to these raids demonstrated the resilience of their community and the strength of the social and sentimental ties that bound them to each other and to the place in which they lived. Despite considerable danger and government pressure, the majority of residents resisted evacuation as long as possible. In October of 1940 Ellen Wilkenson, the Parliamentary Secretary for the Ministry of Home Security, told a London conference of the National Council of Women that

> We have large houses in Mayfair, whole strings of them, but you cannot persuade people to go from the Isle of Dogs . . . to live in Eaton Square. I said to one woman with a large family who had been bombed out of her home: "Look here, we can provide you with a flat in Eaton Square," and she replied, "Well, Miss, whatever would I do with a flat in Eaton Square? Where do you think I should do me shopping?"[26]

Other residents were equally stubborn. One journalist wrote that "as long as there was a room that could be roofed in, they stayed . . ."[27] Some people were bombed out as many as seven times, yet refused offers of evacuation.[28] A seventy-three year old women told a reporter, "Imagine me

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[25]For raids on London, see Calder, People's War; Titmus, Social Policy; O'Brien, Civil Defense; and FitzGibbon, Blitz.

[26]Daily Express (London), 17 October 1949.

[27]R. K., "London's Forgotten Isle," The Universe, 19 January 1945, n.p.

[28]Ibid.; S. Willett, interview; Mmes. D-I, interview; and Mrs. J, interview.

going off into the country at my age after fifty years in this house on the Island. I'd die . . . No, I'll stay where I am. There's too many memories about here for me to leave it, bombs or no bombs."[29] Another elderly lady told a billeting officer sent to fetch her that, "I was born on the Island, I've lived here, and I'll die here, war or no war."[30] This fierce parochial patriotism was not confined to the old. One child returned to the Island nine times before frustrated evacuation officials finally gave up and permitted him to remain in the district.[31]

Those who stayed in the Island displayed a remarkable ability to adjust to the strains of bombing. Their approach to life in wartime was rooted in a perverse sense of Cockney pride and fatalism. One observer remembered that the "morale of the residents . . . was not only cheerful, willing, and resourceful, it was heroic. I was struck particularly by the spirit of the men and women who stayed in the factories and warehouses."[32] Keeping regular work hours became a point of honor. A resident recalled that "despite the terrific bombing the Island suffered, production was not stopped. Everybody able to do so turned up for work the next a.m. full of tales of the previous night."[33]

The fatalism which helped many Islanders endure the hard times of the interwar years was of immense psychological value in withstanding the pressures imposed by the raids. On occasion, however, it could lead

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[29] Daily Express (London), 18 October 1940.

[30] R. K., "Forgotten Isle," n.p.

[31] Souttar, interview. Resistance to evacuation by East Enders was common. See Titmus, Social Policy, p. 285.

[32] East London Advertiser, 17 September 1965.

[33] Hames to author, London, 26 April 1979.

to the taking of foolish risks. One man, who refused to adapt his sleeping routine to the hazards of war, told his wife that "if you're to have [a bomb], you'll have one, don't matter where you are . . . If there's a bomb for you, you will have it . . . We're just as safe upstairs as we are anywhere else."[34] Fortunately both the man and his wife survived the war without ill effect.

The maintenance of at least some semblance of orderly life in the Island during the war was assisted enormously by local governmental and philanthropic agencies. Most wartime observers and historians agree that the Labour-controlled Poplar Borough Council and its municipal civil service acquitted themselves far better during the war than their counterparts in other London boroughs. Services were kept at a high level. By 1943 the Island possessed three damage control centers, two ambulance stations, three civilian supply depots, two first aid posts, five fire stations, a mobile canteen, a mortuary, three rescue centers, five rest stations, and six air raid warden's posts. Most of these facilities were manned by local residents, many of whom were elected to their positions by their fellow Islanders.[35] Local institutions such as the Dockland Settlement, St. Mildred's, and various Island churches also performed admirably. They found homes for the displaced, provided material and psychological aid to bomb victims, maintained services and recreational outlets for the young people, and served as a liaison between public authorities and

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[34]Lowery, interview. For a discussion of human adjustment to bombing, see T. Harrison, Living through the Blitz, pp. 277-88.

[35]"Poplar Borough Council Civil Defense Information Sheet," Local History Collection, Record Group 347, Tower Hamlets Central Library, London; FitzGibbon, Blitz, pp. 60-61, 63-65; and Calder, People's War, pp. 222-23.

the local populace. In a real sense the war summoned forth the best of the individual and institutional virtues of cooperation, neighborliness, and solidarity which were so deeply ingrained in the community.[36]

The most immediate and painful impact of the air raids on the Island was with respect to casualties. The two worst incidents which occurred in the Island so far as loss of life was concerned both took place during the Blitz of 1940-41. On the 18th of September 1940, the first aid station, clothing depot, and shelter located at Saunder Ness Road School in Cubitt Town took a direct hit from a river mine. A wartime resident recalled that the building "was cut clean in half . . . The loss of life was simply dreadful . . . Whereas the lesser buildings just fell to pieces and people might not be so badly hurt, huge slabs of concrete were involved in this and people could not be got out afterwards."[37] A similar incident took place on March 19, 1941, when the shelter at Bullivant's Wharf in Millwall also took a direct hit. An Islander who visited the scene shortly afterwards, said, "It broke my heart. There were bodies all lying around there waiting to be taken away. Talk about a battlefield!" In each of these incidents, over twenty people were killed and literally dozens badly injured.[38]

Luckily such catastrophes were rare. Indeed, one observer asserted that "on the whole . . . the loss of life in the Island was not as great

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[36]See e.g. Wintour and Bradford, Island Settlement, pp. 19-23; St. Mildred's House Annual Report (1939-45), passim; Dockland Settlement, No. 2, Isle of Dogs: Reports and Accounts (1939-45), passim; Souttar, interview; and Hames, interview.

[37]Souttar, interview. Also Beardwell, interview; Hames, interview.

[38]Mrs. D, interview. Also Mmes. P-R, interview, London, 4 May 1978; and Albert Barnes, interview. The raids of March 19-20 did exceptional damage to the Island. See O'Brien, Civil Defense, p. 414.

as in . . . many other places because everybody knew it was so vulnerable and, therefore, everybody went into the shelter . . . People were not about in the streets as they were in other parts of London."[39] Statistics seem to support this claim. Despite numerous raids, only 123 civilians died in the Isle of Dogs as a result of enemy action in World War II. Of these, seventy-eight were Islanders. The deaths for all of Poplar were 783 and those for London as a whole numbered 29,890.[40]

While the loss of life in the Island was comparatively small, the same cannot be said for the physical damage sustained by the district. By the end of 1940 the number of houses damaged in Poplar actually exceeded the total number of dwellings in the borough. This was because many houses had been damaged more than once. At the war's conclusion, an estimated one-third of all the dwellings in the borough had been destroyed.[41]

The Island was especially hard hit. The Warden of St. Mildred's remembered "after a certain amount of blitzing, bicycling down [Stebondale Street] and suddenly realizing that there were no houses really there. They were all blasted."[42] A journalist who visited the district in 1945 reported that "every raid on London brought bombs in [the] Island . . . Not a single street is unscarred, some are no more than double lines of waste land, for on both sides the houses are gone as completely as though they had never been."[43] Post-war surveys offered grim statistical support

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[39]Souttar, interview. For a list of local people killed in World War II, see Great Britain, The Imperial War Graves Commission, Civilian War Dead 1939-1945 (1954), pp. 1371-95.

[40]War Graves Commission, Civilian War Dead, pp. 1371-95; and Titmus, Social Policy, p. 325.

[41]FitzGibbon, Blitz, pp. 45, 171; Titmus, Social Policy, pp. 330-31; O'Brien, Civil Defense, p. 391; and Calder, People's War, p. 257.

[42]Souttar, interview. [43]R. K., "Forgotten Isle," n.p.

for such observations. In parts of Cubitt Town, for example, by 1945 seventy-five percent of the dwellings were no longer fit for human habitation.[44]

Local industries and institutions also sustained tremendous damage. Over one-third of the warehouses and docks were destroyed. Many local factories and wharves suffered the same fate. Maconochie's, for example, was forced to close in 1945.[45] Its great rival and counterpart, Morton's, was able to survive. However, war damage and disruptions to its export trade forced it to cut back its operations sharply.[46] In terms of community facilities and infrastructure, much was lost. The Glengall Grove Bridge which spanned the Millwall Docks and connected Cubitt Town to north Millwall was destroyed. So, too, were the Island Baths, Millwall Central Grammar School, and twelve pubs. The district's allotment gardens were taken over by anti-aircraft gun implacements. Cubitt Town Library was severely damaged. Local churches and philanthropic institutions were also hard hit. St. John's, St. Cuthbert's, and St. Mildred's--all Anglican facilities--were destroyed. St. Luke's Anglican church was heavily damaged. So, too, was the Catholic church of St. Edmund's and the Dockland Settlement.[47]

As physical damage in the Island mounted, an increasing number of Islanders were forced to leave the peninsula. Most of those who left did so with great reluctance. As one resident put it, "The old . . .

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[44]East End News (London), 19 April 1948.

[45]East London Advertiser, 7 September 1945.

[46]Albert Barnes, interview.

[47]For war damage reports, see London, Tower Hamlets Central Library, Local History Collection, Record Groups 080, 081, 081.2.

Millwallers didn't like going off [the Island]. They wouldn't have never gone off if it hadn't been for the War."[48] A journalist who visited the district reported that Islanders "who had to seek shelter elsewhere went away with the slow steps of exiles."[49]

While many of the evacuees were well treated in their new homes, others were made to feel less than welcome. Often they were victims of regional or class prejudices. One Islander complained that "some people in the country treated you like you was foreigners."[50] Another added, "We weren't wanted. We weren't wanted down where we were."[51] The mother of one child billeted with a middle-class family was especially indignant. "They didn't really want the people that lived here," she said. "I went down to see [my son] on a Sunday . . . They didn't really want the child. We went down and brought him back."[52] Tales of such treatment circulated widely in the Island. They encouraged many residents to remain in their battered but familiar and beloved neighborhoods for as long as possible.[53]

Eventually, however, circumstances forced all but the luckiest and most stubborn of Islanders to quit their homes. Of course this situation was not unique to the Island. By June of 1943 London's population had fallen by more than twenty-four percent from its pre-war level. However, the depopulation which the Island experienced was even more severe than that for London as a whole. Of the more than twenty-one thousand residents living in the Isle of Dogs at the outset of World War II, fewer

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[48]Mrs. N, interview. [49]R. K., "Forgotten Isle," n.p.

[50]Mrs. D, interview. [51]Mrs. P, interview. [52]Mrs. I, interview.

[53]Ibid. Many Cockneys were victims of class and regional prejudice during evacuation. See Titmus, Social Policy, pp. 174, 259, 285, 394; and Calder, People's War, pp. 45-50, 221-22, 472-73.

than nine thousand remained at the conflict's conclusion.[54] One Islander recalled that he "walked down some of the streets [of Millwall] during the war and there was not a soul . . . Doors were open and one couldn't see a soul anywhere . . . It was like a deserted village. Very depressing."[55]

Naturally a population loss of this magnitude had tremendous social consequences. Extended families were scattered and broken up. Neighborhoods bound together by literally decades of intermarriage, friendship, and shared experiences were destroyed or disrupted. Local institutions were stripped of their leaders and participants. During the war, for example, the size of the local Catholic parish fell by over two-thirds, while the vicar of St. John's estimated that he lost ninety percent of his regular communicants.[56]

By the end of World War II, the Isle of Dogs was truly a crippled community. The district was devastated and depopulated. Local society seemed disrupted almost beyond recovery. Clearly the war had tested the personal, sentimental, and social ties which made the Island a living, self-conscious community more than any ordeal within living memory. Few people realized that the strains and upheavals associated with peace-time redevelopment would eventually prove to be equally severe.

Post-war Redevelopment: Complications

The most important single force influencing the post-war history of the Isle of Dogs has been redevelopment. Since 1945 it has profoundly

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[54]Titmus, Social Policy, pp. 258-59, 300; Calder, People's War, p. 190; and French, interview.

[55]Calder, People's War, p. 364; and French, interview.

[56]R. K., "Forgotten Isle," n.p.; and R. A. Kingdon, "Letter from the Vicar," St. John's, Isle of Dogs, Parish Magazine, December 1947, n.p.

altered both the peninsula's physical environment and the composition of its population. It has also either caused or contributed to a number of severe disruptions within Island society. This section analyzes the factors which complicated local redevelopment between 1945 and 1980.

Thoughtful Islanders began to consider the form which redevelopment should take in their district well before the end of the Second World War. As early as 1942 a local newspaper reported that Reginald Kingdon, the vicar of St. John's, was "keen that the rebuilding in the Island shall be well done after the war. In some ways he thinks that the problems will be harder to work out than those of the present conflict."[57] Kingdon and other local leaders were anxious to create a physical environment in the district which would be conducive to traditional East London neighborhood life. They made it abundantly clear that they did "not want to see huge tower blocks of flats of which the Island [had] a few, but houses and gardens with their scope for happy family life." They also opposed housing policies which would prevent displaced residents from resettling in the district or permit a large influx of non-Islanders into the peninsula.[58]

Unfortunately three factors complicated post-war redevelopment in the Island. Ultimately they frustrated the wishes of those who had hoped that urban renewal would be swift yet socially responsible. The first and foremost of these factors was the sheer magnitude of the task at hand. The second was the number of authorities involved in redevelopment plus a variety of defects in the laws and policies under which they operated. The third was the isolated nature of the peninsula and the comparatively small size of its population. These latter attributes limited the options available to planners and developers.

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[57] East London Advertiser, 13 June 1942. [58] Ibid.

When authorities began to redevelop the Isle of Dogs in 1945, they faced a job of enormous proportions. The peninsula was one of the most ravaged and overcrowded districts in London. It averaged over one person per room compared to a figure of 0.83 for Greater London and 0.74 for England and Wales. Moreover a disproportionately large percentage of the Island's houses were aged, damaged, and substandard in terms of construction and amenities. Others were prefabricated dwellings thrown up during and just after the war. They were designed to last only from five to ten years.[59] One resident recalled that "there was such a tremendous shortage of houses that we were content to have two rooms in a house . . . The house which you'd accept only as a one family house [now] was always at least a two family house [then]."[60] Another noted that "there was pressure . . . I'll tell you there was pressure. People were sleeping bleedin' eight to a room and the borough [authorities] couldn't handle it."[61]

Throughout the post-war period efforts to solve the problems of overcrowding were complicated by a rapid fall in the size of the average household and rising expectations and standards. Between 1931 and 1966 the number of people per household in England and Wales fell from 3.7 to 3.0. Over roughly the same period, the average Island household dropped from 4.1 to 3.2 people. This meant that the authorities were forced to build an ever increasing number of dwellings to house the same number of

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[59]Great Britain, Census of England and Wales (1951), n.p.; W. V. Hale and M. T. Pountney, Trends in Population, Housing, and Occupancy 1861-1961 (London: HMSO, 1971), pp. 8-12; Burnett, Housing, pp. 271-79; St. Mildred's House Annual Report (1953), p. 7; and Evening Standard (London), 7 December 1945.

[60]L. Jordan, interview, 10 May 1978.

[61]R. Park, interview, 19 June 1978.

people.[62] This problem was eased somewhat in the Island by a rapid fall in the district's population. However the number of households did not decline as rapidly as the number of inhabitants. In 1931 the Isle's population stood at 21,403. In 1971 it was 12,094--a drop of forty-four percent. During the same period, the number of households in the Isle declined from 5,173 to 3,725--a drop of only twenty-nine percent.[63]

As the number of people per household declined, their expectations in terms of space and quality grew. The government gradually reduced permissible levels of crowding. Shared facilities came to be regarded as unacceptable. These and other improvements in housing standards dramatically raised the cost of public housing in the post-war era. By 1975 the average council house in Inner London cost £27,500.[64] Taken together the serious shortage of housing created by the war, the continuing fall in the average household size, and rising standards and prices made it extremely difficult for public authorities to solve the Island's housing problems. Of course the same was true for other parts of London as well. Despite a tremendous increase in the number and quality of available dwellings during the 1950s and 1960s, London authorities never seemed quite able to meet the demand for decent housing. Understandably the longevity and severity of this housing shortage encouraged public authorities to subordinate other considerations to the drive to build more and better dwellings.

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[62] Burnett, Housing, pp. 271-91; Great Britain, Census of England and Wales (1931), n.p. and Census of England and Wales (1961), n.p.; and David Wilcox and David Richards, London: The Heartless City (London: Thames Television, 1977), pp. 79-96 passim.

[63] Great Britain, Census of England and Wales (1931), n.p. and Census of England and Wales (1971), n.p.; and appendix 1, table 16.

[64] Wilcox and Richards, London, p. 89; and Burnett, Housing, pp. 281-95, 309-11.

As a result, they paid little attention to the social consequences of their actions and failed to provide an adequate economic, transport, and social service infrastructure to support new housing estates both in the Island and elsewhere.[65]

The second factor which made it difficult to complete the redevelopment of the Isle of Dogs in an orderly and socially acceptable fashion stemmed from the diversity of the authorities engaged in the task and from defects in the laws and policies by which they operated. The construction of public housing in the Island was primarily the province of the London County Council (enlarged and renamed the Greater London Council in 1965) and the Poplar Borough Council (combined with Stepney and Bethnal Green to create the Borough of Tower Hamlets in 1965). Both these bodies also provided various services to the local population through numerous departments and agencies. Moreover there were other public authorities which also had an important influence on the Island's redevelopment. The Port of London Authority (PLA) owned almost half the peninsula's area. It exercised enormous powers and influence over local roads, zoning, planning decisions, and the district's economy. In addition the national government had a tremendous impact upon the Island through the distribution of grants to local government, the establishment of various planning commissions and policies, and its ability to influence and override the plans of metropolitan and borough authorities.

Unfortunately these four great public authorities and their various agencies and departments were often at odds over major policy decisions

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[65]Wilcox and Richards, London, p. 79-97 passim; Johns, interview, 22 May 1978; R. Park, interview, 19 June 1978; and L. Jordan, interview, 10 May 1978.

affecting the Isle of Dogs. Even when in agreement, they were seldom able to coordinate their activities successfully. This resulted in uneven and contradictory development, delays, misunderstandings, and constant confusion. It also made it extremely difficult for ordinary Islanders to understand, let alone influence, the policies which were reshaping their community.[66]

During the forty-plus years since the outbreak of World War II, the redevelopment of the Island has been affected by literally dozens of plans and scores of laws and planning directives issued by a variety of authorities. Two of the earliest and most important of the planning documents affecting the Isle were the London County Plan of 1943 and the Town and Country Planning Act of 1946. Other plans and laws have dealt with the Island much more specifically and in much greater detail. However these two early documents did much to set the assumptions on which later plans and policies were based and to shape the environment in which they were implemented. Moreover since the London County Plan and the Town and Country Planning Act were not significantly modified until 1969 and 1974, respectively, their influence was long lasting.[67]

From the point of view of the Island, the London County Plan and the Town and Country Planning Act both had serious defects. The London County Plan, for its part, considered the Isle of Dogs and similar

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[66]Johns and L. Jordan, interview, 8 June 1978. Also see Wilcox and Richards, London, pp. 17-33; David Eversley, "Problems of Social Planning in Inner London," in London: Urban Patterns, Problems, and Policies, eds. David Donnison and David Eversley (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1973), pp. 1-50; and Eyles, Problems and Policies in the Isle of Dogs, pp. 9-27.

[67]Wilcox and Richards, London, pp. 17-32, 79-96 passim.

riverside districts to be "too small in size to rank as communities."[68] Therefore it made no special provision to preserve or protect them. Moreover the plan recommended that authorities work to accelerate the process of "decentralization" of the people and industries of inner London which was already under way. This ultimately proved detrimental to the demographic and economic viability of Island society, as well as disruptive to its communal cohesion. In addition, the London County Plan encouraged authorities to devote scarce resources to building new towns and developing suburban areas. This reduced the funds available to revitalize the Island and similar declining areas in inner London.[69]

The Town and Country Planning Act was the basic legislation enabling local government to condemn and redevelop private property. On the whole it was a useful law. However it had one serious flaw. It did not really permit local councils to use compulsory purchase powers to buy property from private landlords for renovation as opposed to redevelopment. As a result local councils often demolished houses which could have been reconditioned and replaced them with flats. This certainly occurred to a large degree in the Island. It was expensive, socially disruptive, and frustrating to local residents, most of whom preferred individual dwellings to blocks of flats.[70]

The mistakes and defects of the London County Plan and the Town and Country Planning Act and the various policies based upon them bedeviled

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[68]J. H. Forshaw and P. Abercrombie, County of London Plan (London: Macmillan, 1943), p. 98.

[69]Ibid., passim; Wilcox and Richards, London, pp. 17-32; and Graham M. Lomas, "Inner London's Future: Studies and Policies," The London Journal 4 (Summer 1978):97-105 passim.

[70]Wilcox and Richards, London, pp. 85-86; and Hames, interview.

Island redevelopment for a quarter of a century. As one life-long resident put it,

> the so-called redevelopment has almost destroyed the economic and social life of the Island. Industry of all trades has been driven off, streets of small cottages have been razed to the ground. Everybody in those streets was a neighbor. They had gardens, pets, work, and social life . . . These streets have been replaced by tower blocks where flat dwellers don't even know the folks next door . . . [A] good number of old and new Islanders share my views.[71]

The final factor which complicated the redevelopment of the Isle of Dogs was the nature of the district itself. The peninsula's geographic isolation and small population made the provision of adequate transport and service facilities extremely difficult. Indeed in an unusual outburst of candor, one Tower Hamlets planning report admitted that the "Isle of Dogs, because of its isolated geographic position will always lack certain facilities which other areas of Inner London enjoy."[72] The same report conceded that the Island badly needed improved services. However it added that "with a low overall density of population and a declining work force, it is difficult to justify these services from the economic point of view."[73]

The Island's isolation and comparatively small population hindered adequate post-war redevelopment in yet another way. For many years, the district lacked the population, visibility, and political muscle to force borough and metropolitan officials to devote adequate resources to meet

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[71]Hames, interview. Also interviews of Johns and L. Jordan. Many other examples of people with such views could be cited. Also see Eyles, Problems and Policies in the Isle of Dogs, pp. 1-27 passim.

[72]Great Britain, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, The Isle of Dogs, (1972), p. 6.

[73]Ibid., p. 6. Also see Eyles, Problems and Policies in the Isle of Dogs, pp. 4-8, 17-27.

its needs. During the 1950s, a local borough councillor, John Vicat, described the district as the "forgotten island."[74] The phrase was accurate. As one local leader, recalling the period, declared,

> we weren't gettin' a fair portion . . . of things . . . in the borough . . . You could see that [the Island] was going to become a backwater. The industry was going, and there was nothing being put here to replace it . . . [H]ouses were being built without any overall plan or what have you.[75]

It was not until the 1960s and 1970s that changes in planning policies, a dramatic increase in the Island's population, and the rise of effective community action groups began to reverse this situation. By then Island society had already sustained so much damage that its future survival was seriously in question.[76]

In summary, then, it is clear that circumstances conspired to make a speedy and socially acceptable redevelopment of the Island extremely difficult to achieve. Years of neglect, the ravages of war, and changing demographic and social conditions combined to make the job of reconstuction large in scope and complex in character. In addition the number of authorities involved in the task and a variety of defects in the laws and policies by which they operated complicated matters still further. Finally the Island's geographic isolation and comparatively small and poor population restricted the options available to planners and developers. They also limited the political influence of local residents. Throughout the post-war period, these various factors interacted to frustrate the efforts of

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[74] East London Advertiser, 6 December 1974. Also J. Jordan, interview, 10 May 1978.

[75] L. Jordan, interview, 10 May 1978.

[76] Ibid.; Johns, interview, 22 May 1978; L. Jordan and Johns, interview, 8 June 1978; and East London Advertiser, 6 December 1974, 7 May 1976.

authorities and Islanders alike to create a satisfactory urban environment in the peninsula.

Post-war Redevelopment: Chronology

While the factors complicating reconstruction in the Isle of Dogs remained fairly constant after 1945, the pace and direction of redevelopment varied over the years. For analytical purposes, the history of post-war redevelopment can be divided into three overlapping but distinct phases. The first of these phases lasted from 1945 through the late 1950s. The second occurred during the 1960s. The third began in the early 1970s and continued through 1980. In each of these three periods, the relative importance of the roles played by different public and private authorities varied. Moreover the intensity, emphasis, and objectives of urban renewal in the Island changed from period to period.

During the first phase of post-war redevelopment in the Island, the Poplar Borough authorities took the lead. Their major aim was to repair the damage which had resulted from the war. The provision of adequate housing received top priority. Even the needs of industry were sacrificed to this end.[77] In the first years after the war, comparatively little new building took place. Instead the Borough devoted its resources to demolishing bombed out structures, repairing still serviceable houses, and providing prefabricated dwellings. Indeed the Island was the first part of London to get sizable numbers of "prefabs." The first were constructed on Glengall Grove in Cubitt Town before the war was even over. Others soon were added along Alpha Grove and Stebondale Street. By 1946 the Island

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[77] East End News (London), 19 March 1948; and East London Advertiser, 25 July 1952.

was dotted with literally hundreds of such units. They were designed to house families of five. Most had a living room, two bedrooms, and a kitchenette. The quality of the dwellings was poor, unfortunately. Authorities soon began to receive complaints about leaks, dampness, inadequate insulation, poor design, and faulty construction.[78]

While prefabs were thrown up, plans were made to build new homes. Experimental blocks of flats constructed almost entirely of concrete in order to cut costs, save time, and stretch scarce supplies of timber and steel were built between Stebondale Street and Manchester Road, near Tiller Road.[79] Private property was condemned and housing estates laid out. The two largest were Alpha Grove and St. John's. The former was situated in an area adjacent to the street of the same name in Millwall. The latter was located in a triangular area between Manchester Road, Glengall Grove, and East Ferry Road in Cubitt Town. Construction began on Alpha Grove's 263 housing units in the late 1940s. Work on St. John's 384 dwellings started in the early 1950s. Both estates had few individual houses. They were composed largely of flats, numbering anywhere from six to eighty per building. The buildings were from two to five stories high.[80] Both estates provided excellent housing and helped lessen the problems of overcrowding in the district.

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[78]Daily Herald (London), 17 October 1944; East London Advertiser, 9 February 1945; Evening Standard (London), 7 December 1945; The Architect and Building News, January 1946, n.p.; Daily Sketch (London), 11 April 1946; and East End News (London), 22 October 1948.

[79]East London Advertiser, 28 September 1945; and East End News (London), 12 March 1948.

[80]Great Britain, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Housing Estate Index (1975), pp. 13, 22; East End News (London), 12 March 1948, 9 May 1952; and The Builder, 24 December 1948, n.p.

Despite the very real progress made by local authorities during the 1940s and 1950s, the first phase of post-war redevelopment left much to be desired. Its failures were especially obvious in three respects. In the first place, despite fifteen years of effort, large areas of the Island remained marked by the scars of war. As late as the early 1960s Strafford Street was known locally as "doom town" due to the numerous bombed out houses which still stood there. Many other parts of the Island were also still littered with the debris of war.[81]

The second area in which the redevelopment of the 1940s and 1950s fell short was with respect to the quantity of housing. Despite the best efforts of Poplar authorities and a drop in the Island's population from 10,162 in 1951 to 9,056 a decade later, the district still contained numerous overcrowded and substandard dwellings in the early 1960s. In 1961 the ratio of people to rooms in the Island was 0.87:1, compared to a national average of 0.66:1. Roughly 13.5 percent of the Island's population lived more than one and one-half per room. The corresponding figure for England and Wales was 2.8 percent. Moreover, a considerable proportion of the Island's housing stock was composed of prefabs and decrepit late-Victorian dwellings.[82]

It was with respect to services and amenities, however, that the Island was worst off. Indeed, in many respects the district was less well

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[81] East London Advertiser, 6 March 1959; Mrs. K, interview; Hames, interview; L. Jordan, interview, 10 May 1978; and Mrs. M, interview.

[82] Great Britain, Census of England and Wales (1961), n.p.; Hale and Pountney, Population, Housing, and Occupancy Rates, pp. 6-9; East End News (London), 25 May 1951; Poplar Borough Council, "Post War Housing," Local History Collection, Record Group 331.2, Tower Hamlets Central Library, London; E. Jones and D. J. Sinclair, Atlas of London and the London Region (New York: Pergamen Press, 1968), maps 21-30; L. Jordan, interview, 10 May 1978; and Johns, interview, 22 May 1978.

supplied with public facilities than it had been before the war. One Island vicar, arriving in the district in the 1950s, reported that "there is, sad to say, almost a total lack of social amenities."[83] The Island Baths, which had been destroyed in the war, were not replaced until the mid-1960s. The Glengall Grove Bridge, which had once linked Cubitt Town to Millwall across the docks, was never rebuilt.[84] Local roads were antiquated and overloaded. The district's bus service was perhaps the worst in London. There were no tube stations near the peninsula. So unreliable was public transport in the Island that in the 1960s forty percent of the district's families owned a car despite the population's comparatively low average income. This compared to a figure of only twenty-seven percent for the East End as a whole. For many families, there was simply no reliable way to get to work or to do the shopping short of purchasing an automobile.[85] The Island's shopping facilities were among the poorest in East London. The number of shops per person, which had been 1:92 in the 1930s, was 1:105 by the 1960s and getting worse rapidly. This was due to redevelopment policies that forced shopkeepers out of old shops into new premises with higher rates and rents. These higher costs helped to drive many of them out of business.[86]

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[83] Island Chronicle: Christ Church Parish Magazine, November 1953, n.p.

[84] East London Advertiser, 3 and 24 September 1965, 3 June 1966.

[85] Island Chronicle: Christ Church Parish Magazine, November 1953, n.p.; Island Resource Centre, "It Must Not Happen!": Report on the GLC Proposals for the Dockland Southern Relief Road (London, [1975]), passim; Great Britain, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Planning Department, Draft Local Plan: Isle of Dogs (1976), 3.80-3.92; and Island Resource Centre, Public Transport Survey (London, 1979), passim.

[86] Mrs. J, interview; and Hames, interview.

Thus, at the end of the first phase of post-war redevelopment in the late 1950s, the Island was far from being a model community. Some progress in housing had been made. Social stability had been maintained. However severe housing problems remained, war damage was still everywhere in evidence, and social amenities were poor. The Island was generally considered to be one of London's more deprived, depressed, and rundown areas. Indeed the area's reputation was such that when an American film company decided to make a film contrasting the rundown areas of Britain's inner cities with the country's ultra-modern "new towns," the Island was chosen to depict the former. Predictably Islanders were outraged over the depiction of their district as a "drab and dying community." However the anger was at least partly due to the accuracy of the characterization.[87]

The second phase of post-war redevelopment in the Island began around 1960. To understand fully its origins and consequences, one must examine the national and metropolitan context in which it took place. For a brief period in the mid-1950s, British authorities relaxed their efforts to provide more public accommodation. This cut-back in the construction of public dwellings was based on the mistaken belief that the nation's housing shortage had been met. Soon, however, mounting popular pressure and government housing surveys dispelled this illusion. At the end of the 1950s, therefore, a major new effort was launched to solve the country's housing problem once and for all.[88]

Planners and public authorities decided that the cheapest and most efficient method of providing needed dwellings was to construct vast new

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[87] East London Advertiser, 19 January 1962.

[88] Burnett, Housing, pp. 278-79.

housing estates. The centerpieces of these new estates, especially in London and the cities of the West and Midlands, were so called "tall flats" or "tower blocks." These structures were tenement buildings containing literally dozens of flats. In contrast to traditional blocks of flats, which were between two to four stories high, these tall flats stood anywhere from five to twenty-five stories in height.[89]

There were several reasons why planners and public authorities opted for this new style of construction. It was widely believed that tower blocks used up less land and could be built faster and more cheaply than conventional flats. In addition, they appeared to offer a solution to the problem of urban sprawl. Architects, moreover, claimed that tall flats could be designed to provide a greater variety of dwelling sizes and styles than other types of housing units. They also argued that tower blocks were aesthetically superior to traditional dwellings.[90]

Officials in the national Ministry of Housing were impressed by these arguments. In order to encourage local governmental units to build tall flats, the national Ministry offered larger grants to subsidize the construction of tower blocks than were available for any other type of housing. This financial incentive coupled with the prevailing opinion among planners soon had an impact. Between 1953 and 1959 tall flats accounted for only 6.9 percent of the dwelling units approved by local authorities in Britain. By 1966 this figure had jumped to 25.7 percent.[91]

Given the climate of opinion in the early 1960s, it was hardly surprising that LCC officials decided to make extensive use of tall flats

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[89]E. W. Cooney, "High Flats in Local Authority Housing in England and Wales since 1945," in Multi-Story Living: The British Working Class Experience, ed. Anthony Sutcliffe (London: Croom Helm, 1974), pp. 151-68.

[90]Ibid. [91]Ibid.

in their efforts to solve London's housing problem. The decision was vigorously opposed by a number of East and South London boroughs which were affected, including Poplar. Representatives of the Poplar Borough Council claimed that tall flats would prove unpopular, destructive of family life, expensive to maintain, and subject to vandalism. As one Poplar councillor put it, "I am just convinced, no matter how it may look on paper, that [tall flats] are the most undesirable form of dwelling in the whole of England."[92] The Borough Council eventually took its objections to the national Ministry of Housing in order to prevent the LCC from building tower blocks in Poplar. Unfortunately local authorities were overruled, and construction proceeded over the protests of local residents and their elected representatives.[93]

It was in this context that the second phase of post-war redevelopment of the Island began. LCC planners considered the peninsula to be an especially suitable district for the construction of new housing estates dominated by tall flats. Due to overcrowding and the poor quality of much of the available housing stock, the Isle clearly required additional public dwellings. Moreover the drift of industry from the area was opening up prime pieces of industrial real estate for redevelopment. Given the availability of this land plus the small size of the Island's population--barely nine thousand in 1961--planners felt the peninsula could accommodate not only its existing residents, but thousands of additional people from other more crowded parts of London as well.[94]

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[92] East London Advertiser, 1 March 1957. Also see idem, 5 October 1956; and Evening News (London), 29 September 1959, 27 November 1956.

[93] Evening News (London), 7 February 1957; and East London Advertiser, 8 February, 1957.

[94] Cooney, "High Flats," pp. 157-66; Stableford, "Local Plan," 2.1-2.8

During the 1960s, London authorities built three new housing estates in the Island. Each included tall flats. The first was Schooner Estate. It was situated on a 3.5 acre triangular site in Cubitt Town, bounded by Manchester Road, Stebondale Street, and Glengarnock Avenue. Its centerpiece was an eleven-story tower block. The estate also included three four-story blocks of massionettes, a three-story block of small flats, and one four-story block of dwellings with six shops on the ground floor.[95] In 1964 the LCC began construction of a second and larger complex, the Samuda Estate. It stood on a seven acre industrial site located next to the Thames in northeast Cubitt Town. It was dominated by the tallest block in London, Kelson House, a twenty-five-story edifice capable of housing over one thousand people. The estate also included a six-story block, two four-story blocks, and some massionettes.[96] Shortly after work was begun on the Samuda Estate, the GLC announced plans to redevelop the area between Strafford Street and Janet Street in Millwall. This project, known as the Barkentine Estate, included four huge twenty-story blocks plus a number of three- and four-story blocks of flats and massionettes.[97]

The wave of estate building in the Island during the 1960s had a profound effect on the demographic structure of the Isle of Dogs. The area's twenty-year-long decline in population was abruptly reversed.

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and appendix 2; Great Britain, London County Council, London County Council Minutes, 5 November 1958, no. 8; and L. Jordan, interview, 10 May and 8 June 1978.

[95] East End News (London), 9 October 1959.

[96] Stratford Express (London), 1 November 1964.

[97] Stableford, "Local Plan," 1.18-1.19, 3.1-3.2; and Herbert Murray, "Going to the Dogs," Architectural Association Quarterly 4 (April/June 1972):11-15, 22.

Bewteen 1961 and 1971 the number of people living in the Island climbed from 9,056 to 12,094—a rise of thirty-three percent. This was in sharp contrast to most adjacent areas and London as a whole. During the 1960s the population of Tower Hamlets declined by almost twenty percent, that of inner London by thirteen percent, and that of Greater London by seven percent.[98] Thanks to the movement of younger families into the Isle in order to take advantage of public housing, the district's age structure also began to change. In 1971, seventeen percent of the population in Tower Hamlets was over pensionable age. The corresponding figure for the Isle of Dogs was only ten percent. Conversely, people under the age of eighteen made up thirty-three percent of the Island's population, compared to only twenty-two percent for the Borough. Due to the continued construction of public housing in the Island, these trends continued into the 1970s. By the later years of the decade, the area's population stood between fifteen and sixteen thousand, and it remained considerably younger than that of the rest of the Borough. Conversely the population of neighboring areas continued to decline in size and to increase in age.[99]

It was against this backdrop of rapid physical and demographic change in the late 1960s and early 1970s that the third phase of post-war redevelopment in the Isle of Dogs began. It offered a strong contrast to that of earlier years in one notable respect. In the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, there had been no real effort to establish a master plan to guide the process of urban renewal in the Island. Within the broad outline set by the London County Plan of 1943, development had been largely uncoordinated and piecemeal. The main aim of most projects had been to ease the peninsula's

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[98]Appendix 1, table 16; and Wilcox and Richards, London, p. 19.

[99]London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Draft Local Plan, 2.18-2.19.

housing problems. Little thought had been given as to how this effort affected the Island's demographic, social, economic, and phsycial structure.

In the 1970s the opposite was the case. It was not the absence of a master plan for urban renewal in the Island that was the problem, but the existence of too many such plans, each of which had its own advocates and constituencies. These plans were issued by a variety of public authorities, private interests, and community groups. None of these entities was either strong enough or persuasive enough to impose its solutions on its competitors. The ultimate result of the profusion of rival plans was similar to that which had stemmed from the absence of an overall strategy in earlier years--confusion, misdirection, frustration, and discontent.

The sudden appearance of so many proposals dealing with the redevelopment of the Isle of Dogs was attributable to national and metropolitan as well as purely local developments. At the national level, the 1960s and 1970s witnessed the growth of a new concern for the problems of Britain's inner cities. The social breakdown and riots that troubled American central cities in these years prompted many thoughtful Britons to re-examine the problems of their own urban areas. The results of these investigations were not reassuring. A spate of studies and reports revealed that Britain's inner cities were suffering from economic decline, unemployment, poor housing, inadequate educational opportunities, crime, poverty, and racial tensions. It was widely believed that unless these problems were remedied, Britain's great cities might someday experience the same upheavals that had ravaged their trans-Atlantic counterparts. This new concern for the country's inner cities encouraged authorities to launch massive redevelopment schemes.[100]

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[100]For a useful guide to this literature, see U.S. Department of

At the metropolitan level, attempts to grapple with the Island's problems were part of a larger effort to redevelop the riverside docking and industrial area of which it was a part. In the early 1970s, GLC officials and planners became increasingly concerned about the rapid deterioration of London's so-called "Docklands" region. As defined by the GLC Planning Department, Docklands was composed of 5,500 acres of East and South London riverside real estate. It sprawled over parts of five boroughs—Tower Hamlets, Newham, Southwark, Lewisham, and Greenwich. Docklands contained all of London's great nineteenth century docking complexes. Its economy, as one would expect, was based predominantly on manufacturing, transportation, and other traditional portside industries. Unfortunately, all these sectors of the metropolitan economy were in an advanced state of decline by the early 1970s. Moreover the district's fifty-five thousand inhabitants were poorer, less adequately housed, and less well served by transport and social services than those of any other comparably sized section of London. The Island made up roughly eleven percent of the land area and twenty-two percent of the population of the Docklands region. The size and complexity of the Docklands' problems were such that it was felt they could only be met by comprehensive redevelopment. The plans for this undertaking naturally included many provisions affecting the Isle of Dogs.[101]

Housing and Urban Development, Office of International Affairs, Selected Bibliography on Inner City Areas of the United Kingdom (1978), passim. For literature on inner London, see Gerald Rhodes, "Research in London 1952-1977," The London Journal 5 (May 1979):57-86 passim; and Lomas, "Inner London's Future," pp. 95-105 passim.

[101]For descriptions of Docklands and guides to literature on the subject, see Great Britain, London Docklands Study Team, Docklands: Redevelopment Proposal for East London, 2 vols. (1973), 1:1-18; John Hall, London: Metropolis and Region (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), pp. 38-43; Great Britain, Greater London Council, Bibliography: Docklands,

At the local level, the decision to adopt a more comprehensive approach to redeveloping the Island was a response to the problems created, exacerbated, or ignored by earlier urban renewal programs. As noted previously, Island society was in disarray. Firms were leaving and services deteriorating. The local population was discontented with the area's general environment. Communal cohesion was threatened. It was widely believed by Islanders and Tower Hamlet officials alike that some new approach to redevelopment was required if the socio-economic fabric of the community was to be preserved.

The various entities which produced comprehensive redevelopment plans for the Isle of Dogs included public authorities, private concerns and businesses, and local community groups. The plans in question varied enormously in their scope and aims. The details of many of those proposals have been outlined and evaluated elsewhere.[102] Here it is only necessary to discuss their most important features and assess their collective impact upon Island society.

During the 1970s various public authorities produced no fewer than five major redevelopment proposals which concerned the Isle of Dogs, either entirely or in part. Three of these proposals were produced by national and GLC authorities acting in concert. All three addressed the problems of the entire Docklands region as well as those peculiar to the Isle of Dogs. The first, authored by the so-called London Docklands Study Team, was authorized in 1971 and published in 1973. It was jointly commissioned

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ed. Ian Skinner (1976); and John M. Hall et al., "Rebuilding the London Docklands," The London Journal 2 (November 1976):267-85.

[102]See Eyles, Problems and Policies in the Isle of Dogs, pp. 17-27; and Stableford, "Local Plan," appendices 2 and 4.

by the Department of the Environment and the GLC at a time when both the national and the metropolitan governments were controlled by the Conservative Party. The private firm chosen to carry out the study was R. Travers Morgan and Partners.

In its final report, the London Docklands Study Team offered the national and metropolitan governments five options for redeveloping Docklands. So far as the Island was concerned, these options contained plans ranging from one scheme that would leave the district essentially unchanged save for additional housing to another that would turn the peninsula into a major office and shopping center. It also contained a plan to route a major four-lane traffic artery connecting central and outer London through the Isle of Dogs. This proposal, known as the Southern Relief Road, was designed to relieve the pressure of heavy traffic in Greenwich and along Commercial and East India Dock Roads. None of the options proposed for either Docklands or the Isle of Dogs by the London Docklands Study Team proved popular. Critics attacked the Travers Morgan report for a lack of public participation and input, its emphasis on private as opposed to public investment, and the absence of a real strategy to preserve or enhance Docklands' economic base.[103]

Reaction to the Travers Morgan proposals was so adverse that when Labour returned to power in 1974, the national government and GLC decided to scrap the entire scheme and start over. A new study group, the Docklands Joint Committee (DJC), was established. It was composed of delegates

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[103]London Docklands Study Team, Docklands, passim. For critiques of this study, see Eyles, Problems and Policies in the Isle of Dogs, pp. 20-21; J. Hall, London, pp. 40-41; Trades Union Congress, "Redevelopment of London's Docklands: A Trade Union Point of View," London, 1973 (Memeographed.), passim; and Madge Darby, "The Docklands Study Reviewed: IV, A Local Resident's Reaction," East London Papers 15 (Summer 1973): 30-36.

from the Department of the Environment, the GLC, and the five London boroughs which contained parts of Docklands. The Committee was advised by the Docklands Forum--a collection of businesses, trade unions, community action groups, and so on--which had a stake in the redevelopment of Docklands.

Over the course of 1975-76, the DJC issued eight working papers plus a strategic plan. So far as the Island was concerned, the DJC projected the eventual closure of the West India and Millwall Docks, the preservation and modernization of industrial sites along the peninsula's western and southern shoreline, the building of enough new housing and shopping facilities to service a population of thirty-three thousand, and the construction of a tube line through the district. The DJC also proposed that the idea of the Southern Relief Road receive further study. The entire plan, if accepted, would take the rest of the century to implement fully.[104]

As had been the case with the plan authored by the London Docklands Study Team, that prepared by the DJC proved controversial. Battles over specific DJC proposals delayed implementation of the overall plan. In the late 1970s another change in the party in power at the national level led to proposals to scrap the DJC report and start all over again. The Conservative-controlled national government proposed that the DJC be replaced by an Urban Development Corporation. This body would be modeled after the corporations which planned and executed the development of Britain's so-called "new towns." It would have the authority to impose

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[104]Great Britain, Docklands Joint Committee, London Docklands Strategic Plan (1976), passim; and J. Hall et al., "Rebuilding the London Docklands," pp. 265-85 passim.

solutions on reluctant local councils and communities. This raised a storm of protest in Docklands. Opposition was so intense that the national government retreated and permitted the DJC to continue in operation for the time being. However, its ultimate fate remained undetermined.[105]

As national and metropolitan authorities vainly attempted to grapple with the problems of Docklands as a whole, Tower Hamlets Borough Council focused more specifically on the Isle of Dogs. Local authorities, of course, had at least some input in the various proposals encompassing all of Docklands. They also put forward two major studies dealing exclusively with the Island. The first appeared in 1970, and the second in 1976. Both stressed the need to increase the district's population substantially as a prerequisite for improved services. Unfortunately the 1970 plan neither addressed nor recognized the serious consequences stemming from the decline of local industry. The 1976 scheme was more sensitive to this problem.[106]

Ultimately the Tower Hamlets Council adopted a variation of the 1976 plan which entailed the use of a "limited amount of vacant or underdeveloped industrial land for housing while encouraging a new industrial development in most of the existing industrial areas of the Island."[107] As its population rose, the Island was to be provided with better transport links, educational facilities, social services, and a new shopping

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[105]Johns, interview, 16 November 1979; John M. Hall, "Does the London Docklands Need an Urban Development Corporation?," The London Journal 6 (Summer 1980):116-20; and Nicholas Falk, "London's Docklands: A Tale of Two Cities," The London Journal 7 (Summer 1981):79.

[106]London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Isle of Dogs, passim; and idem, Draft Local Plan, passim.

[107]Idem, Draft Local Plan, 4.21.

center. Extensive private housing developments which might attract middle-class residents to the district were opposed. So, too, were plans to close the docks and build the Southern Relief Road.[108] Thus, Borough authorities were directly opposed to many of the proposals of the various Docklands redevelopment plans.

While various public authorities were devising their respective redevelopment strategies for the Isle of Dogs, the peninsula was drawing attention from a number of private individuals and groups as well. One prominent private planner proposed that the Island be transformed into a "New Venice," criss-crossed with canals and containing a trade center, hotel, film center, and university and museum facilities.[109] The Institute of Cultural Affairs, an American-based nonprofit corporation, advocated that the Isle be made the site of a pilot human development project that could serve as a model for the rest of Docklands. The project, which was actually launched, was financed by private and public funds. It attempted to use training seminars, community organization and projects, and locally owned craft industries to transform the district's inhabitants into a "vital, hardworking, corporate people who possess confidence, dignity, and pride in their community."[110] On a more practical level, private developers explored the possibility of converting old riverside industrial sites into expensive, middle-class housing complexes. The chief attractions the Isle offered in this respect were fine views of the

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[108] Ibid., passim. [109] East London Advertiser, 14 April 1972.

[110] Institute of Cultural Affairs, Isle of Dogs Human Development Project: Consultation Summary Statement (London: n.p., 1976), p. 103. As one might expect, this program has run into considerable local resistance. For its troubled history, see Johns, interview, 22 May 1978; Time Out (London), 25 March 1976, n.p.; East Ender (London), 25 March 1976; East London Advertiser, 10 September and 5 November 1976; and The Islanders (London), [January 1977].

Thames and Greenwich plus easy access to central London. Eventually two small projects were built and others planned.[111]

Most Islanders found the various schemes proposed by public and private interests to be unacceptable. The former invariably called for increasing the district's population. In the view of most Islanders, this would further strain the peninsula's already overtaxed transport and service facilities. Moreover residents feared that none of the public programs adequately addressed the district's economic problems. Finally they believed that the proposed Southern Relief Road would cut the peninsula in half, destroy valuable housing and industrial units, and subject the area to an unbearable amount of heavy traffic.[112] Redevelopment schemes offered by private interests were also rejected by Islanders. They were generally considered impractical and/or controlled by outsiders. In addition, the prospect of an influx of middle-class residents into the Island to either inhabit new housing estates or direct community action programs ran into a solid wall of class suspicion and antagonism.[113]

Given these feelings, it is hardly surprising that Islanders eventually offered their own redevelopment proposals. They were put

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[111]Johns, interview, 22 May 1978; L. Jordan, interview, 10 May 1978; and BBC-3, "Power to the People," episode 3, 9 October 1973, J. Seabrooke; Evening Standard (London), 10 March 1970, 21 March 1972;and Times (London), 18 April 1973. This episode will be covered more fully in chapter VI.

[112]Johns, interview, 22 May 1978; L. Jordan, interview, 10 May 1978; BBC-3, "Power to the People;" East London Advertiser, 13 September and 18 October 1974; and Island Resource Centre, "It Must Not Happen!", pp. 1-5.

[113]Johns, interview, 22 May 1978; BBC-3, "Power to the People;" and East London Advertiser, 27 March 1970.

forward by a local group known as the Isle of Dogs Action Group (IDAG) in 1976. The local plan voiced strong opposition to large amounts of additional housing, the Southern Relief Road, and plans to close the West India and Millwall Docks. It also included demands for public investment to stimulate the local economy and create jobs, more social amenities, better roads, improved bus service, a tube line, additional schools, housing policies that would give preference to Islanders with respect to the district's public dwellings, and the development of the Mudchute into a community farm and recreation center. A few of these demands were eventually met. Most, however, were left in a state of limbo with public authorities refusing to commit themselves either firmly for or against their implementation.[114]

Throughout the 1970s the confusion and disagreements generated by competing redevelopment schemes for the Island made it difficult to achieve a consensus among public authorities, private developers, and local residents. This was attributable to the sheer number of plans proposed, the variety of competing interests with a stake in them, and the cost of the various alternatives. This last factor became an increasingly important source of contention as the decade wore on. The estimated cost of redeveloping Docklands in public funds alone was well over £1 billion. In the strained economic circumstances of the late 1970s, there was simply not enough public or private capital to finance massive redevelopment of either the Isle of Dogs or the whole of Docklands. Moreover the inability of concerned parties to arrive at a mutually acceptable set of objectives sometimes delayed even modest investment in needed improvements. As one

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[114]Johns, interview, 22 May 1978, 16 November 1979; BBC-3, "Power to the People;" and Island Resource Centre, "It Must Not Happen!", passim.

authority stated with respect to Docklands, a "succession of plans has chronicled problems and come up with ideas for [solutions]. However none was convincing enough to secure the commitment of the resources required."[115]

The failure to adopt and implement an overall redevelopment strategy for the Isle of Dogs during the 1970s had adverse consequences for the district. The most apparent of these were physical and developmental in nature. The problems spawned by the ill-planned development of the 1960s--rapid population growth, strained services and facilities, discontent among local residents--all continued into the following decade. Moreover the lack of certainty concerning such things as the ultimate fate of the West India and Millwall Docks, the Southern Relief Road, the amount of land available for redevelopment, and the type of building that would be permitted made it impossible for public authorities, private interests, and community groups to define and pursue long-range goals. As one community leader remarked, "We're the most planned, replanned, and planned again area in the whole of England I should think--let alone London. We've [had] more plans, schemes, and whatever thrown at us--and nothing [has] ever been done . . . It borders on the ridiculous."[116]

In reviewing the chronology of post-war redevelopment in the Island, several points should be reiterated. First, the failure of the Poplar Borough Council in the initial phase of reconstruction was largely due to a lack of resources. Inadequate funds made it impossible to provide the Island with the quantity of dwellings it needed. Nevertheless the quality of borough housing was often superior to that of the units which were

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[115]Falk, "London Docklands," p. 71. Also see Eyles, Problems and Policies in the Isle of Dogs, pp. 26-27.

[116]L. Jordan, interview, 10 May 1978.

constructed later by the LCC and its successor, the GLC. Second, the decision by metropolitan authorities to build tall flats in the Island over the objections of borough officials and local residents was a serious mistake. Tall flats did increase the number of physically adequate dwellings in the Island. However this was achieved at enormous social cost. Third, the chief developmental problem of the 1970s was the inability of public authorities to devise a comprehensive redevelopment plan which could reverse the Island's economic decline and meet the needs of its residents. The severity of existing problems and the cost of acceptable solutions ensure that this situation will not change in the near future. Finally, the constant theme that runs throughout the post-war history of Island redevelopment has been the failure of public authorities to muster the resources, the will, and the imagination to give the peninsula an attractive urban environment.

Post-war Redevelopment: Consequences

Post-war redevelopment changed Island society in several important ways, some of which already have been discussed. Obviously redevelopment transformed the physical character of the Island. It also altered the size and composition of the district's population. In addition to these physical and demographic changes, redevelopment had profound social consequences. As one local observer wrote in 1969, "extensive redevelopment forcibly hurled the Island into a new era of its existence and in doing so . . . shattered many well established aspects of community life."[117] It did so in three ways. First, redevelopment upset the residential stability of the community. Second, tall flats proved destructive of

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[117] Island Contact, Parish of the Isle of Dogs, January 1969, n.p.

family and communal life. And third, the district's already inadequate service, transport, and recreational facilities were stretched to the breaking point. All three of these developments combined to create a mood of discontent, frustration, and anger among Islanders.

The disruption of residential stability in the Island took several forms. The most obvious was the displacement of native Islanders from the district. The construction of public housing often entailed the demolition of existing housing. This forced many native residents to leave the district. Once completed, the new housing was distributed by borough and metropolitan authorities to families from all over Poplar and London on the basis of need. Since many non-Islanders were often in greater need than natives, they were assigned to the new housing in the district while former area residents were forced to move elsewhere.

In the abstract, the distribution of public housing on the basis of need rather than local roots was doubtless fair. However it was deeply resented by many Islanders. They believed that local residents wanting to remain or resettle in the district deserved priority over "newcomers." Indeed in 1948 one Cubitt Town Borough councillor complained that "people born and bred on the Island want to stay here but have [only] been offered places [in other parts] of Poplar."[118] Five years later the vicar of Christ Church voiced a similar complaint writing that

> there is some resentment in our midst by reason of the fact that many people who do not wish to leave the Island are obliged to do so, whereas others who have no inclination to live here find that they have to . . . There are many things in life, doubtless, that we fail to understand fully. The workings of local authorities must, I think, be ever one of such mysteries.[119]

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[118] East End News (London), 19 April 1948.

[119] Island Chronicle: Christ Church Parish Magazine, November 1953, n.p.

Similar views were voiced repeatedly by other Islanders in the 1960s and 1970s.[120]

The increasing percentage of public as opposed to private housing in the Island after 1945 gradually exacerbated this problem. On the eve of World War II roughly one-quarter of the housing units in the district were publicly owned. By 1961 the proportion had reached sixty percent. Five years later it stood at ninety-seven percent. This compared to 67.8 percent for all of Tower Hamlets, 32.3 percent for inner London, 24.6 percent for Greater London, and 27.9 percent for England and Wales in 1971.[121] As private housing became increasingly scarce in the Island, former residents and young married couples who did not qualify for public dwellings found it ever more difficult to return to/or remain in the Island. This disrupted the complex web of kinship and friendship ties which formed the foundation of local society.[122]

New residents, for their part, were not always delighted to come to the Island. Few had any ties to the district. Moreover its isolation, poor facilities, inadequate transport service, and rundown appearance

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[120] Evening Standard (London), 12 November 1963; Eyles, Problems and Policies in the Isle of Dogs, pp. 1-16; Johns, interview, 22 May 1978; Hames, interview; and John D. Allen, interview, London, 20 June 1978.

[121] Statistics drawn from data in East London Advertiser, 20 December 1935; "Statement of Housing Accommodation Provided by Poplar Borough Council under Housing Act to Date," 16 March 1938 and "Poplar Borough Council Pre-War Housing Properties," both in Local History Collection, Record Group 331.2; Tower Hamlets Central Library, London; Great Britain, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Facts and Figures: Population and Housing Analysis Based on the Findings of the 1961 National Census and Presented According to Wards (1967), p. 1; idem, Isle of Dogs, p. 12; and idem, Borough Plan Topic Paper: Housing (1976), p. 7.

[122] Evening Standard (London), 12 November 1963; Eyles, Problems and Policies in the Isle of Dogs, pp. 1-16; Johns, interview, 22 May 1978; Hames, interview; and Allen, interview.

were hardly calculated to appeal to new residents. Often newcomers accepted housing in the Island only because their existing housing circumstances were intolerable. Many hoped that once they became tenants in public housing estates, they could transfer to more attractive municipal housing elsewhere. As one such individual remarked, "They'd always say, 'You . . . do your five-year sentence in Millwall then you can [move off].'"[123]

This type of attitude undermined residential stability within the Island and made it difficult to create and maintain social networks. It also, quite naturally, infuriated native Islanders. One local councillor warned potential residents that

> people who do not fit in become a problem in themselves . . . The Island is very much a place for those who have family links or working connections in the area . . . [T]ightly knit [and] fiercely loyal to their community, the islanders welcome those who come to make a home among them. They resent those who come mainly to obtain a council flat as a bargaining point to transfer to another area.[124]

Not surprisingly a division between old-timers and newcomers in the Island developed during the 1960s and 1970s. Each of these groups tended to regard the other as unfriendly. Natives resented complaints about their beloved Island, while newcomers felt older residents were apathetic and complacent. One newcomer who later became a local councillor recalled that during the 1960s and early 1970s, "you were getting people from the outside . . . who didn't want to come here. But the GLC wanted to fill the estates up . . . and they forced people to come. They had no roots and you found a lot of clashes . . . between what you'd call the

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[123]Jean Park, interview, 19 June 1978.

[124]Bill Willson quoted in Island Contact, Parish of the Isle of Dogs, June 1969, n.p.

residents and the tenants."[125] The basic problem was admirably summed up by one old Islander who remarked that,

> when you began to get new people on the Island . . . the old friendships and all that split up . . . You came here, you got bunged into a flat, where was you? You was on your own. There [was] not the same neighborliness . . . If you've got to turn people out of their old homes, let them have houses in the district . . . they're used to. That was the big problem all along. They turned people away from districts where they were known and where they knew people [and put them] amongst a lot of strangers . . . And not everybody likes pickin' up . . . new acquaintances.[126]

In addition to upsetting the Island's residential stability, the redevelopment of the 1960s and 1970s was marked by a style of architecture which was displeasing to the eye and socially unsettling. As one Tower Hamlets planning document charged, the GLC estates in the Island were "bleak and inhuman in scale."[127] The great blocks of tall flats dominating the Island's skyline were especially impersonal, ugly, and susceptible to vandalism. One native voiced the popular sentiment when she said, "I loathe and abhor these estates . . . They are creating slums when they build these places."[128] Another noted that "nearly all the ground floors have broken windows and glass all over the pavements . . . It's nothing but a slum in some places."[129]

The social effects of GLC architecture were even worse than its aesthetic qualities. Flats, especially tall flats, proved detrimental to neighborhood and family life. Residents found it difficult to meet anyone other than the people who lived on their floor. Moreover the high turn-over rate in tower blocks made even this difficult. Mothers were often reluctant to permit young children to leave their flats. It was

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[125]Allen, interview. [126]Hames, interview.

[127]London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Isle of Dogs, p. 31.

[128]R. Willett, interview. [129]Hames, interview.

simply too difficult to supervise them from several stories above the street level. Millwall councillor Bill Willson summed up the negative effects of tall flats on communal life when he declared that

> the old backyard wall and upstairs neighbours have vanished since the tall blocks sprang up. The close spirit we had in those cosy rows of terraced cottages has disappeared . . . It's left a vacuum . . . The children of the '70s don't get to know the rest of the world growing up. Mum's are too frightened to let them out of sight to play in the street 20 stories below.[130]

Another Island activist speaking almost a decade later offered a similar judgment. He observed that "Samuda is a monstrosity, really, [so is] Barkentine . . . They're not stable enough . . . The turn over is terrific."[131]

As redevelopment was disrupting the Island's residential stability and littering the district with socially undesirable types of housing, it was also overloading the area's already inadequate facilities and services. Public planners argued that the Island's population must be increased to a level capable of supporting new services before such services could actually be provided.[132] While this position may have been logical, its short-term consequences made life in the Island still more unpleasant. Between 1961 and 1971, the ratio of shops to local residents went from 1:105 to 1:233. Despite the increasing school-aged population and the need to bus children off the peninsula, the Island's

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[130] East London Express, 16 January 1970. The dissatisfaction over tall flats was and still is intense in the Island. See Evening Standard (London), 12 November 1962; S. Willett, interview; Mrs. A, interview; Jean Park, interview, 19 June 1978; and Allen, interview.

[131] L. Jordan, interview, 10 May 1978. Also Jean Park, interview, 19 June 1978; and Johns, interview, 22 May 1978.

[132] London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Isle of Dogs, p. 6; and Stableford, "Local Plan," sections 2-3, appendix 2 passim.

only secondary school and one of its primary schools were closed in 1969 and 1971 respectively. Eventually the Isle was provided with a new secondary school, but only after intense agitation by local residents.[133] A proposed tube line for the district was never built, and its roads and bus service continued to deteriorate throughout the 1960s. Buses were simply too few and too infrequent to meet the district's needs. Not surprisingly, surveys taken in the 1960s and 1970s repeatedly revealed that better than ninety percent of the Islanders who used public transport regarded local services as inadequate.[134]

Confronted with a rising population and deteriorating services and facilities, Islanders quite naturally were skeptical of claims that more people would bring better amenities. One community activist expressed the prevailing opinion in the district when he remarked that

> nearly everytime [we] agitate for [better amenities], the carrot has been held in front of [us], "When the population grows . . . and when the demand is there, the the facilities will come." The population has doubled and tripled and they're still not here . . . "Accept Samuda, accept Barkentine, and accept the blessings that come with them," they say. Where the hell are they?[135]

By the late 1960s, the peninsula was seething with discontent. Many residents believed that the cohesion and character of local society had been shattered beyond repair.[136] Conditions were so bad that in 1970

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[133]Appendix 1, table 15; Stratford Express (London), 11 December 1964, 8 January 1965, 5 February 1965; East London Advertiser, 15 and 29 January 1965, 8 August 1966, 6 January 1967, 11 June 1971, 8 June 1973; and East London Express, 21 January 1972, 16 January 1973. Also L. and P. Jordan, interview, 10 May 1978.

[134]See e.g. London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Isle of Dogs, p. 8; idem, Isle of Dogs Plan: Result of Public Consultation (1977), pp. 11-12, appendices 2-3; and Island Resource Centre, Public Transport Survey, passim.

[135]L. Jordan, interview, 10 May 1978. Also see BBC-3, "Power to the People."

[136]E.g. V. Willett, interview; Lowery, interview; French, interview;

there were public demonstrations involving hundreds of Islanders protesting the situation. The protests briefly captured national and even international attention.[137]

A 1971 social survey of the problems of the Island revealed that over two-thirds of the district's residents were dissatisfied with its overall environment. Those living in tower blocks tended to be much more dissatisfied than those living in houses or low-rise flats. Islanders living in areas which had not been redeveloped, particularly Cahir Street and Chapel House Estate, were much less likely to be dissatisfied than those who lived in GLC estates. Predictably, of those who were satisfied with the Island's environment, the majority were natives of the district—sixty-six percent possessed strong local kinship networks, and eighty percent had many local friends. Newcomers to the Island, lacking such ties, were much more apt to be dissatisfied than natives.[138]

An analysis of the Island's post-war problems based on the 1971 survey and published five years later concluded that

> changes in the physical environment have not brought many benefits to the Island's residents, except for better home conditions . . . In the past, the strength of the local community compensated . . . for the lack of access to urban facilities, but post-war planning has greatly altered the social [environment] . . . The emphasis on physical redevelopment has destroyed . . . old social networks without providing much in their place . . . The Isle of Dogs is . . . inhabited for the most part by dissatisfied people with shrinking social networks.[139]

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and Mr. B, interview, London, 13 April 1978. Others could be cited.

[137]This was the so-called UDI (Unilateral Declaration of Independence) incident. It will be dealt with more fully in chapter VI.

[138]For convenient summaries ot these survey results, see Stableford, "Local Plan," appendix 3, A3.4-A3.5; and Eyles, Problems and Policies in the Isle of Dogs, pp. 9-16.

[139]Eyles, Problems and Policies in the Isle of Dogs, pp. 14-16 passim.

The developmental stalemate of the 1970s only served to perpetuate and aggravate this unfortunate state of affairs. Indeed, since 1940, Island society has not experienced any prolonged period of calm and stability. Ian Micardo, the former M. P. for Poplar-Stepney, summed up the plight of the district when he remarked that "war blight lasted on the Island for twenty years. And there has been . . . years of building blight . . . There isn't a single [person] on the Island who has seen normality for forty years."[140]

Unfortunately there is little likelihood that this situation will change in the immediate future. As one expert put it,

> for some years ahead [there] seems to be the increased likelihood of either no development or piecemeal development . . . small improvements--better bus service, more shops with homes--are possible, but such piecemeal redevelopment is unlikely to meet . . . "essential human requirements" or the demand of existing residents.[141]

The real victims of redevelopment, of course, have been the Island's residents. Most are understandably bitter over the manner in which their community has been ravaged by poorly planned and executed urban renewal schemes. They acknowledge, as one resident said, that "redevelopment was long overdue," but added that they have been "appalled to see how it was done."[142] One resident summed up the popular view when he declared that those in charge of redevelopment in the Island and neighboring districts had

> ruint the East End . . . They've torn down all the little houses and built all the blocks of flats instead--torn little rows of shops down

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[140]Department of Communication Studies, The Island (London: Polytechnic of Central London, 1973), p. 2.

[141]Eyles, Problems and Policies in the Isle of Dogs, pp. 26-27.

[142]R. Willett, interview. Also Hames, interview; and East London Express, 16 January 1970.

> [too] . . . They've given people places to live in, but they're just not the right places for 'em to live in.[143]

Another resident put the matter even more pointedly. "During the War," he wrote, "the Island was bruised and battered but refused to lay down. After the War they ripped the guts out of it."[144]

Economic Decline, 1945-80

War and redevelopment have not been the only challenges faced by Island society since 1940. In recent years it has experienced a profound economic crisis as well. This crisis is the product of the general economic decline of London's Docklands region. For many years, the seriousness of this decline was obscured by relative national and metropolitan prosperity. Demographic decline which exceeded job losses and therefore kept the area's unemployment rate low for many years also helped to conceal the problem. Since 1970, however, this situation has changed. Accelerating economic decline and job loss have threatened the viability of many Docklands communities, including the Isle of Dogs. This section examines the course, causes, and social consequences of the economic crisis which presently grips Docklands in general and the Island in particular.

Historically the economy of the Docklands area has been closely linked to the Thames and portside activities. Local industry has been dominated by the docking trades, transportation, and heavy manufacturing. This has been more true of the Island than perhaps any other part of Docklands. For well over a hundred and fifty years, Island firms have tended to be larger and more sophisticated than those in other parts of East

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[143] R. Park, interview, 19 June 1978.

[144] Hames to author, London, 26 April 1979.

London. Likewise, their prosperity has been closely linked to that of the port.[145]

The basic character of the Island's economy is reflected by the composition of its present resident labor force. A 1976 survey revealed that of the 6,210 economically active adults living in the Island, 87.5 percent were engaged in manual labor. This compared to a figure of 51.0 percent for Greater London. Almost eighty-seven percent of the Isle's resident labor force worked in either manufacturing, transportation, or the distribution services. The corresponding figure for Greater London was 52.7 percent. Fifty-nine percent of the Island's sixty-two hundred jobs were supplied by only thirteen firms and the Port of London Authority. Overall, thirty-nine of the district's roughly one hundred firms, accounting for sixty percent of the peninsula's jobs, were connected with the docks or the river.[146]

Since the end of World War II--and in some cases before--the port and manufacturing industries concentrated in London's Docklands have been in a state of relative and absolute decline. Employment at London's docks, which stood at thirty-one thousand in 1955, had declined to ninety-eight hundred twenty years later. Over roughly the same period, the number working in shipbuilding and ship repair also fell sharply, dropping from six thousand to less than one thousand. Barge traffic on the Thames, a good indicator of the volume of business at London's wharves and docks, has also fallen precipitately. In 1963 it stood at thirteen million tons per

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[145]London Docklands Study Team, Docklands, 1:7-18; and London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Isle of Dogs, p. 16.

[146]London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Draft Local Plan, appendix 2, tables 1-2, 8; Great Britain, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Docklands in Tower Hamlets (1973), appendix 1, table 3.

annum. Fifteen years later it had dropped to three million tons. Not surprisingly, the number of working wharves on the Thames decreased from 120 in 1965 to 55 in 1976.[147]

As London's port has declined, so have its manufacturing industries. In the case of Docklands, this decline reaches well back into the 1920s. Moreover in recent decades it has spread beyond Docklands to other areas of London as well. Between 1961 and 1973, the number of Londoners employed in manufacturing fell by more than 550,000--a drop of thirty-four percent.[148] In addition, manufacturing's share of the total metropolitan work force declined from a peak of 32.6 percent in 1961 to an estimated 20 percent in 1981.[149]

Tower Hamlets, the borough in which the Isle of Dogs is situated, has suffered more than any other part of London from the decline of port-side and manufacturing industries. Between 1964 and 1980, the amount of land in Tower Hamlets devoted to industrial pursuits dropped by forty-four percent, from 151 to 85 hectares. By 1980, there were 261 vacant commercial premises in the district. From 1961 to 1971, the number of jobs in the borough declined by twenty-five percent, from 135,247 to 103,842.[150]

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[147]Nigel Spearing, "London's Docks" Up or Down River?," The London Journal 4 (Summer 1978):231-37. Also see Hill, Dockers, pp. 1-56 passim; Docklands Joint Committee, Strategic Plan, pp. 7-8; London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Draft Local Plan, 2.9-2.10, 3.25-3.38; and Stableford, "Local Plan," 3.1-3.10.

[148]Great Britain, Greater London Council, The Marshall Inquiry on Greater London: Report to the Greater London Council, by Frank Marshall (1978), p. 35.

[149]Peter Damesick, "The Inner City Economy in Industrial and Post-industrial London," The London Journal 6 (Summer 1980):28.

[150]Alice Coleman, "The Death of the Inner City: Cause and Cure," The London Journal 6 (Summer 1980):5, 8-11; and London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Draft Local Plan, 3.25.

In the 1970s, moreover, the rate of job loss accelerated. In the first three years of the decade, manufacturing employment in Tower Hamlets fell by fourteen percent and jobs in the sea and port transport trades dropped by twenty-five percent.[151]

The causes of the decline of London's port and manufacturing industries are complex and interrelated. In recent years inner London's once busy wharves and docks have suffered from a decrease in London's importance as an international port plus a shift of Thames shipping from the upper docks down river to the Tilbury complex. The fall in the total amount of shipping handled by the Port of London has been largely due to the rise of more modern competing ports in both Europe and other parts of the United Kingdom. The shift of trade within the port itself from the upper docks to Tilbury has been attributable to the larger size of new vessels, the adoption of modern containerization and cargo handling techniques at the down-river docks, and the faster turn around time achieved by vessels using Tilbury. Antiquated equipment, outdated work methods, over-staffing, and labor problems have compounded the problems of London's older up-river docking facilities. So, too, has the tremendous expansion of roads and motor traffic since 1950, both of which have taken traffic from the Thames.[152]

As the Thames upper docks declined, the ancillary and manufacturing industries based upon them suffered a similar fate. However, other factors have also undermined inner London's manufacturing firms. Rents and

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[151]Docklands Joint Committee, Strategic Plan, pp. 7-8.

[152]Ibid., pp. 7-13; J. Hall, London, pp. 38-39; Spearing, "London's Docks," pp. 231-42; Hill, Dockers, pp. 1-56 passim; and Trades Union Congress, "Docklands," section VIII, 1-36.

rates, which rose as much as eight fold in Tower Hamlets between 1964 and 1980, placed a heavy burden on local industries. These pressures were exacerbated by the lack of open ground on which to build modern facilities or expand older ones, antiquated buildings, obsolete equipment, and poor roads.[153] In addition until quite recently, the tendency of manufacturing firms to leave inner London was reinforced by national and metropolitan policies designed to decentralize London and divert people, jobs, and businesses from the "prosperous southeast" to the depressed areas of the North, Wales, and Scotland.[154]

For many years the seriousness of inner London's economic decline was obscured by the relative prosperity enjoyed by the United Kingdom and its capital. From 1945 to 1975, Britain maintained an average annual real growth rate of 2.5 percent--the highest in its history. During these years, real wages rose by eighty-eight percent. Unemployment seldom exceeded three percent. Throughout the period, London was the most prosperous part of the nation. While the living standards of those inhabiting inner London were somewhat below the national average, the improvement over the interwar years was profound.[155]

Inner London maintained its prosperity despite a declining economic base because the loss of jobs in local, staple industries was more than offset by a fall in the district's population. The number of people in

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[153]Coleman, "Inner City," pp. 4-7; Hames, interview; Lomas, "Inner London's Future," pp. 96-105; Greater London Council, Marshall Inquiry, pp. 35-39; and J. Hall, London, pp. 38-43.

[154]Wilcox and Richards, London, pp. 17-25, 39-49; J. Hall, London, pp. 17-34; Greater London Council, Marshall Inquiry, pp. 35-39; and Martin, Industrial Geography, pp. 217-50.

[155]Bernard Nossiter, Britain--A Future that Works (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1978), pp. 74-106.

Greater London fell from 8.2 million in 1951 to barely 7 million twenty-five years later. During the same period, the population of inner London fell even faster, dropping from 3.3 million to 2.5 million.[156]

For much of this period, the Island—in common with neighboring areas—also experienced a population decline. The district, which had had over 21,000 in 1939, contained only 10,162 residents in 1951. A decade later the local population had declined still further to 9,056.[157] For a time during the 1950s and 1960s, Island employers actually complained of a shortage of unskilled labor. Some firms, particularly food processors, were forced to leave the district due to an inability of recruit enough workers. For the first time in living memory, the Isle of Dogs enjoyed full employment in peacetime.[158]

During the early 1970s, this situation began to change. The national economy entered a period of intense difficulties. The precise causes of this development are still debated by economists. However they were undoubtedly linked to rising energy costs, intensifying foreign competition, and a global recession. In London, the industries most adversely affected by the economic downturn were docking and manufacturing—the two mainstays of the economy of Docklands.[159]

The Island, like other riverside areas, was hit hard by the country's economic troubles. Between 1971 and 1977 the number of firms operating in the Island fell from 115 to 80. Moreover a 1976 survey revealed that

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[156]Wilcox and Richards, London, p. 19. [157]Appendix 1, table 16.

[158]East End News (London), 19 March 1948; Martin, Industrial Geography, pp. 148, 175, 224; and East London Advertiser, 18 November 1966.

[159]Wilcox and Richards, London, pp. 34-49; Nossiter, Britain, pp. 83-106; and François Bédarida, A Social History of England 1815-1975, trans. A. S. Forster (London: Methuen, 1979), pp. 276-78.

over one-fourth of the district's remaining firms planned to leave in the foreseeable future. The report also revealed that there were over sixty-five acres of derelict or vacant industrial sites in the peninsula--a block of land comprising over ten percent of the district's surface area.[160]

The Island's docks were also seriously threatened by the recession. Between 1970 and 1975, the tonnage handled at the West India and Millwall Docks dropped from 2.3 to 0.8 million tons. As a result several quays were closed in 1972. By 1978 the Island's once profitable docking complex was losing over £4 million a year. The situation was so bleak that the PLA considered closing both the West India and the Millwall Docks in 1976 and again in 1978. This action posed a direct threat to over two thousand jobs at the docks, plus fourteen hundred positions connected with ancillary firms situated within the dock walls. Only strong resistance by local businessmen, trade unions, community action groups, and the Tower Hamlets Council thwarted the move.[161]

Despite the successful defense of the West India and Millwall Docks, the number of jobs in Island firms declined from over ninety-two hundred in 1969 to sixty-two hundred just eight years later. Roughly sixty percent of the jobs lost were in manufacturing.[162] Most of the rest were in river

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[160]Appendix 1, tables 13 and 14; and London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Draft Local Plan, 2.11-2.14, 3.32-3.34, appendix 2, tables 11-12.

[161]London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Draft Local Plan, 3.35-3.36; Spearing, "London's Docks," pp. 231-42; Trades Union Congress, "Docklands," section VIII, 1-36 passim; Evening Standard (London), 19 January 1976; East End News (London), 20 January 1976; East Ender (London), 13 May 1978, 3 June 1978; and newspaper clippings in London, Tower Hamlets Central Library, Local History Collection, Record Group 964.4.

[162]Great Britain, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Isle of Dogs Planning Study: Final Report (1969), p. 11; idem, Draft Local Plan, 2.11-2.14, 3.24-3.34, appendix 2.

and port transport work. During the 1970s there were only two growth areas in the Island's economy so far as jobs were concerned. The first was in the warehousing and distribution trades. This was due to the tendency of firms engaged in these trades to move into the spacious lots once occupied by local manufacturing firms. Unfortunately distribution trades provided fewer than half as many jobs per acre as the industrial operations which they replaced. The second and greater growth area in the local economy with respect to jobs was in the white-collar sector. This was of little help in a district where eighty-seven percent of the economically active adults were manual workers. Predictably most of those working in white-collar positions actually lived outside the Island.[163]

Unfortunately, as the number of jobs available in the Island decreased at an accelerating rate, the local population began to rise. As noted in the previous section, redevelopment pushed the Island's population up from barely nine thousand in 1961 to over twelve thousand a decade later. Moreover it continued to increase in the 1970s. By 1977 the number of Islanders was estimated at fifteen thousand. Additionally, various planning schemes envisioned the number of local residents rising to anywhere from nineteen to forty thousand by the end of the century.[164]

This combination of declining job opportunities and a rising population pushed up the Island's unemployment rate dramatically. The Island, which had enjoyed full employment throughout the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, was experiencing a 5.2 percent jobless rate by 1971. As indicated

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[163]Ibid.; and idem, Docklands in Tower Hamlets, pp. 12-14.

[164]Appendix 1, table 16; Wilcox and Richards, London, p. 19; Stableford, "Local Plan," appendix 2; and Docklands Joint Committee, Strategic Plan, p. 72.

in table 12, the rate more than tripled over the next six years, reaching sixteen percent in 1977. While unemployment for Greater London and the rest of the United Kingdom also rose during these years, the overall rate for both remained only half that of the Island.

TABLE 12.--Unemployment Rates, 1971-1977[a]

	Poplar/ Isle of Dogs[b]	Greater London	Great Britain
1971	5.2	2.4	3.7
1972	8.3	3.3	4.8
1973	5.5	1.9	2.7
1974	6.8	2.4	3.6
1975	11.0	4.5	5.5
1976	12.0	5.5	6.2
1977	16.0	7.3	8.2

[a]Sources: Wilcox and Richards, London, p. 35; Stableford,"Local Plan," 3.3; London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Draft Local Plan, appendix 2, tables 4-5; and J. Hill, London, p. 43.

[b]Figures for just the Isle of Dogs are unavailable. The figures in this column deal with parts of Poplar as well as the Island.

By 1980 the Island's economy resembled those of the depressed industrial cities of northern England, Scotland, and Wales. Like them, it was characterized by antiquated plants, high unemployment, and an outward migration of firms and jobs. Given the structural similarity between the Island's economy and those of other nineteenth century industrial districts, this should have been predictable. However planners and officials --blinded by the prosperity of Greater London and the Southeast--were slow

to anticipate this situation. Consequently until well into the 1970s, they continued to pursue policies that encouraged industry to leave the area.[165]

The decline of the Island's economy had profound social as well as economic consequences for the local community. In many respects it weakened the district's social stability and cohesion. As one firm after another closed down or cut back its work force in the post-war decades, countless local social networks centered on the workplace were destroyed or weakened. One woman recalled that when "Morton's closed down . . . it was a sad day because everybody you knew worked at Morton's."[166] The same was true at the docks. As the numbers working at the West India-Millwall complex declined, the old closely-knit docking fraternity in the Island began to disappear. One trade union report sadly concluded that due to the decline of the Thames upper docks, East London's "waterside communities have become pretty well shattered. In our view, that was a tragedy which has had unfortunate consequences for . . . individuals and families and which might raise far reaching issues relating to the future of urban societies in general."[167]

In the late 1970s the Island's economic climate was such that few new firms rose to replace those which closed down. Consequently the number and strength of communal networks based on the workplace declined.

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[165]Wilcox and Richards, London, pp. 19-49; London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Draft Local Plan, 2.11-2.14, appendix 2, tables 4-5; idem, Docklands in Tower Hamlets, pp. 12-14; Trades Union Congress, "Docklands," sections VIII-IX; and Johns, interviews, 22 May 1978, 16 November 1979.

[166]Amy Barnes, interview. Also L. Jordan, interviews, 10 May and 8 June 1978; and Johns, interviews. 22 May 1978, 16 November 1979.

[167]Trades Union Congress, "Docklands," section VI, 5; Hill, Dockers, pp. 163-77, 196-203; and East London Advertiser, 7 May 1976.

Many young people, once introduced into the community beyond their family and school by social ties forged at work, were forced to commute or even move from the district in search of jobs.[168] Similarly newcomers brought into the Island by redevelopment were often unable to find jobs locally. Therefore they tended to retain jobs and ties in other parts of London. This slowed their integration into Island society.[169]

As one Island native declared, "people used to come to Millwall to work . . . but now Millwallers have to go off to find work."[170] Available statistics support this observation. Up through 1970 the Island was a net importer of labor. This is no longer the case. In the inter-war period, seventy-five percent of the Island's resident work force was employed locally. By the late 1970s, seventy percent of the district's economically active adults commuted out of the district to work.[171] The potential threat this situation posed to the community was aptly summed up by one Island leader. He remarked that the district "must have [jobs] . . . Otherwise this is just going to become somewhere to sleep. It's not going to be a living community [without] industry."[172]

It remains to be seen whether or not the Island can retain enough jobs to remain viable. Certainly the trends of the post-war era have not

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[168] East London Advertiser, 13 March 1959; L. and P. Jordan, interview, 10 May 1978; and Johns, interviews, 22 May 1978, 16 November 1979.

[169] Johns, interviews, 22 May 1978, 16 November 1979; and L. Jordan, interview, 10 May 1978.

[170] Mrs. M, interview.

[171] Appendix 2, table 51; London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Draft Local Plan, appendix 2, table 3; and East London Advertiser, 19 October 1973.

[172] L. Jordan, interview, 10 May 1978. Also Johns, interviews, 22 May 1978, 16 November 1979.

been encouraging in this respect. In recent years, however, there have been some hopeful signs on the economic front. Public officials, planners, and community action groups have at last come to realize the importance of preserving and revitalizing the district's economic base. Tax incentives, subsidies, and aggressive industrial recruiting are now being used to encourage existing firms to remain in the peninsula and to attract new businesses to the district.[173] These efforts have yielded some successes, such as the relocation of the historic fish market at Billingsgate to a new site in the West India Docks.[174] Other new businesses such as small furniture manufacturers and retail outlets have also moved to the Island.[175]

In addition to these efforts, there has been serious consideration given to a number of far reaching proposals designed to make the district more attractive to new industries. Some local leaders have proposed making the district a duty free port. Others have suggested that the area be designated a tax free urban enterprise zone. Both these proposals are being seriously studied by the appropriate authorities.[176] If adopted, either or both of them might spur a revival of portside industries. Whatever the decisions on these and related issues, it is clear that the developments of the next decade or so will do much to determine the character and vigor of the Island's economy over the long term. That,

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[173]Johns, interviews, 22 May 1978, 16 November 1979; and London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Draft Local Plan, 3.24-3.89.

[174]East Ender (London), 8 April 1978.

[175]London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Draft Local Plan, 3.35-3.89.

[176]See references cited in footnote 172 above; and Joint Docklands Study Group, Industrial Estates in Docklands (London: n.p., 1977), pp. 1-18.

in turn, will have tremendous consequences for the social fabric of the local community.

Welfare and Affluence: The Seeds of Social Change

War, redevelopment, and economic decline were the most visible and dramatic forces reshaping Island society after 1940. However the community was subjected to other more subtle and pervasive pressures during the same period as well. Some of these pressures were associated with the agencies and activities of the post-war welfare state. Others were the by-products of affluence and technological progress in the 1950s and 1960s. All of them had one thing in common. In a variety of ways, they tended to lessen the dependence of the individual on the residential community for security, support, and social outlets.

During the 1940s the most dramatic of these forces acting upon Island society was the welfare state. Thanks to the implementation of a variety of programs including increased unemployment benefits, national health insurance, more generous pensions, additional public housing, rent subsidies, and so on, primary poverty virtually disappeared from the Isle of Dogs.[177] For the first time in the peninsula's history as an urban district, it ceased to be common to see people who were poorly dressed, badly fed, and obviously in need. Workers in local social, religious, and charitable institutions were quick to notice the change. In 1949 the warden of St. Mildred's reported that,

> the work of the House is gradually changing due to the many benefits given to the people on the Island through state legislation. Gone

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[177]Pauline Gregg, The Welfare State: An Economic and Social History of Great Britain from 1945 to the Present Day (Amhurst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1969), pp. 3-63, 85-94, 236-312; A. H. Halsey, Change in British Society (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), pp. 20-42; Judith Ryder and Harold Silver, Modern English Society (London:

> are the days when we distributed large joints of meat at Christmas. Gone too are the days when children were genuinely pleased to receive second-hand toys and books. We must be thankful that those days have disappeared because it means that standards of living have improved.[178]

In succeeding years the state continued to provide Islanders with a steady and expanding stream of programs, grants, and subsidies. Older Islanders were especially aware of the impact this had on the quality of life. Even those who were critical of bureaucratic waste, inefficiency, and insensitivity acknowledged that the "poor people and the old people are better looked after now."[179] One elderly Islander said laughingly that "when I go down and get my pension, I get shakey 'cause I've never had so much money."[180] Another declared with deep emotion

> we're so grateful for what we're gettin' now . . . In our mums' day we never had any wireless, or tellies, or pensions, or old [age pensioners'] centers . . . Now we've got everything to our advantage, haven't we? . . . Our mums never got anything. They worked hard and they never got any free things . . . We're grateful for all these [government services].[181]

This trend toward increased individual security, independence, and autonomy was reinforced by the advent of an era of unprecedented affluence in the mid-1950s. Between 1950 and the mid-1970s, real income in Britain rose by eighty-eight percent.[182] Increased purchasing power brought healthier diets, better clothes, and--eventually--more spacious housing. It also resulted in the proliferation of a range of modern consumer goods which offered easier living and new forms of recreation and transportation to working people.

Methuen, 1977), pp. 187-248; Mrs. L and Mrs. M, interview; and L. Jordan and Johns, interview, 8 June 1978.

[178] St. Mildred's House: Annual Report (1949), n.p.

[179] Mrs. M, interview.

[180] Lowery, interview.

[181] Mrs. I, interview.

[182] Nossiter, Britain, pp. 74-80.

Vacuum cleaners, washing machines, and refrigerators became increasingly common in working-class homes. In 1951 barely one British household in fifteen owned a television set. A decade later the ratio was two in three, and in 1975, nine out of ten.[183] The same period also witnessed a dramatic increase in the private ownership of automobiles. Between 1945 and 1973, the number of people per car in Great Britain decreased from 31:1 to 4:1.[184]

The speed with which this age of at least relative affluence engulfed the Island was amazing. As one man recalled, "things changed suddenly. I can't pinpoint the year, but everybody had nothing, then, all the sudden, everybody had something."[185] Writing in 1954, the warden of St. Mildred's commented that in contrast to previous years there were many Islanders

> who owned a television set, a motor-bicycle and sidecar, maybe even a car . . . and bicycles for the children. Some go on expensive holidays for their fortnight off work during the year. A great deal is spent on the children. It is quite the thing for them to have a new outfit, all to match, for Christmas. They have huge dolls and dolls' prams, and other expensive toys.[186]

In the 1950s a number of social critics began to voice concern over the impact of this unprecedented material prosperity on communities like the Isle of Dogs and the traditional proletarian culture which they embodied. The most prominent of these critics was Richard Hoggart. Hoggart wrote disparagingly of the corrosive effects of the new "mass culture" purveyed by advertisers, writers, and journalists through popular publications and television. According to Hoggart, traditional proletarian

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[183] Bédarida, Social History, p. 256.

[184] Ibid. Also see Ryder and Silver, English Society, pp. 271-76.

[185] R. Park, interview, 9 March 1978,

[186] St. Mildred's House: Annual Report (1953), p. 6.

values of

> "straight dealing," "good neighbourliness," "looking on the bright side," "openness," "lending a helping hand," "not being stuck-up or a getter-on," [and] loyalty . . . are a good deal more healthy than the commercial values--pride, ambition, out doing your acquaintances, show for its own sake, [and] conspicuous consumption--which working-class people are consistently invited to adopt nowadays.[187]

Hoggart was followed by a spate of authors who offered similar critiques of post-war British society. Put simply, they claimed that modern materialism was destroying the interdependence, cohesion, and collective and communal values of traditional working-class communities such as the Isle of Dogs.[188]

Regardless of whether one accepts or rejects this pessimistic picture, it is clear that the agencies and activities of the welfare state plus the comparative affluence of the post-war era have in some ways weakened the foundations of traditional working-class communities. They have lessened the need of individuals to depend upon the residential community for support in times of difficulty. Moreover they have helped to make the home an alternative to the community. In 1969 the average Englishman spent roughly one-quarter of his leisure time watching television at home.[189] Numerous studies have shown that working-class families are spending more time together in their homes and less time interacting with their neighbors. As one author noted, the "public aspects of life in formerly poor communities--living in the street, court, and public houses, have given way . . . to increasing privitization . . . The sociability which is supposed to have characterized life in the slums has declined with affluence."[190] In a sense the arrival of the welfare state

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[187]Hoggart, Literacy, p. 141. [188]See chapter I.

[189]Bédarida, Social History, p. 256. [190]Burnett, Housing, p. 276.

and relative affluence has transformed participation in communal life from being a virtual necessity to a matter of personal choice.

Island society, of course, has not been immune to the corrosive impact of state welfare programs and post-war prosperity. While no one wishes to return to the pre-war days of poverty, thoughtful Islanders are concerned about some of the social consequences of affluence. As one local leader noted,

> much of what created the old [working-class] communities is gone. The glue that held most of the old communities together was poverty . . . In that situation . . . people tend very much more to live in each others' pockets—because you have to to survive. So there is this very close knit [feeling] . . . That obviously doesn't exist now.[191]

Another Islander, lamenting the decline of neighborliness, made a similar point. "The trouble is that this generation ain't experienced hard times," he said. "You've got to experience hard times to appreciate your neighbors or anybody else."[192] An older native agreed, adding, "it was the hard times that kept them together [before the war]."[193]

As noted earlier, affluence has not only reduced the need for Islanders to participate in their community, it has offered alternatives to participation as well. Older Islanders are especially critical of the impact of television and the automobile in this regard. One complained that

> today you don't know your neighbors. I've lived in my house in Mellish Street since 1957 and I don't know half of the people that live in the street . . . Half of them have got a motor car . . . and can get away from London. They're not interested in their neighbors. You've got a television you can sit and watch all night . . . You had to make your own entertainment with your family and friends [in the old days]. But today you've got it all laid on for you.[194]

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[191]Johns, interview, 22 May 1978. [192]R. Park, interview, 9 March 1978.

[193]Stewart, interview. [194]Mr. A, interview.

Another Islanders offered a similar view, noting that "before television . . . families . . . had a piano where they'd sit and sing . . . It was more sociable. You could go into anybody's house and . . . you'd start talking. Well now, with the telly, you go in . . . and turn [it on instead]."[195]

The automobile and television also appear to have affected participation in some traditional local institutions as well. Religious leaders, for example, often cite them to account for at least some of the decline in church attendance.[196] Even participation in pub life seems low by historical standards. One 1971 survey revealed that less than half of the Island's adult population frequented local pubs. Of these, a third went less than once a week.[197]

In addition to reducing the level of social activity outside the home, many Islanders contend that affluence has made people more competitive and less friendly. "We've become more materialistic for the good things in life," mused one older Islander. "I don't think we are as happy as we were. Eveybody's out for greed--money, money, money."[198] Another old gentleman offered a similar opinion. "There was less snobbishness in those days than what there is today," he claimed. His wife added, "There is a lot of this 'I can do better than you can' sort of thing. And there's not that closeness that there was."[199] Many other examples of those holding similar beliefs could be cited.[200]

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[195]Mrs. M, interview. [196]Lowery, interview; and French, interview.

[197]Eyles, Problems and Policies in the Isle of Dogs, p. 16.

[198]S. Willett, interview. [199]Albert and Amy Barnes, interview.

[200]E.g. Mr. A, interview; Hames, interview; R. and Jean Park, interviews, 9 March and 19 June 1978; and Mrs. L and Mrs. M, interview.

Of course, such statements should not simply be taken at face value. Much of the sentiment which prompts them is nostalgia for an idealized past. Certainly status distinctions based at least partially on income are nothing new to the Island. Moreover, however unwelcome some aspects of contemporary life might be, no one really desires to trade today's prosperity for yesterday's poverty. Finally, it is important to note that many undesirable changes attributed to affluence are really the consequences of social dislocations caused by war, redevelopment, and industrial decline. Given time and corrective action, they could be reversed.

Nevertheless there can be little doubt that welfare benefits, rising standards of living, and technological progress have made Islanders and their counterparts in other working-class communities more independent and self-sufficient than ever before. In so far as this has occurred, residents have been freed of much of their former dependence on the community for support, security, and social activity. Consequently the degree to which Islanders participate in communal life is increasingly a matter of choice rather than compulsion. This constitutes a major departure from the traditional pattern of proletarian communal life and culture.

Summation

During the forty-odd years after the start of the Second World War, Island society endured a succession of crises. The war itself brought devastation and depopulation. After initially high hopes, poor planning and inept execution turned post-war redevelopment into a bitter disappointment. The physical fabric of the community was rent apart, its demographic balance upset, and its social cohesion sorely tested. During the 1970s, the plight of local society was aggravated by the accelerating decline of

the Island's basic industries. Moreover, throughout the post-war period, the erosion of traditional patterns of behavior was reinforced by the unforeseen consequences of government social programs and rising local standards of living. Both offered Islanders new and attractive alternatives to reliance upon their residential community for essential services and social satisfaction.

By 1980 the majority of Islanders found the quality of communal life far from satisfactory. Older residents yearned for the insularity, order, and patterns of the past. Their younger counterparts were uncertain about the prospects for a genuine renewal of communal vitality in the future. One committed Island activist reflected the mood of the bulk of the population. "I think we have got a tremendous struggle ahead of us [to survive as a community]," he said. "I'm confident we can battle through . . . but I'm not sure what the outcome will be."[201]

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[201]Johns, interview, 22 May 1978.

CHAPTER VI

CONTEMPORARY ISLAND SOCIETY: CHANGE AND CONTINUITY

Introduction

As noted in chapter V, war, redevelopment, industrial decline, the activities of the welfare state, and unprecedented prosperity have placed tremendous strains on Island society. Collectively, these forces have upset the Island's demographic stability, disrupted many of its once well established social networks, and weakened local institutions. They have also altered the lives of Islanders in ways which have weakened traditional forms of communal consciousness and participation. There even have been times when the forces of change threatened the social and physical survival of the local community.

Of course the Island has not faced the challenges of the post-1940 era in isolation. Most other working-class communities have confronted them as well. Indeed, as indicated in chapter I, the impact of these challenges has been so serious and so pervasive that many scholars question the ability of proletarian communities to survive in any recognizable form. Those authorities who hold this view usually point to changes in one or more of three distinct areas as being responsible for the demise of working-class villages.

Some authors claim that redevelopment has altered the urban landscape in ways which make it almost impossible for proletarian communities to survive. Others argue that changes in the nature of class and class consciousness have eliminated the social bases for proletarian communities. Still others claim that affluence, mobility, and security have undermined the communal ethos among working-class people. Finally, some scholars assert that developments in all three of these areas have interacted to bring about the decline of proletarian communities.[1]

Most of the authors who advance these interpretations regard working-class communities as being hopelessly parochial, rigid, and repressive. Therefore they tend to view their destruction as a positive development. This perspective leads them to be critical of efforts to preserve or to revitalize such communities. Local community action groups or urban planners who take an opposite view are usually dismissed as being either naive or politically reactionary.[2]

Chapter VI analyzes the experiences of the Isle of Dogs as a means of testing these various pessimistic interpretations of the contemporary fate of working-class communities. Specifically it discusses areas of change and continuity in the Island's urban environment, class structure, and communal vitality. The aim is to determine whether and to what degree the district retains its character as a proletarian community. The chapter also contains a section detailing the rise and assessing the impact of local community action groups. It assesses the importance of the Island as a meaningful unit of collective political action. This, in turn,

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[1]For a review of the literature on these topics, see chapter I of this dissertation.

[2]See e.g., Dennis, "Neighbourhood Community Idea," pp. 191-206.

reveals much about the community's character and its continuing importance in the lives of its residents.

Urban Environment: Change and Continuity

In recent years a good deal of research and practical experience have been accumulated concerning the influence of the physical environment on the social life of working-class villages. The evidence clearly demonstrates that urban districts with clear boundaries; low-rise dwelling units; relatively short streets, and carefully designed complexes of shops, recreational facilities, and social centers are the most conducive to the survival and revival of traditional proletarian neighborhood life. Unfortunately most modern British redevelopment schemes have lacked these features. Instead they often contain tall flats, long thoroughfares, and poorly designed and situated service centers. As a result, local social life often developed more slowly and less completely than would otherwise be the case.[3]

Certainly the Island, more than most districts, has felt the impact of poorly planned and executed redevelopment schemes. As indicated in chapter V, these schemes have certainly affected the quality and the cohesion of local communal life adversely. Nevertheless the Island retains many environmental features which are conducive to a vigorous local society. In the first place, the Island's basic geography continues to do much to create, reinfornce, and preserve a strong sense of community among its residents. In addition the poor quality of the Island's overall physical environment ensures that its population will remain predominantly working

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[3]See e.g. Willmott, Evolution of a Community, pp. 17-78, 118-24; Jennings, Societies, chapters IV, IX passim; Burnett, Housing, pp. 281-95; and Cooney, "High Flats," pp. 171-77.

class. Moreover in many parts of the peninsula the traditional architectural styles and street patterns so important in the creation of a sense of community in proletarian districts have either survived or are being rebuilt. Finally, in at least some ways, the presence of so much public housing in the Island will likely contribute eventually to the area's social and demographic stability. All these factors conspire to create a relatively favorable environment for a working-class village.

The most visible and permanent of the physical factors which reinforces traditional communal life in the Island is undoubtedly geography. Bounded on three sides by water and the fourth by a great dock system, the Island resembles a vast cul-de-sac. Its sharp, clear boundaries breed a sense of familiarity, interdependence, and collective identity among its residents. If one lives on the peninsula for any length of time, one immediately begins to recognize one's neighbors. Geography dictates that residents must have contact with one another on an almost daily basis in local shops, pubs, parks, thoroughfares, and buses. This instills a sense of comraderie among Islanders even when formal introduction or acquaintance does not take place.

Visitors and residents alike are quick to discern the influence of geography on the Island's social life. One journalist, for instance, has written that despite all the change in the post-war era, local "life is still conditioned by the shape of the Island . . . [This] factor has helped to create . . . neighbourliness."[4] The attachment to the district which this situation instills among residents was aptly summed up by one native who remarked that the "bridge [over the dock entrance] marks off a definite

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[4]East London Advertiser, 18 November 1966.

territory. I always feel like I am coming home when I cross that bridge onto the Island."[5] A resident who moved to the peninsula in 1971 offered a similar observation. She felt the Isle of Dogs was a distinct community

> because it's unique unto itself, really, isn't it? It just is, isn't it? . . . When you live on the Island, it's not really like living anywhere else . . . You've only got one road . . . Nine times out of ten, you go and walk down there, you'll always bump into somebody you know . . . So it's unique unto itself, isn't it?[6]

The Island's geography helps to make the district a community. However it is the poor quality of its physical environment which ensures that the members of that community will be drawn primarily from the ranks of the working class. Despite the attractions of the Thames, the quiet character of the area, its central location, and redevelopment of its dilapidated neighborhoods, the Island remains an environmentally disadvantaged district. Transportation in and out of the peninsula is difficult. Recreational, shopping, educational, and social facilities are insufficient for the area's needs. Abandoned and unsightly old industrial property is common. Indeed a journalist once described the Island as the "greatest expanse in London of brick walls, wire netting, scrap metal compounds, and dirty disused warehouses . . ."[7] All these features limit the attraction of the district to affluent families--hence its predominantly proletarian population.

Due to the nature of the Island's housing stock this situation is unlikely to alter very much in the foreseeable future. At present, roughly ninety-five percent of the peninsula's dwelling units are publicly owned. Existing redevelopment plans indicate that this figure is unlikely to

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[5]R. Willett, interview. [6]Jean Park, interview, 19 June 1978.

[7]BBC-3, "Power to the People."

decline significantly in the years ahead. Since public housing neither attracts nor retains middle-class residents, the Island's population will undoubtedly remain overwhelmingly working class.[8]

If the Island's environmental disadvantages and large stock of public housing ensure a proletarian population, much of the pattern and structure of the urban landscape still retains features which facilitate a vigorous communal life. In Cahir Street and the Chapel House Estate, large numbers of short streets lined by terraced houses are still intact. Both these areas are inhabited by long-time residents and exhibit traditional neighborhood life. The same is true for parts of Mellish Street, East Ferry Road, and Jubilee Crescent.[9] In addition the streets that surround the tower blocks in the Barkentine Estate, portions of the Samuda Estate, and older borough housing complexes such as St. John's Estate have types of dwellings which encourage residents to establish roots and which facilitate ties between neighbors.[10] These areas, which collectively contain over half of the Island's dwellings, help to offset the damage done by the construction of tower blocks in the 1960s. Moreover local authorities have decided to build new dwellings according to the principles by which the area's older successful estates were originally laid out. This means that, environmentally at least, the Island should become more rather than less suited to a vigorous neighborhood social life in the future.[11]

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[8]Johns, interview, 22 May 1978; Evening Standard (London), 10 March 1970; and London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Draft Local Plan, 3.2-3.23.

[9]Lenham, interview; L. Jordan, interview, 10 May 1978; and Johns, interview, 22 May 1978.

[10]L. and J. Jordan, interview, 10 May 1978; and Jean and R. Park, interviews, 9 March and 19 June 1978.

[11]Ibid.; and London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Draft Local Plan, 3.2-3.23.

The presence of so much publicly owned housing in the Island may eventually help reinforce the local working-class community in yet another more positive way. While the construction of such housing in a district initially upsets the area's demographic stability, over the long run it seems to have the opposite effect. Studies of Leicester and certain parts of London indicate that working-class families living in public housing move less than half as frequently as those in privately rented units. Experts attribute this to the quality of public accommodations, housing regulations, and the absence of adjacent private housing.[12] As a result, public housing tenants appear to be more likely to remain in an area long enough to form local kinship and friendship ties than their counterparts living in privately owned rental accommodations. Over the long run this makes districts with large concentrations of public housing more settled and cohesive than those which lack such units.[13] Indeed, as will be discussed later in this chapter, this process appears to be under way in some of the Island's older public housing estates.[14]

Taken together, geographic insularity, environmental deficiencies, the persistence of traditional street patterns and housing styles in some areas, and the presence of a large concentration of public housing have interacted to create a natural setting for a working-class village in the Isle of Dogs. While these environmental features are somewhat different from those which existed in the peninsula in 1900, their social consequences

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[12]R. M. Pritchard, Housing and the Spatial Structure of the City: Residential Mobility and the Housing Market in an English City since the Industrial Revolution (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976), pp. 21-31, 54-67, 179-90 passim; and John Westergaard and Ruth Glass, "A Profile of Lansbury," in London: Aspects of Change, ed. Centre for Urban Change (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1964), pp. 159-206 passim.

[13]Ibid. [14]See section of communal vitality below.

are similar. The district's shape and relative isolation instill a natural sense of community among its residents. The area's disadvantaged environment ensures that its population will remain proletarian. The persistence and reconstruction of traditional architectural styles and layouts help to facilitate neighborhood life. So, too, in many ways does the existence of so much public housing in the peninsula. In these four respects, at least, the Island remains environmentally conducive to a vigorous local proletarian community.

The Structure of Local Society: Change and Continuity

During the prosperous days of the 1950s and 1960s, it was fashionable to argue that fundamental changes in Britain's class structure were rapidly undermining the foundations of proletarian communities. Such scholars as Seymour Lipset, Jessie Bernard, Anthony Crosland, Raymond Aron, Ferdyand Zweig, and Kurt Mayer claimed that economic growth plus the redistributive activities of the welfare state were rapidly narrowing the historic gap between the middle and working class in terms of income and consumption. This process was commonly called embourgeoisment. Mayer summed up its supposed consequences when he asserted that "proletarian workers are becoming more homogeneous with . . . white collar workers and are joining the middle class."[15]

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[15]Kurt Mayer, "The Changing Shape of the American Class Structure," Social Research 30 (Winter 1963):468. Also see S. M. Lipset, "The Changing Class Structure of Contemporary European Politics," Daedelus 93 (Winter 1964):271-303; Jessie Bernard, "Class Organization in an Era of Abundance," Transactions of the Third World Congress of Sociology 3 (1956):27; Anthony Crosland, Can Labour Win?, Fabian Tract, No. 324 (London: Fabian Society, 1960), passim; Raymond Aron, La Lutte de Classes (Paris: Gallimard, 1964), pp. 197-271; and Zweig, Affluent Society, passim. For a useful review of this literature, see Goldthorpe at al., Affluent Worker, pp. 1-59; and John Westergaard and Henrietta Resler, Class in a Capitalist Society: A Study of Contemporary Britain (New York: Basic Books, 1975), pp. 1-37.

Proponents of embourgeoisment claimed that the process was more than just a narrowing of the economic differences between classes. They argued it was undermining proletarian class consciousness, culture, and communalism as well. According to Zweig, for instance, working-class people were rapidly adopting middle-class styles of family life, neighboring, and association.[16] In a comprehensive review of post-war research on British society, Josephine Klein offered a similar view, concluding that "manual workers . . . are . . . adopting a middle class way of life."[17] Both Zweig and Klein, among others, assumed that these economic and cultural changes made the disappearance of proletarian communities inevitable.[18]

In recent years there has been a strong reaction against the once popular concept of embourgeoisment. The leading critics of the concept have included such noted scholars as R. M. Titmuss, H. F. Lydall, C. H. Feinstein, Brian Jackson, Henry Pelling, and John Westergaard. They have claimed that except for a slight narrowing of class differentials which occurred around World War II, the unequal distribution of wealth and property which characterizes the class structure of the capitalist societies of the West has remained essentially unchanged. Westergaard and Henrietta Resler summed up this view when they declared that "class inequality . . . has remained remarkably constant for years. There are no signs that it has recently begun to shift in any significant way."[19]

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[16]Zweig, Affluent Society, pp. 133-38.

[17]Klein, Adult Life, 1:423.

[18]Ibid. Also see Dennis, "Neighbourhood Community Idea," pp. 191-206; and Riemer, "Villagers," pp. 31-43.

[19]Westergaard and Resler, Class, p. 4. Also see Richard M. Titmuss, Income Distribution and Social Change (London: Allen & Unwin, 1962), chapters 5-8; H. F. Lydall, "The Long-term Trend in the Distribution of Incomes," Journal of the Royal Statisitical Society, ser. A, 122 (no. 1,

The balance of available evidence at the national level clearly supports the views of those who reject the concept of embourgeoisment. While it is true that living standards in Britain have risen considerably since World War II, they have done so within a framework of persisting inequality. Save for a slight shift in the distribution of national income during the 1940s, the relative share of the national wealth held by different groups in British society has remained almost unchanged since 1860. The richest one percent of the population still enjoys as much income as the poorest one-third. In 1913-14 the earnings of the average unskilled worker amounted to thirty-one percent of the income of a plant manager and nineteen percent of the income of a member of the professions. Over a half century later, these figures were twenty-nine percent and twenty-six percent, respectively. In the early 1970s, barely ten percent of Britain's population owned over eighty percent of the country's private wealth. Moreover neither taxes nor welfare payments substantially altered either the distribution of wealth or the patterns of consumption among the different classes.[20] As Westergaard and Resler declared in their brilliantly researched and argued book, "class inequality is tenacious. Disparities in material conditions and security remain acute."[21]

1959):31-35; and C. H. Feinstein, "Changes in the Distribution of National Income in the United Kingdom since 1860," in The Distribution of National Income, eds. J. Marchal and B. Ducros (London: Macmillan & Co., 1968), pp. 119-29. For a useful summary of this literature, see Westergaard and Resler, Class, pp. 1-37; and Goldthorpe et al., Affluent Worker, pp. 1-59.

[20]Westergaard and Resler, Class ,pp. 38-51.

[21]Ibid., p. x, and passim. Also see Ryder and Silver, English Society, pp. 228-48; and Bédarida, Social History, pp. 253-57, 281-87.

The uneven distribution of wealth between various classes has created differences which are not only material, but psychological, behavioral, and cultural as well. As one noted sociologist put it, "different classes . . . not only live differently quantitatively, they live in different styles qualitatively."[22] In recent years study after study has demonstrated that these qualitative differences affect virtually every aspect of life. Ivor Reid summed up the gist of this research when he concluded that,

> middle class people, in comparison with the working classes, enjoy better health; live longer; live in superior homes, with more amenities; have more money to spend; work shorter hours; receive different and longer educations, and are educationally more successful; attend church more frequently; belong to clubs more often; have different tastes in mass media and the arts; and are politically more involved . . . Many if not all such class differences can be seen to stem from basic economic inequalities . . . In spite of changes in our society, the realities of life for people of different social classes have remained pretty constant.[23]

The persistence of such quantitative and qualitative differences between classes in Britain has ensured that the great bulk of the population has remained acutely aware of the existence of a class structure and their own places within it. The prosperity of the 1950s and 1960s undoubtedly muted class antagonisms for a time. However it never eroded either class identity or class consciousness. Moreover during the 1970s the perceptions of class differences were sharpened by economic stagnation, rising unemployment, and threatened cutbacks in state services. This heightened class consciousness. Thus embourgeoisment has failed

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[22]Peter L. Berger, Invitation to Sociology: A Humanistic Approach (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1963), n.p.

[23]Ivan Reid, Social Class Differences in Britain: A Sourcebook (London: Open Books, 1977), p. 234.

to erode the psychological and cultural as well as the material differences between classes.[24]

The situation in the Island both supports and illustrates the continuing reality of class in British society. Historically, of course, the population of the Island has been predominantly proletarian. This remains the case. Indeed one journalist has described the Island as "one of the solidest working class ghettoes in London."[25] Over eighty-seven percent of the economically active males who reside in the peninsula are manual workers. This compares to fifty-nine percent for Great Britain and only fifty-one percent for the Greater London area.[26] Moreover most of the remainder of the district's work force are low-level white-collar employees who consider themselves to be working class.[27]

Not only is the Island's population heavily working class, it is relatively deprived as well. In the late 1970s the Island's sixteen percent unemployment rate was more than double the London and national averages. As noted earlier, roughly ninety-five percent of the district's housing is publicly owned compared to less than twenty-eight percent for England and Wales. Moreover it has been estimated that fewer than twenty percent of the Island's households could afford to purchase a home if private housing were available.[28] In 1971, twenty-four percent of the

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[24]Ibid., passim; Bédarida, Social History, pp. 281-87; and Ryder and Silver, English Society, pp. 228-48, 333-40.

[25]Evening Standard (London), 10 March 1970.

[26]London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Draft Local Plan, appendix 2, table 1; and Halsey, Change in British Society, p. 26.

[27]L. Jordan, interview, 10 May 1978; and Johns, interview, 22 May 1978.

[28]See chapter V, table 12. Also see London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Topic Paper: Housing, p. 7; and idem, Draft Local Plan, 3.19.

inhabitants of the borough in which the Island is situated were receiving welfare benefits. This was the highest percentage of any borough in London, and compared to a metropolitan average of thirteen percent. As late as 1976, thirty-four percent of the Island's economically active adult males earned less than £40 per week. Only sixteen percent earned more than £60 per week. The income of Islanders averaged thirteen percent less per household than the average for the rest of London.[29]

Given their material and social status, it is hardly surprising that most Islanders regard themselves as being working class.[30] The intensity of their class consciousness was amply demonstrated by local reaction to the construction to two small middle-class housing developments during the early 1970s. The first, built in 1970, consisted of a block of eight private dwellings situated behind Christ Church on Saunder Ness Road. Construction of the second estate began two years later. Known as Capstone Square and sited north of the Samuda Estate along the riverside in Cubitt Town, it contained fifty-one units.

Homes in both these estates were priced between £17,000 and £27,000. This was clearly beyond the means of most Islanders. Their builders announced that the units were designed to attract young middle-class home buyers. To lure such clients, local estate agents stressed the romance of riverside views, the novelty of life in the East End, and the convenience of easy access to central London.[31]

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[29]Idem, Topic Paper: Housing, p. 30; and idem, Draft Local Plan 3.19, passim.

[30]Johns, interview, 22 May 1978; L. Jordan, interview, 10 May 1978; and Hames, interview. Many examples could be cited.

[31]East London Express, 27 March 1970, 5 February 1971; East London Advertiser, 29 January 1971, 9 March 1973; Times (London), 18 April 1973; and Evening News (London), 1 May 1973.

Outside observers were intrigued by these efforts to establish middle-class enclaves in one of London's most solidly working-class districts. A reporter for the Times described Capstone Square as a "bid to turn the Island, which used to one of London's roughest areas, into a fashionable, middle-class suburb." It was, he added, "one of the most extravagant pieces of social engineering ever attempted . . ."[32] Those who supported the projects argued that private developments would bring a badly needed influx of capital into the district. As one journalist put it,

> the Isle of Dogs needs money to provide its people with . . . a greater variety of stores, services, and entertainment . . . It needs the sort of money that attracts steakhouses, saloon bars, clubs, and cinemas . . . Such money is middle class money and it will only come if authorities are more determined and imaginative about establishing a socially and economically mixed community on the Island.[33]

For a brief time it appeared that the Island's two middle-class estates were merely the opening phase of a massive wave of private development. It was widely believed that the "fashionable Limehouse colony in Narrow Street . . . has long had its eyes on the Isle of Dogs frontage opposite Greenwich."[34] Local newspapers reported that in addition to the "two private building schemes . . . going ahead right opposite Greenwich . . . at least half a dozen more [such projects were] still pending . . ."[35]

Talk of such large-scale private development soon began to alarm the Island's working-class residents. This was especially true when they began to read that rather than blending into the exisiting community, many of the area's new "private home buyers . . . are eager to establish a

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[32] Times (London), 18 April 1973.

[33] Evening Standard (London), 10 March 1970. [34] Ibid.

[35] Evening Standard (London), 21 March 1972.

bridgehead with their colleagues over the river in fashionable Greenwich."[36] Many Islanders feared that the construction of the two middle-class housing estates was the initial phase of a process which would ultimately lead to the displacement of the local working-class population by middle-class families. This process, which has become quite common in inner-city areas, is called "gentrification" by sociologists. The fact that gentrification was already under way in such London districts as Islington, Camden, Hackney, and Lambeth fueled local concern still further.[37]

The attitudes which many new residents exhibited toward the Island and its inhabitants served to fan local fears of a middle-class takeover. One new middle-class resident noted, rather condescendingly, "we feel like colonists."[38] Another recently arrived couple were concerned about allowing their children to mix with those from nearby council estates. "We came here for the river, not to turn our kids into East End kids," they declared.[39] Still others were critical of the absence of middle-class conveniences in the Island. "There are no Marks and Spencers or Sainsburys near here," complained one middle-class resident.[40]

The class fears, resentments, and tensions aroused by the influx of middle-class families soon broke out into the open. Local political and community action groups mobilized to prevent public officials from granting permission for further private development. "I think they ought to build things that we need, not homes for the wealthy," one resident

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[36] Ibid.

[37] East London Express, 27 March 1970; BBC-3, "Power to the People;" and Chris Hamnett and Peter Williams, "Social Change in London: A Study of Gentrification," The London Journal 6 (Summer 1980):51-66.

[38] Times (London), 10 June 1974. [39] Ibid. [40] Ibid.

declared.[41] Another told a BBC investigator, "we don't want the rich . . . This is our Island and we're not going to give it to them . . . If we have to we'll fight for it."[42] A local borough councillor charged that "when things got rough in the East End these are the people who upped and left us. Now they're back. They want the plums out of the pudding."[43] In 1973 at the height of the controversy over private housing, the authors of a study of current conditions in the Island concluded that there was "fierce and general resentment at the idea of middle class householders moving in to occupy the riverside."[44]

Eventually a number of factors combined to lessen the tension over private development. In the first place, the homes proved difficult to sell. Given the depressed state of the economy, the prices of the dwellings were too steep for many potential buyers. Others were discouraged by the lack of middle-class amenities and the intensity of local opposition.[45] Moreover Tower Hamlets authorities took heed of the local protests and decided to restrict further private housing developments in the Island. Thus, in the end, the much-feared gentrification of the Isle of Dogs failed to materialize.[46]

As it became apparent that there would be no massive influx of middle-class families, local hostility to the new residents gradually

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[41] East London Express, 27 March 1970.

[42] BBC-3, "Power to the People."

[43] Evening Standard (London), 21 March 1972.

[44] Department of Communication Studies, Island, n.p.

[45] Times (London), 10 June 1974; and London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Topic Paper: Housing, p. 31.

[46] London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Topic Paper: Housing, pp. 30-32; idem, Draft Local Plan, 3.3-3.23.

subsided. However this decline in tensions was not accompanied by the successful integration of the Island's two small middle-class housing estates into the larger community. The material, social, and psychological barriers imposed by class proved too great to bridge. As one local leader put it,

> the road that separates Samuda Estate and Captone Square . . . could be as wide as London . . . [T]here is no contact whatsoever between the people that moved into Capstone Square and the people that live in Samuda Estate. The differences [between them] are really class differences.[47]

Experience in other "mixed" communities suggests that this pattern will probably persist until one class displaces the other.[48]

The controversy over the construction of middle-class housing in the Isle of Dogs reveals much about the character of both the British class structure and contemporary Island society. Despite a tremendous improvement in living standards, embourgeoisment has not taken place at either the national level or in the Isle of Dogs. Material inequality persists. So, too, does class consciousness. In the Island both are abundantly evident. The district's population remains overwhelmingly working class in composition and consciousness. Most residents neither are nor do they desire to become middle class. The district's social and psychological homogeneity continue to provide a foundation for its communal life. With respect to class structure and class consciousness, at least, the post-war era has brought little real change to Britian in general or to the Isle of Dogs in particular. In these two critical

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[47]Johns, interviews, 22 May and 8 June 1978.

[48]See e.g. Hamnett and Williams, "Gentrification," pp. 51-66; Willmott, Evolution of a Community, pp. 101-03, 111-18; and Michael Young and Peter Willmott, Family and Class in a London Suburb (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961), pp. 111-32.

respects, Island society retains essential features of a classic working-class village.

Communal Vitality: Change and Continuity

The most persuasive proponents of the belief that working-class communities are doomed to extinction do not attribute their destruction to environmental changes or the "withering away of class." Instead they stress cultural and technological changes which have weakened local insularity and offerred people alernative forms of social activity and recreation outside their local communities. Some of the bolder advocates of this view such as Maurice Stein and C. H. Black argue that the forces of "modernization" have led to the "transfer of the main focus of commitment for most individuals from community to society and from the local to the national sphere."[49] Many scholars with less sweeping views such an Norman Dennis, J. H. Goldthorpe, Gordon Rose, and Stephen Hill have also contended that affluence, mobility, technical progress, and the activities of the welfare state have lessened both the need and the inclination of working-class people to participate in communal life.[50]

At first glance the experience of the Isle of Dogs appears to offer strong confirmation for this general proposition. As noted in chapter V, it is clear that social changes associated with war, redevelopment, comparative prosperity, and enhanced security have changed and in some respects weakened communal life in the Island. Together they have disrupted social networks that were the product of generations of intermarriage,

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[49]Stein, Eclipse of Community, pp. 275-303; and C. E. Black, The Dynamics of Modernization: A Study in Comparative History (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), p. 25.

[50]See citations in chapter I above.

neighborhood ties, and shared experiences. Moreover the character of some of the Island's public housing and the manner in which it has been distributed to residents have slowed the development of new networks. Finally, post-war prosperity and government welfare programs have lessened the dependence of Islanders on their community for physical survival and social activity.[51]

Older Islanders, born in a more settled era, sometimes question the ability of Island society to survive. Such residents tend to view the inter-war years as a vanished golden age of communal vitality that will never come again. To those who hold such views, the post-1940 era seems little more than an irreversible succession of unwelcome changes which have transformed their cherished community almost beyond recognition. Their sentiments were aptly summed up by one 64-year-old native who claimed that "if our old people rose [from the grave] now they'd never know the Island."[52]

Given such views, one would expect to find the contemporary Island to be a working-class suburb in the making--inhabited by isolated and unrelated individuals; devoid of meaningful communal activities, associations, and standards; and possessing a status system based on income and consumption rather than a collective assessment of an individual's qualities and character.[53] In fact, the opposite is the case. If, as Harvey Zorbaugh claimed, a community is a "cultural group, with traditions,

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[51]See chapter V above.

[52]Stewart, interview. Also Byron, interview; Lowery, interview; and Hames, interview.

[53]Lockwood, "Working Class Images of Society," pp. 257-58.

sentiments, attitudes, and memories in common--a focus of belief, feeling, and action," then the Island certainly qualifies as a community.[54]

The evidence on which this conclusion is based is extensive. Most Islanders, for example, still regard the district as possessing a vigorous communal life. "The Island . . . still does have very close community links," declared one local leader. "It has been described as [a] Cockney village, and I think that's true."[55] Another knowledgeable Islander offerred a similar opinion, observing that when people "live here long enough . . . they get a sense of belonging . . . to the Island . . . There is something about this bloody place . . . It's a living community."[56]

Outsiders who visit the Isle of Dogs generally offer similar observations. Often they are impressed by the resilience of local society and its ability to assimilate newcomers into the community. One journalist, struck by the unity and activism Islanders displayed when opposing redevelopment schemes which they considered dangerous, described the district as a "mixture of old-time residents from long gone terraced streets and a new breed . . . from all parts of the borough. The old Islanders and their children cherish the place and have been joined in the fight to make it a better place in which to live by the newcomers."[57]

Observations such as those quoted above are based on more than unsupported oral testimony. They are borne out by surveys of Island inhabitants and the visible manifestation of communal vitality in organizations

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[54]Zorbaugh, Gold Coast and the Slum, pp. 222-23.

[55]Johns, interview, 22 May 1978.

[56]L. Jordan, interview, 8 June 1978.

[57]East London Advertiser, 7 May 1976.

and institutions. Two surveys taken in the 1970s, for example, revealed that Islanders regarded the friendliness of their fellow residents as the most attractive feature of local life. Both surveys also indicated that the longer a person resided in the Island, the more likely he was to become integrated into and satisfied with local society.[58] The gradual establishment of local friendship and kinship ties was an especially important part of this process.[59] These findings indicate that traditional modes of working-class sociability based on kinship and neighborliness remain an important source of social cohesion in the Island.

The vitality of Island society manifests itself in a vigorous organizational and institutional life as well as in traditional kinship and friendship networks. The Island, for example, boasts one of the oldest, broadest-based, and most effective community action groups in London. Tenant associations in local housing estates are numerous and and unusually strong and active.[60] The Island also appears to have more local special interest groups than most other urban districts. Soccer teams, youth clubs, children's marching bands, Millwall Lion booster clubs, and fraternal societies abound. A local historical association encourages interest in the district's past and collects local memorabilia and the life histories of area residents. The old Dockland Settlement continues its activities. George Green's School doubles as a senior citizen center and community sports complex. The Mudchute has been

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[58] H. C. Wilks, Report of Survey of Isle of Dogs: 1974-5 (London: George Green's School, 1975), p. 11, tables 12 and 13; and Eyles, Problems and Policies in the Isle of Dogs, pp. 12-16.

[59] Ibid.

[60] L. Jordan, interviews, 10 May and 8 June 1978; Johns, interviews, 22 May and 8 June 1978, 16 and 22 November 1979.

transformed into a modern urban farm and outdoor recreational area by local citizens. Each year Islanders stage their own carnival and Guy Fawkes celebration. Both attract literally thousands of Islanders as participants and spectators. It is significant that the Island is the only area in Tower Hamlets to organize such local celebrations.[61]

The survival of Island communal life in the face of the disruptions of the post-1940 era is attributable to three factors--class homogeneity, the persistence of the area's Cockney identity, and the force of local tradition. Of these three related factors, class is the most important. From a national perspective a number of developments have taken place in recent decades which have enhanced working-class homogeneity and reinforced the cohesion of proletarian communities. Internally the modern working class is better integrated and more uniform than ever before. In recent decades technological progress and a relative redistribution of income within proletarian ranks have continued to reduce historic differentials in terms of skill, income, and consumption. In 1914, for example, the average skilled worker earned fifty percent more than his less skilled fellows. By the early 1950s, this difference had narrowed to sixteen percent.[62] Trade union activities and government income policies appear to have narrowed this gap still further in the 1970s. As one authority has noted, these developments have eroded the "material bases for status distinctions within the working class."[63]

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[61]Ibid.; East London Advertiser, 18 November 1966, 6 December 1974, 7 May 1976, 16 June 1978; East Ender (London), 17 June 1978; The Islander: Isle of Dogs Community Newspaper (London), passim; Department of Communication Studies, Island, passim; and Hames to author, London, 9 January 1984.

[62]Cole, Studies in Class Structure, pp. 26-36, 58-60.

[63]Halsey, Change in British Society, pp. 54-55.

Homogeneity within the British working class has advanced in other areas as well. Intermarriage between the ranks of different proletarian occupations has increased. Educational differentials between various categories of workers have declined. Culturally the traditional distinction between respectable and not respectable working-class families has become much less pronounced. This is because many more families now have the means to maintain the appearance of respectability. It is also attributable to the fact that higher incomes plus the activities of the welfare state have made respectable values much less important to a typical family's economic well being. Most working-class families are now content to classify themselves as "ordinary" rather than "respectable."[64]

The tendency for the working class to become ever more homogeneous has strengthened proletarian communities in a number of ways. In heavily working-class districts such as the Isle of Dogs, declining social, economic, and educational differentials have diminished status distinctions, lessened friction, eased communication, and enhanced local solidarity. As one old Islander put it, "I think we are more together . . . [in the Island] since the war."[65] Locally this enhanced solidarity has been most apparent in battles over redevelopment and opposition to private housing. However it permeates every aspect of Island society. Uniformity and egalitarianism strengthen communication.[66]

The habits and values associated with class contribute to the strength of local society in a number of other ways as well. Despite

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[64]Ibid., pp. 50-63; Willmott, Evolution of a Community, pp. 96-108; and Johns, interview, 10 May 1978.

[65]S. Willett, interview.

[66]Ibid.; Johns, interview, 10 May 1978; Johns and L. Jordan, interview, 8 June 1978; and East London Advertiser, 16 June 1978.

all the changes of the post-war period, numerous studies have demonstrated that working-class people still tend to draw their friends and spouses from their immediate neighborhoods.[67] Over time this facilitates the reconstruction of communally-based friendship and kinship networks. The manner in which this strengthens the cohesion of local communities can be illustrated by citing the example of a family which moved from Poplar to the Island in 1971. By 1980 the original family had been joined by that of the wife's sister, who moved in next door. In addition, two married daughters from the first family were living within blocks of their parents, and another daughter was dating a local boy. The family's son, who dated a girl from just north of the peninsula, planned to settle in the Island once he was married.[68]

In addition to localism, working-class people retain historically rooted habits of neighborliness and cooperation. While affluence and state services have lessened the need for mutual help, there are still plenty of occasions when neighbors can be of tremendous assistance. Of course it takes time to build up the necessary contacts for a system of neighborly support. Moreover the movement caused by redevelopment often delays this process. However as neighborhoods become more settled and ties develop between residents, mutual contact and support intensifies. As one Islander put it, the "true East Enders are still the same people . . . They'll always help you. They'll never [run out] on you, or turn on you, or do you a bad turn."[69]

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[67] See e.g. Hill, Dockers, pp. 168-72; Goldthorpe et al., Affluent Worker, pp. 90-115; and Willmott, Evolution of a Community, pp. 69-95.

[68] R., Jean, and Jeffrey Park, interviews, 9 March and 19 June 1978, personal contact with the author.

[69] R. Park, interview, 19 June 1978.

In the case of the Island, the communal cohesion provided by class homogeneity, habits, and values is reinforced by the common Cockney identity of most residents. The area's once distinct Irish and Scottish elements have melted into the local population. In addition, unlike many other parts of East London, the district has relatively few West Indian and Asian residents. The Island's population is overwhelmingly Cockney. According to one 1974 survey, eighty-three percent of the peninsula's inhabitants had been born in the historic East End. Many had local ties which they could trace back for several generations.[70]

This common Cockney identity ensures that most Islanders have shared similar experiences; speak with the same accent; and adhere to the same values, customs, habits, and standards of behavior. As one would expect, this common urban ancestry eases the assimilation of new residents drawn from other parts of East London. One influential community leader observed that,

> there is still very, very, very strongly an East End identity. People still say, "I'm an East Ender," . . . and mean it . . . The East End is a different area in London. I'm not talking just about the Isle of Dogs. I mean the East End of London. It is different from North London and South London and West London . . . [Y]ou'll never find anyone claiming to be a North Londoner or somebody saying specifically, "I'm a South Londoner." . . . They'll say, "I'm from South London" or "I'm from North London." But [when] somebody says, "I'm an East Ender," it automatically identifies them with that area and I think this is very, very strong.[71]

The final factor which has helped to sustain a sense of community in the Isle of Dogs is that of tradition. Despite all the upheaval of the post-1940 era, the Island has managed to retain a surprising degree

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[70]Wilks, Survey of Isle of Dogs, p. 11, appendix A, table 2.

[71]Johns, interview, 22 May 1978. Also see Westergaard and Glass, "Profile of Lansbury," pp. 164-65, 179-88.

of residential and institutional continuity. A 1974 survey revealed that a third of the district's residents were born in the Island. Overall a quarter of the local population had lived in the district over forty years. Almost forty-five percent of the inhabitants had resided locally for twenty years or longer. The greatest concentration of old-timers was found in the Cahir Street and Chapel House and Schooner Estates areas. However they resided in all parts of the peninsula in significant numbers.[72] In addition many of the Island's pubs, clubs, churches, and firms have survived for decades and, in some cases, over a century. The continuing presence of native Islanders and well established local institutions has helped to preserve a strong Island identity. This identity has been passed on to many of the district's residents. As a result, the Island is famous throughout London for its fierce parochial pride and patriotism.[73]

There are many indications that as time passes, as the disruptions caused by previous redevelopment projects subside, and as new residents establish roots and routines, communal cohesion and vitality will intensify. As noted earlier, numerous examples of the gradual reappearance of kinship and friendship networks in the Island can be cited.[74] In those parts of the Island least disturbed by post-war redevelopment—Chapel House Estate and the Cahir Street area, for example—the density and character of neighborhood life resembles that of the interwar era. One 85-year-old Cahir Street resident declared that, "I love it here—

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[72]Wilks, Survey of Isle of Dogs, p. 11, appendix A, table 1.

[73]East Londer Advertiser, 18 November 1966, 7 May 1976. Also Johns and L. Jordan, interview, 8 June 1978.

[74]R. and Jean Park, interviews, 9 March and 19 June 1978; Johns, interviews, 22 May and 8 June 1978. Other examples could be cited.

all my friends and family are here and that friendly neighborly spirit has never gone, you know . . . [T]he old East End [is] still very much in evidence down Cahir Street."[75] Other Islanders offer similar observations, noting that the Chapel House area is the "last stronghold of the old Islanders;" a "lovely area that hasn't really changed;" and a "remarkable estate. It's very village-like."[76]

Many of the Island's post-war housing estates are also gradually beginning to exhibit a more stable and traditional social character. This naturally has enhanced the vitality of communal life. Surveys reveal that the overwhelming majority of Islanders living in the older and more settled housing complexes situated in the southern half of the peninsula are attached to the district. Two-thirds of these families express no desire to move from their present homes, let alone leave the area.[77] Similarly, in the old borough estates located in the northern half of the Island such as St. John's in Cubitt Town and Alpha Way in Millwall, most residents seem reasonably content. This is in sharp contrast to those residents residing in new and architecturally less attractive GLC estates dominated by tower blocks.[78] As one Islander noted, "you look around the Island . . . at your borough estates and this is where your stable element is . . . They were moved from . . . old places [in the Island] and rehoused in borough housing and there has been no moving at all."[79]

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[75] East Londer Advertiser, 6 June 1974.

[76] L. Jordan, interview, 10 May 1978; Lenham, interview; and Johns, interview, 22 May 1978.

[77] Wilks, Survey of Isle of Dogs, pp. 10-12, tables 12 and 13; and Eyles, Problems and Policies in the Isle of Dogs, pp. 9-16, 26-27.

[78] Ibid. [79] L. Jordan, interview, 10 May 1978.

Even the poorly designed GLC estates are finally beginning to exhibit some signs of stability and neighborhood life. In the lower structures and in the streets surrounding the tower blocks, residents report the appearance of friendship and kinship networks.[80] Communal networks and tenant organizations have also appeared in some tower blocks. However they are still much weaker than those which exist in older and better designed Island housing estates.[81]

Residential stability often results in attachment and loyalty to the locality. One Poplar native who was initially unhappy about moving to the Island in 1971 admitted that

> it's a peculiar place, you know, the Island . . . You understand it after a while . . . After you've been over here a little while, you do tend to get attached to it. Particularly if you like where you are living . . . It's just one of them places that after a little while . . . seems to grow on you, doesn't it? I tell you, I do my nut if I hear people running it down.[82]

All this is not to say that contemporary Island society either is or will eventually become a replica of its interwar predecessor. Clearly this is not the case. In many ways contemporary Island society has improved tremendously since 1940. It is less insular, less self-contained, and less rigid and repressive than was the case in the pre-war era. Participation in communal life is an option which most people choose to exercise rather than an obligation which almost no one can escape.

Nevertheless the basic pattern and character of Island life clearly reflects its proletarian heritage. Class, Cockney roots, and local continuity all interact to create a strong and vigorous urban community.

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[80] R. and Jean Park, interviews, 9 March and 19 June 1978.

[81] Johns, interview, 22 May 1978; and East London Advertiser, 2 December 1977.

[82] Jean Park, interview, 19 June 1978.

Certainly the Island is not taking on the characteristics of a lifeless working-class suburb inhabited by socially isolated and privatized nuclear families. Indeed the course of evolution seems to be in the opposite direction. New social networks of friendship and kinship are gradually replacing those which were destroyed by the upheavals of the past. Local institutions, clubs, and special interest groups complement these networks and strengthen the fabric of local society. Communal life in the Island is pervasive and vigorous--and becoming more so with the passage of time.

The Rise of Community Action in the Island

During the 1950s and 1960s a new form of collective activity and organization began to appear in many British working-class villages--community action groups. They were most prevalent in communities undergoing severe stress. Usually they were founded by local residents determined to protect their community from some specific danger. Many groups also adopted programs designed to improve the quality of life within their districts. The success of individual groups in achieving these aims varied considerably.

In recent years scholars have begun to examine seriously community action groups. Efforts to discern the significance and relative merits of such groups have generated considerable controversy in academic circles.[83] Out of these debates three major schools of thought have emerged. The first is critical of both community action groups and the social units on which they are based. According to its proponents working-class villages

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[83]For a useful selection of readings on this topic, see David Jones and Marjorie Mayo, eds., Community Work: One (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974); and Paul Cruno, ed., Political Issues and Community Work (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978).

are parochial and politically conservative or at least counterproductive. John Westergaard, for example, has argued that while "community solidarity . . . may strengthen labour tenacity . . . it [can] become a barrier to class unity and to the formation of a radical class perspective."[84] Frank Parkin has gone still further, claiming that working-class communities are incompatible with the "political vision, the cultural imagination, [and] the larger sense of class identity which a challenge to the dominant principles of the current order require."[85] Given these views, it is hardly surprising that critics such as Westergaard and Parkin see the efforts of local community action groups to perpetuate working-class villages as both naive and harmful.[86]

The second interpretation of working-class villages and community action groups is essentially a reverse of the first. Many conservatives regard traditional working-class villages as a source of social and political stability. They argue that such communities offer a full and satisfying local life which reduces the inclination of their residents to engage in political activism. Thus, they see traditional proletarian communities and groups working to preserve them as unwitting allies in their own struggle to maintain the status quo.[87]

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[84]Westergaard and Resler, Class, p. 394.

[85]Frank Parkin, Class Inequality and Political Order: Social Stratification in Capitalist and Communist Societies (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1971), pp. 89-90.

[86]Ibid.; Westergaard and Resler, Class, pp. 393-420; Dennis, "Neighbourhood Community Idea," pp. 191-206; and John Deanlove, "The Control of Change and the Regulation of Community Action," in Community Work: One, eds. Jones and Mayo, pp. 22-39.

[87]Dennis, "Neighbourhood Community Idea," pp. 191-206; Deanlove, "Regulation of Community Action," pp. 22-39; Sean Baine, "The Political Community," in Community Work: One, eds. Jones and Mayo, pp. 66-68; and

A group of leftish intellectuals and professional community organizers has advanced yet another view of working-class villages and action groups. They contend that such communities are both socially satisfying and politically beneficial. According to authors like Brian Jackson, for instance, proletarian communities provide working-class people with the sense of identity, empathy, and habits of cooperation needed for collective action.[88] He and others have pointed out that, historically at least, the most active and politically advanced Labour districts have been located in areas with strong traditional communities.[89]

Those who regard working-class communities as potentially powerful sources of social and political radicalism tend to be favorably inclined toward local action groups. They argue that far from being politically conservative or ineffective, such groups play an important role in educating people about the nature of the class struggle and in mobilizing them for battle. One advocate of this view has written that

> neighbourhoods . . . do have meaning for the people who live in them, far more than do cities. People who would slip through the coarse-meshed net of class politics as it is presently constructed may be caught in the finer one of neighbourhood-based action and may go on to develop a deeper class consciousness.[90]

Those who hold this position see community action groups as more than a means for combatting conservatives and bureaucrats. They regard them

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Robin Page, "Farewell to Neighbourliness," Daily Telegraph (London), 16 March 1973.

[88]B. Jackson, Working Class Community, pp. 156-76.

[89]Ibid.; and Bush, "Labour Politics," p. 47. Other examples could be cited.

[90]Jerry Smith, "Hardliners and Soft Options: A Criticism of Some Left Attitudes to Community Work," in Political Issues and Community Work, ed. Cruno, p. 27.

as an instrument which can be used to challenge and circumvent local Labour Party officials as well.[91]

The debate over the character and significance of community action groups concerns the Island for three reasons. First, the Island was among the first working-class districts in Britain to develop a modern locally based community action movement. Consequently the experience of the Island in this area provides a useful means of judging the validity of competing assessments of the nature and importance of contemporary community action groups. Second, the Island's community action movement has become so prominent in local life that it is virtually impossible to understand the district's recent history without a thorough examination of the movement's origins and evolution. Finally, a careful analysis of the Island's community action groups indirectly reveals much about the character and continuing vitality of communal life in the district. After all, one would scarcely expect to find a broad-based and dynamic community action group in the Island if local society were in an advanced state of dissolution.[92]

As a general rule, Island community action groups have been formed in response to specific local problems and crises. Over the years their organizational structure, strategy, and leadership have varied. So, too, has the degree of success they have had in achieving their goals. However the basic sources of their strength have remained constant. These

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[91]Ibid., pp. 26-34. Also see David Corkey and Gary Craig, "C.D.P.: Community Work or Class Politics?," in Political Issues and Community Work, ed. Cruno, pp. 36-66; and Baine,"Political Community," pp. 68-71, 75-77.

[92]Johns, interviews, 22 May and 8 June 1978, 16 and 22 November 1978; L. Jordan, interviews, 10 May and 8 June 1978; and East London Advertiser, 6 Decmber 1974, 7 May 1976.

have included a strong tradition of localism, the determination of natives to protect their community, and the desire of newer residents to improve the quality of local life and to assimilate into Island society. The persistence of these factors is yet another example of the strength of communal sentiment among the Island's inhabitants.

In a sense, of course, the Island's contemporary community action movement has antecedents which reach well back into the nineteenth century. As noted in chapter II, William Cubitt led an effort in the 1850s to establish the Island as a separate parish for administrative purposes. Other organizations were formed by the local elite to assert Island autonomy and protect its interests.[93] In addition to these forerunners, a strong tradition of proletarian communal organization also began to appear in the last century. While it was mostly social and fraternal in its impetus, it was occasionally political. The best example of this was undoubtedly the early local branch of the Poplar Labour League and, later, Labour Party.[94]

After the Second World War, the first modern community action group to appear in the Island was the Alpha Old Age Pensioners Association situated in Millwall. The Alpha OAPA was founded in December of 1948 by John McDonald, a member of the Poplar Borough Council, and several older Islanders. Shortly afterwards a similar organization was formed in Cubitt Town.[95] The objective of both groups was to provide assistance to the

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[93]See chapter II above.

[94]See chapters III and IV above.

[95]East End News (London), 23 December 1949, 18 August 1950, 2 Feburary 1951; East London Advertiser, 15 October 1954, 12 January 1962; and "John J. McDonald to Poplar Town Clerk," 15 December 1949, Local History Collection, Record Group 334.5, Tower Hamlets Central Library, London.

Island's senior citizens. Within a few years they had literally hundreds of members. Aside from providing recreational activities, vacation trips, free meals, emergency money, and medical assistance, the associations sometimes lobbied local officials for better public transport, services, and facilities.[96]

Despite such borderline political activites, most Islanders and Island groups continued to rely on the local Labour Party to represent them in their dealings with governmental agencies. Gradually, however, dissatisfaction with the official representatives of the local Labour Party increased during the 1940s and 1950s. Most of the Island's representatives on the Poplar Borough Council during this era served for exceptionally long periods of time. After a while, they seemed to become less and less responsive representatives and more and more bureaucratic functionaries controlled by the borough's Labour Party establishement. Dissatisfied over the inability and, in some cases, the unwillingness of the local representatives to challenge the Labour leadership over such matters as redevelopment, poor transportation, and housing problems, Islanders began to call the district the "forgotten Island."[97]

In January of 1959 the decision of the Port of London Authority to close the footbridge over the Millwall Docks finally brought matters to a head. The footbridge, which was supposedly a "temporary" replacement for the road bridge destroyed in the war, was a vital link between Cubitt Town and Millwall. Its loss threatened to increase the length of journeys between the two neighborhoods by over a mile which would make it difficult

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[96]Ibid.

[97]J. Jordan, interview, 8 May 1978; and East London Advertiser, 6 June 1974.

for many Islanders employed in the docks to avoid bus fares and to come home for lunch.[98]

While in retrospect the issue seems relatively minor, the local reaction was not. Under the leadership of two local workers, John Pratt and Bill Willson, and Rev. D. C. Freeman of St. Luke's, the Millwall Residents Association (MRA) was formed to combat the PLA proposal. A petition opposing the move quickly had over two thousand names. Hundreds of Islanders joined the MRA. The organization soon won the support of the Poplar Borough Council, the London County Council, the local M.P., and the dockers' unions in its struggle.[99] It demanded that in addition to keeping open the footbridge, the PLA agree to rebuild the road bridge. Faced with this formidable array of opponents, the PLA announced in March that it would maintain a public footbridge over the Millwall Docks. For a few weeks Islanders were jubilant. One local leader announced that the victory showed "what can be done when public opinion is really aroused."[100]

Unfortunately the victory of the MRA proved less than complete. The PLA refused to rebuild the road bridge which had previously spanned the docks. Moreover in April of 1960 the PLA announced plans to replace the low-level footbridge with an elevated walkway equipped with a double bascule span that could be raised for ship traffic. Fearing the PLA might reduce activity at the Millwall Docks, the London County Council and Poplar Borough Council--including the Island's representatives--

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[98] East End News (London), 21 December 1958, 9 January 1959; Evening News (London), 5 January 1959; East London Advertiser, 9 and 30 January 1959; and Johns, interview, 22 May 1978.

[99] Ibid.; and East London Advertiser, 27 February 1959.

[100] East London Advertiser, 6 March 1959.

agreed to abandon their efforts to obtain a road bridge and to accept the elevated walkway. Leaders of the MRA, however, objected to the PLA scheme, complaining over the loss of the bridge and the inaccessibility of the walkway.[101]

In a stormy meeting attended by over three hundred Islanders at which PLA and Poplar Borough officials presented the new proposal, one Island resident demanded "that for once the [Poplar Borough] Council show a certain amount of guts in this thing."[102] Other Islanders, including leaders of the MRA, shouted down public officials. The same night another meeting was held in the Island to mobilize people against the latest PLA proposal. Over the next several weeks, local activists canvassed the Island. Membership in the MRA grew so rapidly that it was decided to organize a separate group, the Cubitt Town Residents Association (later named the Island Tenants Association).[103]

The refusal of the Island's six borough councillors to break with the official Labour Party position supporting the PLA plan put them at odds with both resident associations. Throughout the summer of 1960 Islanders packed the galleries at Poplar Borough Council meetings, urging their elected officials to "speak up for the residents."[104] By October leaders of the resident associations were considering actively opposing Labour Party candidates in the local elections. As one local leader put

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[101] East London Advertiser, 22 April 1960, 27 July 1960, 5 August 1960, 7 October 1960; and Stratford Express (London), 29 July 1960.

[102] East London Advertiser, 27 July 1960; and Stratford Express (London), 29 July 1960.

[103] East London Advertiser, 22 April 1960; and L. Jordan, interviews, 10 May and 8 June 1978.

[104] East London Advertiser, 7, 14, and 28 October 1960; and Stratford Express (London), 14 October 1960.

it, "this is no longer only an issue of the bridge. It's to show the Council cannot ride roughshod over the views of the people."[105] Another declared that the "PLA have frightened the Council out of its wits and they are so scared that they are going against public opinion. Now it's a case of the people on the Island versus the Council."[106] Island Councillors were castigated for being "dominated by the party machine."[107]

Eventually the Island's resident associations lost the so-called "battle of the bridge." The PLA refused to restore the old road bridge and replaced the low-level footbridge with an elevated walkway. However the struggle was not without consequences. At its conclusion, the Island was left with two well organized community action groups, each numbering about fifteen hundred at their peak. Moreover the split between Island community activists and the local Labour Party was wide and deep. The size and the effectiveness of the local resident associations made this a very serious political concern to Labour Party leaders not only in the Island, but elsewhere in the borough as well.[108]

The Poplar Labour Party was eventually able to come to an understanding with the MRA, which was made up of older and less radical Island natives. Local Labour Party leaders like former councillor John Vicat rose to positions of influence inside the MRA. Simultaneously MRA leaders like Bill Willson were nominated and elected to the Borough Council as

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[105] Stratford Express (London), 14 October 1960.

[106] East London Advertiser, 14 October 1960.

[107] Ibid., 28 October 1960.

[108] Johns, interviews, 22 May and 8 June 1978; L. and J. Jordan, interviews, 10 May and 8 June, 1978; and East London Advertiser, 5 August and 28 October 1960.

Labour Party candidates. Labour Party leaders on the Council recognized that, to be re-elected, Island representatives required more independence than most members. This was granted. In exchange the once radical MRA leaders tried to work within the system.[109]

Labour Party efforts to co-opt the Island Tenants Association (ITA) proved less successful. Made up of newer Islanders who were drawn from areas undergoing the trauma of redevelopment, its members had little patience with the apparent indifference of Labour leaders to their demands for better services, facilities, and housing policies. In addition the most influencial leader of the ITA, Dick Gaylor, was a conservative working man who had once sought office in another part of the borough as a Tory. Naturally he was less than sympathetic to the local Labour machine. This made for a politically explosive situation.[110]

In 1962 the ITA decided to contest all three Cubitt Town seats on the forty-two-member Poplar Borough Council. Its candidates offered a wide ranging platform calling for the construction of a road bridge over the Millwall Docks, better bus service, more equitable rehousing schemes, and fairer rents. The responsiveness of the local Labour Party was the chief issue in the campaign. ITA candidates declared that

> the Island and its people urgently need to be represented on the Council by people who are not tied to any political party . . . The Poplar Borough Council has . . . 100% Labour membership. There is no opposition at all!!! The Island is forgotten and ignored.[111]

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[109]Johns, interviews, 22 May and 8 June 1978; L. Jordan, interviews, 10 May and 8 June 1978; and East London Advertiser, 6 December 1974.

[110]Ibid.; East End News (London), 18 May 1962; and East London Advertiser, 25 May 1962.

[111]"Island Tenants Association Election Poster," Local History Collection, Record Grough 321.3, Tower Hamlets Central Library, London.

Labour Party candidates tried to rebut these charges by claiming that "people just did not know what work on the council was like and that the resident interests were well looked after behind closed doors."[112] They stressed their experience and the importance of being part of the ruling majority. They also attacked Gaylor as a crypto-conservative. However Labour was clearly on the defensive.[113]

When the votes were counted, the local Labour Party suffered a striking defeat. The ITA candidates swept all three Cubitt Town seats on the Poplar Borough Council. The ITA victory marked the first time in thirty-four years that the council had not been solidly Labour. It was the first time since 1913 that any non-Labour candidate had won an Island seat.[114] In 1965 when Poplar was combined with Stepney and Bethnal Green to create the new borough of Tower Hamlets, the number of Island seats on the new council was reduced from six to two. At the ensuing elections, the ITA captured both seats. The line-up in the Tower Hamlets Council was forty-nine, Labour; three, Communist; and two, ITA.[115] While hardly a political force, the ITA members did keep the heat on Labour on local issues and raised awkward points about the closed character of the local political system.[116]

It was not until Gaylor was forced to resign from the council for personal reasons that Labour recaptured the Island delegation. To do so

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[112] East London Advertiser, 28 October 1960.

[113] Johns, interviews, 22 May and 8 June 1978; L. Jordan, interviews, 10 May and 8 June 1978; and East London Advertiser, 25 May 1962.

[114] East London Advertiser, 25 May 1962.

[115] Ibid., 1 and 8 May 1964.

[116] Ibid.; and L. and J. Jordan, interviews, 10 May and 8 June 1978.

took a major electoral campaign. It also took a rather unorthodox candidate--Ted Johns, secretary of the MRA, independent socialist, and a political maverick who had twice broken with the Labour Party over differences in ideology and policy. Johns, with his own political base, proved eventually to be more troublesome to Labour than Gaylor. His gifts as a public speaker and organizer made him a formidable opponent. Throughout his years on the council, he pursued a sturdily independent course. In the late 1960s, he defied party leaders by helping to organize a rent strike--an action for which he was expelled from official Labour caucuses.[117]

The emergence of Johns and a number of other young radicals such as John Westfallen and Ray Paget marked a new stage in the development of the Island's community action movement. Its aim and ideology became much less parochial. The reasons for this change were closely tied to the background and the experiences of the men who brought it about. Johns, for example, came from a long line of political activists. Some of his forebearers had been active in the Chartist movement and the great Dockers Strike of 1889. His father had fought against Franco in the Spanish Civil War. Johns himself had been a radical leader of national stature in the League of Labour Youth.[118]

Johns, a native of an East End community know as the Bow Triangle, had moved to the Island during the 1950s after his home distirct had been redeveloped out of existence. Many of his closest political associates had had similar experiences. Thus they were more sensitive to the

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[117]Johns, interviews, 22 May and 8 June 1978; East London Advertiser, 13 March 1970.

[118]Ibid.

dangers of reckless redevelopment than many native Islanders. Johns was among the first to articulate these fears and to demand development decisions which would preserve and enhance the quality of communal life in the district. His opposition to additional housing estates, his support for giving preference to local residents when distributing housing, his demand for programs to attract and retain industry, and his refusal to support middle-class residential developments all put him on a collision course with local Labour leaders.[119] In Johns' view

> the Labour Party was growing away from its roots . . . It became very much . . . an establishment party--certainly in the East End . . . There's no more conservative area than an all-Labour area . . . I've never been able to take that point of view . . . and so I've been in and out of the Labour Party . . . three times . . .[120]

In early 1970 Johns, Westfallen, Paget, and a number of other Island activists secretly planned a public demonstration and campaign to dramatize the Island's problems and to force the Borough Council and other government authorities to deal with them. Under their leadership, over a thousand Islanders mobilized to block both bridges on the peninsula on Sunday, 1 March. The move, which temporarily shut down the docks as well as sealed off the Island, caught local officials completely off guard. For over two hours "hundreds of [Islanders] formed a human barrier across Manchester and West Ferry Road."[121] Despite repeated orders from police, the barrier was broken only once, to allow a hospital-bound vehicle to pass.[122]

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[119] Ibid.

[120] Johns, interview, 22 May 1978.

[121] East London Advertiser, 6 March 1970; and Johns, interviews, 22 May and 8 June 1978.

[122] Ibid.

Immediately after the demonstration was concluded, a "citizens' council" met at the tenants' hall on the Barkentine Estate to draw up a four-point charter. It called for reduced rents, better transport, more schools, and the granting of borough status to the Island by the Greater London Council (GLC). A delegation was empowered to take the demands to the Prime Minister's residence at Number 10 Downing Street. Borrowing terminology from the rebel government then in power in Rhodesia, Islanders threatened a "UDI"—unilateral declaration of independence—unless their demands were met.[123]

For the next two weeks, the Island attracted national and even international attention. Journalists who visited the district to report on the "insurrection" wrote tongue-in-cheek articles about "President Johns" and his "rebel government." However they also described the Island's very real problems--a lack of amenities, inadequate public transport, a declining economy, and ill-conceived redevelopment projects. One representative report pictured the district as a "self-contained brick and mortar village of little variety—shabby Victorian dwellings, endless council blocks, hardly a patch of green . . . [no] cinemas, no dance hall, [and] no nationally known shops."[124]

Borough officials were understandably upset at such adverse publicity. Spokesmen claimed that the "Council has devoted more time and thought to the problems of the Island than to any similar sized area."[125] UDI was

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[123]Ibid.; and Evening Standard (London), 2 and 4 March 1970.

[124]Evening Standard (London), 2 March 1970. Also see Times (London), 8 March 1970; and Morning Star (London), 10 March 1970.

[125]East London Advertiser, 13 March 1970; and Times (London), 8 March 1970.

attacked as "ridiculous" and "unnecessary." Johns was chided by one Labour leader for "misleading the people into thinking they can run things better than Tower Hamlets Council."[126]

On the Island itself, opinion was deeply divided over the merits of UDI. Supporters felt that it put the district "on the map" and attracted the attention needed to force local officials to confront the peninsula's problems.[127] However many older Islanders feared that authorities would retaliate by cutting off utilities and services. Still others felt that the Island has been made an object of ricicule. Johns' colleague on the council, MRA leader Bill Willson, claimed that residents "deplore the fact that they have been made a laughing stock . . . I agree with Councillor Johns' aims of more schools, shops, social amenities, transport--but believe they can far better be attained by democratic rather than cloak and dagger methods."[128] Len Jordan, one of the founders of the ITA, declared "our fear is that Councillor Johns' irresponsible tactics may undermine all the good we have done."[129]

Eventually Johns and his supporters decided to call off the UDI campaign. They did so for two reasons. First, as Johns put it, after initially good publicity, the "newspapers were dwelling on the the comic aspects of [UDI] rather than the realities. When that happened UDI was

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[126] East London Advertiser, 13 March 1970.

[127] Mmes. F-I, interview; Evening Standard (London), 2 March 1970; and East London Advertiser, 6 and 13 March 1970.

[128] Times (London), 8 March 1970. Also see East London Advertiser, 6 March 1970.

[129] Ibid. Jordan's view has softened considerably. E.g. L. Jordan, interviews, 10 May and 8 June 1978.

ended."[130] Johns and his supporters were also concerned about the split within the community. He attributed the split less to a difference of aims than a difference of perception of the dangers which the Island was facing.

> It was a difference between the old Island East Enders and the new Island East Enders. The old Islanders . . . were secure in their own little cocoon . . . Those of us who had come in realized that we were facing a great danger because we could see that already our roots had gone . . . We were really fighting to ensure that the new roots we set down here . . . became more permanent.[131]

In the short run, UDI failed to achieve most of its goals. The GLC did not grant the Island separate borough status. Nor were rents reduced. However UDI did enhance a sense of communal loyalty and involvement in the Island. Moreover most UDI participants shared Johns' belief that, "if all we did achieve [was make sure] that . . . when somebody in the council or government is going through redevelopment plans, he will stop and notice the Isle of Dogs [then UDI has] been worthwhile."[132]

From this perspective, UDI was, indeed, successful. As the head of the Tower Hamlets Council planning committee acknowledged, "public protests seem to activate things. That is the trend today."[133] Immediately after UDI, Tower Hamlets officials announced a series of new proposals to improve housing and social facilities in the Island. A short while later, the Inner London Educational Authority unveiled plans to provide the district with additional schools. Almost simultaneously the London Transport Authority initiated measures designed to improve local bus

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[130]Johns, interview, 22 May 1978.

[131]Ibid. Also Johns and L. Jordan, interview, 8 June 1978.

[132]Department of Communication Studies, Island, n.p.

[133]Guardian (London), 11 March 1970.

service. By the late 1970s public officials were actively seeking to work with Island community activists.[134]

The passage of time, the cooling of tempers, and the success of UDI in stimulating governmental action have led many Islanders to reassess their views of the incident. While opinion is still divided, it appears that the majority of Islanders believe the episode was beneficial. One former opponent summed up this shift of opinion when he declared, "Johns was right in everything he said . . . [UDI] woke people up to this Island . . . [Planners and public officials] never knew we was on the map 'til then."[135]

During the 1970s under Johns' leadership, the Island's community action movement grew in strength and sophistication. The old MRA and ITA were superceded by a host of tenant associations centered on individual estates. In 1973 Johns united these associations plus various special interest organizations into the Isle of Dogs Action Group (IDAG) to oppose the GLC proposal to develop the Mudchute and to build the Southern Relief Road. Three years later, the IDAG was expanded and revamped to form the Association of Island Communities (AIC). According to its founders, the AIC was designed to be

> a federation of community groups, tenants associations, [and] social and sports clubs . . . [It] does not . . . seek to deal with day-to-day issues on individual estates. It encourages and supports existing groups in this field and, where no group exists, assists . . . in . . . form[ing] a group . . . On Island-wide issues, however, such as the Mudchute [farm] Project, the Southern Relief Road and

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[134]Johns and L. Jordan, interview, 22 June 1978; Allen, interview; East London Advertiser, 8 November 1976; and Johns, interviews, 16 and 22 November 1979.

[135]Mrs. I, interview. Also R. and Jean Park, interview, 19 June 1978. Not all Islanders have come to this view, however. E.g. S. Willett, interview; and Hames, interview.

> the distribution of the Inner Cities Construction money, etc., the AIC acts as the collective voice and representative for the Island community.[136]

By the end of the decade, the AIC included virtually every one of the thirty-odd organized groups in the Island. Indirectly, at least, it represented thousands of Islanders. It became a model for other community action groups and a leading force within the Joint Docklands Action Group—an organization formed to advance the interests of riverside communities in the various battles stemming from the proposed redevelopment of the Docklands area.[137] As the AIC grew in stature and experience, it achieved a remarkable series of successes both by itself and in cooperation with other groups. Among its most important victories were two successful campaigns to keep the West India-Millwall Dock complex open, the defeat of the Southern Relief Road, the establishment of the Mudchute Community farm, and acquisition of a permanent staff and headquarters. The AIC also put together its own redevelopment strategy for the Island, defining goals and making positive proposals.[138]

All this was not achieved without some controversy. Johns and the AIC still have some critics in the Island. However most of the district's residents appear to support the local community action movement. As one Islander noted, the "people have complete trust in [Johns] because he only speaks for the Island and the Island alone."[139] Another added that,

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[136] The Islanders: Isle of Dogs Community Newspaper (London), November 1977. Also Johns, interviews, 22 May 1978, 16 and 22 November. 1979.

[137] Johns, interview, 22 May 1978; L. Jordan, interviews, 10 May and 8 June 1978; Allen, interview; and Lenham, interview.

[138] Ibid.; The Islander: Isle of Dogs Community Newspaper (London), passim; and East London Advertiser, 8 November 1976. Also see various AIC plans and documents housed at the Island Resource Centre, London.

[139] R. Park, interview, 19 June 1978.

> he only wants what is best for the community. Why get pushed around by the GLC planners? I mean, look at the mistakes they've made in the past . . . [T]hey've made the East End as it is . . . I think you should have a few more like [Johns] in various places and things might get done for people's . . . advantage . . .[140]

In recent years, the AIC has become more than a vehicle to preserve the Island as a working-class community—though that clearly is its major function. It has also served to put local matters in an ideological perspective and connect them with larger issues and struggles. AIC efforts to keep the docks open, to limit private residential development, and to redirect redevelopment have been placed in the context of class equity and overall public policy. Johns, for example, has claimed that the main dangers the Island faces are redevelopment schemes "drawn up with middle-class assumptions, by middle-class people . . . with no detailed knowledge [of] the community . . . [Planners and public officials] are trying to impose a pattern of middle-class mores on a working-class community."[141]

This perspective and rhetoric are hardly what one would expect to find in "parochial" or "conservative" communities. In fact, the opposite is the case. In the Island, at least, the local action groups have replaced the Labour Party as the chief expression and instrument of class solidarity and collective action. Moreover they are much more representative of the community than the local Labour Party. "Tenant associations and those kind of formations are made up of the people who in the 1930s would have naturally gone into the Labour Party," Johns observed. "The Labour Party hasn't . . . progressed. They've become an organization. They've become the establishment."[142]

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[140]Jean Park, interview, 19 June 1978. Others could be cited.

[141]BBC-3, "Power to the People." Also Johns, interviews, 22 May and 8 June 1978, 16 and 22 November 1979.

[142]Johns, interview, 22 May 1978. Also L. Jordan, interviews,

It would be easy to dismiss the AIC as the transitory creation of a single exceptionally able and dedicated community activist. This would be a misunderstanding of the organization's roots and significance. The AIC is the direct descendant of other Island community action groups such as the MRA and the ITA. They were, in their day, organized and led by capable individuals. Moreover, while Johns is certainly the preeminent figure in the AIC, the association is not dependent upon him. Its thirty-odd constituent organizations contain a sizable number of leaders and activists who are capable of taking over the reins whenever Johns should choose to step aside.[143]

Viewed broadly, the origins, evolution, and current condition of the Island's community action movement shed light on a number of critical questions. First, judging from the Island's experience, the case of those who argue that proletarian communities and action groups are effective units of working-class political activity is persuasive. In the Island a succession of community action groups has united, educated, and motivated the local population with remarkable effectiveness. They have defined and advanced communal interests. Moreover they have done so in a manner which has expanded rather than contracted the intellectual, ideological, social, and political horizons of the community. Far from being parochial, Island community action groups have proven that they are a useful means of proletarian political organization. In doing so,

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8 May and 22 June 1978; Lenham, interview; Allen, interview; and Jean and R. Park, interviews, 9 March and 19 June 1978. Many examples of Labour's inability to galvanize grass-roots enthusiasm could be cited.

[143] Johns, interviews, 22 May and 8 June 1978, 16 and 22 November 1979; L. Jordan, interviews, 10 May and 8 June 1978; and Lenham, interview.

they have indirectly demonstrated that the local society in which they are rooted remains cohesive and self-conscious.

This last point deserves some elaboration. In recent years, the Island's community action movement has served as the institutional manifestation of the traditional communal values of neighborliness, collective cooperation, and egalitarianism. Like the MRA and the ITA before it, the AIC has been as much a consequence as a cause of communal cohesion, concern, and vitality. Indeed, as one local leader put it, Island "action groups are strong . . . because the Island . . . is still a community"—not the other way around.[144] Without the existence of communal networks, traditions, and institutions it would have been impossible to organize a local residents' movement and to maintain it for so many years. The significance of this point is profound. Contemporary communal sentiment in the Island is expressing itself through new methods and institutions. However it is not fading away. This fact clearly contradicts those authorities who argue that the forces of modernity are undermining communities in general and urban working-class villages in particular.

Summation

Despite all the challenges and disruptions associated with "modernity," Island society has not degenerated into a meaningless collection of isolated individuals and nuclear families. The district still meets Zorbaugh's definition of a community as a "focus of belief, feeling, and action . . . over which people are using the same language, conforming to the same mores,

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[144] Johns, interview, 22 May 1978.

feeling . . . the same sentiment, and acting upon the same attitudes."[145] More specifically the Island retains the features of a particular type of community--an urban working-class village. Its environment, while much changed and somewhat improved, it still deprived and insular. Its population is overwhelmingly proletarian and quite conscious of its identity and heritage. Local society, though more open and less parochial, remains close-knit and vigorous. Furthermore there is evidence that as time passes, the social bonds which unite Islanders are becoming stronger rather than weaker.

Perhaps the most visible manifestation of the strength of Island society in recent years has been the emergence of a strong, indigenous community movement. Since the late 1950s it has fought to preserve the district's identity and to improve the quality of local life. Despite the claims of critics, it has been neither ineffective nor politically counterproductive. In fact, it has served as a useful mediator between the Island and the larger world beyond its borders. While advancing local issues, it has educated Islanders to greater issues of class and public policy. Perhaps more clearly than any other organization, the Island's community action groups illustrate the degree to which the Island has remained a "focus of belief, feeling, and action" for its residents.

In summary, the contemporary experience of the Isle of Dogs offers proof of the continuing importance and vitality of communal life in working-class culture. Despite the material and technological changes of the modern era, Islanders still participate in, depend upon, and care about the local society in which they reside. As in the past, their

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[145]Zorbaugh, Gold Coast and the Slum, pp. 222-23.

community serves an assortment of valuable functions. It offers social, recreational, and organizational outlets for its inhabitants. It provides residents with a degree of order and security—psychological as well as material. Finally, it serves as an important unit of collective experience and action.

CHAPTER VII

RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

The Island: Past, Present, and Uncertain Future

As is true with all urban areas, the development of the Isle of Dogs has been shaped by the interaction between purely local factors and larger socio-economic movements and trends. In the case of the Island such local peculiarities as geography, topography, and the peninsula's relationship to the London metropolitan area have influenced the character, timing, and pace of its development. Simultaneously, the forces of industrialization, urbanization, and the emergence of class as the basis of social organization have had a decisive impact upon Island society. The interaction between these local and national factors ensured that the Island would become a densely-developed portside manufacturing district inhabited by a predominantly proletarian population. Over time, Island society evolved into a closely knit working-class community with a vigorous local life, strong institutions and social networks, and traditions of cooperation and collective action.

Broadly speaking the evolution of Island society in the years since 1800 can be divided into three overlapping but distinct periods. The first, which took up most of the nineteenth century, was the era of urbanization. The second, lasting from roughly 1890 to 1940, was a time of consolidation and stability. Since 1940 the Island has experienced a

series of crises. Collectively these crises have constituted a third period of challenge and change for local society. During each of these three periods the character of communal life in the district has experienced significant change.

The era of urbanization encompassed the physical development and settlement of the Island, the creation of its economic base, and the emergence of a dynamic and complex local community. The character of the Island's social structure and communal life in this period was quite different from that of later years. Local society was highly stratified. At its apex, upper- and middle-class elements coalesced to form a self-conscious and assertive local elite. This elite played an important role in directing the Island's development. It dominated politics and government, ran the local churches and schools, and exercised direct patronage and control over many of the district's institutions. Most of the Island's elite actually lived in the peninsula in residentially exclusive areas. Even those who lived elsewhere took a direct and active interest in local affairs.

During the decades in which the Island's upper and middle classes constituted a cohesive and effective elite, the district's rapidly expanding proletarian population was diverse and fragmented. Occupational, status, and ethnic divisions slowed the development of a common identity among local workers. Skilled workers in the shipbuilding and metal industries formed an exclusive and well-paid artisan aristocracy. This proletarian elite maintained an active social life centered on select pubs, churches, fraternal societies, and craft-based unions. Certain other occupational groups such as stevedores, corn porters, and watermen constituted less affluent but equally self-contained social groups. Ethnic

colonies of Scots and Irish were also present. Each of these groups possessed its own churches, fraternal organizations, and neighborhoods which set it apart from fellow Islanders. At its base, local society contained a sizable group of unskilled casual laborers who lacked the resources, stability, and associations to establish a self-sustaining social life.

The diverse and complex community which existed during the Island's era of urbanization was never really stable. Over the course of the nineteenth century, the district's upper- and middle-class elite gradually shrank as a percentage of the local population and, eventually, in absolute numbers as well. The exodus of the Island's resident elite was attributable to a variety of causes. Chief among them were the decline of the local economy, the district's less than attractive urban environment, improvements in urban transport, and an intensification of residential segregation on the basis of class in British cities. As the Island's once powerful elite grew smaller, its influence waned. This was especially true after about 1880 or so.

The composition and cohesion of the Island's working population also exhibited marked changes in the last third of the nineteenth century. The collapse of the local shipbuilding industry and the decline of many skilled trades impoverished much of the district's once proud artisan aristocracy. Consequently the economic and social distance between the Island's skilled workers and the rest of its proletarian population narrowed considerably. Simultaneously the proliferation of new and more inclusive forms of trade unionism, the rise of Labour as a political force, and the growth of a network of local proletarian institutions and associations eroded occupational barriers still further. In addition, the

slackening pace of the Island's population growth, increasing intermarriage within the ranks of the local working class, and the shared experiences of neighborhood life forged new bonds between the district's residents. Even working-class ethnic groups became progressively more integrated into the local proletarian society—although this was a slow process.

The second phase in the post-1800 evolution of Island society spanned the years between the late nineteenth century and 1940. It witnessed the flowering of Island society as a fully formed working-class community. The structure and character of local society during this period differed sharply from that of the preceding era. Socially the community became considerably less stratified and fragmented. The Island's few remaining upper- and middle-class residents ceased to exert much influence over local society. While status and occupational differences never entirely disappeared, the district's working population became progressively more homogeneous. Changes in the national and local economies continued to erode the differences between Island workers in terms of both skill and income. Trade unions became more inclusive and cooperative. Eventually they spearheaded a local Labour Party effort that won control of the district's political institutions.

Communal life in the Island in the half century which preceded the Second World War was remarkably stable, self-sufficient, and insular. Great networks of kinship, friendship, and shared work activities linked working-class Islanders to one another. These bonds were reinforced by a shared set of communally sanctioned values which regulated the lives of local residents. These values included egalitarianism, cooperation, neighborliness, and adherence to an elaborate code of respectable behavior. While status divisions within the community still existed, they were

based less on occupation and ethnicity than on a communal assessment of each individual resident's character and adherence to accepted standards of behavior. In exchange for their active involvement in the local community, Islanders received a measure of psychological security and material support from their fellow residents. While the community in which Islanders lived was socially, economically, and geographically restricted, it did make their bleak urban world considerably less forbidding than it otherwise would have been.

Beginning with the German Blitz of 1940, Island society entered into a new era marked by almost constant crises and disturbances. War devastated and depopulated the district. Post-war redevelopment placed further strains on the community. It displaced still more native Islanders while bringing literally thousands of newcomers to the peninsula in the 1960s and 1970s. Redevelopment also altered the Island's physical environment in ways which sometimes made it more difficult to maintain and re-establish traditional friendship and kinship networks. The construction of tall flats in the peninsula during the 1960s was probably the most unwelcome development in this regard. In the 1970s, the disruptions caused by redevelopment were compounded by the rapid decline of the Island's economy. As old Island firms closed and traffic at the docks fell off, the shared ties centered on the workplace which had once bound Islanders together became ever weaker.

Despite the severity of these physical challenges, the greatest threat to Island society came from more subtle and pervasive sources of change. The agencies and activities of the post-war welfare state plus three decades of relative prosperity made Islanders less dependent upon their community for material support and security than ever before.

Simultaneously public housing programs, affluence, and technological change combined to offer Islanders an assortment of alternative diversions to the traditional communal pastimes of the street corner, the local pub, and fraternal associations. Smaller families, better dwellings, and television made the home a more appealing place in which to spend one's leisure time. Similarly, fat pay packets and modern transport made it possible for individuals and families to pursue interests and recreation beyond the confines of the community.

Collectively these developments altered the character of communal life in the Island in some important ways. Some of these changes are probably transitory. Others appear to be more permanent. War, redevelopment, and economic decline have weakened the great kinship and friendship networks which once formed the basis of Island life. Affluence and public programs have made Islanders more secure financially and less dependent on their community. They have also expanded the social and intellectual horizons of local residents.

As a result of these changes, Island society since 1940 has become noticeably less rigid and insular. In contrast to their predecessors, contemporary Islanders are freer to determine the degree and the nature of their involvement in communal life. They can opt out of local society completely, secure in the knowledge that there are alternatives to the local community for assistance in times of crisis and for satisfying social activities as well. This is a truly unprecedented change. Before 1940 participation in communal life was almost an unavoidable necessity for most Islanders. Since World War II, such participation has increasinly been optional rather than mandatory.

Despite these profound changes, post-war Island society retains all the essential characteristics of a working-class village. The district's physical environment remains insular and relatively deprived. These characteristics encourage a sense of community and discourage the influx of middle-class outsiders. The composition and class consciousness of the Island's residents remains strongly proletarian. Similarly, while the forms of working-class communalism have changed somewhat in recent years, its basic ethos and sentiments have remained the same. Egalitarianism, neighborliness, and adherence to locally accepted standards of behavior still constitute the basic values on which most Islanders base their lives.

As the disturbances of the post-war era subside, there are signs that communal cohesion and values will reassert themselves ever more strongly in the Island. Kinship and friendship networks are gradually reforming. Likewise communal loyalty and participation remain surprisingly strong. As the Island's well-established community action movement demonstrates, the district is still an important focus for the collective concerns and activities of its residents. The movement's vigor and effectiveness also indicate that the community which it represents remains an important mediator between its residents and the larger world beyond its borders.

Despite its survival, the future of Island society is certainly not assured. There are an assortment of local challenges which threaten its very existence. The most serious of these is the continuing process of redevelopment. As Ted Johns has remarked, shortsighted government officials and planners

> can swamp the Island down with people who are basically rootless . . . and won't have time to put their roots down. This will generally

> have an unsettling effect . . . They'll shatter the community . . . and once you've broken a community it's virtually impossible to put it back again. You can't recreate a community simply by putting up a tenants' hall . . . The councils tend to think in those kind of terms . . . There's a place for that [but] community isn't about buildings. Community is about people.[1]

Though somewhat less immediate, the continuing decline of the Island's industrial base also poses a serious threat to local society. Historically the Island's firms have provided jobs for the majority of its residents. This has facilitated the rise of work-related networks and given the community's inhabitants an important common pool of experience. It has also made it easier for Island youngsters who wished to remain in the district to do so. Unless the Island's economy is at least partly revived, its residents will lose one on the great bonds which has traditionally united them into a self-conscious community.

Various plans to revitalize the docks plus the AIC's efforts to enhance the Island's attractiveness to industry are encouraging. However there is no guarantee that jobs at local businesses will be preserved, let alone increased. Unless they are, as Len Jordan has observed, the "Island is just going to become somewhere to sleep. It's not going to be a living community . . ."[2]

It should be stressed that the dangers which threaten Island society appear to be local rather than national in scope. Island society, after all, is merely a reflection of the larger realities of class and class culture within an urban context. There is no convincing evidence that the distribution of wealth and power on which the British class structure rests is likely to change in the foreseeable future. Similarly, while

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[1]Johns, interview, 22 May 1978.

[2]L. Jordan, interview, 8 June 1978.

working-class life has changed in many ways since World War II, its basic ethos and cultural style have exhibited remarkable resilience and adaptability. As Brian Jackson has written, the

> idea that the working class is ceasing to exist in the old way, as a submerged and alternative culture based on habits of cooperation and values of community is false . . . In most ways, working class is undoubtedly far, far better than it was. But in essence it feels the same, offers the same kind of experience.[3]

Thus, even if the Island should cease to exist as a proletarian community, its demise will almost certainly be the result of some local catastrophe rather than profound social changes which culminate in the destruction of all working-class villages.

Wider Implications

In some ways the Island's historical experience has been unique. Broadly speaking, however, it has followed a pattern similar to that exhibited by many other working-class villages. Thus the development of Island society sheds some light on larger questions concerning all such communities. These issues include questions about the formation of working-class communities, their role in proletarian life, the quality of life which they have provided for their residents, and their probable fate in the years ahead. The Island's contemporary experience also has implications for public policy relating to the redevelopment and preservation of working-class communities.

Judging from the Island's experiences, the development of fully formed working-class villages in nineteenth century cities was a slow and complex process. This was due to the fact that their formation took

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[3] B. Jackson, Working Class Community ,p. 176. Also see Henry Pelling, Popular Politics and Society in Late Victorian Britain (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1968), pp. 165-79.

place within the context of the Industrial Revolution. During this period class emerged as the key organizing principle of British society. In the early 1800s, proletarian ranks were still shot through with a host of occupational, status, and ethnic distinctions which slowed the emergence of a common working-class identity and culture. It was not until the later nineteenth century that the working classes became the working class. Island society, like those of other proletarian districts, did not take its final shape until this process was complete.

Given today's more fully developed class system, proletarian communities can probably be formed faster than was the case a century ago. However the process of communal formation remains a rather lenghty one. Common social background cannot, by itself, ensure that the residents of a particular urban district constitute a self-conscious and cohesive community. Residents must establish roots, routines, and relationships with one anther before a socially homogeneous area becomes a self-sustaining local community.

As critics have claimed, the quality of life in working-class villages historically has left a great deal to be desired. Generally such communities have tended to be insular, deprived, rigid, and repressive.[4] Yet, as the Island's experience clearly demonstrates, working-class villages have provided their residents with many tangible benefits as well. They have served as a source of psychological and physical security as well as an arena of social activity. They also have provided an important means of collective education, experience, and action. Life in proletarian communities has taught generations of working-class

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[4]See e.g. Roberts, Classic Slum, passim.

people the virtues of neighborliness, cooperation, and mutual empathy and sympathy. These values and habits have helped to refine, clarify, and personalize the deeper bonds of class which link working-class people to one another. Thus the experience of communal living has enhanced the quality of proletarian life.[5]

As noted previously, many scholars have argued that since World War II, working-class villages have been in a state of irreversible decline. Some authorities credit this to the gradual emergence of a new "mass society" which has undermined all units of social organization save the nuclear family and the state. Others are less cosmic in their approach. They attribute the purported decline of proletarian communities to ill-conceived urban renewal schemes, changes in the urban economy, and technological and social developments which have lessened the dependence of working-class people on their neighbors. Many authors who hold these views claim that the decline of working-class communities is a positive social good. They argue that their demise will free their residents of communal restraints and thus enable them to participate in more meaningful class-based political movements.[6]

There is, admittedly, a degree of truth in each of these various interpretations. Certainly in the case of the Island, redevelopment and economic change have weakened communal cohesion in some respects. Likewise affluence, technological advances, and state services have made Islanders more independent than ever before. In some respects this has been a liberating experience. Intellectual and social horizons have been

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[5]Also see Hoggart, Literacy, pp. 27-137.

[6]See chapters I and VI.

expanded. Islanders now participate in local society less by necessity and more by choice than was the case a generation ago.

Nevertheless judging from the experience of the Island, there is no reason to believe that these changes are incompatible with the survival of working-class communities. Indeed such communities have proven themselves to be exceptionally resilient and adaptable. Their class-based character still gives them remarkable cohesion. Moreover proletarian communities still provide their residents with important benefits in terms of social interaction and security. While participation in local life may be increasingly optional, most Islanders continue to exercise that option. One of the best examples of voluntary participation in local life in the Island is the district's strong community action movement. Aside from serving as a symbol of communal vitality and sentiment, it also has demonstrated that working-class communities are viable units of political education and action.

The future of proletarian communities is, of course, impossible to predict with certainty. Some undoubtedly will continue to be crippled or destroyed by poorly planned and executed redevelopment schemes. Others will die a natural death as their economic or social bases disappear. However it appears probable that many working-class communities like the Island will survive and still others will come into being in the years ahead. Such communities are, after all, merely a local reflection of the larger reality of class. Moreover, as much recent research has demonstrated, the tendency of working-class people to draw their spouses and friends from their immediate neighborhoods will help to maintain strong networks of kinship and friendship in relatively small geographic

areas.[7] These networks provide an important basis for communal life. Finally, as the case of the Island demonstrates, working-class communities continue to serve as an important intermediary between their residents and the larger national society to which they belong. Thus they are neither socially nor functionally obsolete.

The survival, vitality, and popularity of communal life in the Island has some profound implications for future redevelopment schemes. Clearly urban renewal programs designed to rebuild proletarian districts should incorporate features which strengthen rather than weaken local communities. Specifically, this means that where possible massive demolition schemes which displace entire populations should be avoided. Housing should be low-level and carefully integrated with service and industrial facilities. Streets should be short, and physical boundaries (though not barriers) preserved. In established communities, local residents should be given a meaningful role to play in the planning process. All decisions should take into account the social benefits of communal life. Planners, in short, must adapt their schemes to the lessons of history and sociology.

In conclusion, the history of Island society offers some simple but profound lessons for those interested in urban life. As was the case in the past, the great realities of class and community continue to shape urban life. The former still helps to dictate the pattern of population distribution. The latter still determines the character of life within individual urban districts. Great cities have been, are,

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[7] See e.g. Pritchard, Housing and the Spatial Structure of the City, pp. 179-90; Pelling, Popular Politics, pp. 165-79; Hill, Dockers, pp. 168-77; and Goldthorpe et al., Affluent Worker, pp. 86-115.

and probably will remain mosaics of different types of individual communities. Historians and sociologists who fail to grasp these simple points will never understand the nature of the urban experience. Planners who ignore them will almost inevitably lessen rather than improve the quality of urban life.

APPENDIX 1

INDUSTRIAL STRUCTURE, SOCIAL SERVICE INSTITUTIONS, POPULATION, HOUSING, AND LAND USE

Tables 13, 14, and 15 record the number of industrial firms and service facilities in the Island at ten-year intervals from 1801-1977. For the years 1801-41 the sources for these tables are the Poplar Poor Rate Books plus Pigot's, Johnstone's, and Robson's commercial directories. Thereafter, Kelley's London Post Office Guide is the sole source. In those few cases where an individual company operated more than one factory in the Island, each was counted separately.

These tables list only the number of firms in the Island, not their size in terms of number of employees or their relative importance. Naturally the district's industrial structure could be revealed much more clearly by means of a table which classified the local labor force by occupation. Unfortunately, such data are available only for the census years covering 1831-71 and other sources offering fragmentary information for 1886 and 1929. These data are dealt with in appendix 2. Information concerning the Island's labor force in the post-war decades can be found in chapters V and VI of this dissertation.

TABLE 13.--Number and Type of Industrial Firms in the Isle of Dogs: 1801-1977

	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	1977
Building & building supply	. . .	1	7	10	4	9	18	19	22	23	27	22	17	23	21	21	17	9	4
Building firms	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	3	6	4	4	6	10	10	6	11	9	9	6	1	1
Operators/jobbers/ specialty firms	. . .	. . .	1	1	. . .	1	1	5	6	8	7	6	2	2	2	2	2	. . .	. . .
Stone dressers/ merchants	. . .	. . .	1	2	. . .	2	4	4	4	2	1	. . .	1	1	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Earthenware/plaster/ terra cotta/ cement/brick mkrs	. . .	. . .	1	1	2	1	3	3	4	2	2	3	3	4	3	2	2	. . .	. . .
Timber yards/ importers	. . .	1	4	6	1	2	4	3	4	5	7	3	5	5	6	8	7	8	3
Manufacturing	2	19	25	21	26	27	36	65	68	74	82	78	69	67	64	56	58	46	36
Machinery/tool-mkrs/engineering	. . .	1	1	1	2	3	9	12	13	16	18	21	16	21	18	16	18	15	6
Shipbuilding/ship repair & access'y (wood & iron)	2	13	17	16	16	16	16	30	24	17	16	11	9	5	7	5	8	2	1
Iron & steel manuf & stockholders	. . .	3	4	2	4	4	4	9	11	17	18	18	20	23	19	22	23	16	12
Copper/tin/lead/gold manuf & refiners	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	2	7	11	11	8	14	9	9	8	8	6	5	4	1
Hemp & flax (rope/ sack/tarpaulin mkrs)	. . .	1	2	2	1	1	. . .	1	5	8	10	8	8	8	7	2	2	2	. . .
Wood (kegs/casks/ boxes/coopers)	. . .	1	1	. . .	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	2	6	5	3	2	1	3	. . .	. . .	. . .
Plasterers/ insulation	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	6

TABLE 13.--Continued

	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	1977
Furniture	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	4
Miscellaneous	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	1	. . .	2	2	6	. . .	6	4	. . .	4	2	2	5	6
Chemicals/noxious industries	. . .	2	4	2	4	7	12	15	18	19	25	21	25	18	22	20	20	10	6
Paint/varnish/oil tar/lubricants/ asphalts	. . .	2	3	2	3	5	10	11	16	19	25	20	24	18	22	20	20	10	6
Coal/gas	. . .	. . .	1	. . .	1	2	. . .	1	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Glue/tallow/soap/ manure works	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	3	1	. . .	. . .	1	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Food preparation (flour mills/ provision manuf/ seed crusher/ drink manuf)	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	1	1	3	4	5	7	9	8	9	9	10	8	4	4	3
Transport	1	4	4	5	5	5	4	11	24	20	16	21	25	28	48	44	32	46	31
Port/ocean (ship co/wharfing/ lightermen/ warehouses)	1	4	4	5	5	5	4	7	16	13	12	13	20	22	30	33	21	24	16
Road (carmen/ road haulage/carters)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	4	8	7	4	8	5	6	18	11	11	22	15
Total	3	26	40	39	40	49	73	114	137	143	159	150	145	145	165	149	131	115	80

TABLE 14.--Summary of Types of Industrial Firms in the Isle of Dogs: 1801-1977

	Total	Building and Suppliers		Manufacturing		Chemicals and Noxious Indus		Food Preparation		Transport	
	#	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
1801	3	. . .	. . .	2	66.7	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	33.3
1811	26	1	3.8	19	73.1	2	7.7	. . .	. . .	4	15.4
1821	40	7	17.5	25	62.5	4	10.0	. . .	. . .	4	10.0
1831	39	10	25.7	21	53.8	2	5.1	1	2.6	5	12.8
1841	40	4	10.0	26	65.0	4	10.0	1	2.5	5	12.5
1851	49	9	18.4	27	55.1	7	14.3	1	2.0	5	10.2
1861	73	18	24.7	36	49.3	12	16.4	3	4.1	4	5.5
1871	114	19	16.7	65	57.0	15	13.2	4	3.5	11	9.6
1881	137	22	16.1	68	49.6	18	13.1	5	3.6	24	17.5
1891	143	23	16.1	74	51.7	19	13.3	7	4.9	20	14.0
1901	159	27	17.0	82	51.6	25	15.7	9	5.7	16	10.1
1911	150	22	14.7	78	52.0	21	14.0	8	5.3	21	14.0
1921	145	17	11.7	69	47.6	25	17.2	9	6.2	25	17.2
1931	145	23	15.9	67	46.2	18	12.4	9	6.2	28	19.3
1941	165	21	12.7	64	38.9	22	13.3	10	6.1	48	29.0
1951	149	21	14.1	56	37.6	20	13.4	8	5.4	44	29.5
1961	131	17	13.0	58	44.3	20	15.3	4	3.1	32	24.4
1971	115	9	7.8	46	40.0	10	8.7	4	3.5	46	40.0
1977	80	4	5.0	36	45.0	6	7.5	3	3.8	31	38.8

TABLE 15.--Number and Per Capita Distribution of Service Institutions in the Isle of Dogs: 1801-1977

	Population	Shops		Pubs, etc.		Eating Establishments		Medical Care		Schools		Churches, Missions, etc.	
		#	PC	#	PC	#	PC	#	PC	#	PC	#	PC
1801	153	. . .	. . .	2	1/77	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
1811	382	. . .	. . .	2	1/191	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
1821	641	. . .	. . .	6	1/107	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	1/641
1831	1,344	5	1/269	4	1/336	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	1/1,344
1841	2,062	5	1/412	17	1/121	1	1/2,062	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	1/2.062
1851	3,916	6	1/653	10	1/392	. . .	. . .	2	1/1,958	1	1/3,916	1	1/3,916
1861	8,579	44	1/195	26	1/318	3	1/2,860	3	1/2,860	1	1/8,579	3	1/2,860
1871	12,664	145	1/87	44	1/288	18	1/704	6	1/2,111	4	1/3,166	6	1/2,111
1881	17,012	218	1/78	37	1/460	26	1/654	9	1/1,890	6	1/2,835	9	1/1,890
1891	20,040	254	1/79	35	1/573	33	1/607	10	1/2,004	5	1/4,008	9	1/2,227
1901	21,127	281	1/75	35	1/604	26	1/813	10	1/2,113	8	1/2,641	15	1/1,408
1911	20,373	239	1/85	35	1/582	26	1/784	9	1/2,264	8	1/2,547	11	1/1,852
1921	20,669	195	1/106	37	1/559	22	1/940	8	1/2,584	6	1/3,445	12	1/1,722
1931	21,403	235	1/92	33	1/649	33	1/649	11	1/1,946	6	1/3,567	14	1/1.592
1941	No Census	206	. . .	27	. . .	27	. . .	11	. . .	8	. . .	13	. . .
1951	10,162	95	1/107	22	1/462	23	1/442	4	1/2,541	2	1/5,081	8	1/1,270
1961	9,056	86	1/105	21	1/431	14	1/647	2	1/4,528	5	1/1,811	6	1/1,509
1971	12,094	52	1/233	19	1/637	3	1/4,031	4	1/3,024	7	1/1,728	6	1/2,016
1977	Not Census Yr	46	. . .	19	. . .	4	. . .	4	. . .	6	. . .	5	. . .

TABLE 16.--Population and Housing: 1801-1971

	Population[a]	Number of Inhabited Dwellings	Persons per Inhabited Dwelling
1801	153 (est)	30	5.1 (est)
1811	382 (est)	75	5.1 (est)
1821	641	126	5.1
1831	1,344	230	5.8
1841	2,062	347	6.0
1851	3,916	530	7.4
1861	8,579	1,097	7.8
1871	12,664	1,688	7.5
1881	17,012	2,039	8.3
1891	20,040	2,611	7.7
1901	21,127	2,672	7.9
1911	20,373	. . .[b]	. . .[b]
1921	20,669	2,838	7.3
1931	21,403	3,216	6.7
1941	. . .[c]	. . .[c]	. . .[c]
1951	10,162	2,506	4.1
1961	9,056	2,430	3.7
1971	12,094	(14,610)[d]	(0.8)[d]

[a]Population estimates for 1801 and 1811 are based on multiplying the number of inhabited dwellings (as revealed in the Poor Rate Books for these years) times the number of people per inhabited dwelling for the year 1821. Population and building totals for the years 1821-1851 and 1871 are derived from manuscript census data. Due to the incomplete nature of surviving manuscript census returns for 1861, that year's data come from published census data. The source is the same for the years 1881-1971. These latter statistics sometimes include people on ships in the Millwall Docks plus one or two areas contiguous to the Isle of Dogs. In no instance would this amount to more than approximately 300 people or 50 dwellings.

[b]The number of dwellings was not published for this year.

[c]No census was taken in this year due to the War.

[d]Statistics on inhabited dwellings dropped in favor of statistics on rooms in this year.

TABLE 17.—Acres in Agricultural Use in the Isle of Dogs: 1801-1871*
(total land area: 608 acres)

1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871
485	460	425	342	329	278	178	negl.

*This is only a rough estimate of the agricultural acreage on the Island for the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century. It is based upon entries in the Poor Rate Books for 1800-41, the Church Rate books for 1851-61, and the 1870-71 Valuation List for the Parish of All Saints Poplar. Usually these sources specify the size of the holdings listed. However, in a few instances in the earlier years and for the whole of 1851, only the total annual rental value of the land is recorded. In such cases, I have computed the acreage by estimating the rental value at £3 10s. per acre, the approximate rent of agricultural land for which complete figures survive.

Land held by developers or local firms has not been included in the totals recorded above. Such property was almost invariably in the process of being converted to industrial or residential use. Reed grounds and foreland, whose size is usually unspecified, have also been excluded. Almost all the agricultural land in the Island was used for pasturage rather than arable farming. While the Millwall Dock Company and, later, the Port of London Authority continued to hold considerable amounts of open ground in the Island, after 1871 it was no longer used for agricultural purposes. From 1871 on, only a few small pastures for the use of local milk suppliers remained in the Isle of Dogs.

APPENDIX 2

QUANTITATIVE MATERIALS AND METHODOLOGIES

Sources

Most of the statistical data used in Chapters II-IV of this dissertation came from one of four sources: manuscript census returns for the parish of Poplar for the years 1821 and 1831; census enumerators' books covering the Isle of Dogs for the years 1841, 1851, 1861, and 1871; a sample household survey of the Isle of Dogs conducted by the local London school board attendance officers for Charles Booth in 1886-87; and a sample household survey of the Isle of Dogs conducted by the local London school board attendance officers for the New Survey of London Life and Labour in 1929. Each of these sources is further described below.

Manuscript Census Returns for the Parish of Poplar, 1821 & 1831

This material can be found in two large bound volumes stored in the Local History Collection at the Tower Hamlets Central Library. It covers all Poplar, of which the Island was a part. The survival of these returns is a fortunate accident, for the central government ordered the destruction of all such documents after it compiled its census calculations in 1801, 1811, 1821, and 1831. The 1821 returns provide comparatively little information. They give only general and

often vague addresses, the number of families residing in each inhabited dwelling, the name of the head of each family, the head's general occupational category (i.e. agricultural; trade, handicrafts, manufacturing, etc.; or all others), and the number of males and females in each family. There is no information concerning ages, birthplaces, precise occupations, or the internal structure of families and households. The 1831 returns provide the same data as those of 1821 with two important additions. First, the precise occupation of most, though not all, family heads is listed. Second, the presence and number of servants in at least some households are noted.

Census Enumerators' Books: 1841, 1851, 1861, & 1871

These documents have been microfilmed and are available at the Public Record Office and the Local History Collection of the Tower Hamlets Central Library. The enumerators' books for 1841 list all inhabitants according to the household to which they belonged. The information provided for each resident includes: name, address, sex, approximate age (to the nearest five years for those over fifteen), and occupation. The returns also note whether or not individuals were born in the same county in which they were currently residing, or if they had been born in Scotland, Ireland, or foreign parts. Those not listed in one of these four categories were presumably born in other parts of England and Wales.

The same information for each resident is available in the returns for 1851, 1861, and 1871. However, in these latter years, ages and birthplaces are given more precisely, and each individual's relationship to the head of the household is specified. In the case of the

Island, the census returns for the years 1841, 1851, and 1871 are complete. However, the 1861 returns for approximately 1,200 of the district's 8,500 residents have not survived. Due to the hundred year closure rule on census data, returns for the years after 1871 were not available at the time I conducted my research.

Charles Booth's Sample Household Survey

This material can be found in volumes 9, 12, 21, and 30 of Group B of the Booth Collection in the British Library of Political and Economic Science at the London School of Economics. It was used along with data from other areas to construct many of the social and economic maps and tables found in Charles Booth's classic seventeen volume survey, Life and Labour of the People of London (1889-1904). The London school board attendance officers provided Booth with the following data on 2,361 Island households: address, number of rooms and approximate rent, occupation and estimated wages of the household head, the head's marital status, the number of children under the age of thirteen in each family, and general comments as to the "character" of certain families. Booth's assistants used this information to determine the class of each household head. Their judgments are recorded next to the household in question. No information was provided concerning names, ages, birthplaces, occupations of people other than household heads, or internal composition of households. Booth's sample covered roughly sixty percent of the households in the Isle of Dogs. Its sheer size and spread throughout the district ensure its accuracy and representative character with regard to the occupations and social class of household heads. For more information on this survey and a convincing

defense of its reliability, see the Booth papers and Booth's published volumes.[1]

New Survey of London Household Survey

These data can be found in the household sample card section of the New Survey of London (NSOL) papers housed in the British Library of Political and Economic Science at the London School of Economics. The New Survey of London Life and Labour was an effort undertaken in the inter-war era to update the findings of Booth. The project was directed by Sir Hubert Llewellyn Smith, one of Booth's former assistants. Smith and his team of experts relied heavily on a scientifically selected sample of London households. Of the households which they surveyed, 153 were in the Isle of Dogs. This constituted roughly 2.7% of the district's total number of households, or 586 people in a population of approximately 21,400. The following information was obtained for each member of the households surveyed: relation to the head of the household, sex, age, occupation, employer, place of work, cost of weekly transportation to work, number of hours worked in the previous week, number of hours worked in a full week, earning in the previous week, and earnings in a full week. In addition, information concerning the rent and quality of accommodation of each household was collected. Family names, which were taken at the time of the survey, were later deleted to protect the identity of the subjects. Given the scientific care with which the NSOL sample was selected and surveyed, it can--despite its size--be accepted as a roughly accurate relection of the Island's socio-economic structure. A fuller

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[1]London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Booth Collection, Group B, vol. 21 passim; and Booth et al., Life and Labour, 1 ser., 1:1-39, and appendix, 1-64 passim.

explanation of the methods of selection and analysis of the NSOL sample can be found in the project's papers and published volumes.[2]

Methods

Most of the techniques used to quantify and analyze the data taken from the sources listed above have been developed by W. A. Armstrong. Since they have been set forth at great length in a number of widely available books and articles, only a brief summary of these methods will be made here.[3] All of the information on individual Islanders and their respective households contained in the census returns for 1821-31 and 1841-71, the Booth survey of 1886-87, and NSOL survey of 1929 was recorded on four-by-six cards. Each individual household in each different census year/survey had its own card--8,323 cards in all. The information on each household and, where possible, each individual within it was then translated into numerical codes. Over twenty-nine thousand individuals were dealt with in this manner.[4] Separate numerical codes were assigned to cover each individual's regional area and building of residence in the Island, household, relation to the head of the household, county or region of birth, age, sex, occupation, and social class. A complete list of these categories and codes can be found in the next section of this appendix.

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[2]London, British Library of Political and Economic Science, New Survey of London Collection, parcel 7/4; and London School of Economics and Political Science, New Survey of London, 3:1-5, 29-36, 413-48.

[3]See the works by Armstrong listed in footnote 39 of Chapter I.

[4] Due to the lack of data, only the household heads for the years 1821, 1831, and 1886-87 could be coded. Moreover, even for the heads, only a limited amount of biographical information was available from the sources covering these years.

I followed Armstrong carefully with respect to his social class and occupational classification schemes. Individuals were placed in one of five social classes primarily on the basis of their occupations. However, other data, including the presence or absence of servants in households and an individual's status as an employer or employee, were also taken into account. The latter information was culled from notations on census returns and the use of property tax records and trade directories to identify local business men. Following Armstrong, as well as common practice, the district's overall social structure was determined by grouping its household heads (rather than its entire population) according to social class.[5]

In addition to providing the basis for distinguishing the social class of various individuals, the hundreds of different occupations listed in the census and household survey material were grouped into nine broad economic divisions containing eighty-three sub-categories. This classification system, though refined by Armstrong, was originally devised by Charles Booth. It permits easy comparison of the composition of the labor force in different areas with each other and with that of the nation as a whole.[6]

Two points ought to be made concerning the Booth-Armstrong occupation classification scheme used in this study. First, for some unknown reason, it places brickmakers under the mining category. In the context of the Island's economic history, that occupation is better regarded as one of the building trades. Therefore the number and

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[5]For a fuller explanation, see Armstrong, "Information about Occupation," pp. 191-225.

[6]Ibid., pp. 226-310.

percentage of the district's population employed as brickmakers should probably be added to the totals for the building category to obtain a clear picture of the true size of that industry's work force. Second, in a few instances, the census returns listed a person's place of employment as well as the occupation (e.g. labourer at shipyard). In such cases, I coded the individual's social class according to the type of work performed in that occupation according to the industry in which the person worked. Thus, those labeled as "labourers" were placed in social class V and given an occupation code of 602 (general labourer). Those listed as "labourer in shipyard" were also placed in social class V, but they were given an occupational code of 303 (ship-building). The same approach was taken toward people pursuing other types of occupations in other industries. I corresponded with Armstrong on this point. While he had not encountered this problem in his own work, he approved of my solution to it. It gives the work force analysis greater reliability as a guide to local industrial structure.

Once coded, the census materials for the years 1841-71 were computerized to facilitate accurate tabulation and comparison between different variables. This part of the project was handled by the staff of the University of Oklahoma's Merrick Computer Center. The type of program used was an SAS-76 statistical analysis package, and the computer employed was an IBM 37/158. Computerization was neither necessary nor advisable for the data dealing with the years 1821, 1831, 1886-87, and 1929. The individual, household, and district returns for these years were less numerous and/or less complete than those for the mid-nineteenth century. Therefore, the data which they contained could be tabulated and compared quite easily with the aid of a hand calculator. Moreover,

given the limited amount of information that could be culled from this material, it was simply not worth the cost and problems involved in computerization. Nevertheless, wherever possible, material from these years was quantified and tabulated according to Armstrong's principles. This was especially true with respect to data concerning the social class and occupations of household heads. This practice has made it possible to trace and compare the Island's socio-economic structure during different periods.

Categories and Codes

The categories and codes used to quantify the census and household data were as follows:

1. Year of census/survey (column 1)

2--1821	4--1841	6--1861	8--1886-87
3--1831	5--1851	7--1871	9--1929

2. Area of residence in the Isle of Dogs (columns 2-3)

Northwest quadrant

01--Alfred St	09--Mellish St
02--Alpha Rd	10--Montague Pl, Ord St
03--Byng St	11--Robert St
04--Charles St	12--Strafford St
05--Cheval St	13--Thomas St
06--Cross, George, Marsh Sts	14--Tooke St
07--Janet St, Spring Garden Pl	15--W Ferry Rd (north)
08--Maria, Catherine Sts	16--N Millwall Riverside

Southwest quadrant

26--Cahir, British, Marsh Sts	30--Ferry Rd
27--Claude St	31--Gaverick St
28--Crews St	32--Riverside (southwest)
29--E Ferry Rd, Chapel House	33--W Ferry Rd (south)

Southeast quadrant

51--Barque St	56--Pier St
52--Brig St	57--Ship St
53--Church St	58--Stebondale St
54--Manchester Rd (south)	59--Wharf Rd
55--Newcastle St	

Northeast quadrant

76--Davis St	81--Marshfield St
77--E Ferry Rd (north)	82--Roserton St
78--Folly Wall	83--Samuda St
79--Glengall Rd	84--Stewart St
80--Manchester Rd (north)	85--Strattondale St

3. Building of residence in the Isle of Dogs (columns 4-7)

Each inhabited building in each year was given a unique and sequential number.

4. Household number (columns 8-11)

Each household in each year was given a unique and sequential number.

5. Relation to the head of the household (column 12)

1--head of household	6--visitor in household
2--spouse of head	7--servant in household
3--child of head	9--unknown
4--other relative of head	0--child of servant in household
5--lodger in household	

6. Marital status (column 13)

1--married	3--widowed
2--single	9--unknown

7. Sex (column 14)

1--male	9--unknown
2--female	

8. Age (columns 15-16)

1--age one and below	99--unknown
2-98--corresponding age	

9. Social class (column 17)

1--Class I	the independently wealthy, large employers and land owners, and top professionals
2--Class II	intermediate occupations such as small businessmen, substantial shopkeepers and clerks who kept servants, teachers, etc.
3--Class III	skilled manual occupations, shopkeepers without servants, etc.
4--Class IV	semi-skilled manual occupations
5--Class V	unskilled manual occupations
9--unknown	

10. Occupation (columns 18-20)

0--Agricultural sector
001--farming
002--land service
003--breeding
004--fishing

1--Mining sector
101--mining
102--quarrying
103--brickmaking
104--salt & water works

2--Building sector
201--management
202--operative
203--roadmaking

3--Manufacturing sector
301--machinery
302--tools, etc.
303--shipbuilding
304--iron & steel
305--copper, tin, lead, etc.
306--gold, silver, jewelry
307--earthenware, etc.
308--coals & gas
309--chemical
310--furs & leather
311--glue, tallow, etc.
312--hair, etc.
313--wood workers
314--furniture
315--carriages & harness
316--paper
317--floorcloth, waterproofing
318--woolens
319--cotton & silk
320--flax, hemp, etc.
321--lace
322--dyeing
323--dress
324--sundries (dress)
325--food preparation
326--baking
327--drink preparation
328--smoking
329--watches, instruments, toys
330--printing, bookbinding
331--unspecified

4--Transport sector
401--warehouses & docks
402--ocean navigation
403--inland navigation
404--railways
405--roads

5--Dealing sector
501--coals
502--raw materials
503--clothing materials
504--dress
505--food
506--tobacco
507--wines, spirits, hotels
508--lodging, coffee house
509--furniture
510--stationery, publication
511--household utensils, ornaments
512--general dealers
513--unspecified

6--Industrial sector
601--banking, insurance, acct.
602--labor

7--Public service and professional sector
701--central administration
702--local administration
703--sanitary administration
704--army
705--navy
706--police, prisons

7--Public service and professional sector (continued)

707--law
708--medicine
709--art, amusement (painting)
710--art, amusement (music)
711--literature
712--science
713--education
714--religion

8--Domestic service sector

801--indoor
802--outdoor
803--extra service

9--Property owning, independent sector

Miscellaneous sector

990--scholars (children)
991--paupers, vagrants
992--widows
993--unemployed
999--unknown

11. Birthplace (columns 21-22)

0--Greater London & Middlesex

01--Greater London
02--Middlesex

1--Southeast England

10--Berkshire
11--Hampshire
12--Isle of Wight
13--Kent
14--Surrey
15--Sussex

2--Central England

20--Buckinghamshire
21--Derbyshire
22--Huntingdon/Rutland
23--Leicestershire
24--Northamptonshire
25--Nottinghamshire
26--Oxfordshire
27--Staffordshire
28--Warwickshire
29--Worchestershire

3--Eastern England

30--Bedfordshire
31--Cambridgeshire
32--Essex
33--Hertfordshire
34--Lincolnshire
35--Norfolk
36--Suffolk

4--Northern England

40--Cumberland
41--Durham
42--Lancashire
43--Isle of Man
44--Northumberland
45--Westmorland
46--Yorkshire

5--Southwest England

50--Cornwall
51--Devon
52--Dorset
53--Somerset
54--Wiltshire

6--Scotland

7--Ireland

8--Wales and English border counties

80--Wales
81--Cheshire
82--Gloucestershire
83--Herefordshire
84--Shropshire

9--Miscellaneous

90--in the Empire
91--at sea
92--foreign (other than Empire)
93--"British Islands"
94--"England"
99--unknown

As a sample of the above system, a person listed in the 1851 census returns, who lived on the riverside in north Millwall in the 161st inhabited building and the 249th household listed; who was the head of a household, married, male, and aged thirty-seven; who was employed as a casual laborer; and who had been born in Ireland would be coded as follows:

Column	1	2-3	4-7	8-11	12	13	14	15-16	17	18-20	21-22
Value	5	16	0161	0249	1	1	1	37	5	602	70

Tables

The following selection of tables is based on the data, methods, and classification system outlined in the first three sections of this appendix. Many other tables dealing with a wide range of questions relating to the structure of Island society were constructed. However, since they were not directly relevant to the thesis of this dissertation, they have not been included. It is hoped that they will someday be published in article form.

TABLE 18.--Information from the 1821 Census Returns

	Number Inhabited Bldgs.[a]	Number of Families	Population			Occupation of Head of Family[b]		
			Total	Male	Female	Agricul-ture	Trade, Manuf., etc.	Other
Ord Street[c]	10	10	62	36	26	. . .	10	. . .
Ferry Road	11	13	70	30	40	. . .	11	2
Sprattley's Row	8	11	47	24	23	. . .	11	. . .
Millwall	81	85	376	177	199	2	78	5
Folly House & Wall	12	13	71	33	38	. . .	12	1
Canal Row	4	4	15	6	9	. . .	4	. . .
Total	126	136	641	316	335	2	126	8

[a]Sixteen uninhabited buildings were noted.

[b]These were the only occupational categories used in the 1821 census. It is probable that several families of agricultural laborers were listed under categories other than agricultural. Only land owners or renters appear to be listed under the later. However the number of families pursuing agriculture as their main occupation was undoubtedly very small (see the later censes).

[c]These were the only addresses recorded in the 1821 census data. Most are clear enough. Ferry Road is West Ferry Road. Millwall referred primarily to the western shore line of the Isle of Dogs. However, in this case, it also included the area around Chapel House Farm in the peninsula's interior.

TABLE 19.—Population by Residential Area: 1821, 1831, 1841, 1851, 1861, and 1871

	1821[a]		1831[a]		1841		1851		1861[b]		1871	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Northwest quadrant	372	58.0	947	70.5	1,358	65.9	2,911	74.3	3,299	45.0	3,790	29.9
Alfred St	100	15.6	378	28.1	448	21.7	461	11.8	419	5.7	423	3.3
Alpha Rd	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	61	0.8	37	0.3
Byng St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	12	0.3	31	0.4	59	0.5
Charles St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	34	0.9	61	0.8	249	2.0
Cheval St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	59	1.5	12	0.2	32	0.3
Cross, George, Marsh Sts	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	51	2.5	90	2.3	116	1.6	129	1.0
Janet St, Spring Garden Pl	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	26	0.7	140	1.9	281	2.2
Maria, Catherine Sts	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	6	0.1	163	1.3
Mellish St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	153	1.2
Montague Pl, Ord St	62	9.7	70	5.2	115	5.6	85	2.2	65	0.9	91	0.7
Robert St	. . .	. . .	65	4.8	115	5.6	174	4.4	200	2.7	190	1.5
Strafford St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	20	0.5	82	1.1	212	1.7
Thomas St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	199	5.1	357	4.9	329	2.6
Tooke St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	167	4.3	291	4.0	258	2.0
W Ferry Rd (north)	70	10.9	170	12.6	259	12.6	1,111	28.4	1,001	13.7	990	7.8
N Millwall Riverside	140	21.8	264	19.6	370	17.9	473	12.1	457	6.2	194	1.5
Southwest quadrant	183	28.5	280	20.8	576	27.9	734	18.7	1,184	16.2	2,859	22.6
Cahir, British, Marsh Sts	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	154	1.2
Claude St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	168	2.3	152	1.2
Crews St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	157	2.1	134	1.1

TABLE 19.--Continued

	1821[a]		1831[a]		1841		1851		1861[b]		1871	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	#
E Ferry Rd, Chapel House	13	2.0	15	1.1	55	2.7	54	1.4	33	0.5	376	2.9
Ferry Rd	10	1.6	10	0.7	33	1.6	215	5.5	62	0.9	116	0.9
Gaverick St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	227	3.1	183	1.4
Riverside (southwest)	80	12.5	125	9.3	262	12.7	194	5.0	81	1.1	91	0.7
W Ferry Rd (south)	80	12.5	130	9.7	226	11.0	271	6.9	456	6.2	1,653	13.1
Southeast quadrant	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	203	5.2	1,066	14.5	3,099	24.5
Barque St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	63	0.5
Brig St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	62	0.5
Church St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	469	6.4	237	1.9
Manchester Rd (south)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	175	4.5	563	7.7	1,430	11.3
Newcastle St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	8	0.2	6	0.1	53	0.4
Pier St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	157	1.2
Ship St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	190	1.5
Stebondale St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	836	6.6
Wharf Rd	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	20	0.5	28	0.4	71	0.6
Northeast quadrant	86	13.4	117	8.7	128	6.2	68	1.7	1,780	24.3	2,916	23.0
Davis St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	93	1.3	46	0.4
E Ferry Rd (north)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	240	3.3	. . .	. . .
Folly Wall	71	11.1	65	4.8	99	4.8	33	0.8	55	0.8	69	0.5
Glengall Rd	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	608	4.8
Manchester Rd (north)	15	2.3	52	3.9	29	1.4	35	0.9	1,031	14.1	1,389	11.0

TABLE 19.--Continued

	1821[a]		1831[a]		1841		1851		1861[b]		1871	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Marshfield St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	23	0.3	280	2.2
Roserton St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	6	0.1
Samuda St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	154	2.1	140	1.1
Stewart St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	184	2.5	217	1.7
Strattondale St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	161	1.3
Total	641	99.9	1,344	100.0	2,062	100.0	3,916	99.9	7,329	100.0	12,664	100.0

[a]Due to the absence of complete addresses in the 1821 and 1831 manuscript census returns, these figures should be regarded as no more than rough estimates.

[b]Totals and percentages for 1861 are distorted by the absence of information on approximately 1,200 residents whose census returns have not survived. The great majority of these people resided in the southwest quadrant of the Isle of Dogs. Hence, this area developed even more rapidly in the 1850s than the surviving figures would lead one to believe.

TABLE 20.---Frequency of Heads of Households in the Various Social Classes: 1831, 1841, 1851, 1861, 1871, 1886-87, and 1929

	1831		1841		1851		1861*		1871		1886-87		1929	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Social Class														
I	10	4.5	12	2.9	8	1.0	21	1.4	19	0.7	9	0.4	. . .	. . .
II	29	12.9	55	13.3	87	10.4	98	6.5	171	6.3	116	4.9	5	3.3
III	84	37.5	192	46.5	446	53.2	790	52.6	1,303	48.3	971	41.1	37	24.2
IV	35	15.6	44	10.7	81	9.7	166	11.1	235	8.7	157	6.6	17	11.1
V	23	10.3	90	21.8	189	22.6	390	26.0	847	31.4	1,108	46.9	94	61.4
Unknown	43	19.2	20	4.8	27	3.2	37	2.5	121	4.5	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Total	224	100.0	413	100.0	838	100.1	1,502	100.1	2,696	99.9	2,361	99.9	153	100.0

*Totals for 1861 are not complete due to the absence of information on approximately 1,200 residents whose census returns have not survived.

TABLE 21.--Social Class of Household Head by Residential Area: 1841

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%*	#	%*	#	%*	#	%*	#	%*	#	%*
Northwest quadrant	275	9	3.3	38	13.8	131	47.6	34	12.4	49	17.8	14	5.1
Alfred St	84	. . .	. . .	4	4.8	45	53.6	14	16.7	18	21.4	3	3.6
Alpha Rd	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Byng St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Charles St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Cheval St	10	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	4	40.0	2	20.0	1	10.0	3	30.0
Cross, George, Marsh Sts	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Janet St, Spring Garden Pl	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Maria, Catherine Sts	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Mellish St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Montague Pl, Ord St	26	3	11.5	11	42.3	12	46.2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Robert St	28	. . .	. . .	1	3.6	14	50.0	6	21.4	5	17.9	2	7.1
Strafford St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Thomas St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Tooke St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
W Ferry Rd (north)	55	1	1.8	11	20.0	30	54.6	6	10.9	3	5.5	4	7.3
N Millwall Riverside	72	5	6.9	11	15.3	26	36.1	6	8.3	22	30.6	2	2.8
Southwest quadrant	111	3	2.7	10	9.0	49	44.1	8	7.2	37	33.3	4	3.6
Cahir, British, Marsh Sts	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Claude St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Crews St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

TABLE 21.--Continued

	Total # Hah Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%*	#	%*	#	%*	#	%*	#	%*	#	%*
E Ferry Rd, Chapel House	11	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	6	54.6	2	18.2	2	18.2	1	9.1
Ferry Rd	6	. . .	. . .	2	33.3	1	16.7	. . .	. . .	3	50.0	. . .	. . .
Gaverick St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Riverside (southwest)	50	3	6.0	2	4.0	12	24.0	6	12.0	27	54.0	. . .	. . .
W Ferry Rd (south)	44	. . .	. . .	6	13.6	30	60.2	. . .	. . .	5	11.4	3	6.8
Southeast quadrant	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Barque St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Brig St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Church St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Manchester Rd (south)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Newcastle St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Pier St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Ship St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Stebondale St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Wharf Rd	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Northeast quadrant	27	. . .	. . .	7	25.9	12	44.4	2	7.4	4	14.8	2	7.4
Davis St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
E Ferry Rd (north)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Folly Wall	19	. . .	. . .	4	21.1	9	47.4	2	10.5	4	21.1	. . .	. . .
Glengall Rd	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Manchester Rd (north)	8	. . .	. . .	3	37.5	3	37.5	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	25.0

Table 21.--Continued

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%*	#	%*	#	%*	#	%*	#	%*	#	%*
Marshfield St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Roserton St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Samuda St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Stewart St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Strattondale St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Total	413	12	2.9	55	13.3	192	46.5	44	10.7	90	21.8	20	4.8

*This figure represents the percentage of all household heads in this residential area who belonged to this social class.

TABLE 22.--Social Class of Household Heads by Residential Area: 1851

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%*	#	%*	#	%*	#	%*	#	%*	#	%*
Northwest quadrant	618	6	1.0	61	9.9	345	55.8	53	8.6	132	21.4	21	3.4
Alfred St	98	. . .	. . .	6	6.1	45	45.9	14	14.3	28	28.6	5	5.1
Alpha Rd	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Byng St	2	. . .	. . .	1	50.0	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	50.0	. . .	. . .
Charles St	8	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	6	75.0	1	12.5	1	12.5	. . .	. . .
Cheval St	10	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	8	80.0	. . .	. . .	1	10.0	1	10.0
Cross, George, Marsh Sts	20	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	15	75.0	. . .	. . .	3	15.0	2	10.0
Janet St, Spring Garden Pl	4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	3	75.0	. . .	. . .	1	25.0	. . .	. . .
Maria, Catherine Sts	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Mellish St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Montague Pl. ORd St	18	. . .	. . .	6	33.3	9	50.0	. . .	. . .	2	11.1	1	5.6
Robert St	36	. . .	. . .	1	2.8	18	50.0	3	8.3	12	33.3	2	5.6
Strafford St	3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	3	100.0	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Thomas St	51	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	34	66.7	5	9.8	10	19.6	2	3.9
Tooke St	36	. . .	. . .	1	2.8	28	77.8	1	2.8	5	13.9	1	2.8
W Ferry Rd (north)	243	4	1.6	35	14.4	153	63.0	20	8.2	25	10.3	6	2.5
N Millwall Riverside	89	2	2.3	11	12.4	23	25.8	9	10.1	43	48.3	1	1.1
Southwest quadrant	167	2	1.2	17	10.2	85	50.9	16	9.6	43	25.7	4	2.4
Cahir, British, Marsh Sts	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Claude St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Crews St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

TABLE 22.--Continued

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%*	#	%*	#	%*	#	%*	#	%*	#	%*
E Ferry Rd, Chapel House	10	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	20.0	3	30.0	5	50.0	. . .	. . .
Ferry Rd	51	. . .	. . .	3	5.9	28	54.9	6	11.8	13	25.5	1	2.0
Gaverick St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Riverside (southwest)	47	2	4.3	4	8.5	23	48.9	5	10.6	13	27.7	. . .	. . .
W Ferry Rd (south)	59	. . .	. . .	10	17.0	32	54.2	2	3.4	12	20.3	3	5.1
Southeast quadrant	42	. . .	. . .	5	11.9	12	28.6	10	23.8	14	33.3	1	2.4
Barque St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Brig St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Church St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Manchester Rd (south)	35	. . .	. . .	1	2.9	11	31.4	8	22.9	14	40.0	1	2.9
Newcastle St	1	. . .	. . .	1	100.0	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Pier St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Ship St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Stebondale St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Wharf St	6	. . .	. . .	3	50.0	1	16.7	2	33.3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Northeast quadrant	11	. . .	. . .	4	36.4	4	36.4	2	18.2	. . .	. . .	1	9.1
Davis St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
E Ferry Rd (north)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Folly Wall	5	. . .	. . .	2	40.0	1	20.0	1	20.0	. . .	. . .	1	20.0
Glengall Rd	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Manchester Rd (north)	6	. . .	. . .	2	33.3	3	50.0	1	16.7	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

TABLE 22.--Continued

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%*	#	%*	#	%*	#	%*	#	%*	#	%*
Marshfield St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Roserton St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Samuda St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Stewart St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Strattondale St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Total	838	8	1.0	87	10.4	446	53.2	81	9.7	189	22.6	27	3.2

*This figure represents the percentage of all household heads in this residential area who belonged to this social class.

TABLE 23.--Social Class of Household Heads by Residential Area: 1861[a]

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%[b]	#	%[b]	#	%[b]	#	%[b]	#	%[b]	#	%[b]
Northwest quadrant	649	15	2.3	58	8.9	304	46.8	97	14.9	152	23.4	23	3.5
Alfred St	79	. . .	. . .	1	1.3	42	53.2	14	17.7	18	22.8	4	5.1
Alpha Rd	8	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	6	75.0	1	12.5	1	12.5	. . .	. . .
Byng St	6	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	4	66.7	2	33.3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Charles St	11	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	4	33.4	3	27.3	2	18.2	2	18.2
Cheval St	3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	33.3	. . .	. . .	2	66.7	. . .	. . .
Cross, George, Marsh Sts	22	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	11	50.0	5	22.7	6	27.3	. . .	. . .
Janet St, Spring Garden Pl	28	. . .	. . .	3	10.7	13	46.4	8	28.6	3	10.7	1	3.6
Maria, Catherine Sts	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	100.0	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Mellish St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Montague Pl, Ord St	14	. . .	. . .	11	78.6	2	14.3	1	7.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Robert St	32	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	20	62.5	6	18.6	6	18.6	. . .	. . .
Strafford St	19	. . .	. . .	1	5.3	12	63.2	3	15.8	3	15.8	. . .	. . .
Thomas St	76	. . .	. . .	2	2.6	34	44.7	11	14.5	25	32.9	4	5.3
Tooke St	62	. . .	. . .	1	1.6	35	56.5	7	11.3	19	30.7	. . .	. . .
W Ferry Rd (north)	194	8	4.1	25	12.9	97	50.0	26	13.4	31	16.0	7	3.6
N Millwall Riverside	94	7	7.5	14	14.9	22	23.4	10	10.6	36	38.3	5	5.3
Southwest quadrant	267	. . .	. . .	8	3.0	136	50.9	21	7.9	92	34.5	10	3.7
Cahir, British, Marsh Sts	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Claude St	42	. . .	. . .	1	2.4	24	57.1	2	4.8	13	31.0	2	4.8
Crews St	34	. . .	. . .	1	2.9	14	41.2	3	8.8	15	14.1	1	2.9

TABLE 23.--Continued

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%[b]	#	%[b]	#	%[b]	#	%[b]	#	%[b]	#	%[b]
E Ferry Rd. Chapel House	7	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	14.3	1	14.3	5	71.4	. . .	. . .
Ferry Rd	16	. . .	. . .	2	12.5	9	56.3	. . .	. . .	5	31.3	. . .	. . .
Caverick St	47	. . .	. . .	1	2.1	17	36.2	9	19.2	18	38.3	2	4.3
Riverside (southwest)	18	. . .	. . .	1	5.6	4	22.2	2	11.1	10	55.6	1	5.6
W Ferry Rd (south)	103	. . .	. . .	2	1.9	67	65.1	4	3.9	26	25.2	4	3.9
Southeast quadrant	228	2	0.9	13	5.7	110	48.2	29	12.7	71	31.1	3	1.3
Barque St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Brig St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Church St	105	. . .	. . .	1	1.0	47	44.8	14	13.3	41	39.1	2	1.9
Manchester Rd (south)	117	1	0.9	10	8.6	61	52.1	14	12.0	30	25.6	1	0.9
Newcastle St	1	. . .	. . .	1	100.0	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Pier St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Ship St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Stebondale St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Wharf Rd	5	1	20.0	1	20.0	2	40.0	1	20.0	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Northeast quadrant	358	4	1.1	19	5.3	240	67.0	19	5.3	75	20.9	1	0.3
Davis St	17	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	12	70.6	. . .	. . .	5	29.4	. . .	. . .
E Ferry Rd (north)	46	. . .	. . .	1	2.2	35	76.1	2	4.4	8	17.4	. . .	. . .
Folly Wall	9	. . .	. . .	2	22.2	5	55.6	. . .	. . .	2	22.2	. . .	. . .
Glengall Rd	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Manchester Rd (north)	213	4	1.9	12	5.6	147	69.0	13	6.1	36	16.9	1	0.5

TABLE 23.--Continued

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%[b]	#	%[b]	#	%[b]	#	%[b]	#	%[b]	#	%[b]
Marshfield St	6	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	6	100.0	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Roserton St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Samuda St	32	. . .	. . .	1	13.1	13	40.6	2	6.3	16	50.0	. . .	. . .
Stewart St	35	. . .	. . .	3	8.6	22	62.9	2	5.7	8	22.9	. . .	. . .
Strattondale St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Total	1,502	21	1.4	98	6.5	790	52.6	166	11.1	390	26.0	37	2.5

[a]Totals and percentages for 1861 are distorted by the absence of information on approximately 1,200 residents whose census returns have not survived. The great majority of these people resided in the southwest quadrant of the Isle of Dogs.

[b]This figure represents the percentage of all household heads in this residential area who belonged to this social class.

TABLE 24.--Social Class of Household Heads by Residential Area: 1871

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%*	#	%*	#	%*	#	%*	#	%*	#	%*
Northwest quadrant	817	11	1.3	59	7.2	385	47.1	106	13.0	195	23.9	61	7.5
Alfred St	97	. . .	. . .	1	1.0	42	43.3	7	7.2	36	37.1	11	11.3
Alpha Rd	7	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	4	57.1	1	14.3	1	14.3	1	14.3
Byng St	11	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	8	72.7	. . .	. . .	3	27.3	. . .	. . .
Charles St	55	. . .	. . .	1	1.8	29	52.7	8	14.6	14	25.5	3	5.5
Cheval St	9	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	4	44.4	3	33.3	2	22.2	. . .	. . .
Cross, George, Marsh Sts	23	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	14	60.9	1	4.4	8	34.8	. . .	. . .
Janet St, Spring Garden Pl	60	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	20	33.3	14	23.3	20	33.3	6	10.0
Maria, Catherine Sts	35	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	27	77.1	5	14.3	1	2.9	2	5.7
Mellish St	35	. . .	. . .	1	2.9	22	62.9	5	14.3	4	11.4	3	8.6
Montague Pl, Ord St	16	1	6.3	7	43.8	6	37.5	2	12.5	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Robert St	40	. . .	. . .	3	7.5	16	40.0	7	17.5	11	27.5	3	7.5
Strafford St	45	2	4.4	2	4.4	25	55.6	6	13.3	7	15.6	3	7.3
Thomas St	74	. . .	. . .	7	9.5	30	40.5	7	9.5	22	29.7	8	10.8
Tooke St	54	2	3.7	. . .	. . .	23	42.6	7	13.0	20	37.0	2	3.7
W Ferry Rd (north)	217	4	1.8	28	12.9	106	48.9	28	12.9	33	15.2	18	8.3
N Millwall Riverside	39	2	5.1	9	23.1	9	23.1	5	12.8	13	33.3	1	0.9
Southwest quadrant	622	4	0.6	33	5.3	296	47.6	49	7.9	217	34.9	23	3.7
Cahir, British, Marsh Sts	30	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	17	56.7	3	10.0	8	26.7	2	6.7
Claude St	33	. . .	. . .	1	3.0	14	42.4	2	6.1	16	48.5	. . .	. . .
Crews St	29	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	11	37.9	1	3.5	16	55.2	1	3.5

TABLE 24.--Continued

	Total # Ash Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%*	#	%*	#	%*	#	%*	#	%*	#	%*
E Ferry Rd, Chapel House	84	. . .	. . .	2	2.4	53	63.1	8	9.5	17	20.2	4	4.8
Ferry Rd	26	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	13	50.0	7	26.9	6	23.1	. . .	. . .
Gaverick St	42	. . .	. . .	2	4.8	11	26.2	3	7.1	25	59.5	1	2.4
Riverside (southwest)	19	2	10.5	3	15.8	6	31.6	1	5.3	6	31.6	1	5.3
W Ferry Rd (south)	359	2	0.6	25	7.0	171	47.6	24	6.7	123	34.3	14	3.9
Southeast quadrant	655	3	0.5	38	5.8	310	47.3	43	6.6	237	36.2	24	3.7
Barque St	14	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	7	50.0	. . .	. . .	7	50.0	. . .	. . .
Brig St	15	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	5	33.3	3	20.0	6	40.0	1	6.7
Church St	55	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	19	34.6	3	5.5	32	58.2	1	1.8
Manchester Rd (south)	308	2	0.7	22	7.1	161	52.3	23	7.5	90	29.2	10	3.2
Newcastle St	11	. . .	. . .	1	9.1	6	54.6	3	27.3	1	9.1	. . .	. . .
Pier St	30	. . .	. . .	1	3.3	11	36.7	2	6.7	13	43.3	3	10.0
Ship St	45	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	24	53.3	3	6.7	14	31.1	4	8.9
Stebondale St	161	. . .	. . .	4	2.5	75	46.6	5	3.1	72	44.7	5	3.1
Wharf Rd	16	1	6.3	10	62.5	2	12.5	1	6.3	2	12.5	. . .	. . .
Northeast quadrant	602	1	0.2	41	6.8	312	51.8	37	6.1	198	32.9	13	2.2
Davis St	11	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	3	27.3	3	27.3	5	45.5	. . .	. . .
E Ferry Rd (north)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Folly Wall	14	. . .	. . .	5	35.7	6	42.9	1	7.1	2	14.3	. . .	. . .
Glengall Rd	134	. . .	. . .	6	4.5	65	48.5	6	4.5	53	39.6	4	3.0
Manchester Rd (north)	292	1	0.3	23	7.9	174	59.6	13	4.5	75	25.7	6	2.1

TABLE 24.--Continued

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%*	#	%*	#	%*	#	%*	#	%*	#	%*
Marshfield St	53	. . .	. . .	4	7.6	25	47.2	5	9.4	19	35.9	. . .	. . .
Roserton St	2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	100.0	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Samuda St	21	. . .	. . .	2	9.5	7	33.3	3	14.3	9	42.9	. . .	. . .
Stewart St	40	. . .	. . .	1	2.5	18	45.0	2	5.0	18	45.0	1	2.5
Strattondale St	35	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	12	34.3	4	11.4	17	48.6	2	5.9
Total	2,696	19	0.7	171	6.3	1,303	48.3	235	8.7	847	31.4	121	4.5

*This figure represents the percentage of all household heads in this residential area who belonged to this social class.

TABLE 25.--Occupation of Household Heads by Social Class: 1831

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Agricultural sector	3	. . .	. . .	1	3.4	. . .	. . .	2	5.7	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Farming	3	. . .	. . .	1	3.4	. . .	. . .	2	5.7	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Land service	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Breeding	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Fishing	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Mining sector	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Mining	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Quarrying	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Brickmaking	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Salt & water works	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Building sector	21	1	10.0	. . .	. . .	20	23.8	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Management	1	1	10.0	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Operative	20	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	20	23.8	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Roadmaking	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Manufacture sector	83	8	80.0	11	37.9	60	71.4	4	11.4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Machinery	4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	4	4.8	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Tools etc.	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Shipbuilding	44	4	40.0	5	17.3	35	41.7	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Iron & steel	13	1	10.0	3	10.4	9	10.7	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Copper, tin, lead etc.	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Gold, silver, jewelry	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

TABLE 25.--Continued

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Earthenware etc.	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Coals & gas	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Chemical	2	2	20.0	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Furs & leather	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Glue, tallow etc.	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Hair etc.	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Wood workers	5	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	5	6.0	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Furniture	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Carriages & harness	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Paper	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Floorcloth, waterproofing	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Woolens	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Cotton & silk	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Flax, hemp etc.	4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	4	11.4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Lace	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Dyeing	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Dress	2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	2.4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Sundries (dress)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Food preparation	5	1	10.0	. . .	. . .	4	4.8	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Baking	4	. . .	. . .	3	10.3	1	1.2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Drink preparation	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

TABLE 25.--Continued

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Smoking	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Watches, instruments, toys	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Printing, bookbinding	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Unspecified	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Transport sector	30	. . .	. . .	2	6.9	. . .	. . .	28	80.0	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Warehouses & docks	2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	5.7	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Ocean navigation	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Inland navigation	25	. . .	. . .	2	6.9	. . .	. . .	23	65.7	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Railways	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Roads	3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	3	8.6	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Dealing sector	15	. . .	. . .	13	44.8	2	2.4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Coals	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Raw materials	2	. . .	. . .	2	6.9	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Clothing materials	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Dress	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Food	4	. . .	. . .	2	6.9	2	2.4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Tobacco	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Wines, spirits, hotels	5	. . .	. . .	5	17.3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Lodging, coffee house	1	. . .	. . .	1	3.4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Furniture	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Stationery, publication	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

TABLE 25.--Continued

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Hshld utensils, ornaments	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
General dealers	3	. . .	. . .	3	10.3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Unspecified	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Industrial sector	24	. . .	. . .	1	3.4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	23	100.0	. . .	. . .
Banking, insurance, acct	1	. . .	. . .	1	3.4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Labor	23	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	23	100.0	. . .	. . .
Public service & profes	2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	2.4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Central administration	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Local administration	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Sanitary administration	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Army	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Navy	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Police, prisons	2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	2.4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Law	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Medicine	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Art, amusement (painting)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Art, amusement (music)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Literature	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Science	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Education	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Religion	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

TABLE 25.--Continued

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Domestic service sector	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	2.9	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Indoor	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	2.9	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Outdoor	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Extra service	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Property owning, independ	2	1	10.0	1	3.4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Miscellaneous	43	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	43	100.0*
Paupers, vagrants	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Widow	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Unemployed	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Unknown	43	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	43	100.0*
Total	224	10	100.0	29	100.0	84	100.0	35	100.0	23	100.0	43	100.0

*Most of these household heads were almost certainly laborers and belong in Social Class V.

TABLE 26.--Occupation of Household Heads by Social Class: 1841

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Agricultural sector	2	. . .	. . .	1	1.8	. . .	. . .	1	2.3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Farming	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	2.3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Land service	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Breeding	1	. . .	. . .	1	1.8	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Fishing	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Mining sector	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Mining	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Quarrying	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Brickmaking	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Salt & water works	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Building sector	21	. . .	. . .	2	3.6	18	9.4	1	2.3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Management	2	. . .	. . .	2	3.6	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Operative	19	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	18	9.4	1	2.3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Roadmaking	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Manufacture sector	169	6	50.0	17	30.9	135	70.3	11	25.0	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Machinery	47	. . .	. . .	2	3.6	45	23.4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Tools etc.	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Shipbuilding	30	2	16.7	5	9.1	23	12.0	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Iron & steel	31	. . .	. . .	3	5.5	28	14.6	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Copper, tin, lead etc.	2	. . .	. . .	1	1.8	1	0.5	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Gold, silver, jewelry	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

TABLE 26.--Continued

	Total # Hall Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Earthenware etc.	3	1	18.3	. . .	. . .	1	0.5	1	2.3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Coals & gas	2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.5	1	2.3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Chemical	7	3	25.0	2	3.6	2	1.0	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Furs & leather	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Glue, tallow etc.	2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.5	1	2.3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Hair etc.	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Wood workers	14	. . .	. . .	1	1.8	13	6.8	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Furniture	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Carriages & harness	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Paper	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Floorcloth, waterproofing	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Woolens	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Cotton & silk	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Flax, hemp etc.	8	. . .	. . .	1	1.8	. . .	. . .	7	15.9	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Lace	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Dyeing	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Dress	5	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	5	2.6	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Sundries (dress)	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.5	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Food preparation	7	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	7	3.7	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Baking	3	. . .	. . .	2	3.6	1	0.5	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Drink preparation	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.5	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

TABLE 26.--Continued

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Smoking	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Watches, instruments, toys	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.5	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Printing, bookbinding	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.5	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Unspecified	4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	3	1.6	1	2.3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Transport sector	44	. . .	. . .	4	7.3	19	9.9	21	47.7	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Warehouses & docks	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.5	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Ocean navigation	7	. . .	. . .	1	1.8	6	3.2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Inland navigation	32	. . .	. . .	1	1.8	11	5.7	20	45.5	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Railways	1	. . .	. . .	1	1.8	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Roads	3	. . .	. . .	1	1.8	1	0.5	1	2.3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Dealing sector	32	1	8.3	17	30.9	14	7.3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Coals	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Raw materials	2	1	8.3	1	1.8	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Clothing materials	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Dress	2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	1.0	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Food	8	. . .	. . .	4	7.3	4	2.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Tobacco	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Wines, spirits, hotels	12	. . .	. . .	9	16.4	3	1.6	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Lodging, coffee house	4	. . .	. . .	2	3.6	2	1.0	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Furniture	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Stationery, publication	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

TABLE 26.--Continued

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Hshld utensils, ornaments	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
General dealers	3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	3	1.6	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Unspecified	1	. . .	. . .	1	1.8	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Industrial sector	96	. . .	. . .	6	10.9	1	0.5	1	2.3	88	97.8	. . .	. . .
Banking, insurance, acct	7	. . .	. . .	6	10.9	1	0.5	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Labor	89	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	2.3	88	97.8	. . .	. . .
Public service & profes	6	1	8.3	4	7.3	1	0.5	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Central administration	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Local administration	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Sanitary administration	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Army	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Navy	1	1	8.3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Police, prisons	2	. . .	. . .	1	1.8	1	0.5	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Law	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Medicine	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Art, amusement (painting)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Art, amusement (music)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Literature	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Science	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Education	3	. . .	. . .	3	5.5	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Religion	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

TABLE 26.--Continued

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Domestic service sector	12	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.5	9	20.5	2	2.2	. . .	. . .
Indoor	2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	4.6	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Outdoor	2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	4.6	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Extra service	8	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.5	5	11.4	2	2.2	. . .	. . .
Property owning, independ	11	4	33.3	4	7.3	3	1.6	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Miscellaneous	20	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	20	100.0
Paupers, vagrants	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Widow	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Unemployed	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Unknown	20	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	20	100.0
Total	413	12	100.0	55	100.0	192	100.0	44	100.0	90	100.0	20	100.0

TABLE 27.--Occupation of Household Heads by Social Class: 1851

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Agricultural sector	6	. . .	. . .	2	2.3	1	0.2	3	3.7	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Farming	4	. . .	. . .	2	2.3	. . .	. . .	2	2.5	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Land service	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Breeding	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	1.2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Fishing	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Mining sector	12	. . .	. . .	1	1.2	1	0.2	10	12.3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Mining	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Quarrying	2	. . .	. . .	1	1.2	. . .	. . .	1	1.2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Brickmaking	9	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	9	11.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Salt & water works	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Buildling sector	64	1	12.5	4	4.6	47	10.5	. . .	. . .	12	6.4	. . .	. . .
Management	5	1	12.5	3	3.5	1	0.2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Operative	47	. . .	. . .	1	1.2	46	10.3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Roadmaking	12	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	12	6.4	. . .	. . .
Manufacture sector	407	6	75.0	31	35.6	335	75.1	24	29.6	11	5.8	. . .	. . .
Machinery	106	. . .	. . .	2	2.3	104	23.3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Tools etc.	12	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	12	2.7	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Shipbuilding	69	4	50.0	9	10.3	55	12.3	. . .	. . .	1	0.5	. . .	. . .
Iron & steel	84	. . .	. . .	5	5.8	76	17.0	1	1.2	2	1.1	. . .	. . .
Copper, tin, lead etc.	8	. . .	. . .	1	1.2	7	1.6	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Gold, silver, jewelry	2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	0.5	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

TABLE 27.--Continued

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Earthenware etc.	16	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	7	1.6	3	3.7	6	3.2	. . .	. . .
Coals & gas	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	1.2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Chemical	14	1	12.5	5	5.8	5	1.1	2	2.5	1	0.5	. . .	. . .
Furs & leather	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Glue, tallow etc.	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	1.2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Hair etc.	2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	0.5	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Wood workers	29	. . .	. . .	2	2.3	27	6.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Furniture	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Carriages & harness	2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	0.5	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Paper	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Floorcloth & waterproofing	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Woolens	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Cotton & silk	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Flax, hemp etc.	13	1	12.5	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	12	14.8	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Lace	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Dyeing	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Dress	15	. . .	. . .	1	1.2	14	3.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Sundries (dress)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Food preparation	9	. . .	. . .	1	1.2	8	1.8	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Baking	6	. . .	. . .	3	3.5	3	0.7	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Drink preparation	2	. . .	. . .	1	1.2	. . .	. . .	1	1.2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

TABLE 27.--Continued

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Smoking	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Watches, instruments, toys	1	. . .	. . .	1	1.2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Printing, bookbinding	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Unspecified	14	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	10	2.2	3	3.7	1	0.5	. . .	. . .
Transport sector	66	. . .	. . .	6	6.9	25	5.6	29	35.8	6	3.2	. . .	. . .
Warehouses & docks	10	. . .	. . .	1	1.2	2	0.5	1	1.2	6	3.2	. . .	. . .
Ocean navigation	16	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	16	3.6	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Inland navigation	28	. . .	. . .	5	5.8	7	1.6	16	19.8	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Railways	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Roads	12	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	12	14.8	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Dealing sector	60	. . .	. . .	31	35.6	25	5.6	2	2.5	2	1.1	. . .	. . .
Coals	3	. . .	. . .	2	2.3	. . .	. . .	1	1.2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Raw materials	3	. . .	. . .	3	3.5	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Clothing materials	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Dress	2	. . .	. . .	1	1.2	1	0.2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Food	23	. . .	. . .	10	11.5	13	2.9	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Tobacco	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Wines, spirits, hotels	18	. . .	. . .	14	16.1	3	0.7	1	1.2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Lodging, coffee house	2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	0.5	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Furniture	1	. . .	. . .	1	1.2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Stationery, publication	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

TABLE 27.--Continued

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Hshld utensils, ornaments	3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	3	0.7	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
General dealers	4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	0.5	. . .	. . .	2	1.1	. . .	. . .
Unspecified	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Industrial sector	155	. . .	. . .	2	2.3	4	0.9	. . .	. . .	149	78.8	. . .	. . .
Banking, insurance, acct	6	. . .	. . .	2	2.3	4	0.9	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Labor	149	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	149	78.8	. . .	. . .
Public service & profes	10	. . .	. . .	8	9.2	2	0.5	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Central administration	1	. . .	. . .	1	1.2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Local administration	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Sanitary administration	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Army	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Navy	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Police, prisons	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Law	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Medicine	3	. . .	. . .	3	3.5	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Art, amusement (painting)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Art, amusement (music)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Literature	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Science	1	. . .	. . .	1	1.2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Education	3	. . .	. . .	3	3.5	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Religion	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

TABLE 27.--Continued

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Domestic service sector	22	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	3	0.7	13	16.0	6	3.2	. . .	. . .
Indoor	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	1.2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Outdoor	6	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	6	7.4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Extra service	15	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	3	0.7	6	7.4	6	3.2	. . .	. . .
Property owning, independ	6	1	12.5	2	2.3	3	0.7	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Miscellaneous	30	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	3	1.3	27	100.0
Paupers, vagrants	2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	1.1	. . .	. . .
Widow	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.5	. . .	. . .
Unemployed	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Unknown	27	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	27	100.0
Total	838	8	100.0	87	100.0	446	100.0	81	100.0	189	100.0	27	100.0

TABLE 28.--Occupation of Household Heads by Social Class: 1861*

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Agricultural sector	6	1	4.8	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	5	3.0	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Farming	4	1	4.8	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	3	1.8	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Land service	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Breeding	2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	1.2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Fishing	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Mining sector	31	1	4.8	1	1.0	1	0.1	15	9.0	13	3.3	. . .	. . .
Mining	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Quarrying	15	1	4.8	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	4	2.4	9	2.3	. . .	. . .
Brickmaking	16	. . .	. . .	1	1.0	. . .	. . .	11	6.6	4	1.0	. . .	. . .
Salt & water works	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Building sector	128	1	4.8	11	11.2	106	13.4	. . .	. . .	10	2.6	. . .	. . .
Management	12	1	4.8	11	11.2			. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Operative	113	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	106	13.4	. . .	. . .	7	1.8	. . .	. . .
Roadmaking	3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	3	0.8	. . .	. . .
Manufacture sector	749	9	42.9	23	23.5	566	71.6	77	46.4	119	30.5	. . .	. . .
Machinery	140	. . .	. . .	1	1.0	130	16.5	. . .	. . .	9	2.3	. . .	. . .
Tools etc.	11	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	10	1.3	1	0.6	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Shipbuilding	159	3	14.3	6	6.1	108	13.7	. . .	. . .	42	10.8	. . .	. . .
Iron & steel	205	1	4.8	1	1.0	160	20.3	5	3.0	38	9.7	. . .	. . .
Copper, tin, lead etc.	12	4	19.1	1	1.0	5	0.6	1	0.6	1	0.3	. . .	. . .
Gold, silver, jewelry	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

TABLE 28.--Continued

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Earthenware etc.	14	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	8	1.0	5	3.0	1	0.3	. . .	. . .
Coals & gas	3	. . .	. . .	1	1.0	. . .	. . .	1	0.6	1	0.3	. . .	. . .
Chemical	17	1	4.8	2	2.0	7	0.9	. . .	. . .	7	1.8	. . .	. . .
Furs & leather	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Glue, tallow etc.	4	. . .	. . .	1	1.0	. . .	. . .	3	1.8	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Hair etc.	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Wood workers	37	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	36	4.6	. . .	. . .	1	0.3	. . .	. . .
Furniture	2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	0.3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Carriages & harness	6	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	6	0.8	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Paper	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Floorcloth, waterproofing	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Woolens	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Cotton & silk	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Flax, hemp etc.	47	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	47	28.3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Lace	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Dyeing	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Dress	38	. . .	. . .	3	3.1	35	4.4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Sundries (dress)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Food preparation	19	. . .	. . .	3	3.1	8	1.0	. . .	. . .	8	2.1	. . .	. . .
Baking	11	. . .	. . .	3	3.1	8	1.0	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Drink preparation	2	. . .	. . .	1	1.0	. . .	. . .	1	0.6	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

TABLE 28.—Continued

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Smoking	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Watches, instruments, toys	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Printing, bookbinding	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Unspecified	66	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	42	5.3	13	7.8	11	2.8	. . .	. . .
Transport sector	127	. . .	. . .	5	5.1	40	5.1	52	31.3	27	6.9	. . .	. . .
Warehouses & docks	38	. . .	. . .	2	2.0	6	0.8	4	2.4	26	6.7	. . .	. . .
Ocean navigation	25	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	25	3.2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Inland navigation	39	. . .	. . .	3	3.1	9	1.1	26	15.7	1	0.3	. . .	. . .
Railways	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Roads	22	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	22	13.3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Dealing sector	103	2	9.5	41	41.8	54	6.8	3	1.8	3	0.8	. . .	. . .
Coals	4	1	4.8	3	3.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Raw materials	8	1	4.8	2	2.0	4	0.5	. . .	. . .	1	0.3	. . .	. . .
Clothing materials	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Dress	3	. . .	. . .	1	1.0	2	0.3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Food	45	. . .	. . .	13	13.3	30	3.8	1	0.6	1	0.3	. . .	. . .
Tobacco	2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	0.3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Wines, spirits, hotels	24	. . .	. . .	18	18.4	4	0.5	2	1.2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Lodging, coffee house	7	. . .	. . .	1	1.0	6	0.8	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Furniture	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Stationery, publication	2	. . .	. . .	2	2.0	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

TABLE 28.--Continued

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Hshld utensils, ornaments	3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	3	0.4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
General dealers	5	. . .	. . .	1	1.0	3	0.4	. . .	. . .	1	0.3	. . .	. . .
Unspecified	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Industrial sector	201	2	9.5	2	2.0	11	1.4	. . .	. . .	186	47.7	. . .	. . .
Banking, insurance, acct	16	2	9.5	2	2.0	11	1.4	. . .	. . .	1	0.3	. . .	. . .
Labor	185	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	185	47.4	. . .	. . .
Public service & profes	25	4	19.0	12	12.2	9	1.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Central administration	3	. . .	. . .	1	1.0	2	0.3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Local administation	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Sanitary administration	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Army	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Navy	3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	3	0.4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Police, prisons	3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	3	0.4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Law	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Medicine	7	3	14.3	3	3.1	1	0.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Art, amusement (painting)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Art, amusement (music)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Literature	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Science	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Education	7	. . .	. . .	7	7.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Religion	2	1	4.8	1	1.0	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

TABLE 28.--Continued

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Domestic service sector	21	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	0.3	14	8.4	5	1.3	. . .	. . .
Indoor	3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	3	1.8	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Outdoor	4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	4	2.4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Extra service	14	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	0.3	7	4.2	5	1.3	. . .	. . .
Property owning, independ	3	1	4.8	1	1.0	1	0.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Miscellaneous	66	. . .	. . .	2	2.0	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	27	6.9	37	100.0
Paupers, vagrants	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Widow	26	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	26	6.7	. . .	. . .
Unemployed	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Unknown	40	. . .	. . .	2	2.0	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.3	37	100.0
Total	1,502	21	100.0	98	100.0	790	100.0	166	100.0	390	100.0	37	100.0

*Totals and percentages for 1861 are distorted by the absence of information on approximately 1,200 residents whose returns have not survived.

TABLE 29.--Occupation of Household Heads by Social Class: 1871

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Agricultural sector	10	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	3	0.2	7	3.0	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Farming	2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	0.9	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Land service	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Breeding	8	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	3	0.2	5	2.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Fishing	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Mining sector	9	. . .	. . .	1	0.6	2	0.2	2	0.9	4	0.5	. . .	. . .
Mining	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Quarrying	8	. . .	. . .	1	0.6	2	0.2	1	0.4	4	0.5	. . .	. . .
Brickmaking	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Salt & water works	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Building sector	174	1	5.3	13	7.6	126	9.7	1	0.4	33	3.9	. . .	. . .
Management	10	. . .	. . .	9	5.3	1	0.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Operative	144	1	5.3	4	2.3	125	9.6	1	0.4	13	1.5	. . .	. . .
Roadmaking	20	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	20	2.4	. . .	. . .
Manufacture sector	1,192	9	47.4	43	25.1	856	65.7	90	38.3	194	22.9	. . .	. . .
Machinery	214	1	5.3	7	4.1	200	15.4	1	0.4	5	0.6	. . .	. . .
Tools etc.	8	1	5.3	. . .	. . .	7	0.6	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Shipbuilding	212	3	15.8	10	5.9	182	14.0	. . .	. . .	17	2.0	. . .	. . .
Iron & steel	311	1	5.3	4	2.3	202	15.5	3	1.3	101	11.9	. . .	. . .
Copper, tin, lead etc.	38	3	15.8	1	0.6	26	2.0	2	0.9	6	0.7	. . .	. . .
Gold, silver, jewelry	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

TABLE 29.--Continued

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Earthenware etc.	38	. . .	. . .	1	0.6	16	1.2	9	3.8	12	1.4	. . .	. . .
Coals & gas	3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	0.9	1	0.1	. . .	. . .
Chemical	41	. . .	. . .	3	1.8	14	1.1	. . .	. . .	24	2.8	. . .	. . .
Furs & leather	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Glue, tallow etc.	17	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	8	3.4	8	0.9	. . .	. . .
Hair etc.	2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .
Wood workers	41	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	40	3.1	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .
Furniture	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Carriages & harness	7	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	7	0.5	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Paper	2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.4	1	0.1	. . .	. . .
Floorcloth, waterproofing	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Woolens	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Cotton & silk	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Flax, hemp etc.	33	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	33	14.0	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Lace	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Dyeing	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Dress	56	. . .	. . .	3	1.8	53	4.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Sundries (dress)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Food preparation	38	. . .	. . .	4	2.3	19	1.5	2	0.9	13	1.5	. . .	. . .
Baking	18	. . .	. . .	8	4.7	10	0.8	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Drink preparation	4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	4	1.7	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

TABLE 29.--Continued

	Total # Ush Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Smoking	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Watches, instruments, toys	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .
Printing, bookbinding	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Unspecified	103	. . .	. . .	2	1.2	73	5.6	25	10.7	3	0.4	. . .	. . .
Transport sector	336	. . .	. . .	15	8.8	142	10.9	98	41.7	81	9.8	. . .	. . .
Warehouses & docks	148	. . .	. . .	10	5.9	46	3.5	12	5.1	80	9.5	. . .	. . .
Ocean navigation	60	. . .	. . .	2	1.2	54	4.1	4	1.7	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Inland navigation	58	. . .	. . .	2	1.2	29	2.2	27	11.5	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Railways	11	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	3	0.2	8	3.4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Roads	59	. . .	. . .	1	0.6	10	0.8	47	20.0	1	0.1	. . .	. . .
Dealing sector	180	1	5.3	64	37.4	107	8.2	3	1.3	5	0.6	. . .	. . .
Coals	5	1	5.3	1	0.1	2	0.2	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .
Raw materials	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Clothing materials	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Dress	6	. . .	. . .	2	1.1	4	0.3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Food	84	. . .	. . .	18	10.5	64	4.9	2	0.9	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Tobacco	2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	0.2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Wines, spirits, hotels	37	. . .	. . .	31	18.1	6	0.5	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Lodging, coffee house	15	. . .	. . .	6	3.5	9	0.7	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Furniture	5	. . .	. . .	2	1.2	3	0.2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Stationery, publication	3	. . .	. . .	1	0.6	2	0.2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

TABLE 29.--Continued

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Hshld utensils, ornaments	2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	0.2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
General dealers	13	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	8	0.6	1	0.4	4	0.5	. . .	. . .
Unspecified	7	. . .	. . .	3	1.8	4	0.3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Industrial sector	531	. . .	. . .	4	2.3	23	1.8	. . .	. . .	504	59.5	. . .	. . .
Banking, insurance, acct	27	. . .	. . .	4	2.3	23	1.8	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Labor	504	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	504	59.5	. . .	. . .
Public service & profes	70	5	26.3	23	13.5	39	3.0	3	1.3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Central administration	5	. . .	. . .	2	1.2	3	0.2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Local administration	3	. . .	. . .	1	0.6	. . .	. . .	2	0.9	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Sanitary administration	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Army	4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	4	0.3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Navy	9	. . .	. . .	1	0.6	8	0.6	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Police, prisons	22	. . .	. . .	3	1.8	19	1.5	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Law	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Medicine	6	2	10.5	1	0.6	3	0.2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Art, amusement (painting)	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Art, amusement (music)	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Literature	1	. . .	. . .	1	0.6	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Science	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Education	10	1	5.3	9	5.3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Religion	7	2	10.5	5	2.9	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

TABLE 29.--Continued

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Domestic service sector	54	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	3	0.2	31	13.2	20	2.4	. . .	. . .
Indoor	9	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	9	3.8	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Outdoor	8	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	7	3.0	1	0.1	. . .	. . .
Extra service	37	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	3	0.2	15	6.4	19	2.2	. . .	. . .
Property owning, independ	15	3	15.8	8	4.7	2	0.2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	1.7
Miscellaneous	125	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	6	0.7	119	98.3
Paupers, vagrants	2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	0.2	. . .	. . .
Widow	67	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	66	54.5
Unemployed	4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	3	0.4	1	0.8
Unknown	52	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	52	43.0
Total	2,692	19	100.0	171	100.0	1,303	100.0	235	100.0	847	100.0	121	100.0

TABLE 30.--Occupation of Household Heads by Social Class: 1886-87

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Agricultural sector	5	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	0.2	3	1.9	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Farming	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Land service	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Breeding	5	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	0.2	3	1.9	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Fishing	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Mining sector	2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	1.3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Mining	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Quarrying	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Brickmaking	2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	1.3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Salt & water works	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Building sector	75	1	11.1	8	6.9	56	5.8	. . .	. . .	10	0.9	. . .	. . .
Management	5	1	11.1	4	3.4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Operative	70	. . .	. . .	4	3.4	56	5.8	. . .	. . .	10	0.9	. . .	. . .
Roadmaking	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Manufacture sector	756	4	44.4	17	14.7	581	59.9	60	38.2	94	8.5	. . .	. . .
Machinery	230	2	22.2	4	3.4	223	23.0	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .
Tools etc.	10	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	10	1.0	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Shipbuilding	84	1	11.1	6	5.2	70	7.2	. . .	. . .	7	0.6	. . .	. . .
Iron & steel	184	. . .	. . .	2	1.7	112	11.5	6	3.8	64	5.8	. . .	. . .
Copper, tin, lead etc.	51	1	11.1	. . .	. . .	41	4.2	6	3.8	3	0.3	. . .	. . .
Gold, silver, jewelry	2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	0.2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

TABLE 30.--Continued

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Earthenware etc.	15	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	0.2	10	6.4	3	0.3	. . .	. . .
Coals & gas	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.6	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Chemical	4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .	3	0.3	. . .	. . .
Furs & leather	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Glue, tallow etc.	5	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	1.3	3	0.3	. . .	. . .
Hair etc.	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Wood workers	18	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	18	1.9	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Furniture	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Carriages & harness	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Paper	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Floorcloth, waterproofing	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Woolens	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Cotton & silk	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Flax, hemp etc.	14	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	14	8.9	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Lace	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Dyeing	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Dress	25	. . .	. . .	2	1.7	23	2.4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Sundries (dress)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Food preparation	21	. . .	. . .	1	0.9	13	1.3	. . .	. . .	7	0.6	. . .	. . .
Baking	7	. . .	. . .	2	1.7	5	0.5	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Drink preparation	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

TABLE 30.--Continued

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Smoking	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Watches, instruments, toys	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Printing, bookbinding	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Unspecified	84	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	60	6.2	21	13.4	3	0.3	. . .	. . .
Transport sector	373	. . .	. . .	6	5.2	151	15.6	66	42.0	150	13.5	. . .	. . .
Warehouses & docks	250	. . .	. . .	3	2.6	71	7.3	27	17.2	149	13.4	. . .	. . .
Ocean navigation	60	. . .	. . .	1	0.9	55	5.7	4	2.5	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Inland navigation	44	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	22	2.3	22	14.0	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Railways	5	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	0.2	3	1.9	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Roads	14	. . .	. . .	2	1.7	1	0.1	10	6.4	1	0.1	. . .	. . .
Dealing sector	203	. . .	. . .	68	58.6	129	13.3	. . .	. . .	6	0.5	. . .	. . .
Coals	1	. . .	. . .	1	0.9	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Raw materials	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Clothing materials	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Dress	9	. . .	. . .	2	1.7	7	0.7	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Food	34	. . .	. . .	8	6.9	26	2.7	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Tobacco	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Wines, spirits, hotels	34	. . .	. . .	27	23.3	7	0.7	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Lodging, coffee house	24	. . .	. . .	10	8.6	14	1.4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Furniture	1	. . .	. . .	1	0.9	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Stationery, publication	1	. . .	. . .	1	0.9	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

TABLE 30.--Continued

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Hshld utensils, ornaments	2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	0.2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
General dealers	95	. . .	. . .	17	14.7	72	7.4	. . .	. . .	6	0.5	. . .	. . .
Unspecified	1	. . .	. . .	1	0.9	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Industrial sector	835	. . .	. . .	4	3.4	27	2.8	. . .	. . .	804	72.6	. . .	. . .
Banking, insurance, acct	31	. . .	. . .	4	3.4	27	2.8	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Labor	804	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	804	72.6	. . .	. . .
Public service & profes	32	3	33.3	9	7.8	20	2.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Central administration	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Local administration	1	. . .	. . .	1	0.9	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Sanitary administrat'on	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Army	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Navy	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Police, prisons	22	. . .	. . .	2	1.7	20	2.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Law	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Medicine	2	1	11.1	1	0.9	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Art, amusement (painting)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Art, amusement (music)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Literature	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Science	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Education	4	. . .	. . .	4	3.4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Religion	3	2	22.2	1	0.9	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

TABLE 30.--Continued

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Domestic service sector	54	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	5	0.5	26	16.6	23	2.1	. . .	. . .
Indoor	7	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	7	4.5	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Outdoor	5	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	4	2.5	1	0.1	. . .	. . .
Extra service	42	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	5	0.5	15	9.6	22	2.0	. . .	. . .
Property owning, independ	5	1	11.1	4	3.4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Miscellaneous	21	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	21	1.9	. . .	. . .
Paupers, vagrants	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Widow	21	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	21	1.9	. . .	. . .
Unemployed	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Unknown	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Total	2,361	9	100.0	116	100.0	971	100.0	157	100.0	1,108	100.0	. . .	. . .

TABLE 31.--Occupation of Household Heads by Social Class: 1929

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Agricultural sector	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	5.9	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Farming	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Land service	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Breeding	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	5.9	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Fishing	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Mining sector	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Mining	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Quarrying	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Brickmaking	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Salt & water works	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Building sector	6	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	4	10.8	. . .	. . .	2	2.1	. . .	. . .
Management	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Operative	6	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	4	10.8	. . .	. . .	2	2.1	. . .	. . .
Roadmaking	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Manufacture sector	50	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	25	67.6	5	29.4	20	21.3	. . .	. . .
Machinery	11	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	11	29.7	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Tools etc.	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Shipbuilding	2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	2.7	. . .	. . .	1	1.1	. . .	. . .
Iron & steel	12	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	3	8.1	1	5.9	8	8.5	. . .	. . .
Copper, tin, lead etc.	6	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	2.7	. . .	. . .	5	5.3	. . .	. . .
Gold, silver, jewelry	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

TABLE 31.--Continued

	Total # Hah Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Earthenware etc.	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Coals & gas	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Chemical	3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	2.7	2	11.8	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Furs & leather	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	2.7	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Glue, tallow etc.	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Hair etc.	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Wood workers	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Furniture	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	2.7	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Carriages & harness	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Paper	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Floorcloth, waterproofing	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Woolens	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Cotton & silk	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Flax, hemp etc.	4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	5.9	3	3.2	. . .	. . .
Lace	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Dyeing	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Dress	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Sundries (dress)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Food preparation	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Baking	6	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	5.4	1	5.9	3	3.2	. . .	. . .
Drink preparation	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

TABLE 31.--Continued

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Smoking	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Watches, instruments, toys	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Printing, bookbinding	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	2.7	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Unspecified	3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	3	8.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Transport sector	30	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	4	10.8	8	47.1	18	19.1	. . .	. . .
Warehouses & docks	21	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	3	17.6	18	19.1	. . .	. . .
Ocean navigation	2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	5.4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Inland navigation	2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	2.7	1	5.9	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Railways	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	5.9	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Roads	4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	2.7	3	17.6	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Dealing sector	7	. . .	. . .	4	80.0	2	5.4	. . .	. . .	1	1.1	. . .	. . .
Coals	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Raw materials	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Clothing materials	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Dress	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Food	3	. . .	. . .	2	40.0	1	2.7	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Tobacco	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Wines, spirits, hotels	1	. . .	. . .	1	20.0	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Lodging, coffee house	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	2.7	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Furniture	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Stationery, publication	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

TABLE 31.--Continued

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Hshld utensils, ornaments	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
General dealers	2	. . .	. . .	1	20.0	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	1.1	. . .	. . .
Unspecified	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Industrial sector	30	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	2.7	. . .	. . .	29	30.9	. . .	. . .
Banking, insurance, acct	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	2.7	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Labor	29	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	29	30.9	. . .	. . .
Public service & profes	4	. . .	. . .	1	20.0	1	2.7	2	11.8	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Central administration	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Local administration	1	. . .	. . .	1	20.0	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Sanitary administration	3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	2.7	2	11.8	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Army	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Navy	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Police, prisons	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Law	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Medicine	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Art, amusement (painting)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Art, amusement (music)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Literature	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Science	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Education	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Religion	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

TABLE 31.--Continued

	Total # Hish Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Domestic service sector	5	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	5.9	4	4.3	. . .	. . .
Indoor	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Outdoor	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Extra service	5	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	5.9	4	4.3	. . .	. . .
Property owning, independ	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Miscellaneous	20	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	20	21.3	. . .	. . .
Paupers, vagrants	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Widow	16	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	16	17.0	. . .	. . .
Unemployed	4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	4	4.3	. . .	. . .
Unknown	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Total	153	. . .	. . .	5	100.0	37	100.0	17	100.0	94	100.0	. . .	. . .

TABLE 32.--Irish-born Household Heads by Residential Area on the Island: 1841, 1851, 1861, 1871

	1841		1851		1861[a]		1871	
	#	%[b]	#	%[b]	#	%[b]	#	%[b]
Northwest quadrant	14	5.1	45	7.3	70	10.8	55	6.7
Alfred St	1	1.2	5	5.1	7	8.9	16	16.5
Alpha Rd	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Byng St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Charles St	. . .	. . .	1	12.5	. . .	. . .	3	5.5
Cheval St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	33.3	. . .	. . .
Cross, George, Marsh Sts	. . .	. . .	1	5.0	1	4.5	5	21.7
Janet St, Spring Garden Pl	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	3.6	8	13.3
Maria, Catherine Sts	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Mellish St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	5.7
Montague Pl, Ord St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Robert St	. . .	. . .	1	2.8	. . .	. . .	4	10.0
Strafford St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	10.5	1	2.2
Thomas St	. . .	. . .	3	5.9	18	23.7	7	9.5
Tooke St	. . .	. . .	2	5.6	2	3.2	1	1.9

TABLE 32.--Continued

	1841		1851		1861[a]		1871	
	#	%[b]	#	%[b]	#	%[b]	#	%[b]
W Ferry Rd (north)	3	5.5	16	6.6	12	6.2	2	0.9
N Millwall Riverside	10	13.9	16	18.0	26	27.7	6	15.4
Southwest quadrant	23	20.7	19	11.4	28	10.5	49	7.9
Cahir, British, Marsh Sts	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	3	10.0
Claude St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Crews St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	8	23.5	5	17.2
E Ferry Rd, Chapel House	1	9.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Ferry Rd	. . .	. . .	5	9.8	. . .	. . .	1	3.8
Gaverick St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	13	27.7	2	4.8
Riverside (southwest)	16	32.0	4	8.5	4	22.2	2	10.5
W Ferry Rd	6	13.6	10	16.9	3	2.9	36	10.0
Southeast quadrant	. . .	. . .	1	2.4	2	0.9	30	4.6
Barque St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Brig St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Church St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	1.9	. . .	. . .

TABLE 32.--Continued

	1841		1851		1861[a]		1871	
	#	%[b]	#	%[b]	#	%[b]	#	%[b]
Manchester Rd (south)	. . .	. . .	1	2.9	. . .	. . .	6	1.9
Newcastle St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Pier St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	4	13.3
Ship St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Stebondale St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	19	11.8
Wharf Rd	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	6.3
Northeast quadrant	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	8	2.2	13	2.2
Davis St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	11.8	. . .	. . .
E Ferry Rd (north)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Folly Wall	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Glengall Rd	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	3	2.2
Manchester Rd (north)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	5	2.3	5	1.7
Marshfield St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	3	5.7
Roserton St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Samuda St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	1.3	2	9.5

TABLE 32.--Continued

	1841		1851		1861[a]		1871	
	#	%[b]	#	%[b]	#	%[b]	#	%[b]
Stewart St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Strattondale St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Total	37	9.0	65	7.8	108	7.2	147	5.5

[a]Totals and percentages for 1861 are distorted by the absence of information on approximately 1,200 residents whose census returns have not survived. The great majority of these people resided in the southwest quadrant of the Isle of Dogs. Literary evidence indicates that a disproportionate percentage of the population in this quadrant was of Irish origin.

[b]This figure represents the percentage of all heads of households in this residential area who were Irish-born.

TABLE 33.--Scots-born Household Heads by Residential Area on the Island: 1841, 1851, 1861, 1871

	1841		1851		1861[a]		1871	
	#	%[b]	#	%[b]	#	%[b]	#	%[b]
Northwest quadrant	7	2.5	49	7.9	15	2.3	33	4.0
Alfred St	4	4.8	3	3.1	. . .	. . .	2	2.1
Alpha Rd	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	12.5	. . .	. . .
Byng St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	9.1
Charles St	. . .	. . .	1	12.5	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Cheval St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Cross, George, Marsh Sts	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	8.7
Janet St, Spring Garden Pl	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	5	8.3
Maria, Catherine Sts	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	2.9
Mellish St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	5.7
Montague Pl, Ord St	. . .	. . .	2	11.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Robert St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	5.0
Strafford St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	10.5	1	2.2
Thomas St	. . .	. . .	3	5.9	2	2.6	5	6.8
Tooke St	. . .	. . .	6	16.7	2	3.2	3	5.6

TABLE 33.--Continued

	1841		1851		1861[a]		1871	
	#	%[b]	#	%[b]	#	%[b]	#	%[b]
W Ferry Rd (north)	2	3.6	33	13.6	2	1.0	8	3.7
N Millwall Riverside	1	1.4	1	1.1	6	6.4	1	2.6
Southwest quadrant	10	9.0	15	9.0	20	7.5	37	5.9
Cahir, British, Marsh Sts	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	3.3
Claude St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	7	16.7	5	15.2
Crews St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	5.9	1	3.4
E Ferry Rd, Chapel House	1	9.1	. . .	. . .	1	14.3	4	4.8
Ferry Rd	. . .	. . .	5	9.8	. . .	. . .	1	3.8
Gaverick St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Riverside (southwest)	3	6.0	4	8.5	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
W Ferry Rd (south)	6	13.6	6	10.2	10	9.7	25	7.0
Southeast quadrant	. . .	. . .	2	4.8	11	4.8	29	4.4
Barque St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	7.1
Brig St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	13.3
Church St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	3	2.9	2	3.6

TABLE 33.--Continued

	1841		1851		1861[a]		1871	
	#	%[b]	#	%[b]	#	%[b]	#	%[b]
Manchester Rd (south)	. . .	. . .	2	5.7	8	6.8	13	4.2
Newcastle St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Pier St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	4	13.3
Ship St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	4.4
Stebondale St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	4	2.5
Wharf Rd	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	6.3
Northeast quadrant	1	3.7	. . .	. . .	23	6.4	19	3.2
Davis St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	9.1
E Ferry Rd (north)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	4.3	. . .	. . .
Folly Wall	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Glengall Rd	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	6	4.5
Manchester Rd (north)	1	12.5	. . .	. . .	18	8.5	11	3.8
Marshfield St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	1.9
Roserton St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Samuda St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	3.1	. . .	. . .

TABLE 33.--Continued

	1841		1851		1861[a]		1871	
	#	%[b]	#	%[b]	#	%[b]	#	%[b]
Stewart St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	5.7	. . .	. . .
Strattondale St	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Total	18	4.4	66	7.9	69	4.6	118	4.4

[a]Totals and percentages for 1861 are distorted by the absence of information on approximately 1,200 residents whose census returns have not survived. The great majority of these people resided in the southwest quadrant of the Isle of Dogs. Literary evidence indicates that a disproportionate percentage of the population in this quadrant was of Scots origin.

[b]This figure represents the percentage of all heads of households in this residential area who were Scots-born.

TABLE 34.--Occupation of Household Heads: 1831, 1841, 1851, 1861, 1871, 1886-87, 1929

	1831		1841		1851		1861*		1871		1886-87		1929	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Agricultural sector	. . .	. . .	2	0.5	6	0.7	6	0.4	10	0.4	5	0.2	1	0.7
Farming	. . .	. . .	1	0.2	4	0.5	4	0.3	2	0.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Land service	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Breeding	. . .	. . .	1	0.2	1	0.1	2	0.1	8	0.3	5	0.2	1	0.7
Fishing	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Mining sector	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	12	1.4	31	2.1	9	0.3	2	0.1	. . .	. . .
Mining	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Quarrying	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	0.1	15	1.0	8	0.3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Brickmaking	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	9	1.1	16	1.1	1	0.1	2	0.1	. . .	. . .
Salt & water works	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Building sector	21	9.4	21	5.1	64	7.6	128	8.5	175	6.5	75	3.2	6	3.9
Management	1	0.4	2	0.5	5	0.6	12	0.8	10	0.4	5	0.2	. . .	. . .
Operative	20	8.9	19	4.6	47	5.6	113	7.5	145	5.4	70	3.0	6	3.9
Roadmaking	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	12	1.4	3	0.2	20	0.7	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Manufacture sector	83	37.1	169	40.9	407	48.6	794	52.9	1,192	44.2	756	32.0	50	32.7
Machinery	7	3.1	47	11.4	106	12.7	140	9.3	214	7.9	230	9.7	10	6.5
Tools etc.	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	12	1.4	11	0.7	8	0.3	10	0.4	. . .	. . .
Shipbuilding	44	19.6	30	7.3	69	8.2	159	10.6	212	7.9	84	3.6	2	1.3
Iron & steel	11	4.9	31	7.5	84	10.0	205	13.7	311	11.5	184	7.8	12	7.8
Copper/tin/lead/etc.	. . .	. . .	2	0.5	8	1.0	12	0.8	38	1.4	51	2.2	6	3.9
Gold/silver/jewelry	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	0.2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	0.1	. . .	. . .

TABLE 34.--Continued

	1831		1841		1851		1861*		1871		1886-87		1929	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Earthenware etc.	. . .	. . .	3	0.7	16	1.9	14	0.9	38	1.4	15	0.6	. . .	. . .
Coals & gas	1	0.4	2	0.5	1	0.1	3	0.2	3	0.1	1	0.1	. . .	. . .
Chemicals	1	0.4	7	1.7	14	1.7	17	1.1	41	1.5	4	0.2	3	2.0
Furs & leather	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	1	0.7
Glue/tallow/etc.	. . .	. . .	2	0.5	1	0.1	4	0.3	17	0.6	5	0.2	. . .	. . .
Hair etc.	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	0.2	. . .	. . .	2	0.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Wood workers	4	1.8	14	3.4	29	3.5	37	2.5	41	1.5	18	0.8	. . .	. . .
Furniture	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	0.1	1	0.1	. . .	. . .	1	0.7
Carriages/harness	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	0.2	6	0.4	7	0.3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Paper	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	0.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Floorcloth & waterproofing	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Woolens	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Cotton & silk	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Flax/hemp/etc.	4	1.8	8	1.9	13	1.6	47	3.1	33	1.2	14	0.6	4	2.6
Lace	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Dyeing	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Dress	2	0.9	5	1.2	15	1.8	38	2.5	56	2.1	25	1.1	. . .	. . .
Sundries (dress)	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Food preparation	6	2.7	7	1.7	9	1.1	19	1.3	38	1.4	21	0.9	6	3.9
Baking	3	1.3	3	0.7	6	0.7	11	0.7	18	0.7	7	0.3	1	0.7

TABLE 34.--Continued

	1831		1841		1851		1861*		1871		1886-87		1929	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Drink preparation	. . .	. . .	1	0.2	2	0.2	2	0.1	4	0.2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Smoking	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Watches/instruments/toys	. . .	. . .	1	0.2	1	0.1	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .	1	0.7
Printing/bookbinding	. . .	. . .	1	0.2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Unspecified	. . .	. . .	4	1.0	14	1.7	66	4.4	103	3.8	84	3.6	3	2.0
Transport sector	29	12.9	44	10.7	66	7.9	124	8.3	336	12.5	373	15.8	30	19.6
Warehouses/docks	. . .	. . .	1	0.2	10	1.2	38	2.5	148	5.5	250	10.6	21	13.7
Ocean navigation	1	0.4	7	1.7	16	1.9	25	1.7	60	2.2	60	2.5	2	1.3
Inland navigation	25	11.1	32	7.8	28	3.3	39	2.6	58	2.2	44	1.9	2	1.3
Railways	. . .	. . .	1	0.2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	11	0.4	5	0.2	1	0.7
Roads	3	1.3	3	0.7	12	1.4	22	1.5	59	2.2	14	0.6	4	2.6
Dealing sector	17	7.6	32	7.7	60	7.2	104	6.9	180	6.7	203	8.6	7	4.6
Coals	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	3	0.4	5	0.3	4	0.2	1	0.1	. . .	. . .
Raw materials	3	1.3	2	0.5	3	0.4	8	0.5	2	0.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Clothing materials	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Dress	. . .	. . .	2	0.5	2	0.2	3	0.2	6	0.2	9	0.4	. . .	. . .
Food	4	1.8	8	1.9	23	2.7	45	3.0	84	3.1	34	1.4	3	2.0
Tobacco	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	2	0.1	2	0.1	1	0.1	. . .	. . .
Wines/spirits/hotels	6	2.7	12	2.9	18	2.2	24	1.6	37	1.4	34	1.4	1	0.7

TABLE 34.--Continued

	1831		1841		1851		1861*		1871		1886-87		1929	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Lodging/coffee houses	1	0.4	4	1.0	2	0.2	7	0.5	15	0.6	24	1.0	1	0.7
Furniture	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .	5	0.2	1	0.1	. . .	. . .
Stationery/publica	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	0.1	3	0.1	1	0.1	. . .	. . .
Hshld utensils/ ornaments	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	3	0.4	3	0.2	2	0.1	2	0.1	. . .	. . .
General dealers	3	1.3	3	0.7	4	0.5	5	0.3	13	0.5	95	4.0	2	1.3
Unspecified	. . .	. . .	1	0.2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	7	0.3	1	0.1	. . .	. . .
Industrial sector	21	9.4	96	23.2	155	18.5	201	13.4	531	19.7	835	35.4	30	19.6
Banking/insurance/ acct	1	0.4	7	1.7	6	0.7	16	1.1	27	1.0	31	1.3	1	0.7
Labor	20	8.9	89	21.6	149	17.8	185	12.3	504	18.7	804	34.1	29	19.0
Public service/ professional	2	0.9	6	1.5	10	1.2	25	1.7	70	2.6	32	1.4	4	2.6
Central administra	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	3	0.2	5	0.2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Local administra	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	3	0.1	1	0.1	1	0.7
Sanitary administra	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .	3	2.0
Army	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .	4	0.2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Navy	. . .	. . .	1	0.2	. . .	. . .	3	0.2	9	0.3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Police/prisons	2	8.9	2	0.5	1	0.1	3	0.2	22	0.8	22	0.9	. . .	. . .
Law	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Medicine	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	3	0.4	7	0.5	6	0.2	2	0.1	. . .	. . .

TABLE 34.--Continued

	1831		1841		1851		1861*		1871		1886-87		1929	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Art/amusement (painting)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Art/amusement (music)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Literature	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Science	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Education	. . .	. . .	3	0.7	3	0.4	7	0.5	10	0.4	4	0.2	. . .	. . .
Religion	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	0.1	7	0.3	3	0.1	. . .	. . .
Domestic service sector	. . .	. . .	12	2.9	22	2.6	21	1.4	54	2.0	54	2.3	5	3.3
Indoor	. . .	. . .	2	0.5	1	0.1	3	0.2	9	0.3	7	0.3	. . .	. . .
Outdoor	. . .	. . .	2	0.5	6	0.7	4	0.3	8	0.3	5	0.2	. . .	. . .
Extra service	. . .	. . .	8	1.9	15	1.8	14	0.9	37	1.4	42	1.8	5	3.3
Property owning/ independent	3	1.3	11	2.7	6	0.7	3	0.2	13	0.5	5	0.2	. . .	. . .
Miscellaneous	48	21.4	20	4.8	30	3.6	65	4.3	126	4.7	21	0.9	20	13.1
Paupers/vagrants	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	0.2	. . .	. . .	2	0.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Widows	3	1.3	. . .	. . .	11	1.3	42	2.8	67	2.5	21	0.9	16	10.5
Unemployed	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	4	0.2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Unknown	45	20.1	20	4.8	17	2.0	23	1.5	53	2.0	. . .	. . .	4	2.6
Total	224	100.0	413	100.0	838	100.0	1,502	100.0	2,696	100.0	2,361	100.0	153	100.0

*Totals and percentages for 1861 are distorted by the absence of information on approximately 1,200 residents whose census returns have not survived.

TABLE 35.--Occupations of the Employed Population (miscellaneous excluded): 1841, 1851, 1861, 1871, 1929

	1841		1851		1861*		1871		1929	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Agricultural sector	5	0.7	10	0.6	11	0.4	14	0.3	2	0.8
Farming	4	0.5	7	0.5	8	0.3	4	0.1	. . .	. . .
Land service	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Breeding	1	0.1	1	0.1	3	0.1	10	0.2	2	0.8
Fishing	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Mining sector	. . .	. . .	22	1.4	45	1.7	12	0.3	. . .	. . .
Mining	. . .	. . .	2	0.1	1	0.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Quarrying	. . .	. . .	4	0.3	18	0.7	9	0.2	. . .	. . .
Brickmaking	. . .	. . .	16	1.0	26	1.0	3	0.1	. . .	. . .
Salt & water works	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Building sector	40	5.3	124	7.9	183	6.8	289	6.1	9	3.6
Management	2	0.3	6	0.4	14	0.5	14	0.3	. . .	. . .
Operative	36	4.8	78	5.0	162	6.0	244	5.2	9	3.6
Roadmaking	2	0.3	40	2.6	7	0.3	31	0.7	. . .	. . .
Manufacture sector	329	43.8	710	45.3	1,496	55.7	2,032	43.2	121	48.4
Machinery	117	15.6	197	12.6	269	10.0	342	7.3	13	5.2
Tools etc.	1	0.1	16	1.0	19	0.7	16	0.3	. . .	. . .
Shipbuilding	43	5.7	106	6.8	267	9.9	308	6.6	2	0.8
Iron & steel	70	9.3	149	9.5	371	13.8	507	10.8	29	11.6
Copper, tin, lead etc.	4	0.5	14	0.9	37	1.4	63	1.3	7	2.8
Gold, silver, jewelry	. . .	. . .	2	0.1	3	0.1	3	0.1	. . .	. . .

TABLE 35.--Continued

	1841		1851		1861*		1871		1929	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Earthenware etc.	3	0.4	24	1.5	20	0.7	74	1.6	1	0.4
Coals & gas	2	0.3	1	0.1	6	0.2	5	0.1	. . .	. . .
Chemicals	10	1.3	19	1.2	19	0.7	49	1.0	6	2.4
Furs & leather	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	1	0.1	. . .	. . .	3	1.2
Glue, tallow etc.	2	0.3	1	0.1	18	0.7	32	0.7	. . .	. . .
Hair etc.	. . .	. . .	3	0.2	1	0.1	6	0.1	. . .	. . .
Wood workers	26	3.5	40	2.6	64	2.4	56	1.2	. . .	. . .
Furniture	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	3	0.1	7	0.1	2	0.8
Carriages & harness	. . .	. . .	2	0.1	6	0.2	10	0.2	. . .	. . .
Paper	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	3	0.1	. . .	. . .
Floorcloth, waterproofing	1	0.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	0.1	. . .	. . .
Woolens	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	0.1	1	0.1	. . .	. . .
Cotton & silk	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	1	0.1	3	0.1	. . .	. . .
Flax, hemp etc.	13	1.7	16	1.0	59	2.2	61	1.3	9	3.6
Lace	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	1	0.1	. . .	. . .
Dyeing	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .
Dress	11	1.5	63	4.0	151	5.6	195	4.1	3	0.1
Sundries (dress)	2	0.3	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Food preparation	11	1.5	11	0.7	37	1.4	73	1.6	36	14.4
Baking	4	0.5	13	0.8	16	0.6	31	0.7	2	0.8
Drink preparation	1	0.1	6	0.4	2	0.1	5	0.1	. . .	. . .

TABLE 35.--Continued

	1841		1851		1861*		1871		1929	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Smoking	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Watches, instruments, toys	1	0.1	2	0.1	2	0.1	1	0.1	1	0.4
Printing, bookbinding	1	0.1	1	0.1	1	0.1	4	0.1	7	2.8
Unspecified	6	0.8	22	1.4	119	4.4	173	3.7	. . .	. . .
Transport sector	58	7.7	98	6.3	186	6.9	521	11.1	42	16.8
Warehouses & docks	3	0.4	21	1.3	65	2.4	225	4.8	34	13.6
Ocean navigation	11	1.5	24	1.5	39	1.5	110	2.3	2	0.8
Inland navigation	40	5.3	36	2.3	54	2.0	78	1.7	2	0.8
Railways	1	0.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	29	0.6	. . .	. . .
Roads	3	0.4	17	1.1	28	1.0	79	1.7	4	1.6
Dealing sector	36	4.8	75	4.8	142	5.3	260	5.5	10	4.0
Coals	. . .	. . .	4	0.3	6	0.2	5	0.1	. . .	. . .
Raw materials	2	0.3	3	0.2	9	0.3	3	0.1	. . .	. . .
Clothing materials	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Dress	2	0.3	2	0.2	4	0.1	17	0.4	1	0.4
Food	11	1.5	31	2.0	71	2.6	127	2.7	2	0.8
Tobacco	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	2	0.1	2	0.1	. . .	. . .
Wines, spirits, hotels	12	1.6	18	1.1	25	0.9	44	0.9	1	0.4
Lodging, coffee houses	4	0.5	2	0.1	7	0.3	16	0.3	1	0.4
Furniture	. . .	. . .	2	0.1	. . .	. . .	10	0.2	. . .	. . .
Stationery, publication	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	5	0.2	4	0.1	. . .	. . .

TABLE 35.--Continued

	1841		1851		1861*		1871		1929	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Hshld utensils, ornaments	. . .	. . .	3	0.2	4	0.1	2	0.1	. . .	. . .
General dealers	3	0.4	8	0.5	8	0.3	21	0.4	5	2.0
Unspecified	2	0.3	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	9	0.2	. . .	. . .
Industrial sector	162	21.6	326	20.8	356	13.2	1,015	21.6	47	18.8
Banking, insurance, acct	12	1.6	14	0.9	31	1.2	77	1.6	9	3.6
Labor	150	20.0	312	19.9	325	12.1	938	19.9	38	15.2
Public service & profes	9	1.2	28	1.8	53	2.0	134	2.8	8	3.2
Central administation	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	5	0.2	1	0.1	2	0.8
Local administration	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .	4	0.1	1	0.4
Sanitary administration	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	0.1	2	0.8
Army	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .	6	0.1	. . .	. . .
Navy	1	0.1	. . .	. . .	3	0.1	11	0.2	. . .	. . .
Police, prisons	2	0.3	1	0.1	3	0.1	29	0.6	. . .	. . .
Law	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Medicine	2	0.3	10	0.6	16	0.6	28	0.6	. . .	. . .
Art, amusement (painting)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .
Art, amusement (music)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .
Literature	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .
Science	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Education	4	0.5	13	0.8	24	0.9	35	0.7	3	1.2
Religion	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	0.1	9	0.2	. . .	. . .

TABLE 35.--Continued

	1841		1851		1861*		1871		1929	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Domestic service sector	87	11.6	165	10.5	210	7.8	410	8.7	11	4.4
Indoor	74	9.9	131	8.4	159	5.9	303	6.4	6	2.4
Outdoor	2	0.3	6	0.4	5	0.2	13	0.3	. . .	. . .
Extra service	11	1.5	28	1.8	46	1.7	94	2.0	5	2.0
Property owning, independ	25	3.3	8	0.5	5	0.2	15	0.3	. . .	. . .
Total	751	100.0	1,566	100.0	2,687	100.0	4,702	100.0	250	100.0

*Totals and percentages for 1861 are distorted by the absence of information on approximately 1,200 residents whose census returns have not survived.

TABLE 36.—Sexual Composition of Employed Population: 1841, 1851, 1861, 1871, 1929

	Male		Female		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
1841	640	85.2	111	14.8	759	100.0
1851	1,332	85.1	234	14.9	1,566	100.0
1861*	2,326	86.6	361	13.4	2,687	100.0
1871	3,954	85.2	689	14.8	4,643	100.0
1929	178	71.2	72	28.2	250	100.0

*Totals and percentages for 1861 are distorted by the absence of information on approximately 1,200 residents whose census returns have not survived.

TABLE 37.--Occupations of Employed Women (excluding miscellaneous): 1841, 1851, 1861, 1871, 1929

	1841		1851		1861*		1871		1929	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Agricultural sector	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Farming	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Land service	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Breeding	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Fishing	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Mining sector	. . .	. . .	2	0.9	1	0.3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Mining	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Quarrying	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Brickmaking	. . .	. . .	2	0.9	1	0.3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Salt & water works	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Building sector	1	0.9	5	2.1	2	0.6	3	0.4	. . .	. . .
Management	1	0.9	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .
Operative	. . .	. . .	1	0.4	1	0.3	1	0.1	. . .	. . .
Roadmaking	. . .	. . .	4	1.7	1	0.3	1	0.1	. . .	. . .
Manufacture sector	9	8.1	58	24.8	132	36.6	219	31.8	50	69.4
Machinery	2	1.8	3	1.3	5	1.4	4	0.6	. . .	. . .
Tools etc.	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Shipbuilding	. . .	. . .	1	0.4	2	0.6	1	0.1	. . .	. . .
Iron & steel	. . .	. . .	2	0.9	1	0.3	4	0.6	5	6.9
Copper, tin, lead etc.	. . .	. . .	2	0.9	. . .	. . .	5	0.7	1	1.4
Gold, silver, jewelry	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

TABLE 37.--Continued

	1841		1851		1861*		1871		1929	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Earthenware	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	3	0.8	13	1.9	1	1.4
Coals & gas	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .
Chemicals	. . .	. . .	1	0.4	. . .	. . .	2	0.3	3	4.2
Furs & leather	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.3	. . .	. . .	1	1.4
Glue, tallow etc.	1	0.9	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Hair etc.	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Wood workers	1	0.9	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Furniture	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Carriages & harness	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Paper	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Floorcloth, waterproofing	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .
Woolens	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .
Cotton & silk	. . .	. . .	1	0.4	. . .	. . .	2	0.3	. . .	. . .
Flax, hemp etc.	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	4	0.6	6	8.3
Lace	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .
Dyeing	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Dress	5	4.5	47	20.1	110	30.5	152	22.1	3	4.2
Sundries (dress)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Food preparation	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	0.6	1	0.1	30	41.7
Baking	. . .	. . .	1	0.4	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .
Drink preparation	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

TABLE 37.--Continued

	1841		1851		1861*		1871		1929	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Smoking	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Watches, instruments, toys	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Printing, bookbinding	. . .	. . .	1	0.4	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .
Unspecified	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	6	1.7	25	3.6	. . .	. . .
Transport sector	1	0.9	2	0.9	1	0.3	8	1.2	. . .	. . .
Warehouses & docks	. . .	. . .	1	0.4	. . .	. . .	3	0.4	. . .	. . .
Ocean navigation	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.3	1	0.1	. . .	. . .
Inland navigation	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	0.3	. . .	. . .
Railways	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .
Roads	1	0.9	1	0.4	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .
Dealing sector	5	4.5	21	9.0	23	6.4	53	7.7	3	4.2
Coals	. . .	. . .	1	0.4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Raw materials	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Clothing materials	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Dress	1	0.9	1	0.4	1	0.3	7	1.0	1	1.4
Food	1	0.9	4	1.7	10	2.8	21	3.0	. . .	. . .
Tobacco	. . .	. . .	1	0.4	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .
Wines, spirits, hotel	2	1.8	4	1.7	1	0.3	7	1.0	. . .	. . .
Lodging, coffee houses	1	0.9	2	0.9	4	1.1	6	0.9	. . .	. . .
Furniture	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Stationery, publication	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	0.3	. . .	. . .

TABLE 37.--Continued

	1841		1851		1861*		1871		1929	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Hshld utensils, ornaments	. . .	. . .	2	0.9	3	0.8	1	0.1	. . .	. . .
General dealers	1	0.9	6	2.6	4	1.1	8	1.2	2	2.8
Unspecified	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Industrial sector	. . .	. . .	4	1.7	3	0.8	11	1.6	5	6.9
Banking, insurance, acct	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	5	6.9
Labor	. . .	. . .	4	1.7	3	0.8	10	1.5	. . .	. . .
Public service & profes	6	5.4	16	6.8	29	8.0	46	6.7	5	6.9
Central administration	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.3	1	0.1	2	2.8
Local administration	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Sanitary administration	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Army	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Navy	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .
Police, prisons	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Law	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Medicine	2	1.8	6	2.6	8	2.2	17	2.5	. . .	. . .
Art, amusement (painting)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Art, amusement (music)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Literature	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Science	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Education	4	3.6	10	4.3	20	5.5	24	3.5	3	4.2
Religion	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	3	0.4	. . .	. . .

TABLE 37.--Continued

	1841		1851		1861*		1871		1929	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Domestic service sector	73	65.8	122	52.1	167	46.3	347	50.4	9	12.5
Indoor	63	56.8	97	41.5	126	34.9	265	38.5	5	6.9
Outdoor	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	0.3	. . .	. . .
Extra service	10	9.0	25	10.7	41	11.4	80	11.6	4	5.6
Property owning, independ	16	14.4	4	1.7	2	0.6	2	0.3	. . .	. . .
Total	111	100.0	234	100.0	361	100.0	689	100.0	72	100.0

*Totals and percentages for 1861 are distorted by the absence of information on approximately 1,200 residents whose census returns have not survived.

TABLE 38.--Birthplace of Household Heads: 1841

Middlesex County		Other English Cos & Wales		Scotland		Ireland		Foreign Countries		Total	
#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
133	32.2	223	54.0	18	4.4	37	9.0	2	0.5	413	100.0

TABLE 39.--Birthplace of Household Heads: 1851, 1861, 1871, 1929

	1851		1861[a]		1871		1929[b]	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Greater London & Middlesex	262	31.3	353	23.5	703	26.1	133	86.9
Greater London	249	29.7	339	22.6	690	25.6	c	c
Middlesex	13	1.6	14	0.9	13	0.5	c	c
Southeast England	153	18.3	324	21.6	457	17.0	3	2.0
Berkshire	8	1.0	7	0.5	18	0.7	. . .	. . .
Hampshire	13	1.6	37	2.5	72	2.7	. . .	. . .
Isle of Wight	1	0.1	1	0.1	4	0.1	. . .	. . .
Kent	76	9.1	152	10.1	224	8.3	2	1.3
Surrey	34	4.1	92	6.1	96	3.6	1	0.7
Sussex	21	2.5	35	2.3	43	1.6	. . .	. . .
Central England	53	6.3	129	8.6	249	9.2	3	2.0
Buckinghamshire	11	1.3	17	1.1	23	0.9	. . .	. . .
Derbyshire	8	1.0	12	0.8	24	0.9	. . .	. . .
Huntington/Rutland	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	9	0.3	. . .	. . .
Leicestershire	1	0.1	7	0.5	13	0.5	. . .	. . .

TABLE 39.--Continued

	1851		1861[a]		1871		1929[b]	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Northamptonshire	7	0.8	8	0.5	11	0.4	. . .	. . .
Nottinghamshire	1	0.1	4	0.3	11	0.4	. . .	. . .
Oxfordshire	5	0.6	10	0.7	28	1.0	. . .	. . .
Staffordshire	12	1.4	44	2.9	86	3.2	2	1.3
Warwickshire	5	0.6	9	0.6	19	0.7	. . .	. . .
Worcestershire	3	0.4	17	1.1	25	0.9	1	0.7
Eastern England	73	8.7	192	12.8	448	16.6	4	2.6
Bedfordshire	6	0.7	9	0.6	30	1.1	. . .	. . .
Cambridgeshire	2	0.2	7	0.5	39	1.4	. . .	. . .
Essex	32	3.8	81	5.4	147	5.5	1	0.7
Hertfordshire	3	0.4	11	0.7	27	1.0	1	0.7
Lincolnshire	5	0.6	14	0.9	33	1.2	. . .	. . .
Norfolk	11	1.3	30	2.0	86	3.2	. . .	. . .
Suffolk	14	1.7	40	2.7	86	3.2	2	1.3
Northern England	75	8.9	98	6.5	168	6.2	2	1.3

TABLE 39.--Continued

	1851		1861[a]		1871		1929[b]	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Cumberland	3	0.4	2	0.1	8	0.3	. . .	. . .
Durham	6	0.7	10	0.7	31	1.1	1	0.7
Lancashire	20	2.4	29	1.9	50	1.9	. . .	. . .
Isle of Man	1	0.1	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .
Nothumberland	6	0.7	17	1.1	20	0.7	. . .	. . .
Westmoreland	1	0.1	1	0.1	2	0.1	. . .	. . .
Yorkshire	38	4.5	39	2.6	56	2.1	1	0.7
Southwestern England	45	5.4	108	7.2	211	7.8	. . .	. . .
Cornwall	4	0.5	17	1.1	31	1.1	. . .	. . .
Devon	21	2.5	45	3.0	69	2.6	. . .	. . .
Dorset	2	0.2	7	0.5	22	0.8	. . .	. . .
Somerset	9	1.1	18	1.2	54	2.0	. . .	. . .
Wiltshire	9	1.1	21	1.4	35	1.3	. . .	. . .
Scotland	66	7.9	78	5.2	118	4.4	3	2.0
Ireland	65	7.8	108	7.2	147	5.5	. . .	. . .

TABLE 39.--Continued

	1851		1861[a]		1871		1929[b]	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Wales & English border Cos.	27	3.2	70	4.7	113	4.2	1	0.7
Wales	9	1.1	16	1.1	44	1.6	1	0.7
Cheshire	3	0.4	4	0.3	7	0.3	. . .	. . .
Gloucestershire	12	1.4	33	2.2	52	1.9	. . .	. . .
Hereford	1	0.1	8	0.5	3	0.1	. . .	. . .
Shropshire	2	0.2	9	0.6	7	0.3	. . .	. . .
Miscellaneous[d]	19	2.3	42	2.8	82	3.0	4	2.6
Total	838	100.0	1,502	100.0	2,696	100.0	153	100.0

[a]Totals and percentages for 1861 are distorted by the absence of information on approximately 1,200 residents whose census returns have not survived.

[b]Of the 153 household heads in the sample in 1929, 102 (66.7%) were born in the borough of Poplar.

[c]In the 1929 sample, no distinction was made between "Greater London" and "Middlesex."

[d]The miscellaneous category includes people whose birthplace was designated as "Empire," "at sea," "foreign," "British Islands," "England," and "unknown."

TABLE 40.—Social Class of Household Heads by Birthplace: 1841

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%*	#	%*	#	%*	#	%*	#	%*	#	%*
Middlesex County	133	4	1.0	20	4.8	62	15.0	16	3.9	24	5.8	7	1.7
Other English Counties and Wales	223	7	1.7	32	7.7	113	27.4	23	5.6	40	9.7	8	1.9
Scotland	18	1	0.2	. . .	. . .	12	2.9	1	0.2	1	0.2	3	0.7
Ireland	37	. . .	. . .	3	0.7	5	1.2	3	0.7	25	6.1	1	0.2
Foreign countires	2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.2	. . .	. . .	1	0.2
Total	413	12	2.9	55	13.3	192	46.5	44	10.7	90	21.8	20	4.8

*Each percentage in this table represents the proportion its corresponding figure is of the total number of household heads in this year (413).

TABLE 41.--Social Class of Household Heads by Birthplace: 1851

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Greater London & Middlesex	262	4	50.0	37	42.5	137	30.7	34	42.0	42	22.2	8	29.6
Greater London	249	3	37.5	36	41.4	131	29.4	33	40.7	38	20.1	8	29.6
Middlesex	13	1	12.5	1	1.1	6	1.3	1	1.2	4	2.1	. . .	. . .
Southeastern England	153	1	12.5	14	16.1	75	16.8	19	23.5	40	21.2	4	14.8
Berkshire	8	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	5	1.1	1	1.2	1	0.5	1	3.7
Hampshire	13	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	6	1.3	2	2.5	5	2.7	. . .	. . .
Isle of Wight	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Kent	76	1	12.5	8	9.2	32	7.2	10	12.3	22	11.6	3	11.1
Surrey	34	. . .	. . .	5	5.7	20	4.5	1	1.2	8	4.2	. . .	. . .
Sussex	21	. . .	. . .	1	1.1	11	2.5	5	6.2	4	2.1	. . .	. . .
Central England	53	1	12.5	4	4.6	32	7.2	4	4.9	11	5.8	1	3.7
Buckinghamshire	11	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	6	1.3	3	3.7	2	1.1	. . .	. . .
Derbyshire	8	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	7	1.6	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	3.7
Huntington/Rutland	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Leicestershire	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.5	. . .	. . .
Northamptonshire	7	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	4	0.9	. . .	. . .	3	1.6	. . .	. . .
Nottinghamshire	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1.	0.2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Oxfordshire	5	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	0.4	1	1.2	2	1.1	. . .	. . .
Staffordshire	12	. . .	. . .	3	3.4	8	1.8	. . .	. . .	1	0.5	. . .	. . .
Warwickshire	5	. . .	. . .	1	1.1	2	0.4	. . .	. . .	2	1.1	. . .	. . .
Worcestershire	3	1	12.5	. . .	. . .	2	0.4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

TABLE 41.--Continued

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Eastern England	13	. . .	. . .	10	11.5	30	6.7	10	12.3	21	11.1	2	7.4
Bedfordshire	6	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	3	0.7	1	1.2	2	1.1	. . .	. . .
Cambridgeshire	2	. . .	. . .	1	1.1	1	0.2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Essex	32	. . .	. . .	5	5.7	11	2.5	4	4.9	10	5.3	2	7.4
Hertfordshire	3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	0.4	1	1.2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Lincolnshire	5	. . .	. . .	1	1.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	4	2.1	. . .	. . .
Norfolk	11	. . .	. . .	2	2.3	7	1.6	1	1.2	1	0.5	. . .	. . .
Suffolk	14	. . .	. . .	1	1.1	6	1.3	3	3.7	4	2.1	. . .	. . .
Northern England	75	. . .	. . .	11	12.6	49	11.0	2	2.5	7	3.7	6	22.2
Cumberland	3	. . .	. . .	1	1.1	2	0.4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Durham	6	. . .	. . .	3	3.4	2	0.4	. . .	. . .	1	0.5	. . .	. . .
Lancashire	20	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	14	3.1	1	1.2	2	1.1	3	11.1
Isle of Man	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.5	. . .	. . .
Northumberland	6	. . .	. . .	2	2.3	2	0.4	. . .	. . .	1	0.5	1	3.7
Westmoreland	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Yorkshire	38	. . .	. . .	5	5.7	28	6.3	1	1.2	2	1.1	2	7.4
Southwestern England	45	1	12.5	3	3.4	24	5.4	5	6.2	12	6.3	. . .	. . .
Cornwall	4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	4	0.9	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Devon	21	1	12.5	2	2.3	14	3.1	3	3.7	1	0.5	. . .	. . .
Dorset	2	. . .	. . .	1	1.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.5	. . .	. . .
Somerset	9	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	6	1.3	1	1.2	2	1.1	. . .	. . .

TABLE 41.--Continued

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Wiltshire	9	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	1.2	8	4.2	. . .	. . .
Scotland	66	1	12.5	2	2.3	56	12.6	1	1.2	2	1.1	4	14.8
Ireland	65	. . .	. . .	3	3.4	11	2.5	3	3.7	47	24.9	1	3.7
Wales & English border Counties	27	. . .	. . .	1	1.1	19	4.3	2	2.5	5	2.6	. . .	. . .
Wales	9	. . .	. . .	1	1.1	4	0.9	2	2.5	2	1.1	. . .	. . .
Cheshire	3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	3	0.7	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Gloucestershire	12	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	11	2.5	. . .	. . .	1	0.5	. . .	. . .
Hereford	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.5	. . .	. . .
Shropshire	2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.2	. . .	. . .	1	0.5	. . .	. . .
Miscellaneous*	19	. . .	. . .	2	2.3	13	2.9	1	1.2	2	1.1	1	3.7
Total	838	8	100.0	87	100.0	446	100.0	81	100.0	189	100.0	27	100.0

*The miscellaneous category includes people whose birthplace was designated as "Empire," "at sea," "foreign," "British Islands," "England," and "unknown."

TABLE 42.--Social Class of Household Heads by Birthplace: 1861[a]

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Greater London & Middlesex	353	7	33.3	37	37.8	176	22.3	45	27.1	78	20.0	10	27.0
Greater London	339	7	33.3	36	36.7	170	21.5	44	26.5	73	18.7	9	24.3
Middlesex	14	. . .	. . .	1	1.0	6	0.8	1	0.6	5	1.3	1	2.7
Southeastern England	324	7	33.3	28	28.6	170	21.5	35	21.8	77	19.7	7	18.9
Berkshire	7	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	4	0.5	1	0.6	2	0.5	. . .	. . .
Hampshire	37	. . .	. . .	3	3.1	20	2.5	4	2.4	10	2.6	. . .	. . .
Isle of Wight	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Kent	152	4	19.1	8	8.2	84	10.6	19	11.5	32	8.2	5	13.5
Surrey	92	3	14.3	14	14.3	43	5.4	6	3.6	24	6.2	2	5.4
Sussex	35	. . .	. . .	3	3.1	18	2.3	5	3.0	9	2.3	. . .	. . .
Central England	129	1	4.8	10	10.2	72	9.1	16	9.6	27	6.9	3	8.1
Buckinghamshire	17	. . .	. . .	1	1.0	10	1.3	. . .	. . .	6	1.5	. . .	. . .
Derbyshire	12	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	7	0.9	1	0.6	3	0.8	1	2.7
Huntingdon/Rutland	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Leicestershire	7	. . .	. . .	1	1.0	2	0.3	4	2.4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Northamptonshire	8	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	3	0.4	1	0.6	4	1.0	. . .	. . .
Nottinghamshire	4	1	4.8	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .	2	0.5	. . .	. . .
Oxfordshire	10	. . .	. . .	1	1.0	1	0.1	2	1.2	6	1.5	. . .	. . .
Staffordshire	44	. . .	. . .	5	5.1	29	3.7	7	4.2	2	0.5	1	2.7
Warwickshire	9	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	6	0.8	1	0.6	2	0.5	. . .	. . .
Worcestershire	17	. . .	. . .	2	2.0	12	1.5	. . .	. . .	2	0.5	1	2.7

TABLE 42.--Continued

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Eastern England	192	. . .	. . .	9	9.2	81	10.3	27	16.3	72	18.5	3	8.1
Bedfordshire	9	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	3	0.4	. . .	. . .	6	1.5	. . .	. . .
Cambridgeshire	7	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .	6	1.5	. . .	. . .
Essex	81	. . .	. . .	4	4.1	33	4.2	14	8.4	28	7.2	2	5.4
Hertfordshire	11	. . .	. . .	1	1.0	3	0.4	3	1.8	4	1.0	. . .	. . .
Lincolnshire	14	. . .	. . .	2	2.0	7	0.9	2	1.2	3	0.8	. . .	. . .
Norfolk	30	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	12	1.5	3	1.8	14	3.6	1	2.7
Suffolk	40	. . .	. . .	2	2.0	22	2.8	5	3.0	11	2.8	. . .	. . .
Northern England	98	1	4.8	4	4.1	77	9.7	8	4.2	7	1.8	1	2.7
Cumberland	2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	1	0.6	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Durham	10	. . .	. . .	2	2.0	8	1.0	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Lancashire	29	. . .	. . .	1	1.0	24	3.0	3	1.8	1	0.3	. . .	. . .
Isle of Man	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Northumberland	17	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	14	1.8	. . .	. . .	2	0.5	1	2.7
Westmoreland	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.6	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Yorkshire	39	1	4.8	1	1.0	30	3.8	3	1.8	4	1.0	. . .	. . .
Southwestern England	108	2	9.5	2	2.0	67	8.5	11	6.6	22	5.6	4	10.8
Cornwall	17	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	17	2.2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Devon	45	2	9.5	2	2.0	31	3.9	4	2.4	3	0.8	3	8.1
Dorset	7	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	3	0.4	. . .	. . .	3	0.8	1	2.7
Somerset	18	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	10	1.3	3	1.8	5	1.3	. . .	. . .

TABLE 42.--Continued

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Wiltshire	21	. . .	. . .	. . .	. ...	6	0.8	4	2.4	11	2.8	. . .	. . .
Scotland	78	3	14.3	3	3.1	62	7.9	2	1.2	7	1.8	1	2.7
Ireland	108	. . .	. . .	1	1.0	22	2.8	13	7.8	69	17.7	3	8.1
Wales & English border Counties	70	. . .	. . .	3	3.1	42	5.3	7	4.2	18	4.6	. . .	. . .
Wales	16	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	9	1.1	2	1.2	5	1.3	. . .	. . .
Cheshire	4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	0.3	. . .	. . .	2	0.5	. . .	. . .
Gloucestershire	33	. . .	. . .	1	1.0	23	2.9	2	1.2	7	1.8	. . .	. . .
Hereford	8	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	4	0.5	. . .	. . .	4	1.0	. . .	. . .
Shropshire	9	. . .	. . .	2	2.0	4	0.5	3	1.8	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Miscellaneous[b]	42	. . .	. . .	1	1.0	21	2.7	2	1.2	13	3.3	5	13.5
Total	1,502	21	100.0	98	100.0	790	100.0	166	100.0	390	100.0	37	100.0

[a]Totals and percentages for 1861 are distorted by the absence of information on approximately 1,200 residents whose census returns have not survived.

[b]The miscellaneous category includes people whose birthplace was designated as "Empire," "at sea," "foreign," "British Islands," "England," and "unknown."

TABLE 43.--Social Class of Household Heads by Birthplace: 1871

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Greater London & Middlesex	703	6	31.6	60	35.1	353	27.1	71	30.2	178	21.0	35	28.9
Greater London	690	6	31.6	59	34.5	349	26.8	69	29.4	174	20.5	33	27.3
Middlesex	13	. . .	. . .	1	0.6	4	0.3	2	0.9	4	0.5	2	1.7
Southeastern England	457	5	26.3	27	15.8	220	16.9	45	19.1	144	17.0	16	13.2
Berkshire	18	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	12	0.9	. . .	. . .	6	0.7	. . .	. . .
Hampshire	72	1	5.3	3	1.8	38	2.9	5	2.1	23	2.7	2	1.7
Isle of Wight	4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	3	0.2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.8
Kent	224	4	21.1	13	7.6	110	8.4	25	10.6	62	7.3	10	8.3
Surrey	96	. . .	. . .	8	4.7	38	2.9	11	4.7	37	4.4	2	1.7
Sussex	43	. . .	. . .	3	1.8	19	1.5	4	1.7	16	1.9	1	0.8
Central England	249	2	10.5	12	7.0	126	9.7	29	12.3	75	8.9	5	4.1
Buckinghamshire	23	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	13	1.0	. . .	. . .	10	1.2	. . .	. . .
Derbyshire	24	. . .	. . .	1	0.6	14	1.1	2	0.9	7	0.8	. . .	. . .
Huntington/Rutland	9	. . .	. . .	1	0.6	2	0.2	2	0.9	3	0.4	1	0.8
Leicestershire	13	. . .	. . .	2	1.2	3	0.2	1	0.4	7	0.8	. . .	. . .
Northamptonshire	11	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	0.2	3	1.3	6	0.7	. . .	. . .
Nottinghamshire	11	1	5.3	1	0.6	8	0.6	1	0.4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Oxfordshire	28	. . .	. . .	2	1.2	11	0.8	1	0.4	14	1.7	. . .	. . .
Staffordshire	86	1	5.3	3	1.8	50	3.8	13	5.5	17	2.0	2	1.7
Warwickshire	19	. . .	. . .	1	0.6	7	0.5	4	1.7	5	0.6	2	1.7
Worcestershire	25	. . .	. . .	1	0.6	16	1.2	2	0.9	6	0.7	. . .	. . .

TABLE 43.--Continued

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Eastern England	448	. . .	. . .	22	12.9	159	12.2	39	16.6	208	24.6	20	16.5
Bedfordshire	30	. . .	. . .	1	0.6	10	0.8	4	1.7	15	1.7	. . .	. . .
Cambridgeshire	39	. . .	. . .	1	0.6	16	1.2	4	1.7	18	2.1	. . .	. . .
Essex	147	. . .	. . .	6	3.5	47	3.6	16	6.8	71	8.4	7	5.8
Hertfordshire	27	. . .	. . .	2	1.2	12	0.9	2	0.9	10	1.2	1	0.8
Lincolnshire	33	. . .	. . .	2	1.2	13	1.0	1	0.4	13	1.5	4	3.3
Norfolk	86	. . .	. . .	5	2.9	34	2.6	5	2.1	38	4.5	4	3.3
Suffolk	86	. . .	. . .	5	2.9	27	2.1	7	3.0	43	5.1	4	3.3
Northern England	168	1	5.3	9	5.3	112	8.6	12	5.1	21	2.5	13	10.7
Cumberland	8	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	3	0.2	1	0.4	3	0.4	1	0.8
Durham	31	. . .	. . .	1	0.6	25	1.9	1	0.4	2	0.2	2	1.7
Lancashire	50	1	5.3	1	0.6	33	2.5	3	1.3	8	0.9	4	3.3
Isle of Man	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Northumberland	20	. . .	. . .	1	0.6	13	1.0	. . .	. . .	2	0.2	4	3.3
Westmoreland	2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .	1	0.1	. . .	. . .
Yorkshire	56	. . .	. . .	6	3.5	36	2.8	7	3.0	5	0.6	2	1.7
Southwestern England	211	1	5.3	14	8.2	116	8.9	11	4.7	59	7.0	10	8.3
Cornwall	31	. . .	. . .	2	1.2	25	1.9	. . .	. . .	2	0.2	2	1.7
Devon	69	1	5.3	4	2.3	40	3.1	5	2.1	16	1.9	3	2.5
Dorset	22	. . .	. . .	2	1.2	11	0.1	1	0.4	5	0.6	3	2.5
Somerset	54	. . .	. . .	6	3.5	25	1.9	4	1.7	17	2.0	2	1.7

TABLE 43.--Continued

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Wiltshire	35	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	15	1.2	1	0.4	19	2.2	. . .	. . .
Scotland	118	2	10.5	4	2.3	83	6.4	6	2.6	19	2.2	4	3.3
Ireland	147	. . .	. . .	5	2.9	30	2.3	7	3.0	98	11.6	7	5.8
Wales & English border Counties	113	. . .	. . .	6	3.5	66	5.1	8	3.4	28	3.3	5	4.1
Wales	44	. . .	. . .	2	1.2	25	1.9	4	1.7	11	1.3	2	1.7
Cheshire	7	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	7	0.5	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Gloucestershire	52	. . .	. . .	2	1.2	32	2.5	2	0.9	14	1.7	2	1.7
Hereford	3	. . .	. . .	1	0.6	. . .	. . .	1	0.4	. . .	. . .	1	0.9
Shropshire	7	. . .	. . .	1	0.6	2	0.2	1	0.4	3	0.4	. . .	. . .
Miscellaneous*	82	2	10.5	12	7.0	38	2.9	7	3.0	17	2.0	6	5.0
Total	2,696	19	100.0	171	100.0	1,303	100.0	235	100.0	847	100.0	121	100.0

*The miscellaneous category includes people whose birthplace was designated as "Empire," "at sea," "foreign," "British Islands," "England," and "unknown."

TABLE 44.--Social Class of Household Heads by Birthplace: 1929

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Greater London & Middlesex	133	. . .	. . .	4	80.0	32	86.5	16	94.1	81	86.2	. . .	. . .
Greater London	133	. . .	. . .	4	80.0	32	86.5	16	94.1	81	86.2	. . .	. . .
Middlesex	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Southeastern England	3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	2.7	1	5.9	1	1.1	. . .	. . .
Berkshire	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Hampshire	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Isle of Wight	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Kent	2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	2.7	1	5.9	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Surrey	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	1.1	. . .	. . .
Sussex	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Central England	3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	3	3.2	. . .	. . .
Buckinghamshire	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Derbyshire	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Huntington/Rutland	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Leicestershire	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Northamptonshire	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Nottinghamshire	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Oxfordshire	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Staffordshire	2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	2.1	. . .	. . .
Warwickshire	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Worcestershire	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	1.1	. . .	. . .

TABLE 44.--Continued

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Eastern England	4	. . .	. . .	1	20.0	1	2.7	. . .	. . .	2	2.1	. . .	. . .
Bedfordshire	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Cambridgeshire	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Essex	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	1.1	. . .	. . .
Hertfordshire	1	. . .	. . .	1	20.0	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Lincolnshire	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Norfolk	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Suffolk	2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	2.7	. . .	. . .	1	1.1	. . .	. . .
Northern England	2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	2.1	. . .	. . .
Cumberland	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Durham	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Lancashire	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	1.1	. . .	. . .
Isle of Man	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Northumberland	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Westmoreland	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Yorkshire	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	1.1	. . .	. . .
Southwestern England	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Cornwall	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Devon	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Dorset	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Somerset	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

TABLE 44.--Continued

	Total # Hsh Heads	SC I		SC II		SC III		SC IV		SC V		SC Unknown	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Wiltshire	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Scotland	3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	2.7	. . .	. . .	2	2.1	. . .	. . .
Ireland	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Wales & English border Counties	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	1.1	. . .	. . .
Wales	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	1.1	. . .	. . .
Cheshire	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Gloucestershire	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Hereford	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Shropshire	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Miscellaneous*	4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	5.4	. . .	. . .	2	2.1	. . .	. . .
Total	153	. . .	. . .	5	100.0	37	100.0	17	100.0	94	100.0	. . .	. . .

*The miscellaneous category includes people whose birthplace was designated as "Empire," "at sea," "foreign," "British Islands," "England," and "unknown."

TABLE 45.—Ratio of Households per Inhabited Buidling: 1831, 1841, 1851, 1861, 1871

	Number of Households	Number of Inhabited Buildings	Households per Inhabited Building
1831	224	230	1.0
1841	413	347	1.2
1851	838	530	1.6
1861*	1,502	943	1.6
1871	2,696	1,688	1.6

*Totals and percentages for 1861 are distorted by the absence of information on approximately 1,200 residents whose census returns have not survived.

TABLE 46.--Number of Households per Building: 1841, 1851, 1861, 1871

	1841		1851		1861*		1871	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
1 household per building	286	69.2	303	36.2	516	34.4	858	31.8
2 households per building	108	26.2	298	35.6	580	38.6	1,154	42.8
3 households per building	15	3.6	153	18.3	282	18.8	573	21.3
4 households per building	4	1.0	64	7.6	108	7.2	100	3.7
5 households per building	. . .	. . .	20	2.4	10	0.7	5	0.2
6 households per building	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	6	0.4	6	0.2
Total	413	100.0	838	100.0	1,502	100.0	2,696	100.0

*Totals and percentages for 1861 are distorted by the absence of information on approximately 1,200 residents whose census returns have not survived.

TABLE 47.--Number of Lodgers Compared to the Total Population: 1841, 1851, 1861, 1871

	Total Population	Number of Lodgers	Lodgers as % of Total Population
1841	2,062	264	12.8
1851	3,916	264	6.7
1861*	7,329	564	7.7
1871	12,664	686	5.4

*Totals and percentages for 1861 are distorted by the absence of information on approximately 1,200 residents whose census returns have not survived.

TABLE 48.--Number and Percentage of Households with Lodgers: 1841, 1851, 1861, 1871

	Total Number of Households	Number of Households with Lodgers	Percent of Households with Lodgers
1841	413	105	25.4
1851	838	114	13.6
1861*	1,502	280	18.6
1871	2,696	392	14.5

*Totals and percentages for 1861 are distorted by the absence of information on approximately 1,200 residents whose census returns have not survived.

TABLE 49.—Number of Servants Compared to the Total Population: 1841, 1851, 1861, 1871

	Total Population	Number of Servants	Servants as % of Total Population
1841	2,062	78	3.8
1851	3,916	105	2.7
1861*	7,329	125	1.7
1871	12,664	197	1.6

*Totals and percentages for 1861 are distorted by the absence of information on approximately 1,200 residents whose census returns have not survived.

TABLE 50.—Number and Percentage of Households with Servants: 1841, 1851, 1861, 1871

	Total Number of Households	Number of Households with Servants	Percent of Households with Servants
1841	413	51	12.3
1851	838	66	7.9
1861*	1,502	88	5.9
1871	2,696	134	5.0

*Totals and percentages for 1861 are distorted by the absence of information on approximately 1,200 residents whose census returns have not survived.

TABLE 51.—Place of Work of Household Heads: 1929

	All Heads of Households*		Employed Heads of Households	
	#	%	#	%
Employed in Isle of Dogs	125	81.7	84	75.0
Employed elsewhere	28	18.3	28	25.0
Total	153	100.0	112	100.0

*Unemployed household heads are listed with the Isle of Dogs totals.

APPENDIX 3

ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS

A large portion of the evidence on which this dissertation rests consists of interviews, most of which were tape recorded. The selection of subjects for this phase of the study was random, rather than scientific. I relied heavily upon personal friends, their friends and relatives, incidental contacts, and the patrons of the George Green Centre for the Elderly which is situated in the Isle of Dogs. Subjects drawn from this latter source were almost all female, which accounts for the preponderance of women among the people whom I interviewed (27 women as opposed to 13 men). The longevity of women as compared to men was also partly responsible for this discrepancy. The "immigrants" of the 1960s and 1970s are also underrepresented. However, I personally know many people who belong to this category and took their experiences into account in my conclusions. Overall, despite the unscientific process by which subjects were selected, the insularity and homogeneity of the Island was (and to a degree still is) such that I believe their views and experiences accurately reflect those of the community as a whole.

My approach to interviewing was extremely flexible. Using the suggestions of Paul Thompson as a guide,[1] I devised a group of questions

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[1]Thompson, "Problems of Method in Oral History," pp. 1-42; and idem, The Voice of Past, chapters 4, 6-8.

which fell into three broad categories: biographical questions; questions dealing with specific individuals, events, and institutions connected with the Island; and general questions concerning the community's character, mores, and customs. Naturally, due to the diversity of their ages, interests, and activities, every question was not applicable to each informant. Consequently, each subject was asked a somewhat different range of querries. I tried hard to tailor each interview to the subject, allowing individuals the maximum amount of time and freedom to express themselves in their own way. Interviews varied in length anywhere from one and one-half hours to four and one-half hours.

Feeling that question lists make people uncomfortable and give interviews an artificial and limited structure, I rejected their use. Instead I committed questions to memory and tried to insert them into the course of the discussion naturally. This resulted in interviews which tended to resemble conversations rather than interrogations. There were drawbacks to this approach. Sometimes I forgot to ask pertinent questions--especially those that were biographical in nature. On other occasions, subjects tended to ramble or repeat themselves. On the whole, however, I believe that my strategy was successful. My subjects and I were both comfortable with the informal, intimate, and conversational style which it produced. Such an approach and atmosphere seemed to yield a rich harvest of recollections, information, and insights.

I conducted three distinct types of interviews. Fourteen of my subjects were interviewed on an individual basis. Eight others were interviewed in family units--three couples, two of which had a child who also participated. The remaining eighteen informants were questioned in groups ranging in size from three to six. Out of my forty subjects,

seven were formally interviewed on more than one occasion. Several others, while not interviewed a second time, volunteered additional information in later face-to-face conversations or in letters.

I found individual and family interviews to be superior to group sessions. This was not because the group had an inhibiting effect on individuals--such sessions were usually lively and informative. However, it proved easier to keep control of interviews and pursue points of interest in greater detail when only one or two subjects participated in the session. Aside from this inconvenience, though, there was no significant difference in the type or reliability of the information yielded in individual, family, or group interviews.

Included below are brief biograhpical profiles of the people whom I interviewed. Gaps as to age, birthplace, father's occupation, and so on are generally due to my failure to ask for or record the required information. However, in some cases the data were either refused or supplied on the condition that they be kept confidential. Information enclosed in brackets is based either on my own surmise or some source other than the subject himself/herself, usually a newspaper article or comments made by other parties. I have decided to withhold the names of the people whom I interviewed at the George Green Centre for the Elderly. This has been done for two reasons. First, some participants asked that their identities be kept confidential. This cannot be done for some unless it is done for all. Second, a few of the comments which I have quoted from these interviews are quite candid. It might prove awkward for those who made them if their remarks were to become generally known among thc patrons of the Centre.

People are listed in the order in which they were interviewed. If a subject's place of birth and/or residence is London, the district is listed in parentheses, if known. Otherwise the appropriate city or town is cited. Jobs are listed in the order held. Abbreviations within each biographical sketch are closely modeled after those used by Melvyn Bragg.[2] The key for these abbreviations follows:

b.--place and date of birth
sb.--number of siblings
p.l.--places lived in
f.j.--father's job
m.j.--mother's job (if known)
o.j.--own jobs
ed.--education
rel.--religion
pol.--politics
m.--marital status
s.j.--spouse's job
ch.--number of children
miscel.--miscellaneous data
int.--place, date, and type of interview

1. SIDNEY WILLETT: b. London (Cubitt Town) in 1900; sb. 5; p.l. London (Cubitt Town); f.j. blender in chemical works; o.j. shop assistant, clerk in insurance company in the Cit.; ed. Glengall Road School, Millwall Central, left at 15½; rel. Wesleyan Methodist; pol. [Liberal]; m. single; miscel. both parents and other members of the family migrated to the Island from rural Suffolk in the late 1880s; int. individual interview at subject's home in the Isle of Dogs, 3 March 1978.

2. ROSEMARY C. WILLETT: b. London (Cubitt Town) in 1933; sb. [none]; p.l. London (Cubitt Town); f.j. unknown; o.j. school teacher and shop assitant; ed. Glengall Road School, grammar school in Greenwich, University of Norwich; rel. Church of England; pol. [Conservative]; m. single; miscel. Sidney Willett's niece, lives with her uncle; int. individual interview at subject's home in the Isle of Dogs, 3 March 1978.

3. VIOLET WILLETT: b. London (Cubitt Town) in 1903; sb. several; p.l. London (Cubitt Town), small town in Kent since 1940; f.j. hairdresser; o.j. casual laborer and peeler at Morton's in Cubitt Town, housewife; ed. Glengall Road School, left at 14; rel. Church of England; pol. Labour; m. widowed; s.j. foreman on railroad; ch. unknown; miscel. Sidney Willett's sister-in-law and Rosemary Willett's aunt; int. individual interview at Sidney Willett's home in the Isle of Dogs, 3 March 1978.

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[2]Melvyn Bragg, Speak for England: An Oral History of England 1900-1975 Based on Interviews with Inhabitants of Wigton, Cumberland (New York: A. Knopf, 1977), p. 488.

4. LILY E BYRON: b. London (Millwall) in 1901; sb. 7; p.l. London (Millwall and Cubitt Town); f.j. hand driller at Westwood's in Millwall; o.j. tin foil and tooth paste tube maker at Venesta's in Millwall, pepper bottler at Morton's in Millwall, housewife; ed. British Street School, left at 14; rel. Church of England; pol. Labour; m. widowed; s.j. platter at Westwood's in Millwall; ch. 2; miscel. husband's grandfather, father, husband himself, and son all worked for the same firm; int. individual interview at home of Roly and Jean Park in the Isle of Dogs, 6 March 1978.

5. SYLVIA STEWART: b. London (Millwall) in 1918; sb. 5; p.l. London (Millwall and Poplar); f.j. riveter at Matthew T. Shaw's in Millwall; m.j. shipscrubber at Millwall Docks; o.j. laborer in sack factory and housewife; ed. St. Edmund's Catholic School, left at 14; rel. Roman Catholic; pol. Labour; m. married; s.j. unknown, but manual working class; ch. 7; miscel. family of Irish descent, father and all eight of his brothers worked at Matthew T. Shaw's, Roly Park's sister-in-law; int. individual interview at home of Roly and Jean Park in the Isle of Dogs, 9 March 1978.

6. ROLAND (ROLY) J. PARK: b. London (Limehouse) in 1933; sb. 10; p.l. London (Limehouse, Poplar, Millwall, Cubitt Town), evacuated out of London in WW II; f.j. laborer at Woolwich Arsenal; o.j. laborer in engineering works, pipe lagger, floor layer; ed. various schools in Poplar area and in the country during WW II; rel. Church of England; pol. Labour; m. married; s.j. shop assistant, cleaning woman, etc., intermittently; ch. 5; miscel. close friend of the author, helped arrange some interviews, moved to the Island in 1971 (I lived with the Park family from 28 September - 26 November 1979.); int. family interviews at the subject's home in the Isle of Dogs, 9 March and 19 June 1978.

7. JEAN A. PARK: b. London (Pennyfields area) in 1936; sb. 4; p.l. London (Pennyfields, Poplar, Millwall, Cubitt Town), evacuated to Oxford in WW II; f.j. factory laborer, worked for a time at Morton's in Millwall; m.j. variety of casual unskilled jobs; o.j. office work, variety of factory jobs at Bryant and May's match works, at Morton's and at several candy factories, shop assistant, cleaning lady, housewife; ed. schools in Poplar, turned down a chance to go to grammar school, left school at 14; rel. Church of England; pol. Labour; m. married; s.j. floor layer; ch. 5; miscel. close friend of the author, helped arrange some interviews, moved to the Island in 1971 (I lived with the Park family from 28 September - 26 November 1979.); int. family interviews in the subject's home in the Isle of Dogs, 9 March and 19 June 1978.

8. ANN LOWERY: b. London (Old Ford) in 1890; sb. 3; p.l. London (Old Ford, Stratford, Limehouse, Millwall, Cubitt Town); f.j. made street sweeping brushes; m.j. mangling, charing, casual factory labor; o.j. waitress in coffee house, housewife; ed. various East London schools, left at 12; rel. Church of England; pol. Labour; m. Widowed; s.j. lead smelter at Locke Lancester's and Venesta's in Millwall; ch. 6; miscel. moved to the Island when

she married in 1910; int. individual interview at subject's home in the Isle of Dogs, 15 March 1978.

9. A. H. FRENCH: b. London (Millwall) in 1917; sb. 5; p.l. London (Millwall, suburbs); f.j. sheet metal worker at Bellamy's in Millwall; o.j. shorthand typist, businessman with City firm; ed. [Island schools]; rel. [Methodist]; pol. [Conservative]; m. unknown; miscel. active member of East London Historical Association, has done much research on Island history, extremely articulate and well informed; int. individual interview at author's flat in the Isle of Dogs, 22 March 1978.

10. ELIZABETH SOUTTAR: b. London in 1906; sb. none; p.l. London, Oxford, Watlington; f.j. doctor; o.j. religious (Church of England) and social work specializing in youth work, warden of St. Mildred's 1935-43, retired as Deaconess; ed. private schools and Oxford; rel. Church of England; pol. Conservative; m. single; int. individual interview at subject's home in Watlington, Oxford, 6 April 1978.

11. MR. A: b. London (Lewisham) in 1910; sb. 4; p.l. London (Lewisham, Millwall); f.j. laborer in building trades; o.j. building maintenance worker for Island estate agents of Hooper and Cushing; ed. Lewisham schools, left at 13; rel. Church of England; pol. Labour; m. single; miscel. began working in Isle in 1924, moved to Millwall in 1943; int. group interview at George Green Centre for the Elderly in the Isle of Dogs, 13 April 1978.

12. MR. B: b. Durham in 1905; sb. unknown; p.l. Durham, London (Bethnal Green, Millwall); f.j. factory laborer; o.j. hotel porter and public building attendant; ed. Durham schools, left at 13; rel. Methodist; pol. Labour; m. widower; ch. 2; miscel. moved to Island in early 1950s; int. group interview at George Green Centre for the Elderly in the Isle of Dogs, 13 April 1978.

13. MR. C: b. London (Millwall) in 1908; sb. 6; p.l. London (Millwall, Cubitt Town); f.j. docker; o.j. corn porter; ed. British Street School, left at 14; rel. Roman Catholic; pol. Labour; m. married; s.j. pickle maker at Maconochie's in Millwall, housewife; ch. 4; miscel. family has been involved in dock work for four generations; int. group interview at George Green Centre for the Elderly in the Isle of Dogs, 13 April 1978.

14. MRS. D: b. London (Cubitt Town) in 1912; sb. 4; p.l. London (Cubitt Town); f.j. stevedore; o.j. packer at Maconochie's in Millwall, housewife; ed. Glengall Road School, left at 14; rel. Roman Catholic; pol. Labour; m. married; s.j. docker; ch. several; miscel. sister of Mrs. H and Mrs. I; int. group interview at George Green Centre for the Elderly in the Isle of Dogs, 18 April 1978.

15. MRS. E: b. London (Cubitt Town) in 1902; sb. 9; p.l. London (Cubitt Town); f.j. seaman; o.j. parlour maid, paint maker at

Pinchin Johnson's in Millwall, housewife; ed. Glengall Road School, left at 14; rel. Church of England; pol. Labour; m. widowed; s.j. docker; ch. 4; int. group interview at George Green Centre for the Elderly in the Isle of Dogs, 18 April 1978.

16. MRS. F: b. London (Cubitt Town) in 1908; sb. 1; p.l. London (Cubitt Town); f.j. factory laborer; m.j. ropemaker at Hawkins and Tipsons in Cubitt Town; o.j. machine operator at Hooper's Cable and India Rubber Works in Millwall Docks, housewife; ed. Glengall Road School, left at 13½; rel. Church of England; pol. Labour; m. married; s.j. cable maker at Hooper's; ch. unknown; int. group interview at George Green Centre for the Elderly in the Isle of Dogs, 18 April 1978.

17. MRS. G: b. London (Cubitt Town) in 1897; sb. 6; p.l. London (Cubitt Town); f.j. engineer; o.j. fashion model, shop assistant, office worker for railroad company, housewife; ed. Glengall Road School, left at 14; rel. Church of England; pol. Labour; m. widowed; ch. unknown; int. group interview at George Green Centre for the Elderly in the Isle of Dogs, 18 April 1978.

18. MRS. H: b. London (Cubitt Town) in 1904; sb. 4; p.l. London (Cubitt Town); f.j. stevedore; o.j. domestic servant, toy maker, housewife; ed. Glengall Road School, left at 13; rel. Roman Catholic; pol. Labour; m. widowed; s.j. stevedore; ch. unknown; miscel. sister of Mrs. D and Mrs. I; int. group interview at George Green Centre for the Elderly in the Isle of Dogs, 18 April 1978.

19. MRS. I: b. London (Cubitt Town) in 1906; sb. 4; p.l. London (Cubitt Town); f.j. stevedore; o.j. jam maker at Morton's in Millwall, housewife; ed. Glengall Road School, left at 14; rel. Roman Catholic; pol. Labour; m. married; s.j. unknown, but manual working class; ch. unknown; miscel. sister of Mrs. D and Mrs. H; int. group interview at George Green Centre for the Elderly in the Isle of Dogs, 18 April 1978.

20. MRS. J: b. London (Aldgate) in 1899; sb. unknown; p.l. London (Aldgate, Cubitt Town); f.j. tailor; o.j. shopkeeper, housewife; ed. unknown; rel. Jewish; pol. Labour; m. widowed; s.j. tailor; ch. 3; int. group interview at George Green Centre for the Elderly in the Isle of Dogs, 20 April 1978.

21. MRS. K: b. London (Poplar) in 1898; sb. 10; p.l. London (Poplar, Millwall); f.j. foreman of a department at Morton's in Millwall; o.j. candy maker at Morton's, cleaning lady in the City, housewife; ed. St. Luke's School, left at 13; rel. Church of England; pol. Labour; m. widowed; s.j. docker; ch. 4; miscel. moved to the Island in 1903, involved in strike at Morton's in 1914; int. group interview at George Green Centre for the Elderly in the Isle of Dogs, 20 April 1978.

22. MRS. L: b. London (Poplar) in 1909; sb. unknown; p.l. London (Poplar, Millwall); f.j. laborer; o.j. match maker in Bryant and May's, housewife; ed. unknown; rel. unknown; pol. Labour; m. widowed; s.j. painter; ch. [3]; int. group interview at George Green Centre for the Elderly in the Isle of Dogs, 20 April 1978.

23. MRS. M: b. London (Millwall) in 1901; sb. 9; p.l. London (Millwall, Poplar, Cubitt Town); f.j. coachman; o.j. peeler at Morton's in Millwall, housewife; ed. St. Luke's School and Burdett Road School, left at 14; rel. Church of England; pol. Labour; m. married; s.j. janitor/caretaker at St. Hubert's House; ch. 3; int. group interview at George Green Centre for the Elderly in the Isle of Dogs, 27 April 1978.

24. MRS. N: b. Swansea, Wales in 1913; sb. unknown; p.l. Swansea, London (Limehouse, Millwall); f.j. unknown; o.j. housewife; ed. unknown; rel. Methodist; pol. Labour; m. widowed; s.j. engineer at Matthew T. Shaw's in Millwall; ch. 2; miscel. moved to London in 1939, moved to the Island in 1946; int. group interview at George Green Centre for the Elderly in the Isle of Dogs, 27 April 1978.

25. MRS. O: b. London (Cubitt Town) in 1911; sb. 4; p.l. London (Cubitt Town); f.j. docker; o.j. jam maker at Maconochie's in Millwall, housewife; ed. Glengall Road School, left at 14; rel. Church of England; pol. Labour; m. widowed; s.j. docker; ch. unknown; int. group interview at George Green Centre for the Elderly in the Isle of Dogs, 27 April 1978.

26. ALICE BEARDWELL: b. London (Millwall) in 1914; sb. 7; p.l. London (Millwall, Dagenham); f.j. corn porter in Millwall docks; m.j. laundress; o.j. laborer in tin and pickle departments in Maconochie's in Millwall, civil service in WW II, housewife, play ground supervisor, shop assistant; ed. very ill as a child, taught in various hospitals; rel. Church of England; pol. Labour; m. widowed; s.j. docker; ch. 2; miscel. moved to Dagenham in 1945 because family could not secure housing in Millwall; int. individual interview in subject's home in Dagenham, 29 April 1978.

27. MRS. P: b. London (Cubitt Town) in 1914; sb. 9; p.l. London (Cubitt Town); f.j. railroad laborer, metal worker at Westwood's in Millwall, metal worker at Locke Lancaster's in Cubitt Town; o.j. jam maker at Maconochie's in Millwall, canteen waitress, shop assistant, sack maker, housewife; ed. Glengall Road School, left at 14; rel. unknown; pol. Labour; m. married; s.j. stevedore; ch. 2; int. group interview at George Green Centre for the Elderly in the Isle of Dogs, 4 May 1978.

28. MRS. Q: b. London (Millwall) in 1910; sb. 11; p.l. London (Millwall, Cubitt Town); f.j. casual laborer, mostly in factories; o.j. laborer in soap factory, Venesta's tin works in Millwall, housewife; ed. British Street School, left at 14; rel. Presbyterian; pol. Labour; m. widowed; s.j. factory laborer; ch. 4; int. group

interview at George Green Centre for the Elderly in the Isle of Dogs, 4 May 1978.

29. MRS. R: b. London (Cubitt Town) in 1912; sb. 3; p.l. London (Cubitt Town); f.j. docker; m.j. fish and chips shop keeper; o.j. pickle maker at Maconochie's in Millwall, machine operator at Hooper's Cable and India Rubber Works in Millwall Docks, paint maker at Pinchin Johnson's in Millwall, housewife; ed. Glengall Road School, left at 14; rel. Methodist; pol. Labour; m. widowed; s.j. [wire rope maker]; ch. unknown; int. group interview at George Green Center for the Elderly in the Isle of Dogs, 4 May 1978.

30. LEONARD (LEN) JORDAN: b. London (south) in [1928]; sb. unknown; p.l. London (south and Cubitt Town); f.j. unknown; o.j. engineer at Morton's in Millwall and Millwall Docks, tobacconist/news-agent, Post Office operator; ed. south London schools, left at 14; rel. unknown; pol. Labour, one of the founders of the Cubitt Town Resident Association, long-time activist in local politics; m. married; s.j. shop keeper; ch. 4; miscel. moved to the Island when he married Cubitt Town resident in 1948, husband of Joan Jordan and father of Patricia Jordan; int. family interviews at subject's home in the Isle of Dogs, 10 May and 8 June 1978.

31. JOAN JORDAN: b. London (Cubitt Town) in 1929; sb. unknown; p.l. London (Cubitt Town); f.j. rope maker; o.j. ropemaker, shop-keeper, housewife; ed. Glengall Road School, left at 14; rel. unknown; pol. Labour, active in local community action groups; m. married; s.j. operates Post Office; ch. 4; miscel. wife of Len Jordan and mother of Patricia Jordan; int. family interviews at subject's home in the Isle of Dogs, 10 May and 8 June 1978.

32. PATRICIA JORDAN: b. London (Cubitt Town) year unknown; sb. 3; p.l. London (Cubitt Town); f.j. operates Post Office; m.j. shop-keeper; o.j. soft drink maker at Beecham's in Millwall; ed. [Glengall Road School and Glengall Secondary School]; rel. unknown; pol. Labour; m. single; miscel. daughter of Len and Joan Jordan; int. family interviews at subject's home in the Isle of Dogs, 10 May and 8 June 1978.

33. GEORGE HAMES: b. London (Millwall) in 1900; sb. 9; p.l. London (Millwall); f.j. stable keeper; o.j. assistant assayer, foundry laborer, carpenter's mate, carpenter, painter, tank maker, store keeper (held last three jobs successively at Samuel Cutler's in Millwall); ed. British Street School and Millwall Central, left at 14; rel. Methodist; pol. Independent; m. widower; s.j. cashier; ch. 1; miscel. active in Dockland Settlement, has sent author much additional information in correspondence; int. individual interview at subject's home in the Isle of Dogs, 12 May 1978, as well as several visits to subject's home in November 1979.

34. EDWIN THOMAS (TED) JOHNS: b. London (Limehouse) in [1932]; sb. unknown, but family large; p.l. London (Limehouse, Bow, Millwall,

Cubitt Town); f.j. radical journalist; o.j. timber porter, wharf manager, head of Island Resource Centre; ed. Poplar schools, left at 14; rel. none; pl. Labour, former national vice chairman of Labour Youth, former treasurer of Millwall Residents' Association, unsuccessful Independent Labour Party candidate for Poplar Borough Council, successful Labour Party candidate for Tower Hamlets Council, leader of Island U.D.I. movement in 1970, founder and leader of Isle of Dogs Action Group and Association of Island Communities; m. married; s.j. unknown; ch. several; miscel. comes from long line of political radicals dating back to Chartist era, father wounded in Spanish Civil War; int. individual interview at Island Resource Centre in the Isle of Dogs, 22 May 1978, group interview at home of Len and Joan Jordan in the Isle of Dogs, 8 June 1978, and individual interviews at the Island Resource Centre, 16 and 22 November 1979.

35. ALBERT BARNES: b. London (Poplar) in 1891; sb. 1; p.l. London (Poplar), Lawford in Essex; f.j. department foreman at Morton's in Millwall; m.j. peeler at Morton's; o.j. variety of jobs at Morton's, including timekeeper, gatekeeper, and hirer of female workers; ed. Poplar schools, left at 13; rel. Church of England; pol. Labour; m. married; s.j. worked at Morton's; ch. none; miscel. grandmother and mother both lived in the Island, three generations of family worked at Morton's, husband of Amy Barnes; int. family interview at subject's home in Lawford, Essex, 31 May 1978.

36. AMY BARNES: b. London (Poplar) in 1905; sb. unknown; p.l. London (Poplar, Cubitt Town), Lawford in Essex; f.j. van driver; o.j. peeler and jam and candy maker at Morton's in Millwall; ed. Poplar schools, left at 14; rel. Methodist; pol. Labour; m. married; s.j. worked at Morton's; ch. none; miscel. moved to Isle of Dogs in 1920s, forced to leave by bombings in 1940; int. family interview in subject's home in Lawford, Essex, 31 May 1978.

37. JUNE LENHAM: b. London, date unknown; sb. unknown; p.l. London (Battersea, Millwall); f.j. unknown; o.j. office work in the City; ed. unknown; rel. unknown; pol. Labour, active in Association of Island Communities; m. single; miscel. purchased house in Island in 1968, knows many native Islanders quite well; int. individual interview in author's flat in the Isle of Dogs, 18 June 1978.

38. JEFFREY R. PARK: b. London (Poplar) in 1957; sb. 4; p.l. London (Poplar, Millwall, Cubitt Town); f.j. floor layer; m.j. cleaning woman; o.j. floor layer; ed. Poplar schools, left at 15; rel. Church of England; pol. Labour; m. single; miscel. son of Roly and Jean Park, moved to Island in 1971, close friend of author; int. family interview in subject's home in the Isle of Dogs, 19 June 1978.

39. JOHN D. ALLEN: b. London (Southwark) in [1935]; sb. unknown; p.l. London (Southwark, Poplar, Millwall); f.j. packer; o.j. bank teller, park attendant; ed. unknown; rel. unknown; pol.

Labour, Tower Hamlets Councillor; m. married; ch. 3; miscel. moved to the Island in 1968, has been active in politics ever since; int. individual interview in author's flat in the Isle of Dogs, 20 June 1978.

40. JOHN RICKARD: b. London (Millwall) in 1907; sb. unknown; p.l. London (Millwall, Chiselwall), Brighton, and Hove; f.j. engineer at Bullivant's Wire Rope Company in Millwall; o.j. engineer, agent for a shipping firm, owner of a shipping firm and a stevedoring firm; ed. Glengall Road School until age 11, Millwall Central from age 11-16 (scholarship student); rel. Church of England (occasional); pol. indifferent; m. married; s.j. clerk/secretary, housewife; ch. 2; int. Mr. Rickard took me on a walking and car tour of the Island on 18 November 1979, which made it impossible to tape record the interview--the author wrote a full summary of questions and replies after completing the tour.

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