

THE EAST LONDON HISTORY SOCIETY
PROGRAMME 1988 — 89

1988			
Sat 17 Sep	Women in Poplar's History (walk) led by Rosemary Taylor	Poplar Recreation Ground	3.00 p.m.
Wed 28 Sep	Wesley Centenary: The Wesleys and East London — Alfred French	Queen Mary College	7.30 p.m.
Wed 26 Oct	Annual General Meeting followed by Members' Evening	Queen Mary College	7.30 p.m.
Thurs 10 Nov	Edith Ramsay — Bertha Sokoloff	Queen Mary College	7.30 p.m.
Wed 7 Dec	Mile End in the 1750s (illustrated) — Derek Morris	Queen Mary College	7.30 p.m.
1989			
Thurs 19 Jan	Memories of Newham: Sweet and Sour — Stanley Reed	Queen Mary College	7.30 p.m.
Wed 15 Feb	Excavation at the Royal Mint (illustrated) — Peter Mills	Queen Mary College	7.30 p.m.
Thurs 16 Mar	Jews and Politics in East London 1918-1938 — Elaine Smith	Queen Mary College	7.30 p.m.
Wed 12 Apr	Dockland Past and Present (illustrated) — Bob Aspinall	Queen Mary College	7.30 p.m.
Sat 24 Jun	Regent's Canal (walk) led by Ann Sansom	Stepney East Station Commercial Road	2.30 p.m.

The East London History Society (founded 1952) exists to further interest in the history of East London, namely the London Boroughs of Tower Hamlets, Hackney and Newham.

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EAST LONDON RECORD

No. 11

1988

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Editor: Colm Kerrigan

The East London History Society publishes the *East London Record* once a year. We welcome articles on any aspect of the history of the area that forms the London boroughs of Hackney, Tower Hamlets, and Newham. Articles should be sent to the editor at 38 Ridgdale Street, Bow, London E3 2TW.

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Cover illustration: Facing the camera in front of 'The Old George', Bethnal Green Road, in 1885, the year of George Howell's election for the first term.

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GEORGE HOWELL 1833-1910, TRADE UNIONIST AND REFORMER

Harold Finch

AS a young man, George Howell formed three ambitions: to write a book, to speak in London's Exeter Hall and to become a member of Parliament. He attained all three ambitions. After two failures in other constituencies, he was elected Liberal member of Parliament for Bethnal Green North East in 1885. He was re-elected in 1886 and 1892.

Howell was born at Wrington, near Bristol, also the birthplace of John Locke, and the home of Hannah More and her sisters. His father and grandfather were stonemasons, but later his father became a sub-contractor for public works in the Bristol area. George attended the village school, and at the age of ten began to work on local farms, scaring crows and taking messages. When he was older he became a timekeeper for his father and a 'gang leader' of a group of navvies, who accepted his authority and leadership. Finding construction work too heavy for him, he went to work in 1847, as an apprentice shoemaker. The master, appropriately named Crispin, was a Methodist preacher and a radical, who encouraged discussion in the workshop. Many subjects were discussed, but always politics and religion. The shoemaking trade of the time had a reputation for radical thought and included many Chartists and Freethinkers.¹

Now for the first time Howell was brought into contact with newspapers and periodicals. He read each week *The Working Man's Friend* and the *Standard of Freedom*. Crispin encouraged him to read and Howell's unpublished autobiography records the first books he bought — Mann's *Self-Knowledge* and Wesley's *On Christian Perfection*.² In the 1850's he was introduced to *The British Controversialist*, a new magazine which carried suggestions of worthwhile books to read. Howell acknowledged his debt by writing to the editor to describe the books he had read on his advice. He assisted his employer and the Vicar of Wrington to establish a free reading room in the village. When his apprenticeship ended in 1851, he moved with friends to Bristol and joined the Young Men's Improvement Society, to discuss questions of the day. Here he obtained valuable experience in public speaking, giving his first talk on the 'Master and Servant Act' (abolished in 1875). He also became a founder member of the Bristol YMCA.

A great experience for him was a visit to London in 1851 to see the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park. He resolved there and then that he would return to London as soon as he was able. Howell was now working for his father, and as the Stonemason's Union precluded more than one son following in his father's craft, George Howell became a bricklayer.

He arrived in London in July 1855 and brought letters of introduction from the Bristol YMCA. At the time the building trades were in recession, and some twenty five thousand workers were unemployed.³ After a week, however, Howell obtained employment as an 'improver' bricklayer, earning

Portrait of George Howell, around 1890. (Bishopsgate Institute)



one guinea a week for a fifty-eight and a half hour week. The pay was lower than average in the building trade but it was better than being unemployed. He worked on the City Road section of the main drainage system for the Metropolitan Board of Works, the new building for the Foreign Office and other jobs in London boroughs. By 1859 he was a deputy foreman. On Sundays he attended radical gatherings, where he listened to and got to know people who influenced him: George Holyoake, Robert Owen, Charles Bradlaugh and Frederic Harrison. He also got to know the foreign exiles Giuseppe Mazzini, Louis Kossuth and Karl Marx.⁴ George Howell did not join the London Order of Operative Bricklayers until August 1859.

As a newcomer, he only played a small part in the 1859-60 strike and lock-out, but his effectiveness as a debater and organiser soon gave him prominence within the Union. In November 1861 he was appointed to a committee to revise the union rules. The committee proposed a re-organisation of the union on the lines adopted by the Amalgamated Society of Engineers.

Now Howell was able to play a more active role in the battle over the nine-hour day and payment by the hour. He was elected a member of the Bricklayers' strike committee and this ensured his election to the executive of the newly formed London Trades Council in 1861, for which he wrote the rules. He became a negotiator for the Union and at this point began his career in public life. At the end of the strike he and his colleagues found it impossible to get work in London and he was forced to move to Kingston, Surrey, for a while. In June 1864 he was offered a job as a foreman by Henry Dove, an Islington church builder, and he remained with this firm until he was appointed secretary to the Reform League in April 1865.

The result of the 1865 General Election brought a strengthening of the radical element into the House of Commons and the question of the broader franchise to the point of decision. Large meetings were held in London to demand manhood suffrage. On 23 February 1865 a large and representative meeting of working class reformers was held in St. Martin's Hall, London, to inaugurate the Reform League. George Howell was appointed secretary *pro tem*, and on the proposal of Charles Bradlaugh was confirmed in office in May. The Reform League organised demonstrations and meetings and particularly requested permission to hold a meeting on 23 July 1866 in Hyde Park. The Commissioner of Police, Sir Richard Mayne, refused permission, although previous meetings to protest against a proposed Sunday Trading Bill and to welcome Garibaldi had been held there. The meeting nonetheless assembled and *The Times* described how a force of one thousand to fifteen hundred foot and mounted police were in position. The gates were closed at 5.00 p.m. although many people were inside the park. While the leaders of the demonstration went off to hold a protest meeting in Trafalgar Square, a large crowd broke down the railings by Marble Arch and some forty or fifty were arrested. George Howell was one of the marshals. The next day *The Times* carried an eye-witness account, and there was a further account on 26 July headed 'The Battle of Tyburn' by A Vagrant. A further meeting was allowed to be held on 6 May 1867 and the *Illustrated London News* carried a picture of the Grenadier Guards and the police waiting.⁵ The meeting passed off peacefully, but there was much criticism of the Government's handling of the matter and following a debate in Parliament, the Home Secretary (Spencer Walpole) resigned. Many interpreted this as a recognition of the right to hold meetings in Hyde Park, and although an attempt was made to clear up the ambiguity by the passing of the Royal Parks and Gardens Act 1872, meetings have been held in Hyde Park ever since. The effect of these great meetings organised by the Reform League with the support of the middle class Reform Union and the Trades Unions put considerable pressure on the Derby-Disraeli Government to extend the franchise. The Reform League claimed

THE FOLLOWING

Open-Air Demonstrations

IN SUPPORT OF

GEORGE HOWELL

(Liberal and Radical Candidate for North-East Bethnal Green)

WILL BE HELD

To-day, Monday, July 4th,

AT

Peter Street	-	-	-	6.0 p.m.
Hackney Oval	-	-	-	6.15 ,,
Russia Lane (Bonner's Road)	-	-	-	6.30 ,,
Peel Grove	-	-	-	6.40 ,,
Globe Road (Opp. Barracks)	-	-	-	7.0 ,,
Obelisk, Old Ford Road	-	-	-	7.15 ,,
Grove Road (Opposite Baptist Chapel)	-	-	-	7.30 ,,
German Road (Opposite Church Schools)	-	-	-	7.45 ,,

And will be addressed by

ALDERMAN FLEMING WILLIAMS, L.C.C.

REV. WILLIAM THOMAS.

MR. CHAS. FREAK, L.C.C. MR. JAS. BRANCH, L.C.C.

MR. J. V. JONES. MR. THOMAS DEAN.

MR. DAN SMITHER. MR. CELESTINE EDWARDS.

MR. BARNARD. MR. MILLBOURN.

MR. LING. MR. DONOVAN. MR. HURLEY.

MR. STACY. MR. J. THORNTON.

AND OTHER GENTLEMEN.

Printed and Published by J. Williams-Cook, 326, Bethnal Green Road.

A poster for Howell's election campaign in 1892. (Bishopsgate Institute)

success for the second Reform Bill which received the Royal Assent in August 1867.

George Howell did not have an easy time as secretary. Those who were his opponents on the London Trades Council continued their opposition within the Reform League. In February 1866, George Potter and Robert Hartwell established the London Working Men's Association and although membership never rose above six hundred, it secured a notable success in convening a conference in 1867, which became an important forerunner of the Trades Union Congress.⁶

The Reform League was the first organisation to mobilise political consciousness of the Victorian artisan, but it failed to resolve the conflict between wanting middle-class acceptance and the maintenance of working class militancy. The Reform League was dissolved on 12 March 1869.

In 1871, following the reports of the Royal Commission on Trades Unions 1867-1869, Gladstone's government brought in the Trades Union Act. The Bill gave full statutory recognition and financial security to the Trades Unions. The Manchester and Salford Trades Council sponsored the first national Trades Union Congress in 1868. The leaders of the London Trades Council decided to ignore it, but at the second Congress held in Birmingham in August 1869, they were represented by George Odger and George Howell.⁷ The Birmingham meeting really established the Trades Union Congress and about forty societies were represented. Howell's self-assured participation enhanced his reputation and he was to become the dominant London figure in early TUC affairs. While the Congress accepted the main provisions of the Trades Union Act, they objected to a clause which rendered them liable to criminal proceedings for offences such as intimidation or obstruction, thus curtailing the possibility of peaceful picketing. The Congress elected a five-man Parliamentary Committee of which George Potter was the Chairman and George Howell the Secretary. The committee became a permanent institution. The Nottingham Congress in 1872 asked the Parliamentary Committee to prepare permanent standing orders to achieve greater coherence in the daily conduct of business. It also decided to pay George Howell for his services. The Parliamentary Committee, although boycotting the Royal Commission set up by Disraeli, put forward a number of proposals, which, to their great surprise, were accepted by the Government. These resulted in the passing of the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act and the Employers and Workmen Act 1875. After this, Howell was of the opinion that the Parliamentary Committee was no longer needed, and resigned. However, the Congress took a different view and elected Henry Broadhurst to succeed him.

In 1868 Howell was one of three working men to stand for Parliament, the others being William Newton in Tower Hamlets and William Randal Cremer at Warwick. Howell stood at Aylesbury, a two-member constituency under the influence of the Rothschild family. Although both were standing as Liberals, Rothschild would have nothing to do with Howell, and when the vote was taken, Howell came third with 942 votes. He increased his vote to

1,144 in 1874, but it was still not enough. He stood for Stafford in 1881, but became the victim of a scurrilous attack by the Irish Land League, who were smarting over the imprisonment of Parnell.

Howell was approached in 1884 to be a candidate for the Bethnal Green Liberal Party and was elected Member of Parliament in November 1885 for the North East Division. The Member for the South West Division was E. H. Pickersgill. Howell's first term in Parliament was short, only eight months, as Gladstone's government was defeated over the Home Rule for Ireland Bill. Howell was re-elected and managed to persuade the Government to sponsor publication of a working man's edition of the statutes. He piloted the Merchant Shipping Bill (Plimsoll) through all its stages, and was also successful with a Bill to secure the inspection of provisions on all British ships undertaking foreign voyages. Howell had been secretary of the Plimsoll and Seaman's Fund Committee since 1873.

NORTH EAST BETHNAL GREEN.

VOTE FOR HOWELL,

The Champion of London Reform.

The exposé of abuses in the Corporation of the City of London.

The defender of the right of Association.

The promoter of Laws for the safety of life at sea, and supply of wholesome food.

The protector of depositors in Savings Banks, whether as individuals or societies.

The advocate of **one man, one vote**; Reform of Registration Laws, and three months' qualification.

The Guardian of the Peoples' Rights.

The fearless friend of the poor.

The honest champion of right.

The advocate of just and equal Laws, for rich and poor alike; of just taxation and a reform of the Land Laws.

VOTE FOR

Your Old, Tried, Trusted and True Friend,

GEORGE HOWELL.

*An election handbill from 1892.
(Bishopsgate Institute)*

In his time as member, Howell does not seem to have taken any special interest in the needs of his constituents. Although Bethnal Green was one of the poorest areas in the country, there is no record of Howell making any attempt to improve local housing or employment opportunities. His election addresses and his meetings were all on general subjects. He spoke at Gordon Hall, Globe Road on 9 October 1893, on 'A Century of Industrial and Social Legislation'. At Bethnal Green Radical Club on 13 June 1895 his subject was 'Parliament and its work'.

His election addresses referred to 'Equitable laws affecting the land', free education, cheaper rents and cheaper food, justice for Ireland, local self-government and such subjects — all included in the general Liberal manifesto.

Many new men were now entering the trade union and labour movement and they were opposed to the idea of accommodation within the Liberal Party. Howell found the new militancy uncongenial, and himself increasingly out of step with the new Labour movement. In 1892 three candidates challenged Howell for his seat, but he was returned with a majority of 592 over his Conservative opponent. Between 1892 and 1895 he managed to carry through a Bill exempting trade unions' provident funds from income tax and he worked for further improvements in the labour laws. At the 1895 General Election Howell's opponent was an Indian barrister and journalist Mancherjee Bhownagjee, who defeated him by 2,591 votes to 1,431 in a straight fight. In 1892 the Liberals won twenty four London seats, in 1895 they won only eight.

Writing was always an important part of George Howell's work. He was a regular contributor to the *Bee-Hive*, founded in 1861 and edited by George Potter. As a member of Parliament and in his later life he earned his living as a writer. In 1871 he produced articles for American and Canadian newspapers on such titles as 'The Social Life of English Workmen' and wrote for many working class journals. His first book was entitled *A Handy Book of Labour Laws* — it was a guide to the legislation of the 1870's. The book was well received and went into two editions, being purchased mainly by trade union branches. This led him on to a full-scale study of trade unionism *The Conflicts of Capital and Labour* (1878) and a second edition was published in 1890. He also wrote a *History of the Working Man's Association 1836-50*, though this was not published in his lifetime⁸, and *Labour Legislation, Labour Movements and Labour Leaders*, published in 1907.

After his defeat in the General Election of 1895, George Howell retired from public life and was largely forgotten. His health was not good and his eyesight was failing. His wife had died in 1897 and he was very short of money. Robert Applegarth, W. D. Barnett and a committee largely consisting of members of Parliament began a testimonial fund for him, which brought in £1,650. At the suggestion of Professor H. S. Foxwell, the Prime Minister, Henry Campbell-Bannerman, awarded Howell a Civil List grant of £50 a year in recognition of his merits as a writer upon labour questions. There was a further appeal in 1905 again organised by Applegarth, which raised £1,100 to purchase Howell's library which was ultimately presented to the Bishopsgate

Institute where it remains. The library contains seven overlapping manuscripts of Howell's intended autobiography, copies of nearly ten thousand letters he wrote, and those he received, together with his books. It fills a large, special room.

Soon after Howell's coming to London in 1855, he became involved in the struggle for improvement of conditions for building workers, the Reform movement and the establishment of the trade unions. His achievements lay in his ability for organisation, administration and the ability to write down clearly the rules and principles for guidance and development. He was essentially a committee man, but he was also a competent and persuasive orator. John Burns said of him that 'he was not merely an agitator and politician, but a statesman'. He got things done, he secured the passage of bills. No private member ever had a better record as a legislator. He was jocularly known as 'The Champion Bill Passer'.⁹

Howell's commitment to old-fashioned Liberalism made him unable to recognise and accept the changes in society and in the institutions he had helped to create. He came from obscurity and returned to obscurity. He died at his Shepherd's Bush home on 16 September 1910 and was buried at Nunhead Cemetery, Peckham. *The Times* reported his death in a short note on 19 September 1910. 'Mr. Howell who was in his 78th year was a familiar figure in Labour politics twenty years ago.'

NOTES

A biography of George Howell by F. M. Leventhal, published by Weidenfeld and Nicolson in 1971 is entitled *Respectable Radical*. George Howell and Victorian Working Class Politics.

1. Thompson E. P. *The Making of the English Working Class* (1968) pp. 201-2.
2. Autobiography, Bishopsgate Institute.
3. Leventhal, p. 18.
4. *Ibid*, p. 20.
5. *Illustrated London News*, 18 May 1867.
6. Leventhal, p. 77.
7. Pelling Henry, *A History of British Trade Unionism* (1971) p. 71.
8. *A History of the Working Man's Association 1836-1850*. Introduction by D. J. Rowe (1972).
9. John Burns reported in *Lloyds News*, 18 September 1910.

JANE RANDOLPH AND SHADWELL

C. Ernestine Maitland

GETTING acquainted with my new neighbourhood (I am a transplanted American) I came across a sign in St. Paul's churchyard, The Highway, that told me that the mother of Thomas Jefferson, one of the most illustrious presidents of the United States, had been baptised here in 1720. Her name was Jane Randolph.

On the way home I remembered I had a brochure about the Jefferson country in Virginia. On consulting it I was interested to see that Thomas Jefferson's birthplace was given as Shadwell, Goochland (now Albemarle) County, Virginia, in 1743. The only other reference to Shadwell was that it was burned in 1770, and there was no reference at all to Thomas Jefferson's parents or to the English Shadwell. The choice of Shadwell as the name for Jefferson's birthplace, however, was enough to whet my appetite. I wanted to find out more about Jane Randolph and Shadwell.

The brochure had been prepared by the Jefferson Memorial Foundation. I wrote to them saying I had seen the baptismal notice in St. Paul's churchyard. I inquired about any other information known to them about the two Shadwells, in particular whether or not his mother (or father) might have recorded any experiences that related to the English Shadwell. Questions crawled into my mind. Was his mother English, perhaps born in Shadwell as well as being baptised there? Were both of her parents residents of England, or might they have been visiting here from the English Colony of Virginia? How much longer did Jane Randolph, herself, live in England after she was baptised? Did she attend school here? Did she have close friends, or contacts with English cousins or other relatives while she was here? What were the life circumstances of her immediate family, and of her ancestors? One important clue on the red churchyard sign about Jane's father was not significant to me at the time I first read it. This was where St. Paul's was described as 'traditionally known as the Church of Sea Captains'. He was a sea captain.

The Jefferson Memorial Foundation replied with some background information and bibliographic references about Shadwell in Virginia, and about Jefferson's forebears. Very little, however, seems to be known about Jane Randolph. She is sometimes described as a 'shadowy figure' which I take to mean that she is a woman who has come down to us without a story of her own.

Shadwell in London

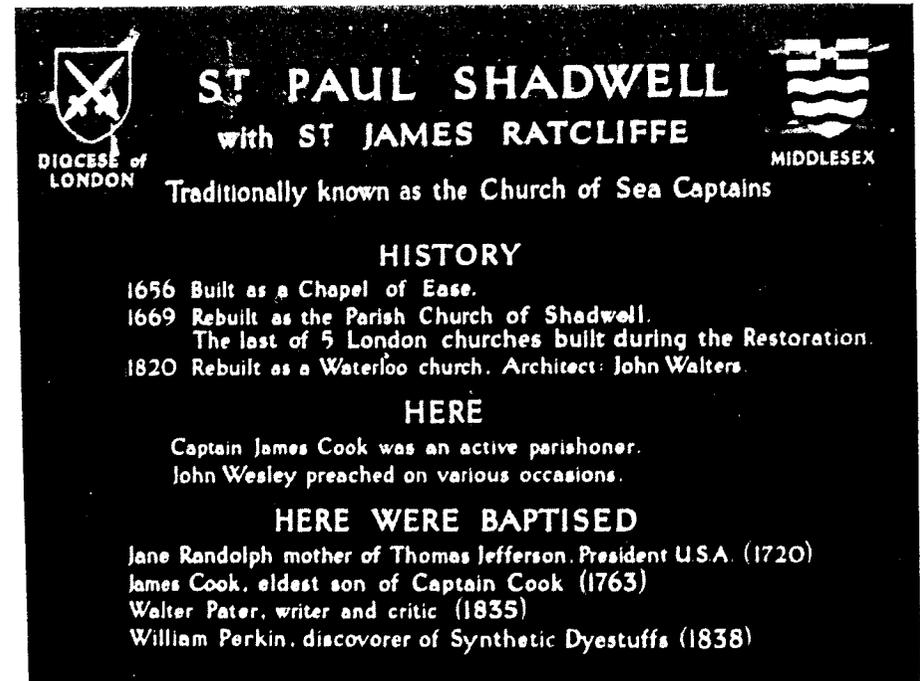
Jane Randolph was the daughter and granddaughter of women also named Jane, and she named one of her own daughters Jane. Her mother was Jane Rogers, born 1698, died 1761, daughter of Charles Rogers and Jane Lilburne Rogers, a distant relative of Freeborn John Lilburne. They were of English and Scottish background.

Jane Rogers, who became the mother of Jane Randolph, was living in Whitechapel parish with her own mother, Jane Lilburne Rogers, by then a widow when, in about 1718, a 29 year-old stranger from Colonial America began making frequent visits to their home. Soon everything changed in Jane Rogers' life.

This man was a sea captain and merchant, representing Virginia as its Colonial Agent in England. Their courtship ended in marriage at Bishopsgate Church on 25 July 1717 when Jane Rogers was 19 years old. In the marriage document her new husband was referred to as 'Isham Randolph, in Shakespeare's Walk, merchant'.

In those times Shakespeare's Walk was just a few steps away from St. Paul's Church in Shadwell. It seems reasonable to suppose that Isham Randolph took his wife to live where he lived in Shakespeare's Walk. At any rate, when their first child was born, three years after their marriage, the baptism was performed at nearby St. Paul's Church. This church may have been chosen for the baptism, though, not for its proximity to Shakespeare's Walk, where the family may have been living, but because St. Paul's was 'traditionally known as the Church of Sea Captains' — making it a fitting place for a sea captain to have his first-born baptised. The infant was a little girl, Jane Randolph, who was to become the mother of Thomas Jefferson.

Notice board of St. Paul's Church, Shadwell. (Tower Hamlets Libraries)



ST PAUL SHADWELL
with **ST JAMES RATCLIFFE**
Traditionally known as the Church of Sea Captains

HISTORY

1656 Built as a Chapel of Ease.
1669 Rebuilt as the Parish Church of Shadwell.
The last of 5 London churches built during the Restoration.
1820 Rebuilt as a Waterloo church. Architect: John Walters.

HERE

Captain James Cook was an active parishoner.
John Wesley preached on various occasions.

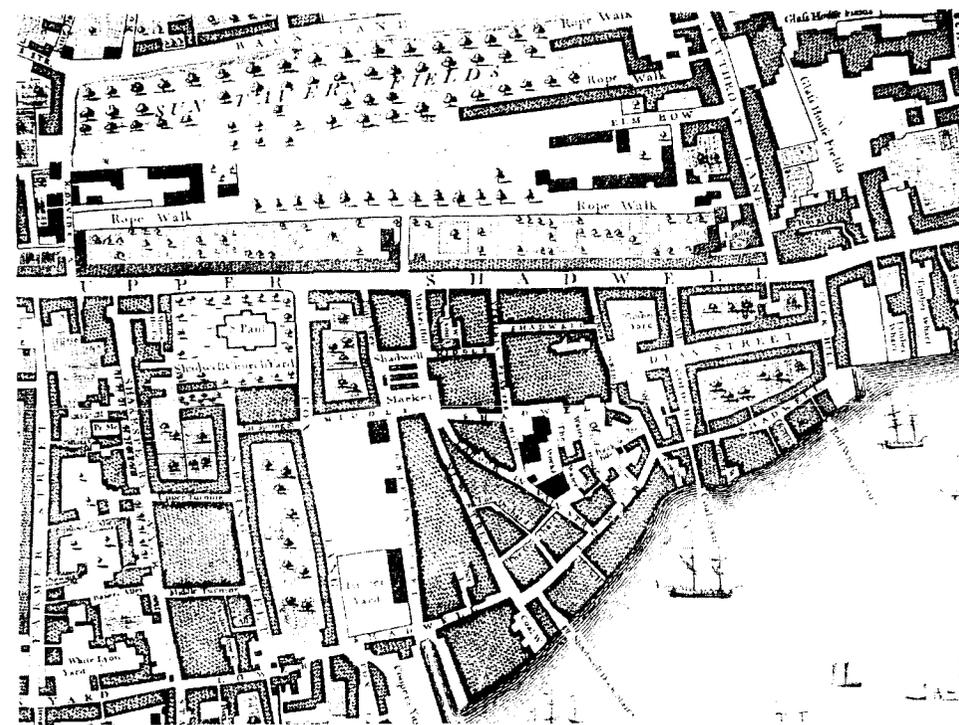
HERE WERE BAPTISED

Jane Randolph mother of Thomas Jefferson, President U.S.A. (1720)
James Cook, eldest son of Captain Cook (1763)
Walter Pater, writer and critic (1835)
William Perkin, discoverer of Synthetic Dyestuffs (1838)

Shadwell is mentioned as a town in 1325, in the 'Abbreviate Placetorum of the 18th of Edward II'. The name, Shadwell, may have come from being linked with a nearby ancient holy well reputed to have medicinal properties, called St. Chad's Well; however, it comes more likely from the Old English for shallow well. This medicinal spring was on the south side of St. Paul's Shadwell Church. On the earliest maps Shadwell is divided into Upper, Middle and Lower Shadwell. Lower Shadwell lay within the flux of the Thames and was recovered by embanking about the same time as Wapping Marsh. To the south of St. Paul's Church, in what is now Shadwell Basin, was an area known as Sun Tavern Fields. Until the middle of the 17th century The Highway in Shadwell passed through open country. Though there were few houses in the vicinity there were several inns with stabling along this much used thoroughfare. On the north side were Ratchiff Fields which extended from Blue Gate Fields as far eastwards as Cut-throat Lane (now Brodlove Lane).

Seeing possibilities for accelerating trade that had been gradually developing over the 17th century, Thomas Neale, a pioneer town-planner, a speculator, and Master of the Mint, came in the mid-1600's to the narrow strip of reclaimed marsh that then constituted the hamlet of Shadwell. He obtained a long lease from the Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral and turned the hamlet into a little town, although none of the timber houses he built now remains. His other contributions to the making of Shadwell included building a market place, and securing the charter for it; founding the Shadwell Water Works, which lasted for 150 years, and relied on a four-horse engine to raise water from the Thames and circulate a piped water supply to all the hamlets from the Tower of London to Stepney. He built 289 houses during the twenty years following 1659 and by the year 1732 the number of dwellings had increased to 1,800. They must have been close together, though, considering that the size of the parish was roughly 900 yards and the amount of ground within it, which remained vacant for many years afterwards. A plan of the hamlet in the reign of Charles II indicates that Shadwell was sparsely populated then, with large ponds and many streams on high land to the north, near Sun Tavern Fields, where water mills were driven by their force. Many years later, in 1856, a bed of peat was discovered under the topsoil in this section, full of remains of beech, oak, hazel and other trees.

Mr. Neale was also responsible for building a chapel in 1656, the Chapel of Ease. His lease permitted him to build it within the ancient Manor of Stepney. After Shadwell became a separate parish in 1657, a second church building was erected in 1669-70, and consecrated on 12 March 1671. The fabric of the Chapel of Ease (1656) was consecrated with this new parish Church, and Shadwell became the first of six hamlets of Stepney to be separated from the ancient Manor, which is an indication of how much the population was growing in the surroundings of London. No doubt the name of the church derived from its connection with St. Paul's Cathedral. It was in this church, replaced by the present building in 1820, that Jane Randolph was baptised.



Shadwell, from Roque's map published in 1746. (Tower Hamlets Libraries)

Shadwell in Virginia

After Isham Randolph, Jane's father, had retired from the sea, and sometime before 1735, he removed his family from England to live permanently in Virginia. A boy may have been born to the family in Shadwell, but if so he had died in infancy. We can't be sure of Jane's age when she left Shadwell. Knowing her birth year was 1720, but not being sure exactly when the family departed, she could have been in her early teens, or possibly younger, when she left.

Isham Randolph was one of six sons of a wealthy and influential Virginia colonial family of English and Scottish descent. His father, who would be Jane's paternal grandfather, was William Randolph, who emigrated from Warwickshire to Virginia in about 1660, establishing himself at Turkey Island, twenty miles south of Richmond. He made a fortune through land speculation, crops and carrying profitable cargoes in his ships to England and back. William Randolph married Mary, daughter of Henry and Catherine Isham, of Bermuda Hundred, Virginia. The Isham family had roots in Northamptonshire, England. Their third son, born in 1685, was Isham Randolph.

Isham Randolph, Jane's father, attended William and Mary College in Virginia and then went to sea at an early age. He shared in a large land inheritance with his brothers, to which he added more later, until eventually his land holdings comprised 8,800 acres. His estate was called Dungeness, spread out over 3,000 acres in Goochland County, on the north bank of the James River, a few miles below the mouth of the Northanna, better known later as the Rivanna. The house, as well as two more houses that succeeded it, stood in a grove of tall trees, on a bluff overlooking fields lying in the valley of the James river. A long avenue of cedars leads from the river road to the plantation which, although long since deserted now, still bears its old name.

It was to such an expansive wilderness setting that Isham Randolph brought Jane, his wife, and Jane, his daughter. This environment, though totally different from Shadwell by the Thames, held, perhaps greater personal comforts than those to which they already were accustomed in Shadwell. The Dungeness plantation was noted for its hospitality and elegance which was said to include 100 servants, most of whom probably were slaves, according to the prevailing custom that the Crown had legally sanctioned. At Dungeness Jane grew up with a continuing arrival of new brothers and sisters, so that eventually her parents had presented her with five brothers and four sisters.

Jane's education probably began in Shadwell, and was continued in a nursery-classroom with a tutor and with her growing brothers and sisters, and perhaps some of her cousins who might be visiting from time to time for several months at Dungeness.

Since relatives often visited each other as a major form of entertainment, it no doubt was at Tuckahoe, the home of her first cousin, William Randolph, that Jane first was seen and admired by a 31-year old close friend of her cousin's, Peter Jefferson. On 3 October 1739 they were married. Jane was 19 years old, the same age her mother had been when she married Isham Randolph in Shadwell. Her new husband's signature on the marriage bond in plain, bold handwriting is on file at the Goochland County Courthouse. The marriage alliance did not include land, because Jane was a woman; nevertheless, Peter Jefferson married advantageously since he entered a family that was more affluent and more influential than his own, although the Jeffersons and the Randolphs certainly were known to each other and moved in the same circles.

Peter Jefferson was born in 1708, and probably was of Welsh extraction. He was a big man, extraordinarily strong physically; with little formal education but considerable intellectual attainments; a wealthy man, who probably believed in upholding family tradition; respected and known for his deeds not his words; a successful farmer and surveyor, who helped to make the first map of Virginia; a magistrate of the new country of Goochland in which his property lay, and later appointed its Sheriff. He had been a favourite son, and was 22 years old when his father died leaving to Peter the largest share of the inheritance among his children. Peter's dying wish for his own favourite child and heir, who was destined to be President, was that he grow to be healthy and strong and receive a thorough classical education.

The newly married couple settled on the property Peter had inherited at Fine Creek and Manakin Creek, where he had been living since 1731. It was about ten miles from Jane's family home at Dungeness, on rough roads. They lived in Peter's old house, which probably was a one and a half storey building, similar to most houses of the time in that part of Virginia. The land was flat, well adapted to the growing of tobacco. No doubt it was very fertile then; today, however, it is a desolate place, covered with scrub trees. A small settlement some miles from the creek, known as 'Jefferson', is the only remaining link.

At Fine Creek, Jane and Peter had their first baby, a girl whom they named Jane. Then another little girl arrived, and she was named Mary. In due course there would be eight more children. Although Jane Randolph was said to be of a more delicate mould than her hardy husband, she was apparently resilient. In 1741, two years after their marriage, Peter's friend, and a cousin of his wife's, William Randolph, ceded 200 acres of land to Peter, who then purchased an additional 200 acres from William for what was then 50 pounds, to round off the holding. This land later became known as Shadwell, and it is thought that Jane suggested it be named after her birthplace.

While still living at Fine Creek, Peter intermittently had it cleared and built a small cabin for the family to live in that could later be converted into an outbuilding of a large manor house that he was planning for the plantation. A land patent allowed a person three years in which to build a cabin and cultivate three acres out of 50, after which one's ownership became permanent by paying quitrents to the Crown (about what was then a shilling a year, on each 50 acres).

Peter may have asked Jane to join him and a master mason to select a site on which to build, but probably he elected to attend to this himself. He finally chose a hill in the gap where, to the south, the red Rivanna river flowed out between steep, heavily forested foothills toward rolling land along the James river. Mountains were all around; the Ragged Mountains, Carter's Mountain, and farther on to the west the unforgettable outlines of the great Blue Ridge mountain chain.

Then, early in 1743 Peter brought Jane and their two little daughters to Shadwell. A variety of trees and shrubs surrounded the cabin in its clearing on slightly raised ground; redbud and dogwood, poplars, chestnuts, walnut, sycamore, cedars and firs. The house is no longer there, but the ruins of it indicate that it was one and a half storeys high, with four large ground rooms and hall, garret chambers above, and the usual huge outside chimneys planted against each gable.

The family was not isolated, although other settlers in the area were scattered. The family had barely settled into Shadwell when, on 2 April 1743 Jane delivered her third child. This was Thomas Jefferson. He was named after his grandfather, his great-grandfather, and his uncle who had died at sea.

Jane Randolph had five more children who survived infancy, although there was a gap of seven years between the five older children and the last three.

Another move disrupted Jane's life that lasted for seven years when Peter took his family 50 miles away to live temporarily in the home of a deceased good friend and cousin of Jane's. While there two boys died in infancy.

In time the family returned to Shadwell and the next three children were born there. Work commenced almost immediately upon their return to enlarging the main house to accommodate their larger family, and to provide a setting for entertaining. Jane's notable housekeeping skills at last could have full and consistent sway, no doubt aided by the personal characteristics attributed to her of an amiable and affectionate disposition, an optimistic temperament and a lively sense of humour.

View of St. Paul's Church, Shadwell shortly before it was demolished in 1817. (Tower Hamlets Libraries)



A great shadow darkened the year 1757 when Peter Jefferson died. He was age 49. Jane, at the age 37, was left with the eight children, the oldest being 17 and the youngest almost two. Thomas, at age 14, became male head of the family. Shadwell was left to Jane to live in for the rest of her life. Peter had increased its size over the years from 400 to 2,650 acres. There is no indication that she ever considered remarriage.

Tragedy entered Jane's life again in 1770 when the manor house at Shadwell burned to the ground. She and the children were forced to live in other, cramped quarters on the property. Thomas was away most of the time now. The relationship between him and his mother seemed to be formal, perhaps even distant, but the entries in his financial records reveal he was solicitous of her welfare. He was very reticent about making personal references to close female members of his family, including his wife, after they had died.

Jane lived another six years. She had been a widow for longer than she had been a wife. On 31 March 1776 she died of an apoplectic stroke at age 57, just when the twins had reached majority and when Thomas had written the Declaration of Independence. Unfortunately she did not live long enough in that year to witness either of these events. And it was to be four more years before Thomas would be elected in 1800 for his first term as the third president of the United States, negotiating with Napoleon in 1803 for the Louisiana Purchase, and being succeeded in 1809 by President James Madison. Jane's personal possessions at her death are listed in the deed book for the year she died at the courthouse at Charlottesville; one large halfworn portmanteau trunk, one small trunk, one smelling bottle seal and ring for keys.

Here in England there might be more information to add to this profile of Jane Randolph, possibly from unexpected sources. Should any reader, therefore, have knowledge of aspects of her life in Shadwell, or more about her family background it would be appreciated if the writer were notified through the editor of this magazine or that the Jefferson Memorial Fund be notified directly in Charlottesville, Virginia.

MEMORIES OF CANNING TOWN

Frances Heffer

I WAS born Frances Victoria Tydeman, and I come from a very large family from the East End. My father was a tall man with light brown hair and a moustache. One outstanding feature was his eyes. They were odd, one blue and one brown, something that was supposed to be lucky. He always wore a cap and a waistcoat with a heavy chain across the front, with a watch in one pocket (that was when it was not in uncle's). He had a great sense of humour. My mother was rather plump with a rosy face and thick short black hair. She always wore a wrap-over flowered print pinny. She was very placid and did not seem to worry at all, though I am sure she must have with all she went through, having a family of the size she did.

They had seventeen children of which I was the second eldest. Four children died in infancy or were still-born, leaving thirteen (seven girls and six boys) to grow to adults. In those days this was considered an achievement as so many children died in infancy. I seem to remember all my brothers and sisters being born. Each one used to make me wonder why? I could not, as many children could not in those days, understand why they kept having babies. It seemed to me all wrong. It would mean more work, more washing and, worst of all, another mouth to feed. And as they grew older, another one to fit into the already over-crowded beds.

I remember those nights in bed. Sometimes there were four of us in one bed in the winter. We kept each other warm, as we had to keep together or get pushed out of bed and wake up lying on the floor! I think the worst thing about so many of us sleeping together was that if you had a row or a fight with one of your sisters during the day and you had not made it up by bedtime, it was awful having to sleep so close to someone you thought you could have willingly murdered. But you could not keep up hatred for long.

If my father knew we had had a row and we were not speaking to one or other he would threaten to knock our heads together, and this he did once to my brother Joe and myself. I tried never to give him reason to do it again. We had many a hiding from father. He believed in the old saying 'spare the rod and spoil the child'. I often wonder if, in a round-about way they, he and others like him, are responsible for the spoilt children of today. We were brought up rough and very hard and when we became parents ourselves we could not inflict the same treatment on our own offspring. Hence respect for parents has gone haywire.

My eldest sister Queenie was more timid than me, as I was always considered to be a bit of a rebel. We were considered lucky as we had three bedrooms in our small terraced house, so the boys could sleep in one room and the girls in another. This was more than some of the families in our area had, as many of them only had a couple of rooms. I remember one family putting boards across the top of the stairs as there always seemed a lot of wasted space there. So across the top of the banisters boards and a mattress were put, and two children slept there.



Christmas Day, 1925: from left, Fred, Joe, the author, Queenie with Bell, Rose, Harry and in front is Maggie, who died, and of course Nan.

There were thirteen children then, brought up in a very poor area. Sometimes it was more than mother could do to make the food go round, yet not one of us have ever been in trouble. The police were often in evidence round our way. Boys, and girls too for that matter, were often caught stealing things. Shop lifting was a regular thing for some families. My father's leather belt, which he wore round his waist, was certainly a deterrent. It was to me anyway, as soon as I saw his hands go to that buckle, I trembled. We fought between ourselves and I may say pinched (I think that is the right word) from each other, but it ended there.

I think the thing I remember most in my childhood was having no privacy. You could never get away from people. They were all over the house. The only place I found was in the loo (not called that in those days — it was the lavatory or, as we called it, the lav). I often sat there and read a comic before the babies got hold of it, as it always seemed to get torn before you could read it. The weeping and tempers — I have seen fights over the possession of a comic.

Queenie had a big heavy pram full of babies with her. When we went out to play I used to dodge out quickly leaving her to bring the pram load along miles behind, looking for me to have them while she had a game with someone. But I was probably around the next turning, enjoying a street game of some kind. We were always given a time to be back home, although we never came back home before that time or after it. We used to pester people

for the right time especially when it was cold and we were hungry. I always made sure I turned up for the last few minutes with Queenie and the pram, so we went back home together, swearing I had done my share to look after the kids all the while we were out. I usually got away with it as she would not have given me away to mother, but called me a few names when we were on our own.

Another dodge of mine was to offer to go for the errands while Queenie took the pram out. And didn't I take a long time? I usually found some kids in another road playing skipping or whip and top. I would put my money safe, usually in my shoe or boot, whichever I was wearing. It always hurt, especially when we were skipping, but I knew it was safe, and I dare not lose it. I don't think I would ever have gone home if I had. If you were lucky enough to get hold of a long thick rope you were popular, as you were the boss of the skipping game (we often pinched someone's clothes line for this). We used to like a rope long enough to reach right across the road, one girl each end turning, while the rest formed a long line and ran into the rope one at a time. Playing the game was called 'Follow the Leader'. Then there was the ever popular 'Salt and Pepper'. We sang, 'Salt, pepper, mustard, vinegar' as the rope turned slowly, and gradually they turned the rope faster. 'Five, ten, fifteen, twenty,' we sang until we were out of breath and the winner was the one who managed to skip the longest. It was nothing to see someone's drawers fall round their knees while skipping. The elastic was always broken or very poor. Often you would go through the skipping game holding your drawers up. A safety pin helped. What would we have done without a safety pin? My nan used to call them 'Canning Town buttons'. They certainly saved you the shame of your drawers falling down in front of all the kids.

Then I would realise I was supposed to be on an errand and off I'd go, getting told off for being a long time, making all kinds of poor excuses. My mother would say, 'Now go and help Queenie with those kids.' Poor Queenie! I remember when we were in our teens an aunt of mine saying 'I have never seen Queenie without a baby in her arms, or in the pram.' Since I have grown up I wonder if it had something to do with her never getting married. She continued to worry about the younger members of the family, and her many nieces and nephews, until her untimely death a few years ago.

I was born in 1914 and of course cannot remember anything about the war, but I can imagine how all the neighbours had all united in their anxiety for each other during this terrible time. I can remember seeing many men with only one leg. One such poor man used to go round the streets playing a barrel organ by turning a handle. He used to push it round the streets on a kind of barrow with two large wheels. He had a mug tied on each side of the organ to collect the half-pennies or pennies in. His clothes were thin and shabby, and the kids used to take the micky out of the poor man. I also remember so many poor men walking about, all shaking and making funny noises. We kids used to be scared of them and we would hide in the doorways until they passed. The grown-ups would tell us that they were suffering from shell shock because of the war and should be pitied. But of course it did not mean anything to us.

The really first memory I have of my childhood was in 1918, the end of the war, and the tea in the street. How the poor women managed to get cakes and goodies ready for us that day seems a mystery. One day there was nothing, next day a tea party. Each family put their tables and chairs out in the street and made a long line of tables. Flags and bunting were hung out everywhere. Someone brought a piano from somewhere, father had his tin whistle and someone else had a banjo and mouth organ. They sang songs that made the grown ups laugh, but we couldn't understand the meaning of them. Just as well I suppose.

We had a round table in our house which had been brought into the street. When it came to sitting up to the tables I was sat at a square table which I knew was not ours so I started showing off. I began crying because I wanted to sit at the round table. I ended up getting a good hiding for causing trouble. What a first memory to have of the end of the war and the beginning of peace!

The house we lived in was number 68, a narrow terraced house, long gone now under the slum clearance. The rooms were all small; opening off the kitchen (which was really the living room) was the scullery where the shallow brown sink was complete with a lopsided tap, the copper and two gas rings. People in the street were beginning to have gas ovens but we had to wait a long time before we had one.

East End Peace Party after the First World War. (Newham Local Studies Library)



There was no furniture in the scullery, only a shelf running round the wall which was full of bits and pieces of cleaning materials and suchlike. There were two wooden orange boxes. These boxes were marvellous. They were about 30 inches long with a partition in the centre. When they were stood on end they made a sort of doorless cupboard with a shelf in the centre. We kept pots and pans in them, and, covered with a piece of oil cloth, you had a table top as well. The lighting in the rooms was gas, their brackets projecting out of the walls over the fireplaces with a glass globe protecting the mantles. These mantles were always getting broken, they were so fragile.

In the kitchen (or living room) there was a high mantelpiece with a crochet mantle border with a deep fringe made by mother. The kitchen range was large, black and ugly. There was a large round table and various kinds of kitchen chairs. If we were all in together, some of us would sit on odd wooden boxes. The saying often quoted when there were not enough seats to accommodate us all was, 'Stand up and grow good.' There was a dresser on one side of the fireplace where all the odd pieces of china were kept. We boasted one wooden armchair (for father) and that was the living room. There wasn't much room left as the room was small to begin with.

The three bedrooms upstairs were small and mostly only contained beds. There was one wardrobe in the front bedroom. The other two rooms had wall cupboards for our clothes and a couple of orange boxes with a curtain round served as a sort of dressing table. We tried to keep a shelf to ourselves, but it was hopeless. You usually ended up hunting for something you needed and yelling at the other kids for touching it. There was a kind of an alcove on the landing and in it there was a huge chest of drawers. The drawers were long and deep. One was often taken out and used as a cot for a new baby when the big cot was still in use for the youngest child. A baby could sleep in that drawer quite happily, with a pillow for a mattress. Instead of gas brackets in the bedrooms we had small paraffin lamps with a deep tin base which held the paraffin. They were bright red when new and red with rust when they got old. They had a small round wick which you could turn up and down, and a small glass globe, until the globe got broken which was very often. Then we just had a small smoking bare flame. When I look back I realise how great the fire risk was in those days.

The gas meter was in the passage outside the backroom door. It had a slot for a penny or a shilling and someone was always having the meter broken into. It happened to us one night. Rose and Queenie were sleeping in the back room at the time. They had had a row as usual and were not talking to each other. So when Rose woke up in the night to a scratching sound she said she thought it was the cats outside the bedroom window, as my father at the time had an old bath with some pet fish in with a heavy piece of glass on top. As she was not talking to Queenie she would not wake her up so hid under the bedclothes and listened. When she heard the last loud click Rose thought it was the clever cat that at last had got to the fish. So she went to sleep. But it must have been the clever burglar calmly shutting the front door. Mother raised the alarm early in the morning. Father came downstairs and with his usual sense of humour said 'A burglar? Better count the kids in case any of

them are missing.'

The front room was used, if not for bikes, for odds and ends. We never did boast a parlour like a few families did. The back room was for sleeping in. The yard at the back was small and square. It contained a shed and the lav, several clothes lines, an old mangle and several zinc baths of various sizes hanging on nails knocked in the fence.

The street was our playground, and the neighbours were our friends. They played a great part in your life when you lived in a very poor part of the East End. At the beginning of this century if anyone was in trouble and needed help one of the neighbours was always ready to help. No one could help where money was concerned, but they showed kindness and feeling for other people. As we used to say, 'A friend in need is a friend indeed.' We played mostly at the end of the road where there was a blank wall, and we could throw the ball on to the wall for catching games. We were asked to play away from the wall once as an old man was very ill in a nearby house. So we went to the other end of the road for some days. I remember one horrible kid when we heard the old man had died saying, 'Thank God he's dead. We can now go back and play up the wall again.'

Next door to us one way was a Catholic family. They had about eight children, all about our ages. Although we played with them quite a lot it was not quite the same as our own school friends, probably because they went to a Catholic school and somehow seemed to be a bit apart from us. They always seemed to have something new to wear on Sundays for best and to go to church in. My mother used to say the tally man was always at the door. I expect you all know what the tally man was, although I'm sure I don't know why he was called that. Anyway he used to come every week for money for things that had been bought on weekly terms. Many a time he got no answer when he knocked, or the kids came to the door and said mum was out. (She was probably peering through the windows behind the curtains). I think you ordered the merchandise from a shop or somewhere and then they came to the door in a big parcel. I often envied them having parcels of new clothes and shoes coming to the door.

My father would never let us have anything on the tally. We were dressed from secondhand stalls or hand-me-downs. My mother made clothes for us which were usually from material she had unpicked from coats and dresses, and made on her treadle sewing machine. This was the only thing I remember her having new. It must have been one of my father's good times.

But even though this family next door had Sunday clothes, they were ever lasting on the borrow. The things they used to come to our house for! A penny for the gas, half a cup of sugar, a couple of spoonfuls of tea, a cup of flour, a packet of soap powder (we all used to use Hudson's soap powder, penny a packet). They would borrow a bit of black cotton, a bit of white, and I even remember them borrowing a paper bag to put their Dad's sandwiches in. Their dad had a regular job, which was something to boast about. He worked at Tate and Lyle's sugar factory. They also had a lodger named Pat, who used to go as regular as clockwork to the pub and walk home at night swaying from one side of the pavement to the other. He had a red face and a large fat nose.

The older girls next door used to have to go to the Huntingdon Arms ('the Hunt' for short) to get a jug of beer for their dad to drink at home. When we used to row with these girls we used to say, 'At least we don't have to go to the pub to get beer for our dad.' This was usually followed by putting our tongues out. We seemed to be always putting our tongues out at someone. The boys would put their fingers up to their noses. Woe betide them if they got caught!

There was another family living upstairs in two rooms in this house. The mother was a very small frightened looking person whose husband was always away at sea. Her children were very unruly, and swore terribly at her. I often wondered what would have happened to us if we had used such language to our parents. I sometimes felt like trying it, but the thought of my father's belt stopped me. We used to swear under our breath only. I remember wondering how those two families packed into the house, lodger as well.

Next door to them was a family I remember well. Most of them went out to work. There was one girl of about my age still at school. She was always dressed tidily and always had money for sweets, as her elder brothers and sisters used to give her Saturday pennies. Her mother was a short stout person and she used to take parcels every Monday morning to 'uncle's' as the pawn shop was called. She used to pawn her sons' Sunday suits regularly on Monday morning and redeem them on Friday nights. She had to use an old pram as she took things for the neighbours at a penny a time. Many a parcel went out of the house next door. I am sure they had hardly been left by the tally man before they were up at 'uncle's'. They always managed to get them out for the week-end so they could go out in their Sunday best. Sometimes this lady's pram was so loaded she would have to cover it with a blanket tucked in at the sides. She must have earned a few pence doing this. Although everyone went to 'uncle's' at some time or other, nobody really liked being seen actually going there, and would rather give someone a precious penny to take their things for them.

On the opposite side of the road was a sweet shop, and I can see the window now full of goodies and flies. There was a length of sticky paper hanging in the shop window black with dead flies. They looked revolting, but we took it all as part of the scene.

The lady who owned the shop was called Mrs. Townsend and she was old and fat — very fat. She had a lot of chins which used to flop from side to side when she shook her head at us. She also had a parrot in a big cage. He was a very noisy thing and he used to swear, but she said he was company as she was on her own. She spoke to him as if he understood every word she said. She must have had a lot of patience, as her shop was always full of children. She also sold some groceries. I can remember taking a cup for a pennyworth of jam, or twopennyworth of pickles. She got the jam out of a big seven pound jar, would put the cup on the scales to weigh it first, then put the jam in and weigh a penn'orth or twopenn'orth. We never spent more than twopence on jam or pickles. You felt very rich if your mother could afford a pound jar of jam.



Pawnbrokers. (Newham Local Studies Library)

I remember one day my brother Joe and I had a halfpenny each to spend on sweets and we went into the corner shop and there was Mrs. Townsend with her chins and her noisy parrot, and flies dead and alive. But we were not worried about any of this. We had money for sweets and there they all were in boxes and jars, gob stoppers, treacle toffee, nutrock, stick of liquorice, sherbert dabs, stick of black spanish, honeycombe and tiger nuts to name but a few. We took ages to choose. I can't remember exactly what went wrong, but something did upset us, and as we came out of the shop we were giving poor Mrs. Townsend some cheek and ended up by poking our tongues out at her. What we didn't see was my father coming round the corner on his bike, and he witnessed our cheek to the old lady. So instead of being able to stay in the street and make our sweets last as long as we could, we were called indoors and given a good ticking off for being rude and threatened with the belt if he caught us being rude to anyone again.

Mrs. Reeves, who lived next door to the shop, used to help my mother very often. She always did our washing and ironing when my mother was in bed having a baby. That was all right until dear old Mrs. Reeves starched everything. We wore white cotton petticoats usually made by mother. They were tied up round the neck with tape through a narrow hem, and when they were starched they were the end. Our poor necks were red raw. At night before we went to bed we used to run the neck part under the tap to get rid of the starch and hang it over the bed rail for the night hoping it would be dry in the morning. Anyway, we would wear it wet or dry. Once when the washing came back all starched and ironed, accompanied by Mrs. Reeves and her beaming smile, we took it out to the kitchen while she went to see mother in the bedroom. Rose and I decided to soak the whole lot in cold water. Then we put it through the old iron mangle and hung it on the lines. Being a warm day we felt it would soon dry, and we thought no one would notice. When father realised the washing was on the line we told him one of the kids had knocked a bucket of water over it. Those little kids who could not talk properly were handy when you wanted to put the blame for something on someone!

EAST HAM'S RELATIONSHIP WITH CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AT THE END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

S. C. W. Mason

EAST Ham Urban District Council began functioning in 1895, replacing the Local Board which in turn was formed in 1879 in response to complaints by the Woolwich Board.¹ The work of a local council, once established, included the following: providing services such as building sewers (where none existed before), rubbish collection and street lighting; also the amenities which are taken so much for granted today — for instance the provision of parks, swimming baths and libraries. Effective political controls by councillors took time to develop, however, and as the last quarter of the century progressed, so piecemeal improvements were made to administrative practices, finance and accountability, the provision of effective services and the control of building and local trades.

Central government concern to ensure ultimate control over local authorities has meant some form of political supervision since the expansion of elected local government, and the Local Government Board provided such oversight during the nineteenth century. The controls exercised by politicians have varied between extremes, as illustrated by the case of Roberts v Hopwood over the Poplar rates² whilst the 1972 legislation paved the way for greater local autonomy. The degree of control exercised by central government has swung dramatically towards the centre during the past eight years, far from the ideal relationship in the form of a partnership championed by Toulmin Smith.³

Nevertheless the case of East Ham during the last decade of the nineteenth century provides evidence to suggest that the Council was 'largely independent of the central government'.⁴ Certainly some of the letters sent to the Local Government Board by the clerk would indicate an intolerance bordering on insolence which the editor of the *East Ham Echo* would have applauded. When discussing the remittance of the disallowance over the purchase of an omnibus, the editor described the Local Government Board's 'pompous' letter as 'an amusing epistle',⁵ illustrating the state of historical change referred to by E. P. Hennock by which the classes recently incorporated into the constitution were no longer prepared to allow the traditional ruling elite to hold sway over local affairs — especially after the formation of the District Council in December 1894.⁶

One method of indirect control exercised by central government can be illustrated by the issue of the omnibus mentioned above: a relationship that clearly allowed the Council to transgress up to a certain point, but once it had acted against a clear instruction to the contrary, suitable restraints were brought to bear on individual councillors in such a way as to affect their own pockets. In other words, once a district auditor disallowed a particular piece of expenditure, unless the Local Government Board overrode the district auditor, individual councillors were required to pay the sum declared illegal.

A more powerful control available and more direct was the sanction of loans, always a necessary source of finance for projects too large to be incorporated into the rates. Subject to a public inquiry and report, East Ham Council were apt, at times, to make arrangements which assumed the civil servants at the Local Government Board worked as speedily as they — which was rarely the case.⁷ But more importantly, sanction could and would be refused until the Council agreed to conditions laid down by the Local Government Board, as in the case of obtaining permission from owners of the sub-soil before erecting an underground urinal in 1897.⁸

This article will look at the omnibus issue and illustrate the degree of autonomy East Ham Council possessed in its relationship with the Local Government Board.

Control by central government: the omnibus issue

There were times when the members of the Council felt aggrieved for petty rules which they were not disposed to consider fair. Such was the case of the constant need for various committees to visit works being carried out in the district prior to council meetings. For men working a full day, this aspect of their council duties was not always a pleasant or easy one; and as the number of works and therefore visits increased, there developed an interest in obtaining a means of transportation owned by the council for the use of the committees.

The first mention of purchasing an omnibus was in 1895 during the first few months of the council's life. The works committee felt the need to 'direct the attention of the council to the need of purchasing an omnibus for the use of the committee in their outdoor work'⁹ a statement which was not discussed if absence of comment in the minute book is to be accepted. Suffice to record, that the sum of £105 for an omnibus appeared in the estimate of expenditure in October the following year.¹⁰ This sum also appeared in the accounts in April 1897: the item simply reading 'Committee omnibus — estimated expenditure £105'.¹¹ The council were obviously proceeding with care over this issue, because they proceeded to inquire of the Local Government Board as to whether they were empowered to purchase an omnibus. The council had written to this effect in the July, receiving an unfavourable reply; to which the finance committee recommended the clerk to write again to the Board asking them to reconsider their decision.¹² In their second reply, the Board refused to allow the expenditure and stated that they would not reconsider the position.¹³ As a result, a committee of the entire council decided to refer the matter to the works committee with powers to act.

The works committee reported to the following council meeting that it had considered the Board's reply, but the minutes gave no indication of any decision having been made.¹⁴ The account in the *East Ham Echo* differs from the official record, in that it reported that Councillor Keys mentioned the cost of hiring an omnibus (16 shillings each time) and suggested that the council could have purchased one over and over again by this time:

Councillor East: Will you sign the cheque?

Councillor Keys: Oh! I don't mind! I know what these surcharges are. I move that the surveyor be instructed to procure one.

Councillor Knight: It is arranged later on.¹⁵

a report of an exchange illustrating that the central concern now was over the possible imposition of a surcharge. The comment made by Councillor Keys signified the lack of respect of such surcharges were treated with by this time, as it appeared that any disallowance would be duly remitted after a suitable letter of apology and explanation had been sent to the Local Government Board.

East Ham Council was not the only authority to face such problems. For Willesden Urban District Council wrote to East Ham Council with a view to sending a deputation to wait upon the President of the Local Government Board over this very issue: a suggestion that met with agreement, but apparently no further action.¹⁶ Finally, a full meeting of the council in committee decided to purchase an omnibus in December¹⁷ — and it was consequently reported that one had been obtained in January 1898.¹⁸

This disregard of the Local Government Board's decision was duly observed by the district auditor and a surcharge was consequently levied against the council for the cost of the omnibus (£99) and a set of harness at £14. The council requested the clerk to send a routine application of remission to the Board;¹⁹ but feelings obviously ran very high on this issue because the clerk spent a considerable amount of time and effort in writing a long letter to the Board. The tenor of this letter contained the culmination of several years of constant adverse criticism levied against the council; it contained the indignation over the lack of appreciation for difficulties overcome and it contained frustration over the lack of sympathy shown by the Board for a seemingly trivial payment which would help councillors in the performance of their duties. It was a typed eight page resumé to the Board of the work carried out by the old Local Board and the District Council since 1878. The clerk spared nothing. The information he gave was comprehensive (which I paraphrase):

- Paragraph 3 — there were 12,500 houses in the district of which 1,387 were erected in 1897 and plans had been received for 1,800 in 1898 alone;
- Paragraph 5 — In 1878 there were no:
- public lights — now there were 889
 - paths — now there were 26 miles of paved footpaths
 - drainage — now there were 46 miles of sewers
 - collection of dust — now it is collected weekly from every house
 - recreation grounds — now there are three and went on to point out that expenditure has risen from £7,017 in 1884 to £59,147 in 1897-8.

and clearly illustrated that the district's past growth had been catered for in a responsible way and continued growth at an even faster rate would be considered with as much care, despite the Board's insistence over the issue of the purchase of an omnibus.

Pockets of local opposition to the omnibus ensured a continued correspondence between the Local Government Board and the council, however. In the same vein as Mr. Wilson's letter to the Board, a petition of a number of ratepayers of Little Ilford was sent to the Board by the solicitors Dyson and Smith of Devonshire Chambers, Bishopsgate.²¹ A further letter was sent by the Little Ilford ratepayers in the October complaining that the purchase of the omnibus was illegal,²² and a further letter from Dyson and Smith followed which complained of the high rates levied against ratepayers.²³ The Board requested the Council to reply to the observations made by the Little Ilford ratepayers, E. Smith of Manor Park and Dyson and Smith in their various letters²⁴ a reply which was duly sent and signed by Councillors Knight, Tomlinson, Brooke and Hutchins. In this letter, they refused to answer the arguments put forward and illustrated the problems that Councillors faced in travelling around the district by citing the lack of trains, cabs and the geographical shape of the district.²⁵ This letter was followed up with a further note from Mark Hutchins, President of the National Union of Gasworkers and General Labourers who explained that Mr. Smith of Manor Park had been quarrelling with the District Council and Local Board before it for the last six years.²⁶ This attempt by a few objectors to ensure the disallowance was not remitted did not have any effect. The Board took some

A Local Board initiative. Plashet Park was opened as an amenity for East Ham in 1891. (Newham Local Studies Library)



time to reach a decision, but by October 1899 it allowed the expenditure, although emphatic in disagreeing with the purchase:

'the Board wish it to be distinctly understood that the adoption of this course must not be regarded as a precedent for like action on their part with reference to any similar disallowance and surcharge in future.'²⁷

The council may have succeeded in obtaining an omnibus without incurring a surcharge, but the Local Government Board would not allow any further expenditure relating to it after they finally decided to remit the disallowance. Hence when the accounts were audited in 1900, the auditor disallowed £18.12.6 in respect to the repair and painting of the omnibus,²⁸ otherwise known as the 'Black Maria'.²⁹ There were two written complaints to the Board in respect of this further expense; Mr. B. Shadwell of Carlyle Road objected to the increased expenditure,³⁰ whilst Mr. E. Smith of Manor Park complained for a second time on the grounds of the 'expensive and lavish manner' in which it was repainted with the East Ham coat of arms on the panels.³¹ The council responded with a letter from Councillors Tomlinson, Savage and Brooks in the September, pointing out 'That these objections are raised by two parties who take every opportunity of opposing the council.'³² but the Local Government Board was not to be deflected by such a flagrant disregard for their previous warnings and refused remission in the October.³³

In this case the council was seen to be unsure of the ground it was treading. Before opposing the Board, it felt a need to sound out the possibility of obtaining the use of an omnibus with due permission, but when it was not forthcoming, Councillors decided to go ahead and purchase one with the knowledge that all previous disallowances were eventually remitted. Their mistake, having convinced the Board not to surcharge them for the omnibus, was to be seen to have little regard for the ratepayers and the policy decisions of the Board by spending money on the vehicle in such a way as to ensure certain people would object against such expenditure.

Conclusion

The relationship between the East Ham Urban District Council and the Local Government Board during the latter part of the nineteenth century illustrates that local initiatives were capable of being carried out against opposition, but overstepping the mark could lead to being treated like recalcitrant children by central government.

Although local government in East Ham centred around the needs of the local community in the provision of amenities and services, a partnership between local and central government did occur during a particularly depressing period of unemployment between 1893-95. The Local Government Board sent a circular to all Councils requesting them to direct their efforts in finding employment for the unemployed.³⁴ As a result of implementing this request, the surveyor was able to make such a favourable report to the Local Board on the results of taking on direct labour in July 1894, that it was resolved to carry out all future works without the aid of contractors. The main advantage for the surveyor rested on the increased supervision he gained thereby, a point not lost on the members of the Local Board.³⁵ East Ham's

success was compared to West Ham's failure,³⁶ and was further reported in the November 1896 edition of *London* in which the reason for this success was commented upon: 'All the municipal work of the District Council is undertaken by the Department, which works on the eight hour system, and pays trade union wages . . .'³⁷

The climate of nineteenth century local government in East Ham illustrates the point that E. P. Hennock made on the financial position most found themselves in:

'before the introduction of massive Treasury grants the precarious financial basis of English local government meant that in the growing towns successful administration required among other things a marked flair for business, and that it was essential in order to achieve anything to be able to think adventurously about finance.'³⁸

They were occasionally frustrated by the slower pace adopted by the men at the Local Government Board, but were also checked in their actions before committing themselves to projects which would have led to future complications. The omnibus issue clearly illustrated a change: civic pride in the form of the omnibus with the Council's coat of arms decorating the panels represented the beginnings of a change 'from the comfortable, exclusive ease of the dining-club into the chill, impersonal world of the ruled-feint ledger; the buildings themselves say so'³⁹ and the only problem for the Councillors of East Ham was that they were leading the way.

NOTES

1. West Ham Union Correspondence No. 137 Oct 1877 to Apr 1878, Woolwich Local Board of Health to Local Government Board, 6 Dec 1877 (779/78).
2. (1925) AC 578. See also P. Fennell, 'Roberts v Hopwood: the Rule against Socialism', *Journal of Law and Society*, Vol 13, No. 3, Autumn 1986, pp. 401-422.
3. Owen A. Hartley, 'The Relationship between Central and Local Authorities', *Public Administration*, Vol 49, Winter 1971, p. 440.
4. E. P. Hennock, 'Central/Local government relations in England: an outline 1880-1950', *Urban History Yearbook*, 1982, p. 39.
5. *East Ham Echo*, 3 Nov 1899.
6. Hennock, *op. cit.*, p. 38.
7. For instance, the purchase of Ranccliffe House took place on 22 May 1895 with a six month cut-off clause; the council did not receive the loan sanction until 17 January 1896. West Ham Union Correspondence No. 137 Sanitary Papers, East Ham Union 1893-1896, LGB to EHUDC, 17 Jan 1896 (6730 K (1) 1896).
8. WHUC No. 137 SPEHU 1896, LGB to EHUDC, 7 Jun 1897 (63954 K (1) 1897) and EHUDC to LGB, 5 Jul 1897 (90403/97).
9. East Ham Urban District Council Minutes, 5 Nov 1895, p. 190.
10. EHUDCM, 20 Oct 1896, p. 106.

11. EHUDCM, 6 Apr 1897, p. 120.
12. *EHE*, 10 Sep 1897.
13. EHUDCM, 21 Sep 1897, p. 123.
14. EHUDCM, 5 Oct 1897, p. 145.
15. *EHE*, 8 Oct 1897.
16. EHUDCM, 7 Dec 1897, p. 383.
17. EHUDCM, 21 Dec 1897, p. 1.
18. EHUDCM, 18 Jan 1898, p. 41.
19. EHUDCM, 6 Jul 1898, p. 183 and as reported in *EHE*, 8 Jul 1898.
20. WHUC No. 137 SPEHU 1898, letter EHUDC to LGB, 21 Jul 1898 (100834/98).
21. WHUC No. 137 SPEHU 1898 petition and letter, 29 Jul 1898 (97787/98).
22. *ibid.*, letter to LGB, 4 Oct 1898 (125585/98).
23. *ibid.*, Dyson and Smith to LGB, 10 Oct 1898 (127703/98).
24. EHUDCM, 1 Nov 1898, p. 107.
25. WHUC No. 137 SPEHU 1898, EHUDC to LGB, 9 Dec 1898 (155825/98).
26. *ibid.*, Mark Hutchins to LGB, 16 Dec 1898 (156591/98).
27. WHUC No. 137 SPEHU 1899, LGB to EHUDC, 20 Oct 1899 (157965 F 1898).
28. EHUDCM, 1 Feb 1900, p. 216.
29. The *EHE* had referred to the locally-christened name of 'Black Maria' ever since it was first mentioned in the 10 Sep 1897 edition.
30. WHUC No. 137 SPEHU, Mr. B. Shadwell to LGB, 16 June 1900.
31. *ibid.*, Mr. E. Smith to LGB, 26 Jul 1900 (92508 28 Jul 1900).
32. *ibid.*, EHUDC to LGB, 5 Sep 1900 (109347 12 Sep 1900).
33. *ibid.*, LGB to EHUDC, 20 Oct 1900 (109347 F 1900).
34. East Ham Local Board Minutes, 17 Oct 1893, p. 120.
35. EHLBM, 17 Jul 1894, p. 291.
36. *East Ham Express*, Saturday 18 Apr 1896.
37. *London*, No. 200, Vol V, 26 Nov 1896, p. 1127 (a).
38. H. J. Dyos, (ed), *The Study of Urban History*, (Edward Arnold, London, 1968) p. 319.
39. E. H. Martin in Dyos, *ibid.*, p. 158.

NOTES ON THE AGAPEMONITES

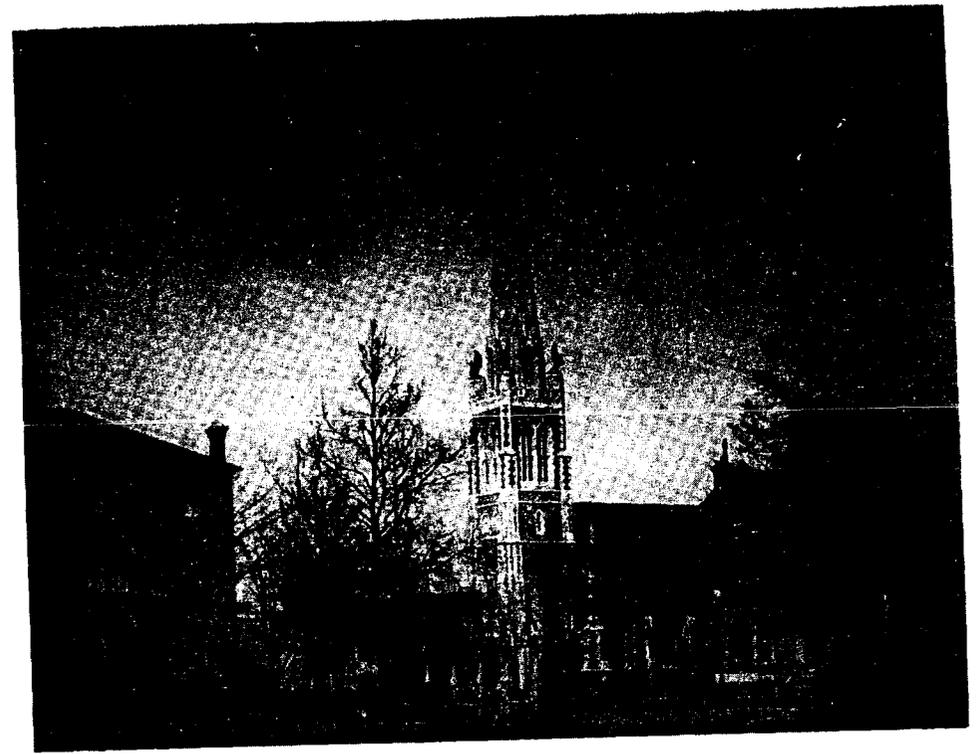
Melvyn H. Brooks

ANY student of the history of Hackney will be drawn to Clapton Common. Even today it retains some of the charm of bygone days and a few of the mansions that made Hackney a desirable address in the mid-nineteenth century. At the northeast corner in Rookwood Road is the Cathedral Church of the Good Shepherd. Probably few people today remember the near riots that occurred outside the Ark of the Covenant, as it was then called, in the first decade of this century. The story of the Agapemonites centres around two charismatic men, Henry James Prince and his successor, the Revd. John Hugh Smyth-Pigott. In September 1902 Smyth-Pigott catapulted his church and followers into infamy when he declared, 'I am the Lord Jesus Christ who died and rose again and ascended into heaven.' The news broke and the following Sunday crowds estimated at over 6,000 came to the church to view 'the Messiah.' The claim to divinity was repeated and the crowd responded by trying to lynch Smyth-Pigott, thus threatening to make his reincarnation rather short lived. He returned to his home, the Cedars at the corner of Springfield and Upper Clapton Road, with great difficulty. From that time the use of the church by the Agapemonites fell into decline.

For many years the church stood empty whilst Smyth-Pigott and his followers lived in the Agapemone in Spaxton, Somerset. 'The Messiah' was surrounded by his 'maidens' until his death in 1927; he was buried in the vertical position in the chapel there. His followers remained in seclusion at Spaxton; the church at Clapton was tended by a gardener but never used. Rumours abounded. Court cases decided the validity of inheritances left to the 'empty church.'

In 1956 Sister Ruth, the soul bride of Smyth-Pigott, died. It was in the same year that the present occupants of the church converted it into the Cathedral Church of the Good Shepherd. In 1968 the Agapemone in Spaxton was sold, and in 1969 an attempt by London Transport to demolish the church was defeated. It is now listed as a building of 'special architectural or historic interest.'

Three sources are basic reading for background knowledge of Smyth-Pigott and the Agapemonites. The first is a chapter entitled 'The Bogus Messiah' by C. D. J. Baker-Carr in the book *World's Strangest Stories*; published by the London *Evening News* in 1955. The account is short and interesting, but contains a few errors. It was used again in the *Evening News* of 7th December, 1974, when the story was revamped under the title 'London's Strangest Stories.' Chapter 11 of John Montgomery's *Abodes of Love* (Putnam, 1962) gives a factual account of Smyth-Pigott and the Agapemonites. Both these books have fascinating chapters on other subjects, such as 'The Siege of Piccadilly' and 'The Amazing Autopsy' (in *World's Strangest Stories*), whilst Montgomery gives accounts of the Walworth Jumpers, the Plumpstead Peculiars, the Shakers and the Cokelers. The last of the three books is nearly entirely devoted to Smyth-Pigott, the Ark of the Covenant,



The Agapemonite Church in 1914. (Hackney Library Services)

the Agapemone and its soul-brides, entitled *Temple of Love*, by Donald McCormick (Jarrolds, 1962), the account is probably the most detailed ever written.

A few personal notes about these books might be of interest. I started hunting for those by Montgomery and McCormick in 1965. Despite repeated searches in second-hand bookshops, neither turned up. Then in 1971 I came across the two in excellent condition in a shop on Richmond Hill, both in mint condition, on sale at 10 shillings each (50 pence).

One final note that connects Israel and the Agapemonites: Laurence Oliphant and his wife Alice were famous Victorian travellers. They lived for some time in the Druse village of Daliya, not 40 minutes from where I write this. After Alice's death, Oliphant returned to England to become a member of the Agapemonites.

The following poem that appeared in *John Bull* (20 Nov 1911) summarizes the feelings about Smyth-Pigott and his followers.

ANTICIPATED EPITAPHS.

By W. M.

Disdayned

By

Ye verie wormes,

Wythyn

Thys mounde of noysesome earth

Rottes

Ye bodie of

John Hugh Smyth=Pigott,

One tyme

Clerke in Holie Orders,

Whoo

In ye course of a bestial lyfe

Earned

So unsavourie a reputation thatte

Hys name

STANKE

In ye nostryls of ye people.

Born

No matter when,

Hee entered ye Church,

And for a whyle

Behaved hymselfe wyth moderate decenie:

Butte,

Discoverynge hymselfe to be possessed

Of

Unusual influence over ye feeble mindes

Of

Certayne types of foolysh women

Subjeckt to religious mania,

Hee

Determined to make profytable use of

Hys infernal power;

To ye whyche end

Hee

Declared hymselfe to bee
Ye Messiah,
And gathered around hym a bodie of
Deluded female disciples
Atte Clapton,
Where hee indulged in orgies of
Mock religion myngled wyth licentiousnesse,
Notte onlie damnyng ye soules and blyghtyng ye bodies
Of hys miserable victynis

Butte

Takyng goode care

To transfer to hys own pockett

Allie their worldlie possessions.

Clapton becomyng too hotte for hym,

Hee establyshed atte Spaxton,

In Somersetteshyre,

A secluded seraglio,

Ye whyche hee named

AGAPEMONE,

Or

Ye Abode of Love,

Where

From tyme to tyme

Hee increased ye populacion of these Isles.

After an incredible and discreditable delay

Ye Church,

Convinced atte laste of hys salaciousnesse,

Unfrocked hym,

Whereafter hee fledde for a whyle abroad,

Butte returnyng

Reassumed hys evil lyfe wyth renewed gusto.

Stranger, passe onne now you have read,

Nor pause one moment more :

More foule was hee who here lies dead

Thanne alle who've lyved before.

Leave hym wyth speede wythyn hys stinkyng tombe,

And seeke—oh, seeke in haste!—some sweete perfume!

NOTE

Some writings by the Agapemonites, but not the main church records, are held at Hackney Archives Department.

NOTES AND NEWS

THE East London History Society's annual lecture in 1987 took the form of Mildred Gordon, M.P. and Louis Heren, ex-deputy editor of *The Times*, talking about their childhoods in Shadwell. Mr. Heren's recollections have already reached a wide readership in his book *Growing Up Poor in London*, first published in 1973. Mrs. Gordon's account of her childhood in a house near The Highway was equally absorbing. Too busy to write down her experiences of these days because of her busy political life at present, it is hoped to publish an interview with her about them in a future edition of the *Record*.

Yesterday is History is a booklet published by Oxford House containing lists of groups and individuals involved in local history work in Tower Hamlets. Compiled by Maggie Hewitt, it costs 25p from Oxford House History Project, Derbyshire Street, E2 6HG. Tower Hamlets Environment Trust have produced *The Jewish East End Education Pack*, containing 57 sheets, illustrations, facsimiles and a map. Teachers and others interested in getting young people involved in local history work should read Marcia Thompson's article in *Terrier* 9 (December 1987) on her work with Hackney schoolchildren. Whatever one thinks of the abolition of the ILEA, it may be that local history in schools will get a boost when local councils take over education in the boroughs. Bow Neighbourhood is to be congratulated for launching plans for a history trail involving local schools. One of the aims is to get children working on exploring events of historical interest that may have occurred near their schools.

The *Terrier* has now become the newsletter of the Friends of Hackney Archives (rather than of the Archives Department). Jean Wait continues as editor, so the high standard of the publication will be continued. A 'London Archives Users' Forum' has been formed, and a piece by David Mander, based on a talk he gave at the Forum's AGM in the summer, will be appearing in a future *Terrier*.

Other new publications from Nishen Publishing, besides those reviewed by John Curtis and A. H. French in this issue are *ARAPOFF: London in the Thirties* and *SHELTERS: Living Underground in the London Blitz* (£2.95 each).

Local History is published from 3 Derbyshire Promenade, Lenton, Nottinghamshire NG7 2DS at £2 per issue. The March 1988 edition has an article on publishing local history and one on W. P. W. Phillimore, founder of the firm that has been publishing local history studies since 1897.

Readers of Mrs. Maitland's article may be interested to know that Thomas Jefferson's papers are being published by Princeton University Press; the most recent in the series deals with his parliamentary writings and costs £30.90. The notice board outside St. Paul's church (page 11) records that William Perkin the scientist was also baptised there. We are hoping to have an article on Perkin's discovery and his life locally in next year's *Record*, written by Dr. D. H. Leaback.

The Ragged School Museum Trust will be opening the first part of the East End's own history museum in June 1989 in a converted warehouse in Copperfield Road by the Regent's Canal. Please give or send to the museum collection items of the ordinary things of daily life, work and leisure from the past and/or make donation to 'Ragged School Museum Trust', for which you will receive a signed certificate and your name entered in the Register of Donations, on permanent display in the museum. Volunteers are needed to help with rescue projects, fund-raising events and open days. Please write to the Secretary, RSMT, 46-48 Copperfield Road, Bow E3 4RR, or telephone the Curator, Jill Slaney, on (01) 232 2941.

Ruth Richardson, whose talk to the Society was of great interest to members, has had her book published by Routledge and Kegan Paul. Called *Death, Dissection and the Destitute*, it has been highly praised in reviews and costs £19.95. Jonathan Raban's *For Love or Money* (Collins Harvill, £11.50) will have some interest for those who know the Isle of Dogs, and the same publisher has reprinted Raban's *Soft City* (£4.95 paperback) which will be of interest to everyone who likes city life. Iain Sinclair's *White Chappel: Scarlet Tracings* sounds an interesting work of fiction in a local setting, although Paul Bailey in *The Observer* found it difficult to say 'what this strange novel is actually about.' Any ideas?

Stepney Books have John Blake's *Memories of Old Poplar* (£1.20), Doris Bailey's *Children of the Green* (£2.40) and Kate Harding and Caroline Gibbs' *Tough Annie* (£1.95) still in print. Bibliophile have a reprint of Jerrold and Dorè's *London a Pilgrimage* on sale (£10) under the title *The London of Gustave Dorè*. The Island Trust have reprinted Bernard Canavan and Eve Hostettler's *A Child's History of the Isle of Dogs* (£1.95). Reprinted regularly since it first came out ninety years ago, Israel Zangwill's *The King of Schnorrers* appeared again last year from Peter Halban (£4.95) with an introduction by Chaim Bermant and illustrations by George Hutchinson. Peter Marcan Publications has again reprinted Henry Walker's 1896 *East London* (£5.95).

Finally, Peter Marcan Publications has just published *Greater London Local History Directory and Bibliography* (£15 + 75p pp from 31 Rowloff Road, High Wycombe, Bucks HP12 3LD). It contains detailed information on organisations, groups, trusts, societies and museums involved in local history in London, whether these be local history collections like that maintained by Tower Hamlets Council at Bancroft Road, local history societies like our own, or publishing projects like Centerprise or Stepney Books, with lists of recent publications. All 33 London boroughs are covered, in alphabetical order, from Barking to Westminster.

BOOK REVIEWS

June Rose. *For the Sake of the Children*. Hodder and Stoughton, 1987. £14.95.

THIS is more than just a history of Dr. Barnardo's, it is an immensely readable book which tells the story of one of the world's greatest charitable enterprises, which had its headquarters in Stepney Causeway from 1870 to 1968. Barnardo founded the *East End Juvenile Mission* in 1868 and opened his first boys' home in Stepney Causeway in 1870. Although he had no right to the title of Doctor, *Dr. Barnardo's Homes* was added to the Mission's name in 1877. In 1882, he sent his first party of boys to work in Canada. This practice allowed more children to be taken in to the Homes and continued until 1928.

June Rose reveals for the first time that Barnardo's agent in Canada co-habited with Barnardo girls. She shows how Barnardo further expanded his rescue operation in 1887 by boarding out or fostering young children until they were 14, when they were brought back to the Homes for training. In 1889, he pioneered a boarding out scheme for the illegitimate babies of girls in domestic service. Presumably it would have been possible to find out from the confidential records how many of them were ex-Barnardo girls. The book lacks this kind of statistical analysis, though nearly every chapter is enlivened with quotations from records and June Rose's own interviews with former Barnardo children and staff.

Barnardo's hospitals are given full and well balanced coverage, likewise the harsh discipline at the Watts Naval Training School in the chapter on boys' training and employment. This also deals adequately with Boys' Garden City at Woodford Bridge and Goldings near Hertford, but The Stepney Boys' Home, which closed in 1922, is treated rather briefly compared with The Girls' Village Home at Ilford, which gets a whole chapter. June Rose states that none of Barnardo's ideas were new but his City Messenger Brigade was his own highly successful scheme for employing boys from his various Ragged Schools in Stepney. On the other hand she perhaps ought to have made it clear that The Union Jack Shoeblack Brigade in The Mitre, Limehouse, was the smallest of many such agencies in London. It was already known as The Union Jack Shoeblack Brigade and the shoeblacks wore sailor suits when Barnardo took it over in 1875. Nor was it known later as The Union Jack Rag Brigade, as this was a separate, though related organisation which Barnardo took over later. Whilst mentioning sewing classes for Bryant and May match girls, the author does not explain that it was mainly through this agency — The Factory Girls' Clubs Institute at Copperfield Road — that the girls were encouraged to go and train as domestic servants in Bow Road.

The last six chapters are mainly devoted to the organisation from World War II to the present. June Rose reveals the hitherto unknown struggles at the top to modernise in the post-war years, a painful process which was partly helped, it seems, by the abandonment of the old Stepney headquarters in 1968 in favour of new office buildings in the old Girls' Village at Ilford, in sight of the founder's tomb. In responding to today's needs, June Rose shows how Barnardo's have in fact also gone back to their founder's concern for children with physical and mental problems and to fostering and adoption as the best means of helping them. Barnardo's now keep children in need at home rather than in a home.

Tom Ridge

Andrew Byrne. *London's Georgian Houses*. The Georgian Press, 1987. £16.50 and £9.95 (paperback).

THIS is an attractively produced, well written and comprehensive book on the more modest houses of Georgian London — it deliberately does not include the larger mansions. In the main, these are terrace houses — though terraces could sometimes rise to heights of grandeur, if they were designed to give the impression of a palace, like the Nash terraces round Regent's Park, or to a lesser degree, Tredgar Square, Bow.

The first part of the book has a number of general chapters, on the traditions of classical architecture from which the Georgian house developed, the manner in which building development took place, the terrace house, and the London Building Acts. The social background is described in 'The rich and the poor'. The second section consists of detailed descriptions, with photographs and sometimes plans of individual buildings, streets, terraces or squares. They are only a selection of what survives — a far larger book would be needed to cover everything, if indeed it was possible in one volume. East London is quite well represented in these examples. It is cheering to see the Drapers' Almshouses, which I remember our Society trying desperately to save, have now been restored and are included. The third part considers the actual fabric of the houses, and includes external and internal details, such as windows, doors, staircases and ceilings.

Finally, the author considers conservation. Both in this chapter, and in the introduction, he assesses the prospects for survival of Georgian houses. Changes in attitudes, in favour of conserving existing buildings if possible, and in particular general public regard for the Georgian style must make us more optimistic than some earlier writers. 'To the man on the Clapham omnibus, these houses are pleasing' However, as he points out, there is not much room for complacency. Legislation to protect them is neither comprehensive nor easily enforced — in particular it is hard to guard against neglect. Once houses fall into a derelict state, they are in danger 'particularly in run down districts' as he says. I think much of East London falls into this description, and am not surprised that two examples illustrated of houses in danger come from here. One is Arbour Terrace, 495-517 Commercial Road, Stepney, and the other 109-111 Stoke Newington Church Street. A reminder of what we have lost is a splendid Coade stone plaque from Wellclose Square, now moved to 25 Belgrave Square.

Of course, now that parts of East London, particularly the riverside, are going up in the world, Georgian houses in those areas are much in demand. Wapping Pier Head, for instance, is now so grand that you are not able to walk along and admire it any more. So we may have to choose between gentrification and decay in areas like Spitalfields.

My main criticism of the book's physical appearance is that it is a little large and heavy to carry round. It will certainly give me some ideas for visits. However, the large page size allows for plentiful illustrations — mainly black and white photographs, but also some plans and drawings. I think it would have been an advantage to have a map or an index arranged under districts to locate where the examples are. There is an index, but it puts them under the street name. However, this is a minor criticism of a fine book, which should interest all who value London's buildings.

Ann Sansom

A Mid-Victorian East End Album, Peter Marcan Publications, 1987. £5.95.

AN unusual approach has been used in this guide around edifices of mid-Victorian East London. Original articles from such publications as *The Builder* and *Building News* go alongside engravings from *The Illustrated London News* and *The Illustrated Times*. But the use of these publications makes this an exceptionally interesting book, covering the areas of Tower Hamlets, Hackney and Newham between the years 1843-1873.

Text that accompanies an engraving gives a brief history as to why many of the buildings or memorials were erected; how much they cost; their architect and builders; their dimensions, and in some cases the names of individual benefactors and their gifts. Many local churches, hospitals, markets and workhouses are represented in the book and some of the buildings still stand today, i.e. Abbey Mills Pumping Station, the Drinking Fountain in Victoria Park, the Vestry in Bancroft Road (now the Library) and there is a picture of Bow Spring Bridge crossing a very tranquil Commercial Road at Stepney Station.

The dock area has a fair representation of engravings. There is a particularly interesting account of the new Foreign Baggage Warehouse at St. Katharine's Dock. Sir John Hall, Secretary to the St. Katharine's Company introduced, for the time, separate halls for embarking and disembarking passengers. The movement of passengers was so vastly improved by this innovation that a New Foreign Baggage Warehouse was built. This enabled incoming and outgoing vessels, passengers and baggage to be dealt with much more quickly.

The book contains many more interesting facts. Poplar Hospital was opened in August 1855 because so many serious injuries occurred within a three mile radius of the London Hospital and patients suffered great pain or died in transit to the London. An account is given of a fund-raising dinner in Blackwall at which it was announced that in the three years since the opening of the Hospital 8789 patients had been seen. I also particularly liked the picture of watercress beds alongside Hackney Station, an incongruous sight for today.

This is such an enjoyable book it should not be read in one sitting. It should be something to delve into at odd times, the appetite whetted in anticipation of the interesting facts it holds.

Jenn Page

Bertha Sokoloff. *Edith and Stepney*. The Life of Edith Ramsay. Stepney Books, 1987. £4.95.

THIS is a most enjoyable and readable book even to those who did not know Edith Ramsay. I remember her as the woman who, over forty years ago, found me my first job, one with good prospects but small wages, but therefore, according to my mother, not suitable for someone who was the eldest of a large poor family. Undeterred, Edith found me an office job with a friend of hers that paid a little more money, although not so interesting. She also obtained a place for me at Toynbee Hall Art classes, which I thoroughly enjoyed. A woman who knew that education was the key to East Enders enjoying a fuller life, she always had a personal interest in the people she helped.

The story of Stepney during the war and the politics during and immediately after the war is most interesting. The Communist Party played a larger part in the East End than it does today, even though I can remember as a teenager having an Uncle who was a Communist and was somehow a little out of the ordinary when everyone else we knew voted Labour. But Edith seemed to rise above political infighting and tried to get the best for people irrespective of colour, creed or politics.

The poverty and hardships of most working class families are well described, along with the spirit and hope that was always part of the real Cockney. The influx of Asian and West Indian immigrants had already started, and some interesting stories about Edith's work with these people are in the book, along with her efforts for others whom life was treating badly.

Although not dwelt upon in the book, Edith's failing physical and mental health, due of course to her good age, made those of us who had known her as the sharp witted woman that she was, very sad. We will all remember her with gratitude for the lifetime of work and caring that she gave to the people of the East End and this book is a fitting tribute to her.

Marie Litson

Eve Hostettler. *Island Women*. Photographs of East End Women 1897-1983. Dirk Nishen Publishing, 1988.

THIS little book gives an excellent display of photographs of East End women from 1897 to 1983. The reproduction of the photographs by Nishen is of a very high standard considering the age and condition of many of them; the captions are brief but adequate. The photographs cover many aspects of a woman's life on the Island during the period, and for many will bring back a host of memories.

I would, however, like to have seen photographs of the women who could be seen in every street on a summer evening sitting on chairs outside their front doors watching the world go by. Also those with cloth cap and black shawl taking their jug to get a pint in the 'jug and bottle' bar for a tired husband just come home. There were the Sack Factory girls, lined faces and broken fingernails, sacks about their waists, always ready for a joke, and the housewives scrubbing their steps every day or polishing the grate. These would much more typify 'Island Women' to me as an Islander, though the scarcity of suitable photographs of this nature has to be appreciated.

My own family is shown (though my mother was born in 1880 not 1890) but, as with many East End families, tragedy intervened and of the six children shown only one presented my parents with grand-children.

I would not be without this book in my 'Island Collection' and hope there will be further additions to the Photo-Library that will be relevant to East London.

A. H. French

George Reid. *Streets of London in the late Twenties and early Thirties*. George Reid. *River Thames in the late Twenties and early Thirties*. Arthur Cross and Fred Tibbs. *The London Blitz*. Dirk Nishen Publishing, 1987. £2.95 each.

THESE are the first three books of a new series designed to make the work of notable, but less known, photographers available to a wider public. They will use pictures from photographic archives, these first three coming from The Museum of London. I found the books suitable for my own interests but thought that there should perhaps be a little more text.

Each book differs in subject matter, as the titles infer, but they also differ in photographic approach and technique. To put it as briefly as possible, *River Thames* has a very strong 'pictorial photographer' approach. Many of the shots are 'framed'; foreground interest is studiously included; 'mood lighting' and weather conditions are taken advantage of, and composition is strong in all the pictures. In *Streets of London*, the same high degree of technical skill is shown, not surprisingly because it is the same photographer, but the emphasis here is more on capturing the 'street scene'. That is not to say they are not pictorial or composed, but the subject matter is treated much more in the 'record' category. This book incidentally, has by far the best captions to the pictures. The last of the three books, *The London Blitz*, is the work of two other photographers and neither shows the skill of George Reid. Each book is very attractively designed, the quality of the printing is excellent and the pictures are made as large as possible.

It could be thought that nearly £3 for a slim book is a bit stiff. The publishers claim each book contains 32 pages and 27 pictures. This is not quite true, for you get even better value. If you include the pictures on the covers, two of the books have 30 pictures and the other has 31. If you can buy such high-quality pictures at around ten pence each, let me know where. In the meantime, these collections come very highly recommended by me.

John Curtis

Caroline Adams. *Across Seven Seas and Thirteen Rivers*. THAP Books, 1987. £4.95.

IN this remarkable book, well-researched and lovingly put together, Caroline Adams chronicles the lives and fortunes of some of the first few Bengali-speaking (Banglabashi) settlers in the U.K. The author spent several years in the compilation of this book, and travelled extensively here and abroad in search of her material.

She has faithfully recorded the stories of ten men, all ex-seamen (or Lascars as they were called) who served in the British Merchant Navy in peace and in war, before making their home in this country. The majority of them settled in Tower Hamlets, and it is for this reason that the book forms an invaluable addition to our local history files.

The chapters under 'History' make absorbing and informative reading, but a map of the Lascars' homeland (Assam as it was then, now Bangladesh) would have been enormously helpful to the reader who has a rudimentary knowledge of Asian geography. Place-names, such as Sylhet and Maulvi Bazar are meaningless without any map reference, and their significance is lost to the reader.

The latter part of the book consists of the men's actual stories, as recorded on tape, and I must confess that I found it made difficult reading (and I speak as one born and educated in India). Perhaps Ms Adams could have made a concession to the Anglo-Saxon ear, with a bit more editing.

In conclusion, might I add a further explanation as to why the Lascars were in the majority Banglabashis (and Muslims). Apart from coastal fishermen, the Indian subcontinent had no Naval tradition, as it was a Hindu belief that a journey over the sea caused a man to lose his soul. Also, Calcutta was the Capital of British India, besides being its main trading port, and the hinterland contains some of the most densely populated areas of the country, and the poorest. All these factors combined were the main reasons for the Merchant Navy ships signing on Banglabashi crew.

A book that needed to be written, and well worth reading.

Rosemary Taylor

W. J. Fishman. *East End 1888: A Year in a London Borough among the Labouring Poor*. Duckworth, 1988. £18.95.

THIS is the first work I have seen which studies in depth the microcosm of Tower Hamlets' society in one year. The reader will be enriched with a new perspective on how really tough life was.

A false impression of the whole work will be made if the reader decides to start with chapter seven on crime and punishment. At first I regarded the treatment of these two topics as rather laboured with repetitious examples in 52 pages. The chapter was saved to some degree by the last 20 pages with the author's coverage of 'Jack the Ripper'. In fact, now that I have completed the entire book, my opinion is very different, for the author provides us with a better understanding of the mechanisms of social, interpersonal and political relationships of the people of Tower Hamlets. He does not concentrate wholly on famous events and people. It is the ordinary citizens' lives we learn about mainly. This is explained through selective extracts from newspapers and reports and a skilfully judged analysis.

There are ten chapters. The ones I thought particularly broke new ground were 'Image and reality', 'Housing and sanitation', 'The unemployed and the sweated', 'Women and children', 'The Ghetto' and 'Leisure'.

The significance of the year 1888 is brought out by interweaving many details of Charles Booth's social research, Revd. Samuel Barnett's social work, General William Booth's Salvationist work and Dr. Barnardo's work with children. The Guardians of the Poor, workhouses, soup kitchens, clubs, missions, the Jews, prostitutes and all the elements of low life are well chronicled. Particularly interesting is the valuable information provided on Margaret Harkness, the socialist, feminist novelist. She wrote her early novels about the area in 1888 and 1889 under the pseudonym 'John Law'. The index under 'Harkness' is worth examining.

Anyone who requires to understand the local environment in the murderous year of 1888 could read no better account than this about social conditions at the time.

C. J. Lloyd

John Harding. *Jack Kid Berg: The Whitechapel Windmill*. Robson Books, 1987. £11.95.

JOHN Harding's book has used all available sources to good effect to present an authentic biography of Jack Kid Berg, the East End Jewish boxer of national and world-wide repute.

In his account Harding reveals the fallacy of the 'rags to riches' approach so common in works on over-publicised Jewish East Enders. The exhilarating descriptions of his fights, including many intensive bloody battles, bear comparison with Damon Runyon's writing.

Jack Kid Berg's considerable physical abilities, coupled with guts and hard work, enabled him to support his loyal wife Morya, his family and relatives, and the book suggests that he had energy enough for outside activities.

This is a book which will not only appeal to boxing fans but will provide a useful social documentary on Jewish East End life of the period. Considering Jack Kid Berg's international reputation, I am hopeful that this long overdue biography will help to make up for his seemingly deliberate neglect by the Anglo-Jewish establishment.

Louis Behr

Anne Cunningham and Harry Watton. *Glimpses of Globe Town*. Globe Town Neighbourhood Libraries Service, 1988. £2.99.

GLIMPSES of Globe Town is a photographic history of one of the seven Neighbourhoods of the London Borough of Tower Hamlets, formed in 1986. Globe Town lays between the Regents Canal to the east, Mile End Road to the south and to the west Cambridge Heath Road. There is evidence in the Guildhall of a 'Globe' public house at Mile End as early as 1690. This was near part of an old route from the Bishop of London's manor at Bonner Hall to St. Dunstan's, Stepney (the only parish church till 1734).

The text and photographs in this paperback are printed in sepia, which in my view has not reproduced very clearly the 49 prints which the authors have lovingly researched with facts, dates, plus a wealth of detail of what was on the sites before. 23 of the photographs date from 1905 to 1969 and are instantly recognisable, and will bring many memories to everyone who has lived or worked in this corner of Bethnal Green. One of the authors, Harry Watton, will be well known to members of the Society. Since the first issue of the *Record* in 1978, he has helped with finding illustrations for articles, proof reading and the 'Recent Studies' section.

Doreen Kendall

Pat Kirkham, Rodney Mace, Julia Porter, *Furnishing the World*. The East London Furniture Trade 1830-1980. Journeyman Press, 1987. £10.95.

IT is essential that people in East London recognise how important the history of local furniture making is. Thanks to the London History Workshop and the Geffrye Museum, this marvellous source book on the subject has now appeared.

For 150 years, the authors tell us, places like Shoreditch, Bethnal Green and Hoxton have made furniture for the houses of London and of the world as well. Since 1979 the industry has been gradually collapsing, but valiant efforts, especially by the Hackney Economic Development Unit, give a hope of revival — if monster office blocks are not allowed to gobble up premises and available land.

Furnishing the World is a rich collection of information about the branches of the Craft, people's working conditions and the trade unions they set up — with many illustrations. Best of all are the personal stories at the back of the book from the workers themselves, who bring us close to the reality of their lives.

Carolyn Merion

One dinner a week, and Travels in the East. Peter Marcan Publications, 1987 (originally published 1884). £5.95.

IN 1884 a journalist was taken round the Commercial Road area of Stepney. The result was a series of magazine articles which, with the addition of illustrations, was soon published in a book. The book has now been reprinted. The anonymous author gave factual accounts of what he saw. He described the room (or two) in which families lived and states the rent they paid and the money they received when they worked. However, what makes the book, are the insights given during the interviews in which the 'hard worked honest poor' describe the work they did.

As well as descriptions of individual hardship, the author also described how one charity, the London Cottage Mission, tried to alleviate the poverty. (His guide was Walter Austin, the Mission's managing director). The 'One dinner a week' of the title was the Irish stew provided every Wednesday, November until May, to five hundred children at the Mission hall in Salmon Lane. The Mission also ran Sunday Schools and encouraged teetotalism. Naturally, it also favoured the poor attending Church, but accepted that men who did not own a coat could not attend on Sundays.

Unfortunately, the book is marred at times by an out-dated would-be comic style, but do persevere! The material provides a series of vivid insights into living in the Victorian East End.

H. David Behr

J. R. Smith. *The Speckled Monster - Smallpox in England, 1670-1970, with particular reference to Essex*. Essex Record Office, Chelmsford, 1987. £14.95.

SMALLPOX was England's chief killer disease from the end of the great plague in 1665 till the late 18th century. The Speckled Monster follows the history of the disease over 300 years, and though much of the research has been carried out in Essex County Record Office it is set in a national context and starts with tracing successive campaigns of prevention, immunisation and the eventual eradication of smallpox in 1977.

John Smith vividly describes the symptoms of smallpox, its cost in terms of human suffering, the effects on the community and the work of Daniel Sutton, an early inoculator. Inoculation was introduced in 1721 and vaccination in the late 18th century. This led to legislation banning inoculation in 1840 and parliament's involvement in the introduction of compulsory vaccination in 1853. This then became a major issue in the general election in 1906.

This vivid account of smallpox provides a wealth of information and makes fascinating reading. Its comprehensive index which includes many names makes it a new source for those interested in Family History and is full of interesting facts for the general reader.

Diane Kendall



'The White Hart', Mile End Road, better known locally as 'Murphy's', is one of the many interesting pictures in Tony Phillips' Pubs of Tower Hamlets published by Tower Hamlets Libraries earlier this year.

SOME RECENT HISTORY ITEMS RELATING TO EAST LONDON

Books and Booklets

- Alderman, Geoffrey *The Federation of Synagogues 1897-1987*. The Federation, 1987.
- Bedarida, Francois *Will Thorne. La Voie Anglaise Du Socialisme*. Fayard, 1987.
- Beer, R. and Pickard, C. A. *Eighty Years on Bow Common Lane*. Fern Street Settlement, 1987.
- Burton, Anthony *Bethnal Green Museum of Childhood*. Victoria and Albert Museum, 1987.
- Clegg, W. Paul *London*. (Docks and Ports: 2). Ian Allan, 1987.
- Ellmers, Chris *London's Riverscape: A 1937 Photographic Panorama of the Port*. Viking, 1988.
- Faulus, Malcolm *Always Under Pressure: A History of North Thames Gas Since 1949*. Macmillan, 1988.
- Glasman, Gina *East End Synagogues*. Museum of the Jewish East End, 1987.
- Grade, Lew *Still Dancing. My Story*. Collins, 1987.
- Great Eastern Railway and Passmore Edwards Museum Trust. *Return to North Woolwich*. The Society and the Museum, 1987.
- Hedley, Olwen *The Royal Foundation of St. Katharine at Ratcliffe*. The Foundation, 1987.
- Lambert, Andrew *Warrior. Restoring the world's first Ironclad*. Conway Maritime.
- Maynard, Jean Olwen *A History of Latimer Congregational Church*. The Church.
- Pearman, John *Excellent Accommodation. The first hundred years of the Industrial Dwellings Society*. The Society, 1985.
- Schwab, Walter (ed) *Jewish Artists: the Ben Uri Collection*. Ben Uri Society and Lund Humphries, 1987.
- Shapiro, Aumie and Michael *More Memories of the Jewish East End*. Springboard Education Trust, 1987.
- Wates, Nick, and Knevitt, Charles. *Community Architecture*. Penguin, 1987.
- Winton, John *Warrior: The First and Last*. Maritime Books, 1987.
- Articles**
- East of London Family History Society There are several short articles of local interest in recent issues of *Cockney Ancestor*. (Autumn 1987, Winter 1987-8, Spring 1988).
- Hackney Society Recent issues of The Society's beautifully produced *Newsletter* include articles on 'The Sutton House Saga' (Vol. 1, No 1) and 'Haggerston Library and the Free Library Movement.' (Vol. 1, No. 3).
- Jones, David Short articles on two Hackney cinemas (Empress and Hackney Pavilion) and the Savoy, Stoke Newington, in *Mercia Bioscope*, Spring, 1986.
- Kadish, Sherman 'Jewish Bolshevism and the "red scare" in Britain' in *Jewish Quarterly*, Vol. 34, No. 143, Oct 1987.

- Leech, Ken 'Cable Street — the making of a Myth' in *Jewish Socialist* Autumn, 1987
- Leech, Ken 'A Tale of Two Streets: Cable Street, Brick Lane and Organised Racism' in Honore, Deborah Duncan (ed.) *Trevor Huddleston: Essays on his Life and Work*. Oxford, 1988.
- Lloyd, Chris 'Poplar District Board of Works' in *East London History Society Newsletter*, June, 1988.
- Prochaska, F. K. 'Body and Soul: Bible nurses and the poor in Victorian London' in *Historical Research*, Vol 60, No. 143, Oct 1987.
- Srebrnik, Henry 'Communism and the pro-Soviet feeling among the Jews of East London, 1935-45' in *Immigrants and Minorities*, Nov 1986.
- Wade, Zia 'Hop Picking' in *Family Tree Magazine*, Nov and Dec 1987.

Theses

- Ellen, E. 'Women's suffrage and the Labour Party: George Lansbury's 1912 by-election at Bow and Bromley.' M.A., Warwick, 1981.
- Feldman, David M. 'Immigrations and workers, Englishmen and Jews: Jewish immigration to the East End of London, 1880-1906'. Ph.D., Cambridge, 1986.
- Halstead, Karina A. 'The Economic Factors in the Development of Urban Fabric of London's Docklands 1796-1909'. Ph.D., City of London Polytechnic, 1982.

Some recent additions to archives

(a) Tower Hamlets Local History Library

Correspondence and Photocopies on German sugar bakers in London
 Bethnal Green Road Congregational Church minutes c.1839-1912
 Poplar mortuary records 1911-1983
 Removal orders and associated papers (Ratcliffe, Stepney and Norton Folgate) 1762-1834
 Research papers of Dorothy Halsall on Father Groser
 Research papers of A. Cawthorne on Stepney history

(b) Hackney Archives Department

Marla Ltd., clothing manufacturers, Mare Street, records 1927-77
 James Reckrall & Co., undertakers, Dalston Lane, accounting records 1886-1970
 Shoreditch refuse destructor: background papers on GLIAS survey work (1987)
 Hackney branch of NALGO, additional papers 1985-6
 Applications for alterations to street frontages in Hackney 1856-1973
 London Lane Shoes Ltd., records 1973-82
 Robert Pringle of Spitalfields, records 1866-72, 1911-13
 Peerless Gold Leaf Company (part of Bryant & May Ltd) records 1934-63

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CONTRIBUTORS

Harold Finch was Youth Officer for the Tower Hamlets until his retirement, during which he has written a biographical dictionary of the borough; Mrs. Maitland is an American now living in London; Frances Heffer was brought up in Canning Town and now lives in East Sussex; Stephen Mason read History and Education at Hertfordshire College of Higher Education after nine years of military service — his article forms part of his dissertation; Dr. Brooks lives in Karkur, a settlement in Israel that was founded by Jews from the East End and South Wales in 1913.